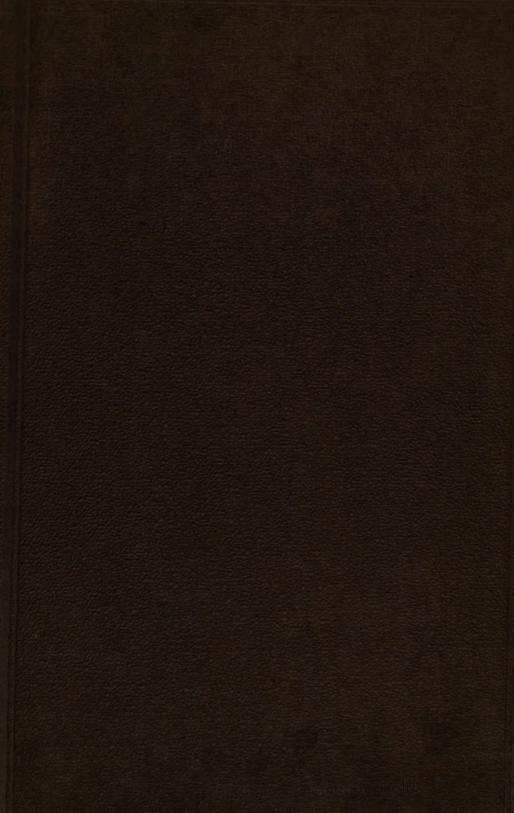
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COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES OF INDIA.

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES

OF INDIA:

TO WIT,

HINDI, PANJABI, SINDHI, GUJARATI, MARATHI, ORIYA AND BANGALI.

BY

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VOL. III.

THE VERB.



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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

BOOK III.—THE VERB.

CHAPTER I.—STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

§	1.	Structure of the Sanskrit Verb	_	PAGI	
§		Beginnings of the Analytical System in Sanskrit .		e	
§		Conjugations of the Pali Verb		8	
Š		Tenses of the Pali Verb		11	
§§	5.	6. The Verb in Jaina Prakrit		16	
§		Scenic Prakrit Verb		22	
§	8.	Apabhrança Verbal Forms		25	
Š		The Modern Verbal Stem		28	
Š	10.	Phases of the Verb		29	
8	11.	Single and Double Stems		32	
•		Single Neuter Stems from Sanskrit BHÛ Roots .		33	
_		The same from other Classes of Sanskrit Roots .			
Š	14.	Modern Neuter Stems from Sanskrit Past Participles		37	
-		Single Active Stems		40	
Š:	16.	Treatment of Sanskrit Roots ending in a Vowel .		42	
-		The Stem DEKH		45	
Š:	18.	Double Verbs		46	
Š:	19.	Sindhi Double Stems Differing in the Final Consonant		48	
Š :	20.	Double Stems Differing in Vowel and Final Consonant		52	
Š :	21.	Double Stems Differing only in the Vowel		54	
Š 2	22.	Examples and Illustrations		58	
_		Laws of the Formation of Modern Stems		66	
•		The Passive Intransitive		68	
•		The Passive		71	
§ s	26.	The Causal		75	
e,	7	The Persian Course		80	

§	28.	The Causal in a Neuter Sense	84		
§	29.	Secondary Stems	87		
§	30.	Reduplicated and Imitative Stems	89		
§	31.	Gipsy Verbal Stems	95		
		CHAPTER II.—THE SIMPLE TENSES.			
§	32.	Classification of Tenses	99		
§	33.	The Simple Present or Aorist	101		
§	34.	The Imperative	108		
§	35 .	The Future in Old-Hindi and Gujarati	112		
§	36.	Type of the Active Verb in Sindhi and Marathi	115		
§	37.	Synopsis of the Simple Tenses in all Seven Languages	118		
§	38.	Simple Tenses in the Gipsy Verb	119		
		CHAPTER III.—THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.			
Ş	39.	Definition of the Participial Tenses	121		
_		The Present Participle Active	123		
•		Tenses formed thereby—the Sindhi Future	126		
•		Marathi Indicative and Conditional Present	127		
•		Bangali and Oriya Conditional	129		
_		Hindi, Panjabi, and Gujarati Present	131		
_		The Past Participle Passive	132		
•		Early Tadbhava Participles in Sindhi and Panjabi .			
Š	47.	The same in Gujarati and Marathi	141		
Š	48.	The same in Old and New Hindi	144		
Š	49.	Tenses formed from the Past Participle	147		
Š	50.	The Prayogas	151		
Š	51.	The Future Participle Passive	152		
Š	52.	Tenses formed from it in Sindhi, Gujarati, and Marathi.	155		
Š	53.	The Future in Oriya, Bengali, and Eastern Hindi .	158		
§	54.	The Hindi and Panjabi Future	160		
§	55.	Marathi Future compared with that in certain Hindi			
		Dialects	161		
§	56 .	Synopsis of the Participial Tenses in all Seven Languages	164		
Š	57.	Participial Tenses in the Gipsy Verb	168		

	TABLE OF CONTENTS.	vii			
	CHAPTER IV.—THE COMPOUND TENSES				
§ 58.	Definition of the Compound Tenses and Auxiliary	Verbs 170			
	The Root AS—Present Tense	. 171			
	Imperfect in Panjabi and Gipsy	. 175			
-	AS, with a Negative	. 178			
•	Compound Tenses formed with AS	. 179			
•	The Root ACHH—Discussion as to its Origin	. 180			
-	Tenses derived therefrom	184			
	Compound Tenses formed therewith	. 187			
	BHÛ—the Simple Tenses	194			
-	id.—the Participial Tenses	. `201			
-	Compound Tenses formed therewith .	208			
	STHÂ	. 208			
	YÂ	218			
•	Ancillary Verbs Defined	. 218			
	Examples of Ancillaries	216			
	_				
	CHAPTER V.—OTHER VERBAL FORMS	3.			
§ 73.	. The Conjunctive Participle	. 229			
•	The Infinitive	234			
•	The Agent	. 23			
•	. Sindhi Verbs with Pronominal Suffixes .	24			
-	. Conjugation of Stems ending in Vowels in Hindi,	Panjabi,			
•	and Sindhi	. 24			
§ 78.	. The same in Marathi	25			
§ 79	. The same in Bangali and Oriya	. 25			
CHAPTER VI.—THE PARTICLE.					
\$ 80.	. Adverbs, Nominal and Pronominal .	25			
-	Pronominal Adverbs of Time, Place, and Manner	. 25			
	S 82. Adverbs Derived from Nouns and Verbs				
-					
-	. Interjections	27			
-	Postpositions	. 27			
-	. Conclusion	27			
J	Comments Types no man Types Volumena	97			

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3, 19, for this much read such.

10, 9, for मझीत read मञ्जति.

14, 28, for different read difficult.

19, 21, for पुरचति read पूरचति

21, 26, for निषीतितवं read निषी-दितवं

34, 3 from below, for Pali read Prakrit

36, 8, for bhala read bhala.

39, 26, for चित्तिष्टत् read उत्तिष्ठत् .

44, 2, for detu read dehi.

47, 26, dele that.

50, 16, for भुक्त read भुक्त.

50, 18, after word a full stop instead of a comma.

52, 13, for discharged read discharge.

56, 5, for 90 read 38 (ed. Stenzler).

56, 7, for • विश्वस• read • विषस•.

57, 28, for my read my.

58, 5, after Pali a full stop instead of a comma.

61, 25, for hladid read hlatu.

63, 4, for masj read majj.

65, 9, for तक read नक.

70, 12, for phrase read phase.

73, 16, for **जारी** read **मारी**.

83, 24, for माडाइव read साडाइव.

105, 6, for बर्से read चर्से.

112, last but one, for सरसी read करसी

114, 21, for **电**解 read 羽科.

PAGE LINE

124, 1, dele comma after hearing.

134, 6, for को देखो read को देखी.

135, 29, after dielala insert f.; for dielat, etc., read délat, etc.

140, 31, for सिड्णा read सिड्णा.

141, 19, for भति read भीत.

149, 24, for asmah read asmah.

154, 29, for जाका read जावया.

162, 7, for माइंसो read माइंसो.

163, 2, the words 'aorist सुदा' 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 दखा read देखा.

196, 10, for 'Daughter' read 'Laughter.'

196, 17, for स्त्रांग read रचिनि,

202, 2 from below, for 59 read 60.

214, 4, for Imperfect read Imperative.

225, 29, for दहती read रहती.

250, 17, for Imperfect read Imperative.

254, 5, for Oriya read Aryan.

257, 3, for नाजा read राजा.

262, 22, for ace read act.

262, 23, for प्रमानं read प्रमाणं.

262, 23, for सीयं read सीगं.

262, 23, for its read as.

263, 6, for H.-D. read K.-D.

267, 9, for संदित read सदित.

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

CONTENTS .- § 1. STRUCTURE OF THE SANSKRIT VERB .- § 2. BEGINNINGS OF THE ANALYTICAL SYSTEM IN SANSERIT.- § 3. CONJUGATIONS OF THE PALI VERB.-- § 4. TENSES OF THE PALI VERB.-- § § 5, 6. THE VERB IN JAINA PRAKRIT.-6 7. SCENIC PRAKRIT VERB.-6 8. APABHRANCA VERBAL FORMS. -6 9. The Modern Verbal Stem.-5 10. Phases of the Verb.-6 11. SINGLE AND DOUBLE STEMS .- § 12. SINGLE NEUTER STEMS FROM SANSKRIT BHU ROOTS .- \$ 13. THE SAME FROM OTHER CLASSES OF SANSKRIT ROOTS .-6 14. Modern Neuter Stems from Sanskrit Passive Past Participles. - § 15. Single Active Stems. - § 16. Treatment of Sanskrit Roots ending in a Vowel.- \$ 17. The Stem DEKH.- \$ 18. Double Verbs.-§ 19. SINDHI DOUBLE STEMS DIFFERING IN THE FINAL CONSONANT. - § 20. Double Stems Differing in Yowel and Final Consonant.- § 21. Double STEMS DIFFERING ONLY IN THE VOWEL .- \$ 22. EXAMPLES AND ILLUSTRAtions .- \$ 23. Laws of the Formation of Modern Stems .- \$ 24. The Passive Intransitive.—§ 25. The Passive.—§ 26. The Causal.—§ 27. THE PASSIVE CAUSAL.- \$ 28. THE CAUSAL IN A NEUTER SENSE.- \$ 29. SECONDARY STEMS .- \$ 30. REDUPLICATED AND IMITATIVE STEMS .- \$ 31. GIPSY VERBAL STEMS.

§ 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

VOL. III.

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 acrists, 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 Indo-European 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 bhû 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 bh 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, yû, ni, or of a vowel followed by a consonant, as ad, ish, ubh, 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 jûgar, in others made from nouns, as kumûr.

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 $bh\dot{u}$, "to be," undergoes the following modifications:

Active | bhava.

Neuter | bhûya.

Causal bhâvaya.

Desiderative bubhûsha.

Intensive bobhûya.

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

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 root-syllable, which is the common inheritance of them all. 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

¹ Namely, 6 phases × 13 tenses × 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 (Lit) may be regarded as variations of the same tense. Thus the number of tenses may be reduced to ten, viz. Present (Lat), Imperfect (Lah), Optative (Lin), Imperative (Lot), Perfect (Lit), Aorist (Lun), Future (Lrt), Conditional (Lrn), Second Future (Lut), Benedictive (âsir Lin). By this reckoning the number of forms would be 6 × 10 × 9 = 540.

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 Âtmanepada, 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 KAR, "do," appears in classical Sanskrit in the following forms:

- 1. The 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, chakridhve; in the whole of the 1 aor. Âtm., as akrishi, akrithâh, akrita, etc.; in the pass. part. kritah, and gerund kritvâ, and in the benedictive Âtm., as krishishta, etc.
- 2. fs kri, in bened. Par., as kriyâsam, kriyâh, kriyât, etc., and in the passive present, as kriye, kriyase, kriyate, etc.
- 3. at kar, in pres. Par., as karomi, karoshi, karoti, and before all weak terminations.
- 4. **53** kur, in pres. Âtm., as kurve, kurushe, kurute, and before strong terminations.
- 5. ang kâr, in pf. Par., as chakâra, and 1 aor. Par., as akârsham, also in the causal, as kârayati.

6. **辆** kr, in 2 and 3 pl. pf. Par., chakra, chakruh, and 1 and 3 s. pf. Âtm. chakre.

In the same way the root CRU hear," appears in some parts of the verb as cri, in others as cru, cri, cri, and cri. 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 $\sqrt{\pi u}$ "burn," pf. $\pi \pi \tau u$, $\sqrt{\pi u}$ "see," pf. $\pi \pi \tau u$, just as $\lambda \epsilon i \pi \omega$ makes $\lambda \epsilon \lambda \delta \iota \iota \iota \pi a$ and $\tau \rho \epsilon \iota \iota \omega$, $\tau \epsilon \tau \rho \iota \rho \phi a$. 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 u "be," u "be," and u "do," are the auxiliaries principally employed for this purpose. Thus—

```
√ उंद् "wet," makes pf. उंदा चकार, उंदा बभूव or उंदा श्वास.
√ चवास "shine," " भवासां चकार, etc.
```

√ बोधय "explain," " , बोधयां चकार, etc.1

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 चस् "be." Thus from √ नुष् "know," comes the agent बोधिता, which with the present of चस् makes

- 8. 1. वोधितासि
 P. 1. वोधितासि

 2. वोधितासि
 2. वोधितासि
 - ¹ Max Müller's Sanskrit Grammar, p. 172.

A third instance is a form of phrase in which the passive past participle is combined with this same auxiliary at to form a perfect definite, as analytical "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 तेन गत "by him gone," i.e. "he went," instead of बनाय.

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. The may mean "he went," or, "he has gone," but by the other system each of these two meanings has a phrase peculiar to itself, The meaning "he has gone," and and "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."		"I have loved,"	
French	j'aimai	j'ai aimé.	
Italian	io amai	io ho amato.	
Spanish	yo ame	yo he amado.	

§ 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 before Christ, by Mahendra, son of King Açoka, and spread thence to Burmah and Siam.

¹ Kuhn, Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik, p. 1. But Turnour, Mahawanso xxix., gives B.C. 307. So also Childers, preface, p. ix.

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 to between the vowel of the root and the final consonant, or the before weak terminations. Thus in Skr. ✓ the rudh, "to obstruct," makes its present the runaddhi, but in Pali, while the 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 $Bh\hat{u}$, class prevail. Thus Skr. $\sqrt{21}$ "to go," pr. 216, Pali also $y\hat{u}ti$, but

Skr. √ मृज् "to rub," pr. मार्छि. Pali majjati, as if from a Skr. मर्जति.
√ बुह् "to milk," ,, दोग्पि. ,, dohati.
√ बिह "to lick," ,, चेडि. ,, lehati.

The third conjugation occasionally takes the reduplication as in Sanskrit, but in many instances prefers the Bhû type. Thus

Skr. √ 위 "to fear," विभेति. Pali भायति.

√ घा "to hold," दघाति. " दघाति and दहति.

The verb $d\hat{a}$, "to give," which belongs to this conjugation, has special developments of its own, and is discussed in § 16.

The fifth, eighth, and ninth classes are very similar even in Sanskrit, for while the fifth adds \P to its root, the eighth adds \P ; but as all its roots except one already end in \P , it

¹ Seven classes are given by Kaccâyana. See Senart, Journal Asiatique, vi. série, vol. xvii. p. 439.

comes practically to pretty much the same thing as the fifth. The ninth adds \P , \P , and \P to the root before various terminations. Here Pali draws very slight distinctions, making verbs of the fifth class take \P and \P indifferently, and both fifth and ninth appear occasionally in the guise of the first. Thus—

```
Skr. √ श्रु "hear," v. श्रुणोति. Pali सुणोति and सुणाति.

√ बन्ध् "bind," ix. बद्गाति. " बंधति.

√ क्ष "do," viii. बदोति. " बदोति.

√ मण "think," viii. सगते. " मझति.
```

The reason why the forms of the Bhû 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. 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

¹ Westergaard, Radices Sanskr. p. 342.

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 Kaccâyana (J. As., vol. xvii. p. 429, sûtra 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—

Skr. √ पच् "cook," present पचति. Pa. पचति.

future पच्यति. " पचिस्तिति.

aorist चपाचीत्. " चपचि.

gerund पत्का. " पचित्वाः

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, kāhāmi, akāsi, kattum, could all spring from the same verbal root. It is only when the corresponding Sanskrit forms karoti, kurvate, kuryāt, kartāsmi, akārshīt, kartum, are put by their

¹ Or more strictly from an older ksrydt not in use in classical Sanskrit. Kuhn, Beiträge, 105.

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, In Portuguese, which seems to be the lowest and and factum. 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 (lut), the benedictive (âçir lin), and the subjunctive (let). The present active is almost exactly the same as the Sanskrit as regards its terminations in the Bhû form, and the middle only differs, and even then very slightly, in the 1 and 2 plural. Thus—

Skr. 1 pl. पचामहे. 2. पचधे. Pa. 1. पचाम्हे. 2. पचड़े.

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

¹ Diez, Gramm. d. Romanischen Sprachen, vol. ii. p. 188.

² The materials for this section are taken chiefly from Kuhn, Beiträge, p. 93 seqq., with some additions from Childers's Dictionary, and a few remarks of my own.

any class other than the Bhû, it still keeps the personal endings of Sanskrit for that conjugation; thus from √ वा "go," we have—

Pa. S. 1. यामि, 2. यासि, 3. याति; P. 1. याम, 2. याथ, 3. याति. which differs from Sanskrit only in omitting the visarga

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

in P. 1.

Skr. S. 1. प्वानि, 2. प्व, 3. प्यतु; P. 1. प्याम, 2. प्यत, 3. प्यंतु. Pa. S. 1. प्यामि, 2. प्यहि, 3. प्यतु; P. 1. प्याम, 2. प्यथ, 3. प्यंति. and with the Âtmanepada, thus—

Skr. S. l. पचे, 2. पचस्तु, 3. पचतां; P. l. पचामहे, 2. पचध्तं, 3. पचतां. Pa. S. l. पचे, 2. पचस्तु, 3. पचतं; P. l. पचामसे, 2. पचड्डो, 3. पचतं.

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 fg, 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 गद्ध षच्छी वहहि॥

"Say thou a good word of them."-Pr. R. i. 9.

where as $\epsilon = \text{Skr.}$ and $\epsilon = \text{Skr.}$ appears in all the conjugations. Of the Âtmane forms P. 1 seems to be derived from an older form, *masai*. P. 2 should perhaps be read *hvo*, not *vho*, in which case it is a regular resultant from Sanskrit *dhv*.

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

PARASMAI.

Skr. S. 1. पचेयं, 2. पचेस्, 3. पचेत्; P. 1. पचेम, 2. पचेत, 3. पचेयुस्. Pa. S. 1. पचेखामि, 2. ॰खासि, 3. ॰ख; P. 1. ॰खाम, 2. ॰खाइ, 3. ॰खं.

ÂTMANE.

Sk. S. 1. पचेय, 2. पचेषास्, 3. पचेत; P. 1. पचेमहि, 2. पचेधं, 3. पचेरन्. Pa. S. 1. पचेखं, 2. पचेषो, 3. पचेष; P. 1. पचेखान्हे, 2. ॰खड़ो, 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 Bhû class, and has kareyyâmi as though from a Sanskrit kareyam instead of the actual kuryâm. 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 ($\sqrt{\pi\pi}$ "go")—

Skr. S. 1. गिम्खामि, 2. ॰खसि, 3. ॰खति; P. 1. ॰खामस्, 2. खच, 3. खंति. Pa. S. 1. गिमसामि, 2. ॰ससि, 3. ॰सति; P. 1. ॰साम, 2. स्तथ, 3. स्ति. Here the only noteworthy feature is the change of into www. The Atmanepada follows the same rule throughout. 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 T, 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 $\sqrt{44}$ "cook," when it has to take the future termination wall, becomes um and um + waln = uwaln. Here Pali sticks to the form ut, because it is used in the present and makes its future पविस्ति as though there had been (as there probably was in colloquial usage) a Sanskrit future पविश्वति with the intermediate T 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. Kuhn¹ gives the following examples, to which I add the Sanskrit for comparison.

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Skr. √ सभ "get," future सप्सति. Pali सक्हति but also सभिसाति.
    √ वच "speak," " वच्चते. " वक्तति.
                  " धास्तिः " धस्तिः
    √ धा " put,"
                  " वत्यति " वच्छति but also वसिस्तति.
    √ वस "dwell,"
    √ क्ट्र "cleave," " केत्यति " केक्ट्रति
                                              क्टिंसित.
                  " भोचाति " भोक्रुति
    √ भुख "eat,"
                                           " भंजिस्तिः
                 ,, मोच्चति ,, मोक्दति ,,
                                              मुंचिस्ति.
    √ सच "loose,"
    √ श्रु "hear," " श्रोखति " सोस्ति
                                              सुनिस्ति-
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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 resem 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 द्वा "to see," future द्वारत, 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. √ श्रुक् "be able," future श्रृच्यति. Pa. सिक्रिति, whence vulgo सिक्सिति.

In one case Pali has a future which points back to a Vedic form:

Skr. √ इद "weep." Vedic future रोत्स्रति. Pa. रोक्कृति.
Classic ditto रोदिष्यति. , रोडिस्सति.

Occasionally the स्त is softened to इ, as in बाहति, बाहिति from बाहिति, Skr. बरिखति. This is noteworthy with reference to Bhojpuri and the eastern Hindi 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. 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 Magadhi 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 Bhû 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 \mathbf{q} with certain variations, are all reduced to one head by regarding the \mathbf{q} as part of the root, as is also the case with the \mathbf{q} of the fourth class. The a inserted between the root and termination of the Bhû class is used throughout, though occasionally weakened to i, or changed to e from some confusion between this and the e = aya, which is the type of the tenth class. The following examples will illustrate the above remarks.

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¹ Kuhn, 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.

Skr. √ E "take," i. इरति Jaina हरति, हरह. √ विद् "know," ii. वेत्ति " वेदेश्-Pl. 3 विडिना " वेद्देतिः √ धा "put," iii. इधाति with चपि, चपिटधाति पिंड " puts on (clothes)" and पिष्ठाइ. √ सिध् "succeed," iv. सिध्वति सिन्धर. but चाराध् "propitiate," चाराधति " चाराहेर. √ आप् "get," v. आप्नोतिः with प्र. प्राप्, प्राप्नोति पाउसर्, the न being treated as part of the root. √ चि " gather," v. चिनोति चयति, चयर्, but also चि-नाइ, with the same confusion between the जी of v. and जा of viii. as occurs in Pali. √ श्रु "hear," v. श्रुवीति with प्रति, प्रतिश्रुणीति " पिसुमेर् "promises." √ स्पुश् " touch," vi. स्पुश्ति " फुसेर् √ अंख " break," vii. भनिक्त भंवर्. √ च " do," viii. करोति करर. √ यह "take," ix. गुक्काति गेरहरू, here again the ख has passed into the root.

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, dhâti, ârâdhati, prâpanati,

√ च्चा "know," ix. जानाति

वायर.

chayati, sunati, bhanjati, karati, grihnati, and janati, if all those verbs belonged to the first or Bhû conjugation.

It is not so easy to draw out a full verbal paradigma in this dialect as in Pali, 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 :—√ जम "bow."

S. 1. नमामि, 2. नमसि, 3. नमित; P. 1. नमामी, 2. नमह, 3. नमितिः नमिनि, नमितिः नमितिः नमिनोः नमितिः नमहः नमितिः नमेहः

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 Bhåg. i. 60, we have phåseti, påleti, sobheti, tireti, påreti, kitteti, anupålei, åråhei, for Sanskrit सर्वायति, पासयति, मोभवति, तारयति, पुर्यति, कोर्त्यात, सनुपासयति, सार्थित, 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 it as in Pali with junction vowels a and e, the P. 2 ends in the present, in Sanskrit to. Thus—

Skr. √ इच "shine," causal रोचय, impv. रोचय, Jaina रोएहि.
प्रज्ञा "believe," , अर्थेहि, , सहहाहि (pres.
सहहरू).
√ बंध "bind," impv. P. 2. बश्चीत, , बंधह.

The potential, of which only the S. 3 is traceable, resembles Pali in using the termination eyya with variant ejja.

Skr. √ गम् "go," S. 3. गक्कित् Jaina गक्केख, गक्किः √ यह "take," " मृक्कीयात् " गेगहेका.

But there exist some old simple forms derived by phonetic changes from the corresponding Sanskrit tense, as kujja = kuryåt, dajja = dadyåt (Mueller, p. 60).

The future resembles that of Pali, thus-

S. 1. निमस्सामि, 2. °इस्ससि, 3. °इस्सइ; P. 1. °इस्सामी, 2. °इस्सइ, 3. इस्रोति

It also appears with a termination *ihi* produced by weakening \mathbf{w} into \mathbf{v} and the following a to i, thus—

Skr. गमिष्वति, Jain गछिहिति and गमिहिति.

Moreover, there is a trace of the double future like Pali dakkhissati.

Skr. √ पढ् "go," with उप, उपपद् "attain," future उपपत्खते, Jaina उवविद्याहिति.

Here उपपत्सते would phonetically become उववक्क्, and by still further softening उववक्क्ष्य, whence, as if from a present, is formed the future उवविद्यासङ् and उवविद्याहित.

§ 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

и. г. м. पचन पचनी पचत् दंधन दंधती दंधत The nasal, however, is retained throughout in Jaina Prakrit, thus—

Skr. ज्यसम् ज्यसनी ज्यसत्. Jaina जर्मतो जर्मती जर्मतं.

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 त्रञ्. In verbs which do not take intermediate , this ending is added directly to the root with the usual Sandhi changes; but as Prakrit prefers to insert the in order to preserve the root-form of the present, it comes to pass that the 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 v. If to this we add the regular mutation of variety, we get from त्रञ्च the form va. In its original meaning this participle corresponds to the Latin in ndus, as faciendus, and expresses that which is to be done, as variety by thee it is to be gone," i.e. "thou must go." In this sense it occurs frequently in Bhagavati, as for instance in § 56:

Jaina एवं देवागुप्पिया गंतर्त्त, चिट्ठियर्त्त, निसीतियर्त्त, भृंजियर्त्त, etc. Skr. एवं देवानुप्रिया गन्तवं, स्त्रातवं, निवत्तवं, भोक्रवं, 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 T inserted, such as निर्मातितयं, संवितयं.

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 \mathbf{j} 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 \mathbf{q} , with the \mathbf{q} elided and

its place supplied by \mathbf{u} , employed in a construction where we should expect the infinitive. Thus Bhåg. § 54, \mathbf{v} with united, \mathbf{v} value united, \mathbf{v} with united, \mathbf{v} with to wander, to take the tonsure, to practise austerities, to learn," as though from Sanskrit forms united, \mathbf{v} with \mathbf{v} with \mathbf{v} , 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 \mathbf{v} 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 Måhåråshtri or principal poetical dialect all conjugations are reduced to the type of the first or Bhû 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 \mathbf{z} 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 \checkmark **TH** "shine,"

Present S. 1. रोचामि, 2. रोचसि, 3. रोचहि-रोचमि, रोचहि-रोचन्दि,

P. 1. रोचामो, °मु, °म, 2. रोचघ, °इ, 3. रोचिना. रोचम, °मु, °म्हो, °म्इ, °त्य, °ध. रोचिमो, °मु, °इत्य.

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 u as a junction vowel; thus we have such forms as and "I do," Skr. active, instead of active, which would be the regular result of treating as a Bhû verb, and result, "let us go." The presence of the u in S. 1 and P. 1 is accounted for by its being confused with that construction in which the present of un is used with a past participle; thus we find accounted for by its being confused with that construction in which the present of un is used with a past participle; thus we find accounted for by its being confused with that construction in which the present of un is used with a past participle; thus we find accounted for by its being confused with that construction in which the present of un is used with a past participle; thus we find accounted for by its being confused with that construction in which the present of un is used with a past participle; thus we find accounted for by its being confused.

The imperative has the following forms-

8.2. रोच 3. रोचढु. P. 2. रोचघ 3. रोचंतु. रोचाहि रोचच. रोचह.

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

The following are a few examples:

पेक्ट्रस्स "look thou!"	Skr.	प्रेचख-
यमसा " bow thou!"	"	नमख.
वह्ध " bear ye."	,,	वहत.
ৰাঘ "go ye."	"	यात-
चवेध "go away."	,,	चपेत.
चोश्रस्थ "get out of the way!"	,,,	चपसरत
बह्य " do."	,,	कुरतः
वागेध "wake up."	"	वाग्टतः1

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 . Vararuchi (vii. 16, 17) gives the following:—

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, **स्विस्स**, विस्सार, विश्लार, etc. This स्स

Some of these are Mâgadhi Prakrit, but for my present purpose it is not necessary to draw a distinction between Mâgadhi and Çauraseni.

is softened to \P , and the following vowel is weakened to \P , producing as characteristic the syllables *ihi*. Thus—

√ इस् "laugh," S. 1. इसिड्सि. 2. इसिड्सि, 3. इसिड्र्, etc.

By a forgetfulness of the origin of such forms as सोक, the ordinary future terminations may be added to them too, just like dakkhissati in Pali (§ 4), so that we find सोक्सित, and सोक्टिशित.

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 ia, erroneously written ia 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.

In the future, although the form with the characteristic issa is found as सुमरिसाद = सरिखति, Skr. √ स्नृ, yet more commonly we find the form in which स्त has been softened to इ; thus

S. 1. वरिद्दिम, 2. वरिद्दिस, 3. वरिद्दिर, etc.

The grammarians also give a

P. l. in कं as कासाकं = करिष्याम.

The participles resemble in most respects those in other Prakrit dialects, but that in तक becomes रहा, as कर्इ and कर्ड = कर्तिक (कर्तक). The gerund ends in फि, फिक, and a softened form कि; the ordinary Çauraseni form रूक, 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 एक्ड, as क्रिक, the exact genesis of which is doubtful, though, as to the final s, there is an analogy in the true infinitive कर्क, which very closely approaches to Chand's forms, as क्रक, करक्, करक्.

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 $\P 3$ for all three persons, as

वाणिषं = वानितं (द्वातं). बहिषं = बचितं. बप्पिषं = बर्पितं.

It has a plural in चा or चा, as:

षाया = षागताः वारिया = वारिताः उट्टिया = उत्थिताः

Sometimes also the u of the singular is rejected and a substituted, as $\mathbf{w}[\mathbf{u}] = \mathbf{w}[\mathbf{u}]$. 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, sunta hearing, suna heard, sunan I hear, sune he hears, suno hear ye! sunega 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 उत, जि, प्र, and उ, 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," khâ "eat," pi "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. pherá "cause to cause to turn," S. ghârá "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 Bhava-or Sahya-bheda, and is principally used in Gujarati, though ex-

isting in the other languages also, as G. abhada "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. māravi "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,	,,	+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. बनवा (passive intransitive) "to be made," takes as its corresponding active बनाना "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 बहुना "to tell," बहुना "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"; chapaldyate "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. acaicai "to bang," "crack," H. acquai "to be amazed," चंचलाना "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 Bhû. 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. ना, P. जा от जा, S. जु, G. नु, M. जो, O. जा. In the Bengali dictionaries verbs are given under the stem alone.

Skr. √ भू "be," pres. भवति, Pa. भवति and होति, Pr. भोदि, होदि, होइ, H. हो and so in all, except S. क्रम, and in O. होइ is contracted

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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.

to \$\exists. This verb will be treated at full length further on as the chief auxiliary of these languages (see Chapter IV. § 66).

√ चल् "move," चलति, Pa. id. Pr. चल्रू, H. S. चल्र, P. चल्रू, G. चाल्र, चळ, M. चाल्र, चळ, O. B. चाल्र.

√ खन् "stick," खनति, Pa. खनति and खननति, Pr. खननर्, where the नग is probably caused by the passive खन्मते or the p.p.p. खन, H. खन, P. खन, S. खन, in the rest खान. It is neuter in the moderns.

√ काम् "tremble," काम्पति, Pa. id., Pr. कंपइ, H. कंप, कांप, P. काब, S. कंब, G. M. B. कांप, O. काम.

√ धम् "wander," Pa. भमित, Pr. भमइ (Vik. iv. passim), H. भम, भीं, भंव, P. भर्म, भीं or भर्च, S. भर्म, भम, भर्च, भंव, G. धम, भम, M. भीव, 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 sthat "stand," being one of the common auxiliaries, demands a fuller notice. Here follow some of the principal tenses in the old languages:

SKR.	PA.	PB.	
√ स्था and हा i. S. 3)	तिट्वति ठाति	(বিষ্ট ্ (Måg.), বি ৈ তা ন্ধর্ , তার্ (Va	हुद् (Çaur.),
pres. तिष्ठति		ि ठाचार्, ठार्(Va	r. viii. 25, 26).
P. 3. तिष्ठंति	तिट्टंति, ठांति	चिष्ठंति, चिट्ठंति	, डांति-
Impv. S. 2. โกช	तिट्ट	चिष्ठ, चिट्ठ,	ठाहि-
s. 3. নি ন্তনু	तिट्टतुः ठातु	चिष्ठदु, चिट्टदु,	ठाच.
Future S. 3. स्वास्त्रति	उस्रति	_	ठाहिंद्∙
Infin. स्तातुं	ठातुं	चिट्ठिदुं.	
P.p.p. (観 荷	डिट्ट	चिट्ठिदं, ट्विषं,	ठिश्रं-
Gerund स्थिला	उला, उलान	ठिस्र टिस्र	

Of the three forms in Pali that having 37 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. with m. with f., P. with f. S. G. and O. have a whole verb, thus—

	6.	G.	0.
Infinitive	चित्रगु " to be."	चवुं (चाचवुं)	थिवा (थाइवा)
Aorist	S. 1. খিমা	या उ	चाएं
(=Skr. pres.)	2. चिएं, चीं	थाच (घाय)	या उ
	3. चिए	थाच (घाय)	थाए
-	P. 1. খি র্ত্তা	चर्ए	चाउं
	2. विश्वी	था भी	थाच
	3. খিম্বান	घाय	चाति
Present part.	चीं दी	थतो	घाउं
Past part.	विषी	वस्रो and वयसी	चित्रा
Future	8. 3. घींदी	वर्भ	चिव
	P. 3. चींदा	चग्रे	चिवे

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

It is interesting here to notice the parallel treatment of Sanskrit 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 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 or val. Sindhi huanu and thianu, Gujarati hovun and thavun, Oriya hoibâ and thibâ, 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 thâun. Stai bene? "art thou well?" sta qui vicino "he is living close by," would be correctly rendered in O. by the exactly parallel expressions bhâla thâu? and ethi nikat thâe. 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 kharâ hai literally "he is propped up," (as Pr. Es Frenchman from view 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. √ या "go," ii. याति, Pa. id., Pr. जादि and जाश्रदि (the latter as if from a Bhû verb याश्रति), H. जा, P. M. B. id., G. and O. retain जा in some tenses, but in others shorten it to G. ज, O. जि.

√ ख्रप् "sleep," ii. ख्रिति, Pa. सुपति, Pr. सुवर्, सुचर्, सुवेर्, H. सो, P. सो, S. सुकर्, G. सु, B. and O. सो.

√ भी "fear," iii. विभेति, Pa. भायति, Pr. भीखर्, भाषदि, वीहर् (Var. iii. 19), M. भि, भे, G. वीह, वीही, विह (not in the rest).

√ जृत "dance," iv. जृत्वति, Pa. जसति, Pr. यासङ्, H. जाच, P. जस्त, S. जच, G. M. O. B. जाच.

√ ग्र्क् "be able," v. ग्र्क्नोति and iv. ग्र्क्नित, Pa. सक्कति, सक्कोति, सक्कुणोति, Pr. सक्कर्, सक्कणोति, and सक्कु॰, H. सक, P. सक्क, S. सघ, G. M. ग्र्क.

In nach, as in several other verbs derived from Div roots, the characteristic **z** 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 Bhû root, thus H. सबे "he can," postulates a Sanskrit सबति, 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 $\sqrt{\pi}$. It is a very common word, and it is just these very common words that are the most difficult to trace. Perhaps π became π , and so π and π .

Skr. √ जू "speak," ii. ज़वीति and जूते, Pr. बोखर् (Mrich. 230, end of Act vi.) Old H. बुक्क (o is short in Pr.), H. बोख, S. बोख, all the rest बोख.

§ 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

¹ Since writing the above I see that Hemachandra gives bollaï 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 sanghaï for kath, in which we see the origin of M. sanganen "to speak." Hemachandra has also bolliaï = kathayishyati (iv. 360), bollium = kathayitum, bollium = kath

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. 367. Perhaps he had not then seen my first volume.

directly representing the Latin sta "stand," has numerous nouns from that root, as station, étage, from statio, état 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, dipa 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 § 2 of forming a definite preterite by compounding the participle with wa, as in walkful "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 fee to the present tense, as in utilizers. Examples are:

Skr. √ विश् "enter," with उप, उपविश् "take a seat," i.e. to pass from a standing to a sitting posture, p.p.p. उपविष्ठ "seated," Pa. उपविद्धो, Pr. उवविद्धो, and later उवस्द्धो, whence, by rejection of उ, H. बैठ, P. id., M. बैस, where the last consonant is due to a confusion between बैठ and वस. G. has बेश, which is from Skr. pres. उपविश्वति. Its p.p.p. is बेठो. S. also विद्द by softening of स to इ, p.p.p. बेठो. With प्र, प्रविश्व, "enter," "penetrate," P. पविद्धो, Pr. पर्द्धो, whence H. पेठ, "to enter" (generally with the idea of penetrating forcibly). G. again पेश from प्रविश्वति, p.p.p. पेठो, S. पिंड, p.p.p. पेठो.

Skr. $\sqrt{\sqrt{4}}$ "cook," पचित, p.p.p. पञ्च, Pa. Pr. पञ्चो, H. पञ्च "to be cooked," to be in process of cooking (if you ask, "Is dinner ready?" your man answers, पञ्चता "It is being cooked"), P. पञ्च, G. पाञ्च, M. पिञ्च. It also means "to ripen," "to be in course of growing ripe," B. पाञ्च. There is also a stem from the present पचित, as S. पच् "to grow ripe," p.p.p. पञ्चो. H. and all the rest have पञ्च, but in the sense of rotting, decaying.

Skr. √ गुष् "dry," p.p.p. गुष्क, Pa. Pr. सुक्दो, H. सूख "to be dry," P. सुक्दा, S. G. M. सुक्, B. O. गुक्.

Skr. √ भञ्ज "break," p.p.p. भप, Pa. Pr. भगगो, H. भाग "to flee" (said originally of an army, "to be broken up and dispersed"), G. भाग, M. भाग, "to yield, give way," also भंग a, "to break," O. भाग. Here again there are stems as if from the present form Bhû भंजति, Pa. भंजति, Pr. भंजर, H. भंज "to be broken," and भज. (See § 19.)

Skr. √ गम् "go," with उड्, p.p.p. उद्गत "sprung up," Pr. उरगची, H. उग, "to spring up" (as a plant), P. उरग, S. G. उग, M. उराव.

It is questionable whether we should here class some words which come from \sqrt{y} with \sqrt{z} . The present would be \sqrt{z} , but though the p.p.p. in Sanskrit is \sqrt{z} , yet in such verbs Prakrit forms the p.p.p. on the model of the present tense, and has \sqrt{z} as if from Skr. \sqrt{z} , so that the modern verbs \sqrt{z} , \sqrt{z} , and the like keep the type of the present tense as much as that of the participle.

Another very common word is उद "to rise," but in this case Prakrit has already adopted this form for all parts of the verb, as has also Pali; thus from $\sqrt{3}$ उद् + खा Skr. makes उत्या "to stand up."

•	SKR.	1	PA.	PR.
Present	S. 3.	उत्तिष्ठ ति	चट्टहति, चट्टाति	चट्टदि, चट्टेदि, चट्टेर्
Impv.	8. 2.	उत्तिष्ठ	उट्टह	चट्टेहि
	8. 3.	उत्तिष्ठतु	चट्टतु	चट्टे च
Future	8. 3.	चत्यास्त्र ति	उट्टाइस्सदि	उट्टिसार्
Pres. part.		षत्तिष्ठत्	उट्टनो	चट्टंतो
P.p.p.		उत्यित	चट्टितो	चट्टिदो, चट्टिषो
Infin.		जत्यातुं	उट्टातुं	_
Gerund		उत्थाय	चट्टाय, चट्टहिला	ভ ত্তি য

Here, whatever be the form taken in Sanskrit, both Pali and Prakrit assume a stem चडू, and conjugate it as if it were a Bhû verb throughout. It seems as though चडू being com-

pounded with \overline{s} had lost its final consonant, thereby making a form $\overline{s}\overline{s}$, whence Prakrit $\overline{s}\overline{s}$. Sanskrit has adopted the opposite course, and while keeping $\overline{s}\overline{s}$ intact, has sacrificed the \overline{s} of $\overline{s}\overline{s}$ 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. $\overline{s}\overline{s}$, P. $\overline{s}\overline{s}$, S. $\overline{s}\overline{s}$ and $\overline{s}\overline{s}$, and in all the rest $\overline{s}\overline{s}$.

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

Skr. $\sqrt{\frac{1}{18}}$ "desert," $\sqrt{\frac{1}{18}}$, usually found in Prakrit only in the p.p.p., $\sqrt{\frac{1}{18}}$ (= $\sqrt{\frac{1}{18}}$) 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 $\sqrt{\frac{1}{18}}$ in H. and all except M. $\sqrt{\frac{1}{18}}$, G. $\sqrt{\frac{1}{18}}$. It is ancillary in most of the languages as $\sqrt{\frac{1}{18}}$ "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 Bhû, or the closely allied Div, Tud, and Chor classes.

Skr. √ खाद् "eat," खाद्ति, Pa. id., Pr. खाद् (Var. viii. 27, for खाचर्), H. खा, and so in all. Gipsy khava, Kash. khyun, Singhalese kanava.¹ Skr. √ चर्व "chew," चर्चति, Pr. चञ्चर्, H. चाव, P. चञ्च, S. चव्,

G. M. चाव, O. चीवा, B. चाब.

Skr. √ पद "read," पठित, Pa. id., Pr. पहरू, H. पढ़ (parh), P. M. G. id., S. पहरू (which is only their way of writing पह), B. पह, O. पह.

Skr. √ प्रक् "ask," पुक्ति, Pa. पुक्ति, Pr. पुक्त्, H. पूक्, P. पुक्, G. B. id., M. पुस् (see Vol. I. p. 218), O. पुक्, पचार.

Skr. √ मार्ग् (and मृग्) "seek," i. मार्गति, x. मार्गचित, Pa. मरगति and मरगेति, Pr. मरगद्द, H. मांग, P. मंग, S. मक (mang), G. M. मांग, B. मांग, O. मांग.

¹ Childers, in J.R.A.S. vol. viii. p. 146.

Skr. √ रच् "keep," रचिति, Pa. रक्खिति, Pr. रक्खर, H. रख "keep," also simply "to put," पोची को पीडे पर रखी "put the book on the stool," P. रक्ख, S. रख, G. M. B. राख, O. रख, Singh. rakinava.

Skr. √ क्रष्ट् "say," क्रष्टित, P. क्रियति, Pr. क्रहर्, क्रहर्, H. क्रह्र, P. S. B. O. id. In M. it is wanting. G. क्रिह, Singh. kiyanava.

Those roots which belong to other conjugations are almost always reduced to the Bhû 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. √ च्चा "know," ix. जानाति, Pa. id., Pr. जागाति, also जाग्रह (Pr. keeps जाग्र throughout, but it and Pa. occasionally drop the initial, having चागादि, etc.), H. B. जान, the rest जाग्र. Gipsy janava, Kash. zānun, Singh. dannavā.

Skr. $\sqrt{2}$ "do," viii. क्रांति, Pa. id. (see § 1 and § 4), Pr. क्याइ and क्राइ and the stem कर is adopted in most tenses. The moderns universally reject all forms but कर, which they use throughout except in the p.p.p., which is the phonetic equivalent of Prakrit (see § 48).

Skr. √ शु " hear," v. शृकोति, Pa. सुकोति, सुकाति, Pr. सुक्द, H. सुन, and in all सुन or सुक्

Skr. √ आप "get," v. आप्नोति (but also i. आपति), Pa. आपुनोति, आपुनाति and अप्पोति, Pr. (see § 5) आवर्, seldom used alone. Old H. अप्प "to obtain," also used in the sense of giving.

श्राप्य मित्त सर्से सवस्र।

"Having obtained wisdom and the aid of Sarasen (Saraswati)."
—Chand, Pr. R. i. xv.

Also G. आए "to give," which is the ordinary word in that language, may be from this root or from अर्थ (आ). Far more common is the compound with म = भाष, Pa. as above. Pr. पाउषाइ and later पावइ, Old H. and P. पाउ, H. पाव and पा, S. पा, O. id., G. पास, M. पाव, B. पाओ. In all in the sense of finding, getting, obtaining.

Skr. √ यह "seize," ix. गृह्ताति. The treatment of this root is peculiar. Pa. for the most part takes a form गवह, and Pr. generally गेयह. Some of the principal tenses are given here.

	SKR.	PA.	PR.
Pres.	S. 3. गुक्ताति	गयहाति, गयहति	गेयहर्
Âtm. Pres.	S. 1. मृक्कि	,, ,,	गेरहे
1 Aor	. S. 3. श्रयहीत्	चागहि, चागहि	,,
Impv.	S. 2. गृहाग	गरह, गरहहि	नेपह, नेपहह
	S. 3. गृह्णातु	गरहदु	गेरहदु
Impv.Âtm	.P.2. गृक्कीध्वं	गरहद्वी	गेग्हध
Fut.	S. 1. यहीष्यामि	गरिहसां	गेरिइसां
	S. 3. यहीष्ट्रति	गणिइस्ति, गईस्ति	गेरिइसार्
Infin.	यहीतुं	गणिइतुं	गेरिहदुं, गहिदुं, घेतुं
P.p.p.	गृहीत	गहितो	गहिदो, गिहिदो
Gerund	गृहीला	गिष्हला	गेविइस, घेत्तून

There are thus two types in Pa. ganh and gah, and three in Pr. genh, gah, and ghe. The double t in ghettum and ghettuna 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 गृह as an archaic and poetic word. P. also गृह. But M. चे "take," is very much used, as also S. गृह, and O. चेन, the other languages prefer the stem चे from जुज्. Singh. gannavå, 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. $\sqrt{21}$ "give," iii. $\sqrt[2]{16}$. 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 √ ₹1, iii. इदाति "give," √ दा or दो, ii. दाति and iv. चति "divide," √ डाय, i. डायते and दे i. डयते. Some grammarians, misunderstanding a rule of Panini's about reduplication, have imagined a √ 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 4 there are traces of a form in e or as, which may perhaps be the older form, as an and a "to sing," wan and wa "to meditate," उला and उली "to languish," जा and चे "to wither," चा and च "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 To began to be superseded by 2, and that in the modern languages the universal form is DE. The principal tenses in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit are here shown together.

	SKR	L	PA.	PR.
Pres.	8. 1.	ददामि	द्दामि, देमि, दम्मि	देमि
		•	द्यामि	
	8. 3.	ददाति	ददाति, देति, दव्यति	देर, दर
	P. 1.	द्यः	दम्म, देम	देमो
	P. 3.	ददति	देंति	देंति
Impv.	8. 2.	देहि	देहि	देखि
	8. 3.	ददातु	देत	देख
Âtm.	P. 2.	दख	देथ, दहाध	देध
Fut.	8. 3.	दास्रति	दस्सिति	दर्सार, दाहर
Infin.		दातुं	दातुं	दार्घ, देर्घ
Pres. Pa	art.	दइत्	ददनो, देनो	देंतो (देंती f.)
P.p.p.		इत्त	दिन्नो	दियो
Gerund		द्त्ता	इला, दाय, ददिला	दाजण, दश्चा, द र्भ

¹ Westergaard, Rad. Sanskr. p. 6, note.

Further examples are:

Skr. √ पा "drink," i. पिवति [Vedic पाति, there is also √ पो, iv. पोयते], Pa. पिवति and पिव॰, Pr. पिचर्, H. पो, S. and B. पि, in all the rest पो. Gipsy pidva, Kash. chyun, perhaps through an old form pyun, Singh. bonava, p.p.p. b1.

Skr. √ नी "lead," i. नयति, Pa. नयति, निति, Pr. नेर्, सीर् (pres. part. स्यांतो = Skr. नयन्, fut. सर्सां = Skr. नेष्यासि, Impv. सीर् = Skr. नया. Used in the moderns only in composition, thus—

- (a) With आ = आनी "bring," Pa. आनिति, Pr. आग्रेड, H. आन "bring," in all the rest आग्र. Kashm. anun, Gipsy anáva.
- (b) With परि = परिनी "lead round the sacrificial fire during the marriage ceremony," hence, "to marry," Old-H. प्रका, परना, P. प्रनाफ, S. पर्या, G. M. प्रवा.

Skr. √ डी "fly," with उद् = उद्घी "fly up," i. उद्घयते, iv. उद्घीयते, Pr. उद्धिर, H. उद (ur) "to fly," and so in all. S. has उदिर, probably a diminutive. Kashm. wudun, Gipsy uryáva.

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

Skr. आया "come," ii. आयाति, Pa. id., Pr. आआइ, आइ, H. आ "to come," P. id., G. आव, M. चे, Gipsy aváva, Kash. yun. The B.

आर्स, O. आस, S. अच seem to come from आवस्त, but both in B. and O. one often hears आ, thus O. dsild or dild, "he came," and S. makes the imperv. du, 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 $\sqrt{g_{1}}$, but the present is not in use; instead of it classical Sanskrit uses unfa, from which M. derives its verb ut. Marathi stands alone in using this stem, instead of dekh. From √ इम्र comes future द्वस्ति, and it is from this future that Childers derives the Pali zaala. shows 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 (§ 4, 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 ny. 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-

¹ In Kuhn's Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung, vol. vii. p. 450. Pischel's article is in the same work.

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 The learned professor would derive dekkh from the desiderative of दूश, which is दिद्वते, 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 piyasa "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 zama 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 π represents an older π , 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. 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 Arvan 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. दुवना is "to open," i.e. "to open of itself," "to come undone," "to be opened," while खोबना, the corresponding active, is "to open," i.e. "to break a thing open," "to undo." Thus द्वार खुलता "the door opens," is in German "die Thür öffnet sich," in French "la porte s'ouvre." While दार खोलता "he opens the door," is in German "er öffnet die Thür," in French "il ouvre la porte." So that fur is "sich umkehren," while its active unkehren (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 a, e or o, occasionally i or û. As types may be taken, H. kainā, n, and kāinā, a; phirnā, n, and phernā, a; khulnā, n, and kholnā, a; lipnā, n, and lipnā, a; guthnā, n, and gūthnā, 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 स्	Active ending in 34.
1. ब्झ्यु "to be bound,"	बंधगु "to bind."
2. बुद्यगु " to be heard,"	बुंधगु " to hear."
3. रसूग "to be cooked,"	रंध्या "to cook."

1. Skr. √ बंध्, ix. बद्धाति, Pa. बंधति, Pr. बंधइ, whence S. बंध, H. बांध, P. बद्ध. In all the rest बांध a. Skr. passive is बध्धते, whence Pa. बद्धाति, Pr. बद्धाइ, S. ब्र्झ, H.बद्धा, used as a hunting term "to be caught," also "to stick, adhere," P. बद्धात. Here, though undoubtedly derived from the passive, the stem बद्धा is really a neuter or passive intransitive and its conjugation closely resembles the active. There is a regular passive S. बंधिबाग्.

2. Skr. √ बुध् "to know," i. बोधते, iv. बुध्धते, from the latter come Pa. बुद्धति and Pr. बुद्धह्, whence S. बुद्ध, originally "to know," but now meaning "to be heard," H. बुद्धना "to understand," is active. So also

- 0. बुझ, B. बुझ, G. बुझ. But M. बुझ is both a and n. The form of the iv. conjugation is identical with the passive, hence S. makes बुझ a neuter and बुंध is probably due to a false analogy with बंध.
- 3. Skr. √ रघ् or रघ् i. रंघित originally "to destroy," but in moderns always "to cook," Pa. id., Pr. रंघइ, S. रंघ, H. रांघ a, and so in all but P. Passive रघते, Pa. रङ्मति, Pr. रङ्मइ, S. रद्म, not found in the others.

(2.) Neuter in \.

Active in T.

1. **顿**勒顿 "to be got,"

खहण "to seize."

2. यभणु "stuprari" (de muliere),

यहणु "stuprare" (de viro).

3. दुभ्या "to be milked,"

द्वहण "to milk."

- 1. Skr. √ सभ् "to get," i. सभित, Pa. सभित, Pr. सहरू (भ=इ Vol. I. p. 268), S. सह, Old H. सह, H. से, P. सहि and से, G. से, M. ने, O. ने, B. सभी, all a. Pass. सभित, Pa. सब्भित, Pr. सब्भर्, S. सभ, Old H. सब्भ, not in the others.
- 2. Skr. √ यभ "coïre," i. यभित, Pr. बहुद्, S. यह, Pass. यभित, Pr. बस्मद्, S. यभे. Not in the others, except perhaps M. सुवधें, where the aspiration has been thrown back on the ज.
- 3. Skr. √ दुइ, ii. दोग्नि, Pa. दोइति, Pr. दोइइ and दुइइ, S. दुइ, H. दुइ and दोइ, and so in all a. Pass. दुद्धाते, Pa. दुद्धात (Childers writes duyhati, which can hardly be expressed in Devanagari letters), Pr. दुद्धाइ. From this we should expect S. दुद्धा. The form दुने recalls a similar one in Jaina Pr. सिकाइ for सिक्सइ (Weber, Bhâg. 389, 429), Skr. सिधात, 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 सुन, like मुंध with ब्रंध.

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¹ Hemachandra collects a number of passives in bħ from roots ending in ħ, dubbhaï, libbhaï, vabbhaï, rubbhaï, from duh, lih, vah, ruh (or ruddh?).—Pischel, Hem., iv. 245.

(3.) Neuter in I.

Active in T.

दश्या "to be envious,"

दह्या "to torment."

Skr. √ दह "burn," i. दहति, Pa. उहति, Pr. दहर्, S. उह, H. उहि, दाह, Pass. दहाते, Pa. उहाति (Childers dayhati), Pr. दन्हा, S. दृद्धा.

(4.) Neuter in ज्. Active in ज, ख, ज.

1. अञ्च्या "to be broken," अञ्च्या "to break."

2. अञ्च्या "to be fried," अञ्च्या "to fry."

3. क्ट्विया "to be plucked," क्टिव्या "to pluck."

4. सुञ्चा "to be heard," सुग्चा "to hear."

5. खञ्चा "to be raised," खग्चा "to raise."

1. Skr. √ अंव "break," vii. अनिह्ना, Pa. अंवति, Pr. अंवर्; ज becomes in S. ज, hence अज, Pass. अव्यति, Pr. अव्यर्, S. अव् (क्य = व्,), H. अंव and अव,

पुरुषातन भन्ने कित्ति हान ॥

- "Manliness is broken, fame destroyed."—Chand, Pr. R. i. 172.
 P. मक, G. भांब.
- 2. Skr. √ अख्य or भूब्, i. भ्रवंते, vi. भूख्यति, Pa. भ्रद्धाति. Pr. would probably be भुवह. I have not met the word, भुंबह (Bhâg. 278) is from भुंब "to enjoy," S. भुष्म postulates a Pr. भुंब. In the other languages the a occurs. H. भुष "to fry," and भूष, P. भुद्ध, G. भुष्म, M. भाष, but also भुंब, O. भाष, B. id., Pass. भुष्यते, which would give Pr. भुष्यह, whence S. भुष्क, but the whole stem is somewhat obscure. P. भुष्यह.
- 3. Skr. √ छिद् "cleave," vii. क्षिमत्ति, Pa. क्षिन्द्रित, Pr. क्षिन्द्र्र् (Var. viii. 38), whence S. क्षिम by the process रम = र्षड़ा (Vol. I. p. 299), Pass. क्षित्रते, Pa. क्षिञ्जति, Pr. क्षिञ्जर्, S. क्षित्र.
- 4. Skr. √ शु "hear," which, as already explained, is always सुद्ध in Prakrit and in modern languages. Pass. श्रूयते, Pa. सूयति or सुद्धाति, Pr. generally सुनिद्धाइ (Var. viii. 57), also सुद्धाइ, but a form सुद्धाइ is also possible, whence S. सुद्धा.

5. Skr. √ स्तंद "rise," i. स्तंदति, which would give a Pr. खण्डर्, whence S. खण्, Pass. स्तंबते. Pr. खज्जर्, S. खज्. This stem does not seem to occur in the other languages, it is peculiar to S., and must not be confounded with खण्णु "to dig," from Skr. √ खण्, nor with Skr. खण्ड् "to divide."

(5.) Neuter in \(\mathbf{H}\).

Active in T.

1. कुसण् " to be slain,"

कुर्ण " to slay."

2. गसण् " to be rubbed."

गहणु " to rub."

3. चूस्यु " to be scorched."

बूहणु "to scorch." सहस्यु "to inflict loss."

4. मुस्यु "to suffer loss." मु

1. Skr. √ हाष् and जुष् "tear" "drag," i. जुष्ति, Pr. जुसइ, S. जुइ, (स=इ, Vol. I. p. 250), Pass. जुष्यते, Pr. would be जुस्सइ, whence S. जुस, by rejection of one s. Persian گشتن "to kill."

2. Skr. √ घृष् "rub," i. घषंति, Pr. घसइ, S. ग्रह, Pass. घृष्टते, Pr. घसइ and घसाइ, S. ग्रस. The other languages have a different series of stems. H. घस and घिस, n and a, घसीट, a, P. id., G. घस and घसइ, a, M. घास, घसट, घांस n and a, O. B. घस.

3. Skr. √ जूष् "burn," i. जूषित, Pr. जूसर्, S. जूर्, Pass. जूखते, Pr. जूसर्, S. जूस.

4. Skr. √ मुष् "rob," i. मुषति, Pa. मुसति, Pr. मुसर्, S. मुह, Pass. मुखते, Pr. मुसर्, S. मुस.

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

(6.) Neuter in U.

Active in T.

कुपगु "to be touched,"

कुह्या " to touch."

Skr. √ कुप "touch," i. कुपति, Pa. id., Pr. कुपर. प being unsupported goes out and इ is employed to fill up the hiatus, giving S. कुइ. Pass. कुपते, Pr. कुप्पर्, whence S. कुप, by rejection of one प. In the other languages only the active is found. Old-H. कुइ, H. कू, P. कुइ and कूइ, G. कु, क्, , को, O. कं, B. id.

§ 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 Z, while that of the active is the sonant 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.

NEUTER.	ACTIVE.
1. कुर "get loose,"	क्रोड "set free."
2. दुर (तुर) " fall in pieces,"	टोड (तोड) "break."
3. फर "burst, split,"	पाउ " tear."
4. फिट "be discharged,"	पेड " discharged."
5. पुर "be squashed,"	फोर "squash."
6. जुट "he joined,"	बोद "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. √ छुट् (also चुट्, चुंट Westergaard, Rad. Skr. p. 128) "to cut," vi. छुटति, but the Bhû type would be छोटति, Pr. छोडर, H. छोड, and so in all except M., which has सोड, with its usual change of छ 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. छुटुर, whence H. छुट, and so in all, but 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. √ कृद् "vomit," vii. कृषाित, also i. क्दिति and x. क्दियति, Pa. क्डुति, Pr. क्डुइ and कंडइ, Old H. कंड, P. क्डु, B. क्राइ, O. id., H. क्राइ, M. सांड. These words all mean "to reject, abandon," and thus

come round to the same meaning as sit, with which in consequence B. confuses it. So does Oriya. Even so early as Pali the meaning has passed over from that of vomiting to rejecting, releasing and the like. In modern H., however, sitem retains the meaning of vomiting, and M.

His means "to spill," with secondary senses of "giving up," "letting go."

- 2. Skr. √ बुट् "break" (n), i. बुटति, iv. बुट्यति, Pr. तुड्ड, 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 बोटयति, H. तोड, and so in all but S. टोड. It is active, meaning "to break in pieces, tear, smash."
- 3. Skr. √ स्कट् has three forms, each of which has left modern descendants, and there is a different shade of meaning to each of the three groups.
 - (a) √ स्कट् "split," i. स्कटित, Pa. फर्ति and फलित (ट = ड = ल),
 Pr. फलर् and फटर्, H. फट (rustic फाट), P. S. फट and फाट,
 the rest only फाट, neuter.
 - Causal स्काटयित, Pr. फाइंड्, H. फाइ and so in all. This group with stem-vowel A indicates the splitting, cleaving, or rending asunder of rigid objects. Thus we say in H. काउ धूप में फटे "the wood splits, or cracks, in the sun," but काउ को टांगी से फाइं "he cleaves the wood with an axe."
 - (b) √ स्किट् "hurt," x. स्किटचित, but also vi. स्किटित, Pr. फिटर्, H. फिट, and so in all but P. फिट, neuter.
 - Causal स्केटचित, Pr. फेट्ट and फेडर, H. फेट, फेंट and फेड, 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) √ स्फ़ुट "burst open," i. स्कोटति, vi. स्कुटति, Pa. फुटति,

Pr. पुदुद् or पुदुद् (Var. viii. 53), H. पुट and पूट, all the rest पुट, except P. पुट, neuter.

Causal स्कोटयित, Pr. फोरेड्, H. फोर, and so on in all but B. फोट. 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 डोबे फुटबे "the eyeballs burst."

6. Skr. √ जुट or जुट, a somewhat doubtful root, looking like a secondary formation from युज्. 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. जुटति, जुटति. Pa. and Pr. de not appear to know this root, which, however, is very common in the moderns. H. जुट "to be joined," also जुट, and so in all.

Causal बोटयित, H. बोड, and so in all except P. बुटु and बुट, 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. √ तृ "cross over," i. तर्ति, Pa. id., Pr. तर्र, in all तर # "to be crossed over," metaphorically "to be saved."

Causal तार्यति "to take one across, save," Pa. तार्ति, Pr. तार्द् and तीरेद् (Var. viii. 70). In all तार "to save." The word is one which belongs chiefly to religious poetry, but its compound form with उद is a word of every-day use; viz.

2. Skr. √ उत्तृ, Pres. उत्तर्ति "descend," H. उत्र, 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 ভন্মবেনি "take down," H. ভনাব, and so in all except G. and O. Active, meaning "pull down, take off, unload, discharge, cast out."
- 3. Skr. √ मृ "die," vi. स्रियते, Pa. मर्ति, Pr. मर्इ, H. मर्, and so in all.
 - Causal सार्वित, Pa. सार्पिति, Pr. सार्द्, H. सार् in all, but not necessarily meaning "to kill." It rather means "to beat"; the sense of killing is generally expressed by adding to सार् the ancillary दाद "throw" (see § 72, 12).
- 4. Skr. √ सु "move," i. सर्ति, Pr. सर्इ. In H. सर् 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 गला "that affair is done with."
 - Causal सार्थित, Pr. सार्द, H. सार "to finish," and in all. In O. this verb becomes ancillary (see § 72).
- 5. Skr. √ इ "seize," i. इर्ति, Pa. id., Pr. इर्इ. This verb is peculiar. H. इर्a, "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. इर means first to carry off, then to win. In this sense it is active, as त्याचे पहिच्या दावास ग्रंभर इपये मांडले ते न्यां इर्ले "In the first game he staked 100 rupees, that I won." When used as a neuter, it means to lose, as नी वाड इरलों "I lost the lawsuit."
 - Causal हार्यति, Pa. हार्पिति and हार्ति, Pr. हार्ट्, H. हार्, and so in all but M. so. In these languages it means to lose at play, etc.
 M. is here also somewhat difficult, and Molesworth admits that हार्
 and हर are sometimes confused. Thus it is active in the sense of

¹ See Molesworth's Marathi Dict. s. v. 👸 and 📆.

winning, as न्यां खाचे श्रभर च्पये हार्चे "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 Samvahaka says: आष्ट्रेषावाम्या द्वाग्यका कृदे हासिहं (Skr. भागधियविश्वसत्या द्वागुवर्णकं कृते हारितं 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 हर in the sense of winning, and हार in that of losing; which usage would be more in unison with that of the cognate languages. In Kash. hárun 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. √ सार् and सुन्द् "tremble," i. सान्ति, Pa. प्राति, Pr. पुर्द्. If I am right in my derivation, there must either have been a third root सिन्द् (as in साद, सिन्द्, सुन्द्), or the moderns have softened a to i, the former is the more probable. H. पिन्द 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 सिन्द्, that all the moderns have पिद् a "to turn (a thing) round," "to make it revolve."
- 2. Skr. √ घूर्ण "to move to and fro" (n). Allied to this is घुस, i. घोषात, apparently unknown in Pali, Pr. घोषाइ, H. घुस, P. M. घुस, B. घुस, meaning to be dissolved by stirring in water, as sugar or similar substances, "to melt."

Causal घोषायति, Pr. घोषाइ, H. घोषा, P. घोषा and घोळ, G. M. O. घोळ, B. घोषा "to dissolve substances in water."

3. Skr. √ पत् "fall," i. पत्ति, Pa. id., Pr. पहरू (Var. viii. 51), H. एड "to fall," and so in all.

Causal पातयति, Pa. पातिति, Pr. पाउँद्, H. पाउँ "to fell," and so in S. G. M. B., but somewhat rare in all.

4. Skr. √ श्रृद् "decay," i. and vi. श्रीयते, Pr. सुड्र (Var. viii. 51), H. सुड्, and in all "to rot."

Causal भाइयति, Pr. साउँद्, P. and S. साउ "to destroy by decomposition." This root is perhaps connected with Sanskrit √ भ्र्
"to be sick," whence उ in Prakrit and the moderns.

5. Skr. √ नम् "bow," i. नमते. It is both a and n in Sanskrit, but strictly would be active intransitive, as in the moderns. Pa. नमित, Pr. स्वस्, H. नम and नेव, P. नेउ (neü), S. नंवं, B. नू, O. नुंइ, नोइ (ŏ) "to bow oneself down," "to prostrate oneself."

Causal नामयित, Pa. नामित, Pr. गामिइ, H. नाव, ना, P. निवा, S. नंवा, B. नाम, नुया, O. नुम्नाइ "to bow or bend," used as an active with the words "body" or "head" as objects, H. सीस नावना "to incline the head." द्वार माइ पद नायेच 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. चोण्ड (p.p.p. चोण्डो = चवनत, Hâla, 9, Mr. p. 165), M. चोण्ड and चोण्डि n "to stoop." Perhaps S. चोना "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. √ छष् "drag," i. कर्षति and vi. छषति, Pa. कडुति, Pr. कर्सिइ, so, at least, says Var. viii. 11, but in Mr. 253 occurs कट्टामि = कर्षामि. The Skr. p.p.p is छष, which would give Pa. and Pr. कडु. Perhaps this is another instance of a verb derived from p.p.p. H. काइ a, "to drag

¹ Hemachandra gives six popular equivalents of kṛsh—kaḍḍhaï, sâaḍḍhaï, anchaï, aṇachchhaï, ayanchaï, and âinchaï, as well as karisaï.—Pischel, Hem. iv. 187. With regard to the four last, see the remarks on khainch in § 22.

out," "extract," "to take something out" (from a box, etc.), P. बड़ and खड़, S. खड़, G. B. खाड, M. O. खाड. H. has a corresponding neuter खड "to be taken out," "to flow forth," "issue," which is perhaps from the p.p.p. Var. viii. 40, gives Pr. वेड्ड = Skr. वेड्डत, which affords an analogy for a Pr. खड़्ड like the Pali, very much used in the compound with जिस; thus—

Skr. निष्कृष्, i. निष्कृषेति, Pa. रिक्कडुति "to turn out of doors, expel;" as to Pr. in Mr. 354 occurs furga "begone!" and in the line above विक्रा नेहि "turn him out." For the change of डू to ज्ञ, Var. viii. 41 বরীয়ার = বরীষ্টানি affords an analogy, as the change in both words occurs only in composition. Several of the moderns have pairs of words, thus: H. निवस *, "go out," P. निक्कत, S. निविद, G. निवत, O. निवित, and H. निकास a, "turn out," P. निकाल, S. निकार, निकेर. In the above quoted passages of Mr., the scholiast renders निक्रवासिंह by निष्काश्चय, erroneously for निष्कासय, from निस् and कस्, but this is not the etymological equivalent, for √ क्स with निस has left a separate set of descendants, whose meaning is, however, almost the same as nikal and its group. Thus we find H. निकस s, "go out," P. निक्रस, G. id., and H. निकास a, "to turn out," often used in a milder sense, "to bring out," the substantive जिकास is frequently used to mean the issue or completion of a business, also as a place of exit, as पानी का निकास नहीं "there is no exit for the water," P. जिल्लास.

§ 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. $\sqrt{\pi \eta}$ "heat," i. तपति, Pa. id., Pr. तवड्. In Sanskrit it is both a and n, so also in Pali. In the latter the passive तप्पति (Skr. तपति) means to be distressed, to suffer, and in this sense Pr. uses तवड्, as in

jaha diṭṭho tavai khalo, "as the bad man is distressed when seen" (Hâla, 229). Causal तापचित "to cause to burn," Pa. तापित "to distress," Pr. ताचर. The moderns take it as a neuter. H. तप् अ, "to be heated, to glow," and so in all but B. ताप. H. ताव "to beat," P. ताच, ता, G. ताव, M. id., B. तावा.

Skr. √ बिए "smear," vi. बिस्पति, Pa. id., Pr. बिएइ, बिवइ, H. बीए, केए, P. बिए, किस, बिस्म, S. बिंब, बिस, G. बिए, M. बेए, B. बेए, O. बिए. Pass. बिएते, Pa. बिएति, Pr. बिएएइ, H. बिए"to be smeared with," M. बिए, G. बेए, which is the reverse of the others.

Skr. √ छत् "cut," vi. ह्रन्ति, also i. कर्तते, Pa. not given. If the Bhû type be taken, as it generally is, then Pr. should have कहुन् (on the analogy of बहुन् = वर्त्तते). I have not met with it. The Bhû type being Atmanepada would result in a modern neuter, thus we get H. बहु "to be cut," P. बहु, S. बहु, M. id., B. बहु "to wither," become flaccid, O. बहु. The causal is कर्त्तरि, whence G. pass. intrans. (-1) बहु, but if formed on the usual type would give a Pr. कार्ट्स, whence H. कार "to cut," S. M. B. O. id.

Skr. √ यघ् यन् "tie," i. यंखति, ix. यद्याति, Pa. गंखति, गंधिति, Pr. गंडर्. Hence H. G. गांड a, "to knot," P. गंड, गड्डु, S. गंड, M. गांड, गांख, both a and a, G. गांड a, B. गांत, गांच, O. गांड. Passive यन्त्रते used in a reflexive sense, whence H. गंड "to be knotted," or गड without anuswara, P. गड, G. गडा (—1). H. has also forms गंच a, and गांच a, the former from Pr. गंच, Mr. 157.

The p.p.p. यश्वित appears in Pr. as गुत्वो, perhaps as if from a Skr. गृथित. Hence we have a pair of verbs, H. गृथ "to be threaded (as beads on a string)," P. गृत्व "to be tightly plaited (as hair), to be strong, well-knit (as limbs)," M. गृत and गृथ "to become tangled, to be difficult or involved (an affair)," G. गृथा, and H. गृथ "to thread," G. गृथा.

Skr. √ टब् "totter," i. टब्रित (perhaps connected with √ च्छ titubare, see Vol. I. p. 210). I have not found it in Pr.; it is s in Skr. and thus

H. टब n, "to give way, yield, totter," P. G. M. टळ, S. टिब, टर्, B. टब "to slip, stagger," O. टळ id. Causal टाबयित, H. टाब a, "to drive away," टेब "to push," P. टाळ, G. M. id., S. टार्, B. टाब "to delay, put off, evade," O. टाळ id.

Skr. √ तुस्, तूस "raise," "weigh," i. तोस्ति, x. तुस्यति and तोस्य°, Pa. तुस्ति, Pr. तुस्द्, H. तोस्, तौस्व, "to weigh," P. तोस्न, S. तोर, G. id., M. तुळ, both a and n, B. तोसा and तुस्त, O. तौस. Pass. तुस्ति, would be Pr. तुस्त्, H. तुस्त n, "to be weighed, to weigh," i.e. to be of a certain weight, P. id., S. तुर, B. O. तुस्त.

Skr. √ खास "prop," v. खारनोति, ix. खारनाति. Pa., the verb is not given in Childers, it would be खंसति, Pr. खंसर्, H. खांस, also spelt खास and खांव a, "to prop, support," P. खर्सर् or खंसर्, S. खंस, G. खांस, B. खासा, O. खास. Pass. खासते; there is also an Âtmane conjugation खासते. From this latter probably H. खंस, खस, खंब n, "to be supported, to be restrained," hence "to stop, cease," P. खंस, S. खस, G. खंस, M. खस, खास, खांब. It also means "to stand," especially in G. The p.p.p. is खब्ध, Pr. खडू, whence Old-H. ठाढा "standing," as बोपी जन वोधिक है चितवित सब ठाढी ॥ "All the Gopis on the terrace standing and looking."—S. S. Bâl lila, 47, 14. On the analogy of this the modern colloquial H. खडा is probably to be derived from a Pr. खडू, from खाञ्च, √ खांस. P. has खडा adj. "standing," whence a verb खड़ "to stand."

Skr. √ वृत् with नि, निवृत्, i. निवर्त्तत "to come to an end, be finished," Pr. गिस्तद्, means "to return," na niattaï jovvanam aïkkantam = न निवर्त्तते यौवनं स्निकान्तं "Youth when once passed does not return again" (Hâla, 251), but we may postulate a form गिवटुद्, whence H. निवद्ध n, "to be finished, to be done with, used up," P. id., S. निवद्ध or निविद, B. निवद्ध, O. id. On the analogy of similar words H. निवाद, निवेद a, "to finish," P. id., S. निवेद, B. O. निवाद, it might also come from निपति = Pr. गिवदुद्द, but the meaning is less appropriate.

Skr. √ घट् with वि, विघट, i. विघटते "be destroyed," Pa. विघटति, Pr. विघड्ड. With loss of aspiration, H. विगड्ड n, "to become useless, to be spoilt," P. id., S. विगड्ड, G. बगड, M. retains the aspirate विघड, B. O. विगड. Causal विघटयित, but Pa. विघाटित, with characteristic long vowel of causal, Pr. I have not found; it would be विघाडेड, H. विगाड्ड a, "to spoil," P. S. G. id., M. विघाड.

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 Dhâtupâtha, 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. साद् a, "to load," P. सह, more from analogy than anything else, S. सह. In all the rest साद.

H. खंद n, "to be loaded;" not in the others. Bopp (Comp. Gloss. s. v.) suggests a derivation from √ अस्, p.p.p. आला "tired," or √ कास, p.p.p. आला "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. High-German 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. आला nor काला could well have given rise to a Hindi lad. It seems more probable that this is a primitive Aryan root which has, for some reason unknown to us, been left on one side by classical Sanskrit.

Of doubtful, or only partially traceable, origin, are the following:

H. खोद and खोद a, "to dig," P. id., S. खोट, खोद, G. खोद, M. खोड, खुड, B. खुइ. And H. खुइ, खुड "to be dug." With this pair I propose to connect H. खोस a, "to open," P. खोस्ह, खड़स, S. G. M. खोस, B. O. सुस, and H. सुस », "to come open," P. सुद्ध, S. सुस, G. M. id. Pr. has a verb खुड, and this root is also given in the Dhâtupâțha as existing in Sanskrit, though not apparently found in actual use. The Sanskrit form is probably \sqrt{aug} "to divide," with which another root खन "to dig," has been confused, unless, indeed, the noun खाड, "a portion," is formed from √ ख़न, and is the origin of √ ख़ाइ. The Prakrit occurs in Mr. 346, क्विम खुडिट्पार्श कश्चणकलर्श श्व दुश्चनं "Like a golden pot with its string broken, sinking in a well," where the scholiast renders क्षे खिष्डतपाशं, etc. Also in Mr. 219, अवर्ददिन अरे गोबासचहारचो 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. To dive, be immersed, sink," S. To G. To. M. B. O. id., and H. To drown, to immerse," S. id., and occurs in M. and S., not as active of To. but for How. (F) "to shave." Apparently, an inverted form of this stem is the more commonly used H. To sink," used in all; it has no corresponding active form. The origin of these words is to be found in Pr. To. (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).—Hâla, 37. The Sanskrit lexicographers give a $\sqrt{3}$ "to cover," but no instances of its use. The reversed form dubb is also in use in Prakrit, as in the quotation

¹ Buddaï = masjati.—Pischel, Hem. iv. 101.

from Mr. 346, given under above, where the speaker is a Chandâla 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, Latin mergere.

H. 최군, 최군 a, "to meet" (to join any one), 최종 a, "to close, shut," P. 최종, S. 최군 and 최종, G. 최군, M. 최종, both a and n, B. 최군, 최종, O. 최군; and H. [취종 "to stand close to, to be crowded," P. id., S. G. id., M. 최군, B. [취종 "to approach near to," O. [취종 "to be tight." The general idea is that of closeness or a crowded state. There is also a substantive 취종 "a crowd." From the meaning I was led to suppose (Vol. I. p. 176) a derivation from a Sanskrit p.p.p. অअप "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. सिट s, "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 $\sqrt{4}$ मूर्, though one would expect a Pr. सिट्ठ or सुट्ठ, and H. सीट. There are two other stems ending in Z, which present nearly the same difficulty, viz.:

H. पिट "to be beaten," ऐसा करोगे, तो पिटोगे "If you act thus, you will get a beating," P. पिटु, M. पिट, both a and s, B. and O. पिट a, and H. पीट a, "to beat," not in the others. In Prakrit there is पिटु "to beat," पिटुच एदं चेरं खिक्साकेहि "Having beaten this slave, turn him out" (Mr. 354, again in the mouth of a Chandâla), and पिटुट्गइहेख विच पुणीब चोट्टिइं "I must roll about again like a beaten jackass" (Mr. 107). Here, unless this is a non-Sanskritic old Aryan root, we can only refer to पिष्ट "ground, broken," p.p.p. of √ पिष् "to grind," but this is hardly satisfactory, as this root has a descendant, H. पीस "to grind," and पिस s, "to be ground."

H. बेट #, "to lie," "to be in a recumbent posture," and बिंड #, "to

wallow," P. खेट, खिट, S. खेट, G. M. id. Probably connected with खोट; but there does not appear to be any Prakrit root to which it can be traced. The nearest Sanskrit root is $\sqrt{3}$ "to lie down;" lottal = svapiti.—Pischel, Hem. iv. 146.

There is next to be noted a small group of stems ending in **\(\varphi\)**, concerning which also there has been some controversy.

Skr. √ क्री "buy," ix. क्रीणाति and क्रीणीते, Pa. क्रिणाति, Pr. क्रिणार, H. कीन, S. जिन्ह (is not the F here due to some confusion with Pr. गेयह = यह "take"?), B. O. किन. This is a single verb, the complications occur in the following compound with a. am "sell," ix. विक्रीणाति, Pa. विक्रिणाति, Pr. विक्रिशन, S. विक्रिण a, "to sell," O. विक, Gipsy biknava. But in H. विक is n, "to be sold, to be exposed for sale," as चावस आज सन्ता विकता "rice is selling cheap to-day." In M. बिका is both a and n, as बिकेस तसें पिकेस "when it is ripe it will sell." So also P. S. Tan, "to be sold." For the active H. has at sometimes pronounced बेंच "to sell," as आज चावस वेचता "he is selling rice to-day." P. बेच. G. बेच. B. बेच. When we remember that all verbs are prone to take the forms of the Bhû type, it is intelligible that fan should mean both "to sell" a, and "to be sold" n, for the Parasmai of the Bhû form would be विक्रयति, and the Atmane विक्रयते, and the final syllable being rejected as in $\sqrt{4}$ and $\sqrt{4}$ mentioned above, the stem resulting in both cases would be [44]. S. and Gipsy have retained the या of the Pr. विक्रिसर. But whence comes the च in बेच?

H. खेंच, commonly pronounced खेंच "to pull, drag," is a similar word. P. खिच and खिंच, G. M. खेंच, B. खेंच and खेंच, O. id. Also H. खिच я, "to be dragged," B. खिच, खिंच "to be dragged or distorted (the face), to grin, make faces, writhe," M. खिच. From the meaning we are led to think of Sanskrit √ छच "to drag," and although this root has been shown to have given rise to another pair of verbs kaph and kaph, and in composition to πi-kal and πi-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. 1

H. पुडंच "to arrive" n, written in various ways as पहुंच, पुड्च, प्रक्रक, P. प्रजंब, S. प्रज्ञच, G. पोइंच, पोंच, M. id., B. प्रजंब or प्रजंब, O. पुज्ञच. In the dialects are some curious forms, as Marwari पुन and पुन, which also occurs in Chand, and in Nepali. Chand uses also a form पहर, as दिन दीय मंद्रा नीके पहरत ॥ "In two days one easily arrives (there)." Pr. R. i. 175. In Old-Gujarati also there is a verb usin, e.g. तळ वहे नार्दने चे वखाण भाव न पहोती "Says Nala to Nârada, this story does not arrive at mind" (i.e. is not probable).-Premanad Bhat, in K. D. ii. 74. S. प्रच्या has p.p.p. प्रकृती, which latter looks as if it were from प्र+स्प, but this will not account for the च. Hoernle (Ind. Ant. i. 358) derives this word from the old Hindi adverb us "near," and ब्रुट "make," assuming a change of क 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. पुदार "to call," as the causal of प्रा, which he says was (or must have been) anciently ua. There is another possible derivation from Skr. प्राचृर्ण "a guest," which becomes in H. पाइना, but this fails to explain the final \u2213.

Some light may perhaps be thrown on the subject by some stems in the moderns ending in \mathbf{a} , for as \mathbf{a} arises from $\mathbf{z} + \mathbf{z}$, so \mathbf{a} arises from $\mathbf{z} + \mathbf{z}$ (Vol. I. p. 326). Thus:

H. भेष a, "send," P. id. Here we have Skr. √ भिड् "cleave," "separate." Causal भेड्यति, which would make a passive भेषते "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

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¹ See note to Kṛsh in § 20. The cognate verb ainchná is also in use in the moderns.

and y; or, taking the simple passive \mathbb{A} and \mathbb{A} , we may assume that there was a neuter \mathbb{A} a "to be sent," from which the active \mathbb{A} a "to send," has been formed; bhij, however, is not found.

H. बज n, "to sound," P. id., S. चग् and चज्, G. चज, M. वाज, B. id. Also H. बाज a, "to play (music)," and n, "to sound." Probably from Skr. √ वह "speak," causal वाह्यति, Pa. वहति and चहित, the passive of the causal is Skr. वाजते, Pa. वज्जति "to be beaten," i.e. "to be caused to speak," as vajjanti bheriyo "drums are beaten." Hence the modern bdj. The short form baj is apparently due to analogy.

§ 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 Bhû 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, mar.

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. atz, if treated as a neuter, would be conjugated thus: Present ganthato, Past ganthala Future ganthel, 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 again "to grow big," "increase," makes its active active active its make big," and rustic and poetical Hindi often uses बाडना for the neuter, as ऐसी देव प्रकट गोवर्जन। जाके पूजे बाढे गोधन॥ "Such a god is manifest in Govardhana, from the worship of whom wealth of cattle increases."—S.S. Govardhanlilâ, ii. 15, et passim. So also बादत विद्यम मुनासक सूत॥ "It grows 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 a 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, § 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." चांब "mark, test." चंबा "be tested." सांभळ "hear," संभळा "be heard."

The shortening does not always take place when the included vowel is i or 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—

মীঝ "learn," মীঝা (মিঝা) "be learnt." মীঝ "sew," মীঝা (মিঝা) "be sewn."

न्हा "wash," न्ह्वा "be washed." खा "eat," खा "be eaten." बिही ॥ "fear," बिही वा "be feared."

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.

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. a simple passive, रामची रावण मरायो "Râvana was killed by Râma," मा बेतर मां की ववायुं "In this field seed has been sown;" as expressing habit, एवं कहेवाय के खर "thus it is correctly said," i.e. "this is the correct way of expressing it;" भा क्रोकरो मुर्ख जणायके "this boy is (usually) thought to be stupid;" as expressing power or fitness, तेनाथी चनाय नहीं "he cannot walk," literally "by him it is not walked;" राजा थी चनाय नराय नहि "a king cannot (or must not) do injustice;" क्वो सभडायो माटे एनं पाणी पीवाय निह "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 abhadayo in the sentence just quoted, which means "to be ceremonially impure," and points back to a Sanskrit denominative, as though from w "not," and we "good," there had been formed a verb समद्वायते "it is not good." So also वपरावं "to be used," "to be in use," as एक चर्च ना ने प्रखय वपराय के "two affixes are in use with one meaning," postulates from खापार, a denominative खापारायते, or perhaps the causal of $\mathbf{q} + \mathbf{q} + \mathbf{q} = \mathbf{q} + \mathbf{q}$. 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 भीमक सुता नुं वदन सुधाकर देखीने शोभाय। चन्द्रमा तो चीण पामी भाभमां 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."—Premanand in K.-D. ii. 74. Here with is "to be beautiful," and looks like a denominative, but संताय has more of a passive or reflexive meaning, "to be hidden," "to hide oneself." Again, इमयंती नं उदर देखी

सुवायं सरीवर "Seeing the belly of Damayanti, the lake dried up," (ib. ii. 75), literally "was dried up." So also घर बाउड़ त्यारे क्वी खोदावे ए चपि केम चोसवाय। "When the house has caught (fire), he has a well dug, how can this fire be put out?" -K.-D. i. 184. The verb when is also written sine, and is probably the same as O. wist "to descend, alight," M. witco "to trickle, flow down," which I take to be from $\mathbf{u}\mathbf{q} + \mathbf{q} =$ चपसरति, Pr. चोशसर (Mâgadhi), and with change of स to ह = चोहत. It is used in the sense of removing oneself, thus: चने से चोश्रमध "ho there! get out of the way!" (Mr. 210), and causal चोशासिदा मए शुचरा "I have got the cart out of the way," (ib. 211) = Skr. wyer(a). This phrase is conjugated throughout all the tenses, thus खोबावं "to be lost." Present खोवाए "he is lost," Future खोवाशे "he will be lost," Preterite खोवाची, खोवाची, or खोवाएको हे "he has been lost," and in active verbs it is used in the Bhava-prayoga, as a sort of potential, as तेनाची छोडाय "he can loose," तेनाची छोडायो "he could loose," तेनाची कोदाशे "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 प्रवर "seize," प्रवरा "be seized," as हम प्रवरादत वा "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 वस विदे वसहि मुकायस "As water poured out on the ground is dried up."—Pad. 984. धरवी सोटायस गोकुसपोट्! "(He who is) the moon of Gokul rolled himself on the earth."—P.K.S. 77. वसु दंदीवर पर्वने पेसिस परि अर्थ उत्तराय! "As a lotus pressed down by the wind is tilted by the weight of bees" (var. lect. भूरि= by a swarm).—Pad. 1352.

¹ This is equivalent in meaning to our English saying, "When the steed is stolen, sbut the stable door."

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 ta or ia, Skr. GIGA = Pr. GITTE; and it is supposed that this thas become wa, and subsequently will, 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 ijja (Var. viii. 58, 59). Thus Skr. grüyate = sunijjai, gamyate = gamijjai, hasyate = hasijjai. In Sindhi the passive is formed by adding a or a to the neuter or active stem. Thus—

पूर्यु "to bury," Passive पूर्जमु "to be buried." घटमु "to lessen," , घटिनमु "to be lessened."

A passive is also made from causal stems, as-

विभाइत् "to lose," Passive विभाइता "to be lost."

Here, also, we find denominatives which have no corresponding active form, and have scarcely a passive sense, as settles any "to long for," where the causal termination used in Sanskrit for denominatives appears to have been confused with the ijja of the passive. Thus Skr. seems "longing," makes a verb season "to long for," whence the Sindhi ukhandijanu. So also sintending "to be entangled," which seems to be from Skr. seems, or useft "a finger," whence we may suppose a verb

¹ Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 258.

भहुर्यति "to be intertwined (like the fingers of clasped hands);" दिनवेशु "to be angry," from दमद "anger," Skr. दमर् "uproar," of which the denominative would be दमर्थति.

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

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पीउ "drink thou," पिश्वमु "to drink," पीत्रमु "to be drunk."
पूउ "thread thou," पुश्चमु "to thread," पूर्वमु "to be threaded."
धोउ "wash thou," धुश्चमु "to wash," धोर्वमु "to be washed."
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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—

बर् यो " to do,"	बरीजणो " to be done."
खावणो "to eat,"	खवीवणी "to be eaten."
लेखी "to take,"	सिरीजणी "to be taken."
देणी "to give,"	दिरीजणो " to be given."
भावणी "to come,"	चवीवगी "to be come."

Thus they say नहें सुं चवीजे नहीं = H. मुद्द से चाया नहीं जाता "by me it is not come," i.e. "I am not coming." या सुं खवीजेलो नहीं = H. तुम से नहीं खाया जायगा "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 τ instead of τ in τ and τ 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 ia, as

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.

mentioned above. This form of the passive is only used in a few tenses, thus सार्गा "to beat," Passive present में सारीदा "I am beaten," Future में सारीचांगा "I shall be beaten," Potential (old present) में सारीचां "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 at "to go," to the past participle of the passive, and doing all the conjugational work, and the participle merely varying for number and gender.

Thus from मार "beat," H. Sing. मारा जाना "to be beaten" m., नारी जाना f., Plur. मारे जाना m., मारी जाना f., P. मारिजा जाना m., मारी जाना f., P. मारिजा जाना m., मारी f., Plur. मारे m., मारीजा f. Gujarati also uses this method side by side with the passive intransitive, as मार्थी जवं "to be beaten," with the participle varied for gender and number as in the others. M. मारिजा जायें, B. मारा जारते, O. मारा जिजा. 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 बांधकी होती "the cow was tied," and G. यंच करों हे "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 sign "to go," to form a passive, seems somewhat unnatural; gign "to be," would occur as the most fitting verb for this purpose. I am tempted to hazard a conjecture that the use of sign in this way has arisen from the Prakrit passive form in ijja. 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 st of the common word st, which would lead them to consider the verbal stem preceding it as a passive participle. Thus a form stress "he is beaten," would easily pass into stress 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 un, modern Aryan un) to an infinitive or noun of quality. This process, however, is as strained and foreign to elegant speech as the construction with ja 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 सार 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

¹ Caldwell, pp. 353, 364 (first edition).

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, √ व "do," causal कार्यति. There is, however, in Sanskrit a small class of verbs which form the causal by inserting q 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 T has been extended to a very large number of stems, in fact to nearly every verb in those lan-In Pali, however, its use is optional, thus \sqrt{qq} "cook," causal pacheti, pachayati, pachapeti, pachapayati.1 In Prakrit, also, there are the two processes, by the first of which the aya of Sanskrit becomes e, thus $\mathbf{a}_{1} \in \mathbf{r}$. $\mathbf{a}_{1} \in \mathbf{r}$. हासयति = हासेइ (Var. vii. 26), and by the second the inserted प is softened to व, thus giving करावेद or कारावेद (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 kârâveï is frequently omitted, as it is also in kâreï, and we find such forms as kâraï, târaï, side by side with kârâvaï (Weber, Hala, p. 60), so that there remains only åv 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-

¹ Kaccâyana, Senart, Journal Asiatique, vol. xvii. p. 436.

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 dictionary-maker, 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, iva, iva, avi, ava, avi, and one sees at a glance that they are all derived from one source, the causal with **q**, modified in Prakrit to **q**. The difficulty lies in Where one authority gives a causal in ava to a the vowels. particular verb, another makes the causal of that same verb by adding ira, 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 & as the causal suffix, the junction vowel used is either i, as B. karå-i-te, O. karå-i-bå, S. kará-i-nu, or u, as Old-H. kará-u-ná, P. kará-u-ná, or hardened to va, as G. kard-va-vun. Dismissing, then, the final vowel as unconnected with the suffix, we get for Marathi four types, av, av, iv, iv. Of these four av 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, iv, 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

कर्यों "to do," कर्व्यों, कराव्यों, करिव्यों, करीव्यों; also कर्वियों, and करीव्यों "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," मिळव (junction vowel इ) "mix."

निज "sleep," निजव "put to sleep," "soothe."

Those from actives are causal in meaning, as

मार् "strike," मार्व "cause to strike."

श्चित " teach," श्वित्व " cause to teach."

Those from passive intransitives are passive causals, as

फिर् "turn" (i.e. be turned), फिर्व "cause to be turned." कर "be cut," कराव "cause to be cut."

Simple roots ending in vowels insert a v between the stem and the suffix to avoid hiatus, as

खा "eat," खावव (junction vowel इ) "cause to eat."

So also with roots ending in T, as

बिहु "write," बिहुवव "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-

¹ Godbole's Marathi Grammar, p. 102, § 279.

guages have passed by. The following are examples of the causal in these latter:

चिद्ध "write," H. P. B. O. S. चिद्धा "cause to write," (H. Pres. likhdtd, Pret. likhdyd, Aor. likhde, or likhdy, or likhdve.)

पठ "read," id. पठा "cause to read." सुन "hear," id. 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

बह्ना "be made," बनाना "make."
बोसना "speak," बुझाना "call" (i.e. "cause to speak.")
चलना "move," च्छाना "drive."
जानना "be awake," जगाना "awaken."
उठना "rise," उठाना "raise."
पक्कना "be cooked." पक्काना "cook."

So also in the case of double verbs given in §§ 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. 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 v of Skr. as gamyate = gammai,

a second in ta, as gamyate = gamtadi, and a third in ijja, as gamyate = gamijjadi. 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 § 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 guṇa vowel in the stem, has become in the moderns an active verb, as harayati = harei = har; trotayati = torei = tor; while that which takes the \mathbf{q} causal is preserved as the ordinary causal of the moderns, as karayati (karapayati) = karavei = kara.

Often, however, both forms exist together, and there is little or no apparent distinction between them; thus from uzer are made both uzer and uzer, from even are made even and even and so in many other instances.

The causal, properly so called, namely, that with the suffix \hat{a} , $\hat{a}v$, 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

NEUTER.	ACTIVE.	CAUSAL.
तप	ताव	तपा
घल	घोस	घसा

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 बोखना and बुखाना, जागना and जगाना 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{a} , i, or e, into i, if \hat{u} or o, into u. The semivowel

used is sometimes व or र, but more commonly च. Thus, बेना "to take," सिवाना "to cause to take," but—

H. देना "give,"	दिसाना " cause to give."
जीगा " live,"	विसाना " cause to live."
पी ना " drink,"	पिसाना "give to drink."
खाना "eat,"	खिसाना "feed."
धोना " wash,"	धुसाना " cause to wash."
सोना "sleep,"	सुसाना "put to sleep."
रो ना "weep,"	च्याना "make to weep."

In a few cases of stems ending in ξ , or in aspirates, the ξ is optionally inserted, as

н. ч	बह्ना " say,"	वहाना	and	वहसाना "cause to say,
				"be called."
;	देखना "see,"	दिखाना	,,	दिखनाना "show."
1	धीखना "learn,"	सिखाना	,,	सिखनाना "teach."
•	बैठना " sit,"	विठाना (or बै॰)	,,	विठलाना (वै॰) " seat."

A similar method exists in Sindhi, but with τ instead of τ , as is customary with that language, as 1

डिच्चणु "give,"	िस्त्रार्यु " cause to give."
चुचा " leak,"	चुत्रार्गु " cause to leak."
विद्यु "sit,"	विहारणु "seat."
सिख्यु " learn,"	सिखारणु " teach."
उथगु " rise,"	उचार्गु "raise."
सुस्हणु "sleep,"	सुन्हार्णु " put to sleep."

Here the τ 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 dikhârnâ "to show," and even in modern colloquial usage baithâlnâ is quite as common

¹ Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 256.

as bithlana. Gujarati forms its causal in an analogous way, but uses T instead of T, as

धाववुं "suck,"	धवाउवु "give suck."
ग्रीववुं "sew,"	श्रीवादवुं "cause to sew."
वागर्व "sound,"	वगाइवुं "strike" (a bell, etc.)

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

चा (चवुं) " be,"	चवाउवुं "cause to be."
खावं "eat,"	खबादवुं " feed."
देवुं " give,"	देवा दुवं " cause to give."
सेह्वं "endure,"	सेह्वाडवुं "cause to endure."
कोइवुं "rot,"	कोहवादनुं " cause to rot."

This language, like Hindi, also reverses the position of the long vowel of the causal suffix, and uses such forms as dhavarar, khavarar, with change of T to T.

There is nothing remarkable about the Panjabi causal, which is identical with Old Hindi, merely retaining the junction vowel u, as $khil\hat{a}-u-n\hat{a}$, $dikh\hat{a}-u-n\hat{a}$. In both these languages the old form au has, in a few instances, changed to o instead of a, as

Bengali and Oriya have only the causal form in *d* with junction vowel *i*, as B. *kard-i-te*, Q. *kard-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 *âve*, and exhibiting the forms *âva*, *ava*, *iva*, *âv*, *âv*, *âu*, *o*, *â*; the other starting, I know

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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 dr, dd, dl, rd, ld. Whether these two forms are connected by an interchange between the two semivowels l and r, 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 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. at. P. ats. in which we should, I think, recognize the syllable dv of the single causal shortened, and another dv added to it, thus from sun "hear," comes causal suna, "cause to hear," "tell," double causal sunva,1 "cause to cause to hear," "cause to tell;" here, as sund is from sunvâ. This double or passive causal is in use mostly with neuter and active intransitive stems, whose single causal is naturally an active, as बनना "be made," बनाना "make," बनवाना "cause to be made." Thus they say, बढ बनता "The fort is being built;" चवर गढ बनाता "The architect is building the fort;" and राजा चवर के दारा गढ बनवाता "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 बनवाना in any other way than by putting "architect"



¹ Generally, the semivowel in this form is pronounced softly, almost like the English w, so that sunwand would more nearly represent the sound than sunvand. The v, however, in all Indian languages is a softer sound than our v.

in the ablative with **\(\) (T)** or **\(\)**. 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

चढ "rise," चढा "raise" (i.e. "cause to be raised" to rise"), (i.e. "cause A to cause B to rise").

बढ "be cut," बाढ "cut," बढ़वा "cause to cut."
बुक्क "be open," खोक "open," खुक्कवा "cause to open."

In double verbs, like those just quoted, however, the single causal in â may be used, as **azī** "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 rd (Trumpp, 257), as

विर्च "be weary," विर्चा "make weary, tire," विर्चारा "cause to make weary."

चा "wound," चारा "cause to wound," घारारा "cause to cause to wound, or cause (another) to be wounded."

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

सद "be on fire," साद "burn," सादा "cause to hurn," मादाद्व "be caused to be burnt."

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

WITTER "to cause (another) to suckle," double caus.; WITTERS "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—

सुन्हार्यु "to put to sleep," सुन्हाराह्यु "to cause to put to sleep." उथार्यु "to raise," उथाराह्यु "to cause to raise "(H. उठवाना).

§ 28. Although the suffixed syllables shown in § 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:

NEUTER.	ACTIVE.
उद्गामगु "to be extinguished,"	उद्गार्गु "to extinguish."
उड़ामणु " to fly,"	उड़ार्यु " to make fly, to spend."
जापण } "to be born,"	वयसु " to bring forth."
क्रापणु " to be satisted,"	द्रार्यु " to satiate."
खामणु " to be on fire,"	खार्गु " to burn."
मापबु } "to be contained,"	मार्यु "to contain."
विद्वासंगु "to be passed, to pass" (as time),	विहार्यु " to pass the time."
हपासणु "to grow less,"	इपार्यु " to lessen."

In this group the neuter stems have the type apa and ama, which, if we regard them as derived from the Prakrit type abe 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 array "to contain," rather, "to go into," Skr. In "to measure;" but array, Skr. caus. Array "to cause to measure," where, by a natural inversion of the sense, the causal has become neuter. In the case of array the process by which the meaning has been arrived at from Sanskrit I are 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—

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H. खिसाना "to be abashed," "to shrink away."
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खियाना "to be worn out."

खुजसाना "to itch."

घवराना " to be agitated," "to be in fear" P. घवराउणा.

घमाना " to bask in the sun."

चंच्याना "to tremble," "to be unsteady." P. id.

P. घ्रवाउया "to grow soft" (a scar).

कुन्ह्आणा "to wither," to grow flaccid." P. id.

In words of this class, also, a syllable \overline{q} is often inserted, as

खिसियाना "to grin."

P. खिखित्राउगा 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

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—

कडका "a cracking or crashing sound;" कडकाविंगें "to crack, crash;" कडकाविंगें "to roar at," "to make a crashing noise."

कमता (from Persian ८) "deficient," कमतावर्षे "to grow less." करकर् "a grating sound," करकराविषे "to grind the teeth." कांचा (Skr.) "doubt," कांक्साविषे "to be doubtful."

—but this may also be formed from the two words का "why?" क्सा "how?" and would thus mean "to why-and-how," "to hum and ha;" just as they use in Urdu the phrase لَيت رَلَعَلَ كُرنا to prevaricate," literally to make "would that!" and "perhaps."

A distinction may apparently be drawn in many cases between forms in dva and those in dvi, the former being rather denominatives, and as such neuter, while the latter are causals. Thus from बोर्बा "little," "few," बोर्बावर्ण "to grow less," and बोर्बाविर्ण "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, उर्वावर्ण n, "to bellow," "bluster," and उर्वावर्ण "to frighten by bellowing;" also उर्वावर्ण "the act of roaring at," from उर्वावर्ण or उर्विर्ण "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 eq q or eq q or with the neuter 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 eq q and eq q or grow loose or slack."

Further examples are—

द्मपणु and द्मपित्रणु "to grow less;" also द्मपामणु "to decrease." सकार्त्रणु and द्मक्तित्रणु "to fade," "tarnish." मार्गु and मार्त्रणु "to be contained in."

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 aka (Vol. II. p. 31), thus Behari Lâl.

छुटी न शिशुता की सक्त सक्ति जोवन यंग ॥

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

Here the substantive सुबद्ध "glitter," "splendour" (probably formed from √ ज्वख), gives rise to a verb सुखद्धना "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. 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 -ize, -iser, or -isiren, as colonize, 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.

घासणे "to rub" (Skr. √ घृष्), secondary stems घसटणे "rub," घसर्णे "slip," घसवटणे (a potential form) "graze the skin," "be practised in" (an art or science), घसाउणे "scour" (pots), घासटणे a, "rub off, deface," n, "be rubbed," "be despoiled of." Analogous is H. घसीटना "drag."

दुवर्षों "to sink" (rarely used), दुंवर्षों, दुंभ॰, दुम॰, "to splash about in the water," दुवकर्षों id., दुवकविषें "to plunge into water," (causal) दुवकळेषें "to dip."

चांग " place," चांगार्थे " to arrange."

चाप "pat," चापटेशें "to pat," चापस्रों "to back water," "to steady a vessel by short strokes of the oars while working the sails."

दंड "stick," दंडी "to press, punish," दंडपणे "to compress," दंडावर्णे "to stiffen," compare B. डांडाइते "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 at to the primary stem being regarded as formed from nouns in a, 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.

खरखराना "to knock, pat, rap," from खरखर #. f. onomatopæa.

खरखाना "to clatter, rattle, jar," from खरव n. f. onomatopæa.

खद्खदाना "to bubble, simmer,"

खसखसाना "to rumble" (of bowels, Gk. κορκορυγέω, βορβορύζω), onamatop.

गहगहाना "to quiver," probably connected with सह q.d. "to be seized and shaken."

छ्लक्षाना "to mutter, murmur."

सुरहाना "to flap, flop," from श्रुरना "to fall off."

झणझणाना " to tinkle, jingle, clank," Skr. झणझण.

सुलझ्लाना "to glitter, glare, throb," Skr. ज्वस्?

फडफडाना "to flutter, twitch," Skr. स्कर्?

चर्थराना "to tremble, quiver," probably onomatop.

(β) with i.

खिसखिलाना "to giggle, chuckle, titter," onomatop.

गिडगिडाना "to quiver, waver" (the voice in supplication), dimly traceable to Skr. बै, बीति?

चियाचियाना "to turn sick at," from चिया "disgust," Skr. चृया; there are also verbs चियायाना, चियाना and चियाना.

चिचियाना "to squeak," onomatop.

चिनचिनाना id.

शिद्धशिताना "to rave, rage, scold."

टिटिंगाना "to twang," onomatop.

(γ) with u.

खुपखुपाना "to envy, be spiteful," perhaps from Skr. जुन् through H. खुभना and खुपना "to pierce."

गुंगुनाना "to mutter."

,चुपचुपाना "to be silent, to move about quietly," from चुप "silent."

चुसचुसागा " to itch, tickle."

तुसतुसाना " to be soft or squashy."

पुसपुसाना "to whisper," onomatop. सुरुश्राना "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 गंगनाना, चंचनाना "to throb," and even with स, as चंचलाना "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 खदखदाना, खनखनाना are found खदनदाना and खनननाना with the same meaning. So also मुलमुलाना and मुलनुलाना, 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," चरफरा "active," चरवरा "expert, alert," whence the verbs चरचराना "to crackle, to sputter, to scold," चरपराना "to smart," चरपराना "to shake, swing," चरवाना "to speak plausibly, to wheedle." Other instances are-

स्टपटाना "to toss, tumble, flounder."
स्वदाना "to be on fire."
स्विमिलाना "to flicker."
तरफडाना "to flutter."
तिरमिराना "to dazzle, glisten."
सटपटाना "to stagger."
सदवडाना "to stammer, stutter."

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 at at atom "to bang, to pop," expressing the sound of a gun going off, at atom "to pipe," as young birds. It has, however, a large number of the same words, as Hindi. Of these, the following may be cited: as a Hindi. Of these, the following may be cited: as a Hindi. The prate, sputter," analyzing "to smart," and and analyzing "to flutter," analyzing "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 were "blaze," comes we were "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 वादकार and कादकार and कादकार and कादकार and angular angular and angular and angular angular and angular angula

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 and for Skr. and "fatigued," by prefixing a shortened form of, they make inside "to be distressed, to starve," and inside "to worry, harass." From the onomatop. of "brawl," "noise," "row," comes first a reduplicated noun of the analy "to gnash the teeth," and then analy "to screech," and then analy "to gnash the teeth," and with a second syllable added, beginning

(as we have seen in H.) as such syllables often do with a labial, is the imitative substantive and expressive of "squashing," "muddling of soft substances," also of "things grating on the ear," or "being gritty in the mouth," whence वाचमणे (from वासमधी) "to dabble with mud," "to stir," "to finger." which, from a sort of remembrance of Hos "dirt," is often changed into क्यमळेणें "to make a mess by dabbling." Another imitative syllable, which it is not necessary to regard as formally derived from Sanskrit ছুর "cut," or from আছ "trouble," though the existence of these words has probably led the native mind in that direction, is az expressive of "teasing, quarrelling;" whence azazu "to wrangle, tease by squabbling," "to make harsh or cracking sounds." Allied to this is the word agage expressive of "the snapping of little things," whence area 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 a seven "to be feverish, to glow, ache," which, from some remembrance of मोड "breaking," is also pronounced कडमोडणे. 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:

क्षाक्षण "to be feverish," from क्षा and क्याक्ण "feverishness," "heat and throbbing," "cramp."

करवारी "to caw" (as a crow), from कार्वर "cawing" or any other harsh sound.

बट्टबट्टियें "to glow with heat, to be qualmish" (as the stomach), from बट्टबट्टि a word meaning "all sorts of disorders brought on by heat, or rage," possibly connected with Sanskrit ब्राह्म "dispute."

कसवसर्थों "to ache, shudder, palpitate," from व्यसवस्य "pains and aches."

कळमळेषें the same as कळकळेषें.

कळवळचें "to writhe, yearn."

विचिक्तिचें "to chatter" (as a monkey), from विचिक्तिच "any gritty or sharp clacking sound."

जुगाजुगां। "to whisper, mutter, murmur," from जुगाजुगा "low, soft murmuring."

Under other letters the following may be quoted:

सुरस्यों "to go to work smartly," from सुरस्य "smartly, quickly," connected with सूट, which in all the languages means "quick!" "look sharp!"

स्वास्यायों "to tinkle, tingle, ring."

सुळसळणें " to glitter, sparkle."

सुर्यों "to trickle, ooze, pine away."

पार्पार्शों " to twitch, flutter."

सिर्सिर् वें "to sting, be pungent."

> घुणघुणार्ते "to buzz, growl." शिवाशिक कर्ति "to blaze, glitter." टनटन क॰ "to throb, ache." टिपटिपार्ते "to fidget, twitch."

उकाउकि वा॰ "to backbite or quarrel mutually." दुकदुका वा॰ "to rap, tap." इसडब वा॰ "to sparkle, shine." घुरघुर्ति "to quiver, tremble, shake." भणभणाद्ते "to buzz, hum." भुडभुडाइते "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.

सनसन बङ्काय रयार्य नूपूर। घुनु घुनु घंघुर नोसे॥

"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 asava "to

laugh," Skr. VEE, even when the initial h has arisen from an earlier aspirated letter, as in uvâva "to become," Skr. √¥, Pr. 1. An a is also prefixed to roots, as arakava "to guard, to find," Skr. √रइ, H. रखना; and in the impersonal verb arattilotar "it is night," Skr. TIG. As might be expected, however, the Prakrit or modern form of verbal stems is that generally adopted. Thus katûva "to spin," H. बातना, kerûva "to do," H. कर्ना, kindva "to buy," Skr. √ मी, H. सीनना, ghoshâva "to clean," Skr. √चृष्, H. चिसाना "to rub," but घृष् might give a Pr. sq, whence this word, also pronounced khoshava. Kovliovava, from kovlo uvava, Skr. कोमस, with हो " to be," "to be soft;" khânjiovâva, from khânj uvâva, "to scratch, to itch," Skr. बाजु "itch," H. खाज, खुजजी. Khâsiovâva, also khâsâva, "to cough," Skr. √ कास, but H. खांसना. Khandâva "to dig," Skr. √ खन् ; khâva "to eat," Skr. √खाइ, Pr. खा, H. id., but the nomads of northern Rumelia use a form khaderava, which preserves the d of Sanskrit. Khiniovava for khino uvava, Skr. खिन्न with हो "to be fatigued."

There are three very similar verbs which illustrate the principle of stem-formation in this language well; ghedåva "to assemble," ghedåva "to bring," ghenåva "to count." The last of these three reminds us of Skr. \nabla u, H. \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(\) \(

Strange perversions of meaning occur, as might be expected, thus chalavava, Skr. $\sqrt{44}$, H. 440, should mean "to cause to

move," H. च्याना. It means, however, "to beat," thus jā, dik kon chalāvela o vudār, "Go, see who knocked at the door!" This is singularly close to the Indian languages. We might say in H. jā, dekh kon chalāya dwār ko. The confusion between the two meanings of Skr. 🗸 चर् is apparent here also. In Skr. चर् and चर्चा mean "to move," and the former, by a natural transition, is used also of cattle grazing. In H. they are kept apart, चर्चा meaning "to move," and चर्चा "to graze." In Gipsy charāva "to eat," makes its p.p. chalo, the causal charavāva is "to lead out cattle to pasture," and a neuter verb chāriovāva or chaliovāva "to be satiated." Again, chalarāva "to be satiated with," p.p. chalarāva "full," "satisfied."

Frequently, as in the Indian languages, a primitive verb is wanting, and its place supplied by a compound, thus they say, chumi dâva "to kiss," Skr. $\sqrt{3}$ मुख्, H. चूमना, but the Gipsy is $= \frac{1}{2}$ = े So, also, chungâr dâva "to spit," probably to be referred to Skr. $\sqrt{3}$ and connected with H. श्रींक, M. श्रींक "sneeze."

Under ज् occur words familiar to us in India, as janûva "to know," Skr. √ ज्ञा, H. जानना; jûva "to go," Skr. √ या, H. जाना, with its old-Tadbhava p.p. gelo, B. नेज, H. निया, गया; jangûva "to awaken," Skr. √ जागू, H. जगाना, and the neuter jangûnio-vûva, H. जागरत होना, जागना; jivûva "to live," Skr. √जीव, H. जीवना, जीना, p.p. jivdo, Skr. जीवित.

Under a we find tavâva "to cook," Skr. au p.p. tavdo, Skr. au q.p. tavdo, "to beat," where Skr. au q. H. au q. has passed over from the meaning of heat through that of vexation into that of beating. The neuter is tabiovâva or tapiovâva "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 O. is tablo "hot." A derivative is tabarâva (a causal) "to cause to burn."

VOL. III.

7

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. Classification of Tenses.—§ 33. The Simple Present or Aorist.—§ 34. The Imperative.—§ 35. The Future 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 Gipsy 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 but 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 सोडीं "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 grammar-writers, basing their views too much on the literary aspects of the languages, would have us believe.

The terminations of the sorist 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.)

sing. 1.		2.	3.	PLUR 1.	2.	3.
Hindi	कं	Ų	Ų	Ų	षो	Ų
Panjabi	স্থা	Ų	Ų	चे	षो	चण्
Sindhi	স্থা	Ų	Ų	जं	षो	অ ণি
Gujarati	ਢਂ	Ų	Ų	र्ये (ये)	षो	Ų
Marathi	Ų	एस (चस)	Ţ	ভা	चा	चत्
Oriya	Ų	उ	Ų	ਚ	u (ŏ)	অ ব্যি
Bengali	₹	र्स	Ţ	₹	▼ (ŏ)	एन् (चन्)

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

Prakrit, and corresponds to the Sanskrit चति. Thus चलति becomes चल्लाइ, चले, and चले. The rustic Hindi forms चलाइ, चलाय, are, I think, to be explained by the Prakrit process of inserting य and इ to fill a hiatus; thus चलाति becomes चलाइ and चलाय. In the hill dialects of Kumaon and Garhwâl the final vowel is lost, and they say चला for चले. The same takes place in Nepali.

The third person plural similarly points to the same person in the Sanskrit present. Oriva has here preserved the termination unaltered, as कर्नि "they do," मार्नि "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 7, and with it P. and B. have rejected the vowel also, which Hindi has softened the nasal consonant to Sindhi retains. anunasika, 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 सारे "they strike," where classical H. has सारें. After the rejection of the 7, which is a phonetically anomalous, though widely used process, the remaining form would be war, as मार्जि, closely approximate to which is Garhwâli मार्ज. The Braj form सारे is deducible also from सार्वि, through an intermediate मार्द and मार्द. The last-named form is still in use in the Eastern Hindi area, and has in Bhojpuri modulated into मारी; while the type मरंद is preserved in the Oudh and Riwa form मार्च, where च has been substituted for इ, and an inorganic second anunasika 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 san "they rise;" in the modern language san. In the Konkani dialect all three persons of the plural are said to end

¹ Grammatica da Lingua Concani (Goa, 1859), p. 74.

in ti. Thus in the Portuguese method of transliteration, which is not very accurate, the words are thus written, amī assati "we are," tumī assati "ye are," te assati "they are." We should probably write wata = classical M. waa. The author tells us, however, that one may also say amī assaū "we are," which is classical M. first person plural wat, though in Konkani it may be used for all three persons of the plural.

The second person singular ends in v in H. and G., and is from Skr. श्रास by elision of स, thus चससि, चसहि, चसह, चसे (Braj), चले. In B. it formerly ended in चिस, but the final vowel has been rejected, and the a weakened to i, thus देखिस "thou seest;" this form has been excluded from literature, but is extremely common in speech. In M. also the thas 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 करें "thou doest," which is perhaps due to the influence of the T, which has disappeared. The termination was is often heard among the lower classes in the Hindi area, but always in a past sense, and extended to all persons, as विहिस "he did," वहिस "he said" (also I or thou). The O. termination s 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 o, for though B. and O. write \mathbf{w} , they pronounce o, and when emphasis is used, o. There is no difficulty in affiliating this termination to the corresponding Skr. 2 plural in tha, through Pr. dha and ha, thus \mathbf{w} "ye go," where, by elision of h and conflation of the two vowels, we should get \mathbf{w} and \mathbf{w} . The final o has been lengthened to o, as in the plural of nouns. Marathi also forms this person on the analogy of its noun, in which the final anuswara is typical of the plural, so that we get \mathbf{w} . The process, however, is quite modern, for in the medieval poets the second person plural ends in o without anuswara.

There is some obscurity about the first person in both num-In H. and G. the singular ends in \mathbf{s} (\mathbf{s}), while the plural ends in ψ (ψ); but in S. M. and O. it is the plural which ends in si, while ti is in M. and O. the termination of the singular. Now if we look to the earlier forms, it would seem more natural to derive वर्षे from चलामि, where the presence of the final द accounts easily for the ए, and so the plural चलान: with its Prakrit representative चनाम् would regularly result in Moreover, in many dialects even of Hindi, the plural is still चल्र and चलों, चलं, चलों. In the Rajputana dialects it is चुस्, which agrees with the singular of modern P. and S. For five of the languages Skr. चलामि softened to चलाइ would become चलाई, whence M. and O. चलें "I go," and further shortened, B. चाचि id., while the rejection of final gives P. चलां, S. इसां "I go." The singular, therefore, in these five is easily understood. So also is the plural, for Skr. च्यामः, Pr. चनाम, would become चनांउ and चनांड, whence dialectic H. चलां (Rajputana), चलां, चलां, चलां (in the Himalayan dialects), S. इस्ं, M. id., G. चस्ं. 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, at, so that it would be natural to say i at "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 करों is derived from Pr. करामि by loss of the final i and softening of the m into anuswara, 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 H. the 1 pl. ends in न, as मारन "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 मार्डि "they strike," and dialectic forms, seems to have arisen from a feeling that final anuswara was the proper type of plurality, and thus depends upon a false analogy with the plural of nouns. The widespread Bhojpuri dialect has मारी 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 at 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 karûngâ "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, ay or iy between the stem and the termination of the 1 pl., thus P. uev, uev, G. uev, uev "we read." Here it has been suggested that the Apabhrança

form in imo is the origin, thus इसिमी "we laugh" became इसियो and इसिये, 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 सी सटें means "I used to get loose." In Panjabi it is given as an indefinite future, as चक्कां "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 giyâ påthara sangraha kare, emana samaye ekakhani bara påthara 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



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.

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 agrist, is descended from the imperative of the ancient languages. As might be expected, it closely resembles the agrist or old present, and has the following scheme of endings:

8.	1.	2.	3.	P. 1.	2.	3.
Hindi 5	कं	√ ¹	Ų	Ų	षो	Ų
Panjabi		√			षो	
Sindhi		उ			षो	
Gujarati		✓			षी	
Marathi V	डां	√	षो	स्रं	चा	चोत
Oriya 1	ţ	√	उ	す	▼ (ŏ)	चनु
Bengali		√	उक		u (ŏ)	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 acrist. This is also true of H., the acrist 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

¹ This mark means that the 2 sing. is the simple stem, as kar "do thou!" perk "read thou!"

separate form, which may in all cases be traced back to the Skr. 3 sg. wg, Pr. ws, which in M. becomes wit. In M., however, the termination was for this tense is also in use. To the same origin may be ascribed the O. wand B. was, the final was 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. **u**, just as the corresponding person in the aorist is with Skr. **u**. In O., owing to the influence of the final u, this termination is often written untu, as karuntu "let them do," jäüntu "let them go."

In all but S. the second singular is the bare verbal stem. In M. a final च is heard, and slightly also in B. and O. In the dialect of Northern Gujarat a च is sounded after the final consonant, as कर्र "do thou," बोच्च "speak thou," चाच्च "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 च, as stated in §§ 4, 5, 7, corresponding to which is a plural in Ξ , as

तुन्ह चेक्र तुन्ह चेक्र सुष वंपि वोध ॥

"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 t, as und "find thou!" for und, from unde, with inorganic anuswara. Sindhi, which causes all its words to end in a vowel, makes this person end in t, 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 the "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,

¹ Vans Taylor, Grammar, p. 89.

the future is used, as राम को भाग संग सामीने "You will bring Râm with you," that is, "bring him with you!" So also the infinitive, as यह सब काम आवही करना "Do all this work today," literally, "(Take care) to do," इस रिण को चुका दे तब चन्नी जाना "Pay this debt, and then go away."

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. र्ये, Plur. र्यो. In P. this form is seldom employed, and when used, may be considered as borrowed from H. In the other languages are—

In a few stems in H. which end in e, ज is inserted between the stem and the termination, the final vowel being changed to i, as ज "take," जीवरे, दे "give," दीविरे; the stem जर "do" is in this case changed to जी, making जीविरे "be pleased to do." Sindhi sometimes takes in the singular द् instead of दे , probably on the analogy of the simple imperative, which ends in u; and in the plural, instead of दे जो, the forms दे जा, दे जाई, दे जाई का e used when great respect is implied, as विश्वा "be pleased to go," सुविवाद "be pleased to hear." Many of the rustic dialects of Hindi have also this form; thus Rajputana दे जे, दे जे, or simply जे, as सार्धि, सारीज, सार्व "be pleased to strike."

Vararuchi (vii. 20, 21, 22) teaches that jja and jjā 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 a is found in present, past, and future, as well as imperative, as accordingly "he does," according to the will do," according to the will do the

¹ Pincott's Sakuntalâ, p. 12, a first-rate text-book in admirable idiomatic Hindi.

thou," in which the junction vowel between the inserted a and the termination has been changed to e. As, however, the inserted w is also a type of the passive, this form has occasionally been mistakenly used in a passive sense, as मी मारिजेतो "I am Lassen (p. 357) refers this increment to the Skr. potential, which is confirmed by the Pali forms quoted in § 4. and by the dotted a in S., which usually indicates that a double letter has existed. The य of the Skr., as in पचेयं, is doubled in Pa. नचेव्यामि, and hardened to का in Pr., whence the modern s, with lengthening of the preceding vowel in H., and change of e to a in G. (cf. G. $\mathbf{z} = \mathbf{z} = \mathbf{z}$). 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 म्हण्जे and पाहिजे. The former is the precative of म्हण् (Skr. √ अन्) "to speak," and means literally, "be pleased to say;" in modern times it means "that is to say," "i.e.," "videlicet," as अन्य म्हण्जे घोडा "açwa, that is to say, a horse." It has also a future form म्हण्जेल, meaning "in that case," as पाजस पदला म्हण्जेल पोड होईल "If rain falls, then (or, in that case) there will be a crop." The latter, with a plural पाहिजेल, and a future पाहिजेल, is from पाहणे "to see," literally "please to see," and means "it ought," as ह जाम 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



 $^{^{1}}$ See Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary under these words; also Godbol's Marathi Grammar, p. 92.

meaning "ought," and, like uter in M., used with the past participle, as ut and faul uter "this work ought to be done." Colloquially, however, and even among good writers, uter is often, like other ancillary verbs, constructed with the oblique form of the infinitive, and it would not be absolutely incorrect to say at uter. 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 बोइये "it is wanted," French "il faut," Italian "bisogna." It is from the verb जोवुं "to see," and is used with a dative of the subject, as मने बीजो वर बोइये नहीं "I want no other blessing," like Latin "mihi necesse est, oportet, decet," etc. It is conjugated throughout the full range of tenses, as सफर मां वे बांद बोइनुं "Whatever was required for the voyage," जो मारे इर्य बोइने 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:

 sinc. 1.
 2.
 3.
 PL. 1.
 2.
 3.

 Gujarati करीश करशे करशे करिशं करिशं
 क्षा करिशं करिशं करिशं करिशं
 क्षा करिशं करिशं
 क्षा करिशं
 क्

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

and 1. 2. 3. Pl. 1. 2. 3. करस्यूं करसी मरसी करस्यां करस्यो करसी करस्य

There are, in fact, four types of the future in the modern languages, having for their characteristics respectively the letters \mathbf{q} , \mathbf{q} , and \mathbf{q} . The sa type has a variant ha. The ga, la, and ba types belong to the class of participial tenses, and will be discussed under that head. The sa 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 karishyâmi, which, as already pointed out in § 4, becomes in Pali karissami, and retains that form in the higher Prakrits. The transition from this to the eastern Rajput कर्स seems to rest upon the confusion between the first persons of the singular and plural already noticed in H.; for Rajp. कर्सा, though now a plural, represents करिसामि better than does कर्सुं, which latter leads to Pr. plural करिसाम, just as does G. करिशं. The G. 1 sing. afty 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 agrist, 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 करीशं, करिशं, or करशं. 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 end of the higher types has been resolved into g, so that we get such forms as nutigated by side with number. It is from this weakened form that the Hindi type is derived. Thus 3 sing. and represents Pr. ancer from ancer; 3 pl. ancer and so on. Here also come in the old Purbi forms ancers, ancers, which are transitional from Pr. to Old-H. In poems in the Braj dialect occur such forms as ancer, where the ai has crept into

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the second syllable, probably from the analogy of the ga type karai-ga. The commonest form is that given above, with short in the second syllable. This is Chand's ordinary future, as

इम सावंत सब जुद्धिहैं॥ राज चंदेल न 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 घरिडीं छत्र॥

"Either I will yield my head to thee,
Or I will put the umbrella on my head."—Pr. R. i. 279.

(i.e. I will either die or conquer.)

कनवज जूटि रिधि सब इरिहों। पाछ जुध मोहीब करिहों।

"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

सबिह भांति पिय सेवा करिहीं॥ मार्ग जनित सकस चम 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

ना जानो कव मारिहै का घर का परदेस।

"Ye know not when he (i.e. death) will strike, whether at home or abroad."—Ram. xix. 5.

बक्ररि न ऐसी पैही चाना॥

" You will never find such a place again.—ib. xliii. 2.

where पहा = 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 **qzū** "to get loose," and the active **qzū** "to set free," are thus conjugated in the present in M.

Similarly in S. the neuter इसगु "to go," and the active इन्ग् "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 in M., and of 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. Atmanepada 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 Atmanepada, 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 च of aya into a long vowel; thus M. सोडी presupposes an earlier form सोदार or सोदो, for it must be noted that the termination v resulting from Skr. wa, Pr. wv, has been dropped in this word. So in the first sing. S. stat represents an older कोटयामि, and is thus earlier in type than M. सोडों for सोडिए, through सोडवाइं. The second singular in which the personal termination is retained also supports this view, for in it the characteristic tholds the same place in the word as the characteristic aya of the Sanskrit causal, namely, between 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 atom "to die," imperative at "die thou;" while in active verbs it ends in t, as utan "to cherish," imperative utan "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 t. Should this suggestion be confirmed by further research, the two would

appear to be the representative of the Skr. aya of the causal. Thus while Skr. at produces S. at, Skr. used produces S. use, Skr. used produces S. use, shortened from use (Pr. uses). The second plural of neuters ends in o, as set "go ye!" while that of actives ends in io or yo, as setul or sell. The earlier form in iho (Pr. s) is also in use as sets.

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.

```
पहणु "to read," imp. पहु Skr. √ पठ imp. पठ.

पसणु "see," , पसु , पऋति , पऋ.

पिइणु "grind," , पिङ , √ पिष् , पिख्डि, but Pr. पीस

(Hem. iv. 185).

चरणु "graze," , चइ , √चर् , चर.

रखणु "keep," , रखु , √रण् , रण्.

कहणु "say," , कङ , √कथ् , कथ्य, but Pr. कह
```

बाबज "to inform," makes बाब and बाबि, it is from Skr. बाबा, imperative बाबाहि, from which comes regularly बाबि, through a form बाबहि, but this verb may be also neuter, as in "tell! tell!" and would thus, by the masses, be formed like neuters, and have बाबु. धंवज "to blow" (with bellows), makes धंव and धंवि, it is from Skr. धा, imp. धम, whence regularly धंव. 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.

§ 37. 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.

BANGALI.	्रा क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क	र के की	deest " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "
ORITA.	# ## " # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # #		deest " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "
MARATHI.	S. S	स स स स स से टी से टी से टी अ	deest " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "
GUJARATI.	go." chhod "leave." wide wide wide wide	होत होते होते	कोदीय (॰एम) कोदम कोदम कोदमु कोदमी
SINDHI.	hat "go." get get get get get get get get	ह्य हैं इस हैं	deest " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "
PANJABI.	mar "best." HIT HIT HIT HIT HIT HIT HIT	म म	EAST-EAJF. मारब्धे (॰मूं) मारबी मारब्धी मारब्धी मारबी
HINDI.	^{deki} " _{666."} কী কী কী কী কী কী বী	खाँ बी खाँ का 'व ज़्ब भी भी भी भी भी भी	ा का मार्गाः स्टेश्वर्षे स्टेश्वर्पे स्टेश्वर्षे स्टेश्वर्पे स्टेश्वरे स्टेश्वर
	83 E E E E E E	8. 1. 19. 1. 19. 1. 19. 19. 19. 19. 19. 1	S. 1 Pl. 1 3 2 3 2
	.TSIMOA	.AVITARAMI	FUTURE

§ 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. sa, s, 3. l; Pl. 1. sa, s, 2. na, n, 3. na, n. Thus from keráva "to do"—

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

2. kerása " kerás. 2. keréna " kerén.

3. keréla " kerel. 3. kerena " kerén.

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. sounds also keresa, kerés. Here we distinguish two junctionvowels á 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 yeth and पुक्रेमि, रोचामि and रोचेमि, हारद and हारेद, करद and करेद. But with regard to the terminations, there is much difficulty; we recognize, indeed, the termination âmi of S. 1. in Paspati's ava, or av, and asi in his asa, or as. So also anti, Pr. enti, reappears 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 s, is entirely inexplicable.

The Syrian gipsies have retained a fuller form of the S. 1, as jāmi "I go," āvami "I come," stūmi "I am," and the following almost pure Prakrit words, bihemi "I fear," chinemi "I cut,"

dâmi, demi "I give," jánami, jánemi "I know," enemi "I bring" (from बायो), kinimi "I buy" (की), 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 me 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. Definition of the Participial Tenses.—§ 40. The Participle Active.—§ 41. Tenses formed thereby—the Sindhi Future.
—§ 42. Marathi Indicative and Conditional Present.—§ 43. Bengali and Obiya Conditional.—§ 44. Hindi, Panjabi, and Gujarati Present.—
§ 45. The Past Participle Passive.—§ 46. Early Tadbhava Participles in Sindhi and Panjabi.—§ 47. The same in Gujarati and Marathi.—
§ 48. The same in Old and New Hindi.—§ 49. Tenses formed from the Past Participle.—§ 50. The Prayogas.—§ 51. The Future Participle Passive.—§ 52. Tenses formed from it in Sindhi, Gujarati, and Marathi.—§ 53. The Future in Oriya, Bengali, and Eastern Hindi.—
§ 54. The Hindi and Panjabi Future.—§ 55. Marathi Future compared with that in Certain Hindi Dialects.—§ 56. Synopsis of the Participial Tenses in all Seven Languages.—§ 57. Participial Tenses in the Gipsy Verb.

§ 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 पचन m., पचनी f., पचत् n.
- 2. The past Passive (with inserted इ), as in ज्ञतस् m., ज्ञता f., ज्ञतं n. (Pr. विरिश्ची etc.).
- 3. The future participle Passive or verbal adjective, as in द्वातव्यस् m., •तव्या f., •तव्यं 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 τ 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 प्रवेत m., प्रवंत f., प्रवंत 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 π into ξ , and declines it for gender and number thus (hal "go")—

Sing. इसंदो m., इसंदी f. Pl. इसंदा m., इसंदिर्ज f., "going."

In active verbs, with which must be reckoned causals, the characteristic *i* appears (§ 36), but here lengthened to *i*, as (bhar "fill")—

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 ja "go," बांदा "going," ho "be," इंदा "being," seü "serve," सेचंदा "serving." In some of the rustic dialects the nasal is retained also after stems ending in a consonant, thus I have heard मार्दा or मार्दा "beating." In the classical dialect, however, the nasal is omitted after a consonant, as singular मार्दा m., मार्दी f.; plural मार्दे m., मार्दी चां f. Not unfrequently the द is dropped, and we hear बाबा, इवा for बांदा, इंडा.

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 **चर्न तीन भव्यंत** "possessing three feet"

(Pr. R. i. 61); अवन सुनत होई अंग। "the ear hearing, it is broken" (ib. i. 159); रचंत "shining," सुनंत "arraying," सुनंत "being beautiful," कटंत "being cut," etc. (ib. vi. 18), but बचत "playing (music)," चहत "mounting (a horse)" (xix. 3). Tulsi Das chiefly uses the latter form, as बात "going" (Râm. S.-k. 7); गुंचत "humming" (ib. 9); ध्यावत "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 (पहत) "falling" (ib.), सोहत "being beautiful," बसत "appearing," चिट्टियत "looking" (ib. 7, 9, etc.). Kabir विद्यत "living" (Râm. 30, 5); चंधत "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. HITAI m., HITAI f.; pl. HITA m., HITAI f. "beating." In the Braj dialect it takes the forms HITA m., HITAI f.; pl. HITA m. f. The Garhwali dialect preserves the older form, as HITAI, but has also, as have the Rajputana dialects, HITAI. Kellogg gives also a Kumaon form HITA, which probably arises from HITAI, just as Panjabi WITI from WITAI.

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 ka- affix, and derive a(a), a(a) from Pr. a(a), while we derive a(a), and from a Pr. a(a). 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 πi , as with "loosing," the other declinable, as sing. with m., $\pi i \cdot n$.; pl. with m., $\pi i \cdot n$. The terminations are those of the adjective in this language (Vol. II. p. 150). There is also a form of the indeclinable participle in π , as with, which,

like the Bangali, is apparently the locative singular, while that in at has the ending of the old nom, pl. neuter, though, in sense, it approaches more to the locative, as **HITI SUBSTANT**AITI ETA HIMI "If in loosing my bonds thy teeth should break." Vans Taylor, however, distinguishes two separate words with this ending, one of which he would derive from the locative singular of Sanskrit feminines, as **HITI THE INSTITUTE**, the other he would derive from the Skr. infin., as af. The first form he assumes to have been the origin of such phrases as **HITI THE TAYLOR** "In the teaches to do." This, however, is very doubtful.²

Oriya has only one form for the present participle. It is indeclinable, ending in $rackspace{1mm} rackspace{1mm} rackspace{1mm$

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 र्ते, 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 केश जिङ्कादिते वह जब धारा। "In wringing (or

¹ Leckey, Grammar, p. 179. 2 Grammar, p. 113.

etc., will go."

from wringing) her hair there flows a stream of water" (Pr. K.-S. 13, 15); हराइत इट्टे हानल पांचवान। "On seeing (her), love smote him in the heart" (ib. 15, 7). Even here, however, it becomes almost an infinitive, as बाहते पेखनु नाइइ गोरी। "I saw the fair one go to bathe (i.e. in going, or while going)" (ib. 13, 13); बानु हराइते एवं भेल परमाद। "In seeing (or to see) Kánh, there has been now delight" (ib. 20, 10). So Bhârat गुनाइते गुनिते पाइव समाचार "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 acrist, 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. इसंदो m., इसंदो f. Pl. इसंदा m., इसंदिजं f. "he, she, etc., will go."

The second person, however, retains traces of the substantive verb चस "to be," though much abraded and indistinct, it runs Sing. इसंदें m., इसंदिचं f. Pl. इसंदे sm., इसंदिचं f. "thou, ye,

The singular masculine ends in T, just as does the corre-

¹ This section follows, for the most part, Trumpp, pp. 289, 291, etc.

sponding person of the aorist, and we may resolve it thus, halando asi = haland' asi = haland' ai = halandē. 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 ai; 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 $asi = ai = \tilde{e}$, giving halandiē, a form still in use, though Trumpp gives as the classical type the still further contracted halandiā. The plural masculine arises from halandā stha, where stha has become tha, and then ha; the h being dropped, we get halandāa = halando, subsequently resolved into its present form halandāu. 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. इसंदुसि m., इसंदिश्वसि f. Pl. इसंदासीं m., इसंदिश्वसीं f.

Here, again, we meet an instance of the curious change of winto w, which we observed in the Panjabi and Sindhi pronouns of the first person plural well and well (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 i of the participle changes to its semivowel, producing halandy asi, which the Sindhians in the present day write either as above, or even ever ever day. As to the termination ell of the plural, I am disposed to regard it as formed by analogy from a singular ell, rather than, with Trumpp, as a derivative of Skr. wit, which, if the we be rejected, would yield ell or ell, but not, according to any known processes, ell.

§ 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 (bodhitāsmi, bodhitāsi, but bodhitā).

The participial form which enters into the composition of this tense is, apparently, not used alone in a participial sense.

afth or afth 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. सुटती m., ती f., ते n. Pl. सुटतात m., f., n., "he, she, etc., escapes."

Conditional. Sing. सुटता m., ती 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 âtt, 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. सुटतां m., f., n. Conditional. Sing. सुटतास m., तीस f., तेंस n., Pl. सुटतां m., f., n.

Again, in the indicative, the older ending in o, sutatos = sutato 'si (asi); while in the conditional, sutatos = sutato 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—

Final anuswâra here represents probably Pr. sing. amhi, pl. amho; but the sandhi is irregular, as f. suṭatē=suṭati amhi; the variant suṭatyē, used in the Konkan, is more regular for suṭaty amhi. The pl. suṭatō = suṭatā amho, where, again, the steps of transition to suṭatō 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. देखितिस, 3. देखित. Pl. 1. देखिताम, 2. देखिता, 3. देखितेन.

The participle here has lost its terminations for gender, as the Bengali adjective has (Vol. II. p. 147): dekhitâm 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; dekhitâ similarly = dekhita stha, whence dekhita tha = dekhitaha = dekhitâ. So, also, dekhiten = dekhita (s)anti, with the same treatment of the verb as in the aorist. The third singular is the simple participle.

In Oriya this tense runs thus:

Sing. 1. देखंति, 2. देखंतु, 3. देखंता. Pl. 1. देखंतु (तुं), 2. देखंत, 3. देखंते.

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In this tense is preserved the older form of the participle Pr. dekhanto, O. dekhanta, 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 wat (यद) "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 (दिस "he remained," विश्वासिका "he asked," दियाहे "he has given," होदने "he shall be." Kabi Kankan uses पश्चिम "thou

shalt fall," मरिक "thou diedst," चाहिन "I was;" and Bharat Chandra, दिशा "thou hast done," पान "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 करत पड़कर सनान। गोक्रंन महातम सुनत कान॥ "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 धुकंत धार धार सों। बकंत सार सार सों । सुकंत सार सार सों। तकंत सार तार सों। वकंत सार सार सों। तकंत सार तार सों। वकंत सार सार सों। Perhaps the meaning may be thus roughly paraphrased—

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

The meaning is clearer in other places. चलत पवन पावक समान। तपखत सुताप मन। सुकत सरोवर मचत कीच। तलफंत मीन तन ॥ (Pr. R. lx. 17), "The wind blows like to fire, distressing the mind (as if with) penance, the tanks dry up, the mud is stirred up, the fishes' bodies pant." So in Bihari Lal, मकराइत नोपाल के जुंदल सोहत कान। धव्यों मनी हिय घर समर द्योदी ससत 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 ति both as a participle and a present. कहति न देवर की कुवत कुलतिय कलह दराति॥ पंजर

गत मंबार दिन शुष को सूखित जाति ॥ "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 पक्दा "I send," is the ordinary indefinite present. सक्द दी रोडी मुंचे कुडी दे मुझं पाउंदे "They put a lump of sugar in the mouth of the boy and girl."

Classical Hindi also uses this participle, with "if" prefixed as a past conditional; thus they say बाद में बागता तो बबही नहीं 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 acrist, according to the grammarians, so that इं होदतो 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 acrist इं होई. 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 पतित "fallen." The त of the affix, as would be expected, becomes in the higher Prakrits इ, and in the more common dialects falls out altogether; thus we have हासिइं = हारितं "lost," मुसिदो = मूचित: "robbed," यहिइं = गृहीतं "taken," and many others.

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



^{1 &}quot;Panjab Customs," in Appendix to Panjabi Grammar, Loodhiana, p. 91.

² Leckey, Grammar, p. 160.

which the tales entirely dropped, and instances that for that "laughed," utt for utt "recited," and this form has become the type of most modern languages. In Old-Hindi this participle regularly ends in sing. In m., f., pl. um., f., as the m., the man f., etc., "burnt." Here the trapesents the tof the Prakrit, hardened into a semivowel before the final vowel. In the feminine it is merged in the tof the affix, and in the plural lost altogether, for the assily passes into the total trapesed.

Chand uses this form throughout, as तन रहा जोति गय देव बान। "his body remained bright, he went to the abode of the gods" (i. 299); करीं "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 यो 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. मार्थो, pl. मार्था, while in Kumaon the form is sing. मार्थो, pl. मार्था.

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

Panjabi retains the ए of the Prakrit, and has sing. मारिया m., मारीया f.; pl. मारे m., मारीया f., "struck;" so also does Sindhi, sing. इसियो or इस्रो m., इस्रो f.; pl. इस्रा m., इसियो 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 इ. It is rather the ए of इस्रो 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 *â*, like H., as *dekhâ jibâ* "to be seen."

The same form is found in Gujarati, as sing. होडा (chhodyo) m., होडी f., होडां (chhodyū) n.; pl. होडा m., होडी f., होडां n. G., however, in common with M. B. and O., has another

form of this participle ending in an affix, whose special type is

The forms may be brought together for comparison—

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

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

Here the junction vowel varies much. In B. O. and the active of M. it is T. In G., on the other hand, it is T, while in the neuter of M. it is a. M. has a long string of verbs, both active and neuter, with the junction vowel â; some of these are causals by origin, as To "flee," p.p. Total, for palâ-ilâ (as in B. and O. Total). Others, again, owe the long vowel to a Skr. ay, as T "fly," p.p. Total, Skr. Total, Skr. The denominatives, as T "be dazzled," Thurs, Skr. 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 z to z, and thence to z. The change is undoubtedly possible as far as z and z are concerned; but the change from z to z 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.

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 ज or u may be the classical representative of this ancient form; thus we have from \sqrt{u} "cut," जून:, from \sqrt{u} "cleave," भिन्न:, and in some roots both forms, that in u and that in u, stand side by side, thus \sqrt{u} "fill," makes u and u and

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 mfn.\(^2\) In Servian the same form occurs, trés "to shake," has—

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

¹ Rapp, Verbal-organismus, vol. i. p. 99.

² Reiff, Russ. Grammar, p. 97; Rapp, vol. i. 137.

Compare Marathi—

Sing. tråsalå, tråsalî, tråsalē. Pl. tråsale, tråsalyå, tråsalī

from **THU** "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 \P , so that the affix \P 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—

STRM.	SKR.	P.P.P.	8KR.	PR.
ब्द्ध "be bound") √वध्	ब्रह्मो (qu	ıasi बंधित	बंध्यो).
बुंध "bind"	}	वृधी	वद्य	
बुद्ध " be heard"	4/2007	æen		
बुंध " hear "	} √ नुध्	नुधो	नुख	
रम् " be cooked "	4/243	TU	77	
रंध "cook"	∤ रंघ्	रधो	रख	
सह " get "	\/#AT	men	W ar	लडी
सभ "be got"	√सभ्	लधो	सब	लाखा।
डुभ " be milked ") /			
.दुह " milk "	} √ड्इ	दुधी	दुग्ध	दुखी
₹₹ " torment "	√दइ	डुधो	दग्ध	दंबी
भेज " be broken ")			
भव "break"	√भ ज ्	भगो	भप	भग्गो
भुव "be fried"	} √थज्	भुगो	મૃષ્ટ	भुद्ध (analogy of
भुत्र "fry "	}	•	•	भ ष)

STEM.	SKR.	P.P.P.	8KR.	PR.
क्ति "be broken")	/6	ھے	6	
छिष् "be broken") हिन "break"	√ क्टिंद्	िंक्गी	क्ति	
सुञ् "be heard")	√यु	सुची	श्रुत	
सुषा " hear "		सुणिषो	(regu	ılar modern form)
ख्य " raise "	√खंद्	खंयो	स्तव	खिषा
कुह "kill"	./			
कुस "be killed"	√ कुष्	कुठो	कुष्ट	बुट्टी
गह " rub")	/			
गस "be rubbed " }	√घृष्	गठो	घृष्ट	गिट्टी, गट्टी
कुइ "touch")	/			•
खुइ "touch"	√ छुप्	कुती	कुप्त	कुत्ती

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:

8.	SKR.	8. P.P.P.	SKR.	PR.
सिंब "smear,"	√सिप्	स्तिती	स्त्रिप्त	वित्ती
तप " warm,"	√ तप्	तती	तप्त	तत्ती
सु न्ह "sleep,"	√ खप्	सुतो	सुप्त	सुत्ती
पा " get,"	√ प्राप्	पाती	प्राप्त	पात्ती [?]
आण "bring,"	√ त्रानी	षांदी	ञ्रानीत	
₹ " weep,"	√ ब ढ्	चनो	चदित	ब खो

So also the origin of **उच्या** "wipe out," is obscure, till we look at the p.p.p. **उच्छो**, which leads to Skr. **उद्दृष्ट**, and then we see that *ughaṇu* is for *ugahaṇu=udgharshaṇam*. The participles in *tho* similarly explain themselves, as

8.	SKR.	8. P.P.P.	SKR.	PR.
रिस " see,"	√ दृन्	ब्रि डी	दृष्ट	दिट्टी
वस " rain,"	√ वृष्	वठी, बुठी, चठी	वृष्ट	बुट्टी

The next three words have old Tadbhava participles in almost all the languages of this group:

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

Infin.	उभामगु "to boil over,"	p.p.p	चभाषो
,,	उद्यामणु "to be extinguished,"	,,	उद्याणी
,,	उड्डामणु " to fly,"	,,	उडाणो
,,	स्पामणु " to decrease,"	,,	स्रपाणी
,,	खामणु "to be burnt,"	"	खायो
,,	विसामणु " to be extinguished,"	,,	विसाणी
"	विकासणु " to be sold,"	,,	विकाणी

There is, as already mentioned, considerable obscurity as to the derivation of these words: udamanu is, however, certainly from Skr. ud-dt, p.p.p. dtna; ujhamanu perhaps from Skr. ut-kshi, p.p.p. kshina; vikamanu from Skr. vikri, p.p.p., however, not krina, but krita. On the analogy of those verbs whose p.p.p. ended in na, 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 4 take this p.p. in no in the poets as फिरा, p.p. फिरानो, or apocopated n, as रिसा p.p. रिसान.

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 द्वार्ण "to satisfy," and द्वारण "to be satisfied," from Skr. \sqrt{q} , तर्पति, but the p.p.p. द्वारण can hardly represent त्वा. Others again there are whose p.p. is intelligible, while the infinitive is not. द्वती "engaged" (in work) explains itself by Skr. युक्त, Pr. द्वती, clearly enough, but its infinitive should be jujanu or junjanu (Pa. युक्ति). Whence then comes it that the infinitive is jumbanu? So also rudho "busily employed" is clearly Skr. द्व (द्य), one form of the infinitive rujhanu is regularly derived from Skr. द्वार, 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

	P.P.	8KR.
बर्गा " do,"	बीता	ञ्चत (dialectically also बीदा).
जा णा "go,"	गिया, गर्या	गत(also जाया = Skr. यात).
वाणना "know,"	वाता	चात-
देखणा " see,"	दिट्टा	दृष्ट (also द्विहा more Sindhico).
दे गा " give,"	दित्ता, दिया	दत्त.
लेगा " take,"	सीता, सिया	सभित, instead of classical सुद्ध.
वर्सणा "rain,"	वट्टा	वृष्ट.
खाणा "eat,"	बाधा	खादितः
पे णा "fall,"	पिश्रा	पतित, Sindhi id. through पर्ची.
वंन्ह्या " bind,"	नदा	बद्ध.
पक्राणना "recognize,"	पछाता	परिचात? म. पहिचाननाः
सिड्या " sew,"	सीता	सेवित.
सीया "sleep,"	सुता	सुप्त .

	P.P.	SKR.
प्रजंचणा "arrive,"	पक्रतोः पुच्ची	
रिंग्ह्या "cook,"	रिखा	रख .
विषद्वा "marry,"	विश्वहती	विवाहित.
कहिणा " say,"	विद्या	कथित-
रहिया "remain,"	रिहा	रहित-

In the two last the T has leapt over into the preceding syllable, and kihâ, rihâ, are for kahiâ, rahiâ, 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.

INFIN.		SKR.	PR.
बर् वुं "do"	वर्योः कीधो	छत	वरिषो
सेवुं " take"	बीधो	सम	
पोहोचवुं "arrive"	पोहोंच्यो, पोहोतो	P	
देखवुं "see"	दिठो, दीठो	दृष्ट	
बीहोवुं "fear"	बीहीनो, बीहीधो	भति	बिहिदी (§ 13)
सावुं "eat"	खाधो	खादित	
उपवर्व "produce"	उपनी ॰न्यो	उत्पन्न (pr	resent utpadyate)
नीपववुं "	नीपनी ॰न्यो	निष्पन्न (P	res. nishpadyate)
पीवुं "drink"	पीधो	पीत	
सुवुं " sleep "	सुतो	सुप्त	
मर्वुं "die"	मुच्ची	मृत	
देवुं "give"	दीधो	दत्त	
बेश्चवुं "sit"	नेठी	उपविष्ट	
पेश्व " enter"	पेठो	प्रविष्ट	
नासर्वं "flee"	गाठी	नष्ट (prese	en t <i>naśyati</i>)
खवुं "go"	मची	गत	

In the instances of ktdho, bthtdho, khadho, ptdho, and dtdho, we have probably formations based on the analogy of ltdho, for the exception of bthtdho, which may owe its dh to a combination of the h and d of Pr. vihido, there is no older form which would yield dh. 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, ltelo, 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 si wall of "I am come," but si wall of "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—

वा "go,"	p.p.p. गे सा	
चे "come,"	,,	भासा
मर् " die,"	,,	मेना
चे "take" (wear),	,,	खाना
बर् " do,"	,,	वेसा

Stems ending in a exhibit z in the participle, as

खण " dig,"	p.p.p. खटसा
म्हण "speak,"	" म्हटसा
हाय "slay,"	" इाटबा

The explanation of these words is apparently to be found in a contraction of syllables; thus Skr. $\sqrt{ खन}$ "dig" forms regularly p.p.p. खात, but the न being changed to न in Prakrit, a p.p.p. खान would be legitimately formed, whence खाइ, to which, forgetful of the fact that this is already a participle, M. adds its own participial termination जा, and by rejection of the nasal arrives at खटला. So also $\sqrt{ भा}$, p.p.p. भागत, whence भाइ and महुट + जा. Skr. हन has p.p.p. हत, but a Pr. form हान would be, and is, used, whence हाइ, and the stem-vowel having been lengthened, हाट + जा.

To a similar retention of the 7 of the Skr. p.p.p. may be attributed the following, though the etymology is in some cases very obscure:

चे " take,"	घेतला " taken."
¥ " washed,"	धृतसा " was hed."
बंघ " see,"	विधितसा " seen."
मान " ask,"	मागितसा " asked."
सांग " tell,"	संगितसा "told."
घास " put,"	घातसा "put."
खा " eat,"	खा द्धा "eaten."

In § 15 it was shown that Pr. inserts $\overline{\mathbf{n}}$ in forms like ghettum, ghettuna, which may be a retention of $\overline{\mathbf{n}}$ in grihtta. In the next four words on the list there seems to be a double participle, as in G. ktdhelo, etc. The origin of $\overline{\mathbf{n}}$ is unknown to me, it looks like an early causal of $\overline{\mathbf{n}}$ take. In $\overline{\mathbf{n}}$ the p.p. is apparently a contraction of $\overline{\mathbf{n}}$ $\overline{\mathbf{n}}$ $\overline{\mathbf{n}}$ $\overline{\mathbf{n}}$.

§ 48. Hindi has very few of these participles. In the classical language only the following are in use:

करना "do," किया "done." मरना "die," मुत्रा "dead." सेना "take," सियां "taken." देना "give," दिया "given." जाना "go," नया "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, ke, 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:

कर has i. कीयो or कियो. ii. कीनी or कियो. iii. कीधी or कियो. दे ,, i. दीयो or दियो. ii. दीनी or दियो. iii. दीनी or दियो. iii. दीनी or कियो. iii. कीभी or कियो.

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. 37, Pr. 32 and 32. It has been borrowed by ke and de. So dinau belongs to de, Skr. 37, Pa. and Pr. 31, and has been borrowed by kar and ke. Also lidhau belongs to ke, Skr. 32, Pa. and Pr. 31, and has been borrowed by kar and de. We cannot get kinau or kidhau phonetically from $\sqrt{3}$, nor diyau and didhau from $\sqrt{3}$, nor liyau and linau from $\sqrt{3}$, 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, विद्यो, विद्यो, 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 विद्यो चंदोह ॥ "The girl made lamentation" (Pr. R. i. 171). It is long in

कीयौ तब चित चिहीं दिस ॥

"He then made reflection on all sides."-xx. 20.

कीयो चलन को साज॥

"He made preparation for going."-xx. 28.

Apocopated, as दीय and कीय in

गढ पतिक गढ भार दीय॥ पूरव दिस तन गमन कीय॥

"He entrusted the fort to the castellan, Made a going to the eastern country."—xx. 29.

सीय सब बोलि वंब बिजय॥

" Took all shouting and playing on drums."—ib.

A form with a occurs for le and de only, as जयो विम गुर बोस ॥ "Took Brahmins and gurus, saying" (ib. 20), and द्रे जु क्या वचन वर्॥ "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

गैर महल प्रिथिराज सघी सवका रम दिव्रव ॥ कुसम पटा सिर पाग लाग कंद्रप रस कीनव॥

"In his private apartments Prithiraj dallied with his wives and attendants,

In saffron robes and turbaned head he made the sport of love."

—xxi. 22.

VOL. III.

10

So also **बूटि घरती निधि बिज्ञव** "having plundered the land, he has taken treasure" (xxi. 89). In this passage the preceding line ends with **बिज्ञव**. (In Hindi av = au, so kinnav is to be read kinnau, etc.)

विइसित वरं सगन सिन्नी नरिंद् ॥

"Smiling the king accepted the espousal."-xx. 23.

सहस घट्ट सिव उपर कीनी। तीन उपास नैंस तब सीनी।

"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 जाय मुक्काम कीन॥ विच गांम नगर पुर जूट जीन॥

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

परिमाल जुड पर इक्सम 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

दान मान घन दिखिय

"He gave gifts and honours abundant."-i. 342.

In this passage it rhymes with ৰাছিয, which ought perhaps to be read ৰিছিয় "having taken."

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

सगरी नाव जाय वंध किंच्निय ॥ जाल्हा उदस उतर्न न दिच्चिय ॥

"Carts and boats he went and stopped;
Âlhâ and Udal he suffered not to alight."—xxi. 86.

for [as] and [as] respectively. This latter occurs frequently, in a slightly altered shape—

वर दीधौ डुंडा नरिद ॥

"Dhundhâ gave a blessing to the king."—i. 305.

प्रिथिराज ताहि दो देस दिख ।

"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 की की, को की, and दोकी, and the last syllable is occasionally apocopated as in Chand. Thus Tulsi Das—

एहि विधि दाह निया सन कीम्ही ॥ विधिवत म्हाइ तिसांजुलि दीम्ही ॥

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

—Ay-k. 894.

मोहि उपदेस दीम्ह गुर नीका ॥

"The guru hath given me good advice."—ib. 928.

ती कत खीम्ह संग कटकाइ॥

"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 O. मजा and कला are merely contractions of मरिजा and करिजा, from मर "die," and कर "do," respectively. From जा "go," O. गजा, B. गज, 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 (mår "strike")—

 8ING. 1.
 2.
 3.
 PL. 1.
 2.
 3.

 m. मार्च मा

Also in m. मार्च, etc. In the sing. 2, 3, the syllable सि is often added, as मारेसि, and variated into हि, as मारेहि m., मारिसि, मारिहि f. Thus चलेउ हरिष हिय धरि रघुनाथा "he went rejoicing, holding in his heart Raghunatha" (Tulsi Das, Ram. Sund-k. 4), देखें जयन 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,—पुनि परीष्ट्रेड सुखाने उ पर्धा । "Again she gave up even dry leaves" (Bal-k. 155), प्रकेस सोगन बाह उद्घाह " She asked the people, why is this rejoicing?" (Ay-k. 87). But the feminine is kept in प्रियवादिनि सिष दोन्हिंड तोहि ॥ "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 Sundarakânda of Tulsi's work, will show the various senses in which this affix is used: खाएसि पत पर विटप उपारे "He eats the fruit, and tears up the bushes" (S-k. 40), बहु मारेसि बहु महेंसि वाइक मिलायेसि धुरी । "Some he slew, some he trampled under foot, some he caused to mix with the dust," as संबंध कवन तें

कीसा। केहि के बस घालेसि वन खीसा। कीधी श्रवण सुनेसि नहिं मोहि। . . . मारेसि निशिचर केहि चयराधा। "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.) throws no light on the subject, as it does not use this form, but employs the participle simply as a tense, as maî, tû, uh mâriâ, "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. mara or P. maria alone, but must add the participle of the modern substantive verb, and say H. mara hua, P. maria hoia. 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 कीतोस "he did," which is probably to be referred to S. Enlista. The grammarians, however, suppose that kitos is in some way a metathesis of us ne ktta, so that kita + us = kitos. The instrumental, however, of uh "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 **\(\frac{1}{2}\) \(\frac{1}{4}\), which is evidently \(kh\hat{a}nde+'s\hat{a}\), for** asa = asmah.

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")—

 sino. 1.
 2.
 3.
 pl. 1.
 2.
 3.

 m. इलिउसि इलिएं इलिपो इल

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:

halandu -si corresponds to haliu -si.
halandia -si ,, halia -si.
halanda -si ,, halia -si.
halandi -si ,, haliu -si.
etc. etc.

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.

The forms exactly agree with those of the present, as will be seen by turning to § 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 ver, thus we get Add animal," adam yeu "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. class, O. constructs a preterite, thus—

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. देखिन
 2. देखिन
 3. देखिन

 Pl. 1. देखिना
 2. देखिन
 3. देखिन

Here the 3 sing. has also **देखियेक** with a final **क**, as in the imperative and future, concerning which see § 53. The 1 sing. in *nu* is frequently heard in speaking, and is very common in the old poets, as **चपट्प पेखनु रामा** "I saw the fair one looking woe-begone" (Bidyapati, vii. 1), where some read **पेखिन**.

In Gujarati the participle is used alone as a preterite in both forms, that in yo 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 O. 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 karta 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. वह बोसा "he spoke," बे बोसे "those men spoke." वह बोसी "she spoke," वे बोसी "those women spoke."

So, also, in P. S. and G. In M. the principle is the same, though there is more variety of forms:

तो न्हटला "he said," ते न्हटले "illi dixerunt."
ती न्हटली "she said," त्वा न्हटला "illæ dixerunt."
तो न्हटली "it said," ती न्हटली "illæ dixerunt."

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 बडे कठोर वचन कहें हैं "I have spoken very harsh words to you" (Sak. 33). Here the subject mai ne is in the instrumental, the verb kahe hai is masc. plural, to agree with the object vachan. देव ने वेसा 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 खाने पायी वाचियों "he read the book," where vâchili is fem. sing., to agree with pothi. In M. and S. many verbs are both active and neuter, in which case the preterite has a double construction, direct or karta 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 bhāva, 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 are in even when the object is expressed, as are in even when the object is expressed, as are in even when the object is expressed, as

§ 51. The participle of the future passive, which in Sanskrit ends in त्रवा, 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. davva, and with elision of the d, avva. Thus Skr. alway, Pr. alway. So also Pr. alway, which must be referred to a Sanskrit form alray rather than to the classical form and, for Prakrit, as mentioned before, generally takes no heed of Sanskrit subtleties about inserting or omitting the intermediate , 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*, Pr. बर्चे , losing the a and the first v of the suffix, becomes बर्चे , 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—

नुसाटण "to choke," नुसाटिको "being choked." बुोह्ण "to cheat," द्वोहिको "being cheated." समग्र "to seize." समिको "being seized."

Gujarati differs from Sindhi in rejecting the द and retaining the द, thus making बर्बो "being done," as छोडवो m., बी f., दुं n., etc., "being loosed;" बाबबो, however, means "bringing," where the sense has become active. The neuter of this form does duty as an infinitive, as बद्धं "to go," of which more hereafter.

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

¹ Trumpp, p. 54.

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 acreais and acreais, or acreais. Thus a acreais that acreais "I am ready to do that" (i.e. "to the doing of"), suruntal and almost all almost used "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 करावा संग। वाटे दुरावावें जग॥ सेवावा एकांत। वाटे न बोसावी मात॥ जन धन तन। वाटे सेखावें 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. 1885.

Here râte (Skr. वर्तते) 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 ekânta being masc., the participles are masc. karâvâ and sevâvâ; mât (Skr. बाचा) being fem., bolâvî is fem. also; jag, vaman neut., hence durâvâven, lekhâven 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, आम्हास देशांतरी जायाचे परेख "We shall have to go to another country," for जाका, 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 च or च, without any junction-vowel, and means the doing of anything, as सुनव च विकास sunbe na kailan, "they did not make a hearing," i.e. "they would not listen," मानिच च कार्टी mânve na karihai, "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. देखिना "to see," genitive देखिनार "of seeing," etc. As a noun, it also implies the act of doing anything, as O. अण्ड गीत गृणिना दोच चंटे गार्ना 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. इन्डिनुसि	2. ছर्डिबें	3. इन्डिनो
f. 1. इन्दिवस्यसि	² . ছব্ৰিৰয়	3. इन्डिबी
Pl. m. 1. इडिवासी	2. ছব্ৰিব	3. छाडुबा
$f_{i'} 1$. छखिविजंसी	2. ছ ৰিবিন্তা	3. ছম্বিৰিকা

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

¹ Kellogg, Grammar, p. 231.

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 कोडवो "I ought to release," i.e. "by me it is to be released," तोरे or तें वीश्वाश करवो "you ought to have confidence," i.e. "by thee trust is to be made," Skr. ख्या विश्वास: कर्तवाः.

The genitive case also, oddly enough, forms a tense of its own, also with no trace of the old substantive verb, as कोडवानो m., नी f., नं n. The meaning seems hardly, if at all, distinguishable from that of the nominative, and the construction is objective, as in that tense; thus व काम समारे करवानं "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 Atmane. pres. part. in mana, like bhava-It is possible, I think, that though the Atmanepada 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")—

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 स्था, तूं or लागे सोसावा -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 सुटावें or सोसावें.

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 \mathbf{q} , 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 (sod "loose")—

Aorist (Past habitual) सला सोदव " I used to be able to loose " (rare),

Present ,, सोडवतें "I can loose,"

Preterite ,, सोडवें "I could loose" (rare),

Future ,, सोडवें "I shall be able to loose,"

Imperfect ,, सोडवें होतें "I could have loosed,"

Pluperfect ,, सोडवें 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.

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

В.	Sing.	. 1. देखिब	$oldsymbol{2}$. देखिब	3. देखिबे ॰बेक्
0.	,,	1. देखिबि	2. देखिबु	3. देखिब
Bhojpuri.	,,	1. देखव्	2. देख ब	3. देखी
В.	Pl.	1. देखिब	2. देखिबा ॰बे	3. देखिबेन
0.	,,	1. देखिबुं ॰बा	² . देखिब	3. देखिबे
Bhojpuri.	,,	 देखब् 	2. देखब	3. देखिहीं

The 3 sing. and 3 pl. of Bhojpuri may be excluded from this

group, as they belong to the sa or ha type of the future (§ 35). The dialect of Riwâ has some forms of the ba type, as 2 sing. मार्बस, 1 pl. मार्ब, मार्ब, and मार्ब, 2 pl. मार्ब. The dialect of Oudh (Avadhî) has 1 sing. मार्ब, 2 मार्बस, मार्ब, 1 pl. मार्ब, 2 मार्बो, and in the old Purbi dialect मार्ब mārab is used for all three persons of both numbers.

There is thus apparent a general tendency to the use of the ba type of future throughout the eastern area of the Aryan territory in India, and it will be seen by comparing either B. or O. 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 O.—

	PRESENT.	PAST.	FUTURE.
Sing.	1. dekhant -i	dekhil -i	dekhib - i
	2. dekhant -u	dekhil -u	dekhib -u
	3. dekhant -å	dekhil -â	dekhib -â
Pl.	1. dekhant -û	dekhil - \hat{u}	dekhib - \widehat{u}
	2. dekhant -a	dekhil -a	dekhib -a
	3. dekhant -e	dekhil -e	dekhib - e

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 Riwâ and Avadhi dialects further confirms this view by having preserved, like Marathi, the characteristic s 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-ām, and dekhib-ām. 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 dekhitâm preserves Skr. asmi, Pr. amhi, better than dekhiba, dekhitis preserves the s 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 ba 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. बा m., बी f., pl. बे m., बी f., to the agrist, and the same in P. except the pl. f., which is बीचा. 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.

Н.	Sing.	ı.	सुनूंगा	2. सुनेगा	3. सुनेगा
,,	Pl.	ı.	सुनेंगे	2. सुनोगे	3. सुनेंगे
P.	Sing.	1.	सुषांगा	2. सुर्षेगा	3. सुषेगा
,,	Pl.	1.	सुवानि	^{2.} सुषोगे	3. सुगानने

If the reader will compare this example with that of the agrist in § 33, it will be at once apparent that this tense is formed by adding the syllables ga, gt, 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 haigh, for hai "it is." There can be little doubt that this gå is the Skr. p.p. गत, Pr. गढी, गयो, गसो. In H., as mentioned in § 48, the p.p. of jana "to go," is gaya m., and this in the mediæval poets is often shortened to qû. The f. is गई gat, which easily becomes जी, so also pl. m. जण becomes जे. 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 ba 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 Garhwâl, and Kumaon in the Himalayas, who are by origin Rajputs from the

VOL. III.

11

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).

	BI	NGULAR.	
Marwâri.	1. पडूंसी	2. प डे ली	3. परिसो
Garhwâli.	1. मारली	2. मारिस्रो	3. मारसो
Kumaoni.	1. भा र् सो	2 \cdot मारेको	3. मारसो
Nepali.	1. हंसा	2. होनास	3. होसा
मुं (neuter	· 1. सुटे न	2. सुटसील	३. सुटेस
active.	: 1. सुटेन : 1. सोडीन	2 सोडिसीस	3. सोडीस
	1	LURAL.	
Marwâri.	1. पडांचा	2 पडोसा	३. परेका
Garhwâli.	1. मार्सा	2 मरिचा	३ मार्या
Kumaoni.	1. माङ्जा	2 मार्सा	३. भारका
Nepali.	1. शिका	2. हीका	३. ज्ञनन्
i (neuter	. 1. सुटू	2. सुटा स	3. सुटतीस
ii neuter	ा सोबू	2. सोडास	3. सोडितीब

In these dialects the aorist has had added to it a form an sing. and an 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. gå, 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 gå, and adding a to this, we get gå, which, being difficult to pronounce, has glided into gå. In the 1 pl., however, the a has simply been rejected, so that it is the same as the aorist. In the 2 sing, the aorist has agea, but, as has already been shown, this is a contraction from gate, and gate + a =

सुरशोस, from the Marathi habit of lengthening the vowel of a final syllable. In the 2 pl. aorist सुरा, the स has neither been fused with the anuswara into स, as in the 1 sing., nor has it altogether dropped out, as in the 1 pl.; but there is no trace of the anuswara; the reason of this is that the anuswara in this person is not organic; the older language has simply å, as सुरा, and it is to this that the स has been added, and not to the modern form. The third person singular and plural is still simpler; aor. सुरे + स = सुरेस, and (archaic) सुरती + स = सुरतीस. The same process is followed by the active verb exactly.

I look upon this was the shortened form of a sing. In m., In f., pl. In m., In f., of which the feminine is apparently not in use, and I derive it from Skr. $\sqrt{30}$, p.p.p. In f. Pr. In f, of which the f has been reduced to f according to ordinary practice, and the single f has then dropped out, leaving In f, shortened into In. 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 f. In f is used in a very wide range of applications, and In f 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.—Present Par-

Sanskrit पचन् m., पचनी f., पचत् म

			HINDI.	PANJABI.	SINDH	1.
Ps	rtic	iple.	देखता ॰ती	1. बांदा ॰दी ॰दे ॰दी बां	Newtor. इसंदो °दी	^{∆टांक} . भरींदो °दी
(a) d	ieclis	able.	॰ते ॰तीं	2. मारदा °दी, etc.	॰दा ॰दिउं	॰दा ॰दिउं
(b) i	ndec	linable.	देखंत देखत	29	99	99
	s.	1.)		हबंदुसि ॰दिचसि	_
etc.) Tense.		2. 3.	े दंखता °ता	मारदा ॰दी	हसंदें °दिश्वं हसंदो °दी	भरींदें •दिष भरींदो •दी
Present (Future, etc.) Tense.	Pl.	1.)		इ बं दासीं ॰बू सीं	भरींदासीं,=
Pre		2.	देखते ॰तीं	मारदे ॰दीचां	हसंद च ॰बूं	भरींद्ड •बृ
		3.)		इसंदा ॰ बूं	भरींदा ॰बूं

¹ On account of the multiplicity of forms in Marathi, the masculing

of the participles and the participial tenses derived from them.

Prakrit **पचतो** m., •ती f., •तं n.

TICIPLE ACTIVE.

GUJARATI.	MAR	ATHI.	ORIYA.	BANGALI.
कोडतो ॰ती ॰तुं	_{Nover.} सुटता °ती °तें	Active. सोखिता °ती °तें		
•ता •ती •ता	•ते •त्वा •तीं	•ते •त्वा •तीं	,,	29
क्षोड तां °ते	सुटत ॰तां ॰तांना	सोखीत ॰तां ॰तांगा	देखु ॰ खुं	देखिते
 होडतो ॰तो ॰तुं	सुटतों ¹ सुटतोस सुटतास	सोडितों सोडितोस सोडितास	देखंति देखंतु	देखिताम देखितिस
)	सुटतो सुटता	सोडितो सोडिता	देखंता	देखित
,	सुटती	सीकितों	देखंतुं	देखिताम
क्रीडता श्ती श्ता	सुटता	साडितां	देखंत	देखिता
)	सुटतात सुटते	सोखितात सोखिते	देखंत	देखितेन

nly of the indicative and conditional are given in this table.

II.—Past Participle Passive.

TI-T ASI I ARIICIFUR I ASSIVE.

Sanskrit जतस् m., जता f., जतं n. Prakrit विरिक्षो m., वरी f., विरिष्धं n.

BANGALI.	खा ख	विव बिब बि	हिंबबाम हेविबा हेबिबा
ORIYA.	(10.) E	हेविबि हेविन हेविन हेविबि हेविना हेविब	
HI.	सोडिला॰को॰ले •ले॰खा॰लो ट्रेसिल ट्रेसिल	सीडवा॰बी॰बे	हे बिहु सोडिहे • सानों देविह हे बिहे
MARATHI.	कोब्दो ॰ दी ॰ खुं सुटका ॰ की ॰ के •द्या ॰ दी ॰ द्यां ॰ के ॰ क्या ॰ की *nd के दिकी, ० ८.	होद्यो •ही •ह्य सुटका •क्षे क्षे क्षे क्षे क्षे क्षे क्षे क्षे	मुटबों सुटबो सुटबो ॰खा ॰बों
GUJARATI.	कोद्यो ॰ दी ॰ दुं सुटका ॰ सी ॰ कै •द्या ॰ दी ॰ द्या ॰ से ॰ क्या ॰ सी *nd को देशो, ० ८०.	होदी •ही •हु होडेंदी •ही •हु	होद्धाः ची •द्धा सुरक्षा होडेका •बी •क्षा
BINDHI.	हत्त्वी ः श्री •साः • ख्रुं	हबिटिति ॰ प्रति हबिए ॰ ए च हब्दी ॰ है	हास्त्राती, etc. मार ॰री मार ॰ईषा हस्त्रिष ॰यू हिष्णा ॰यू
PANJABI.	मारा ग्री मारिषा ग्री हच्चो ग्झी ग्रेग्री ग्रेग्रीषा ग्झा ग्झू	मारा॰री मारिषा ॰ इं हिल्पं ॰ इं इक्को ॰ इं	मारे ः इंचा
HINDI.			
	Participle.	નં લં લં જં	.sansT teas E E e e e

III.—FUTURE PARTICIPLE PASSIVE.

Sanskrit बोधितवास् m., •व्या f., •वं n. Prakrit बोधिद्ध, बोधिषञ्ज.

	HINDI.	SINDHI.	GUJABATI.	ТВУЖ	MARATHI.	ORITA.	BANGALI.
Participle (Infinitive,	सुरुषे माणिबे	हर्दन ॰ वी ॰ मा ॰ व्यू	क्टोडवो ॰वी ॰वुं ॰वा ॰वी ॰वा	कोडनो ॰वी ॰वं मुटावा ॰वी ॰वं •वा ॰वी ॰वा ॰वे ॰व्या ॰वीं	सोखावा ॰वी ॰वं •वे ॰व्या ॰वों	हेसिमा	हेबिबा
S. 1.	(Bhojpuri.)	क्रिड्रिवृधिः		सुटावाः		देखिष	देखि
લં	देखन	क्षिन		मुटावास		ट्रेसिय	देखि
က်	deest	क्टिंग	क्रीदवी, etc.	सुटाबा	सोदावा ॰ मी ॰ में	ट्रेखिन	
Pl. 1.		क्रिकासी	क्रोड वानी, etc.	मुटाबे		हेबिनु ॰ मा	
લં	देखन	क्टिबड		मुटवेत		ट्रेखिब	
က်	deest	क्टिबा		मुटावे		ट्रेखिबे	

² Only the masculine is given from want of space.

1 See other dialectic forms in § 53.

§ 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) lo, (3) no. Examples of the first type are—

```
anáva "to carry."
                      ando.
                              Skr. ani.
                                         p.p.p. anîta, S. ando.
jivava "to live,
                      iivdo.
                                   jîv.
                                                iîvita.
kerava " to do."
                                                krita, Pers. karda.
                      kerdo.
                                   kri,
nashava "to depart."
                      nashto, " naç,
                                                nashta.
                                            ••
chinava "to cut."
                      chindo. .. chhid.
                                                chhinna.
                                           ,,
```

Of the second type—

avåva "to come," alo, " åyå, " åyåta, M. ålå, B. O. åila.

jåva "to go," gelo, " yå, " yåta, M. gelå, B. gela, O. galå.

dikåva "to see," diklo, B. dekhila, O.

Of the third typedava "to give," dino. datta, Pr. dinno, O.-.. dâ. H. dinnâ, dînâ lava "to take." lino. ., labh, labdha, O.-H. linnå, lînâ. rovâva " to weep," rovno, rudita, Pr. runno, rud, S. runo. uryava " to fly," uryano, " uddî, uddîna, S. udâno.

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. linân, 3. linâs "I took," etc.

dekhila

So from kerdo "done," comes

Sing. 1. kerdom, 2. kerdân, 3. kerdâs,

Pl. 1. kerdâm, 2. kerdân, 3. kerdâs "I did," etc.

And from muklo "abandoned" (Skr. mukta)-

Sing. 1. muklom, 2. muklân, 3. muklâs,

Pl. 1. muklåm, 2. muklån, 3. muklås "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 $\theta \hat{\epsilon} \lambda \omega$ contracted to $\theta \hat{\epsilon}$ and $\theta \hat{a}$, is used in this way, as $\theta \hat{a}$ $\hat{\nu} m \hat{a} \gamma \omega$ "I will go." There is nothing strictly analogous to this method in our seven languages, though the futures of the ga and la types are formed on a not very dissimilar principle.

CHAPTER IV.

THE COMPOUND TENSES.

CONTENTS.—§ 68. Depinition of the Compound Tenses and Auxiliary Verbs.—§ 69. The Root As, Persent Tense.—§ 60. Imperfect in Panjabi and Gipsy.—§ 61. As with a Negative.—§ 62. Compound Tenses formed with As.—§ 63. The Root Achh; Discussion as to its Origin.—§ 64. Tenses derived therefrom.—§ 65. Compound Tenses formed therewith.—§ 66. Bhū;—the Simple Tenses.—§ 67. id.;—the Participial Tenses.—§ 68. Compound Tenses formed therewith.—§ 69. STHÂ.—§ 70. FÂ.—§ 71. Ancillary Verbs Defined.—§ 72. Examples of Ancillaries.

§ 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 $\sqrt{34}$, $\sqrt{3}$, $\sqrt{3}$, $\sqrt{3}$, and another, whose origin is somewhat obscure in Sanskrit, but which appears in Prakrit under the form $\sqrt{3}$. 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. Δs . This root means "to be," and is the simple copula like Latin esse (see under stha 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 $bh\hat{u}$ type for all roots, retain in this verb the ad type. Omitting the dual, the tense runs—

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 bhû type, though in classical Sanskrit it follows some other conjugation; indeed, it may, I think, be considered as proved that the forms of the bhû 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{n} conjugated after the bhû type, thus-

> Sing. 1. asâmi, 2. asasi, 3. asati. Pl. 1. asâmah, 2. asatha, 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—

Sing. 1. আছিয়া, 2. আছি, আছি.
Pl. 1. আছিয়া, 2. আছিয়া, 3. আছিনি

Now, barring the troublesome superfluity of anunasikas which the Sindhians have seen fit to bestow on this agrist, the forms are strikingly similar to those of the Sanskrit tense postulated above. The 3 sing. *the* 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 acrist of the active verb given in § 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, with, etc. like the control of the peculiarity, 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—

These are the regular terminations of the aorist in the neuter verb, only the 1 plural differs slightly, having instead of the 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—

	SINGULAR.		
Old-H.	1. पर् उं	2. पहहि	3. चह हि
Avadhî,	1. चहें उ	2. चहेस	3. चह
Riwâî.	1. ਲੰ. ਵਾਂ	2. 🛊	3. है. स्ना

PLUBAL.

The 3 singular in the poets is sometimes written with, and sometimes without, the last h, as in Kabir कितिया सुष बोव एक खहर "There is one line of duty in the world" (Ram. lvi. 1), or written as a dissyllabic word, as राम नाम खहें निज साद ॥ "The name of Ram is itself the true one" (ib. lxiv. 5), or with long i, metri gratia, धर्म कहें सब पानी खहरे ॥ "Religion, he saith, is all (one like) water" (ib. lxxiii. 5). The 1 singular occurs in "Pause and attend, ponder on Ram, thus I am calling aloud, oh!" (ib. Kah. 7). So also in Tulsi Das, तिस मिति खिरी खहर खिस भावी ॥ "Thus her mind is changed as fate decrees" (Ay-k. 117), राम चराचर नायक खहरें ॥ "Ram is lord of things moveable and immoveable" (ib. 445), विधि करतव उसटे सब खहरें "The laws of duty are all reversed" (ib. 617), सुबम सकस मन तक्ह कई खहरें "All roads are easy to thee" (ib. 574).

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

Sing. 1. 1, 1, 1, 2. 1, 3. 1. Pl. 1. 1, 2. 1, 3. 1.

The classical language uses \pm in the 1 sing., but \mp is used in the poets, in Braj, and in the rustic dialects. Between \mp , used as a singular, and \mp , used as a plural, there is the same confusion as in the same persons of the acrist in the ordinary verb (§ 33). The form \mp seems to belong more naturally to a Pr. ahâmu, and \mp to ahâmi, and we are led to suspect that an 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 bhû 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-

It has also, as noticed in § 54, a form of this tense with the participial addition m., n, n, n.

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—

§ 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—

Then बा is added as in the present, giving साबा, सीबी, सेबे, सीबीचां. I do not remember ever to have heard this form, but it is given in the Ludhiana grammar. One often hears सी, 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 \blacksquare .

Sing. 1. सां. Pl. 1. सां. 3. सन, सन.

To this, also, is added an, thus

Sing. 1. सांगा m., सांगी f.

Pl. 1. सांगे m., सांगीचा f. 3. सनगे m., सनगीचा f.

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

Sing. 1. **इसां**. 2, 3. **इसी**. Pl. 1, 2. **इसे** m., **इसीचां** f. 3. **इसन**.

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, thus—

Skr. Sing. 1. आसं. 2. आसी:, 3. आसीत्.
Pl. 1. आस, 2. आस, 3. आसन्.
Pr. Sing. 1. सां, 2. सी, 3. सी.
Pl. 1. सां, — 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 the being the ordinary termination of the feminine, was erroneously taken for a feminine, and a masculine was invented to suit it, together with the plurals and with. This reasoning will account also for the fact that with 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. If m., If f., pl. m., If f. A variation of this form in Western Rajputana (Márwár) has sing. I, pl. I think we must see in this form a p.p.p. of as, with loss of the initial vowel, and change of I into I.

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

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.

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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.

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.

§ 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."

Here the u in the first syllable of the singular is due to some confusion with the tense of $bh\hat{u}$, to be noted hereafter; but though this form is common in writing, the peasantry often say simply \overline{u} , "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 इदय नुहन्ति निरद्य।

"Merciful-hearted they are not, but pitiless."-Rasak. vi. 18.

There being in O. no positive present from as, the survival of the negative present has naturally been accounted for by referring it to the only positive present remaining, namely, that from $bh\hat{u}$; 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 नची for all persons of both tenses, they say क नची "I am not," तं नची "thou art not," ते नची "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

नची is clearly derived from पत्थ, the Pr. form of पास्त with न prefixed, and thus, strictly speaking, belongs only to the 3 sing.

The negative of as is kept distinct from that of $bh\hat{u}$ in Marathi, the former runs thus—

Sing. 1. नाहीं, 2. नाहींस, 3. नाहीं. Pl. 1, 2. नाहीं, 3. नाहींत.

In Hindi वहि 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 वाहे or वसाहे "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 ইঅনা ট্ব "he is seeing." Def. Preterite হয়ে ট্ব "he has seen."

Colloquially, also, one sometimes hears a tense formed from the aorist of the verb, and that of the auxiliary, as with the 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 Kellogg, p. 206.



Panjabi has the following:—

Def. Present जांदा है "he is going."

Def. Imperfect जांदा सा "he was going."

Def. Preterite गिमा है "he has gone."

Pluperfect गिमा सा "he had gone."

Sindhi has, like Hindi, the two definite tenses:-

Def. Present इसंदो आहे "he is going." Def. Preterite इसियो आहे "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 **ᠳ통** "he is writing."

" (Emphatic) **ᠳ통** "he is writing."

Def. Preterite **ᠳ통에 제통** "he has written."

Future **ᠳ통제** "he is about to write."

The other languages having no traces of this auxiliary, naturally have no tenses formed by it.

§ 63. ACHH. 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 sûtra gives tipātthi, 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 achchhaï, 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

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 (\sqrt{gam}), "to go." This view is supported by citations from the Bhagavati (i. 411, etc.), as e.g. acchejja va citthejja va nisteyya va uyattejja, "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—

tuppāṇaṇā kino acchasi tti ia pucchiāi vahuāi.—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 muhadaṃsaṇaṃ aïmahaggham taggâmachettasîmâ vi jhatti diṭṭha 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 acchau is 3 singular imperative; the idiom is in common use in modern speech; thus in O. they would say tâku dekhibâ thâu, tâhâr grâm simâ madhya dekhibâ ânand 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 O. Tin this construction is that of TIE in B. Thus, Bhârat Chandra—

उपोषे उपोषे खोक हैन मृत प्राय॥ याकक पत्नेर कथा जल नाहि पाय॥

"From long fasting the folk were nearly dead,

Let alone food, they could not (even) get water."—Mansingh, 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 Hâla. The aphæresis of an initial consonant is rare. In scenic Prakrit it is confined almost entirely to the root \mathbf{v} ($j\hat{a}na$), as in $anasi = j\hat{a}nasi$, 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. $\sqrt{3}$ aksh, "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 we "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 a, a, and a, and all these three forms phonetically point to an earlier a.

Leaving Prakrit scholars to decide whence comes this stem was or we (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 connection with we. Indeed, as has already been shown, we so regularly passes into we in the moderns, that it is difficult to conceive by what process it could ever have become was. I

Hemachandra's evidence seems conclusive against any connection between ach and gam, for he has a sûtra to the effect that words of the class gam take the termination cha; the list consists of the four words gacchai (gam), icchai (ish), jacchai (yam), and acchai (?).—Pischel, Hem., iv. 215. 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 visamî kajjagaï jîvaham majjhe ei tâmahim acchaü iaru janu suanu 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 alone (acchaü) the base man, even the good man keeps aloof (literally 'gives an interval')," "Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris." Kajjagaï = kâryagati, iaru = itara.



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 un, which we should refer, I think, to this root, resting on the well-known peculiarity of M., by which it changes especially when derived from an earlier un, into un (Vol. I. p. 218). The Sanskrit \sqrt{as} having in M. become the, 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 use. M. has the following tenses:—

1. Aorist-

Sing. 1. चासें, 2. चासस, 3. चासे, Pl. 1. चासं, 2. चासां, 3. चासत,

where the terminations exactly correspond with those of the acrist in the ordinary verb.

2. Simple imperative—

Sing. 1. चार्चू, 2. चार्स, ऐस, 3. चार्सी. Pl. 1. चार्स्, 2. चार्सा, 3. चार्सीत.

3. Simple future—

Sing. 1. चर्सन, 2. चर्ससीस, 3. चर्सस. Pl. 1. चर्स, 2. चरास, 3. चरतीस.

4. Present formed with present participle and Sanskrit substantive verb—

Masc. Sing. 1. चसतों, 2. चसतोस, 3. चसतो. Pl. 1. चसतों, 2. चसतो, 3. चसतात.

- 5. Conditional similarly formed. Sing. 3 masc. चसता, etc., as in the ordinary verb.
- 6. Preterite formed with p.p.p. similar to conditional. Sing. 3 masc. want, etc.
- 7. Subjunctive formed with future p.p. Sing. 3 masc.

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

There being no formation from \sqrt{as} in O., 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—

Present Sing. 1. माक्टि, 2. माक्टिस, 3. माक्टि "I am," etc.

Pl. 1. चाक्टि, 2. चाक्ट्, 3. चाक्ट्रेन.

Imperfect Sing. 1. किन्, 2. किसि, 3. किस "I was," etc.

Pl. 1. क्रिसाम्, 2. क्रिसा, 3. क्रिसेन्.

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 & is comparatively recent, for it is retained in so late a poet as Bharat Chandra (A.D. 1711–1755). चाह्यि विकर् टाट प्रथम वरेसे "She was (i.e. had been) very wanton in her youth" (Bidya-S. 246). It is common enough, also, in the other Bengali poets, चे ताच चेताच सिंच चाह्यि तोमार "What vicissitudes were experienced by you" (Kasi-M. 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 (Tirhut, Purnia, etc.), where the rustic dialect has the following present:

It has also a feminine singular of, plural of, 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—

Further west, in the same district, one hears—

In Bhojpuri, for the present is often heard 3, which is unchanged throughout both persons. This widely-used form seems to confirm the supposition of the derivation from 3, for 3 changes both to 3, and to 3.

From the Himalayan districts of Kumãon 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—

-

	BINGULA	H.	
Kumâon.	१. छों, छूं	2. 🧸	3. ₹.
Garhwâl.	1. हीं	2. 硬, 包	3. ₹.
E. Rajputana.	1. ਜ਼ਰ੍ਹੇ	2. 🕏	3. a .
Gujarati.	1. हुई	2. a	3. च्छे .
	PLURAL	ւ.	
Kumâon.	1. क्यूं, कों	2. छा	3. इन, हों.
Garhwâl.	1. होंं, हवाऊं	2. इन, इयाई	3. इन.
E. Rajputana.	1. क्	2. हो	3. d .
Gujarati.	1. इन्चे	2. 夏]	3. च्छे .

The first and third of these have also a preterite participle

in type like most of the preterites. Thus in Kumâon they say sing. दियो, pl. दिया or दियो, which seems to point to a Skr. p.p.p. पचित=Pr. पव्छियो. In Eastern Rajputana there is sing. को, pl. का.

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—

चाप चक्त वुवराव पद रामहि देउ गरेस

"Thyself remaining, give the heir-apparentship to Ram, O king!"
—Ay-k. 11.

That is, "during thy lifetime," literally "thou being." The dictionary-writers erroneously give this as a Tadbhava from wan, with which it has nothing to do.

It is worthy of consideration whether the forms of the imperfect in P. given in § 60 should not be referred to this root rather than to as. The change of \mathbf{z} into \mathbf{z} so characteristic of \mathbf{M} , would thus find a parallel in Panjabi.

Gujarati has also a present participle indeclinable क्ता and क्त "(in) being," and declinable क्ता m., ती f., तुं n.; pl. क्ता 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 **TER WART** "he is living," i.e. "he habitually resides," **TERR WART** "I am (always employed in) writing."

Next, a past habitual, by adding the aorist of the auxiliary to the present tense, as चसत चसे "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 at "if" prefixed, either expressed or understood, as at an atla "If he were doing the work," utak usa usa usa "(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 usa usa usa "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 an anawar at a man and the past and "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 an anawar at "Should he have arrived, then, etc."

So, also, with the future participle and the past auxiliary, as बर तो जाणार पसला 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—
 - तुसा बाप तुसी बाट पाइत चसेब "Your father will be waiting for you" (i.e. is probably now expecting you; vata pahat="looks at the road," idiomatic for "expects").
- 2. Past participle of verb+future of auxiliary-
 - तो चाला चरेन "He will have come" (i.e. "has probably arrived by this time").

3. Future participle of verb+future of auxiliary-

मी बिहिशार चसेन "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. 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, Râm jât asalâ, tar tê kâm tyâlâ sângâ, 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! na! (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 a in G. are the following:—

1. Definite present; agrist of verb + agrist of auxiliary, as करे हे "he does."

Sometimes both verb and auxiliary lose their final vowel, as कर इह for करे है "thou dost," करे इह "he does." बरो इह for हो "ye do," etc.

- 2. Definite preterite; p.p. of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as आयो है "he has given," active used in karma construction with instrumental of subject. तेये काम बचावेलुं है "he has performed the work;" neuter in karta, as इं चड्यो हुं "I have ascended."
- 3. Another definite preterite with the second form of the p.p. in elo, as चरेको हू "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 है "he is about to eat."
- 5. Another tense with the second form of the fut. part. in vâno, as इं बर्बानो हुं "I am going to do." The uninflected form of the future participle in âr may also be used, as तुं शुं कर्गार है "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 $\hat{\mathbf{e}}$ is sometimes also used after another auxiliary derived from $bh\hat{u}$, as $\hat{\mathbf{e}}$ and $\hat{\mathbf{e}}$ "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, are if "I am beating," also a preterite composed of the p.p. of the verb and aorist of auxiliary, as are "I have beaten." There seems to be some anomaly in this latter, for in the preterite of the active verb is added to all six persons, whereas, when used with the substantive verb if "be," the auxiliary is participial sing. If, pl. It. 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 acrist मारहो (or मारहू) हों "I am beating;" and its preterite in the same way from the p.p. and acrist मारे ह "he has beaten," मारा हन "they have beaten." So does Kumaoni, present मार्नु हं, preterite मारो ह; 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.

¹ Kellogg, Grammar, p. 240.

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, thus—

Def. Present देखितीक "I am seeing" (dekhite + achhi).

Def. Imperfect देखितीक "I was seeing" (dekhite + [a]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—

देखितेकिसाम "I was seeing" (dekhite + [â]chhilâm).

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 देखियाकि "I have seen" (dekhiyâ + âchhi). Pluperfect देखियाकिन "I had seen" (dekhiyâ + âchhinu).

Here, also, देखियाकिसाम is common for 1 sing. Wonderful corruptions occur in pronunciation in these tenses: so loses its aspirate and becomes 4, so that we hear for astable a word that sounds körche, and may be written करचे, for होइतेके "is" vulgo höche (हचे), for देखियाके dekhiche (देखिये), and for देखियाकिसाम dekhichilem, or dekh'chilem (देखिसिमे ?). also for चासितके "goes" chaloche (चन्ने). These forms are freely used in conversation by educated persons, and some recent authors of comic novels and plays introduce them into The same remark applies to the mouths of their characters. 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-

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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 আছি "I am doing" (pres. part. karu "doing").

Def. Preterite আহি "I have done" (p.p. kari "done").

Here, also, colloquially, the auxiliary is generally incorporated with the verb, and they say and and artist respectively. In the south of the province, also, the older form of the present participle in the prevails, and one hears artist "he is doing," and contracted sits "he is."

§ 66. $BH\tilde{U}$. 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 discussed, 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 bh is retained. In Pali, both bhavati and hoti are found for 3 sing. pres., abhava and ahuva impf., bhavatu and hotu impt., and in Sauraseni Prakrit we find bhodu=bhavatu, bhavia = bhatva, and the like. Distinct traces of the retention of the bh are still in existence in some rustic dialects of Hindi, and in the old poets. In the latter, a p.p.p. sing. with m., we f., pl.

verbal endings, as भरेड, भरेड, etc. It is also contracted into भी; and in the modern form भरा "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 Pr. भविषो = a Skr. भवित, with elision of the च, and च called in to fill up the hiatus. I give from Kellogg the dialectic forms (Gr. p. 236)—

SINGULAR.

Kanauji. 1. 2. 3. भयो m., भई f. भयी m., id. Braj. id. Old-Pûrbi. 1. भयउं m., भा, 2. **भय**च m. 3. भय**उ** m., भा भरचं∫ः भर्ड. भर् र 1. મચેરું m., મવા, 2. મચેસ m. Avadhi. 3. भवा, भया m. भिचर्च ह भचिसि.र. भर, भे. RiwAi. 1. 2. 3. भा, भ. 1. भोइसी, भैसी, 2. भैस, 3. भेजस. भेज. Bhojpuri. PLURAL. Kanauji. 1. 2. 3. भए m., भई f. (also भरे m.). Braj. id. 2. મથે, મથે**ક m**. 3. મથે, મે m. Old-Parbi. 1. भर्चे, भे m. भरं*र*ः भइं, भइं*छ f*. भरं∫ः 1. भर्चे m. 2. भ**ये** m. 3. ਮੋਦੇ ਆ. Avadhi. **भे**∫ः भचित्र हैं. भरोनि रः 1. 2. 3. मधेन, भयेन्ह्र. Riwai. 1. भोदबीं, भेलीं, 2. भेलह, 3. भेसन .

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

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); Riwâi, 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 mediæval poets generally.

Kanauji, thus अयो कोटि तामस तांम ॥ "He became violently disturbed with anger" (Pr. R. i. 48), जनगपाल अयो राज ॥ "Anangapâl became King" (iii. 17), पुत्र क्या ज्यों अर्थ । सनी खुं कहीं जपुत्रह ॥ "How the former matter happened, listen while I tell the wonderful tale" (iii. 15), पुत्र होत अर्थ मृत्य ॥ "While the son was being (born), she became dead" (i. 170), अए जादि जंत किता जिते। "As many poems as have been (written) first and last" (i. 10), अए विकल कोग चाइल उताप ॥ "The folk became distressed, (being) wounded and heated" (xxi. 5). Contracted मन भी हास कदन पुनि जाइय ॥ "Daughter became (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 हजा to a great extent.

A few examples may be added from Kabir: दुतिया गाम पार्वित भयक। तप करता संकर को दयक। "Her second name was Parvati, the ascetic (i.e. Daksha) gave her to Sankara" (Ram. 26, 5), येके पुद्ध येकहें गारी।, तातें खिन घान भी घारी। "One male (energy), one female, from them were produced four kinds of living beings" (ib. 6), एक चंद घोंकार ते यह सब बब 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 अर्थी बहोरि अर्थी तेहि खारा "It filled again and thus became salt (i.e. the sea)" (Lanka-k. 3), सेतृबंध भर भोर चिता। "The Setubandh became very crowded" (ib. 10). But the Pûrbi form is more common, as in माच नार पूछत चस भयज "Bowing his head, thus he was asking" (Kis-k. 2), करि इंडवत कहत चस भयज "Making salutation, thus he was saying" (Ar-k. 259). The contracted form is also very common, as भे मन मुद्ति पार प्रिय साथू। "He became (or was) enraptured at meeting with the beloved" (Ay-k. 441).

Closely connected with the Bhojpuri भेल is the form भेल, used by the half-Bengali half-Maithil poet Bidyapati, as in भून भेल मन्द्र ग्रून भेल नगरी॥, ग्रून भेल दग्रदिश ग्रून भेल 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), कोविल कलर्व मित भेल 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 bh. 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 ho, like the cognate languages.

The agrist has the following forms:—

	1	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.	
Hindi.	1. होर्ज	2. होए	3. होए.	1. होएं	 होचो 	3. होएं.
P.	1. होवां	2. होवें	3. होवे.	1. होचे	2. होवी	3. होण.
s.	1. ক্লবা	2. F Ú	3. FŲ .	1. ਲੁੱ	2. इस्रो	3. ক্লম্বলি-
G.	1. होउं	2. होय	3. होय.	1. होर्चे	2. होची	3. होय .
M.	1. होई	2. होईस	3. होई.	1. होजं	2. 夏 †	3. होईत.
0.	1. होएं	2. हेड	3. ज्ञ ष्.	1. हेर्ड	2. F ¶	3. ज्ञश्रंतिः
B.	1. हर्	2. हर	3. ह्य.	1. हर्	2. इम्रो	3. हुन.

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 acrist 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—

Several peculiarities call for notice in this tense. In classical Hindi there is the usual diversity of practice always observed in stems ending in 4 or o, as regards the method of joining the

terminations. Thus we have for 1 sing. हो in addition to होच; 2 and 3 sing. are written होए, होच, होचे, and हो; 1 and 3 pl. होएं, होच, होचें, हों; 2 pl. हो as well as होचो, which makes it identical with the same person in the acrist 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 v. 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 acrist, 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—

The same combination occurs throughout this tense when used negatively="I am not," as—

and in other parts of the verb affirmative and negative.

In Sindhi this root is throughout shortened to hu, and when the vowel is lengthened by the influence of affixes, it becomes $h\hat{u}$, rarely ho, except in poetry, where 3 sing. It is met instead of $\mathbf{x}\mathbf{u}$. 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+i=ai=e. Thus 2 sing. is in full e, 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 e and e may be regarded, either as shortened from e and e respectively, and thus derivable from ho, or as equivalents of H. e and e, 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 in "be thou." In the Rajput dialects the 2 sing. is 2, 2 pl. in it former occurs also in Chand as a 3 sing. in use also in Galla the wall that we will be success, success!" (i. 178) The Riwa dialect has 2 sing. It, 2 pl. Its, like the present.

P. 2 sing. हो, 2 pl. होवो. S. has 2 sing. हो and होउ, 2 pl. हो and इसो. G. for 2 sing. and 2 pl. both हो.

M.	Sing.	1. होजं	^{2.} हो	3. होवी, होज-
0.	,,	1. T Ų	2. दो	3. हेच.
B.	,,		2. होत, हत	3. इंडक.
M.	Pl.	1. होसं	2. हा	3. होवीत, होजतः
0.	"	1. हेर्ड	2. F ¶	3. हेचंतु.
B.	,,		2. স্থৰ	3. इंडन्.

The respectful form of the imperative follows that of the other verbs in the various languages. H. here inserts च, making होचिये "be pleased to be," G. होचे.

Nepali has somewhat abnormally 2 sing. 34, 2 pl. 34.

The simple future in G. is formed according to the usual

rule; but here again we meet the tendency so common in B. and O., to express the o sound by a, so that side by side with the regular forms होई स, होसे, etc., we have also sing. 1. हुई स, 2. हुसे, 3. हुसे; pl. 1. हुई सं, 2. हुसो, 3. हुसे, which we must apparently pronounce hotsh, hoshe, etc.

The simple future in old and rustic Hindi is regularly formed, as **giggi** "I shall become," etc.; but in this tense the employment of the type **a** is very common, both in the poets and among the peasantry of the western area. Thus—

singular. Plural.
Braj. 1. द्वेहीं 2. द्वेही 3. द्वेही. 1. द्वेहीं 2. द्वेही 3. द्वेहीं.
West Rajp. 1. द्वेहों 2. द्वेही 3. द्वेही. 1. द्वेहां 2. द्वेहो 3. द्वेही.

We have also the curious transitional form of East Rajputana which approaches so closely to G.—

Sing. 1. हेस्नूं, हेसूं 2. हेसी 3. हेसी. Pl. 1. हेस्सां, हेसां 2. हेस्सां, हेसां 3. हेसां

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 sits, a shortened form sits, and the Braj 38. Also occasionally sit in a future sense, which is probably a form of the 3 sing. aorist for situ (sq.). Examples are not site form sits. "His race shall become extinct" (Pr.-R. iii.

29), होडि जदविन सपूतह। "The Jadavani shall be with child" (i. 249), दिवस पंच के संतरे। होइ सु दिशी पति। "In the space of five days, he shall become lord of Dilli" (iii. 411), हजा न भीर हैडे न कोइ। "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 होदहै, होदह, होहि, and होद are the forms of the ordinary regular future; होगा is very rarely met in their pages, if at all. Instances are, भये जे चहाई जे होर्ड आगे। "They who have been, are, and shall be hereafter" (Tulsi, Ram. Bal-K. 30), होइडि यही कद्माण चन। "Now this good fortune will be (will happen)" (ib. 82), चन तें रति तव नाथ कर होइहि नाम चनकु। "Henceforth, Rati, the name of thy lord shall be Ananga" (ib. 96). The form 🚼 does not appear to be used by Tulsi Das, though in Bihari Lal the participle a is common; this latter poet's subject does not give much occasion for the use of the future. वड़रि जनस न होइडे ताको "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 hvai 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.

§ 67. The participial tenses are formed as in the ordinary verb. The present participle is in Old-H. जनत, as in Chand इसन जनत "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 हतो is found. The other languages have P. इंडा, S. इंडो, G. होतो, M. होत, होता,

होतांना, O. हेउ, B. होइते, 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 §§ 46, 47, and as such takes its type from Skr. भूत, H. ह्रचा. The vowel of the stem is in the present day commonly pronounced short ज्ञचा, and this practice is not uncommon in the poets. P. होइचा, S. ज्ञचो, G. होचो, होयो, होयो, होयो.

M. has a strange participle **द्वादा**, which may be explained as phonetically resulting from an older form **द्वादा**, shortened from **द्वादा**. I can trace nothing similar in any of the cognate languages, though the change from **द्वा** to **द्वा** is perfectly regular. In the poets a form **दादा** is found, and even **दादादा**. These types have led some writers to regard this participle as derived from the root **दा**. This, however, is very doubtful. Tukaram always uses **दा॰**, as **दादा पुरक्षे नवस । घट दादा द्वादा द्वादा द्वादा हा** द्विद "To-day our vows are heard, blessed has become (is) this day" (Abh. 508).

O. होइ, हेला, B. होइल, हइल.

The future participle is in M. द्वादा, O. हैंब, B. हर्ब, contracted to हब (hŏbŏ).

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. In m. In f. In 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. In m., In 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. hûam, hoïam, and the like; also that in Chand the anuswâra of the present participle is still preserved, as in दुव इतो दुविषय भोर। (Pr.-R. i. 49), "Brahman became to Brahman hostile;" and a few lines further on in the same passage द्व इतो सिविय रिष्य "There was one Śringa 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 fatal "falling," and fatal "fallen" (gir "to fall")—
- 1. गिरता होस (aorist of ho) "I may be falling," which may be called a definite present subjunctive or contingent; as in answer to a question हमारे घर को जाते "Are you going to my house?" one might answer जाता होस "I may be going (but am not sure)."
- 2. गिर्ता इंगा (future of ho shortened from हो खंगा) "I shall or must be falling," a future contingent, or doubtful; as in asking राम चनही चाता है "Is Ram coming now?" the reply is, हां चाता होगा "Yes, he will be coming," or, "he must be coming," i.e. "I suppose he is now on his way here."
- 3. बिरता 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 बहि भागता होता तो में उसकी रोकता "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 होडां "I may have fallen." Also somewhat rare. In answer to तुम ने उसके नाम कवही सुना "Have you ever heard his name?" one might say सुना होडां "I may have heard it" (but have now forgotten it).
- 5. गिरा हंगा "I must or shall have fallen." This is a very commonly used tense. Thus ज्ञा 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 ने संवाद 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. विराहोता "(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 te may be heard in eastern Hindi, as तुम बद्धि बस्ह आए रहते "If you had come yesterday." The only instance Kellogg gives is apparently from a translation of the Bible (John xv. 22) को में न आया 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 ho, 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 जांदा है "He is going," side by side with a continuative present with ho, जांदा इंदा है "He kept on going;" also, "He is in the habit of going." So, also, there is a continuative imperfect जांदा इंदा 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) जांदा होवेगा "He will probably be going," and a continuative form containing ho twice over, जांदा इंदा होवेगा "He will probably be always going." Thus, to the question उह कितनाक चिर उने

रहिंदा होवेगा "How long will he be stopping there?" the answer might be, उन्ने उद्द दा चर्डे उद्द ता सदा सरवदा उन्ने रहिंदा इंदा होवेगा "His home is there, he will probably always be stopping there." With व "if" prefixed, the tense जांदा इंदा means "If I were in the habit of going."

Parallel to the above are two tenses with the acrist of ho: ata that "I may be going," and with "if" prefixed, "If I should be going;" and ata sat that "I may be constantly going," "If I should be always going."

With the past participle they combine the present participle of ho, as रक्तिया इंदा "I would have put," and conditionally, के में रक्तिया इंदा "If I had put," "If I should have put;" as in उह वे पर्या विशेष है इत्य दित्ता इंदा तो सानुं मिलिया 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 acrist of ho, as गिया होवे "He may have gone," or, "If he has (perchance) gone."

Colloquially, they frequently also insert **ELEMI** pleonastically in phrases where it is difficult to attach to it any definite meaning. Thus **39 ELEMIN** "he has sent," and **ELEMIN** "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 hold, repeated probably for emphasis, as **HICMI** ELEMIN "beaten" (repeatedly, or very much indeed).

In Sindhi the present and past participle are both compounded with the acrist of ho to form potentials, thus—1.

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 only one tense, or achh, which is not represented at all.

- 3. इसंदो हो "he was going." This is the present participle of the verb with the preterite of ho.
- 4. हिंची हो "he had gone." The past participle with the same. These two are exactly parallel.
- 5. इसंदो इंदो "he will be going." Definite future, made up of present participle with future of ho.
- 6. इसियो इंदो "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. ছবিৰী ক্লম্ "he may be being released." Future participle passive (§ 51) with a rist of ho.
- 3. इंदिनो हो "he was being released." The same with preterite of ho.
- 5. ছिर्नो इंदो "he will be being released." The same with future of ho.

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

- 1. Present participle + aorist, चडतो होच "he is ascending." Definite present.
- 2. The same + future, चढतो ह्या "he may be ascending." Contingent present.
- 3. The same + pres. part. indeclinable, चडती होत "(if) he were ascending." Subjunctive present.

A parallel group with past participle:

1. Past p. + aorist, चढ़ा होय "he has ascended." Definite preterite.

- 2. The same + future, चढ़ा हो "he may have ascended." Contingent preterite.
- 3. The same + pres. p. ind., चडा होत "(if) he had ascended." Subjunctive preterite.

The same combinations may be formed with the p.p. in elo, as चंदेनो 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, चडवानी होय "he is about to ascend." Definite future.
- 2. The same + future, चडवानी हो "he may be about to ascend." Contingent future.
- 3. The same + pres. p. ind., चढवानो होत "(if) he were about to ascend." Subjunctive future.

An example of the use of the last of these tenses is ते मनें को खारा होत तो को खेत "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 चेत 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 बोबता द्वाबा "he began to speak." This is rarely used.

Future preterite formed by the future participle and imperfect of ho, as all testing "I was to have written," i.e. "It had been arranged that I was to write under certain circumstances." The example given is all and without all the same with the same wit

होतों पण भरीरांत विक्रती झाखामुळें घरींच राहिसों "I was to have called (yenar hotan) 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 बोबता होईब "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 लां सांगावें होतें "you should have told," lit. "by you to be told it was." This may also be expressed by using पाहिचे "ought," as मला पाहचे पाहिचे 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 सवा पावायाचे होते "I had to walk," i.e. "I was obliged to walk."

It will be seen that all these instances of the use of ho 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 O. or B., though it is used as an ancillary to form a pedantic sort of passive with Tatsama p.p. participles, as B. भेरित होइते, O. भेरित हेवा "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. STHÂ. The Pal' 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 thâ "was," sing. In m., If f.; pl. Im., If f.

¹ I had formerly connected this tense tha with G. and Braj hato and been thus led to refer it to as; but 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,—diss diem docet.

This form is, I believe, shortened from the Skr. p.p.p. fan. 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 $k\hat{a}$ had been evolved by a long and varied process from Skr. krita; so, also, $g\hat{a}$ in the H. and P. future from gata, bhâ in Old-Hindi from bhûta, lâ and la in M., and other futures from lagna; and in exact parallelism to these is thâ from sthita.

The Kanauji Hindi has sing. यो m., यो f.; pl. ये m., यो f.; but the Garhwali still preserves a fuller type in sing. ययो m., यह f.; pl. यया 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.—

Sing. 1. चियां 2. चिस् 3. चिया. Pl. 1. चियुं 2. चियौ 3. चिया.

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.

- 1. With present participle, बोसता या "was speaking." Imperfect.
- 2. With past participle, and an "had spoken." Pluperfect. In P. an is occasionally used, though an, in its numerous forms, is far more common. This verb is also used with a full range of tenses in Sindhi. Trumpp¹ 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 bhû, and it takes parts of the latter to form its own compound tenses. There are, however, two parts of sthû in use as auxiliaries in Sindhi, the former of which an probably = and: nom., and the latter

¹ Grammar, p. 305.

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चे= स्कित loc. चो agrees with the subject in gender, and is used to form with the agrist an indefinite present—

Sing. 1. **इलां जो m. इलां जो f.** Pl. 1. **इल्लं जा m. इल्लं जिलं** f., "I go," etc.

This auxiliary differs from all others in the seven languages, in that it may be put before the principal verb. That 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. हसिउसि चे 2. हसिएं चे.

Pl. 1. इसियासी घं, etc., "I used to go," or simply "I was going."

Examples are—

ब जानूं बार जे साइ चे विड्यूं "Two women were quarrelling (the vidahy@n) about a child."

हिकिडा व जगा परे परडेहि चे विश्वा "Two men were going (the bid) to a foreign country."

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, us is more powerful than the latter, also, is more powerful than the three grades of substantive verb. There are thus three grades of substantive verb. The is," is merely the copula; the is, or becomes," is a definite expression of existence; uru "he remains," is positive and prolonged existence. The distinction,

¹ Stack, Grammar, pp. 134, 135.

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

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

Imperfect चती हती, as in ते खडाई चती हती "That fight was going on."

Preterite चयो होय है, as in तेनुं सन कठण चयुं होय है "His heart has become hard."

Dubitative present खतो हुई, as in ते हुवे प्रतावी खती हुई "Therefore you may now be regretting," and so on.

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") as "doing"
 - a. Aorist of the at will, karu thaë, "he is (or was) doing." Continuative present.
 - b. Preterite ,, वा चिना, karu thilâ, "he was doing." Imperfect.
 - c. Future ,, বাৰ বিৰ, karu thibŏ, "he will be doing." Continuative future.
- 2. With the past participle aft "done"
 - a. Aorist of the aft will "he has (usually) done." Habitual preterite.
 - b. Preterite " विश "he had done." Pluperfect.
 - c. Future " वार चिव "he will have done." Future past.

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

¹ The examples are from Leckey, Grammar, pp. 76, 81.

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 वस चित्रा "Was he sitting in the market?" the answer might be हां सेंद्रि बस चाए "Yes, he always sits there;" and thus it is implied that he was sitting there at the time referred to. So again, कविराज जेते बेळे चासिसा म असहेच चाएं "When the doctor came, I was getting well," implying that I had been improving before he came, and continued to do so. Kari tháë, 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 बढ राग होद चाए "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 स समयरे चयार वड कांग्र 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. वार् था "Remain thou doing."
- b. विरि चा "Remain thou having done."

Here, also, the same fine distinction is drawn as in the other tenses. It am as well as "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." He illustrates this tense

¹ Hallam, Oriya Grammar, p. 78.

³ 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 rationals, and the latter as to the practice. The latter, without knowing the reason why, often corrected karu tha into kari tha instinctively, and a large range of observations led to his adopting the definition in which I have followed him.

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.:—

तुसे सेहि काम सेमति कर "Do that work so."

Answer मुसेमित करिक् जे "I have done it so," or, "as (you order) so I have done."

Rejoinder च्रहा सेमिति करि चा "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 tha is used when he is not actually working.

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

कर यांता "he might be doing," or, "if he were doing." करि यांता "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 **चाक**, 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. Y.A. This root takes the form \P , and is used in H. P. M., occasionally in G. and B., and usually in O., 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 जाए "he is seen." P. दिठा जावे.

Imperfect देखा जाची "be ye seen." दिठा जावे.

Future देखा जाएगा "he will be seen." दिठा जावेग.

So also in M. and O. 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, ja 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 khana, "it comes into seeing," dekhne men åtå, 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 ja 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 hand-For this second verb I have thought it maid to the first. 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 Thus, the elements mar "strike," and dal throughout. "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 lagā "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. \(\begin{align*} \text{" give," and \(\beta\) "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 de 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—

पेंदाना "to throw," पेंदा देना "to throw away." निकासना "to take out," निकास देना "to turn out, eject."

Thus ut a un formula "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 ya an ut a formula equal to he has turned me out of the house," it would be understood that the speaker had been forcibly ejected.

रखना "to put," रख हेना "to put away, lay by."
मारना "to strike," मार देना "to beat off."

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

समद्याना and समद्या देना "to explain."

गिराना " गिरा देना "to cause to fall, or to throw down,"

वैठाना " वैठा देना "to seat, or to put into a seat."

Perhaps one can sometimes trace in the form with 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 are "give," and if it 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 बाने दो "let (him) go," इस को बैठने 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 तवतु "to abandon," तवी देशो "let (it) alone!" "let go!" नाखतु "to throw," नाखी देशो "throw (it) away!" But as in H., with the infinitive it implies permission, वर्तु "to go," वता देतुं "to allow to go," पदवा देतुं "to let fall," बखवा देतुं "to permit to write."

M. has the same usage of है; when added to the conjunctive participle it has the same senses as in H., as चिह्न हैं "to write," खणून हैं "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 टाक्न है "throw it away."

With the infinitive it implies permission, as मना वास दे "suffer me to go," वारा चिह्न देत नाहीं "the wind will not let me write."

Precisely similar is the usage in O. and B., as O. फिटाइ दिख
"break it open," literally, "having caused to open, give;" but
with the infinitive सते आसिवाकु देवा नहीं "he would not let
me come."

Bengali uses this verb with the conjunctive to imply completeness or emphasis, as पुस्तक देखिया दियाहि "I have seen the book," that is, "I have examined or perused it." With the infinitive it, like the rest, signifies permission, as आमाने परिते दिशेन ना "They did not allow me to read."

2. ब is in all respects used similarly to है, 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, पोता "he drinks," and पो बता "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 इमारे पास नुवा को "call Ram to me," where the simple verb नुवाना merely means "to call." The distinction between the use of de and le is well shown when added to रवना "to put;" thus रव को means "put it away (for your own use)," but रव हो "put it down (and leave it)." There is, as Kellogg has shown, a sense of appropriating a thing to oneself involved in le.

P. follows the usage of H., but has less frequent recourse to this ancillary. S. uses forum, which is the same word as k, in the sense of "taking away," which in H. is expressed by a single form "In crossing the ocean they were forcibly carried off" (Trumpp, p. 340). In another instance, however, the meaning is more that of simple taking, and forum "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 समजी चेतुं "to understand," i.e. "to make oneself acquainted with," शीखी चेचो "learn (this)," i.e. "acquire this knowledge."

M., as before remarked, uses &, where its sisters have &. 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 saving 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. 3) reckons as pleonastic the use of this ancillary in equa जान कडन च्या "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 ana "to come," in the same way, as siz whene are will. 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 पोर्नि हात पोळजन घेतला "The child burnt his hand," judging from the analogy of similar phrases in the cognate languages, I feel that if and 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 नेवा is used as in H., as कागज पच वृद्धि नेवुं "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. सची, as चिटी पढाइया सहसेन "they took and read the letter."

3. जा "come," जा "go," as also the cognate stems in the other languages, when used as ancillaries, stand to each other in the same contrast as le and de. H. जा 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 जनना "to be made," जन जाना, or sometimes colloquially, जन जाना "to be completely done, successfully accomplished," जेत को देख जाया ह "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 d in S. is very, pres. part. (coming," p.p. very "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 very "to come to rain," or, as we should say, "to come on to rain," as—

विकुं वसण चाई्यूं सारंगु चढिचो सेव ॥

"The lightnings have begun to rain, the rainy season has ascended (his) couch."—Trumpp, p. 344.

G. wire is used in the sense of coming into action, or into use, becoming, and is used with the present participle, as anatimated "to become spoilt." But far more frequently with the conjunctive participle, takes other ancillaries after it.

चे 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 सवा जाता येतो "I can go," lit. "to me going comes." Similar to this is the use of ânâ in H. as an independent verb, chiefly in negative sentences, as उसकी विखापडी जाती नहीं "He does not know how to read and write," lit. "To him reading-writing comes not." So also in O. and B.

4. जा "go," is used more frequently, and in a wider sense than a. In H. it implies completeness or finality, as खाना "eat," खा जाना "eat up," पने जाना "go away," where the principal verb preserves the termination of the conjunctive participle. In the familiar compound हो जाना "to become," the ancillary adds a little distinctness to the idea of the principal. So, also, in जह, or जह, जाना; thus, if a man is hesitating or fumbling over a story or message, you say जह जानो, 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 zzen or zz en "to be broken;" Auni or Auni "to meet" or "be obtained." Colloquially, and especially in the past tense, the form with jana is far more commonly heard than that without it; thus, for "it is broken," one hears zz en twenty times for once of zzi. This practice seems to confirm what was conjecturally advanced in § 25, concerning the origin of the use of entry to form a passive, as compared with the Sindhi passive in ija.

Sindhi uses, in a similar way, its stem वज्रण "go" (impt. वजु, p.p. विसी, pres. p. वींदी, वेंदी), from Skr. √व्रज्, Pr. वंच. Thus, वटी वज्रण "to take off," मरी वज्रण "to be dead," i.e "to go, having died." चढी वज्रण "to ascend," i.e. "to go, having ascended." There is also a phrase in which it is added to ख्रण "to lift," as ख्रणी वज्र "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 विश्व तिहास मरी विश्वो "When he was grown up, then he died" (say "died off"). सूंहिन को सवाह वहु त वीरि संघे वर्षे "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 jå in G., attached to the conjunctive participle, as in H. and P.; when added to the present participle, it implies continuance, as सदती जा "go on writing."

In M. B. and O., this stem is not used as an ancillary.

5. सक "be able," is attached to the stem-form or apocopated conjunctive participle of all verbs in H. to imply power, as चस सकता "he is able to walk," कर सकेग "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 इस सकेंगे नहीं "I shall not be able." This, however, is probably to be regarded merely as an elliptical phrase for इस कर सकेंगे नहीं "I shall not be able to do."

In P. also it is used always as an ancillary, as वाच सकदा है "he is able to read," and is conjugated throughout the verb. In S. the corresponding verb सच्या is used with the conjunctive participle in the same sense, as करे सच्या "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 and uant neff "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 saktā is much commoner than kar saktā.

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 बार्ते पारि "I can do," in O. with the past participle, and generally with the future of the ancillary, as बार पारिव "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 बहि पारिव, literally, "Shall you be able to say his name?"
- 6. स्व "begin" (see § 12). In H. and P. with the infinitive, as देखने सगता "he began to see." The ancillary is mostly used in the preterite, indeed almost exclusively so; for देखने सगता "he begins to see," would be inelegant, and, I believe, quite unidiomatic. S. uses the same construction, as द्या सग्यो "he began to cry." So also G., as सार्वा सागवुं "to begin to strike," and M. with infinitive of the principal verb, as सार्वा सागसा "he began to strike," but also with the dative of the future passive participle, as कराव्यास सागसा "he began to do." B. the same, as करिते सागिस "he began to do," O. करिवाक सागिसा.
- 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 चुका "he has done eating," जब सा चुकेगा "when he shall have done eating." P. does not use this verb in this sense. S. uses चुक, as in कर चुक्या "to have finished doing;" but it has also other ways of expressing this idea, as by रहण "to remain," वटण "to take," निभण "to be ended," वसि.करण ंते. G. करी चुक्यं "to have finished doing." B. the same, as दिया चुक्यां "I have done giving." O. uses सार, as खाद सारिक "I have done eating," से कर्म होद सारिका "That business is quite finished." B. also uses फेक "throw," in this sense, as बिक्या फेक्सिक "They have done speaking."
- 8. Marathi has two verbs not used in the other languages, देवचें and टावचें, 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; देवणें = खापने, and consequently means "put," while टाक्यों = खान, and means "throw away." These two words stand to each other in the same contrast as के and दे in H., thus हैं कापद घडी करून देव "Fold up this cloth and lay it by," ती गाय बांधून देव "Tie up that cow" (having tied, put), but खाची पोची खास देखन टाक "Give him up his book" (i.e. "give it him and let him go"), ते साद उपटून टाक "Root up that tree" (i.e. "uproot and throw away").

- 9. **The series of series of repetition or continuance,** in H. with the perfect part., as **WIZI MEAN** "he always comes," **THE MAIL OF SERIES** "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 **WIZ WIGHT WITH OF SERIES** "Even that, that letter I read over and over again" (Trumpp, p. 343), where the participle has the emphatic ! added to it. G., like H., uses **WIZI WITH OF SERIES** "to keep on doing," **WITH OF SERIES** "to keep on reading." The various uses of karnâ 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 कर, in that it implies continuance in a state, while कर implies repetition of an action. In H. and P., with the conjunctive participle, as वेट रहना "to remain sitting," खेल रहते हैं "They are going on with their play;" also with the present participle, as नहीं बहती दहती "The river flows on continually," labitur et labetur. There is a curious phrase in Hindi, जाता रहना (literally, "to remain going") used for "to be lost and gone," as an euphemism for death; thus निरा वाय जाता रहा है "My father is dead (has passed

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away);" also for loss of things, as उसका सब धन जाता रहा
"All his property is gone." I do not find this idiom in the sister languages.

Sindhi uses रहण in the sense of continuance, as बोंदो रहंदो विची मिसिर शाम "He goes on travelling in fatigue from Egypt and Syria" (Trumpp, p. 344). The same sense is produced by वत्रण "to turn, wander," as बीजजु घोडा चारींदो वते "Bîjalu goes on grazing the horses" (ib.). In both cases the principal verb is in the present participle.

G. employs (\$\overline{\epsilon}\$, which is its version of \$\overline{\epsilon}\$ with conjunctive participle for continuance, as \$\overline{\epsilon}\$ "to remain doing," and with the present participle in the sense of completion, as \$\overline{\epsilon}\$ "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 **मारायाचा राहिना** "he left off beating." This sense recalls that of Skr. **रहित** = "deprived of."

B. and O. do not use this verb as an ancillary. B. substitutes for it with, and O. wi.

11. पढ "fall," implies generally accident, as in H. जानना "to know," जान पढना "to be found out" (i.e. "to be known by an accident"), as उस का दोष जो जान पढे तो इस भी नहीं बचेंगे "If his fault should be found out, then we, too, shall not escape." So also in G., as वळगवुं "to stick to," वळगी पढवुं "to become attached to, to get caught in." M. uses it with the dative of the future participle, as तू जार्यका झालास न्हणून मला खेपा घालायास पढतें "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 जायको केली तर घर बांधायास पढेल "If you marry a wife, you will have to set up house." The same idea is expressed in H. by adding us to the infinitive, as तुस को जाने पढेगा "You will have to go (whether

you like it or not);" so also in B. बार्ते परिव, where it also implies subjection, or falling into a state, as धरा परिव "he got caught," as सुद्र परेके धरा भ्रान विवा परे धरा "Hearing that Sundar had been caught, Bidya falls to the ground" (Bhârat B.-S. 359, where there is a pun on the double use of the phrase), घुमिया परिव "he fell asleep," मारा परिव "he caught a thrashing." The same in O., as धरा परिक् (for परि परि) "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 पढ़ा 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 प्रशा (= पतनं), and the p.p. is पिया; thus they say उड पिया खोटा 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 तुर्ना "to walk," तुर् पहुणा "to set out on a journey." also in Sindhi, where the verb has the form uau, the conjunctive participle ut or ut precedes another verb with the sense of emphasis or energy, as वसद सी विहाद को पर प्रासी न Fu "Buy those goods which do not grow old" (Trumpp, p. 341); here ut w means rather "do not happen to become," "are not likely to become." and, the conjunctive of and "to lift," is used in the same way, but the two verbs appear to be contrasted much as le and de in H., khant being used where activity, pat where receptiveness or accident is implied. Thus खणी किखण "to set to work writing," खणी वजाए "he sets himself to play (music)." The past participle [44] is also prefixed with much the same effect, as तंत्रं में तिवसा खिविणिन वांगे पिया वियनि "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 पाना "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 उसकी देखने नहीं पाया "I was not allowed to see him," तुम घर के भीतर जाने नहीं पायो "You will not be permitted to go inside the house;" so also in B. पिडिते पाइ ना "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.

डाबना "to throw," is used in H. with verbs implying injury to show that force also was used, as—

मार्गा "to strike," मार्डाबना "to kill." तोडना "to break," तोड डाबना "to dash in pieces." काटना "to cut." बाट डाबना "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 V.

OTHER VERBAL FORMS.

CONTENTS.—§ 73. THE CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§ 74. THE INFINITIVE. § 75. THE AGENT.—§ 76. SINDHI VERBS WITH PRONOMINAL SUPPIXES.— § 77. CONJUGATION OF STEMS ENDING IN VOWELS IN HINDI, PANJABI, AND SINDHI.—§ 78. THE SAME IN MARATHI.—§ 79. THE SAME IN BANGALI AND ORIVA.

§ 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. 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 saving, "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 खा, as भूखा "having been," the other in च, as संभ्य "having met." Each

of these forms has left descendants in the modern languages, and although the form in ya 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 शृक्षिया = Skr. श्रुला "having heard," as well as किन्नम्य "having gone out." So also द्रय = दत्ता "having given," चोरिष = चोरियला "having stolen," गदुष = गला "having gone," सिचिष = सित्का "having sprinkled," गिरुष = गृहीला "having taken."

In Old-Hindi this participle ends in i, as वारि "having done," चिंब "having gone," which is apparently the Prakrit form with loss of the final a, thus—

सुनि करगर नृपराव प्रधु ॥ भी चानन्द 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 ya, and one in aya, as—

भुगति भूमि किय कार ॥ वेद सिंचिय जस पूरन ॥ बीय सबय सय मध्य ॥ म्यान चंकूर संजूरन ॥

"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 करके "having made (or taken) possession," सिंचिय "having watered," स्थ = सर्थ "having placed."

Mediæval Hindi has regularly the form ending in इ, as राम वचन मृदु गृद सुनि "Having heard the gentle mystic speech of Rama" (Tulsi, Rám. Bálk. 113), पंडित भूसे पंडि गुनवेद्रा। "Sages having read the Veda erred as to its qualities" (Kabir, Ram. 34, 1), भिक्त विमुख को धर्म सु सब चधर्म करि गायो ॥ "The religion that is opposed to devotion (bhakti), all that having made (i.e. having declared), irreligion he sang " (Bhaktamál, 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. consists of adding a, at, ata, atat, and even atata to the stem, namely, the conjunctive participle of atal "to do;" as देख बर "having seen," बाबर "having gone." The first of these forms a is softened from a, which, again, is from aft, the older form of the conjunctive part. of atal, and is used in the mediæval poets and in Braj and the rustic dialects to this day. Thus Kabir बड विधि वे चित्र बनाइव हरि रच्छी क्रीडा रास ! "Having made many kinds of appearances (mâyâ), Hari has arranged the sport and pastime (of the world;" Hindola, 16). It having thus become customary to add the participle of to all verbs, it has been added to at itself, thus making ata and arat, and this reduplicated form again is added to other verbs. In all the dialects we find such forms as मारिक, मारक, मार, मारि, and even apocopated as Garhwali मारिक and मारीक "having beaten." Kumaoni has a curious compound form मारिवेर "having beaten," which is probably the old form मारि with बेर "time" (Skr. बेबा), 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 होई and है, especially the latter, as गुर भक्त एव न्यारो गही है सके। "Gurubhakta alone could not remain apart" (sak ancillary with conjunctive of ho = "could be;" Bhaktamál, 116, 1), रजनी चंच कुए है जाए "The night becomes as dark as a well" (Kabir, Ram. 16, 4), मानुस बडे बडे है चारो "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 a "having seen." This form also appearing too indefinite, in ordinary conversation they add att, often pronounced att, as after "having seen." O. has also another, and in the classical speech the only admissible, form in ile, as atter "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 are respectively the locative and ablative, formed after the modern fashion by adding and ablative, formed after the modern fashion by adding and attention in the initial syllable of which is rejected (Vol. II. p. 274).

B. has, besides the form in ile, one in iya, which approaches closer to the Prakrit, as **uten** "having fallen," **aten** "having sat," **uten** "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 Bharat—

चान इसे पुनः चाहे फिरिया फिरिया ॥ पिंजरेर पाखि मत नेजाय घुरिया ॥

"Another craftily looks, repeatedly turning round, Like a bird in a cage walks round and round."

-Bidva-8, 245

literally, "having turned, having turned, looks," and "having twisted round, walks."

S. has four forms for this participle. Neuter verbs take the ending i, as बरी "having returned;" active and causal verbs have e, as मचे "having rubbed," both of which correspond to the Pr. ending ia. Less widely used is a form in io or yo, as मोर्यो "having returned," भोयो "having washed," which is identical with the p.p.p. Thirdly, the inserted jia of Prakrit reappears here, as from खाणा "to lift," खाणा "having lifted."

Lastly, S. follows the example of H., and adds करे, the conjunctive of कर्य "to do," as वरी करे "having returned."

M. stands quite alone, having its conjunctive in जन, as बाजन "having gone," होजन "having been." This is sometimes written जोन, and in the poets takes an increment, and appears as जनियां, जोनियां, as तुम्हापाशीं जम्ही येजनियां वाय ॥ (Tuk. Abh. 1888) "What is the good of my going to you?" (literally, "I near you having come, what?") देखोनियां वसे भूषणांचे जन ॥ तात्वास मर्ण येते सज। "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 sau, shortened from त्या, Skr. लान, accusative of ला (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 ûna, 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. una. 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 i in the same language, points clearly to the Saurasenî 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 *Ba*, and the *Na* 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—

वो विशंव करि रहै। तो ताहि इनिवे को भावे॥

"If any one makes delay, he comes to strike him."-Pr. R. i. 198.

उठि सरिवे को 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 (रनेन) of Kabir, and only rarely in his other works. I have noted तरिने को "to cross over," चिना (पनाइना) "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 तोरिने "to break," occurs also a shorter form in ab, as पिर्व "to return." In the dialects (Kellogg, p. 241) occur the following (mâr "strike"):—

Braj मारिवीं, East Rajput मार्वो, West Rajp. id. Old-Pûrbi मार्व, 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. साववी m., साववी f., साववुं n.

Pl. बाववा m., ॰वी f., ॰वां 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 **गा**वुं "to sing," **बर्**वुं "to do."

In Oriya it is the ordinary infinitive, as **ब्रिश्चा** "to sit," and, though without gender, is declined for case, as—

Gen. बसिबार "of sitting,"

Loc. बसिबार "in sitting,"

Loc. बसिबार "in sitting,"

Acc. बसिबार "to or for sitting,"

Abl. बसिबार "from sitting,"

Abl. बसिबार "from sitting,"

Abl. बसिबार "from sitting,"

The sitting this is a place of sitting," i.e. "a fit place to sit in."

alkall हैं व नहीं "in sitting nothing will become," i.e. "you will do no good by sitting still."

alkall हैं व "for sitting it will become," i.e. "you will have to, or must, sit."

alkall बसिबाइ आसिक्षा "he came to see."

alkall बसिबाइ सरदी आजिब "from sitting there a chill will attack," i.e. "if you sit there, you will catch cold."

Bengali does not use this form as its ordinary infinitive, having utilized for that purpose the locative of the present participle, as होर्ते "to be" (lit. "in being"), चाकित "to remain," चार्ते "to go;" but it is used in the genitive case to form a sort of gerund or verbal noun, as बीच चिवार कास आहे "It is the time of sowing, or for sowing, seed." More common still is its employment with जन्मे, कार्य or निमित्ते "for the sake of," as देखिवार जन्मे "for the sake of seeing," वरिवार निमित्ते "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," sovava "to sleep," mangava "to ask," ruvava "to weep," which may be transliterated perhaps कराव, बाव, दाव, सोवाव, संगाव, द्वाव respectively. These are words of the Chingana or Turkish Gipsies. Those in Bohemia ap-

parently drop the final a and shorten the â, as chorav "to steal" (चीर्ब), kerav "to do" (चर्ब), chinnav "to tear" (चिन्ब). Those in Wallachia appear to pronounce the termination as ao (चाचो or चाचो?), as jao "to go" (चाचो), hao "to eat" (हाचो), peo "to drink" (चेचो).

In all these languages the idea of an infinitive glides off imperceptibly into that of a verbal noun, and the Ba form thus reveals its origin from the Sanskrit future passive participle in त्रज्ञ, from which, as we have seen in Ch. III. § 51, many tenses are formed.

The Na 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 na. The first of these two forms I would derive from the Sanskrit verbal noun in anam, as and "doing," und "falling." It is in frequent use, uninflected, throughout the poets, thus—

पुरुषातन तिन वंधन विचारि ॥

"Having plotted to stop his virility."—Pr. R. i. 178.

कियी चलन की साज !

"He made preparation to go."—ib. xx. 28.

वंग वुरन वालिम वुद्यार ॥

"To join battle a terrible warrior."—ib. xx. 31.

सख कहीं मोहि जान दे माई।

"I speak truth, suffer me to go, mother."—Tulsi-Ram. S.-k. 7.

राम सेस वन देखन वाहीं।

"They go to see 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 सार्व "to strike." The other form in ना was anciently written नो, and is always so written in Braj, as सार्नों "to strike," जावनों "to come." This form I now agree with Hoernle in deriving from the Sanskrit

¹ Miklosich, Zigeuner Europa's, part ii. p. 9.

future participle in antya, so that from attait, through Pr. attait and attait, would come Old-H. attait, M. attai, and P. attait. I, however, would refer the S. attait 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 na. That in ana is now obsolete, except in Kanauji, and the na 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. karanya cha "of doing," dat. karanya 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 case were the S. infinitive derived from the participle in antya.

M. has an infinitive peculiar to itself ending in +, as + "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 - "to do," or "the act of doing," which, after stems ending in a vowel, appears as - the a of which is not pronounced; thus

pronounced "hôwâ," देखोद्या "dewâ." The origin of this form is not clear to me, but it is probably connected with the participle in तब.

§ 75. On the basis of the infinitive in nt is formed the agent. This, in Hindi, is made by adding to the oblique of the infinitive the words वाला, हारा; as करनेवाला "a doer," देखनेहारा "a seer." Of these the former is apparently Skr. पासक "protector, keeper." Thus Skr. गापासक "cowherd," becomes H. वाला; as to the latter there is some difference of opinion, some would derive it from Skr. चारक "holder," others from वारक "doer." I myself incline to the latter view; the a would be elided when it ceased to be initial, and its place supplied by ह, 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 haro or haru=respectively karaka and kara, as in—

सिर्वणु "to create," सिरवणहारी (इ) "creator," सिख्णु "to write," सिखणहारी (इ) "writer,"

also in its original form of kâro or kâru, with nouns, as देखें "quarrel," देखाबाद "quarreller."

Kellogg (p. 245) refers to the phrase with in Chand's first verse as confirming the derivation from with; 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 all, as atau "a doer," teau "a keeper," which is shortened from affect, a dialectic form of atar. It is confined almost to rustic speech, though the shorter form att is not uncommon in the poets. H. atar 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 widges "one who takes care of a horse." So also in P. with "husband," i.e. one who takes care of or maintains the house, and still more frequently with f. "wife." Sindhi changes of to more suo, and has ait, as with "householder," from we "house," and water? "giver," from we "house," and water? "giver," from we "to give," H. Esquet.

Chand uses the form in हार, shortened from हारा, to make a sort of future participle, in the verb हो "be." Thus—

होइ होनहार सीता हरन ।

"The rape of Sita, which was to be, takes place."—Pr. R. iii. 27. Also—

तें कछू होनहार पहचानिय ।

"Thou knowing something of futurity."—ib. xxi. 92.

इनहार एसी सबी। बही जु चाल्ह उपाय !

"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 प्रवासी "a village accountant," the व being an indication of a lost व, from बारी (वारिन) "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 and "to be," comes after "one who is." But, just as in the Old-H. and 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 and and now means "he who, or that which, is to be," as and and in the and in the truth is (destined) to be, comes to pass, except truth there is nothing else" (Samaldas, Leckey, p. 64). It also takes the long o, as and or and "that which is about to become," again "that which is able," from

युक्त "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 एटका माटेक की तमें मारनार "For this very reason we are about to kill thee;" पोताना धर्मने कही छोडनार नथी "He will never forsake his religion," in other words, "he is not a forsaker (H. छोडनेहारी) of, or one who is likely to forsake, his religion;" इं नीवाने मारीने गुद्ध भोगवनारो हतो "Having killed another, I was 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 chhodanaro, instead of chhodan(a)-(h)aro.

A similar misapprehension has occurred in M. In that language, also, ar, ara, are used, added to the infinitive in , to make, not a noun of the agent, but a future participle, so far, at least, as the meaning goes. Thus from at come at used in the sense of "one who is about to do," as in G. So and 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. shant, Pr. shant, M. shant. Other grammarians, however, still speak of "the participle in att."

This noun, used, as above explained, participially, is employed to form compound tenses, § 62. In H. and P. the noun in walk (not valk) is used in a future sense, as grainful if "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 O. one also hears a form in walk added to the infinitive,

as **uncertaint** "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 which it has as the last member of a nexus (the ya-phala as they call it), behind an win. 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 \(\frac{1}{3}\).

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 and "doer," and "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

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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 expresses 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:

SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
Sindhi 1. मि	2. ₹	3. सि.	1. 击, 哀	2. ব্	3. नि, न.
آم Persian 1.	آت .2	۱۰ش &	۱. لټه	شَمَا 2	. شان 🕃
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—

- Sing. 1. चार्क छड़ियां "I let go," with suff. of 2 sing. छड़ियांद् "I let thee go," छड़ियांसि "I let him go," with suff. of 2 pl. छड़ियांव "I let you go," छड़ियांव "I let them go."
- Sing. 2. तूं क्डिएं " thou lettest go," with suff. of 1 sing. क्डिएंसि " thou lettest me go," and so on.
- Pl. 3. इ. इ. इ. विक "they let go," with suff. of 3 sing. इ. इ. विक "they let him go," and so on.

The imperative is treated exactly in the same way. The respectful form takes **tat** in the singular in this connection, not **ta**, as **etalia** "Please to let me go," **etalia** "Please 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, हांद्वीस "I shall be," m., becomes हांद्वीसां, and हांद्विस "I shall be," f., becomes हांद्वीसां. So that we get forms—

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m. इंदोसांद "I shall be to thee," इंदोसांस "I shall be to him."
f. इंदोसांव "I shall be to you," इंदोसांव "I shall be to them."
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So, also, the plurals इंदासों m., and इंदिजंसों "we shall be," become respectively इंदासूं and इंदिजंसों. The second person remains unchanged, merely affixing the personal suffixes. In the third person m. इंदो is shortened to इंदु, and f. इंदो to इंद or इंद; pl. m. इंदा becomes इंद, except with the suffix of the first person plural, as इंदासूं "they shall be to us," but इंद् "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 होसां, as होसांद् "I was to thee."

- " f. ज़ब्सि " " ज़र्र्सां, " ज़र्र्सांसि " I was to him."
- 1 Pl. m. इश्रासी "we were," , इश्रासूं, , इश्रासूंन "we were to them."
 - " f. ड्रयूंसीं " " " ड्रयूंसूं, " ड्रयूंसूंव "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. In In M., which has a neuter, because there is no neuter in H. In M., which has a neuter,

the Bhava or impersonal construction is used, as well desired "by me to thee released," as though it were a me tibi relictum (est). Sindhi expresses this sentence by one word establit, i.e. chhadio-man-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):

क्रिकोमांसि "I have forsaken him." क्रिकाइँसि "he has forsaken him." विद्यादिकाईँसि "he caused him to sit." चित्रादेशि "they said to her." चित्राईंगि "she said to them."

The suffixes denoting the agent are ξ sing. and ξ pl., which Trumpp considers to be shortened from ξ "by him," instr. of ξ "this," and ξ "by them," instr. pl. of ξ "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 $\sqrt{ चस}$ appears still in its old Pr. form of चच (चित्र), § 59. This form exists only in combination with the pronominal suffixes, whereas the ordinary form चाहे is used both with and without suffixes. Thus they say चाहें से and चचित्र "there is to me," as in the line—

गुद्धी भवमि गाल्इडी चाउ चोई तां चोरीचां !

"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 अविश "I have," अवी (for अवर) "thou hast," अविश "he has," अवं (for अवर) "we have," अवव "ye have," अविश "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 कियो होई "thou hadst made," विहासिक्षा (خدمتال) विश्वासिक्षा होई (for क्याई) तिहं विहासिक्षा "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 it," 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 a verme "he came to see me," vengo a soccorrerte "I come to help thee," quiero castigaros "I will punish you," dejeme "let me go," pasandome "as I was passing," escribale "write to him," diles "tell them." Here, also, double

suffixes may be used, as decirtelo "to tell it thee," mostradnosla "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. 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—*â*, *t*, *a*, *e*, *o*. 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 o, no attempt is made to soften the hiatus, but before \hat{a} and e there is sometimes inserted a \mathbf{u} or \mathbf{u} . As types may be taken the stems \mathbf{u} "go,"

¹ Gramm. d. Romanischen Sprachen, vol. ii. p.85, et seqq.

पो "drink," इ "touch," दे "give," and बो "sow." The agrist of these five is as follows:—

SINGULAR.					
1. बाउं	2. वाए, वावे, वाय	3. id.			
1. पी जं	2. पीए, पीवे	3. id.			
1. कूर्ज	2. कूए	3. id.			
1. देखं, ढूं	2. देवे, दे	3. id.			
1. बोकं	2. बोए, बोवे	3. <i>id</i> .			
PLUBAL.					
1. जाएं, जावें, जांय	2. जाची	3. जाएं, जविं, जांय			
1. पीएं, पीवें	2. पीची	3. पीए, पीर्वे			
1. कूएं	 2. 要到 	3. कूएं			
1. देवें, दें	2. देशो, दो	3. देवें, दें			
1. बोवें, बोएं	2. बोचो	3. बोवें, बोएं			

The common stems de and le usually suffer contraction by the elision of their final vowel, and one more commonly hears do "give!" lo "take!" dûngâ "I will give," lûngâ "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 å, य is inserted before the å of the termination, as आ "come," p.p.p. आ-य-आ (आया), पा "find," पाया, खा "eat," खाया. But in the poets, especially in Tulsi Das, instead of य we find य commonly inserted. Thus, पहि विधि राम सबद्दि समुद्यावा "In this way Ram explained to all" (Ay-k. 457). आवा "came," बनावा "made," पाचा "found," बावा "sang," for आया, बनावा, पाया, बाया respectively. Kabir uses both forms indifferently. Thus in Ram. 48, i. पहाचा "caused to read," पाचा "found," but in the next, Ram. 49, पाचा and आवा. In the fem. sing., however, and in the pl. m. and f., the junction-letter q is not used, thus आई "she came," बनाई "she made," fem. sing., आये, पांचे masc. pl. As all

causals end in a, these forms are of frequent occurrence, and sometimes even an \mathbf{t} is inserted, as \mathbf{t} in the old \mathbf{t} future, the a of the stem and the initial i of the termination frequently coalesce into \mathbf{t} , as—

वक्षूव दिवस वननी धर धोरा ॥ विपन्ह सहित ऐहैं रघुनीरा ॥ निश्चिर मारि तुमहिं ने वैहें ॥ तिज्ञं पूर नारदादि वश्च नेहें ॥

"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.

where ऐहं = आर्ह, वेहं = जार्ह, and गेहं = गार्ह; so also we find ऐहं "they will find," for पार्ह, mod. पांचेंगे (Tulsi, Ram., S.-k. 10). In other places, however, we find the junction-letter व, as पावहि, आवहि, etc.

In Panjabi the junction-letter for the acrist, imperative, and future is regularly व, as बावे "he goes," बावेगा "he will go," but before o it is omitted, as बाबो "go ye," बाबोगे "ye will go." For the past participle it is इ, as होइबा "been," masc. sing., and is omitted before e, as होए "been," masc. pl. In the three first-named tenses the च is regularly inserted in pure P., but in speaking it is now sometimes, under the influence of Hindi, omitted, and देशा is heard instead of the more characteristic देवेगा.

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 infinitive in चत्रु, a च is inserted, as प "fall," infin. पच्यु; चि "bow," infin. चिच्यु. Before the active infinitive in च्यु no junction-letter is employed, as म "measure," infin. सद्या.

Stems, whether active or neuter, ending in t and u, and sometimes those ending in o, shorten those vowels in the infinitive, as—

पी "drink," infin. पिश्वणु पू "string," " पृश्वणु भो "wash," " भुश्वणु रो "weep," " स्थणु हो "be," " " अश्वणु

but, on the other hand, it "carry," has infin. Italy; and stems in â, including causals, retain the long vowel, as—

गांच्हा "speak," infin. गांच्हाद्यु फेरा "cause to turn," , फेराद्यु

The aorist follows generally the type of the infinitive, retaining the short vowel. In the persons \mathbf{q} is inserted as in P., except before \hat{u} or o; thus $\mathbf{u}\mathbf{q}\mathbf{1}$ "I fall," is declined—

Sing. 1. पर्वा 2. पर्वे 3. पर्वे. Pl. 1. पर्क 2. पन्नी 3. पर्वनि

The \overline{q} may be dropped before 2 and 3 sing., as $\overline{q}\overline{q}$ "thou sayest," or "he says." The common verb $\overline{q}\overline{q}\overline{q}$ "to give," undergoes contraction in this, as in all the other languages; thus 2 sing. \overline{q} "thou givest," not $\overline{q}\overline{q}$, not $\overline{q}\overline{q}$.

Verbs ending in & insert च् before &, û, and o, as नुडायां "I grow old," नुडायूं "we grow old," नुडायां "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 \mathbf{q} and \mathbf{q} , \mathbf{q} is omitted before vowels of its own organ, as u and o, and \mathbf{q} is omitted before i and e; before d both are employed, but preferentially \mathbf{q} after short vowels, and \mathbf{q} after long ones.

Thus, in the present participle, which is used as a future, **\(\mathbf{q} \)** is either inserted or omitted, as—

पवसु " to fall," पवंदी " falling." पित्रसु " to drink," पित्रंदी " drinking." भुत्रसु " to wash," भुत्रदी " washing."

Contraction also occurs, as चवण "to speak," चूंदो (चवंदो) इचण "to be," इंदो (इचंदो) रिचण "to give," डॉदो (डिचंदो). The past participle regularly ends in रूचो or दो, and the inserted व is naturally dropped before it, thus—

चवगु makes चयो, not चर्चो. नवगु ,, नयो ,, नवो (Old-H. नाया).

If the stem ends in a palatal vowel or consonant, the i of the termination is dropped, as—

चित्रणु "to become," चित्रो, not चीत्रो = चि + र्सो. कुछ्णु "to speak," कुछो. सोद्यणु "to inquire," सोद्यो.

Passives naturally drop the euphonic **q** of the active infinitive before their palatal junction-vowel, as—

चवणु "speak," imperfect चड, Passive चह्त्रणु "to be spoken." पवणु "fall," ,, पड, ,, पह्त्रणु "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," पीज्य "to be drunk."
पू "string," पूज्य "to be strung."
भो "wash," भो द्वया "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 junction-letters. 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 **tu**, **tu**, **tu**, **tu**, **tu**, **tu**, **tu**

differently, also exi and exu. 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 \mathbf{T} , 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 (khå "eat," pî "drink," ghe "take").

Aorist, (in modern usage past habitual)-

1. साईं 2. खाईस 3. साई. 1. साऊं 2. सा 3. सात. 1. पीईं 2. पीईस 3. पीई. 1. पीऊं 2. सा 3. पीत. 1. पेईं 2. पेईस 3. पेई. 1. पेऊं 2. सा 3. पेत.

But in the 3 sing. चे, पी are used, so also देस, चेस in 2 sing., and in the 3 pl. the final t is elided. In 2 sing. both t and u are changed to the palatal semivowel before a, though not before u, so that we have पा, घा side by side with पींडा (not प्यू), घेडां (not घ्यू).

¹ For the illustrations to this section I have to thank Captain G. A. Jacob, Inspector of Schools, Punå, who kindly furnished me with details which are wanting from most of the grammars.

In the subjunctive the semivowel occurs again, as **witat**, witat, but witat simply from $\hat{\mathbf{u}}$. This last verb should, by analogy, form witat, 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 $\hat{\mathbf{u}}$ has simply been dropped.

For the potential the termination of the present and 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 तब renders this course impossible. The n of तब having suffered elision, there naturally results an hiatus. Thus from खादितक, Pr. खाइ खं gives खावन, the first supplying the place of the lost द, so that in the potential we get not खानत, but खानने. Similarly पीनने, घेनने, घेनने, बार के, and even in stems ending in इ, as खिइ "write," खिइनने.

Stems ending in u preserve the hiatus almost throughout, thus dhu "wash"—

Aor. धुई, धुईस, धुई; धुऊ, धुमा (but धुत). Fut. धुईन, धुईस, धुऊ; धुमास, धुतीस. Subj. धुमावा or धुवावा. Pot. धुववते.

In the present participle only त is added, not देत or चत, as खात, पीत, चेत, चेत, चुत, and in the past participle the semi-vowel is generally used, as—

खा p.p. खाझा "eaten."

ही ,, खाला "put on."

भी " श्राजा "feared."

वि " व्यासा "brought forth."

पी "प्यासाor पिक्का"drunk."

Some stems avoid the hiatus by insertion of π , as **चेतला**, **पृतला** (see § 47), which is also used in some stems ending with a consonant.

The conjunctive is u_1u_2 , u_3u_4 , u_3u_4 . 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 a or a. When the stem-vowel is a or a, the semivowel is added to, not substituted for, the vowel, as in u_3u_4 , not u_1u_4 . 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 2 makes its past part. yelo or ailo, which latter he calls "marattismo," as if all Konkani were not Marathi. & makes gheilo (perhaps & 1), as well as ghetlo (चेत्रसा). 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 ener. 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 स्ती, सी, etc., added to the stem without an intermediate vowel, as and "sat" (M. वसला), पदलें "fell" (M. पदला), राव्सी "remained" (M. राहिसी), and the like.

The differences between Konkani and Marathi do not, I

¹ Specimens of South Indian Dialects (Mangalore, 1872).

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 \mathbf{u} "go" (pronounced $j\hat{a}$), makes—

SINGULAR.

PLURAL.

Aorist. 1. यार् 2. यार्स 3. याय. 1. यार् 2. याची 3. यान.

Present यार्तेकि, subjunctive यार्ताम, and so on.

Contraction, however, takes place in the 3 pl. of the aorist, as in una for unua, wa (hono) for unua, and in the familiar verb & "give," almost throughout; thus we have—

singular.

Aor. 1. दि 2. दिस 3. देश. 1. दि 2. देशो 3. देश

Pres. 1. दितीक्, etc.

Pret. 1. दिनु 2. दिखिस 3. दिस. 1. दिखाम 2. दिसे 3. दिसेन Fut. 1. दिव 2. दिवि 3. दिवे. 1. दिव 2. दिवा ॰वे 8. दिवेन,

contracted from **दे**र, **देरती**, **देरन**, **देरन**, 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, मजुन्दारे संगे निमा घोडा चडाइया "He took Majumdâr along with him, having mounted him on a horse" (Mansingh, 417), where निमा is for बहुता, from बहुत "to take." So he constantly uses कर्य for बहु "says," as कोटाम हासिया क्य। बहिते साथ ना ह्य। "The Kotwal laughing, says, Are you not ashamed to say so?" (Bidyâ-S. 356), also क्य for बहुन, as हाय हाथ कि क्य विधिरे "Alas! alas! what shall I say to fate?" (ib. 360), and दिन for देन aorist 3 sing., as चार्ग दिया कतदुख मधे दिन कतसुख "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. and "wilt thou eat?" for antes. In a few words the vowel of the root has gone out, thus from an "go," we have antes "I will go," for antes; from an "remain," infin. wan for antes; un "find," however, retains its vowel, as untes, untes, untes, the preterite, future, and infinitive.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PARTICLE.

CONTENTS.—§ 80. Adverse Nominal and Pronominal.—§ 81. Pronominal Adverse of Time, Place, and Manner.—§ 82. Adverse Derived from Nouns and Verse.—§ 83. Conjunctions.—§ 84. Interjections.—§ 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 की बात, lit. "the word of then," i.e. "the matter that took place then," जब के बाजा कींग "the kings of now," i.e. "those of the present day."

§81. (1). Pronominal adverbs of time.—The near demonstrative is H. wa, G. wa, M. west, O. wa. All these hang together, and are apparently compounds of the Skr. and "time," with the type of the demonstrative w, w, or w. The fuller form in O. shows this, it is was about its clearly the locative case of a masculine and, literally, "in so much time." G. has prefixed a w, but many words in G. may be indifferently written with wor w; there is, therefore, nothing organic about this letter when met with in this connection. In M. was also the week seems to be somewhat anomalous. There are also, however, many other forms for "now" in the various languages, which appear to be unconnected with any.

Hindi is mostly, however, faithful to the type in व; thus in Braj चर्चे, Marwari चर्चे, and still more clearly Bhojpuri एवर, which approaches to the O. एवे. The same type runs through all the pronominal forms, as चर्च "whenever," तव "then," कव "when." Bhojpuri जेवर, तेवर, वेवर, Braj चर्चे, तव, कवे. The Skr. forms चदा, तदा, कदा appear in H. चद, तद, कद, and in the dialectic forms, चर्चे, चर्चे, चर्चे, चर्चे, चर्चे, चर्चे, etc., the forms with the palatal and labial vowels have, I think, arisen from the incorporation of the affirmative particle च्रो or इ "indeed," of which more further on.

Panjabi उच्च, G. S. हाचे, B. एखन, and a dialectic form in O. उद्ध्य, all meaning "now," are to be referred, as the B. form clearly shows, to the Skr. च्या "instant, moment." For the rest of the series P. has चंद्र, तंद्र, चंद्र. S., however, has another type दिंचर, हेर "now," in which we may, perhaps, see the Skr. चाव "time," combined with the pronoun दिंच "this;"

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for the other members of the series it has a set "whenever," need "then," a set "when?" which arise from the Skr. etc., with the emphatic st, which has changed the preceding vowel into the i which is so common in S. They also write as and ass as dialectic variations; also at, at (but not at), where the st of est has suffered elision.

G. has, besides ह्वे, also हमबा, हवडा, and for the rest बेवारे, तेवारे, बेवारे, commonly contracted into खारे, etc., in which we see the Skr. वार "time." Owing to the G. peculiarity in respect of initial ह, we have also समगा, and with a modernized form of Skr. सब "here," सतारे (सब वारे) "at this time," "now."

M. is consistent throughout एउट्टा, बेट्टा, तेट्टा, बेट्टा. In Old-M. forms बेधवा, etc., occur, showing that the modern ट्रिंग के is an inversion from क्रि hv. The suggested origin from Skr. बदा, by aspirating the द and adding चा, the termination of the locative (Godbol, p. 75), is unsatisfactory. M. has also a series चंच, etc., meaning "while," "as long as," which recalls H. बच with inorganic anunasika.

O. has the fuller forms, and and 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. जखन, तखन, etc., uniformly, pronounced jökhön or jökhönö, etc. H. adds constantly हो for emphasis, as जभी "now" (जनही), जभी "sometimes" (जनही), and with the negative कभी नहीं "never."

For the indefinite pronominal adverb "ever," "sometimes," the other languages have, P. बदी (बदही), बदी, बदी, बदी, S. बदही, G. बदी, M. बधी, B. बदा, O. बेबे, बेबेहिं. All these are repeated to signify "sometimes," as P. बदी बदी, M. बधी बधी.

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. चर्च "from now," "henceforth," तर से "thenceforth," सब से

"since when?" जब से "from the time when," or with the older affix ते in the poets, as in जब ते राम बाहि घर चारे। "From the time when Ram married and came home" (Tulsi-Rám, Ay-k. 5), P. जहाँ, S. जिंदुहाको, जिंदुहोको, जिंदुहाकर; where को is probably a shortened form of कर, an oblique from कर, which we may connect with जास "time," as in दिचर "now." The long å or o of jadihå, jadiho, as contrasted with the å of जिंदुही, seems to indicate an oblique form. G. हमचारों "henceforth," जातार थीं, and apparently also ज्यार्थी, and the rest of the series. They also say जातार पढ़ी "henceforth." M. uses मग or मांगे, which are not pronominal. Neither B. nor O. have special forms for this idea.

To express "until" in Old-H. खिंग, खीं, बी, in modern H. खंग, तखंद, and तद, are affixed to the pronominal adverb, as in Chand—

तव किंग कष्ट दरिद्र तन ॥ तव किंग क्षेत्र मुहि बात ॥ वव किंग हीं कायी नहीं॥ तो पाइ 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 **an ara** by "so long as." This idiom is not peculiar to H., but is found in many other languages. In modern Hindi an ara the ara the ara are the area and the same in P.

S. has इसीं or एसींताई "up to this time," जोसीं or होसींताई "up to that time," where ताई, as explained in Vol. II. p. 298, is Skr. खाने, which, from meaning "in the place," has grown to mean "up to." सीं, I suppose, is a contraction of समय "time."

(2). Pronominal adverbs of place.—See list in Vol. II. p. 336.

The Hindi series यहा, यहा, यहा, तहा, तहा, is composed of the pronominal bases with हा, which we are justified in referring to Skr. खाने; thus तहा = तत्खाने. The dental is preserved in several dialectic forms (Kellogg, p. 265), as Marwari चढे, चढी, देढे "here," चढे, etc., "there," Avadhi एडिया, चोडिया, Bhojpuri एडा, एडाई. But the Braj इते, इत, is, I think, by Kellogg rightly referred to the Skr. series चच, तच, etc. The Bundelkhandi form चाची is probably only another way of pronouncing चाई, as we find in Old-Bengali such words as खबाचि for खबाई (modern खबाइया). To sthâne, also, are to be ascribed the P. forms इत्ते, चत्रे, etc. S. has not only इति, चिति, etc., which may come from चच, चच, but इत्ते, which agrees with P., and इते, which is, I suspect, like हिवाडो "one," an instance of a ह being put on to the front of a word without any etymological cause.

G. has various forms **wi**र्स, **wा**र्स, **खरी wi**there," and the same variety through all the series. The adverbial part agrees with H. Shortened forms **wi**t, **wi**t, and even **wi**t, **at**, are also in use.

M. agrees closely with P. and S. in its series वैचे, वेचे, etc., where the final anuswara, like that of Bhojpuri एउए , preserves the n of sthane. But कोर्ड "where," has the cerebral.

O. having first made sthûna into ठा, proceeds with the declension through its own affixes, and has thus a modern locative ठारे, in एडारे, सेटारे. The final र is often dropped, and एडा, सेटा, or even shortened एटि, सेटि are used. B. uses खाने, which seems to come from खाने on the analogy of खंभी = खंभ (Var. iii. 14) and खाणु = खानु (ib. iii. 15). For "where," however, it has a more regular form बोचा, in older Bengali बोचाय, as तार मत सन्मासिनी पार्व बोचाय "Where shall I find a female saint like her?" (Bharat, Bidyá-S. 399), where the final च for ए is a relic of the e of sthâne. We also find हैवा and देवाय "here," etc.

In the case of the adverbs of this group, as in those of time, the case-affixes are used, as H. at a "from where?" "whence?" G. att a "hence," P. at "whence?" But this practice is only in force to imply motion from a place. To express motion towards a place a separate set is used.

In classical H. the adverbial element is we, as two "hither," whither." The dialectic forms are very various. Bhojpuri has uffet, west, as also uff, wif, etc.; in eastern Behar one hears uffet, and many others. Kellogg quotes also a curious form from Rîwâ uffet, uffet auth, or uffet. If we take the original of all these forms to be we, that is a word of many meanings both in Skr. and H.; but I am disposed to connect the series with M. Fit "face," G. Fit id., a diminutive from Skr. He, so that the older adverbial element would be fet, as in Bhojpuri, whence we, which would, by a natural process, glide into we and we. 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 O. expressions u wir "in this direction," "hither" (को चार, को चार, etc.), which are locatives, and u was, 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 va "hither," and ust "hence," which, like O., are respectively locative and ablative. Marathi has what is apparently a fuller form Take "hither," locative, where the adverbial portion is at "a side," said to be from Skr. az "hip, loin." It has also an ablative series tage "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 / wg "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 O. expression was 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 चीं, खीं, etc., and for the near demonstrative and interrogative respectively softened forms युं and कां, vary very little in the dialects. Marwari has कं, एकं "thus," and, together with Braj and Mewari, has the far demonstrative, which is wanting in the classical dialect, चीं or चूं. Mewari adds कर and जा, as रेकर, रंगा "thus," which Kellogg looks on as from Skr. इ and जा respectively, and rightly so; for even in classical H. we have कांकर "how?" and in Chand and the poets करि or कर (क) are added to all this pronominal series at will.

The older form of this group is still preserved in the Purbi form इस or इसि, जिसि, तिसि. Chand has both this series and the modern one in चों, as चों भयो दिष जवधूत। "Thus the Rishi was absorbed in thought" (Pr.-R. i. 48), लों इह कच्च प्रमानं ॥ ज्यों जानि कोविदं खोद्य॥ "Thus this story is proved, its learned folk know" (ib. xiii. 5), पदमावती इस वे च्छी। इदिष दाज प्रचिराज। "King Prithiraj, rejoicing, thus (ima) led away Padmåvatî" (ib. xx. 35), तहां सु केम किन्जी समन। "How can one go there?" (ib. i. 90). Tulsi Das has इसि, जिसि, etc., as in तन पसेच कदली जिसि कांपी "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 असे, तथें. All the other languages have closely allied words. B. एमन, एमन, एमने, एमने, "thus," जैमन, etc.; the first two are nominatives, the last two locatives. O. एमनि, जैमनि, locatives; also

ए परि, the pronominal type, with a postposition. G. एम, जैम, where the termination has been lost, also for demonstrative जाम. This series is sometimes written ज्यम, त्यम, क्यम, but जैम is the more common, as in कीर्ति चर् गळ नी विसीर्थ जैम सूर्य ना पसरे कीर्थ ॥ "The fame of Nala was spread abroad, as spread the rays of the sun" (Premånand in H.-D. ii. 71).

Next in order comes the Old-Purbi H. इसि, etc., and, with the nasal weakened, probably through an intermediate form द्व, and change of the semivowel to its vowel, P. इसे and एसं aiûn, and the full series विसं, तिसं, विसं, as well as one without the i, बसं, तसं, etc., to which is allied H. खों, etc., for विसं. S. rejects the labial element in रिंग, हींग, रेए, and the rest of the series.

In this instance B. and O. 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 सत् or चत्. This is still more clearly seen by comparing the pronominal adjective of quality in B. and O. बेमका, सेमका, for मक्तो is the regular Prakrit form of the masc. सत्, just as चक्तो is of चत् in Skr. It is true that the existing Skr. series means rather quantity than manner, thus—

र्यान्, र्यती, र्यत् "so much," क्यित् "how much?" एतावान्, °वती, °वत् "so much," 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 O. Also the S. form in seems to be more naturally referred to an earlier emana, through enan, than to ittham, unless, indeed, we regard the anuswara as inserted to fill the hiatus left by elision of tth. S. does, undoubtedly, insert anuswara to fill a hiatus; but as the cognate languages have a H 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. It would be for an older form its. As the change, whatever it was, was completed 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. case they are, by derivation, locative cases of nouns. 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. will "before," and पीड़े "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 आंगे की बात "the former matter," lit. "the matter of formerly," पीके के दुख में कहांगा नहीं "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. will "to-day," P. wes, S. wa, etc. (Vol. I. p. 327), from Skr. wa; also H. are from Skr. was "dawn." This word has two meanings,

it is used for both "yesterday" and "to-day." In rustic H. we have the forms and, and, and are (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 an all are if in an "He was wounded in yesterday's battle," but an all are if in a large in "If I shall be wounded in to-morrow's battle." G. and, S. are, and, M. and.

So also are used the following:—Skr. पर: यस "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. परिंह, परिंह को, seem to be used only in the first meaning. G. परस, M. परवा. O. has पर always in combination with दिन, 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 दिन "the day before yesterday," and आसंता पर दिन "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. च "three." Similarly S. तरिष्ठं, but also with rejection of initial त, चरिष्ठं. Kellogg quotes dialectic forms in H. चतरसों, तरों. In H. we have even a still further जरसों "four days ago," which is rarely, however, used, and the initial of which, I conjecture, comes from चन्द्र, as though it were for चन्द्र तरसों "another day (besides) three days ago."

H. सबर "early," "betimes," and चवर, or more usually चबर "late," are Skr. स and च, compounded with वेसा respectively. S. सबर and चबर, also चबस, besides the adjectivally used forms सबरो and सबारो, as well as चबसो. In this sense is also used H. सबासे, सबारे, O. and B. id.; in O. it is frequently used in

the sense of "early in the morning," also "early to-morrow morning," as चाजि जार पारिनुं नहिं सवासे जिन् "To-day we shall not be able to go, we will go early to-morrow morning." H. here uses तस्के, conjunctive participle of तस्का "to break," as we should say "at break of day;" also भोर "dawn" is used in H. and O., भोरे in B. for "at dawn;" where G. has वाहाचो, M. उदां (Skr. उदय "sunrise"). Common also is Skr. प्रभाते, B. id., G. प्रभाते, of which the Oriyas make पाहाने "at dawn;" in Eastern Bengal one hears पाहा. The H. भोर is probably connected with the Skr. 🗸 भा in some way not very clear. G. has a curious word मळसके "at dawn," probably connected with मळवं "to meet," and, like Skr. सम्बा, indicating the meeting of darkness and light.

"Rapidly," "quickly," "at once."—This idea is expressed by derivatives of the Skr. /सर्, principally from the p.p.p. खरितम, which is used adverbially already in Skr. The forms are: H. तुरंत, M. तूर्त, G. तुर्त, तरत, खरीत, S. तुर्तु, O. B. तुरंत, खरित. M. has a peculiar word स्वक्र "at once, quickly," Skr. सव (√स "to cut") "a minute," M. सवर्षे "to flash, twitch, move quickly." It is not found in any other language. Commoner, however, is H. HZ "quick!" reduplicated HZYZ, M. श्रद्भन, S. श्रुटिपरि and चरिपरि, O. श्रुट, श्रुटपर, B. श्रुटि, from Skr. महिति. "Immediately" is also expressed in M. by तत्वास, O. and B. तत् खणात, but these are pedantic. H. P. M. and S. have also a word walva; H. also waita "suddenly," "unexpectedly," corresponding to which is G. चचाचेते, चोचितो, pointing to a derivation from ■ and √ चिन्त "to think," though I am disposed also to remember Skr. चमलार, H. चोब, in this connection. O. and B. use ESIG, literally ablative of Skr. ES, 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. एकाएक "all of a sudden," M. एकाएकी, 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 , as with "opposite," with "near," in near," diminutive of the preceding. Peculiar to S. is also with "near," with its diminutive attain. The "accompanied by," O. gun, is by Trumpp referred to Skr. and "with," and and "near," to attain, probably correctly. See the remarks on the postposition in Vol. II. p. 274, and on the Nepali ablative in that, Vol. II. p. 235. From adverbs with the affixes used and and 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,"	भोराहों " somewhat on this side."
आंगे "in front,"	बागहों "somewhat in front."
पोर्ते "behind,"	पोद्ताहीं "somewhat behind."
मचे " upon,"	संचाहीं " somewhat higher up."
मंद्री " in,"	मंद्राहो),,
	मंद्राहो } "somewhat inside."

This last word recalls the old poetic Hindi सद्यार used in Chand (see Vol. II. p. 293). They may also take the feminine ending चाही, as चगाही. मधाही.

Simple ablatives or locatives of nouns are also used adverbially, as—

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पुषां ) "from behind," abl. of पोउ "the rear."
पुढां "from behind," ,, पुढि "the back."
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¹ Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 385.

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सर्घा "from upon,"
                            abl. of Hell "the head."
मचे
     id.
                            loc. of id.
माबे "at all,"
                                   मानु "place."
                                   सूद् "capital," "stock-in-trade."
मरि "completely,"
                            abl. of
महंदि "before,"
                            loc. of सहंदु " beginning."
महंदां
       id.
                            abl. of id.
पारे " on the other side,"
                            loc. of UTE "the other side."
पार् "from the other side," abl. of id.
चंदरे " within,"
                            loc. of चंदर "the inside."
चंदरां)
चंदसें "from within,"
                            abl. of id.
विचे "in the midst,"
                            loc. of विच "the midst."
                               ,, इइ "the core."
                               " हेद्र "the bottom."
होते " below."
हेडां "from below,"
                            abl. of id.
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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 जनत "elsewhere," Skr. जन्म , निकट "near," also नेरे (dialectically नेद and नेरी); परे "on the other side," भीतर "within," Skr. जम्मनरे, वाहर, वाहर "outside," Skr. वहिस्, and others.

M., like S., has मांगे, but in the sense of "before," also पुढे "before," प्रवाद "beyond," वर "above," व्यक्त "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

चोचितोई कुए हिकिडे उन भांडे वे भरि में नृद् किची

"By chance one mouse made a hole near that granary."

Here ochito-1 is an adjective in the nom. sing. masc. with emphatic 1, 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.

तिरहीं वर हारे वास घणो रोई माछ वरिषोसि

"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 māū "mother," which is feminine; it must be regarded as used adverbially.

सुकुं समृति कोसिखं खाडा तपनि खींह

"The winds strike hot, the days burn fiercely."

In this sentence I do not think we should regard the adjectives as used adverbially; "winds," is a noun in the nom. pl. fem. and alter "hot" agrees with it, so also with

¹ Sindhi Grammar, p. 386.

"days," is nom. sing. masc. and sign "fierce, excessive" (Skr. se), 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 \mathfrak{T} M. and \mathfrak{T} 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 a 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 चौर, Old-H. चर, चनर, from Skr. चपर "other." and O. it loses the final consonant, B. 1, O. 1. In B., however, एवं, pronounced ebong, is very common; and आर "also." P. wa, often shortened into a, probably from Skr. चंते "at the end," "afterwards," as well as चर (चपर). S. we, we, or , in which the fondness of S. for the i-sound comes out. G. uses generally all literally "then." It has besides v and v for "also," which belong to the group from जपर. G. जने, shortened ने, I am disposed to connect with P. va, and ascribe to Skr. va. In the former case the त has been lost, in the latter the ज. It may, however, be allied to M. पासि, परादी "and," from Skr. पन "other." In all the languages, however, the shorter conjunction a is in use, side by side with the words given above. The ordinary Skr. ₹ has left no descendants. The Gipsies use te or ta, which agrees with P., also u, which is Persian ζ .

"Also."—H. भी, Skr. चपि हि, Pr. बि हि. The various steps from चपि downwards are all retained in S. पि, बि, भि (for बिहि), and भी. The other forms पुणु, पुणि, पिणि, are from Skr. पुण्यू "again," and show a gradual change from the u to the i, in accordance with S. proclivities. P. नाळ means literally "near to," locative of नाळ "near." G. पुण, meaning also "but," is from पुण्यू. B. uses चो, and O. भि.

"But" is very frequently expressed even in Hindi by the Arabic words के किन الكري, and Persian मगर بالكرة, and in the other languages also. Pure Sanskrit are परंतु and किन्, as well as बर्ण (Skr. वरं). In Hindi पर (Skr. परं) is also used, and in P., which also uses क्यर, and a strange form एपर, 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 मगना, probably corruptions of ملكة. Peculiar to P. and S. are the forms P. ह्यां, S. ह्यां, ह्यां, and emphatic ह्यांई and ह्यांई "but rather." These are ablatives from ह्यं, and the idiom may be paralleled by our English phrase "on the other hand." S. has also पर "but," and पण, in which latter it agrees with G. It also uses मगिर, having added a final i to ... G. and M., in addition to पण, use also परंतु, O. किन्त and पर, B. किन्त and वरं.

"Or."—H. बा, अथवा, which are Skr., with व for व. The Arabic या ं is very common, and commoner still is वि, probably shortened from Skr. विंदा. This वि is colloquially common in nearly all the languages. G. writes it वे, where e is short. M. lengthens the vowel and retains the nasalization वी, also using अथवा, as does G. P. वे, अथवा, and या. S. वे and वो. B. uses several varieties of विंदा, as विक्या, विद्या, व

"If."—Skr. यहि, generally pronounced and written बहि, is universal. H. shortens it into बह and बे (= बह, with loss of ह) and बो, by rejection of final i, and ह goes out, its place

being supplied by व and च; thus बद = बच = बच = बो. Persian खगर ी is also very common. P. बे and बेबर. This last introduces बर for बार "having done." S. बे.

"Although."—Skr. यबपि is used in B. O., also in H., but more common is को भी "if even." P. has भावें, literally "one may think," or "it may seem." B. also uses बढ़ि को "if even." S. तोचे, तोचे, sometimes with के prefixed, के तोचे; this, too, is literally "if even," for तोचे alone is used to mean "either," "even," and is apparently really the correlative तो (तच = ति) with a diminutive affix. It is not found in the other languages. G. को पण "but if." In all cases there is a correlative; thus to H. को or को भी answers तो or तो भी "then," or "even then;" to P. भावें answers तो भी; to G. को पण, answers तो पण, and so in all. In B. and O., as in written H., the correlative is Skr. तथापि "yet."

"Because."—H. क्वंबि literally "for why." B. and O. use Skr. कार्य "cause," and वे इंतु or वे इंतुक. G. मारे, probably Skr. माचिके, which is also sometimes used in O. in the sense of "only," "merely," "for the simple reason that." G. has also कमने "for why," and shorter कार्क. S. जेला, जेल्हें, where the last syllable is for लाइ "for" (see Vol. II. p. 260). S. also uses a string of forms with का "why?" as कार्को, का लाइ, and को ता, को जो. The correlatives "therefore," etc., take the त form तेला "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, यहो, यो "Ho!" or "Oh!" ह is used to superiors, as ह अभावतार "O incarnation of justice!" which is the common method of addressing a Magistrate or Judge, है प्रभु "O Lord!" है पिता "O father!" 1, well, and wi, have no special tone of respect or disrespect. Sorrow is shown by M, ME, EIU, EI EI, WEE "alas!" whence the common cry of native suitors, or persons applying to a ruler for redress, aleju literally "twice alas!" One often hears dohâe khudâwand, dohâe Angrez Bahâdûr, which is as much as to say "grant me justice," or "listen to my complaint." Others are to the!" qu "hush!" qs, चोइ "ah!" a cry of pain; चू चू disgust; इत 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?" I suspect the word now spelt an was originally at from aton "to go away," "be stopped," and तेरी the feminine genitive of 7 "thou," is explained by such filthy expressions as तेरी भा "thy mother." Two men are quarrelling, and one says to the other "ah, terî mâ," "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 सासा or गासा "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. III.

interjection of surprise with Panjabis, though it is also used by the other languages, is at and doubled at at at. The simple-minded Panjabi says "wah! wah!" to every new thing he sees, and this favourite exclamation helps to form the once terrible war-cry of the fighting Sikhs, "wah wah! fatih guru jt!"

All the other languages have these common interjections, several of which are also Persian or Arabic more or less corrupted. Thus the Persian شاك باش shâd bâsh, "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 عبي as shabâsh, shabâshe, sabâs, 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, with or t. This is used to call inferiors, to rebuke impertinence, in scolding or quarrelling, and in most languages takes also a feminine form well. It. Dr. Caldwell shows 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 **3**. I do not dispute the Non-Aryan origin of this word, but it must 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 we, used also in the same tone. The interchange of 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

¹ Dravidian Comparative Grammar, p. 440 (first edition).

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 जो, and B. गो. Thus O. जास जो, मा बजारकु विचा "Come along, mother, let us go to the bazar;" B. जिनेद्ये धनी गुन गो जनि "The lady entreats, 'hear me, oh my mother'" (Bhârat, Vid.-S. 338). जो, जोजो are also used in B. in contempt or reproof. Both these words seem to be fragments of जोगो, from Skr. जोज in the sense of "person," the word जोग or जोगाई 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 after "without" (Skr. atex) is used as a postposition with the genitive case, as at a after "outside the house," or even without the genitive sign, as at after "outside the door." So also ut "across," "on the other side of," is very commonly used with the direct form of the noun in the phrase at ut "across the river," "on the other side of the river." So also uha "with," "accompanied by," as ut and wha "accompanied by his peers and paladins," the meaning of the postposition from ut + ut + ut + ut requires this construction.

बीच "in," "in the middle of," सिरे "at the end of" (Skr. श्रिंग्स), बंधे "near to," "at the house of" (Skr. वर्ष), संग "with," हाथ "by means of," हो "at," "at the house of"

(Skr. खाने),¹ are also colloquially common, both with and without the sign of the genitive, but more frequently with it.

Panjabi has बोळ "near," literally, "in the bosom of," बोळों "from the side of," विच् "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 तोखि "up to," which Trumpp regards as an emphatic locative from तोडु "end;" जी, जिंच, जींच, जिंच, "like" (Skr. चचा); इा, दाह, दे "towards," with an ablative form दहां "from the direction of" (perhaps from Skr. दिन्।; रे, रिच, "without" (Skr. चती); सा, साण, से, सेणु "with" (Skr. सम; cf. B. सने).

S. सूधा "along with," H. सूधा and सुधा "with," O. सुधा or सनु सुधा "together with," "all taken together," from Skr. साईम, according to Trumpp and others, but the O. usage seems to refer rather to Skr. सुद्ध, in the sense of संगुद्ध "completed."

S. सींचा "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.

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 endition 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.

Of the second class are बाह्म, बाह्में, बाह्में "without," P. बाह्म, बाह्मों id. This rather means "owing to the absence of," as in the passage quoted by Trumpp, तान सूरिह आव्या सेस्ह देखन बाह्मों होस ने "Then they were considered by the hero as thorns in the absence of his friend." It is probably connected with Skr. बिंगा in the sense of being bound or impeded. बिंगा "without" (Skr. बिंगा), is also common in H. P. B. and O. In M. बिंगा, and G. बिंगा and बंगा (wind, wand).

S. साइ and सइ "for the sake of," correspond to H. P. सिंचे, 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 सिंचे "for that reason," but उस के सिंचे "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 will "in front," may take the accusative. It is probably like O. with "in the first place," or with a negative with a "not at all," "at no time;" thus with did not go there," that is to say, "he never went there at all," locative of Skr. with "beginning."

चंदर "within," Skr. चंतर, but more probably from Persian اَندَر. चोडो " near to," धारा "apart, without," बाणे "for the sake of," contracted from बारणे; मथे "upon," loc. of मथो "head," वांगे "like to," वेद्यो "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," उवांवर "till to-morrow." A longer form is वरता, which is declined as an adjective, generally meaning "up." Others are बाहर "out," चांत "in," कहे "at," कहून "by means of," वांचून "without," विषयी "about," "concerning," literally "in the matter (of)," मार्ग "behind," "formerly," पुढे "before," "in future," खाखी "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—

وَ مَا المَرَوِّ مَا دَامَت مُشَاشَةٌ نَفْسَهِ بِمُدرِكِ أَطرافِ الخُطوب ولا آلِ

FINIS.

INDEX.

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.

A

```
-aïp, ii. 167
aüpâ, i. 193
apip, ii. 311
anvalâ, i. 254; ii. 29
ans, ansu (ança), ii. 174
ansû, ansûn (açru), i. 357; ii.
   193
-aphi, ii. 223
anhri, i. 134
-ak, ii. 29, 111
aka, ii. 345
akad, ii. 102
akadait, ib.
akatar, ii. 346
akaté, ib.
akarâ, i. 260
```

```
akavka, ii. 345
akkh, i. 309; ii. 173
akshi, ib.
agaru, agare, ii. 296
agaro, ib. ii. 101
agalâ, ib.
agâü, ii. 296
agiâr, i. 260; ii. 134
agio, ii. 296
agun, i. 172
agunis, ii. 136
agûniko, ii. 115
agg, aggi, agi (agni), i. 300; ii.
  52, 218
aggâü, aggâdu, ii. 297
agra, ii. 288, 296
```

aglâ, ii. 101 ank, ii. 120 ankadî, ib. ankâ, iii. 68 ankûr, ii. 232 ankhadî, ii. 120 ankhi, ii. 173 ang, ii. 121 angana, ii. 17 angâra, i. 129; ii. 289 angiyâ, ii. 121 angurijaņu, iii. 71 anguli, i. 134 anglalutno, ii. 288 acharaj, i. 136, 349 acharat, ib. acho, achchho, achchhâ, ii. 12 √achh, achchh (as), iii. 180 achhâni, ii. 80 achchhario, achchhero, ii. 286 achhi, iii. 185 aju, ajj, ajja, i. 327 anjali, i. 252 anjhu, i. 357 -at, ii. 67 atak, ii. 31, 51 ataknâ, ib. ațâ, ațârî, ii. 120 atkâ, ii. 63 atkânâ, ii. 31 atkelo, atkhelo, ii. 96 atth, i. 315; ii. 133 atthi (asthi), i. 317 atthârah, ii. 134 athavanûk, ii. 44 athai, athais, i. 253 athâvan, ii. 141 adanâ, adaņen, ii. 20 adat, adatya, ii. 53, 88 adavanûk, ii. 44 adahan, ii. 134

adivel, ii. 96 adî, adîch, ii. 144 adhat (arhat), ii. 53 adhail, ii. 96 adhâi (arhâi), ii. 144 adhâr, ii. 134 -an, ii. 166 andâ, anden (anda), ii. 8 andadâ, ii. 120 -at, iii. 123 atasi, i. 130, 179 -atu, ii. 63 adhasta, ii. 298 adhu, adhe, ii. 12 addhâ, ii. 12 -an, ii. 165 -ana, ii. 15 ani (anya), i. 341 antar, antarûn (antra), ii. 174 -ando, iii. 123 andhakâra, andherâ, i. 299 andhâ, andhalâ, ii. 12 andhâpanu, ii. 73 -anh, ii. 206 annhâ, ii. 12 annherâ, ii. 299 apachchhar (apsaras), i. 309 apûpa, i. 179 apnâ, ii. 329 ab, ii. 336 abhyantare, i. 182 abhra, ii. 21 amangala, i. 252 amaro (-re, -ri), ii. 345 ame, ii. 307 amen, ii. 302, 308 amo, ib. amb, ambâ, ambu, i. 342; ii. 21 ambavani, ii. 127 ambiyâ, ii. 21 ambhe, i. 262

amhe, amhan, etc. (forms of 1 pers. pron. pl.), ii. 302 -amhi, ii. 223 -aya, i. 140, 204 -ar (genitive), ii. 276, 280 aranya, i. 179 aratti, arattutno, ii. 288 arahat, aratu (araghatta), 266 archi, i. 318 arņa, i. 341 ardhâ, ii. 12 aliam (alîka), i. 149 alsi, i. 130 ava, i. 178, 204 avaka, ii. 345 avasthâna, i. 178 avalambana, i. 252 avaçyâya, i. 356 avalo, ii. 73 avin, ii. 311 avljano, iii. 72 avgo, avgutno, ii. 288 açî (açîti), ii. 137 ashtau, i. 315; ii. 133 ashtâdaça, ii. 134 √as, iii. 171 asâ, ii. 302 asâdâ, ii. 313 asî, ii. 137 asin, ii. 302 ase (as), iii. 184 asnân, ii. 17 asthi, i. 317 -ahan, ii. 220 ahaï, ahahi, iii. 173 -ahi, ii. 221 ahin, ii. 311 ahîr, i. 268 -ahun, ii. 220 ahvân, ii. 311

Â

â, ii. 318, 336 É, âïs, âs, iii. 45 âïn, ii. 205 -âïṇ, âïṇi, ii. 80, 169 -âïn, ii. 166 âïsâ, i. 158 -âît, ii. 104 âûlâ, âolâ, ii. 29 ân, ii. 302 ânin, ii. 311 ânûn, ii. 302 ânon, ii. 113 ânv, i. 254 ; ii. 173 ânvalâ, i. 254 ; ii. 29 ânviro, i. 254 ânsû, i. 357 ânhin, ii. 336 âku, i. 310 âkhadu, i. 259 âkhu, i. 310 âg, âgun, âgi, (agni), i. 300; ii. 52, 191, 207, 209, 218 âgal, âgali, ii. 101 âgâ, i. 142 âgiâ, âgyâ (âjñâ), i. 303; ii. 159, âgion, âgu, âge, i. 296 ânk, iii. 68 ânkh, i. 309; ii. 173 ângan, ângaņu, ii. 17 âchhe, i. 215, 218; iii. 185 âj, âji, i. 327 âjikâra, ii. 279 ânch, i. 318 ânju, i. 357 -ât, ii. 65, 67 âț (ashțau), ii. 133 âțalo, ii. 336 âth (ashtau), i. 315; ii. 133

âthâis, i. 253 âthara, ii. 134 âthun, ii. 247 -âtho, ii. 114 âdâi, ii. 144 âdat, âdhat (ârhat), ii. 53 ân, ân (√ânî) iii. 44 âniko, ii. 115 ândâ, ii. 8 -âti, ii. 105 âtman, i. 330; ii. 76, 328 âdriç, i. 158 âdhâ, ii. 12 -ân, ii. 69 ano, ii. 8 ânt, ii. 110 ântachâ, ib. -ândo, iii. 123 ândhalo, ii. 12, 73 Ép, app, iii. 41 âp, âpan, âpanâ (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 âpalâ, ii. 330 âpas, ii. 330, 348 âpelo (âpiḍa), i. 156, 196 âbh, ii. 21 âm, i. 342; ii. 219 -âmanî, ii. 70 âmarâ, i. 54; ii. 302 âmi, ii. 54; ii. 302 -âmi, ii. 77 âmba, âmbo, i. 342; ii. 21 âmbaţân, ii. 127 âmhâ, âmht, ii. 302, 308 âyâ, iii. 16 -âr, -ârâ, -âru, ii. 94 -âl, -âlu, ii. 90, 94 -âlâ, iii. 142 âlaya, i. 182; ii. 10, 93, 98 âv, iii. 44 -âv, ii. 63

-âvat, ii. 69 âvatto, i. 334 -âvan, ii. 69 -âvo, ii. 336 âçî, ii. 137 âçcharya, i. 136, 344; ii. 286 âshâdha, i. 259 âsarâ, âsiro (âçraya), i. 182, 357; ii. 10. -âhat, ii. 65 -âhi, ii. 213 -âhin, âhun, ii. 220 âhe (√as), iii. 172 âhed, âher, i. 266 -âho, ii. 213 -âļ, -âļu, ii. 90 âlokh, ii. 104

Ι

i, ih, ii. 317, 319, 329, 336 -ia, -io, iii. 133 iûn, iii. 262 ik, ikk, ii. 131 -ika, ii. 83, 34, 111, 156 ikade, ii. 146 -ikâ, ii. 164 ikâhat, ii. 141 ikshu, i. 135, 218, 310 igâraha, ii. 134 igyârahvân, ii. 248 ingâlo, (angâra), i. 129, 250 ingianno (ingitajña), 302 inam, i. 156 inânam, ii. 335 -ino, ii. 114 it, itai, iii. 260 -ita, ii. 102 iti, i. 180, 196 itthe, ii. 336, 346

itthî, itthikâ (strî), i. 363
itnâ, ii. 336
idhar, ii. 336
-in, -inî, ii. 153, 164
-ini, ii. 84
imi, iii. 262
imli, i. 134
-iya, ii. 84, 88, 156
iyânâm, i. 186
-iru, ii. 113
-il, ii. 94, 95
-ila, -ilâ, iii. 134
ilsî, i. 130
iva, i. 180

Î

1, ii. 317, 336
-1, ii. 83
-10, ii. 83, 89
-1n, ii. 223
1na, ii. 336; iii. 264
1kh, i. 310
-1n, ii. 170, 231
-1no, ii. 114
-1ndo, iii. 123
-1ya, ii. 84, 85, 156
-1ro, ii. 97
-11, -11â, -110, ii. 95, 97, 98
1sarâ (1çvara), i. 358
-1hi, ii. 215, 218
11, ii. 98

U

u, ii. 318, 336 -ua, -uâ, ii. 39 uajjhâao, i. 328 -uka, ii. 35, 112 ukhaṇḍijaṇu, iii. 71

ug, ugg, ugav (√udgam), i. 294; iii. 39 ugâr (udgâra), i. 179 ugâl, ugâlhnâ, ib. uchakkâ, ii. 72 uchâi, uchchâi, ii. 79 uchân, ii. 80 uchchâ, ii. 13 uchchhû (ikshu), i. 135, 146, 218, 310 ujâdnâ, ujâdû, ii. 36 uncha, ii. 13 unchat, ii. 122 unchâî, ii. 79 uth (vutthâ) i. 294; iii. 40, 83 uthu, ii. 87, 92 ud (ur, √uddi), udir, iii. 44 udako, ii. 33 udâu, ii. 41, 43 udâk, ib. udân, ii. 81 unih, ii. 134 undâ, ii. 81 utar (vuttri), iii. 54 utârnâ, utârû, ii. 36 uti, ii. 336 -ut1, ii. 108 utthe, i. 314; ii. 336, 346 utthon, ii. 346 utnâ, ii. 336 utsava, i. 317 utsuka, ib. uda, ii. 21 udumbara, i. 133, 180 udgâra, i. 139 udra, ii. 21 udvodhâ, i. 245, 271 udhar, ii. 336 udhâlû, ii. 37 un, i. 343; ii. 48 unâiç, unîs, ii. 134

unân, unhân, ii. 318 unâlâ, ii. 93 uni, ii. 319 ungalî, i. 134 undir, ii. 231 unho, i. 347 upa, i. 200 upajjhâyo (upâdhyâya), i. 328 upano, iii. 141 upari, ii. 298 upavishta, i. 179; iii. 38 uppalam, i. 284 ubâlnâ, ubâraņu (ujjvâlana), i. 294 ubidako, ii. 33 ubhârnâ (udbhâraņa), i. 294 umrâü, ii. 152 umhal, i. 347 urlâ, ii. 344 urân, ii. 207, 219 -ul, -ûļ, ii. 99, 100 ulka, i. 180 ulko, ii. 33 uvavajjhihiti (/upapad), iii. 20 us, ii. 318 ushun, i. 172 ushma, i. 172, 347 uh, uhai, ii. 318, 336 uhado, ii. 336

Û

û, ii. 318, 339
ûna, ii. 336
ûkh, i. 135, 218, 310
ûngh, ii. 82, 92
ûnghâs, ûnghâsâ, ii. 82
ûnghâļu, ii. 92
ûchâṇi, ii. 80
ûcho, iò.

ûnchâ, ii. 13, 79 ûnchâî, ii. 79 -ûniko, ii. 115 -ûno, ii. 114, 115 -ûndo, ii. 81 ût, ii. 21 -ût, ii. 108 ûd, ii. 21 ûn, i. 343; ii. 48 ûnavinçati, ii. 134 ûnh, i. 347 ûpar, ii. 298 ûrnâ, i. 343 ûs, i. 218, 310 -ûhi, ii. 215

ŖΙ

riksha, i. 159, 218, 310; ii. 14 ritu, i. 159 √ridh, ii. 53 riddha, i. 159 rishabha, i. 159 rishi, i. 160

\mathbf{E}

-e, ii. 262
e, ii. 317, 336
eâraha, i. 260, 243; ii. 134
-en, ii. 262, 271
eka, ek, eku, ekk, i. 141, 156;
ii. 130, 245
eka- (in comp.), i. 253, 259, 288;
ii. 134, 141
ekottara, ii. 142
ekhana, ii. 336
ekhâne, ib.
egye (âge), i. 142; ii. 296

etalo, ii. 336 ethâ, ib. ed, edi, i. 134 ede, edo, ii. 336 -en, ii. 169 eta, ii. 336 etiro, ete, ib. -eto, ii. 103 ethâkâra, ii. 280 em, eman, emanta, ii. 336 -er, ii. 276, 279 eranda, i. 180 -erâ, -ero, ii. 98 -erâ, ii. 199 -el, -elâ, -elu, ii. 95, 97, 98 -elo, iii. 134 evado, ii. 336 eve, evo, ib. esu, -esun, ii. 219 eh, ehâ, ehân, ii. 317 -ehi, -ehin, ii. 219 ehvân, ii. 336

AI

ai, i. 185
ainçî, ii. 137
aidan, ii. 336
aidâ, ii. 336
-ait, ii. 69
-aitâ, ib.
-aito, ii. 103
-ail, ii. 95, 167
aisâ, ii. 336

0

o, ii. 318, 336
-on (ord.), ii. 143

-on (pl.), ii. 218, 243 -on (loc.), ii. 236, 346 oka, ii. 345 -oko, ii. 112 okovka, ii. 345 okhâne, ii. 336 oganîs, ii. 134 ogâl, i. 293 ojhâ, i. 328 onjal, i. 252 oth, onth (oshtha), ii. 7 othâru, ii. 92 othi, ii. 87 ode, odo, ii. 336 oņav, oņâv, oņâ (√avanam), iii. 57 ondâ, ii. 81 otiro, ii. 336 -ot1, ii. 108 odava, ii. 345 ovoka, ib. os, i. 356 oshtha, i. 317; ii. 7 ohi, ii. 204

AU

-aut, ii. 69, 106 -autâ, autî, ib. -aun, -aunâ, ii. 69 aur, ii. 341; iii. 270 aushadha, i. 133, 252 aushtrika, ii. 87

K

ka, ii. 344 -ka, ii. 26 kanval, i. 255; ii. 23 kanh, ii. 253 kanhaiyâ, kanho, i. 163 kanhin, kanni, ii. 323, 326 kakadî, i. 130, 133, 318; ii. 35 kakado, i. 318 kakkho, ii. 7 kaksha, ii. 7, 87, 257 kakhana, ii. 338 kankan, i. 199, 296 kankar, i. 130; ii. 95 kankarîlâ, ii. 95 kangan, i. 296 kachak, ii. 31, 88 kachanen, ii. 68 kachât, ii. 68, 89 kachiandh, ii. 126 kachim, i. 273 kachchh, ii. 7 kachchhapa, i. 153, 273 kachhû, ii. 328 kañâ, i. 341 kanjho, i. 356 kat, kât (√krit), i. 333; ii. 13; iii. 59 kat, i. 145 kaţâit, ii. 105 katân, ib. katâha, i. 199 kathan (kathina), i. 145, 155; ii. 13, 82 kathanâç, ii. 82 kad, ii. 93 kadak, karkâ, ii. 31, 38, 43 kadakad, ii. 104 kadakhâ, karkhait, ii. 103 kadâhî, i. 199 kadihîn, ii. 338 kadîl, ii. 98 kadh, kaddh (√krish), i. 353; iii. 57 kan, ii. 324 kanik, ii. 231 kanic, ib.

kantaka, i. 297; ii. 29, 93 kanthâlâ, ii. 89 kanthi, i. 270 kandâ, kandiâlâ, i. 297; ii. 29, 93 kanno, i. 343; ii. 7 kata, ii. 338 kataran, i. 334 katî, i. 334 kath, i. 267; iii. 37 kad, ii. 338 kadala, ii. 345 kadali, i. 142 kaniâ (kanyâ), i. 341 kanu, i. 343; ii. 7 kankano, kangan, i. 199 kankâla, kangâl, i. 198 kandhi, i. 270 kandhâ, i. 297; ii. 9, 109 kann, i. 343; ii. 7 kannh, i. 300 kanhanen, ii. 60 kanhavâlû, ib. kapadâ (kaprâ), i. 199, 318 kapadiândh, ii. 126 kaparda, i. 158, 209 kapâta, i. 200 kapâs, kapâh, etc., i. 259, 318 kapitthâ, i. 273 kapûra, i. 318 kab, ii. 338; iii. 257 kabarâ, kaburâ, etc., i. 130, 319 kamala, i. 255 kamâû, ii. 41 kamin, ii. 167 kamp, kâmp, etc. (√kamp), i. 279; iii. 34 kambalâ, kammal, etc., ii. 23 kaya, ii. 344 kar (√kṛi), i. 98, 160, 181; ii. 17, 19, 38, 162, 179, 285; iii. 11, 16, 18, 23, 41, 72, 75, 77

kar, karâ (genitive), ii. 277, 279, 287 kara (hand), ii. 11 karapanen, ii. 67 karâî, i. 199 kariâ, i. 247 kariândh, ii. 126 kariso, i. 150 karodhi (krodhin), ii. 167 karoh (kroça), i. 259 karkaṭikâ, i. 133 ; ii. 35 karjâî, ii. 168 karņa, i. 343 ; ii. 7 kartana, i. 333 kardama, i. 334; ii. 26 karpata, i. 199, 318 karpaţân, ii. 127 karpâsa, i. 259, 318 karsh (√kṛish), i. 322, 353; iii. 57 kal (kalyam), i. 350; iii. 264 kavadi, i. 200 kavala, ii. 24 kavâ, ii. 344 kavi, ii. 191 kaçâ, ii. 325 kaçmala, i. 348 kaçmîra, i. 348 kashta, ii. 90, 93 kas, kasailâ, ii. 96 kas (pron.), ii. 344 kasak, ii. 31 kasanen, ii. 20 kasata, kastâlâ, ii. 93 kasâ, ii. 338 kasis, kasu, i. 149 kah, kahnâ, etc. ($\sqrt{\text{kath}}$), i. 267; iii. 37 kahâ, ii. 324 kahân, i. 355; ii. 338 kahâr, i. 299 ; ii. 127 kahin, ii. 323

kahun, ii. 253 kaļâ, i. 244; ii. 13 kales, i. 171 kâ, ii. 276 kârth, ii. 167 kânhân, ii. 338 kânhîn, ii. 328 kâka, kâg, i. 198 kâkâ, i. 210 kâkh, kânkh, ii. 7, 257 kânkada, i. 318 kâchhe, i. 218; ii. 257, 258 kâj (kâcha), i. 199 kâj (kârya), i. 349 kânchana, ii. 17 kât, kâtnâ (√krit), i. 333; ii. 20, 36; iii. 59 kâţû, ii. 36 kâdhnâ (√krish), i. 353, 354; ii. 20, 32, 41; iii. 57 kâṇâ, ii. 13 kânțâ, i. 297; ii. 29 kânţîl, ii. 98 kâtar, i. 334 kâduâ, kâdo (kardama), i. 334; ii. 26 kân, ii. 7 kânâ, ii. 13 kânkudî, i. 133 kângu, i. 198 kândh, kândhâ (skandha), i. 297, 300; ii. 9 kânh (krishna), i. 163, 347 kâpad, i. 199, 318 kâpûr, i. 318 kâpûs, i. 169, 318 kâbar, kabarâ, i. 130, 146, 319 kâbalo, kâmbalâ, ii. 23, 89 kâm (karma), i. 152, 345; ii. 41 kâma (beam), ii. 195 kâya, ii. 324

-kâr, ii. 126 kâr, ii. 279, 284 kâranhan, i. 260 kâraj, kârju (kârya), i. 171, 249, kâriso, ii. 325 kârîgar, ii. 167 kâro, i. 247 kârtika, i. 334 kârshâpana, i. 355 kâl, kâli, kâlh (kalyam), i. 350 kâlâ, i. 244, 247; ii. 13 kâlikâr, ii. 279 kâvadâ, ii. 89 kâvanjâ, i. 105 kâçmîra, i. 348 kâshta, i. 315; ii. 7 kâsîs, i. 149 kâh, ii. 324 kâhâ, kâhân, ii. 323, 326 kâhâdavun, i. 353 kâhân, i. 355 kâhâr, kâhâri, ii. 327 kâhâvana, i. 355 kâļâ, i. 244; ii. 13 ki, ii. 324 kiâ, ib. kinon, i. 257 kikade, ii. 338 kikkur, ib. kichhi, kichhu, ii. 328 kitta, i. 145 kidå, kido, i. 199 kitakâ, ii. 332, 338 kitaro, ii. 331, 338 kitek, ii. 333 kitthe, ii. 338 kitnâ, ii. 331, 338 kiddhau, iii. 144 kidhar, ii. 338 kin, kinh, ii. 323, 326

kiyau, iii. 144 kiran, i. 130 ; ii. 17 kiles, i. 171; ii. 7 killâ, i. 150 kis. ii. 326 kisân, i. 160 kise, ii. 324, 326 kisû, ii. 328 kihadî, ii. 331, 338 kihâ, ib. kihi, ii. 323 ki (gen.), ii. 276 kî (pron.), ii. 323, 324, 326 kid, kido, i. 199 kîdriça, i. 156; ii. 323 kînau, iii. 144 kunvar (kumâra), i. 255 kukkur, ii. 184, 200 kukh (kukshi), i. 218 kuchchho (kukshi), i. 310; ii. 218 kuchh, ii. 328 kunchi, kunji, i. 199; ii. 35 kunjadá, ii. 165 kuṭam, i. 146 kutâdî, i. 273 kuţţinî, i. 146; ii. 170 kuţîl, ii. 98 kuthârâ, i. 270, 273 kudapu, i. 334 kudi, kudh, i. 316 kudie, ii. 138 kund, kundâlâ, ii. 93 kundala, ii. 24 kutho, iii. 338 kudaņen kuddavun (vkurd), i. 150, 334 kuddâl, i. 157 kubadâ, i. 286 kubiro, i. 130 kubo, etc. (kubja), i. 285, 286

kumâd, ii. 163

kumbi, kunbi, etc., ii. 87, 165, 170 kumhâr, etc. (kumbhakâra), 144, 298, 346; ii. 126, 165 kurûl, ii. 100 kula, i. 155, 244, 247 kulathâ, ii. 164 kulli, kurlî, ii. 24 kulhârî, kuhârâ, etc., i. 270 kushtha, i. 157; ii. 85, 167 kusanu, kuhanu, iii. 51 kusâthî, ii. 167 kuhudî, ii. 167 kula, i. 244 kûân, i. 203 kûnjî, ii. 35 kûdnâ (√kurd), i. 150, 334 kûpa, i. 150, 203 kûs, ii. 218 kripâ, ii. 90 kripâlû, ib. krishaka, i. 160 krishna, i. 163 ke, ii. 323, 326, 338 -ke (gen. aff.), ii. 260, 276, 278 keî, ii. 326 keun, ii. 323, 328 keunasi, ii. 326 keṭalo, ii. 331, 338 kedâ, kede, ii. 333, 334, 338 ketâ, kete, ii. 332, 338 ketiro, ii. 338 kedo, ib. kebe, ib. kemana, ib. kemâne, ii. 323 ker, kerâ, etc. (gen. aff.), ii. 281, 284 keriso, ii. 323 keru, ii. 323, 338 kelâ, 142, 202 ; ii. 24 kevat (kaivarta), i. 157

kevado, ii. 334, 335 kevadhâ, ib. kevâre, ii. 338 kevido, i. 202; ii. 24 kevo, ii. 331 keça, ii. 90 keçarî, i. 259 ; ii. 85 kesâlû, ii. 90 keha, ii. 327 kehari, i. 259; ii. 85 kehavun, (\square\kath), i. 138, 243; iii. 41 kehi, ii. 326 kehvân, ii. 338 kaiek, ii. 327, 333 kaichhana, i. 85 kaisâ, i. 158 ; ii. 325, 331 ko (objective aff.), i. 48; ii. 253 ko (pron.), ii. 323, 326, 338 koïl (kokila), i. 187, 201; ii. 24 koî, ii. 326 koû, ii. 327 konvalâ (komala), i. 197, 253 kokh, i. 157, 310 kot, i. 315, 316 kothâ, kothî (koshtha), i. 315 kothâ, kothen (adv.), ii. 338 kodhî (kushthin), i. 157, 316; ii. 85, 89 kon, konî, konhî, ii. 323, 338 koro, ii. 277 kos, koh, kohu (kroça), i. 259; ii. 7 kohu (pron.), ii. 33, 338 koliyo, ii. 24 kolî, ii. 169 kaun, i. 48; ii. 253, 260 kaudi, i. 158, 200, 333; ii. 164 kaun, ii. 328, 338 kaunasi, ii. 326 kaun, ii. 322, 323

VOL. III.

kaulâ, ii. 91 kaulârû, ib. kyâ, ii. 324 kyû<u>n</u>, ii. 338 krî, iii. 64

KH

khanyo, iii. 138 khaggo (khadga), i. 285 khacharat, ii. 68 khajanu, iii. 51 khajûr, i. 319 khat (khatvâ), ii. 48 khatâ, khattâ, ii. 82 khatapan, ii. 72 khatas, ii. 82 khatiândh, ii. 126 khadaka, ii. 31, 33, 98 khadag, i. 285, 299 khadkhadat, ii. 68 khadâ, iii. 60 khadî, ii. 35 khan, ii. 7 khana, ii. 98 khananu, iii. 50 khanâ, i. 299 khanânî, ii. 20 khanil, khaneren, ii. 98 khanda, i. 299 khanda (khadga), i. 285; ii. 104, 105 khandaït, 36. khattri, ii. 88, 156 khan, i. 130 ; ii. 7 khanî, khanu, i. 299 khano, i. 285 khandhâ, i. 300, 306; ii. 9 khapaņu, ii. 43, 53 khapanen, ii. 35

khapati, ii. 53 khapâû, ii. 43 khapî, khapyâ, ii. 35 khamâ, i. 174, 310; ii. 159 khambh, i. 313 kharadya, ii. 35 khalada, ii. 120 khavalyâ, ii. 89 khavâ (√khâd), iii. 68 khavîjano, ib. khaskhas, ii. 104 khâ (√khâd), i. 202, 204; ii. 36; iii. 40, 68 khâü, ii. 36, 37 khân, ii. 166 khânyâin, ib. khânsnâ, i. 191 khâj, khâjaņen, ii. 191 khât (khatvâ), i. 154; ii. 48 khândâ, i. 285 khâdho, iii. 140 khânorâ, ii. 100 khândâ, khânah, i. 273, 306; ii. 9 khâr, i. 310 khâl (below), ii. 98 khâl (skin), ii. 120 khâvaviņen, iii. 77 khich, iii. 64 khichâu, khichâv, ii. 63 khinj, iii. 64 khina, i. 130; ii. 7 khitri, ii. 88, 156 khimâ, i. 130; ii. 159 khilaunâ, ii. 70 khilâû, ii. 41 khillû, ii. 36 khisalâhat, ii. 65 khisiyâhat, ib. khîr, i. 309 khujalâhat, ii. 65 khudako, ii. 33

khudhâ, khuddhiâ, ii. 159 khusadani, khusrani, ii. 70 khusanu, i. 322 khuhu, khûhu, i. 150, 191, 203; ii. 202 khuhambo, i. 191 khe, ii. 253, 256 khech, khench, iii. 64 khetu, i. 310 khed, khedavun, etc. (kshetra), i. 310, 338; ii. 37 khet (kshetra), i. 218, 310, 338 khetri, ii. 88 khep ($\sqrt{\text{kship}}$), i. 196 khel, khel, i. 239, 240, 244; ii. 36 khevnâ, i. 200 khogʻir, ii. 232 khod, khod, khol, etc., ii. 20; iii. 62

G

gajak, ii. 32 gajanu, gajjnâ (√garj), i. 319 gatho, iii. 138 gathilâ, ii. 95 gathri, i. 120 gad, gadbad, etc., i. 336 gadahu, ii. 164 gadbadat, ii. 67, 68 gaddh, iii. 59 gadha, ii. 95 gadhâl, ii. 62 gadhelâ, ii. 95 -gan, ii. 200 gandâsâ, ii. 82 gandh (√granth), iii. 59 gadhâ, gadahâ, etc. (gardabha), i. 335

gantâit, ii. 105 gandhalâ, ii. 101 gabbh, gabhu, etc. (garbha), i. 319; ii. 7 gabbhin, gabhin, etc. (garbhini), i. 183, 319 gambhîr, i. 81, 150; ii. 13 garanu, i. 247 garabhu, ii. 7, 11 garbhan, i. 183 garbhinî, i. 165 galâv, galâu, ii. 63 gavudno, ii. 288 gah, ganh (vgrah), iii. 42 gahak, gahako, ii. 31, 33 gaharâ, gahirâ, i. 81, 150; ii. 13 gâü, ii. 26, 37 gân, gânv, etc. (grâma), i. 254; ii. 7, 26 gânvaden, ii. 118 gânvî, ii. 88 gâjaņen, gâjnâ (√garj), i. 319 gânjâ, i. 297 gâţu, i. 337 gâdanu, gâdavun, etc., i. 336 gâḍâ, ii. 149 gâdî, i. 336; ii. 149, 192 gâdhâ, gâdho, ii. 13 gând, i. 147, 227 gât, i. 337 gâdâmi, ii. 77 gâdhâ, i. 335 gân, i. 256 gânth, i. 267; iii. 59 gâbh, i. 319; ii. 7 gâbhin, i. 145, 183, 319; ii. 165 gâbhûļ, ii. 100 gâm (grâma), ii. 7, 26 gâmadun, ii. 119 gâvun (√gai), ii. 37 gâhâ, i. 267

gijh, i. 160, 337; ii. 21 gidh, giddh, ib. ginnâ, i. 130 gimh, gîm, i. 347 giyârân, i. 260 girâku, ii. 42 gihanu, ii. 19 gihu, i. 160 gid, gidh, i. 160, 337; ii. 21 guâr, ii. 167 guj, gujho, i. 359 gudko, ii. 83 gunapanâ, ii. 73 gudi, i. 240 gunîs, ii. 136 gunth (v/granth), iii. 59 guru, ii. 166 -gul, -guli, ii. 200 gusail, ii. 167 gusâin, ii. 168 gusâü, ii. 42 gûj, i. 359 gûth (√granth), iii. 59 genh (√grah), iii. 42 geru, i. 146 geh, ii. 14 gehun, i. 81, 169, 267 go, i. 267; ii. 245 gochhâït, ii. 105 gotâ, ii. 245 goțu, i. 337 gotthi, ii. 218 gothu, ii. 110 god, godil, ii. 98 gondas, ii. 82 gondâ, ii. 82, 90, 98 got, i. 337 gom, i. 267 gorâ, i. 158 goro, ii. 247 gol, i. 240, 244, 247

golâ, ii. 148
golârâ, ii. 94
golî, ii. 203
golo, i. 247
gosâin, i. 257; ii. 154
gosâvî, ib.
goh, i. 267; ii. 48
gohâl, i. 260
gohûn, i. 169, 267
gyâran, gyârah, ii. 134
grasth, i. 166
grâsanen, i. 154
grisatî, i. 166
grihastu, ib.
gwâlin, ii. 165

GH

ghatanu, iii. 71 ghațitâ, ii. 79 ghadavun, ii. 43 ghadâ, ghadî, i, 199; ii. 91, 92 ghadaü, ii. 43, 44 ghadiyâl, etc., ii. 91, 92, 94 ghanaghuro, ii. 127 ghanaghanât, ii. 68 ghanâ, ii. 13 ghanerâ, ii. 98 ghantâ, ii. 93 ghamori, ii. 100 ghar (gṛiha), i. 192; ii. 14, 95, 183, 191, 206, 280 gharachâ, ii. 110 gharatu, ii. 64 gharelâ, ii. 95 ghasavat, ii. 67 ghâ, ghâv (ghâta), i. 187, 202; ii. 100 ghâïl, ghâyal, etc. ii. 100 ghất, ii. 89

ghân, ghânelâ, ii. 98 ghântadî, ii. 119 ghâm, ii. 26, 99 ghâmelâ, ii. 99 ghâmoli, ii. 100 ghâsanen, ii. 67; iii. 88 ghisâv, ii. 63 ghiü, ghi, etc. (ghrita), i. 160; ii. 156, 157 ghumnâ, etc. (/ghûrn), i. 150, 344; ii. 64 ghurnâ, etc., ib. ghul, ghol (√ghûrn), ii. 20, 41, 65; iii. 56 ghusail, ii. 96 ghe, ghen ($\sqrt{\text{grah}}$), iii. 42, 143, 220 gho, ii. 48, 151 ghodâ, ghorâ (ghotaka), i. 199; ii. 29, 89, 125, 149, 164, 185, 186 ghomû, ii. 38 ghorâro, ii. 60 ghoro, ii. 30

CH

chaütho, i. 334
chaṇar, i. 148; ii. 22
chak, etc. (chakra), ii. 23
chanchalâ, ii. 24
chaṭak, ii. 32
chaṭât, i. 215
chaḍ, chaḍh, ii. 43, 53, 64, 65, 69
chatur, ii. 132
chand, etc. (chandra), i. 297, 337,
338; ii. 21
chandan, ii. 17
chapkan, etc. (chap), i. 213
chab, chabb (√charv), i. 352; iii.
40

chabîç, i. 253 chamak, ii. 32 chamatkâra, ii. 33 chamâr, i. 183, 346; ii. 126, 165 chamârin, i. 183; ii. 165 chamelo, ii. 97 chamkâvat, etc., ii. 65 chamrâ, i. 345; ii. 120 charu, ii. 37 charchâit, ii. 103 charyâito, ii. 104 chal, chall, etc. (\(\sigma\)chal), iii. 34, 78 chalâvan, ii. 70 chavanî, ii. 19 chahunpnâ, i. 276 -châ, -chî, etc., ii. 276, 289 chân, i. 182 chânvelo, ii. 97 chângalepan, ii. 73 châțuyâ, ii. 39 chândino, ii. 114 chând, i. 297, 337; ii. 21 chândalo, ii. 119 châp, chânp, etc., i. 211, 212 châb, etc. (vcharv), i. 352; ii. 68; iii. 40 châm (charman), i. 345, 346; ii. 61, 118 châmâr, i. 346 châmoţâ, ii. 123 châr, ii. 132, 245 chârânî, ii. 20 châron, ii. 245 châlaņen, etc. (√chal), i. 155; ii. 51 ; iii. 34 châlanî, châlunî, i. 133 châlîs, ii. 137 châs, i. 210, 215 chito, i. 336 chitth (vsthâ), i. 230

chidiyâ, ii. 159 chito, ii. 29 chitti, i. 310 chindh, etc., ii. 118, 122 chinh, chihan, etc. (chinha), i. 358; ii. 94 chip, chipţâ, etc., i. 212 chimkâţu, ii. 64 chimțâ, etc., i. 212 -chiyâ, ii. 289 chirțâ, ii. 149 chirnâ, ib. chishth (√sthâ), i. 230; iii. 34 chîk, ii. 91 chîd, ii. 191 chint, i. 336 chîtâ, ii. 29 chîro, ii. 30 chuk, iii. 224 chukauti, ii. 108 chuţîlâ, ii. 95 chuddo, ii. 161 chunûk, ii. 44 chunâ, etc., i. 344; ii. 9 chunâvat, ii. 65 chup, i. 212 churâ, i. 343 chuhanu, chûnâ, i. 321 chûnâ, etc. (chûrna), i. 343, 344; ii. 9 chûrâ, etc. (chûrṇa), ib. chengarat, ii. 68 cheda, chela (cheta), i. 240; ii. 9, 40 chepat, ii. 68, 123 -cho, ii. 140, 276, 278 chok, ii. 247 chokh, i. 134 chonch, chont, i. 134, 215, 297 chotho, i. 144, 334 chobâ (√charv), i. 352; iii. 40

chorani, ii. 166 chori, i. 158, 349; ii. 78 chorâvan, ii. 73 chorâno, ii. 114, 115 chorânnû, ii. 141 chau (châr), ii. 129, 140 chaunr, chaunri, etc. (chamara), i. 148, 256; ii. 22 chaukh, i. 134 chaughe, ii. 245 chaunk, ii. 31, 33, 96 chaut, chauth, ii. 33, 144 chaudahân, i. 334 chaudâ (chaurâ), ii. 80 chauthâ, i. 144 chaudaha, etc. (chaturdaça), i. 144, 334; ii. 134 chaudhari, ii. 166, 167 chaubai (chaturvedi), ii. 87 chaubîs, i. 253 chaur, chauri, i. 148, 256; ii. 22 chauranjâ, ii. 141 chauvî, i. 253

CHH

chha, i. 261; ii. 132, 140, 246 chhakadâ, i. 198 chhaṭṭhâ, i. 261; ii. 143 chhaṇḍ, iii. 52 chhattis, ii. 140 chhattri, ii. 88, 156 chhan, i. 130; ii. 7 chhap, etc., i. 210, 211, 213 chhappan, ii. 140 chhabilâ, ii. 95 chhabbîs, i. 253 chhamâ, i. 130: ii. 159 chhay, i. 261; ii. 132, 140 chhaho, i. 261

INDEX.

chhâ, i. 261; ii. 324 chhânnû, ii. 141 chhânv, chhânh (chhâyâ), ii. 48 chhânhârâ, ii. 94 chhâd, iii. 52 chhâpâ, etc., i. 211, 212, 213 chhâpirû, ii. 112 chhâmu, ii. 299 chhâyelâ, ii. 95, 97 chhâr, i. 310 chhâliyâ, i. 261	chheliyâ, i. 1 chhelt, i. 1 chhelemi, i chhevân, i. chho, ii. 13 chhokadâ, 120, 163 chhokadâp chhotâ, ii. chhod, iii.
chhâvaḍâ, śb. chhâvo, śb. chhijaṇu, iii. 50, 138 chhitì, i. 196, 310 chhin, ii. 7, 283	jaü, i. 81 jakhana, ii jag, jagg, 6
chhinaṇu, iii. 50, 138	jagaţu, i. 8
chhinnâl, i. 218	jagânâ, iii.
chhinno, iii. 138	jangal, i. 2
chhip, etc., ii. 211	jangh, i. 8
chhipanjâ, ii. 141	jaj, jajan,
chhipâv, ii. 64	ii. 15
chhipâvanî, ii. 69	jajmân, i.
chhibarâ, i. 213	jaṭâ, i. 196
chhimâ (kshamâ), i. 130, 310; ii.	jaṭiṇ¹, i. 10
159 chhìo, ii. 10 chhìnt, i. 336 chhuâ, i. 261	jadâû, ii. 4 jadâni, ii. jaddho, ii. jadnâ, ii. 4
chhut, ii. 43, 70; iii. 52	jadyâ, ii. 3
chhutâû, ii. 43	jatan (yatn
chhutâpâ, ii. 72	jatrâ (yâtri
chhuto, iii. 138	jathaṇen, i
chhurî, i. 218, 310; ii. 9	jathâ, i. 14
chhuhaṇu, etc., ii. 65; iii. 51	jad, ii. 337
chhe (shash), i. 261	janam, i. 1
chhe (√as), iii. 186	janeü, jano
chhekâû, ii. 42	i. 303
chhenchadâmi, ii. 77	japnâ, i. 19
chhedhnâ, i. 254	jab, ii. 337
chhemi, ii. 85	jamâî, i. 19

. 261 142 ii. 77 . 261 51, 190 i. 215, 261; ii. 72, unâ, ii. 72 72 **52** J

i. 337 etc. (yajna), i. 303; ii. 81 . 78 248 31, 296 ; ii. 48 , etc. (yajna), i. 303; 197 6 68 41 70 161 41 35 na), i. 171; ii. 16 râ), ii. 159 i. 146 47 171 ; ii. 60 oï, janyo (yajnopavîta), 96 7 92

jikade, ii. 337
jijmân, i. 197
jithut, ii. 106
jiḍahin, ii. 337
jitakâ, ib.
jiti, 🕉.
jitthe, ib.
jithâ, ið.
jithe, .b.
jidhar, ib.
jindu, ii. 117
jindudo, ib.
jin, jinâ <u>n,</u> ii. 321
jibâ (√yâ), i. 249; iii. 36, 213,
222
jilânâ, i. 241
jio, ii. 321
jih, <i>ib</i> .
jihâ, ii. 337
jihi, ii. 321
jî (jîva), i. 252 ; ii. 156
jtü, ib.
jînâ, i. 241
jîban, ii. 17
jîbh (jihvâ), i. 155, 185, 359; ii.
48, 191, 207, 209, 217
juânî <u>n,</u> i. 192
jugala, ii. 24
juguchhâ, i. 196
jugût, i. 172, 173 ; ii. 232
jujh, etc. (/yudh), i. 268, 328
juţ (√yuj), iii. 54
junâ, juneren, ii. 99
jurimâna, ii. 176
juvalâ, julâ, etc. (yugala), ii. 24
jûth, i. 267
jûh, ið.
је, ii. 321, 337
jeü <u>n,</u> <i>ið</i> .
jekhâne, ii. 337
jetalo, ib.

jethå, ii. 337 jethâku, ib. jethaut, ii. 106 jeda, jede, ii. 337 jetiro, jete, ib. jethen, jebe, ib. jem, jemana, *ib*. jevado, jevadhâ, 🍪. jevo, jevhân, ið. jeher, i. 139 jaisâ, ii. 337 jo (pron.), ii. 321, 337 -jo (gen. aff.), ii. 276, 289 joëto, ii. 103 jogitâ, ii. 79 joto, jot, etc. (yoktram), i. 249 jod (√yuj), iii. 54 jot, joti (jyoti), i. 197 jodhâpan, i. 268 joru, ii. 207 johi, ii. 322 jau, ii. 185 jaun, ii. 321 jvâîn, i. 192

JH

jhagrálu, ii. 60, 94 jhangali, i. 192 jhangu, iö. jhaṭak, ii. 32 jhaṭanu, ii. 52 jhaṭel, ii. 99 jhaḍâk, ii. 43 jhanḍâ, i. 139 jhanjhanâhaṭ, ii. 65 jhapak, ii. 32 jhapâs, ii. 82 jhamak, ii. 32 jhambel, ii. 97

jhari, i. 272 jharokhâ, i. 177 jhalak, ii. 32 jhalavanî, ii. 127 jh**ânknâ, i. 17**6 jhâḍnâ, i. 177 ; ii. 36 jhâḍavo, ii. 121 jhâdû, ii. 36 jhântnâ, i. 177 jhâmâ, i. 272 jhâmp, i. 177, 276; ii. 91 jhâmpâl, ii. 91 jhâlar, i. 332 jhâluyâ, ii. 40 jhia, jhi, etc., i. 192 jhijhak, ii. 32 jhidak, ib. jhilgå, i. 332 jhilmil, ib. jhukâvat, ii. 65 jhunjhulâhat, 🍪. jhuttho, ii. 161 jhudalo, ii. 93 jhuddo, ii. 161 jhulko, ii. 33 jhûl, jholâ, etc. ii. 158, 332 jhemp, i. 139 jhok, ii. 33 jhop, jhomp, etc. ii. 91, 120

Ţ

takâü, ii. 48 tako, ii. 247 tatak, ii. 32 tattt, i. 237 tatho, i. 337 tan, tan, etc., i. 227 tanak, ii. 32

tap, tappâ, etc., i. 214 tapak, i. 214; ii. 32 tamak, ii. 32 talnâ, talanen, etc. (√tal), i. 244; iii. 59 tasak, ii. 32 tahak, ii. 32, 33 tahanu, i. 337 tahni, i. 226 tâkaņeņ, i. 324; iii. 224 ţâţ, i. 215 tân, tânnâ, etc., i. 227 tândâ, i. 231 tâp, etc., i. 214 ţâmo, i. 342; ii. 21 tâhâd, i. 231 tio, i. 150 țikadî, țikalî, etc. (tilaka), i. 197, 226; ii. 120 tikâït, ii. 105 țikâû, ii. 41 tip, etc., i. 214, 215 țilavâ, i. 314 tih, i. 163, 347 țihâi, id. țilâ, i. 226 țîkâ, (tilaka), ii. 120 tîp, i. 214, 215 tih, i. 259 tund, i. 226 tubaņu, i. 276; ii. 30 tut, tût, etc. (vtrut), i. 336; iii. 52 te, i. 337 țekadâ, ii. 120 tekuyâ, ii. 39 teknâ, i. 142 țedâ, țedhâ, etc., i. 237, 350 țep, i. 215 țehalyâ, ii. 35 tokâ, i. 215, 261 topnâ, i. 214, 215

tobo, ii. 30 tri, tre, etc. (Sindhi=Skr. tri), ii. 137, 139, 143, 245, 247.

TH

thag, i. 314; ii. 165, 167 thagan, thagin, ii. 165, 167 thagi, ii. 78 thagnâ, i. 197, 314 thathol, ii. 100 thanak, ii. 32 thandâ, i. 230, 237 thanâk, ii. 43 thapak, thapnâ, etc., i. 214; ii. 32 thamak, ii. 32 tharanu, thaharnâ, etc., i. 231 tharâv, ii. 64 thâ (√sthâ), i. 230, 231 ; iii. 34 thâk, etc. (derivs. of thâ), i. 231 thâkurâin, ii. 166 -thâru, ii. 274, 295 -thâre, ii. 295 thiâ, i. 231 thikânâ, ib. thithak, ii. 32 thipkâ, i. 214 thir, i. 231 thik, ib. thuntho, i. 226 thekiri, ii. 87 thekuyâ, ii. 39 thentâmi, ii. 77 thep, i. 231 thelnå, i. 142 thevanen, i. 142; iii. 224 though, i. 215

D

dansnâ, i. 225 dakâr, i. 139, 179

INDEX.

dakait, ii. 69
dakaut, ii. 106
dank, dankh, etc., i. 225
dankîlâ, ii. 95
dangu, ii. 12
danganu, i. 225
dachak, ii. 32
dajhanu, iii. 50
dațțâ, i. 229
datnâ, ib.
dadhu, ii. 175
dadho, iii. 137
dandu, etc., i. 229, 230
dab, dabnâ, etc., i. 225
dabalo, i. 319
dabbû, i. 225; ii. 40
damirjaņu, iii. 72
dayâ, i. 237
dayâlu, ii. 59
dar, i. 225 ; ii. 60
darâlu, ii. 60
dal, etc., i. 226
dasanen, i. 225
dah, ii. 133, 247
dahanu, iii. 49, 137
-dâ, -dî, ii. 116, 118
dâa, i. 310
dâïn, i. 237
dânç, etc., i. 225
dâkuyâ, ii. 39
dâkû, ii. 36
dâkh, i. 182
dânk, i. 225
dâdh, dâdhi, etc., i. 225, 237,
273; ii. 35
dâņu, i. 237
dântâ, etc., i. 229
dâṇḍ, etc., i. 229, 230; ii. 85
dâbhero, ii. 97
dâl, etc., i, 226
dâlim, i. 240
,

dâlnâ, iii. 228 dâhap, i. 330 dâhân, ii. 13 dâhâr, i. 225 dâhnâ, i. 225; iii. 50 diaņu, i. 242; ii. 19; iii. 80, 139 dianyâțu, ii. 109 diâraņu, i. 242; iii. 80 dio, i. 237; ii. 93 dighero, ii. 117 dijanu, i. 242 ditho, iii. 138 dinu, i. 237; ii. 194 dindim, i. 228 diti, i. 162, 315 dino, iii. 139 dibiyâ, i. 225; ii. 159 disaņu, i. 161; iii. 138 dith (drishti), i. 162, 237, 315 dukhu, i. 237 dudho, iii. 137 dubiro, i. 319 dubnâ, ii. 37 dubhanu, iii. 49 dumur, i. 133, 180 dulnâ, i. 227 duhanu, iii. 49 deü, ii. 12, 194 dekhanu, i. 242 denguyâ, ii. 39 dedaru, i. 334; ii. 22 dedh, etc. $(1\frac{1}{2})$, i. 237; ii. 144 denuâ, ii. 40 deru, ii. 22 desi, ii. 86 dehu, ii. 86, 225 -do, ii. 118 dodhi, i. 286; ii. 14 dobû, ii. 36 domadâ, i. 120 dol, dol, dor, etc., i. 227

ĎН

dhakelû, ii. 95 dhakkâ, etc., i. 227; ii. 95 dhabîlâ, ii. 95 dhalait, ii. 102 dhavâî, ii. 63 dhâl, ii. 144 dhâlu, ii. 36 dhîlâ, etc. (çithila), i. 155, 272; ii. 24, 77, 120 dhonâ, i. 241; ii. 62 dholak, ii. 121 dholâî, ii. 62, 63

Ņ

na, ii. 133 -ni, -nì, ii. 168 nia, i. 300; ii. 52 niattaï, i. 164; iii. 60 nichham, i. 327

T

tain, ii. 311
takhana, ii. 337
taṭṭun, ii. 192
taḍâk, ii. 32
taḍataḍâhat, ii. 65
tan, ii. 131
-tano, ii. 287, 288
tata, ii. 337
tato, iii. 138
tathâkâr, ii. 280
tathây, i. 314
tad, ii. 337
-tanâ, ii. 289
tantu, tand, etc., ii. 174
tap, iii. 58

tapak, i. 214 tapâü, ii. 44 tam, tame, etc., ii. 309, 311 tar (√tr1), iii. 54 tala, tale, etc., i. 184; ii. 298 talâo, i. 240 talaiyâ, ii. 121 tav (√tap), iii. 59 tasâ, tasen, ii. 337 tahân, 🍪. tahvin, ii. 309, 311 tâln, ii. 311 tâü, i. 198, 200 tânnû, ii. 139 tânhân, ii. 337 tâd, i. 240 tâdnâ, i. 229, 334 tâņ, tân, etc. (tâna), i. 227, 229; ii. 7 tânt, ii. 174 tâmbâ, etc. (tâmra), i. 342; ii. 21 tâmbolî, etc., ii. 86 târ (√trì), iii. 54 târû, ii. 38 târûn, i. 247 ; ii. 193, 206 târo, ii. 312 tâv (√tap), i. 198, 200; iii. 59 tâhâ, ii. 315, 319 tâļ, i. 240 ti-, tir-, etc. (trini in comp.), ii. 139, 140, 141 tiâg (tyâga), i. 324 tikade, ii. 337 tighe, ii. 245 tin, tinkâ, etc., i. 160 titi, titthe, tidhar, ii. 337 titakâ, titnâ, ib. tinro, ii. 345 tipauliyâ, i. 129 tiriyâ, etc. (strî), i 171, 314 tirkhâ, i. 163, 347, 348

tirpat (tripta), i. 166 tiladâ, ii. 129 tis, ii. 315 tih, ib. tihado, ii. 337 tihâ (pron.), ib. tihâ (trishna), i. 163, 347 tîna, ii. 337 tikhâ, i. 300 tijo (tritiya), i. 150; ii. 143 tin, i. 337; ii. 131, 245 tinon, ib. tiyâ, tîmî, etc. (strî), i. 171, 314 tîs, i. 155; ii. 137, 140 tîsî, i. 179 tîsrâ, ii. 143 tu, tû, etc. (tvam), ii. 309, 310, tutanen, etc. (vtrut), i. 227, 237, 336 ; iii. 53 tutho, iii. 139 tud, etc. (√tud), i. 226 tund, i. 227; ii. 90 tum, tumhe, etc., ii. 309, 312, 345 turant (tvaritam), i. 324 turi, tûri, etc., i. 349 tul (√tul), i. 351; iii. 60 tus, iii. 139 tusâ, tuhâ, etc., ii. 309 -te, ii. 295, 315 te-, teîs, etc. (trîni in comp.), i. 253; ii. 139, 140 tetalo, ii. 337 tedâ, tede, etc., ib. tedhâ, i. 237, 350 tetiro, ii. 337 tentuli, i. 146, 240 tebe, ii. 337 temana, ib. teraha, etc. (trayodaça), i. 136, 243; ii. 134, 135, 312

tel, i. 151; ii. 7
tell, ii. 86
tevadâ, ii. 337
tevâro, tevo, tevhân, ib.
tesî, i. 179
to, ii. 302, 310, 313, 337
-to, iii. 124
toîn, ii. 298
tod (/trut), iii. 52
tond, tondâl, etc., i. 227; ii. 94, 95
topnâ, i. 214
tomâ, etc., ii. 309, 311, 312
tol, taul, etc. (/tul), iii. 60
tyaun, ii. 337

TH

thakailâ, ii. 97 thakn**â**, i. 230 thatâ, i. 237 thanu, than, etc. (stana), i. 313; ii. 175 thandâ, i. 237 thamb, etc. ($\sqrt{\text{stambh}}$), i. 313; iii. 60 tharelo, ii. 97 thavun (√sthâ), i. 230, 243; iii. thâ (√sthâ), i. 230; iii. 208 thâdhâ, iii. 35 thâpâ, etc., i. 230 thâmb, etc. ($\sqrt{\text{stambh}}$), i. 313; iii. 60 thâro, ii. 312, 314 thâlî, i. 244 thi, thianu, etc. (vsthâ), i. 230; iii. 35, 211 -th1, ii. 273, 274 thont, i. 226

thoravî, ii. 73 thorero, ii. 117

D

dans, ii. 12 dakhin, i. 310; ii. 13 dachhin, ib. dattâ, etc., i. 229 dad, etc., ib. dand, etc., ib., ii. 85 dabnâ, etc., i. 224 dayâlu, ii. 59 dariâü, i. 152 darc, daro (/dric), i. 162; iii. 16 dal, i. 225, 226 das, ii. 133 dahinâ, i. 225; ii. 13 dahi, i. 267; ii. 155 dâ, ii. 276, 291 ; iii. 42 dânhî, ii. 85 dâkh, i. 182, 310; ii. 48 dât, etc., i. 229 dâdh, i. 225 dâdhi, i. 225, 237; ii. 35, 92 dâdhiâlû, ii. 92 dândî, i. 229; ii. 85 dâd, ii. 175 dâdur, i. 334 dânâ, ii. 152 dânt, ii. 85 dâbnâ, etc., i. 224 dâm, dâv, etc., ii. 61 dâmâd, i. 199, 210 dâl, i. 226 dâs, ii. 14, 195, 214 dâh (√dah), i. 225 dâhâdo, ii. 118, 189 dâl, i. 226 dikhânâ, dikhlânâ, i. 162, 241

ditthi (drishti), i. 162, 315 din, ii. 8 dinnau, diyau, iii. 144 diyâ, i. 203; ii. 9 dirijano, iii. 72 dilânâ, iii. 80 divaddhe, i. 238 divâ, i. 203 diç, dis (√dṛiç), i. 161 dîâ, ii. 9 dith (drishti), i. 162, 237, 315 divo, ii. 9 duï, ii. 131 duti, ii. 248 dudhâlû, etc., ii. 91, 94, 97, 98 dupura, i. 133 dublâ, i. 181, 319 duritno, ii. 288 dulhin, etc., i. 271 dusallû, ii. 101 duseri, ii. 129 dushtumi, ii. 77 dûâ, dûjâ, i. 150; ii. 143 dûnhân, i. 257; ii. 26 dûdh, i. 286; ii. 14, 91, 94 dûnâ, i. 188, 201 dûb, i. 182; ii. 48 dûbe, ii. 87 dûsrâ, ii. 143, 247 dridhata, ii. 79 de (√dâ), i. 139; ii. 33; iii. 43, 140, 218 de (deva), i. 253 deü, i. 253 deûl, deval, etc. (devâlaya), i. 149; ii. 10, 232 dekh, i. 161 ; iii. 45 dedh, i. 237 deyar, i. 253; ii. 22 dev, ii. 188, 189, 208, 216, 225, 263, 272

des (deça), ii. 8, 224, 225
desi, ii. 86
deh, ii. 173, 176
do, i. 324; ii. 129, 131, 245
doghe, ii. 245
dojîyâ, ii. 129
don, i. 324; ii. 131, 245
donon, ii. 245
dopaṭṭâ, ii. 129
dobhâshîyâ, ib.
dor, ii. 149
dol (√dul), i. 227
dolaḍâ, ii. 129
drum, i. 26

DH

dhak, dhakk, etc., i. 130, 227 dhakelû, ii. 36, 95, 161 dhajâ, ii. 9 dhadak, ii. 32, 33 dhadavái, ii. 168 dhanâru, ii. 92 dhanîânî, ii. 169 dhatûrâ, ii. 22 dhani, ii. 88 dhanî, ii. 34, 88 dhamakâ, i. 268 dharam, i. 171; ii. 26 dhavala, i. 268 dhavâdavun, iii. 81 dhândalyâ, ii. 167 dhât, ii. 174 dhân, etc. (dhânya), i. 341; ii. 78 dhâmpnâ, i. 276 dhâv, etc., ii. 51; iii. 81 dhiko, i. 130, 227 dhî, etc. (duhitâ), i. 192, 210; ii. 103, 207 dhîru, ii. 164

dhuanu, i. 242 dhuârini, ii. 20 dhutalâ, iii. 143 dhutta (dhûrta), i. 334 dhulâi, ii. 62 dhulânâ, i. 241 dhulvadâ, etc. (dhûl), i. 152 dhûân, etc. (dhûma), i. 257; ii. 26 dhûp, i. 152 dhûpel, ii. 127 dhoṇḍâ, ii. 90, 149 dhondal, ii. 90 dhoti, etc. (dhautra) i. 171, 338 dhonâ, i. 241; ii. 62 dhobin, etc., i. 183; ii. 167 dhobi, etc., i. 183; ii. 154, 165, 167, 169 dholâî, ii. 62 dholânâ, i. 241 dhohâ, ii. 167 dhoļun, i. 268; ii. 82 dhaunkani, i. 268 dhaulâ, ib. dhyân, i. 327

N

-na, ii. 334
nanvan (√nam), iii. 19, 20, 57
nakharelo, ii. 161
nangâ (nagna), i. 191, 300
nachhattar, i. 171
naṭt, ii. 184
naḍhapât, ii. 330; ii. 72
natait, ii. 103
nadt, ii. 190, 226
nadhânave, ii. 140
nam, iii. 19, 20, 57

nar, ii. 226 narelu, i. 201 navani, ii. 156 navâsî, ii. 140 navve, navad, etc., ii. 137, 141 nashţâmi, ii. 77 nahân (snâna), i. 347 nahiyar, i. 167 nâî, nâû, ii. 58 nâknâ, ii. 40 nâch (/nrit), i. 327; iii. 36 nâjo, ii. 161 nât (lattâ), 248 nâtî, nâtû, etc. (naptri), ii. 58, 155, 193 nâm, nânv, etc. (nâman), i. 254, 256; ii. 60, 152 nârangî, i. 130 nâriyal, etc. (nârîkela), i. 201 nârî, ii. 185, 199 nâlâ, ii. 9 nâv (√nam), iii. 57 nâhanen, i. 347 -ni, ii. 334 niün (nemi), i. 256 nikat, i. 183 nikal, nikâl, etc. (/nishkrish), i. 354; iii. 58 nikas, nikâs, etc., ib. nitas, etc., i. 152 nind, i. 182, 337; ii. 48 nindârto, ii. 103 nidrâlu, ii. 59 ninânave, ii. 140 nindâs, ii. 82 nipatâru, ii. 94 nibad, nibar (nivrit), iii. 60 nimna, i. 340 nirmalâî, ii. 79 nivâ (√nam), iii. 57 niçâla, ii. 89

nihachai, etc. (nicchaye), i. 140, 307; ii. 297 nihuḍ (√nam), iii. 57 √nî, iii. 44 -nln, ii. 262, 271 nicha, niche, i. 184; ii. 297 nij (nidrâ), i. 182, 337; ii. 48 nît, i. 152 nînd (nidrâ), i. 182, 337; ii. 48, 82 -nun, ii. 253, 261 nuni (√nam), iii. 57 nupûr, i. 168, 175 nûņ, i. 144, 248 -ne, ii. 262 -nep, ii. 253 neo, nev, etc. (nemi), i. 191, 256 nengtâ, i. 248, 301 neņu, etc. (nayana), i. 140; ii. 17 nemâito, ii. 103 neval, neul, etc. (nakula), i. 139 187, 201 nevun (navati), ii. 137, 141 nehemî, i. 139 -no, ii. 276, 287 nodi, ii. 226 noru, noliyun (nakula), i. 187, 201 nyâv, etc. (nyâya), i. 341 nhâ (√snâ), i. 148, 347; iii. 68

P

-pa, ii. 71
pak (√pach), iii. 38, 78
pakkâ, etc. (pakva), i. 153, 324;
ii. 25
pakh, i. 310
pakhi, ii. 154
pagadi, i. 154

INDEX.

pach, iii. 12, 38 pachânnû, ii. 141 pachâvan, ib. pachâs, ii. 137, 140 pachis, etc., i. 253 pachpan, ii. 141 pachhatâv, i. 218 pachhim, i. 307 pachhe, ii. 297 panchânna, ii. 141 panchhi, ii. 154 panj, ii. 132, 140, 246 panjâha, ii. 137, 141 patakâ, etc., i. 133 patâkâ, ii. 43 patvârî, ii. 154 pațțâ, etc., i. 224, 336 pad (1/pat), i. 224; ii. 64; iii. 56, 226 padav (parão), ii. 64, 66 padi (prati), i. 321 padisâ, ii. 199 padosi (parosi), i. 321; ii. 155 padchhâyâ, i. 321 padh, parh (/path), i. 270; ii. 37 ; iii. 40 padhama, i. 132 -panu, -pano, ii. 71, 75 pankappadâ, etc., i. 152 panditânî, ii. 166 pandita, ii. 72, 166 pannarah, ii. 134 pati, ii. 184, 190 pattâ, ii. 29 patthar, i. 148, 153, 313, 320; ii. 97 pattharailâ, ii. 97 -pan, ii. 71, 75, 172 pan- (panchan in comp.), ii. 125 pandarah, pandhrân, etc., ii. 134 pandhado, ii. 117

pannâs, ii. 137 par, pari, ii. 298, 344 parakh, etc. (parikshâ), i. 145, 182 parakhaûâ, ii. 187 paran, parnâhu, etc. (√pari-n1), iii. 44 parab (parvvan), i. 131, 171, 322, 352; ii. 60 paralâ, ii. 344 paraloku, ii. 127 paras, i. 356 parasnâ (√sprish), i. 171, 356 parosi, ii. 154 parganâ, i. 320 parchhâîn, i. 321 parjant, i. 136 parti, ii. 164 partu, ib. parnâlâ, i. 320 parbatiyâ, ii. 86 parbhu, i. 322 parson, iii. 265 palang, i. 199, 349; ii. 119 palangadî, ii. 119 palân, ii. 349 paçu, i. 135, 260; ii. 185 pasibâ (√praviç), i. 316 pastâvaņen, i. 218 pastîs, ii. 140 paharû, ii. 36, 38 paharyo, i. 267; ii. 142 pahirâ, i. 131 pahirânâ, etc., i. 177; ii. 69, 70 pahilâ, i. 131, 138, 267; ii. 142 pahun, ii. 258 pahûnchnâ, etc., i. 276, 343; iii. 65 -pâ, ii. 71, 75 pâ, pâv, pâm, etc. (√prâp), i. 202 : iii. 18, 41 √pâ, iii. 44, 228

pâu, ii. 144 pâun, i. 256 pâûn, ii. 144 pâe, iō. pâûs, pâvas (prâvrish), i. 165 pânv, i. 255, 256 pâkad, i. 133 pâkht, ii. 154 pâgalâmi, ii. 77 pachhe, ii. 297 pânch, ii. 132 pânchvân, ii. 248 pâţ, i. 273 pâṭalo, ii. 119 pâṭaviṇen, etc., i. 320 pâṭâ, i. 153 pâḍh, i. 162, 315 pâḍâ, i. 224 pâḍahû, ii. 36 pâḍo, ii. 150 pâḍhnâ, ii. 37 pâḍht, ii. 85 pân, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pâṇ (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pâṇt, pânt, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâras, i. 356 58, 187, 194 pik, pikâ (√pach), i. 129; ii. 25; iii. 38 pichhalâ, ii. 101 pichhe, ii. 297 piñaṇu, ii. 60 pinjarâ, i. 130 piṭ, i. 162; iii. 63 piṭth, etc. (prishṭha), i. 162, 165, 315 pitiyâ, ii. 90 pindhibâ, i. 177 pinro, ii. 345 pippala, ii. 24 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyârâ, ii. 187, 203; ii. 81, 82 pirtht, i. 145 pirbhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilsaj, i. 276 pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisât, ii. 63 pistalts, ii. 140 pih (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139 pilaṇṇ, i. 240 pi (priya), ii. 156 pî (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pîchhe, ii. 297	** * **	
pâun, i. 256 pâûn, ii. 144 pâe, ið. pâûs, pâvas (prâvrish), i. 165 pânv, i. 255, 256 pâkad, i. 133 pâkht, ii. 154 pâgalâmi, ii. 77 pachhe, ii. 297 pânch ii. 132 pânchvân, ii. 248 pâţ, i. 273 pâţalo, ii. 119 pâţavinen, etc., i. 320 pâţâ, i. 153 pâţh, i. 162, 315 pâḍâ, i. 224 pâḍahû, ii. 36 pâḍo, ii. 150 pâḍhnâ, ii. 37 pâḍhh, ii. 85 pân, pân (parna), i. 343; ii. 14 pân (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pâŋt, pânî, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpt, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 pâûn, pân (parna), i. 343; ii. 14 pîchhe, ii. 297 pik, pikâ (√pach), i. 129; ii. 25; iii. 38 pichhalâ, ii. 101 pichhe, ii. 297 piñanu, ii. 60 pinjarâ, i. 130 piţ, i. 162; iii. 63 piṭth, etc. (prishṭha), i. 162, 165, 315 pitiyâ, ii. 90 pindhibâ, i. 177 pinro, ii. 345 pippala, ii. 24 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyâsâ, i. 187, 203; ii. 81, 82 pirtht, i. 145 pirbhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilsaj, i. 276 pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisât, ii. 63 pistal¹s, ii. 140 pih (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139 pilanen, i. 240 pi (priya), ii. 156 pî (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pîchhe, ii. 297	pâi, i. 262	piu (pitâ), i. 165, 187, 202; ii.
pâûn, ii. 144 pâe, ið. pâûs, pâvas (prâvṛish), i. 165 pânv, i. 255, 256 pâkaḍ, i. 133 pâkhi, ii. 154 pâgalâmi, ii. 77 pachhe, ii. 297 pânch, ii. 132 pânchvân, ii. 248 pâţalo, ii. 119 pâṭaviṇen, etc., i. 320 pâṭa, i. 153 pâṭh, i. 162, 315 pâḍa, i. 224 pâḍahû, ii. 36 pâḍo, ii. 150 pâḍhnā, ii. 37 pâḍhì, ii. 85 pân, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pân (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pâṇt, pâni, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpi, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 iii. 38 pichhalâ, ii. 101 pichhe, ii. 297 piñaṇu, ii. 60 pinjarâ, i. 130 piṭ, i. 162; iii. 63 piṭth, etc. (prishṭha), i. 162, 165, 315 pitiyâ, ii. 90 pindhibâ, i. 177 pinro, ii. 345 pippala, ii. 24 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyâsâ, i. 187, 203; ii. 81, 82 pirthi, i. 145 pirbhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilsaj, i. 276 pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisât, ii. 63 pistalis, ii. 140 pih (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139 pilaṇen, i. 240 pi (priya), ii. 156 pi (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pîchhe, ii. 297		
pâc, \$\frac{\darksign}{\darksign}\$ \[\text{pâûs, pâvas (prâvrish), i. 165} \\ \text{pâny, i. 255, 256} \\ \text{pâkad, i. 133} \\ \text{pâkht, ii. 154} \\ \text{pâgalâmi, ii. 77} \\ \text{pachhe, ii. 297} \\ \text{pânch, ii. 132} \\ \text{pânchvân, ii. 248} \\ \text{pât, i. 273} \\ \text{pâtad, i. 119} \\ \text{pâtad, i. 162, 315} \\ \text{pâth, i. 162, 315} \\ \text{pâd, i. 224} \\ \text{pâd, ii. 36} \\ \text{pâd, ii. 37} \\ \text{pâd, ii. 37} \\ \text{pâd, ii. 38} \\ \text{pân, pân (parna), i. 343; ii. 14} \\ \text{pân, pânt, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156} \\ \text{pâpras, i. 356} \end{arsa, i. 356} \end{arsa, i. 356} \end{arsa, i. 360} \end{arsa, i. 360} \end{arsa, i. 360} \end{arsa, i. 165} \\ \text{pâchhe, ii. 297} \\ \text{pinanu, ii. 60} \\ \text{pinanu, ii. 60} \\ \text{pinjara, i. 130} \\ \text{pit, it. 162; iii. 63} \\ \text{pith, etc. (prishtha), i. 162, 165, 315} \\ \text{pippala, ii. 24} \\ \text{pippala, ii. 24} \\ \text{pippala, ii. 24} \\ \text{piprasa, i. 345} \\ \text{pippala, ii. 24} \\ \text{piphu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60} \\ \text{pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80} \\ \text{pishals, ii. 140} \\ \text{pipapala, ii. 240; iii. 38, 139} \\ \text{pipala, ii. 240; iii. 38, 139} \\ \text{pipala, ii. 240; iii. 44} \\ \text{pichhe, ii. 297} \end{arsa, i. 356}		
pâus, pâvas (prâvṛish), i. 165 pânv, i. 255, 256 pâkaḍ, i. 133 pâkht, ii. 154 pâgalâmi, ii. 77 pachhe, ii. 297 pânch, ii. 132 pânchvân, ii. 248 pâṭ, i. 273 pâṭalo, ii. 119 pâṭaviṇen, etc., i. 320 pâṭâ, i. 153 pâṭh, i. 162, 315 pâḍâ, i. 224 pâḍahû, ii. 36 pâḍo, ii. 150 pâḍhnâ, ii. 37 pâḍhth, ii. 85 pân, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pân (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pâṇt, pânt, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpt, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356	= . · · · ·	
pâny, i. 255, 256 pâkad, i. 133 pâkht, ii. 154 pâgalâmi, ii. 77 pachhe, ii. 297 pânch, ii. 132 pânchvân, ii. 248 pâţalo, ii. 119 pâṭaviṇen, etc., i. 320 pâṭa, i. 153 pâṭh, i. 162, 315 pâḍh, ii. 150 pâḍhnâ, ii. 37 pâḍhth, ii. 85 pâṇ, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pân (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pâṇt, pânt, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpt, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 piñaṇu, ii. 60 pinjarâ, i. 130 piṭth, etc. (prishṭha), i. 162, 165, 315 pitiyâ, ii. 90 pindhibâ, i. 177 pinro, ii. 345 pippala, ii. 24 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyârâ, ii. 145 pirbhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilsaj, i. 276 pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisât, ii. 63 pitṭth, etc. (prishṭha), i. 162, 165, 315 pitiyâ, ii. 90 pindhibâ, i. 177 pinro, ii. 345 pippala, ii. 24 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyârâ, ii. 145 pirbhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilsaj, i. 276 pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisât, ii. 63 pitth, etc. (prishṭha), i. 162, 165, 315 pittyâ, ii. 90 pindhibâ, i. 177 pinro, ii. 345 pippala, ii. 24 pipâha, ii. 240 pi (pravai), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisât, ii. 63 pitth, etc. (prishṭha), i. 162, 165, 315 pittyâ, ii. 90 pindhibâ, i. 177 pinro, ii. 345 pippala, ii. 24 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyârâ, ii. 145 pirbhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilanậ, i. 240; iii. 80 pityth, etc. (prishṭha), i. 162, 165, 315 pittyâ, ii. 90 pindhibâ, i. 177 pinro, ii. 345 pippala, ii. 24 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyârâ, ii. 145 pirbhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilanâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisât, ii. 63 pityh, i. 162, 165, 315 pittyâ, ii. 90 pipala, ii. 24 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyârâ, ii. 145 pirbhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisât, ii. 63 pityârâ, ii. 240; iii. 90 pityh, ii. 90 pitya, ii. 90 pityh, ii. 90 pityh, ii. 90 pitya, ii. 90 pityh, ii. 90 pityh, ii. 90 pitya, ii. 90 pityh, ii. 90 pityh, ii. 90 pityh,	• '	
pâkad, i. 133 pâkhi, ii. 154 pâgalâmi, ii. 77 pachhe, ii. 297 pânch, ii. 132 pânchvân, ii. 248 pâţ, i. 273 pâṭalo, ii. 119 pâṭaviṇen, etc., i. 320 pâṭa, i. 153 pâṭh, i. 162, 315 pâḍâ, i. 224 pâḍahû, ii. 36 pâḍo, ii. 150 pâḍhnâ, ii. 37 pâḍhi, ii. 85 pân, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pân (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pâṇi, pâni, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpi, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 piŋjarâ, i. 130 piḥ, i. 162; iii. 63 piṭth, etc. (prishṭha), i. 162, 165, 315 pitiyâ, ii. 90 pindhibâ, i. 177 pinro, ii. 345 pippala, ii. 24 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyârâ, ii. 145 pirbhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilsaj, i. 276 pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisât, ii. 63 pistalis, ii. 140 pih (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139 pilaṇen, i. 240 pi (priya), ii. 156 pi (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pîchhe, ii. 297		
pâkhi, ii. 154 pâgalâmi, ii. 77 pachhe, ii. 297 pânch, ii. 132 pânchvân, ii. 248 pâţ, i. 273 pâṭalo, ii. 119 pâṭavinen, etc., i. 320 pâṭâ, i. 153 pâṭh, i. 162, 315 pâḍâ, i. 224 pâḍahû, ii. 36 pâḍo, ii. 150 pâḍhnâ, ii. 37 pâḍhì, ii. 85 pân, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pân (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pâṇi, pâni, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpì, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 pâthi, ii. 154 pitth, etc. (prishṭha), i. 162, 165, 315 pittyâ, ii. 90 pindhibâ, i. 177 pinro, ii. 345 pippala, ii. 24 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyârâ, ii. 145 pirbhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilsaj, i. 276 pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisât, ii. 63 pistalis, ii. 140 pih (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139 pilaṇen, i. 240 pi (priya), ii. 156 pi (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pîchhe, ii. 297		
pâgalâmi, ii. 77 pachhe, ii. 297 pânch, ii. 132 pânchvân, ii. 248 pâţ, i. 273 pâṭalo, ii. 119 pâṭaviṇen, etc., i. 320 pâţâ, i. 153 pâṭh, i. 162, 315 pâḍâ, i. 224 pâḍahû, ii. 36 pâḍo, ii. 150 pâḍhnâ, ii. 37 pâḍhì, ii. 85 pâṇ, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pân (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pâṇì, pânì, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpì, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356		
pachhe, ii. 297 pânch, ii. 132 pânchvân, ii. 248 pât, i. 273 pâtalo, ii. 119 pâtavinen, etc., i. 320 pâtâ, i. 153 pâth, i. 162, 315 pâdâ, i. 224 pâdahû, ii. 36 pâdo, ii. 150 pâdhnâ, ii. 37 pâdhî, ii. 85 pân, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pân (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pânî, pânî, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpî, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 315 pitiyâ, ii. 90 pindhibâ, i. 177 pinro, ii. 345 pippala, ii. 24 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyârâ, ii. 145 pirbhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilsaj, i. 276 pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisâ1, ii. 63 pistalîs, ii. 140 pih (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139 pilaṇen, i. 240 pî (priya), ii. 156 pî (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pîchhe, ii. 297		, - •
pânch, ii. 132 pânchvân, ii. 248 pât, i. 273 pâtalo, ii. 119 pâtavinen, etc., i. 320 pâtâ, i. 153 pâth, i. 162, 315 pâdâ, i. 224 pâdahû, ii. 36 pâdo, ii. 150 pâdhnâ, ii. 37 pâdhî, ii. 85 pân, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pân (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pânî, pânî, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpî, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356	• •	
pânchvân, ii. 248 pâţ, i. 273 pâţalo, ii. 119 pâtavinen, etc., i. 320 pâţâ, i. 153 pâţh, i. 162, 315 pâḍâ, i. 224 pâḍahû, ii. 36 pâḍo, ii. 150 pâḍhnâ, ii. 37 pâḍhì, ii. 85 pâṇ, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pân (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pâṇì, pânì, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpì, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 pindhibâ, i. 177 pinro, ii. 345 pippala, ii. 24 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyârâ, ii. 145 pirbhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilsaj, i. 276 pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisâì, ii. 63 pistalìs, ii. 140 pih (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139 pilaṇen, i. 240 pî (priya), ii. 156 pî (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pîchhe, ii. 297	<u> </u>	
pâţ, i. 273 pâţalo, ii. 119 pâţavinen, etc., i. 320 pâţâ, i. 153 pâţh, i. 162, 315 pâţâ, i. 224 pâţahû, ii. 36 pâţo, ii. 150 pâţhnâ, ii. 37 pâţhî, ii. 85 pân, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pân (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pânî, pânî, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpî, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 pâţalo, ii. 119 pippala, ii. 24 piyâxâ, i. 187, 203; ii. 81, 82 piyâxâ, i. 187, 203; ii. 81, 82 piyâxâ, i. 187, 203; ii. 81, 82 pirtht, i. 145 pirbhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilsaj, i. 276 pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisât, ii. 63 pistalîs, ii. 140 pi (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139 pilanen, i. 240 pî (priya), ii. 156 pî (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pîchhe, ii. 297		
pâţalo, ii. 119 pâţavinen, etc., i. 320 pâţâ, i. 153 pâţâ, i. 162, 315 pâţâ, i. 224 pâţahû, ii. 36 pâţo, ii. 150 pâţhnâ, ii. 37 pâţhn, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pân (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pâŋt, pânî, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpt, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 pâţalaii. 194 piyâsâ, i. 187, 203; ii. 81, 82 piyâsâ, i. 187, 203; ii. 81, 82 piyâsâ, i. 145 pirbhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilsaj, i. 276 pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisât, ii. 63 pistalîs, ii. 140 pi (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139 piţaṇen, i. 240 pî (priya), ii. 156 pî (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pîchhe, ii. 297	pânchvân, ii. 248	
pâṭaviṇen, etc., i. 320 pâṭâ, i. 153 pâṭâ, i. 162, 315 pâḍâ, i. 224 pâḍahû, ii. 36 pâḍo, ii. 150 pâḍhna, ii. 37 pâḍhì, ii. 85 pân, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pân (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pâṇì, pânì, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpì, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 piệna, ii. 320 piyârâ, ii. 94 piyâsâ, i. 187, 203; ii. 81, 82 pirtht, i. 145 pirbhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilsaj, i. 276 pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisât, ii. 63 pistalis, ii. 140 pi (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139 piḷaṇen, i. 240 pi (priya), ii. 156 pi (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pîchhe, ii. 297		
pâṭâ, i. 153 pâṭâ, i. 162, 315 pâṭâ, i. 162, 315 pâṭâ, i. 224 pâḍahû, ii. 36 pâḍo, ii. 150 pâḍhnâ, ii. 37 pâḍhì, ii. 85 pâṇ, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pâṇ (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pâṇì, pânì, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpì, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 piệṣâ, i. 187, 203; ii. 81, 82 pirtht, i. 145 pirbhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilsaj, i. 276 pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisât, ii. 63 pistalis, ii. 140 pi (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139 piṭaṇeṇ, i. 240 pi (priya), ii. 156 pi (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pîchhe, ii. 297	pâțalo, ii. 119	
pâth, i. 162, 315 pâḍâ, i. 224 pâḍahû, ii. 36 pâḍo, ii. 150 pâḍhnâ, ii. 37 pâḍhì, ii. 85 pâṇ, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pâṇ (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pâṇì, pânì, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpì, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 pâth, ii. 162, 315 pirtht, i. 145 pirbhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilsaj, i. 276 pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisât, ii. 63 pistalis, ii. 140 pi (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139 piḷaṇen, i. 240 pi (priya), ii. 156 pi (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pichhe, ii. 297	pâṭaviṇen, etc., i. 320	
pâḍâ, i. 224 pâḍahû, ii. 36 pâḍo, ii. 150 pâḍhnâ, ii. 37 pâḍhì, ii. 85 pâṇ, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pâṇ (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pâṇì, pânì, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpì, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 pâḍahû, ii. 3240 pilhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352; ii. 60 pilsāj, i. 276 pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisâl, ii. 63 pistalls, ii. 140 pi (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139 pilaṇen, i. 240 pi (priya), ii. 156 pi (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pichhe, ii. 297	pâțâ, i. 153	
pâḍahû, ii. 36 pâḍo, ii. 150 pâḍhnâ, ii. 37 pâḍhì, ii. 85 pâṇ, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pâṇ (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pâṇì, pânì, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpì, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 ii. 60 pilsaj, i. 276 pilânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisâl, ii. 63 pistalls, ii. 140 pih (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139 pilaṇen, i. 240 pi (priya), ii. 156 pi (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pîchhe, ii. 297	path, i. 162, 315	
pâdo, ii. 150 pâdhnâ, ii. 37 pâdhî, ii. 85 pân, pân (parna), i. 343; ii. 14 pân (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pânî, pânî, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpî, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 pîllsaj, i. 276 pilŝaî, i. 240; iii. 80 pisâl, ii. 63 pistalls, ii. 140 pih (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139 pilaṇen, i. 240 pî (priya), ii. 156 pî (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pîchhe, ii. 297	pâḍâ, i. 224	pirbhu (parvan), i. 131, 322, 352;
pâḍhnâ, ii. 37 pâḍhî, ii. 85 pâṇ, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pâṇ (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pâṇî, pânî, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpî, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 pâllânâ, i. 240; iii. 80 pisâl, ii. 63 pistall³s, ii. 140 pih (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139 pilaṇen, i. 240 pî (priya), ii. 156 pî (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pîchhe, ii. 297	pâḍahû, ii. 36	ii. 60
pâḍhi, ii. 85 pâṇ, pân (parṇa), i. 343; ii. 14 pâṇ (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pâṇi, pâni, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpi, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 pisâi, ii. 68 pistalis, ii. 140 pih (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139 piḷaṇen, i. 240 pi (priya), ii. 156 pi (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pichhe, ii. 297	pâdo, ii. 150	pilsaj, i. 276
pân, pân (parna), i. 343; ii. 14 pân (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pânt, pânt, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpt, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 pânt, pânt, ii. 149, 152; ii. 125, pâth, ii. 156 pth (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pthe, ii. 297	pâḍhnâ, ii. 37	pilânâ, i. 240 ; iii. 80
pân (âtman), i. 330; ii. 328 pânt, pânt, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpt, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 pânt, pânt, ii. 30, iii. 328 piḥ (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139 piḷaṇen, i. 240 pt (priya), ii. 156 pt (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 ptchhe, ii. 297	pâdhî, ii. 85	pisâî, ii. 63
pânî, pânî, i. 149, 152; ii. 125, 156 pâpî, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 pâlanen, i. 240 pî (priya), ii. 156 pî (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pîchhe, ii. 297		
156 pâpî, ii. 85, 165 pâras, i. 356 pî (priya), ii. 156 pî (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pîchhe, ii. 297		pih (√praviç), i. 316; iii. 38, 139
pâpî, ii. 85, 165 pî (√pâ), i. 240; iii. 44 pîchhe, ii. 297	pâṇî, pânî, i. 149, 152; ii. 125,	• • •
pâras, i. 356 pichhe, ii. 297	156	
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	pâpî, ii. 85, 165	
pårecho, ii. 110 påt. i. 162 : iii. 63	pâras, i. 356	
	pârecho, ii. 110	pît, i. 162; iii. 63
pårkhanen, i. 145 pith, etc. (prishtha), i. 162, 315	pârkhaṇen, i. 145	
pâlaņu, i. 247 pîṭho, iii. 139	pâlaņu, i. 247	pîțho, iii. 139
pâlân, i. 349 pîd, ii. 48, 50		• • •
pâs, etc. (pârçve), i. 183, 355; ii. piḍaṇu, etc. (\sqrt{pid}), i. 240; ii. 50	pâs, etc. (pârçve), i. 183, 355 ; ii.	
25, 299 pìdhâ, i. 270	25, 299	
pâhâḍ, i. 154, 260 pìdho, iii. 141	pâhâḍ, i. 154, 260	
pâhun, ii. 258 pîpala, ii. 24	pâhu <u>n,</u> ii. 258	pîpala, ii. 24
pâhunâ, i. 343 pîlâ, i. 243	pâhunâ, i. 343	pîlâ, i. 243
pâhon, ii. 299 pîlhâ, i. 323	pâhon, ii. 299	
pi, (api), i. 175 pîh, pîs ($\sqrt{\text{pish}}$), i. 259; iii. 139		pîh, pîs (√pish), i. 259; iii. 139
pi (√pâ), i. 240, 241, 242; iii. 44 pua, i. 337	pi (√pâ), i. 240, 241, 242; iii. 44	pua, i. 337

puân, ii. 297 putru, i. 103 putreto, ib. puth, puthi (prishtha), i. 315 pudhâît, ii. 104 -puṇ, -puṇâ, ii. 71, 75 put, i. 337 putali, etc., i. 133 puturâ, i. 172, 158 purush, ii. 199 purushâtan, ii. 76 pusaņen, i. 218; iii. 40 puhap, puhup (pushpa), i. 191, 307, 331 puhukar, i. 307 pûchh, etc. (prachh), i. 218; iii. 40 pûjârî, ii. 58 pûnaü, ii. 174 pûrâ, i. 343, 344 pûrba, ii. 25 pûrjanu, iii. 71 pekkh, i. 162 petâû, petû, ii. 42, 112 petho, i. 316; iii. 139, 144 ped, i. 135 penth, i. 139 penû, ii. 38 pem, ii. 61 pelaņâ, etc., i. 240; ii. 36 pelo, ii. 340 peç (praviç), i. 316; iii. 38 peharavu<u>n,</u> i. 177 pehelo, i. 138, 167; ii. 142, 344 pai, ii. 298 painsath, i. 168 paith (/pravic), i. 316; iii. 38 paindhâ, i. 168 paintâlîs, i. 168, 215, 292 paintis, ib. pairâk, ii. 43 -po, ii. 71

poë, ii. 297 pokhar, i. 133, 306 poṇâ, ii. 144 potâ, i. 158; ii. 343, 344 pothî, i. 313; ii. 29, 202 poner, ii. 134 poh, i. 259 pohe, i. 135, 260 paune, ii. 144

\mathbf{PH}

phakanu, i. 276 phat, etc. (/sphat), i. 308; iii. 53 phad, etc. (id.), ib. phanâ, ii. 9 phanas, i. 192 phandrûl, ii. 100 phas, etc. (/sprish), i. 307, 355 phaskemi, ii. 77 phânsî, etc., i. 355; ii. 8 phânk, ii. 191 phât (√sphat), i. 308; iii. 53 phâtak, i. 308; ii. 31 phâd, etc., i. 308; iii. 53 phândnâ, i. 307 phâl, phâr, i. 247; ii. 8 phâhî, i. 355; ii. 8 phit, (/sphat), i. 308; iii. 53 phut (vsphut), i. 308; iii. 53 phup (pushpa), i. 307, 331 phûl, i. 151, 152 phenknâ, i. 276 pher, iii. 56 phod, i. 307; iii. 54 phodâ, i. 307; ii. 29, 30 phodů, ii. 38

B

bak, i. 252 bakarâ, etc., i. 131, 144, 319; ii. 22, 150, 162 bagalâ, i. 252 baghitalâ, iii. 143 bachâ, bachhâ, etc., i. 153, 317; ii. 9, 121, 151 bachânâ, etc., i. 178, 211 baj, bâj (\sqrt{vad}), i. 328; iii. 66 bajhanu, i. 328; iii. 48, 137 bajho, iii. 137 bate, i. 164, 216 bațnâ, etc., i. 164; ii. 62 bathân, i. 178 bad (vata), i. 199; ii. 8 badâ (vriddha), i. 163; ii. 72, 79 badhaî, i. 334; ii. 155, 165 badhapanu, ii. 72 badhin, ii. 165 baniân, ii. 187 baniâin, ii. 168 bat- (vârttâ in comp.), i. 151 battî, i. 154, 334 battîs, i. 331; ii. 138, 142 badho, iii. 137 banânâ, iii. 78 bandhanu, etc., i. 300; iii. 48 bannâ, iii. 78 bapauti, ii. 107 bar, ii. 12 baras, barsâ, etc. (varsha), i. 173, 355; ii. 9, 14 barethan, ii. 165 barochu, ii. 168 barkhâ, etc. (varsha), i. 261, 355; ii. 9 barchhâït, ii. 103 barj, i. 352 barhyu, i. 355 balad, ii. 199 balâ, ii. 206 bali, i. 182 bavanjâ, i. 331 bahattar, i. 288, 331

bahangi, i. 131 bahin, i. 138, 155, 183, 202, 266; ii. 170 bahirâ, i. 138, 267 ; ii. 13 bahu, bahû, etc. (vadhû), i. 183; ii. 55, 184, 216, 226 bâ- (dvi in comp.), i. 253, 288, 331 ; ii. 138 bâa (vâyu), i. 147; ii. 54 bâüdâ, bâülâ, etc. (vâtula), ii. 100 bâns, etc., ii. 8, 121, 164 bânsulî, ii. 121 banh, i. 182; ii. 54, 173 bâg, i. 183, 323 : ii. 49 bâgun, i. 133 bâgh, i. 320, 351; ii. 21, 165, 169 bachhuri, i. 133 bâchhnâ, i. 351 bâjh, i. 359 bânjhâ, i. 327 bâdho, ii. 155 bât, i. 164, 182; ii. 49 bâti, i. 18**2** ; ii. **4**9 bâdal, i. 145 bândhnâ, i. 300 bâp, ii. 191, 215 baph, i. 191, 307, 331 bâbâ, ii. 152, 192, 204 bâyako, ii. 161, 192 bâyân, ii. 26 bâranu, i. 324 bârah, etc. (dvâdaça), i. 243, 331; ii. 134, 138, 246 bâlak, ii. 199, 201 bâlantapan, ii. 73 bâlapan, i. 330 ; ii. 72 bâli, bâlû (bâlukâ), i. 147; ii. 39 bâlnâ, i. 324 bâhotî, ii. 122 bi- (dvi in comp.), i. 331 bio, ii. 143

bikat, i. 182 bikâv, ii. 64 bikû, ii. 10, 157 bikh, i. 261; ii. 8, 174 bigad, etc. (vighat), i. 273; ii. 36, 70; iii. 61 bichhânâ, ii. 70 bichhuâ, etc. (vricchikâ), ii. 146, bijli (vidyut), i. 146, 181, 182, 327 bitapan, ii. 74 bitnâ, i. 351 bindî, i. 147; ii. 54, 174 bindhâl, ii. 94 birânave, i. 331; ii. 139 birâsî, ib. birt, i. 166 bilâito, ii. 104 bis, ii. 174 bih, i. 242 bihan, i. 202 bihân, ii. 16 bihî (√bhî), iii. 68 bihu, ii. 8 bîj (vîja), i. 331 ; ii. 143 bîs (vinçati), i. 155; ii. 137, 140 bîsvân, ii. 248 bujh (\sqrt{budh}), i. 273, 328; ii. 66, 107; iii. 48, 137 bujhail, ii. 96 bujhanti, ii. 66, 107 bud, bûd, etc., i. 132, 276; iii. 62 buddhâ, etc. (vriddha), i. 163; ii. 159 budhâpan, i. 330; ii. 72, 73 bund, bûnd (vindu), i. 135; ii. 54, 174 bundhanu, iii. 48, 137 bulânâ, i. 211; iii. 78

be, i. 331 beâlîs, i. 331 ; ii. 139 beüsâ, i. 143 beng, i. 351 bech, iii. 64 beţâ, ii. 186, 204, 228 betî, ii. 207 betuâ, ii. 41 bedûk, ii. 44 bedhâ, i. 273, 316 bepârî, i. 351 ber, i. 142; ii. 22 bel, i. 157 belnâ, ii. 17 behen, i. 138, 202 beherâ, i. 138; ii. 13 baigun, i. 167 baith (upavic), i. 179, 241, 242, 316; ii. 31; iii. 38 bokar, i. 319; ii. 22 bonâ, i. 158, 200 bol (√brû), iii. 37 byontnâ, i. 144 byorâ, i. 143

BH

bhanv (\sqrt{bhram}), iii. 34
bhanvara (bhramara), i. 320; ii. 22
bhanvaï, ii. 55
bhago, iii. 137
bhagat, i. 287
bhang (\sqrt{bhanj}), iii. 39
bhajanu, ii. 38; iii. 50, 137
bhañanu, ib.
bhanj, iii. 39
bhataku, ii. 37
bhatuadì, ii. 117
bhattì, i. 154

bhaduâ, ii. 39 bhatijâ, i. 161, 165 bhanvâî, ii. 155 bhabût, i. 145 bham (\sqrt{bhram}), iii. 34 bhay, ii. 10, 222 bhayau, iii. 195 bhar, ii. 19, 20, 38, 51, 70, 108, 109 bharam (\sqrt{bhram}), iii. 34 bharyatu, ii. 109 bhalâ, ii. 73, 79 bhavun, ii. 55 bhâityo, i. 161, 165 bhâito, ii. 103 bhâi, bhâû, etc. (bhrâtri), i. 202, 320; ii. 58, 103, 155, 193, 194 bhâûj, i. 165 bhâkhâ, i. 261 bhâg, bhâng (√bhanj), iii. 39 bhâg (bhâgya), ii. 78 bhajavat, ii. 67 bhâjû, ii. 38 bhañû, 3b. bhâd, bhâdâ, i. 199; ii. 29, 30 bhândâ, i. 199 bhândâmi, ii. 77 bhândo, ii. 29 bhândpania, ii. 73 bhât, i. 286 bhâph, i. 191, 331 bhâr, ii. 40, 199 bhâruâ, ii. 40 bhâlâ, ii. 9 bhâlû, ii. 39 bhâv, ii. 14 bhâvi, ii. 170 bhâvîn, ii. 170, 231 bhâshâ, i. 261 bhikari, i. 152 bhig, bhij, etc., i. 176; iii. 81

bhid, iii. 63 bhinoì, ii. 155 √bhi, iii. 9 bhikh (bhikshâ), i. 152 bhitar, i. 176, 184 bhukhado, ii. 119 bhugo, iii. 137 bhujaņu, iii. 50 bhuñanu, id. bhunikâtu, ii. 64 bhulanu, ii. 52 √bhû, iii. 33, 194 bhû, bhûîn, etc. (bhûmi), i. 257; ii. 52, 89, 184 bhûl, bhûlnâ, ii. 51 bhejnå, i. 328; iii. 65 bhed, iii. 63 bhedå, i. 316 bheduyâ, ii. 39 bheņu, i. 187, 202; ii. 194 bhent, iii. 63 bhains, i. 192 bhain, i. 187 bholido, ii. 117 bhaun (vbhram), iii. 34 bhaun, bhaunh (bhrû), ii. 55 bhaunr (bhramara), i. 320; ii. 22 bhaunt, i. 202

M

ma, ii. 302 makht, i. 218, 310; ii. 34 mag, ii. 8 maghar, i. 323, 354 mananu, i. 319; ii. 19 machâv, ii. 64 machhuâ, ii. 39, 40 maj (pron.), ii. 302 majjh, majhi, etc., (madhye), i. 327; ii. 305 majhâr, ii. 293 majholâ, i. 327; ii. 100 manjan, etc., i. 149, 319 manjhâro, ii. 100 matti, i. 162, 333; ii. 35 math, i. 270 mandal, ii. 24 mat, ii. 52 matho, i. 313; ii. 29, 195, 213 madhu, ii. 191, 295 manauti, ii. 107 mandir, ii. 22 mandhiado, ii. 117 mamatâlû, ii. 91 mar (√mṛi), iii. 55 maretho, ii. 169 marhanu, ii. 51 malnâ (çmaçâna), i. 348 masûr, i. 133 mahangâ, etc. (mahârgha), i. 149 273 mahâtam, ii. 77 mahâdevado, ii. 119 mahimâ, ii. 152 mahuâ, ii. 40 mahûâ, i. 150 mahobâ, i. 317 malanen, i. 243 mâ, mâî, mâû, etc. (mâtâ), i. 165, 202; ii. 48, 58, 187, 191, 202 -mâ, ii. 244 -mân, ii. 292 mânhi, ii. 294 mânhain, ib. mâkhî, i. 310; ii. 34 mâgen, ii. 110 mâgitalâ, iii. 143 mâgehâ, ii. 110

mâg, mâng, etc. (√mṛig), i. 319; iii. 40 mâchhi, i. 218; ii. 34 mâchhuâ, ii. 39 mâj (mṛij), i. 319; iii. 9 mâjh, i. 327; ii. 312 mânjh, ii. 293 mânjhail, ii. 97 mâtî, ii. 35 mâthâ, i. 267 mânhipo, ii. 72 mât, ii. 48, 217, 218 mâthâ, i. 313; ii. 29 -mân (plur.), ii. 199, 280, 316 mâpnâ, i. 206 mâmu, ii. 39 mârnâ, i. 181; ii. 36, 50; iii. 55 mâro, ii. 306, 312 mâlâ, ii. 48, 216 mâlî, ii. 154, 165, 193, 195 mâçî, i. 218, 310; ii. 34 mâsûk, ii. 232 mâso (matsya), i. 218 -mi, ii. 334 michhâ, i. 327 mit, mith, etc., 162; iii. 63 mittî, i. 162, 333; ii. 35 mithâs, ii. 82 midyol, ii. 340 minro, ii. 345 mirûn, ii. 72, 226 misar (miçra), i. 357 m1, ii. 302, 308 minh, i. 266 michh, i. 327 mu, mui, ii. 302, 304 muâ (mṛita), i. 165; iii. 144 munh, i. 266 mukhiri, i. 322 mukhi, ii. 88, 89 mugalânî, ii. 166

mugdar, etc. (mudgara), i. 286 mujh, ii. 302, 304, 306 muthi, i. 315 mundâ, ii. 187 mundâsâ, ii. 83 mundû, ii. 86 mutâs, ii. 82 murelâ, ii. 121 musanu, iii. 51 mûn, ii. 302, 304 mûgarâ, i. 286 mûchh, i. 135 mûth, i. 191, 315 mûdh, i. 286; ii. 72 mût, i. 152, 338 mûrkh, ii. 72 mûrchh, i. 172 mûl, i. 351 mûsal, i. 155 mûsâ, ii. 9 men, ii. 292 menhi, ii. 92 mejaņen, i. 139 merâ, ii. 312, 313, 314 melen, i. 165 mo, ii. 302, 313 mokh, i. 307 moti, i. 287; ii. 34, 157, 206 modi, ii. 154 mor, i. 144 mohodun, ii. 118, 189 mhananen, i. 192 mhatalâ, iii. 151 mhâtârâ, ii. 73 mhâro, ii. 312, 314 mhains, i. 192

Y

-yal, ii. 100 yah, ii. 317, 336 √yâ, iii. 36, 213
-yâ, ii. 83, 88
yârahan, i. 260; ii. 246
yâhi, ii. 319
yih, ii. 336
yûn, ib.
ye, ii. 317, 319
yeṇen, ii. 249
-yo, ii. 83
yog, i. 249

 \mathbf{R}

raü, ii. 194 rakat, i. 171 rakh, etc. (√raksh), iii. 41 rat, etc., i. 228 rad, etc., ib. rand, i. 299; ii. 48 randâpo, ii. 72, 73 ratan, i. 171 rato, i. 287 ran, i. 179, 341 rana, i. 299; ii. 48, 72 rassì, ii. 148 √rah, i. 131, 138; ii. 38, 42; iii. 40 rahat, i. 179, 266 râu, i. 202 râut, i. 202; ii. 127 râul, i. 202 râkh (rakshâ), ii. 48, 119 râjâ, i. 202; ii. 60, 152, 184, 199 râd, i. 228 râdh, râdhi, i. 228; ii. 86 rând, i. 299; ii. 48, 72 rândâpâ, ii. 72 rât, i. 337; ii. 52, 112, 203, 206, 288 râtâ, i. 287

rân, i. 179, 341 rânî, i. 303 râvat, i. 202 râs, i. 348 râh, iii. 40 richh, i. 310; ii. 14 rinu, i. 179, 341 richh, i. 218, 310; ii. 14 ris, ib. -ru, ii. 273 ruanu, i. 202 rukhî, ii. 341 √ruch, iii. 19, 23 rudhî, ii. 222 √rud, iii. 16, 24 √rudh, iii. 20 runo, iii. 138 rulânâ, i. 241 rusino, ii. 17 rûdh, i. 316 -re, ii. 292 rekh, regh, etc. (rekhâ), i. 272; ii. 48 rent, i. 266 rențâ, i. 179 rendî, i. 180 ret, reti, ii. 92, 94, 101 retâl, retîlâ, ib. retuâ, ii. 40 reh (\sqrt{rah}), i. 138; ii. 48, 49; iii. 40 -ro, ii. 217, 281, 284 roân (roman), i. 257 roâs, ii. 82 rogî, ii. 85 ronâ, i. 202, 241; ii. 82

 \mathbf{L}

lakhavun, i. 266 lakhoti, ii. 123

√lag, i. 300; ii. 260; iii. 34, 216 lagatî, ii. 53 lagin, i. 172 lagun, ii. 261 lajâļû, ii. 92 lajîlâ, ii. 97 lataknâ, i. 228; ii. 32 lath, i. 250, 315 ladkâ, i. 228; ii. 72, 201 laddu, i. 228 ladhanen, i. 228; ii. 44 lad, ii. 20; iii. 61 ladho, i. 268; iii. 137 lanu, ii. 299 labhanu, iii. 49, 137 lahanu, i. 268; iii. 49, 137 lahar, i. 131, 138 -là, ii. 253, 260 -lâî, ib. lâkh, i. 152 $lag (\sqrt{lag}), i. 300; ii. 51, 52;$ iii. 34 lâgîn, ii. 260 lâj, ii. 49, 92 lâțhî, i. 241, 250, 315 lâd, ii. 100, 101 lâdî, ii. 85 lât, i. 248; ii. 49 lâtho, i. 269 lâlâ, ii. 152 lâhanu, i. 269 likhnâ, i. 266 liţ, liḍ, iii. 64 lito, iii. 138 √lip, iii. 59, 138 lìdho, iii. 141 lîlâ, i. 228 luchhâ, ii. 72, 77 luhandâ, ii. 125 luhâ, ii. 15

lûkâ, i. 173, 180

lût, i. 248 lûn, i. 144, 248 lûsanu, iii. 51 lûhanu, ib. le (\sqrt{labh}), i. 248, 268; iii. 49, 219 -lo, ii. 281, 287 lok, ii. 8, 28, 200 long, i. 143, 191 lon, lonâ, i. 143, 144; ii. 33, 111, 156 lohâ, ii. 15, 30 lohî, ii. 92 lohu, ii. 15 lau, ii. 261 laung, i. 143 laund, i. 228

V

For words not found under V, look under B.

vakhad, i. 252 vagadnâ, i. 278 vangal, i. 252 vați, i. 334; ii. 72 vațo, i. 164 vatho, iii. 138 vadhai, i. 334 vanati, ii. 53 vathu, ii. 202 var, ii. 298 varihoko, ii. 112 varis, i. 173 varu, i. 182 varttaņuk, ii. 44 varhyu, ii. 14 √vas, i. 252; iii. 138 vasati, ii. 53 vasandi, ii. 54 vastu, ii. 190

vah, ii. 118, 334 vahân, ii. 336 vahitru, ii. 45 vahû, i. 183, 267 ; ii. 55, 161, 190 vâï, ii. 54 vâü, i. 147; ii. 54, 158, 194 -vân, ii. 244, 247 vâgh, ii. 170 vâghû, ii. 195 vâchâlû, ii. 92 vâchchhâ, i. 153 vâjaţu, ii. 45 vânch, iii. 68 vânjh, i. 327 vâțanen, i. 164 vâțsarû, ii. 192, 217 vâdho, i. 334; ii. 30, 202 vâņiko, ii. 111 vât, i. 334; ii. 99 vâtûl, ii. 99 vâdaļa, i. 145 vâpâriko, ii. 111 vâph, i. 307 vâyadî, ii. 119 vârî, i. 147 vâryâsâ, ii. 114 vâserâ, ii. 99 vâhipo, i. 330; ii. 72 vikin (√vikri), iii. 64 √vighat, iii. 61 -vich, ii. 292 vichu, vinchû, i. 146, 307; ii. 193, 203 viju, ii. 117, 194 vijulî, i. 327 viñâiņu, ii. 42; iii. 71 vitthal, i. 347 vidahanu, ii. 38 viraü, i. 166 virchhanu, i. 351; ii. 42 vih, i. 242; iii. 139

vihu, ii. 8, 174 vinu, ii. 194 vih, i. 259; ii. 137, 140 vuțho, iii. 138 vuh, ii. 336 ve, ii. 318, 319 vekiro, ii. 81 vețho, i. 179; iii. 139 veru, ii. 112 vevasây, i. 143

C

Íak, iii. 16, 36 catâvîs, i. 289 √cad, iii. 57 çambhar, i. 297; ii. 137 çahânapan, ii. 73 çânyçî, ii. 140 çânnav, ii. 140 çâc, i. 358 çâļ, ii. 50 çidî, i. 273 çih, ii. 132 -çin, ii. 271 cîns, i. 354 Íîkh, iii. 68 Íîv, ib. çuṇ, sun (√çru), i. 357; iii. 15, 18, 24, 28, 41 √cushk, iii. 39 çet (kshetra), i. 218, 310; ii. 35 ço, ii. 324 çoïbâ, i. 199

SH

shârțh, i. 315 shola, i. 243; ii. 134

S

sak, etc (/cak), iii. 36, 223 sagar, i. 198, 207 sagâ, i. 358 sagauti, ii. 108 saghanu, ii. 51; iii. 36 sange, i. 184; ii. 275 sach (satya), i. 327; ii. 109 sajyâ, i. 136; ii. 49 sajhâïto, ii. 103 satth, i. 315; ii. 137, 246 sad, iii. 57 sadsath, i. 289, 293 sandhû, i. 356 sat-, satt-, etc. (saptan in comp.), i. 253, 288, 289, 290, 293; ii. 133, 134, 137, 141 sane, ii. 275 sannh, i. 299 sapu, i. 319 sapedâ, i. 149 sapotâ, ii. 121 sab, sabh, etc. (sarva), i. 351, 352; ii. 25, 200, 258, 340, 341 samajhnâ, i. 211, 327; ii. 37, 107 samaran, i. 347 samundar, ii. 21 same, i. 140 samûha, ii. 200 sambalâ, iii. 68 sar, sâr (√sŗi), iii. 55 sarason, i. 355 sarâhnâ, i. 171, 266, 358 savâ, i. 100 ; ii. 144 sasu, i. 358; ii. 194 sasur, i. 358; ii. 22 sahanu, ii. 38 sahanen, i. 155 sâîn, i. 257; ii. 154 sâg, ii. 108

sânjh, i. 273, 328; ii. 50 sâth, i. 315; ii. 137 sâdhû, i. 356 sâdhe, i. 273; ii. 144 sât (saptan), i. 133; ii. 236, 288 sâmp, i. 319; ii. 121 sâmhne, ii. 298 sâsarâ, i. 358; ii. 193, 216 sâsû, i. 358; ii. 192, 216 sikhanu, i. 242; iii. 80 singh, i. 160, 262; ii. 14 sir, ii. 50 -sin, ii 272 sîs, i. 354, 359 sukkâ, etc., i. 307; ii. 13; iii. 39 suņaņu, etc. (/crû), i. 356; iii. 50, 138 sunto, ii. 219, 235, 310 sûar, i. 206 sûi, i. 187, 191, 202 sûjhâ, i. 328 -se, ii. 274 se, ii. 318, 334 sekhâne, ii. 337 sethâ, ib. sendh, i. 134, 299 so, ii. 314, 322, 337 so (√svap), i. 199; iii. 36 soņā (suvarņa), i. 241, 343, 358; ii. 15, 30

sonâr, i. 201; ii. 126 solah, i. 243; ii. 134 √sthambh, iii. 60 √sthâ, iii. 34, 208 √sphat, etc., iii. 53, 57

\mathbf{H}

hagâs, ii. 82 hachâ, ii. 159, 203 hato, iii. 177 hattar, i. 291, 293 ham, etc., ii. 302, 307, 309, 312 halanu, ii. 19, 53 hâ, ii. 317, 336 hâd, i. 317 hândâ, i. 268; ii. 148 hâth, i. 268, 313; ii. 91, 109 hâthî, i. 268, 313; ii. 153, 164 hâni, ii. 52 hiyâ, i. 202; ii. 117 hundî, i. 268 hunto, ii. 219, 234 heth, ii. 298 ho, huâ, etc., (√bhû), i. 268; ii. 236, 318; iii. 33, 197 hai (√as), iii. 173 haun, etc., ib. hvai, hvaihai, etc., ib.

FINIS.



