

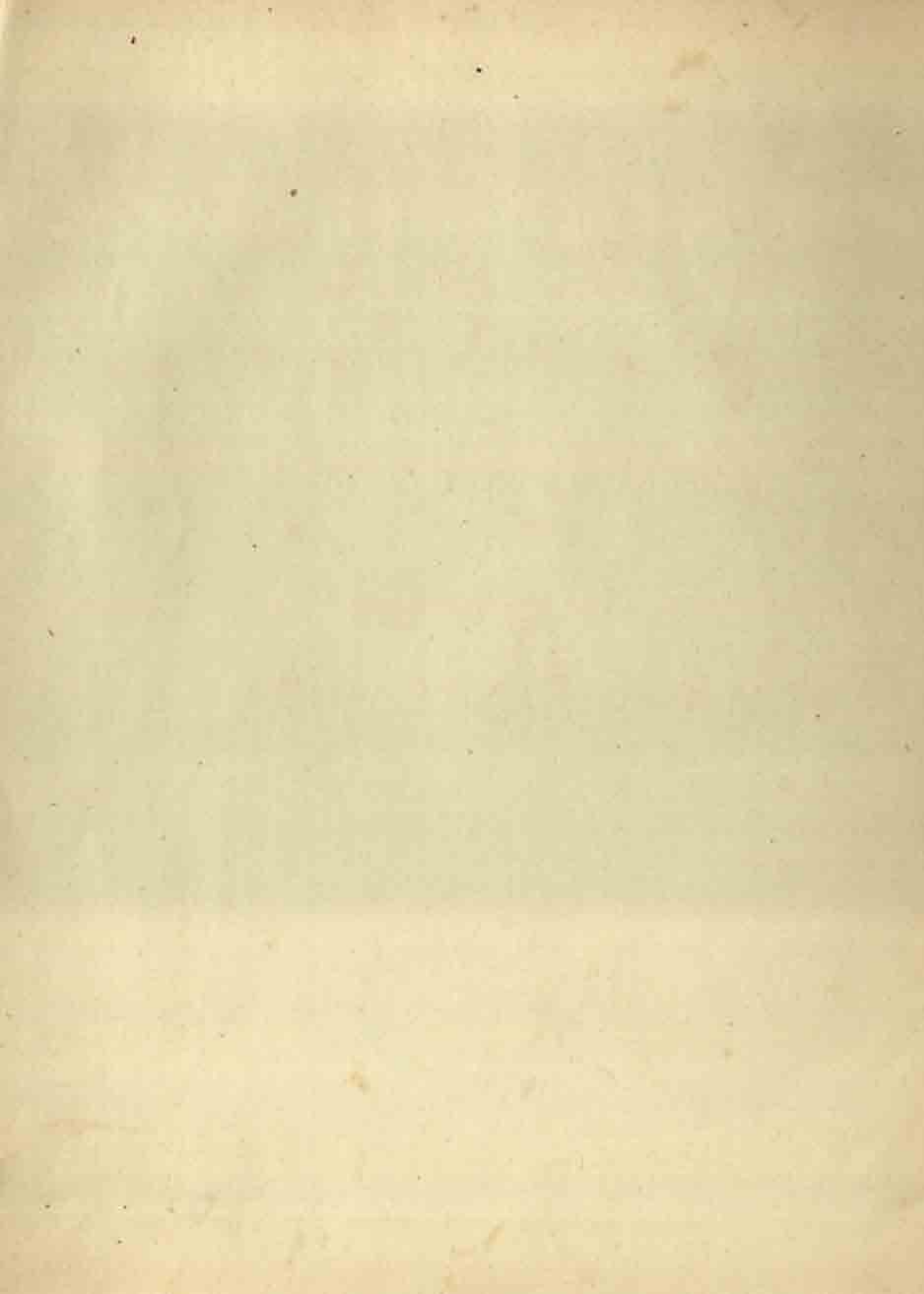
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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

VOL. XI

GIPSY LANGUAGES



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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

VOL. XI

GIPSY LANGUAGES

COMPILED AND EDITED BY

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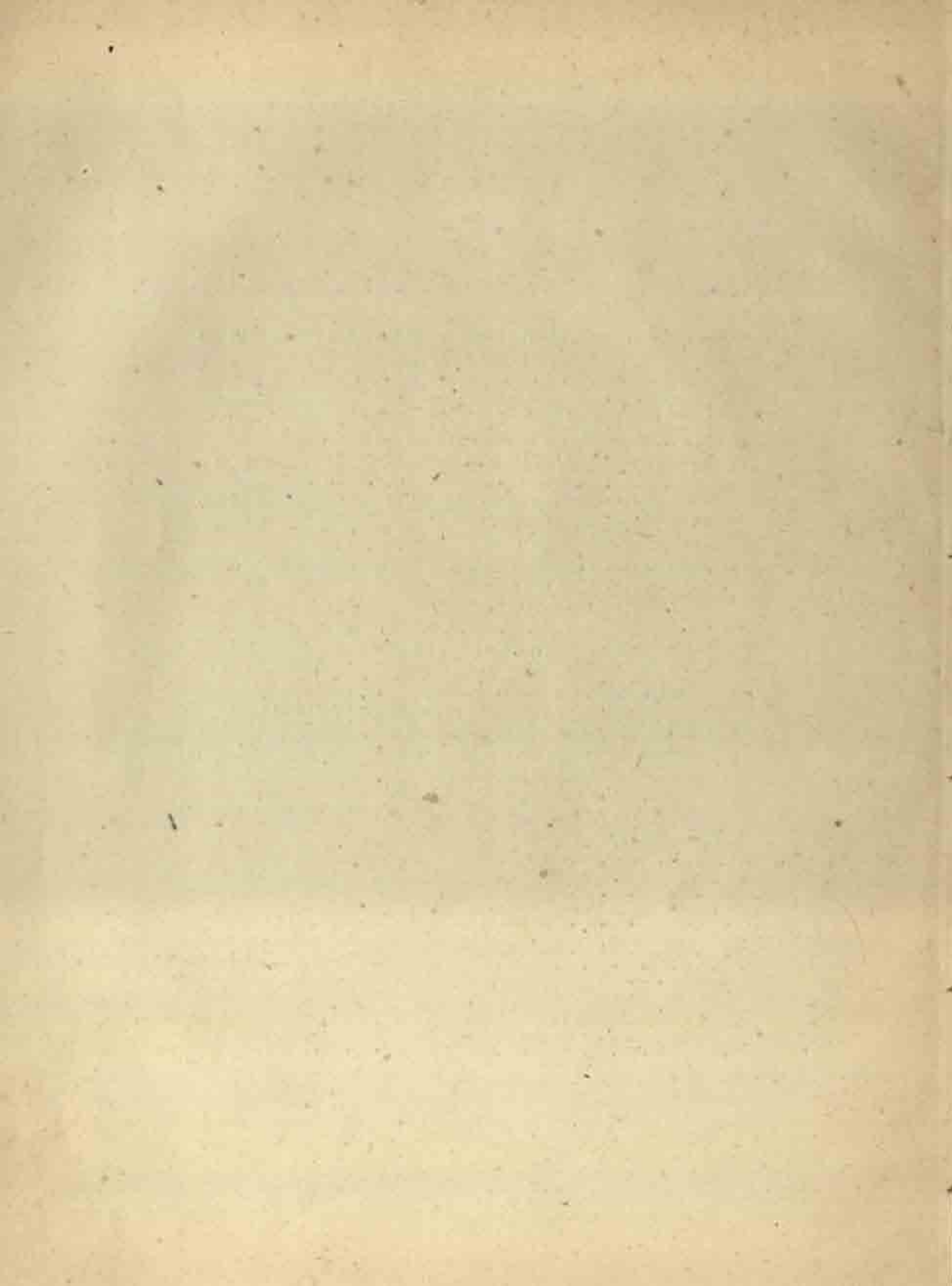
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Subject to subsequent revision, the following is the proposed list of volumes
of the Linguistic Survey of India.

- Vol. I. Introductory.
- " II. Môn-Khmêr and Tai families.
- " III. Part I. Tibeto-Burman languages of Tibet and North Assam.
- " " II. Bodo, Nâgâ, and Kachin groups of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
- " " III. Kuki-Chin and Burma groups of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
- " IV. Mundâ and Dravidian languages.
- " V. Indo-Aryan languages, Eastern group.
- Part I. Bengali and Assamese.
- " II. Bihârî and Oṛiyâ.
- " VI. Indo-Aryan languages, Mediate group (Eastern Hindi).
- " VII. Indo-Aryan languages, Southern group (Marâṭhî).
- " VIII. Indo-Aryan languages, North-Western group.
- Part I. Sindhî and Lahndâ.
- " II. Dardic, or Piśācha, languages (including Kāshmîrî).
- " IX. Indo-Aryan languages, Central group.
- Part I. Western Hindî and Pañjâbî.
- " II. Rājasthānî and Gujarātî.
- " III. Bhil languages, Khândeshî, etc.
- " IV. Pahārî languages.
- " X. Eranian family.
- " XI. "Gipsy" languages.



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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION ADOPTED.

A.—For the Dēva-nāgarī alphabet, and others related to it—

अ a,	आ ā,	इ i,	ई ē,	उ u,	ऊ ū,	ऋ ṛi,	ॠ ṛe,	ऐ ai,	ओ o,	औ au.
क ka	ख kha	ग ga	घ gha	ङ ṅa	च cha	छ chha	ज ja	झ jha	ञ ña	
ट ṭa	ठ ṭha	ड ḍa	ढ ḍha	ण ṇa	त ta	थ tha	द da	ध dha	न na	
प pa	फ pha	ब ba	भ bha	म ma	य ya	र ra	ल la	व va or wa		
श ṣa	ष ṣha	स sa	ह ha	ळ ṛa	ड ṛha	ऊ ṛa	ळ ṛha			

Visarga (:) is represented by *h*, thus कर्मः *karmah*. Anusvāra (◌ं) is represented by *m*, thus सिंह *simh*, वंश *vaṁś*. In Bengali and some other languages it is pronounced *ng*, and is then written *ng*; thus बाङ्ग *baṅg*. Anunāsika or Chandra-bindu is represented by the sign ~ over the letter nasalized, thus मै *mē*.

B.—For the Arabic alphabet, as adapted to Hindōstānī—

ا a, etc.	ح f	د d	ر r	س s	ع gh
ب b	خ ch	ذ ḍ	ز z	ش sh	غ gh
پ p	ط ṭ	ṣ ṣ	ḍ ḍ	ص ṣ	ف f
ت t	ع ḥ	ل l	ا ḥ	م m	ق q
ث ṭ				ن n	ک k
ج j				ه h	گ g
					ل l
					م m
					ن n
					و u or e
					ا h
					ي y, etc.

Tanwin is represented by *n*, thus فائز *fauzan*. Alif-e maqṣūra is represented by *ā*;—thus دأوى *da'wā*.

In the Arabic character, a final silent *h* is not transliterated,—thus بندا *banda*.

When pronounced, it is written,—thus گناه *gunāh*.

Vowels when not pronounced at the end of a word, are not written in transliteration. Thus बन *ban*, not *bana*. When not pronounced in the middle of a word or only slightly pronounced in the middle or at the end of a word, they are written in small characters above the line. Thus (Hindī) देखता *dēkh'tā*, pronounced *dēkhtā*; (Kāsh-mīrī) देख *dekh*; कह *kaḥ*, pronounced *kor*; (Bihārī) देखिय *dēkhiy*.

C.—Special letters peculiar to special languages will be dealt with under the head of the languages concerned. In the meantime the following more important instances may be noted:—

- (a) The *ts* sound found in Marāṭhī (ॢ), Paṣhtō (٢), Kāshmirī (٢, ॢ), Tibetan (ཚ), and elsewhere, is represented by *ts*. So, the aspirate of that sound is represented by *tsʰ*.
- (b) The *dz* sound found in Marāṭhī (ॣ), Paṣhtō (٣), and Tibetan (ལ) is represented by *dz*, and its aspirate by *dzʰ*.
- (c) Kāshmirī (٤) is represented by *ṣ*.
- (d) Sindhi (ڄ), Western Pañjābī (and elsewhere on the N.-W. Frontier) (ڄ), and Paṣhtō (چ) or (چ) are represented by *ṣ*.
- (e) The following are letters peculiar to Paṣhtō:—
 ټ *t*; ځ *ts* or *dz*, according to pronunciation; ډ *d*; ښ *z* or *g*, according to pronunciation; ښ *ph* or *kh*, according to pronunciation; ښ or ښ *ṣ*.
- (f) The following are letters peculiar to Sindhi:—
 ٻ *bb*; ٺ *bh*; ٺ *th*; ٺ *t*; ٺ *th*; ڄ *ph*; ڄ *jj*; ڄ *jh*; ڄ *ohh*; ڄ *ṣ*; ڄ *dh*; ڄ *d*; ڄ *dd*; ڄ *dh*; ڄ *k*; ڄ *kh*; ڄ *gg*; ڄ *gh*; ڄ *ṣ*; ڄ *ṣ*.

D.—Certain sounds, which are not provided for above, occur in transcribing languages which have no alphabet, or in writing phonetically (as distinct from transliterating) languages (such as Bengali) whose spelling does not represent the spoken sounds. The principal of these are the following:—

<i>ā</i> ,	represents the sound of the <i>a</i> in <i>all</i> .
<i>ā</i> ,	" " " <i>a</i> in <i>hat</i> .
<i>ē</i> ,	" " " <i>e</i> in <i>met</i> .
<i>ō</i> ,	" " " <i>o</i> in <i>hot</i> .
<i>e</i> ,	" " " <i>é</i> in the French <i>était</i> .
<i>o</i> ,	" " " <i>o</i> in the first <i>o</i> in <i>promote</i> .
<i>ō</i> ,	" " " <i>ō</i> in the German <i>schön</i> .
<i>ū</i> ,	" " " <i>ū</i> in the " <i>mühe</i> .
<i>th</i> ,	" " " <i>th</i> in <i>think</i> .
<i>dh</i> ,	" " " <i>th</i> in <i>this</i> .

The semi-consonants peculiar to the Mundā languages are indicated by an apostrophe. Thus *k'*, *t'*, *p'*, and so on.

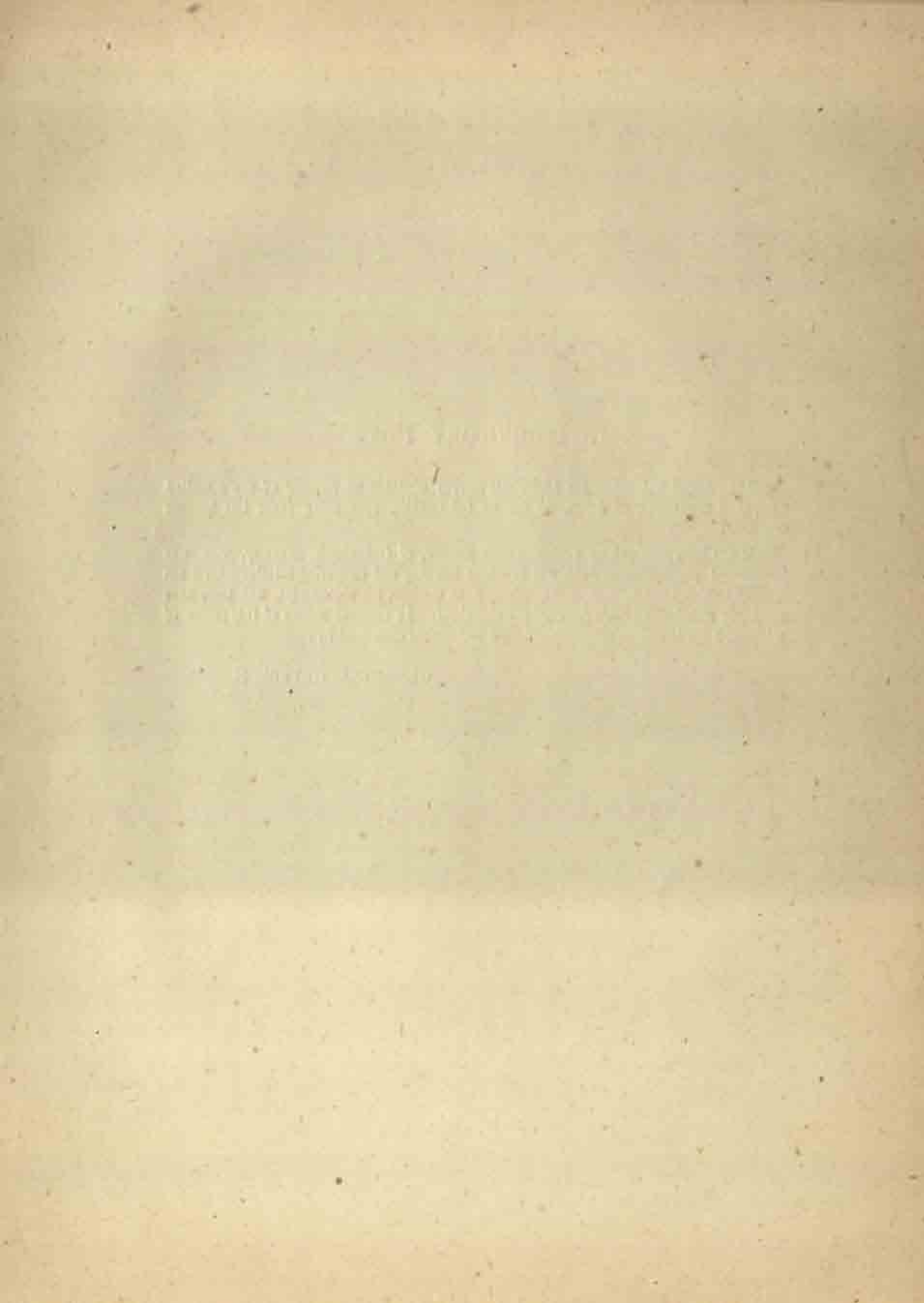
E.—When it is necessary to mark an accented syllable, the acute accent is used. Thus in (Khōwār) *assiatat*, he was, the acute accent shows that the accent falls on the first, and not, as might be expected, on the second syllable.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The present Volume of the Linguistic Survey contains an account of the so-called "Gipsy Languages" of India, so far as information concerning them has become available.

It has been prepared by Professor Sten Konow, of Christiania, Norway, who was for several years my Assistant, and to whose learning and unsparing collaboration I am heavily indebted. I have myself carefully gone through his manuscript, and have here and there added a few remarks over my signature. As General Editor of this series of volumes, I am therefore responsible for all statements contained in it.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.



GIPSY LANGUAGES.

INTRODUCTION.

Migratory tribes are found all over India, and are of different kinds. Some of them, like the Pendhāris, are descended from adventurers and individuals belonging to various castes and trades; others, like the Banjārās, Ōḍs, and so on, are occupational units, who wander all over the country in pursuance of their trade; others again are much of the same kind as the Gipsies of Europe, tumblers, jugglers, acrobats, or thieves and robbers, who have come under the Criminal Tribes Act.

It has become customary to call these tribes Gipsies, but this designation does not imply any connexion between them and the Gipsies of Europe. The word Gipsy, which is, as is well known, a corruption of Egyptian, was originally applied to those well-known migratory tribes who began to make their name known and feared in Europe from the beginning of the 15th century, because they described themselves as coming from Egypt. The word has then also come to be used to denote other peoples of similar, migratory, habits, and this is the sense in which it has been used in this Survey. The Gipsy Languages are, accordingly, dialects spoken by the vagrant tribes of India.

Our information about these forms of speech is necessarily limited. Many of these vagrants simply speak the language of their neighbours. Others are bilingual or even multilingual, adopting the speech of the district where they happen to stay in all their dealings with outsiders, but retaining a peculiar dialect of their own when talking among themselves. For this latter purpose many of these tribes have also developed a secret argot, which they commonly call Pārsi, 'Persian,' and they are naturally shy of initiating others into it. These argots will be dealt with below. They have not anything to do with grammar, but are based on some dialect, which may be designated as the home tongue of the tribe. Moreover, such tribes as have not developed any artificial argot, often have a dialect of their own. Such forms of speech cannot, of course, be expected to present the same consistency as ordinary vernaculars. It is a consequence of the migratory habits of the tribes, that their languages are to some extent mixed. Where the base is comparatively uniform and practically identical with one definite tongue, such dialects have, in this Survey, been dealt with in connexion with that form of speech. Thus the dialects of the following vagrant tribes have been described in connexion with Dravidian languages in Vol. IV of this Survey.

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Konva and Yernkala	55,116
Kaikāḍi	8,289
Burgāḍi	265
Gōlari	3,614
Kurnmā	10,399
Vaḡari	27,000
TOTAL	104,783

Others have been dealt with in connexion with the Bhil languages in Vol. IX, Part iii, of this Survey, *viz.* :—

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Bāort	43,000
Banjāri	158,500
Chārāgi	1,200
Habārā	950
Pārāhi or Tākūkhāri	8,648
Siyālgiri	120
Tarimāki or Ghināgi (Vol. IX, Part ii)	1,669
TOTAL	214,087

There remain some vagrant tribes, who have, during the operations of this Survey, been reported to possess languages of their own, *viz.* :—

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Beldāri	5,140
Bhauri	14
Dām	13,500
Gārōdi	9
Gulgullā	853
Kanjari (including Kachhāndhi)	7,085
Kolhāri	2,307
Lādi	506
Machariā	30
Mālar	2,309
Myānwālā or Lhāri	2
Naṭi	11,534
Ōḍi	2,814
Peṇḍhāri	1,250
Qaṣāi	2,700
Sāi	51,550
Sikalgāri	25
TOTAL	101,671

Of these, Machariā was returned from the Kapurthala State as spoken by a tribe of fowlers who had come from Sind. It has turned out to be ordinary Sindhi with a slight admixture of Pañjābī and need not occupy us any more in this place. The remaining Gipsy dialects named above will be described in the ensuing pages. This list is unfortunately far from exhausting the number of such languages. We know that the Chōhrās, the Dalāls, the Naqqāsh, and several other tribes and castes possess secret trade jargons of their own, and many criminal tribes have been described who freely mix their speech with slang words and phrases in order to prevent outsiders from understanding them. No new materials about them have, however, been forwarded for the purposes of this Survey, and I can therefore only refer to such authorities dealing with them as I have come across.

AUTHORITIES—

- MUHAMMAD ABDUL GHAFUR.—*A Complete Dictionary of the Terms used by the Criminal Tribes in the Punjab; together with a short history of each tribe, and the names and places of residence of individual members.* For the use of the police and jail officers serving in the Punjab. Lahore: Printed at the Central Jail Press, 1879. Contains Slang terms of Gamblers, pp. 29-30; Piffers or Uthāigiras, pp. 32-38; Khallait, Uchakkā and Tugā, pp. 38-40; Sansis, pp. 40-51; Doonias, pp. 51-54; Gandhilas, pp. 54-56; Sweepers of Delhi District, p. 57; Sweepers of Punjab, pp. 57-59; Harnis, pp. 59-60; Baurias, pp. 60-61; Minas, p. 62; Meos, pp. 62-63; Ahirs and Goojars, p. 64; Thugs, p. 65; Pachhāddas, pp. 65-66.
- LEITNER, G. W., LL.D.—*A Detailed Analysis of Abdul Ghafur's Dictionary of the Terms used by Criminal Tribes in the Punjab.* Lahore: Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1880. This "Analysis" contains all, and corrects almost all, the words and sentences in Abdul Ghafur's so-called Dictionary.
- LEITNER, G. W., LL.D.—*A Sketch of the Changars and of their Dialect.* Lahore: Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1880.
- LEITNER, G. W., LL.D.—*Selection from the Records of the Punjab Government. Section I of Linguistic Fragments discovered in 1870, 1872 and 1879, relating to the dialect of the Magūds and other Wandering Tribes, the Argots of Thion, the Secret Trade-dialects and Systems of native Cryptography in Kabul, Kashmir and the Punjab, followed by an Account of Shawl-weaving and of the Signs for the Numbers and Colours used in the Manufacture of Shawls as well as by an Analysis of a Shawl-pattern, and by four Pages of Shawl-writing, illustrated by Drawings of Shawls and by Specimens of Colours chiefly in use in the Punjab and Kashmir.* Lahore: Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1882.
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- TEMPLE, [SIR] R. C.—*An Examination of the Trade Dialect of the Nagqāsh or Painters on Papier-mache in the Punjab and Kashmir.* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. lili, Part i, 1884, pp. I and II.
- TEMPLE, [SIR] R. C.—*The Delhi Dalals and their Slang.* *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xiv, 1885, pp. 155 and ff.
- BAILEY, REV. T. GRAHAM, D.D.—*Notes on Punjabi Dialects.* Contains I. Notes on the Sāst Dialect, pp. 3 and ff.; II. The Secret Words of the Qasāis, pp. 9 and f.; III. The Argot of Panjābi Gamblers, pp. 11 and f.; IV. The Dialect of the Cāhrās, pp. 13 and ff. Privately printed. No date or place of publication.
- (KENNEDY, M.)—*Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency with Appendices regarding some Foreign Criminals who occasionally visit the Presidency including Hints on the Detection of Counterfeit Coin.* Bombay, 1908.

The various Gipsy tribes have not been distinguished in the language returns of the published Reports of the last Census of 1911. It is therefore difficult to compare the figures with the estimates made for the purposes of this Survey. The total returned under the head of Gipsy languages in 1911 was 28,294 distributed as follows:—

Ajmer-Merwata	209
Bombay	8,362
Central Provinces and Berar	2,274
Punjab	5,640
United Provinces	1,673
Baroda State	536
Bombay States	2,326
Central India Agency	1,097
Hyderabad State	4,566
Punjab States	474
Rajputana Agency	436
Other Provinces	681
TOTAL	28,294

The Gipsy dialects considered in the ensuing pages can be divided into two groups, ordinary dialects and argots. The former group comprises Beldari, Bhamti, Ladi, Odki and Pendhari, the latter Dom, Garodi, Gululi, Kanjari, Kolhati, Malari, Myanwala, Nati, Qasbi, Sasi and Sikalgari. The former group is of the same character as the Gipsy languages described under the head of Bhili in Vol. IX, Part iii, the latter can be compared with argots such as those used by the Panjab gamblers, the Chuhars, etc. See Authorities, above.

Within the first of our two groups the Pendharies in some respects occupy a position apart, being composed of various elements without any common race or religion. Their dialect shows that they have lived for some time in Eastern Rajputana, and history corroborates this inference. Both the Pendharies and some of the Bhamtis speak dialects which can be described as a mixture of Dakshini Hindostani and Jaipuri. Most Bhamtis, however, speak Telugu. Ladi is in all essentials a form of Jaipuri. The Ods are probably related to the Vadars, who speak a dialect of Telugu, and they are probably originally Dravidians. Their dialect, however, points towards Malwa or perhaps farther west. The Beldars are described as a Dravidian caste. They usually state that they are Rajputs, and Dr. Crooke thinks that they are related to the Ods. The traditions and dialects of all these tribes point to the conclusion that they belong to the same stock as the Banjaras, Habars, and other tribes who now use a form of Bhili. The traditions of both Banjaras and Habars point towards Rajputana. Ethnologists are, however, agreed that all these tribes are originally Dravidian, i.e. belong to the so-called Dravidian race. Their original home has perhaps been situated farther south. They have, however, become Aryanized at a comparatively early date, and philological considerations point to the conclusion that this occurred somewhere in Rajputana. Dr. Crooke is of opinion that these tribes are branches of one great nomadic race, which also comprises tribes such as the Sasis, Kanjars, Nats, and so on, i.e. such Indian Gipsies as possess an argot. Also here we find traditions which point towards Rajputana. Thus the Sasis were, according to one tradition, originally bards with the Chauhan Rajputs. Their first ancestor was, they say, Sas Mal, and his brother Mallanar was again the ancestor of the Kolhatis, who seem to be very closely connected with the Sasis. They are also related to the Kanjars, whose traditions only point towards the jungle, and the Nats, who sometimes, likewise, maintain that they have come from Rajputana. The Sikalgars of Benares assert that they were originally Rajputs from Marwar. The Doms are, according to their traditions, Nishadas, and their first ancestor is said to have sprung from the thigh of King Vana. Now Bembans is the name of a modern Rajput sept, which, according to Dr. Crooke, is of obvious Kherwar origin, and the country of the Nishadas is stated in the Mahabharata (iii, 10538) to begin where the Sarasvati disappears in the sands. The Nishadas were, according to the Aitaraya Brahmana, forest robbers, and Mahabharata identifies them with the Bhillas. In the Agnipurana they are mentioned together with "other dwellers in the Vindhya." It will be seen that these traditions point towards Rajputana or Central India. It will now be of interest to see how far an examination of the dialects spoken by these tribes, i.e. of the dialects on which their argots are based, corroborates these indications. We cannot of course expect to find anything more than indications. The tribes in question are migratory, and, if they spend a long time in any district, they are likely to adopt its current vernacular.

If we begin with Sāsī, it will be shown later on that the dialect varies according to the locality in which it is spoken, it being Hindōstānī in the East and a mixture of Hindōstānī and Pañjābī in the Northern Panjab, the stronghold of the tribe. Stray features such as the softening of hard mutes in the dative and genitive suffixes *gu*, *gā* and in words such as *dand*, tooth, are such as are also found in Western Pahārī.¹ The same is the case with the oblique base ending in *ā* in weak bases, just as in Marāṭhī. Forms such as the ablative suffix *thā*; the pronouns *ham*, we; *tam*, you, remind us of Gujarātī, but also of Western Pahārī. The dialect of the Sāsīs is closely related to Kōlhātī. The termination *ō* of oblique bases, which is well known from Gujarātī and Western Pahārī, is here common. Forms such as *mērē-ku*, to me, remind us of Dakhīnī Hindōstānī, while the use of the relative base *ja* with the meaning of a demonstrative in forms such as *jabō*, then, is in accordance with the practice in Rājasthānī dialects.

If we now turn to Kanjari, we again find that the oblique base of weak nouns ends in *ā* or in *ō*, as in Western Pahārī. Strong masculine bases often end in *ō*, plural *ā*, as in Rājasthānī. Demonstrative pronouns such as *jō*, *jī*, that, are also in accordance with the usage in that language. Pronouns such as *urō*, he; *yō*, you; verbal suffixes such as *ir*, *gir*, in the present and past; the frequent use of relative participles; the tendency to form a negative verb, and so forth, perhaps point to the existence of a Dravidian element in the dialect. Kanjari is a comparatively consistent form of speech and seems to possess less local varieties than many other Gipsy tongues. The Kanjars are ethnographically related to the Sāsīs and Kōlhātīs, and also to the Habūras. Just as the latter speak Gujarātī Bhīlī in the Gangetic Doab, the language of the Kanjars reminds us of Gujarātī, Rājasthānī, and Pahārī even in districts where these languages are not home tongues. The Magahiya Dōms of Saran and Champaran speak the current Bhōjpuri of the districts. There is, however, also a tissue of Rājasthānī, and the argot of the Dōms in so many points agrees with that in use among the Kanjars that it is impossible to separate the two. Naṭī also has some features which seem to point towards Rājasthānī, though the dialect underlying the argot of the Naṭs varies very much according to district. Gārōḍī is a mixture of Hindōstānī, Eastern Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī, and a similar position must be assigned to the so-called Myānwālē, while Qasāī is based on Hindōstānī, Sikalgārī on Gujarātī, and Malār on Nāgpuriā. Gulguliā, finally, is too insufficiently known to allow us to say anything definite about its position.

There are accordingly also some philological reasons for supposing a common origin of many of the Gipsy tribes. It will be remembered that they are described as belonging to the Dravidian race and that some of them use Dravidian forms of speech. Most of them, however, so far as they come within the scope of this Survey, speak Aryan tongues. If they are of Dravidian stock, that must be a secondary development. Their original language cannot have been Aryan. Now the existence of a Rājasthānī element in so many Gipsy dialects may be taken as an indication that they have abandoned their old speech and adopted an Aryan tongue within an area where Rājasthānī was spoken. It is a curious coincidence that the stronghold of the Bhīls, who must have a similar origin, is found between the territories occupied by

¹ Pahārī is closely related to Rājasthānī. See Vol. IX, Pt. iv, pp. 275, 1033.

Rajasthani, Gujarati and Marathi. Like many Gipsy languages some Bhil dialects also have weak nouns with an oblique base ending in *ā*. In Gipsy, and in Pahari, this *ā* is interchangeable with *ō*, which is common in Gujarati. The theory might be hazarded that this use of an oblique base, of the kind elsewhere found in Marathi, in all these tongues must be due to the existence of a substratum different from Rajasthani and connected with Marathi. There are also other philological indications that the language of Rajasthan and parts of Central India has once, in the times preceding the Rājput invasion, been more closely connected with Old Marathi.

The conclusion arrived at above that most of these Gipsy tribes have a common origin is further strengthened by a consideration of the artificial argots which some of them have developed. We here find so much correspondence in details that we cannot well refrain from inferring that there is some connexion between these Indian argots. All of them are artificial languages devised for the purpose of enabling those who know them to converse with each other without the risk of being understood by outsiders. Such methods of speaking are in use all over the world, and they are known under different names in the different countries. In England they are called 'cant,' 'slang,' 'thieves' latin,' 'pedlars' French,' 'Saint Giles Greek,' 'flash tongue,' 'gibberish,' and so on, in France 'argot,' in Germany 'Rotwälsch,' in Italy 'gergo,' 'furbesco,' in Spain 'germania,' and so on. Common to all of them is the extensive use of a peculiar vocabulary, and, in addition to this, the practice of disguising common words by means of transpositions and changes of letters. The vocabulary has usually been fetched from the most different sources, or else various figures of speech or associations of ideas lead to the use of well-known words with new meanings. Thus we find in the Spanish argot *Germania galle*, priest, taken from the Hebrew; *dupa*, ignorant, from the French; *londilla*, which is derived from *lon*, salt, and properly signifies a saltcellar, is used with the meaning of 'parlour,' because Spanish *sala*, parlour, suggests *sal*, salt, and so forth. Examples of transpositions from the same argot are *tiscar* for *vista*, view; *greno* for *negro*, a nigger. Changes of letters are also quite common; compare Rotwälsch *witze* instead of *hitze*, heat. In the Pyrenees we find a device of the same character as the so-called *p-language*. Thus, instead of *janno*, sir, they may say *jau-pau-na-pa* or *jau-gau-na-gra*. This of course is a very common way of producing an argot all over the world. Le Duchat tells us of the existence of a similar slang amongst the children of Metz, who add *dregue* to each syllable; thus *vousdregue ealdregue undregue foudregue*, vous êtes un fou, you are a fool. Still more like our *p-language* is the Indian schoolboys' *Zargari*, where the letter *z* followed by a vowel is added to each syllable; thus *tu-zum kakhā jazātizā huzō* for *tum kahā jātē hō*, where are you going? Dr. Leitner found this *Zargari* in use amongst the thieves of Peshawar, where he heard sentences such as *u-zu-s-ku-zo bu-zu-l-le-zā* for *u-kō bulā*, call him. A similar *s-language* is recorded from Bengal, where we find sentences such as *asami bosboi desdibosbo* for *ami bai dibo*, I will give a book. Sometimes we can observe how similar word-plays take their origin in some new fashion. A certain class of society affects a peculiar way of pronouncing or transforming words, and the compliance with such whims becomes a kind of freemason's token, by which one shows himself as a member of fashionable society. Thus it was usual within certain circles in Paris, about 1830,

to add *mar* to every word, and to speak of *boulangermar* instead of *boulangier*, a baker; *cafémar* instead of *café*, coffee. That such a way of changing common words well deserves to be called an argot, is brought out by a comparison of the cant of the Yūsufzai badmāshes mentioned by Dr. Leitner,¹ where *miri* is added to every word.

The argots are chiefly used by criminals and disreputable individuals for the sake of secrecy. Their nature is, however, quite the same as that of the various kinds of play languages which we are accustomed to consider as desultory results of children's fancy. All such speeches must be compared, and it is of interest to observe how the methods are the same all over the world, just as a comparison of languages belonging to different linguistic families discloses a high degree of similarity in fundamental principles.

In India there have probably been argots from the most ancient times. It is possible that they have to some extent their origin in sacrificial rites. It would often be necessary to veil the

Indian Argots.

actual meaning of a ceremony in order to prevent rivals and enemies from perverting it by means of sorcery and counter-rites. The curious words *ayavan*, dark fortnight; *yavan*, bright fortnight; *sabda*, day; *sagarā*, night; *yanya*, month; *sumēka*, year (*Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* i. 7.2.25ff.) seem to belong to such a sacrificial argot. The transmutations and changes of words which are sometimes prescribed in the old Sūtras, are perhaps of a similar kind, though the desire to avoid unlucky words also plays a rôle. The Indians, with their predilection for word-play and enigmatic language, must always have been especially qualified for devising means for disguising the meaning of their speech. An old example is found in the Mahābhārata (I. 5754ff.), where Vidura is represented as warning Yudhishtira, in the presence of a number of people, of impending treachery, in a jargon which only the speaker and his hearer could understand.²

There are, at the present day, many different argots in India. Captain, now Sir, R. C. Temple has explained the argot used by the Delhi Dalāls, or Brokers. This is a kind of speech which apparently has a very simple meaning, while some of the words used impart a second, hidden sense to those who are initiated. Thus an apparently innocent use of the numeral two or of words denoting such parts of the body as occur in pairs, conveys the meaning that the Dalāl claims a commission of two annas in the Rupee. Most Indian argots, and all those which are represented in the materials collected for the purposes of this Survey, are, however, of a different kind. They are artificial tongues which do not convey one meaning to the initiated ones and another to outsiders, but which are simply unintelligible to those who have not learnt them. This aim is attained by various means. There is, in the first place, a certain amount of peculiar words which are not used in ordinary speech. Such slang terms are apparently widely used, even by such tribes as have not developed a proper argot. Thus many of the criminal tribes of the Bombay Presidency have got them. Our information on the subject is, however, very imperfect, and it is, in most cases, impossible to state whence they have been taken. It is, on the other hand, noticeable how many of them are identical

¹ *Linguistic Fragments*, p. (xxx).

² The commentator Nilakṣṇa says that this jargon made use of the language of outcasts (*untouchables*), which resembled the language of the country, but was ungrammatical and contained words in which syllables were omitted, added, or altered. He then gives examples.

in different argots. Thus the word *lug*, to die, is used in Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Kanjari, Dōm, Naṭī, Gārōḍī, Myānwālē, Cūlgulīā, and Sikalgāri; *dūt*, eat, occurs in the specimens of Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Kanjari, Naṭī, Myānwālē, and Sikalgāri; *khum*, mouth, in Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Naṭī, and Gārōḍī; *khaul*, *khaulā*, house, in Sāsī, Dōm, Naṭī, and Sikalgāri, and so forth. Such instances add strength to the conclusion arrived at above that there is a common base in many of these forms of speech. Even if we were able to trace each of these words back to its source, this would not prove anything in regard to the nature of this base. We have seen above how the peculiar words of European argots have been collected from the most different sources. The same is most certainly the case in India. We cannot therefore infer that the Kanjars of Belgaum or the Qasāis are of Arabic descent, because they use some Arabic numerals, or that the Sāsīs have anything to do with the Tibetans even if *bārmī*, wife, could be proved to be identical with Sherpa *permi*, or *chaī*, water, with Tibetan *chhu*. The great number of Hebrew words in Rotwalsch warns us to be cautious in such matters. Still, considering the fact that ethnologists describe the most important Gipsy tribes as Dravidian, it is perhaps of some significance that several of the peculiar argot words seem to have a Dravidian origin. Thus we might compare Kanjari *ṭu-khulē*, belly, with Kurukh *kāl*; Sāsī *lōnā*, to beat, with Kurukh *lan'ā*; Myānwālē *gēlō*, boy, son, with Yerukala *gōvāḷyū*; Kanjari and Sikalgāri *pādō*, bull, with Tamil *mādu*; Dōm *ṭignā*, eat, with Tamil *ṭimnu*; Sāsī *pāngī*, fire, with Kanarese *benki*; Dōm *kichuā*, fire, with Kurukh *chich*; Kanjari *tīl*, *tiūr*, give, with Tamil *tara*, Savara *tiā*; Kanjari *kidō*, give, with Yerukala *kūḍ*; Myānwālē *hiṭwād* (compare Giripārī Sirmauri *hōf*), go, and *baricād*, come, with Kanarese *hō*, go, Tamil *vata*, come, respectively; Sāsī *baunūā*, Kōlhātī *bōnā*, Naṭī *būnā*, Myānwālē *bōnō*, gold, with Tamil *pon*; Sāsī *kūdrā*, horse, with Tamil *kudirei*; Sāsī *khaulā*, Naṭī *kōllā*, Sikalgāri *kōl*, Malār *khaul*, house, with Gōlari *kōll*, room, Malayālam *kuḍi*, house; compare Malār *khulā*, husband, and Yerukala *khulī*, wife, the last syllable of which latter word should be compared with *si* in *taṅgī*, sister; Sāsī *ṭūṇḍā*, Kōlhātī *taṇḍe*, Naṭī *ṭuṇḍā*, pig, with Tamil *payri*; Sāsī *binknā*, run, with Kurukh *bōngā*; Kanjari, Sikalgāri *khēḍō*, Qasāi *khēḍā*, Kōlhātī *chēḍā*, house, with Kanarese *khēḍā*; Kōlhātī *hēṭṭī*, wife, with Kanarese *heṇḍati*, and so forth. I feel no doubt that we should be able to compare many more words, if we had a fuller knowledge of the argots. In face of the fact that comparatively many of these parallels have been taken from Kurukh, it is perhaps worth while recalling the Kurukh tradition that they have come from the Karnatic and proceeded eastwards along the Narbada, i.e. past the Vindhya. It may also be of interest in this place to make a note of some few details which will be mentioned below when dealing with the individual argots, such as the interchange between hard and soft sounds in Sāsī, Kōlhātī, Naṭī, etc., the disaspiration of aspirates and aspiration of unaspirated sounds in several argots; the frequent use of relative participles, of a negative verb, of certain pronouns and suffixes, and so on, in Kanjari; the employment of *karkē*, having done, or similar forms with the meaning of Tamil *enru*, Yerukala *oṇḍa*, Sanskrit *iti*, etc., after a direct quotation, and so forth, though many of these features are also found in Pahārī and elsewhere.

Most words in the Indian argots are not, however, so far as we are able to judge with our present imperfect knowledge, peculiar to them, but belong to the common Aryan vocabulary of India. They are then adapted for use by various means of

disguise, just as is the case in European argots. It is noticeable that the transposition of letters after the pattern of the English cant word *icelap*, police, plays a comparatively unimportant rôle in the materials at my disposal. I may note instances such as *Sāsī kābrā*=*bakrā*, goat; *chāmī*=*mōchī*, shoe-maker; *tēp*=*pēt*, belly; *Gārōdī dābō*=*badō*, big, and so forth. More common are changes by means of prefixed or suffixed syllables, which then often replace the beginning or the end, respectively, of the word. The details will be mentioned under each argot. In this place I shall only make some general remarks. The simplest way of disguising a word by means of a prefix is exactly the counterpart of the practice in the *p*-language and Zargari. Thus in *Sāsī kha-kāl*, famine; *ḍha-gal*, neck, the syllables *kha*, *ḍha*, respectively, have simply been prefixed to the ordinary word. It is, however, still more common to drop the old initial in such cases; thus, *Sāsī khas*=*das*, ten; *jhūkhā*=*bhūkhā*, hungry. In some forms of Naṭī we find the initial added again at the end, thus, *mēt-khā*=*khēt*, field. In Malār *chahinbahin*=*bahin*, sister, we see the entire word in its original form added to the disguised word. These two last devices are of course more easily discovered, and they do not seem to be of common occurrence. With regard to prefixes I would add that we can, in a few cases, trace the existence of rules or rather tendencies which pervade all the argots. Thus *k* and *kh* are most commonly prefixed to words beginning with vowels; the palatals *ch*, *chh*, *j* and *jh* are almost exclusively used with such words as begin with labials; *nh* is a substitute for aspirated letters and also for *s*; and *r* is mostly used before or instead of gutturals. The fact that such is the practice in all our argots is a further indication that they have a common base.

The most usual state of affairs with regard to disguising suffixes is illustrated by words such as *Sāsī kauhgā*=*kahā*, said, where a single consonant is added. Words such as *Sāsī, Kolhātī bāp-lā*, father, where a consonant followed by a vowel has been added, are of a similar kind. There are, however, also more complex additions, somewhat like the Parisian *cafemar*=*café*. The most common are additions after verbs, such as *sar* in *Sāsī, Kolhātī, Naṭī ā-sar*, come, and *uar, wār, bār*, in numerous Kanjarī, Dōm, Qasāī, Malār and Myānwālē verbs, and so forth. We can also here notice how the same additions are used in the same way in more than one argot. Thus *k* or *g* is common after verbs ending in vowels or in *h* in *Sāsī, Kolhātī, Kanjarī, Naṭī, Myānwālē*, and so on; additions containing an *r* are, as already remarked, common in verbs in many argots; additions such as *Dōm khailā, Sīkalgārī khalā, Kanjarū ḍlō, Myānwālē ḍlū, Malār la*, are clearly connected with each other. On the whole it seems certain that not only are the general principles the same in the different argots, but that their application in many cases follows identical lines in all of them.

If we take a general view of all the facts, we will

Conclusions.

see that :—

1. the most important Gipsy tribes are classed by ethnologists as forming one race, of Dravidian features, which seem to have long led a migratory life, roaming over most of India;
2. many of them have traditions tracing their origin back to the Rājputs;
3. their dialects also point to the conclusion that the tribes have lived amongst people speaking Rājasthānī dialects, though—

4. some philological features show that there is a sub-structure of languages more related to Marāthi than to Rājasthānī ;
5. many of these tribes have developed a secret language based on their dialects ;
6. these argots contain several peculiar words which are common to many of them ;
7. the principles underlying the formation of these cant languages and also their application in individual cases present striking points of analogy in the different tribes ;
8. a certain number of the peculiar cant words seem to be Dravidian ; and
9. some Gipsy tribes speak Dravidian languages.

Taken together, all these points make it highly probable that the various Gipsy languages dealt with in the ensuing pages have a common origin, a language which was once spoken by a tribe of Dravidian race that came under the influence of Aryan tongues in a locality where languages akin to Marāthi had been spoken but had to give way to Rājasthānī. This would take us to the Vindhya and the country to the north of the Vindhya, i.e. to the territories which the Aryans found occupied by Nishādas. The tribe or tribes in question have probably lived as vagrants from the most ancient times. With the growth of Aryan civilisation they would naturally choose as their stronghold localities where Aryan civilisation had not got a firm footing. The many Bhil dialects spoken in the hills from the Vindhya and northwards probably have a similar origin and might well be the tongues of descendants of such migratory tribes who had taken to a settled mode of life. Such questions should, however, for the time being be left to the consideration of ethnologists. It may, in this connexion, be noted that we find Gipsy tribes and also Bhils who, at the present day, still speak Dravidian tongues.

It has been remarked above that the denomination Gipsy does not imply any connexion with the Gipsies or Romany Chals of Europe. These latter have originally come from India, and it is well known how they resemble the Indian Gipsies in appearance and habits. It has also been pointed out that their language shows many points of correspondence with the dialect of Indian Gipsy tribes such as the Doms. In this connexion it is worth while noting the similarity between European Gipsy words such as *gājō*, a gentile, *jukel*, dog, and *Sāsi kajjā*, Nati *kajā*, man ; Kanjari *jhūkil*, Myānwālē *jukēlā*, *Sāsi chhūkal*, *bhūkal*, Kōlhāṭī *dhokkal*, dog. The language of the gipsies of Europe, however, points towards the extreme North-West of India, and the prevailing opinion amongst scholars seems to be that they have nothing to do with the Indian tribes whose dialects are here under consideration. The hypothesis might, however, be hazarded that members of the same vagrant race from which the Indian Gipsy tribes are descended came up to the North-West, and remained there long enough to adapt their language to the practice prevailing among frontier tribes. Some of them passed on before this adaptation took place and became the ancestors of the Armenian gipsies, whose language does not point to the north-western frontier but rather to Hindostān. The bulk of these Gipsies later on brought their language, as modified among frontier tribes, to Europe, and became the ancestors of the Romany Chals.

PENĀHĀRĪ.

Under the name of 'Pindarees' the PenĀhāris are well known in Indian history. They were plundering bands of freebooters who first came to notice after the fall of Tippoo Sultan of Mysore. Of no common race, and of no common religion, they welcomed to their ranks the outlaws and broken men of all India—Afghāns, Marāṭhās, or Jāts. They represented the debris of the Mughul empire, which had not been incorporated by any of the local Muhammadan or Hindū powers that sprang up out of its ruins. Their head-quarters were in Malwa, but their depredations were not confined to Central India. In bands, sometimes of a few hundreds, sometimes of many thousands, they rode out on their forays as far as the opposite coasts of Madras and of Bombay. The most powerful of the PenĀhārī captains, Amīr Khān, had an organised army of many regiments, and several batteries of cannon. Their power was finally broken by the Marquis of Hastings in 1817.

Their name is said to be derived from *pēṇḍhā*, a sheaf, and probably meant originally 'grasscutters.'

At the Census of 1911 the number of PenĀhāris was returned as 6,413, 100 of whom were Hindūs and 6,313 Musalmāns.

They were distributed as follows:—

Central India Agency	4,014
Elsewhere	2,399
TOTAL	6,413

The only district which returned PenĀhārī as a separate language for this Survey was Dharwar of Bombay, which gave a total of 1,250 speakers. Specimens have, however, also been received from Belgaum (Bombay). In other districts PenĀhārī has probably been included under the head of Hindōstānī. It is used only as a home language by the tribe which speaks it. In their intercourse with other people, its speakers employ ordinary Hindōstānī.

To judge from the specimens PenĀhārī is a mixture of rough Dakhinī Hindōstānī with Marāṭhī and Rājasthānī. The particular dialect of the last mentioned language with which their Hindōstānī is mixed, seems to be Jaipurī. Compare *pūtā*, sons; *bāpā*, father; *chhē*, is; *chhā*, was. It is not necessary to discuss this jargon at length. I give two short specimens, one from each district. They both agree in all essential points. Note the use of *nē* as a postposition of the locative, present forms such as *uttarūnu*, I descend; *mārūnu*, I beat, where the final *nu* reminds us of the Dravidian termination of verbs, and the way in which *kar-kē*, having done, is used at the end of a quotation, like the Sanskrit *iti* and the Dravidian *andu*, having said.

[No. I.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

PENÐHARI.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT DHAEWAR.

Kisī ēk admī-kū dō pātā ohhē. Us-nē-si nhānā pāt āpnē
Some one man-to two sons were. Them-in-from younger son own
 bāp-kū bōlā, 'bāp, mērē hissē-kū āwattō māl-kā bātā mijē dē.'
father-to said, 'father, my share-to coming property-of share to-me give.'
 Unē āpnī jindgī un-kū bāt-diyā. Thōdē dīn-kē picchē
By-him own property them-to was-divided. Few days-of after
 nhānā sab milā-kē ēk dūr mulak-kū rasta liyā.
by-younger all having-gathered one distant country-to way was-taken.
 Whā unē dhundpanē-sē āpnā māl kharāh-kar-diyā. Sab
There by-him luxuriousness-with own property spoiled-was-made. All
 gamā-lē-kē angē ō mulak-nē ēk badā dukāl paḍā. Bhī unē
spent-having then that country-in one big famine fell. And by-him
 garībī-nē rah-gayā. Unē ō mulak-kē ēk admī-kē pās
poverty-in it-was-lived. By-him that country-of one man-of near
 jā-kar un-kū mil-kē rah-gayā. Unē isē suwrā
gone-having him-to joined-having it-was-lived. By-him him swine
 charānē-kū āpnē khētān-nē bhēj-diyā. Ō suwrā khānē-kā bhūṣē-si
feeding-for own fields-into it-was-sent. He swine eating-of husks-from
 āpnā pēt bharnē-kī khuṣī chhī, tab ō-bī usē kōyī
own belly filling-of happiness was, then that-even to-him by-anyone
 diyē nāi. Unē huṣār hō-kē, 'mērē bāp-kē ketlā
was-given not. By-him sensible become-having, 'my father-of how-many
 majūrdāran-kū āpnē-kū bas hō-kē jāsti rahē ottē
servants-to themselves-for sufficient become-having more remained so-much
 rōtyā rahwē-chhē. Huwā-tō-bī mai bhūk-sē marū. Mai
bread remained. Still I hunger-from die. I
 nikal-kē bāp-kē taraf jā-kē usē kahūgā, "arē bāp,
gone-out-having father-of direction gone-having to-him will-say, "O father,
 mai tērē sāmnē hī Allā-kē uppar gunhā karā. Is-kē angē
by-me of-thee before and God-of against sin was-done. This-of after
 tērā pūt kawā-lēnē-kū mai lāyakhī nāi. Tērē majūrī-kē jāwānan-nē ēk
thy son being-called-for I worthy not. Thy hire-of servants-in one

kar-kē mijē bī rakh," kar-kē bōlū," kar-kē bōl-liyā.
made-having me also keep," said-having may-say,' said-having it-was-said.

Uth-kē āpnē bāp-kanē āyā. Chheto unē abī rastā lhai
Arisen-having own father-near came. But for-him still way much

dūr chhī-tō us-kā bāp usē dēkh-kē mehar lakā-kē
far was-then his father him seen-having mercy applied-having

nhāt-kē jā-kē galē mil-kē usē mukkā diyā.
run-having gone-having neck embraced-having to-him kiss was-given.

Pūt usē, 'bāp Allā-kē uppar bhī tērā ākhā-kē sāmne mai gunhā
Son to-him, 'father God-of against and thy eyes-of before by-me sin

karā. Ab aṅgē kadī-bī mai tērā pūt kawā-liyē sarikā nāi.'
was-done. Now after ever-even I thy son calling-for fit not,'

kar-kē bōlā. Chhētō-bī bāp-nē āpnē naukār-lōkā-kū, 'lhai chōkōt
said-having said. Yet father-by own servants-to, 'very good

jhagē-kū bhār lakā-kē usē pīrā bhī us-kē hāt-kū aṅgūtī
coat out brought-having him dress and his hand-to ring

bhā-kē pāw-kū pāpsā dēō. Bhī haman khā-kē khuśī-sē
put-having feet-on shoes give. And we eaten-having happily

rhāī. Kāy-kayē-tō ē mērā pūt mar-gayā chhā-tō, phir-kē
should-stay. Why-said-then this my son dead-gone was, again

jīta huwā; gayā-chhā-tō, phir-kē milā,' kar-kē bōlā. Bhī
alive became; gone-was, again was-found,' said-having it-was-said. And

unan khuśī kar-nē lagē.
they merry to-make began.

[No. 2.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

PENJHARI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Dhūp kāl-nē ak kōlā bahut pyās lāg-kē jāngal-nē phir-kē
Heat time-at one fox much thirst felt-being wood-in rambling
 pāṇi dhuṇḍā, lēkin kā-bī naī milā. Pichhē-sī dōngā
water searched, but anywhere not it-was-found. At-last deep
 thaddē-nē thōḍā pāṇi khād-rākē dēkh-kē agāḍi-kā dhyān naī
pit-in a-little water standing seen-having future-of thought not
 kar-kē us-kē bich-nē kudā. Whā khūb pāṇi
made-having it-of the-midst-in he-jumped. There much water
 pī-kē phir-kē uppar anē-kū wāstē chintā karā.
drunk-having again up coming-for far-the-sake thinking was-made.
 Usē rastā-ch naī chhī, ō-sabab whā-ch tatt-kē
To-that way not was, (for-)that-reason there-indeed being-in-a-fir
 khād-rā-kē lhai phikīr karā. Ottē-nē-ch ek tagar wō-ch
standing much anxiety was-made. That-much-in one goat that-very
 rāstē-sī pyās lāg-kē ā-kē khādē-nē kōlē-kū dēkhā. Tab
road-from thirst felt-being coming pit-in fox it-was-seen. Then
 ō tagar, 'hō kōlā bā, tū lai sūnā, hamān sab pyās
that goat, 'O fox father, thou much clever, we all thirst
 lāg-kē marān; kisē naī mālum kar-kē tū ēklā-ch
felt-being die; to-anybody not known made-having thou alone-quite
 ā-kē pāṇi pīnū; achchhā, rhan-dē, māī bī tallē utarānū;
coming water drinkest; well, be-let, I too down descend;
 pāṇi kaī chhē? kar-kē pūchhā. Usē kōlā, 'dōs, kettā
water how is? saying asked. To-that fox, 'friend, how-much
 mittā kar-kē bōlā? E pāṇi agāḍi amīr sarkā chhē.
sweet saying may-I-say? This water quite nectar like is.
 Tū āyā, bahut chakōṭ huwā; jaldī ā-kē pāṇi pī. bhi
Thou camest, much good became; quickly coming water drink, and
 kōn-tō-bī āy-tō tujē milnē-kē naī, kar-kē bōlā. E
anyone-else comes-if to-thee getting-of not, saying said. This
 phasānē-ki bāt sun-kō wō diwānā tagar tallē kudī-mār-kē
cunning-of word heard-having that silly goat down jumped-having

awal pēt bhar-kē pāṇi piyā. Pichhē-si uppar āṇē-kū
first belly filled-having water was-drunk. Afterwards up coming-for
 wāstē ō dōṇō mil-kē bahut wakat phikīr karā.
in-order those both joined-having much time anxiety was-made.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In summer, a fox being very thirsty and looking for water on all sides, rambled in the forest, but to no purpose. At last he found a little water in a deep pit and jumped into it not heeding the future consequence. There he drank water to his heart's content and began to meditate as to how he was to get out, but there was no way.

Therefore, there he was, a close prisoner, and fell to thinking. Meanwhile, a goat being thirsty, chanced to come down to the very pit by the same road and seeing a fox in it, said,—‘Oh, sir Fox, you are very clever indeed; we are all dying of thirst, while you drink water here, having come all alone without the knowledge of anybody. Very well, I too will come down; how is the water?’

Upon this the fox said,—‘Oh, friend, it is too sweet to describe. This water tastes just like nectar. You are welcome, come soon and drink it. If anybody else happen to come here, you may not get it.’

At this cunning advice, the silly goat jumped down and drank his fill. Then they both consulted for a long time how to effect their escape.

BHĀMTĪ.

The Bhāmtās are a criminal class who are especially active as railway thieves. It seems probable that their original home was the Telugu-speaking country. At the present day, however, settlements are to be found in several of the districts and native states in and bordering on the Bombay Presidency. At the Census of 1911, 4,270 Bhāmtās were returned from the Central Provinces and Berar and none from elsewhere.

They do not lead a gipsy life but settle in some village from which their gangs start on their thieving expeditions.

They are known under several different names such as *Gaṇṭhachōrs*, *Uchliās*, *Vaḍarts*, and so forth. The home tongue of most of them is *Vaḍarī*, a debased form of Telugu.¹ They also speak Marāṭhī, Hindōstānī, and Kanarese. In speaking Kanarese they drop their 'h's.' The home language of some of the *Gaṇṭhachōrs* of the Bījapur District is Kanarese. Those of Nagpur in the Central Provinces speak a broken mixture of Dakhinī Hindōstānī and Jaipur Rājasthānī. Only fourteen speakers of this Bhāmtī were reported from the Central Provinces. As the Bhāmtās of elsewhere speak Telugu, I do not further refer to them. It is hardly worth while giving examples of the others. As, however, some good specimens have been received, I give a portion of a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and a folktale received from Nagpur.

The fullest accounts of the Bhāmtās which I have seen are in pp. 464 and ff. of Part I of the *Poona Gazetteer*, in pp. 3 and ff. of *The History of Railway Thieves with Hints on Detection*, by M. Paupa Rao Naidu, Madras, 1900, and in pp. 16 and ff. of the *Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency*, by M. Kennedy, Bombay, 1908.

¹ See above, Vol. IV, pp. 662.

[No. 3.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

Koi-ék ādmī-kū dō pōryā chhē. Us-mā-kā nānā pōryā
A-certain man-to two sons were. Them-in-of the-younger son
 bābā-kū kahā-chhu, 'us-mē-kā mē-kō mērā hissā dē.' Phēr us-nē
the-father-to said, 'that-in-of me-to my share give.' Then him-by
 us-kō daulat-kā hissā bāt-diyā-chhē. Phēr thōdē dīn hōyē-chhē
him-to the-property-of share was-divided. Then a-few days passed-had
 nānā pōryā sab jamā lē-kē dūr dēs gayā-chhē. Aur
the-younger son all estate taken-having far country went. And
 wahū jā-kē bēakkal-sē paisā khōyā-chhē. Phēr sab
there gone-having indiscriminately money he-squandered. And all
 kharch-nē-kō bād us dēs-mē badā kāl padā-chhē. Ibē
spending-of after that country-in great famine fell. Thereby
 us-kō bipat padī-chhē. Ibē o kāl us dēs-kō bhalē ādmī-kō
him-to want befell. Then he some that country-of a-good man-of
 jāurē rahā-chhē. Us-nē us-kō apnā khēt-mē dukar charānē-kō
near remained. Him-by him-to his-own field-in swine feeding-for
 lagāyā-chhē. Ibē dukar-kā bhūsā khā-kē pēt bharan-kō
it-was-employed. Then the-swine-of husks eaten-having belly filling-of
 bichār kiya-chhē. Kōi-nē us-kō kāl-nā diyā-chhē.
thought made-was. Any-body-by him-to anything-not given-was.

[No. 4.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

Ēk Birbal-kā bēṭā chhā, ēk rājā-kā bēṭā chhā. Un-kī baḍī
 One Birbal-of son was, one king-of son was. Them-of great
 dōstī rahē. Dōī-kā dīl ēk chhā. Un-nē kahā kē,
 friendship existed. Both-of mind one was. Them-by it-was-said that,
 'jis-kā bihāw pahilē hōgā un-nē apnī bāyko dusrē-kō ghar
 'whose marriage first will-be him-by his-own wife other's house
 pathāw-nā.' Bādsāhā-kē bēṭe-kā bihāw pahilē huā. Us-kī
 is-to-be-sent.' The-king-of son-of marriage first became. His
 barāt baḍē dhūm-sū āī-chhē. Phir us-kū ēk bistar-par
 marriage-procession great pomp-with came. Then him-to one bed-upon
 hō-kē dōst-kī yād āī-chhē. Phēr ō apnē mēhārū-kū
 become-having friend-of recollection came. Then he his-own wife-to
 kahī-chhē kē, 'pahilē tū Birbal-kē yahā jā-kō āw; mērā
 said that, 'first thou Birbal's here gone-having come; my
 kaul-bachan huā-chhē.' O phēr Birbal-kē yahā hāt-mō pachārtī
 promise become-is.' She then Birbal's here the-hand-in five-lamps
 lē-kē gāī-chhē. Us-kū rastē-mā chār chōr milē-chhē. Us-kā
 taken-having went. Her-to street-in four thieves met. Her
 sab ḍāginā utārē-rahē. Un-nē kahī kē, 'tū mērā
 all ornaments taking-off-they-were. Her-by it-was-said that, 'thou my
 ḍāginā kā utārē-chhē? Mō-kō Birbal-kē hā-sō ā-jān-dē;
 ornaments why art-taking-off? Me-to Birbal's here-from let-go-and-come;
 phir mērā sab ḍāginā utār-lē.' Chōr-nē kahyā, 'yā hī
 then my all ornaments take-off.' The-thieves-by it-was-said, 'she too
 bēs kaī-chhē.' Yēk chōr wāṭā baithā. Tin chōr gayē chōrī
 well said.' One thief there sat. Three thieves went theft
 karan-kū. Phir yā gāī Birbal-kē yahā. Birbal-nē us-kō
 committing-for. Then she went Birbal's here. Birbal-by her-as-to
 dēkhi-chhē. Palāṅg-par baithāī-chhē. Bāṭhā-kē apnē dīl-mē
 she-was-seen. A-bed-on she-was-made-to-sit. Seated-having his-own the-mind-in
 sōch karā kē, 'hadśāhā sāhnē-bī uttēhī chhē aur gawār-hī
 consideration was-made that, 'the-king wise-also that-much is and a-fool-also

uttehi chhē, kē apnī sēj-ki bāykō mērē yahā pathāi-chhē.
that-much is, because his-own bed-of wife my here sent-is.

Us-kō kahā, 'itnē din ō mērā bhāi rahā, ibbē tū
Her-to it-was-said, 'so-many days he my brother was, therefore thou
 bhān hui-chhē. Wō mērā bahinōi huwā. Wajir-nē
sister become-art. He my brother-in-law became. The-minister-by

us-kō lugdā āngī pahērā-chhē, aur achchhē bhāri pāch dāginē
her-to a-veil a-bodice was-put-on, and best valuable five ornaments
 diyē-chhē. kahā, 'bāi, tū jā.' Bāi rastē-sū chālī.
were-given, it-was-said, 'lady, thou go. The-lady the-street-by went.

Ek chōr rastā-mā bathā rahē. Us-kō bāi-nē kahī, 'mērē
One thief on-the-road seated was. Him-to the-lady-by it-was-said, 'my
 sab dāginē utār-lē. Mē-kō pāch dāginē jāstī milē-chhē.
all ornaments take-off. Me-to five ornaments more have-been-obtained.

Utti bāt-chūt hō-rahi-chhē tō tin chōr āyē-chhē. Un-kō
That-much conversation going-on-was then the-three thieves came. Them-to
 aisi chōrī mili-chhē kō sāt pidhī khayē tō
such a-theft was-obtained that seven generations if-they-eat then
 sarē-nā. Chōr-nē kahā kē, 'terā pāyraw
it-could-be-exhausted-not. The-thieves-by it-was-said that, 'thy footfall

bēs lāgā. Ham-kū chōrī khub mili-chhē Tō ham-sū
good has-been-proved. Us-to theft great obtained-was. Therefore us-from
 pāch dāginē lē-lē.' Chōr-nē pāch dāginē diyē-chhē. Phir
five ornaments take. The-thieves-by five ornaments given-were. Then
 bādśāhā-kē jōrē āi-chhē. Bādśāhā-nē dil-mē sōsā kē, 'dil
the-king-of near she-came. The-king-by mind-in it-was-thought that, 'the-heart

chār-mā kis-kā badā chhē?
the-four-among whose great is?

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

There was once a Prime Minister named Birbal, who had a son. The king, his master, also had a son. These two were great friends, and had all their thoughts and wishes in common, so they agreed that whichever of the two was married first should send his wife to the other's house. The king's son was the one that was first married, and the bride came home to the palace with great pomp. When the prince came to bed with her, he remembered his friend, and said to her, 'You must first go to Birbal's house. I must keep my promise.' So she started off for Birbal's house, carrying in her hand the five lustration lamps of her wedding night.

On the way she met four thieves, who straightway began to relieve her of all ornaments. Said she, 'Why are you taking off my ornaments? Let me first go to Birbal's house, and afterwards come back to you. Then you can take them.' The thieves approved of this suggestion, and left one of their number sitting there, while the other three went off to look for more booty.

So she went on to Birbal's house. Birbal,¹ as soon as he saw her, made her to sit upon a bed, and thought in his mind, 'The king is partly wise, and partly a fool; for he has sent here, to me, the wife of his own bed.' Then he said to her, 'For many days your husband has been my brother. Now I look upon you as my sister, and on him as my sister's husband.' Then he gave her a present of a handsome veil and a bodice, and of five valuable jewels, and told her to go home. So she went back by the way she had come, and found the thief sitting where she had left him.

'Now,' said she, 'take off all my ornaments. I have got five more than I had when you saw me last.' While they were talking the three other thieves came up. They had been so successful in their thefts that they had got booty sufficient to feed seven generations without being exhausted. They said, 'Your footsteps have brought us good luck. We have found enormous booty. So we will not take your ornaments. Please accept five more ornaments from us.' So they gave her five ornaments, and she returned to the king, and told him her adventures. The king wondered in his heart which among the four had shown the greatest nobility of character.

¹ The story is confused. It should be Birbal's son who acts as described. The king is also similarly confused with his son.

BĒLDĀRĪ.

Bēldār literally means one who works with the *bēl* or mattock. It is a general term for the aggregate of low Hindū tribes who make their living by earth work. The number of Bēldārs returned at the Census of 1911 was as follows :—

Bengal	9,294
Bihar and Orissa	88,912
Bombay	12,398
Central Provinces and Berar	25,616
United Provinces	39,035
Central India Agency	26,373
Elsewhere	3,787
Total	<u>205,420</u>

The majority of these Bēldārs probably speak the same dialect as their surroundings. According to Sir Herbert Risley the Bēldārs of Bihar and Western Bengal form a separate wandering caste of Dravidian origin. The same is perhaps also the case in some other districts. The word Bēldār is accordingly used in two different senses denoting sometimes a distinct caste, sometimes all low caste earth-workers. It is impossible to decide how many of the Bēldārs enumerated at the last Census in the various provinces belong to either group.

During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Bēldārī was returned from Rajputana, Berar and Bombay. The estimated numbers of speakers were as follows :—

Rajputana, Jaisalmir State	100
Berar—	
Amraoti	800
Ellichpur	500
Buldana	585
	<u>1,885</u>
Bombay Presidency—	
Thana	2,550
Satara	350
Satara Agency, State Aundh	15
State Phaltan	40
Kolhapur State	50
Southern Maratha Jaghirs	200
	<u>3,155</u>
Total	<u>5,140</u>

The returns of the last Census do not furnish us with materials for checking these figures.

Specimens of the so-called Bēldārī have been received from Ellichpur and Buldana, from the Jaisalmir State, and from the Ramdurg State. Though the dialect differs in the different districts, being more or less influenced by the prevailing

languages, there are some characteristic features which recur everywhere, and it is accordingly possible to speak of a separate dialect. Bēldārī is not, however, a fixed form of speech with consistent features. Like Ōḍkī it is a mixture. The prevailing elements are Marāṭhī and Eastern Rājasthānī. To the former language belongs forms such as the plurals *bēṭē*, sons (Ramdurg); *nāḍē*, tanks (Jaisalmir); *daṭa*, to a father (Buldana); *maṇṣān*, to a man (Ramdurg); *danāt*, in days (Ramdurg); the oblique bases in *ā* of weak nouns such as *dishā-sā*, from a direction (Jaisalmir); *utḥaṇḍ-panā-sē*, in riotousness (Ellichpur); the genitive termination *chā* in the Jaisalmir and Ramdurg specimens, the common termination *lā* of the past tense, and so forth. Rājasthānī elements are forms of strong bases such as *pōryā*, sons; *chhōṭō*, small (Ellichpur); *ghōṛō*, horse (Jaisalmir) (but also *kuttā*, dog; compare also *ghōṛē*, horses; *ghōṛiyā*, mares); the dative suffixes *-āḍ* (Amraoti, Ramdurg, Jaisalmir); *-āḍ*, *sāḍ* (Jaisalmir); *-kā* (Buldana) and *-ka* (Ellichpur); compare Mālvi *-nē*, *-kē*, *-kē*; the genitive suffix *-kō*, *-kā*, *-kī* (Ellichpur, Buldana); compare Mēwātī, Jaipurī and Mālvi *-kō*, *-kī*; the ablative suffixes *-sē* and *-sā*; compare Mālvi *-sē*, *-sā*; the past tense in *yō*, *ō*, which is used side by side with forms in *-lā*; forms such as *marā*, I die; *kahā*, I may say (Ellichpur); *marē-hā*, I am dying (Jaisalmir); *kahā*, I shall say (Buldana) and so forth.

It would also be possible to compare some of the *l*-forms of the past with Ōṛiyā, and the common *mōr*, *mōra*, my, mine, seems connected with forms in Eastern languages. It is accordingly likely that there is also an admixture of Eastern vernaculars. The chief components of Bēldārī are, however, of the same kind as in Ōḍkī. With that form of speech there are also other points of agreement; thus the pronoun *tadā*, thy; conjunctive participles such as *kartī*, having done, and so forth. Note the curious form *mērē-ka*, me, an idiom frequent in Dakhinī Hindōsthānī, and also finding parallels in Eastern languages, as in the Bihārī *hamarā-kē*, with the same meaning.

It would, however, be waste of time and paper to go further into details. The general character of this mixed form of speech will be sufficiently apparent from the specimens which follow. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable from Ellichpur. It will be seen that the Rājasthānī element is rather strong in the Bēldārī of Ellichpur.

[No. 5.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDARI.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Ek admi-kē dō pōryā bhayē. Ō-mē-kō chhōtō pōryā hāpē
One man-of two sons were. Them-in-of younger by-son father-to
 kahyē, 'dādā, jē jingī-kō hisā āyē, ō mōhē dē.
it-was-said, 'father, which property-of share comes, that me give.'
 Phir ō-na sampat bāt-kē dī. Phir thōdē dīn-mē chhōtō
Then him-by property dividing was-given. Then few days-in small
 pōryā sab jamā kar-kē dār dēs-mē gayō, whā ō-nē
son all together having-made far country-in went, there him-by
 uthandpanā-sē aplō paisā udā dīyō. Ō-nē sab kharchē-par
riotousness-in own money wasting was-given. Him-by all spent-on
 ōnē mulak-mē bahōt dukāl paḍō, ō-nē paisā-kī adchan padan
that country-in much famine fell, him-to money-of went to-felt
 lagi. Phir ōnē dēs-kē ek griha-kē jōrē jā-kē
began. Then that country-of one householder-of near having-gone
 rahyō, ō-nē ohē āpnē khēt-mē dukar charā-nē bhējō. Tab
stayed, him-by him own fields-in swine feeding-for was-sent. Then
 dukar jō tarphal khāt hōē, ō-sē āpnā pēt bhar-nō,
swine which husks eating were, those-from own belly should-be-filled,
 asi ō-kē man-mē āi; ō-nē kachhu kōhī dīdā nahī.
thus his mind-in came; him-to anything by-anyone was-given not.
 Phir ō sud-par ān-kē bōlō, 'mōrē bap-kī kittē rōjdār-ku.
Then he sense-in having-come said, 'my father-of how-many servants-to
 bharpār rōṭī hai, aur mī bhūk-sē marū. Mē uth-kē āpnē
richly bread is, and I hunger-from die. I having-arisen own
 bāp-kē itē jāū aur ohē kahū, "ō dādā, mē dēw-kē
father-of near may-go and to-him may-say, "O father, by-me God-of
 jōrē aur tōrē dēkhat pāp karē. Abhī-sē tōrā pōryā kahē
near and thy in-sight sin was-done. Now-from thy son to-say
 lāyak mī nahīyā, Ek mahindār sarikō mērē-ku rakh."
worthy I not-am. One servant like me keep."

The next specimen hails from Buldana. It is of the same kind as the preceding. It is not a good specimen, and the noting down of the different sounds does not seem to be quite accurate. I give the text as I have received it.

[No. 6.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDARI.

DISTRICT BULDANA.

Kōn ēk duhī lāwdā hōtā. Dunun-mē-sē lahanā
Some one(-of) two sons were. Both-in-from by-younger-one
 daūs kahlā, 'daū, mōrē hissā-ki jingī ma-kē dē.
father-to it-was-said, 'father, my share-of property me-to give.
 Mhanūn daū-na jingī dunun-kē bāt di. Thōra din-mē
Therefore father-by property both-to dividing was-given. Few days-in
 lahanā āpli jingī lē-kan dusrē gāw-pē gēla. Yā-sē
small-one own property having-taken other village-to went. This-from
 gēla āpna jingī chain-so udāl. Yē riti-sē paisa
went own property merry-making-in was-wasted. This way-in money
 chain-mē udāl, māng baḍā kāl girā. Kāl girā
merry-making-in were-wasted, afterwards big famine fell. Famine fell
 mhanjē pañchāl girā. Khāē-kē māng jāy-kūn dusrē-kē
then difficulty fell. Eating-for begging having-gone another-of
 gharē raha. Wō-nē ḍukhar rākhē-kē dhari. Wō-kē gharē
in-house remained. Him-by swine tending-for was-kept. His in-house
 kōṇḍā ḍukhar-kā khāēl u-ch āpnā kōṇḍā khāēl dēl tar pēt
husks swine-of ate that-even him-by husks ate gave then belly
 bharēl; wuhī ō-nē dūl nahī. Yē-lartā ākh ughaḍ gayī.
filled; that-even him-to was-given not. This-for eyes opened went,
 tab āpnē-kē kah lagā, 'āpna daū-kē jōḍ naukar paisā
then himself-to to-say began, 'own father-of near servants money
 ur-kan purī, mī yāsā upāsī marna. Ab jā-kan
being-to-spare was-filled, I this-like by-hunger die. Now having-gone
 daū-kē kahus, "daū, dēw-kā tōra aprādh fār mē-nē karā.
father-to will-say, "father, God-of of-thee sin much me-by was-done.
 Mī tōra lāwdā hōy-kan lēā-kā dayā nihē. Tē āpnā majur
I thy son having-become taking-of mercy not. Thou own servant
 sarkhā bagā." 'Asē vichār kar-kan āpnē daū-kē attē
like consider." 'So consideration made-having own father-of near
 āla. Wō ātā-ch dūr-sē daū-nē dekhe; wō-kē dayā āil,
came. He coming far-from father-by was-seen; him-to mercy came,
 āpnē lāwdā-kē garē-mē hāt ḍālī, wō-nē mukā lāi.
own son-of neck-on hands were-thrown, him-by kisses were-taken.

Lāwdā dāū-kē kahyālā, 'dāū, mē-nē dēw-kā tōra badā aprādh
 Son father-to said, 'father, me-by God-of of-thee great sin
 karē. Ab tōra lāwdā āē-kē mōra dayā nahī.' Dāū-nē
 was-made. Now thy son come-to my mercy not.' Father-by
 uttam pōshāk lāwdā-kē āng-pē, hāth-mē āngthī, pāw-mē panhī dāri.
 best robe son-of body-on, hand-on ring, foot-on shoes were-put.
 Āpnē chākar-sē kahī, āndī kahyālā, 'āj āpan
 Oen servants-to having-said, also said, 'to-day we
 khāē-piā-kē chāin karē; kōran āj mōra lāwdā
 having-eaten-and-drunk merriment may-make; because to-day my son
 marēl, asē samjat rahēl, wō āj parat āla; ih wō āj
 died, thus thinking I-was, he to-day back came; and he to-day
 gēla, tē sāpaḷla.' Mhanūn sab ānand karē lagē.
 went, he was-found.' Then all joy to-make began.

Specimens have also been received from the Jaisalmir State, and two of them will be printed below. The first is a song sung by Beldārs in the rainy season; the second a hymn which they recite in the early mornings and especially at the Holi festival. The Beldāri of Jaisalmir is of the same kind as that illustrated in the preceding pages. Forms such as *mānsū-chē*, of a man; *dēsī-chē*, of a country; *Rāmā-chē*, of God; *kuttā*, a dog, occur in other Jaisalmir specimens. The general nature of the Beldāri of the State is, however, well illustrated by the two short specimens which follow.

[No. 7.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDARĪ.

STATE JAISALMER.

SPECIMEN I.

Kalōri kalhyān umatti, ālā mhi, bharlē nādē nāḍiyē bharlē
Black clouds overhanging, came rain, filled tanks small-tanks filled
 Bhīm talāw.
Bhīm tank.

Sātā sēliā-chē jhūlrē gēli pāni talāw : sāt sahiā pūthi
Seven female-friends-of in-company went water tank ; seven friends back
 bharti gēli, hēkalrī rēli talāw.
having-filled went, alone remained (at-)the-tank.

Pachchham dīshā-sū ōthi ālā.
Western direction-from camel-rider came.

‘Bijō sahiā rē kājāl tihhiā, tudē kē bringē
Other to-friends O collyrium forehead-ornaments, thy why dirty

bēsh ?
dress ?

‘Bijā-jē sāhabē gharē basī, mājō basē pardēs.
Others-of husbands in-house dwell, mine dwell abroad.

‘Gharā patak-dē talā-mā, ā māchi lārō.
Pots throw tank-in, come of-me with.

‘Bālā-jālā tudī jāhān, mācē nākhā sēmpī lūp.
I-may-burn thy tongue, in-it I-may-put Sambhar salt.

‘Hak ōthi manā kahē, mārī sāsū-jī ō-lō, “ā-jā māchi
One camel-rider me-to said, my mother-in-law O, “come of-me

lār.” ‘Kō sarikā phūṭrā, kē-chē unīār ?
with.” ‘What like beautiful, whose features ?

‘Māchē dēwar sarikā phūṭrā, māchi nandal-chē unīār.
My brother-in-law like beautiful, my husband's-sister-of features.

‘Bālā-jālā tudī jīḷī, tudā parṇō-rā bhartār.
I-may-burn thy tongue, thy married husband.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Dark clouds have been overhanging, and the rain has come. Tanks and reservoirs and also the Bhīm tank are filled.

A woman went with seven friends to fetch water from the tank. The seven friends returned home after having filled their pots, and she remained alone at the tank.

Meanwhile a man riding on a camel arrived from the west and said to her:—

'The other girls have put collyrium in their eyes and ornaments on their foreheads. Why is your dress dirty?'

(She replied—)

'The other ones have got their husbands at home, but mine is abroad.'

(Then he said—)

'Throw the water pot into the tank, and come along with me.'

(She replied—)

'I shall burn your tongue and put Sambhar salt on it.'

(She then returned home and said to her mother-in-law—)

'A camel *sāwār* said to me, O mother-in-law, "come along with me."'

(The mother-in-law asked—)

'How did he look and what were his features like?'

(She replied—)

'He had the beauty of my brother-in-law and the features of my husband's sister.'

(On this the mother-in-law rebuked her and said—)

'I shall burn your tongue, he was thy own husband.'

[No. 8.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BĒLDĀRĪ.

STATE JAISALMER.

SPECIMEN II.

Har	uth	milti-kē	Bharat	bhāū,	Har	ālā		
<i>Hari</i>	<i>having-arisen</i>	<i>having-embraced</i>	<i>Bharata</i>	<i>brother,</i>	<i>Hari</i>	<i>came</i>		
uth	milti-kē.							
<i>having-arisen</i>	<i>having-embraced,</i>							
Bāh	pasārti	millē	dun	bhāū,	nēnā-mā	nir	ralakti	
<i>Arms</i>	<i>having-extended</i>	<i>embraced</i>	<i>both</i>	<i>brothers,</i>	<i>eyes-in</i>	<i>water</i>	<i>rolling</i>	
ālā.								
<i>came.</i>								
'Kē	nī	rē	bhāū	ban-khaṇḍa-chyā	bātā,	kēṛi	kēṛi	bipat
<i>'Says</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>brother</i>	<i>woods-of</i>	<i>tales,</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>mishap</i>
bhugattī	ālā.							
<i>having-suffered</i>	<i>camest.'</i>							
'Ban	phal	khāēlā	pān	bichhūēlā,	ēṛi	ēṛi	bipat	
<i>'Forest</i>	<i>fruits</i>	<i>were-eaten</i>	<i>leaves</i>	<i>were-spread,</i>	<i>such</i>	<i>such</i>	<i>mishap</i>	
bhugattī	ālā.							
<i>having-suffered</i>	<i>came.'</i>							

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Having arisen, Rāma came, embracing his brother Bharata. Rāma came, having arisen, and embraced him.

Having extended their arms both brothers embraced, and their eyes filled with tears.

(Bharata asked): 'Will you not relate, O brother, the tales of the forest; what kind of troubles you had to undergo?'

(Rāma said): 'The fruits of the forest I ate, and the leaves of the forest I used as bed. Such troubles have I endured.'

The Bēldārī of the Ramdurg State seems to be of a similar kind, though the Marāṭhī element is somewhat stronger. It will be sufficient to print the beginning of a version of the Parable as illustration.

[No. 9.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BĒLDĀRI.

STATE RAMBURG.

Ekē bā-nē dōn bētē hilall. Vē-chī nēnkē bētē-nē bā-nē
One father-to two sons were. Them-of younger son-by father-to
 kēlē, 'jīgānī-ma mana bātñi da.' Dō-janī bētēyān bātñi
it-was-said, 'property-in me-to share give.' Two-persons sons-to shares
 karti dili. Kai-ēk danūt nēnkā-nē sagli jindgi hilili
making were-given. Some days-in younger-one-by all property was
 gitī lambē mulkān gēlā. Uda jāti manān wātal jō-pār
having-taken far country-to went. There going mind-to appeared as-far
 dain kēli. Uda jāti kāl padlā. Vēn kharchan nahī,
wasting was-done. There going famine fell. Him-to to-spend was-not,
 mōt chintam padlā. Vē mulkā-mē ēkē mānsān jāti vē mānsāē
great anxiety fell. That country-in one man-to going that man-by
 yēn malkī gitī vē mānsā-nē dukrē rākhnē-nā mēllā. Vē
him appointing taking that man-by swine keeping-for was-sent. That
 baktān vēn dukar khānyā-chō jinnas-jōku dēkhun milal nahī.
time-at him-to swine eaten husks even was-got not.

ÔDKI.

The Ôds are a wandering tribe who are found all over India. In Kathiawar they are pond diggers; in the Panjab they take small contracts on roads, canals, railways, and the like, and also build houses and dig tanks or wells. In Mathura they weave coarse cloth. In the South they cut out stones from the earth, convey them on their carts to where they are wanted, dig tanks and wells and so on. The number of Ôds returned at the Census of 1911 was 610,162 distributed as follows:—

Madras	550,100
Panjab	32,246
United Provinces	9,071
Rajputana Agency	7,839
Elsewhere	10,897
TOTAL	610,162

The root meaning of the word *ôd* is uncertain. In the South it takes the form *odda*, and the Rev. F. Kittel compares Telugu *odde*, drudgery, *oddevāṇṭla*, tank diggers. As most Ôds belong to the South, it is very probable that the word is originally Dravidian, and connected with the name of the Vadaras.

The majority of the Ôds, or about 600,000, are found in South India and are stated to speak a patois of Telugu. We have not sufficient information about the dialect of the remaining Ôds. As a separate form of speech it has only been returned from Muzaffargarh in the Panjab, and from Cutch, Panch Mahals, Hyderabad and Thar and Parkar in the Bombay Presidency. The estimated number of speakers according to information collected for the purposes of this Survey was:—

Panjab	514
Muzaffargarh	514
Bombay Presidency	2,300
Cutch	250
Panch Mahals	50
Hyderabad	1,500
Thar and Parkar	500
TOTAL	2,514

Specimens of Ôdkî have, however, also been forwarded from the Dhandhuka town in Ahmedabad District (in Bombay), and a list of words hailing from Shikarpur (in the Panjab), which will not be reproduced below, shows that the Ôds of that district speak the same language as their namesakes farther south. If we except the Dravidian South it is therefore probable that Mr. Baines was right in stating¹ that 'the earth-workers called Od or Waddar carry a language of their own from Peshawar to the sea, using a vocabulary less and less Dravidian as the tribe frequents tracts farther away from the East Deccan, from whence it probably originated.' The Ôds were probably from the

¹ Census of India, 1891. General Report. London, 1893, p. 137.

beginning Dravidians and spoke a form of Telugu. Later on, we are not able to say when, a comparatively numerous section seems to have spent a considerable time in a locality where the prevailing languages were Marāṭhī, Gujarāṭī and Rājasthānī. It is of interest to note that the Ôḍs of Northern India are only found in the west, from the United Provinces to Sind. So far as we know their language everywhere contains a strong Marāṭhī element, and it seems likely that their North Indian home must have been in North-Western Dekhan. According to the returns at the Census of 1901,¹ their distribution in the Bombay Presidency was as follows :—

Ahmedabad	1,206
Broach	715
Kaira	805
Panch Mahals	461
Surat	53
Cambay	200
Cutch	188
Kathiawar	959
Mahikandho	106
Palaupur	491
Rewa Kantha	385
Karachi	201
Hyderabad	1,549
Shikarpur	1,338
Thar and Parkar	1,449
Upper Sind Frontier	127
Kharipur	278
Total	10,571

It will be seen that the Ôḍs were practically restricted to districts where Gujarāṭī and Sindhī are the prevailing languages. The existence of a strong Marāṭhī element in Ôḍkī can only be explained under the supposition that these Ôḍs have come from some place farther east, say in the hills bordering the Marāṭhī area. Such a localisation would also agree with the fact that the Ôḍs of Southern India speak Telugu.

The specimens of Ôḍkī printed below, and the Standard List of Words and Sentences on pp. 178ff. will give a good idea of the nature of the Marāṭhī affinities. It will be seen that it is a mixed form of speech containing elements taken from different sources. As in the case of the Gipsy language of Europe these elements are important as showing the route by which the tribe must have wandered. They are, however, to a great extent so perspicuous that it is unnecessary to enter upon a detailed discussion. It will be sufficient to draw attention to some of the most important features. The Marāṭhī element is particularly strong. Thus the neuter of strong bases ends in *ē* or *ē̃* as in Marāṭhī; compare *talē*, tank; *kēlē*, it was said. Strong masculine bases end in *ā*, plural *ē*; thus, *ghōrā*, horse; *ghōrē*, horses. Note also the oblique bases in *ā* of weak and *ē* of strong masculine bases, and in *i* of feminine bases; thus, *dēsā-mā*, in a country; *lerkē-chē*, of a man; *malakāi-chā*, of the property. The termination *chā*, *chī*, *chē* of the genitive is important. The same is the case with the termination *lā* of the past tense of verbs; thus, *gētā*, went; *mōrlā*, struck. Compare further the imperative plural in *ā*; thus, *āwā*, come; the infinitives in *ē̃* and *pē̃*; thus, *kēhē̃*, to say; *mārē̃*, to strike, and so forth. Such forms are found in all the specimens,

¹ No similar return is available for 1911.

and they gain in importance when we remember that they all hail from districts where Marāṭhī is not a home tongue of the population.

Several of the usual terminations in Ōḍkī do not agree with Marāṭhī but with Gujarātī and Rājasthānī. Such are the suffixes *ē* of the agent and *ne* of the dative, both of which are also found in Mālvi; the ablative in *ti*; the locative in *mā*; forms such as *hē*, I (compare Gujarātī, Mālvi and Mārwarī *hē*); *chhē*, *sē* and *hē*, is; the conjunctive participle is *inē* (Gujarātī *inē*) and so forth. The Gujarātī element is strongest in Gujarātī districts such as the Panch Mahals and Ahmedabad, but is also apparent in other districts.

Features borrowed from languages other than Marāṭhī and Gujarātī have more of a local character. The locative termination *māy*, which is prevalent in Mārwarī is, however, common in the Ahmedabad District, where Gujarātī is the chief language. Of such local borrowings I may mention the common cerebralisation of a *ḡ* in Cutch and in the districts of Hyderabad, Thar and Parkar, Shikarpur and Muzaffargarh; the Pañjābī dative termination *aḡ* in the same districts with the exception of Cutch, and other sporadic instances of borrowings from the local dialects. They will be easily ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable from the Panch Mahals. It represents a dialect which can be characterized as Gujarātī with a Marāṭhī substructure.

[No. 10.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

OPKL.

DISTRICT PANCH MAHALS.

Ek guchi-nē dōn chhōydē salē. Nē dhāyde chhōydē bāp-nē
One man-to two sons were. And the-younger-by son-by father-to
 kēlē kē, 'bāpē, puñjiyā bhāg amō-nē dē.' Nē ōnē
it-was-said that, 'father, property-of share me-to give.' And by-him
 puñji wahēchti dēli. Nē thōdēk dan pachhi dhāyda
property having-divided was-given. And few days after the-younger
 chhōyda badhē gētīnē dūr dēhā-mā gēlā nē padē
son all having-collected a-far country-into went and there
 rang-bhōg kartīnē pōtāchī puñji udadti dēli.
pleasure-and-enjoyment having-made his-own property having-wasted was-given.
 Nē ōnē badhē kharachti nākhlē tyār-pachhi ō dēhā-mē
And by-him all having-expended was-thrown then-after that country-in
 mōtē dukāl padlā nē ōnē badi tankāl padwā lāgli. Nē ō
great famine fell and him-to great want to-fall began. And he
 jātīnē ō dēhā-chē wartanī-mā-chē ēkā-chē padē rēhlā.
having-gone that country-of inhabitants-in-of one-of near remained.
 Nē ōnē pōtā-chē khētrā-mē bhūḍōnē chārle-sāru ōnē mōkallā. Nē
And by-him his-own fields-in swine grazing-for him was-sent. And
 jō siogā bhūḍā khātīgē ō-mā-thī pōtā-chē pēt bharle-sāru ōnī
which husks swine were-eating that-in-from his-own belly filling-for his
 ichēhā salt. Nē kēnī ōnē dēlē nahī. Nē ō sāwchit
wish was. And by-anyone him-to was-given not. And he in-sense
 halā tyārē ōnē kēlē kē, 'māchē bā-chē katnē majurō-nē
became then by-him it-was-said that, 'my father-of how-many servants-to
 pushkal badā chhē; paṇ hē-tō bhakhē marē-chhē; hē-tō uṭhīnē
plenty bread is; but I-indeed hunger-by dying-am; I having-arisen
 māchē bā-chē padē jāi, nē ōnē kahī kē, "hē bā,
my father-of near will-go, and him-to will-say that, "O father,
 mē akāśā-mē nē tadhi āgaḷ pāp karlē chhē; nē hē-mē tam-chā
by-me heaven-in and of-thee before sin done is; and this-in your
 chhōyda kēlē lāg hē nī-thā; mā-nē tum-chē majurō-mā-chē ēkā-chē
son to-be-called fit I not-am; me your servants-in-of one-of
 jāśā gaṇ." Nē ō uṭhīnē pōtā-chē bā-chē padē gēlā. Nē ō
like count." And he having-arisen his-own father-of near went. And he

tò ghanē dūr salā tyārē ō-chē bā-ē onē dēkhilā nē ō-nē
yet very far was then his father-by him-to was-seen and him-to
diyā āli. Nē ō dōṭṭinē ō-chī kōṭī walagti padlā, nē
compassion came. And he having-run his on-neck clinging fell, and
ō-nē bachī karli. Nē chhōyḍē-nē ō-nē kēlē kē, 'bā,
him-to kiss was-done. And the-son-by him-to it-was-said that, 'father,
mē akāśā-mē nē tadhī āga| pāp karlē chhē; nē hē-mē tam-chā
by-me heaven-in and of-thee before sin done is; and this-in your
chhōyḍā kēlē lāg hē nī-thā.' Paṇ bā-ē pōṭā-chē
son to-be-called fit I not-am.' But the-father-by his-own
dāsā-nē kēlē kē, 'awa| ḍyṇā gōṭī āwā nē
servants-to it-was-said that, 'good clothes having-taken come and
ō-nē andhāwā, nē ō-chē hāthē vītī ghālā, nē pagā-mē
him-to put-on, and his on-hand a-ring put, and feet-on
jōḍē andhāwā. Nē āpu khātīnē anand karjē;
shoes put. And we having-eaten merriment may-make;
kāy-kē, ā mā-chā chhōyḍā martī gēlā, nē sō phartī jīvā
because, this my son having-died went, and he again alive
halā chhē; nē gamātī gēlālā, nē ō jadlā chhē.' Nē ō
become is; and lost had-gone, and he found is.' And they
anand karu lāglē.
merriment to-do began.

Anē ō-chā mōṭāch chhōyḍā khātrā-mē salā. Nē ō wājā
And his elder son fields-in was. And he returning
gharā-chī pāhē pahōchlā tyārē ō-nē nāch nē raṅg hāmbharlā.
house-of near reached then him-by dancing and music was-heard.
Nē ō-nē chākrā-mē-thī ēki-nē balāwatīnē puchhlē kē, 'kāy
And him-by servants-in-from one-to having-called it-was-asked that, 'what
hōya chhē?' Nē ō-nē chākrā-nē kēlē kē, 'tadhā
becoming is?' And him-to the-servant-by it-was-said that, 'thy
bhāu ālā chhē. Nē tadhē bā-ē ēk baḍī jāfat karli chhē,
brother come is. And thy father-by one grand feast made is,
kāy-kē ō onē khēm-kuśal-thī puṭhā mallā chhē.' Paṇ ō-nē
because he him-to in-good-condition back joined is.' But him-to
ris chadlī nē māhī ālē-chī ō-chī khuśī nā salī. Mātē
anger rose and inside going-of his willingness not was. Therefore
ō-chē bā-ē bahār āwtīnē ō-nē samjāwlā. Paṇ ō-nē
his father-by out having-come him remonstrated-with. But him-by
jawāb dētā bāp-nē kēlē kē, 'dēkh atnē waras hē
reply while-giving father-to it-was-said that, 'see so-many years I

tadhi	chākri	karē	chhē,	nē	tadhi	āgnā	mē	kadi
thy	service	doing	am,	and	thy	commandment	by-me	ever
ōjaṅgī		na-thī,	tō-pan	mā-chē	mitrawā-sāthē	khuśi	karīō	
transgressed		not-was,	still	my	friends-with	pleasure	making	
wāstē	tē	ma-nē	hākrē	pan	kadi	dēlē	nī-thē.	Paṇ
for	by-thee	me-to	a-kid	even	ever	given	not-was.	But
ā	tadhā	chhōyḍā	ōṇī	tadhi	puṇjī	kasabēṇō-che	hāthī	
this	thy	son	by-him	thy	property	harlots-of	with	
gamātī		nākhī	ōnā	āwtā	tē	ō-chī-sāru	awaḷ	
squandering		was-thrown-away	he	coming	by-thee	him-for	good	
ījūfat	karī.	Nē	ōṇī	kēlē	kē,	chhōyḍā,		
a-feast	was-done.	And	by-him	it-was-said	that,	son,		
tū	māchī-sāthē	nity	chhē ;	nē	māchē	saghlē	tadhē	
thou	me-of-with	always	art ;	and	my	all	thine	
chhē.	Āplē-tō	khuś	anē	nālḷē	tathā	harakh		
is.	Our-indeed	pleased	to-become	is-proper	and	merriment		
karnā	nālḷē.	Kāy-kē	ā	tadhā	bhāu	martī		
to-make	is-proper.	Because	this	thy	brother	having-died		
gēlālā,	nē	pharātī	jīwtā	halā	chhē ;	nē	gamātī	
was-gone,	and	again	alive	become	is ;	and	lost	
gēlālā,	nē	ō	jadlā	chhē.				
was-gone,	and	he	found	is.				

The next specimen is a popular tale about Jāsmā who, according to the Rās Mālā,¹ came from Malwa with a number of Ōḍis in order to dig the Sahasralīng Lake at Patan for Siddh Rāj. The Rājā fell in love with her, but she declined his offer. When he pursued her, she committed suicide and cursed him. She is still worshipped by the Ōḍis.

The specimen is of the same kind as the preceding one.

¹ Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, I. 111B.

[No. II.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ODKI.

DISTRICT AHMEDABAD.

Sadrāō Jēsaṅgē Jāhmā-nē asē kēlē kē, 'ēk danā-māy talē
Siddhrāō Jaisingh-by Jāsmā-to so it-was-said that, 'one day-in tank
 khantīnē pāṇiyā-thī rāt-kī-rātī-māy talē bhar-dē.' Jāhmāē asē kēlē
having-dug water-with one-night-in tank fill-give.' Jāsmā-by so it-was-said
 kē, 'tījē dan bhar dañ.' Pachhē Jāhmā Kūwarkī pāhān
that, 'on-third day fill will-give.' Afterwards Jāsmā Virgin near
 gēli, hāth jōdtīnē kargarī kē, 'bāi, hāy atnī kastī tū
went, hands having-joined besought that, 'lady, this so-great misery thou
 ma-nē khōwād.' Kūwarkīē kēlē kē, 'hī āvī, paṇ
me cause-to-loose.' Virgin-by it-was-said that, 'I shall-come, but
 puṭhē waltīnē dēkhiō nahī.' Kūwarkīē dan ugtā talē
backwards having-turned please-look not.' Virgin-by day opening tank
 bhar dēlē. Pachhē Sadrāō Jāhmā pāhān ālā nē Jāhmā
filling was-given. Afterwards Siddhrāō Jāsmā near came and to-Jāsmā
 bhēgā halā. Jāhmāē anū kēlē kē, 'tū tadhā māp-sar
joined became. Jāsmā-by thus it-was-said that, 'thou thy measure-following
 puṭhā wal.' Sadrāwō asē kēlē kē, 'hī tadhā kēdā mēlnār
back turn.' Siddhrāō-by thus it-was-said that, 'I thy way leave
 nītā.' Tārē bāiē dhartī mātā-nē asē kēlē kē, 'hē
not-am.' Then the-woman-by Earth Mother-to thus it-was-said that, 'O
 mā, hī satī hōy, tō tū bhēgī mā jā.' Dhartī bhēgi
mother, I chaste am, then thou together joined go.' Earth together
 hall. Tō Sadrāō rād khēchū māḍlā. Pachhē Sadrāō bōllā
become. Then Siddhrāō cry to-raise began. Afterwards Siddhrāō said
 kē, 'tū māchhī bāṇ chhē.' Jāhmā bōlli kē, 'tadhā ganā māf
that, 'thou my sister is.' Jāsmā said that, 'thy sin forgiven
 chhē; paṇ tadhā wāsvēlā nai rē.' Pachhē Jāhmā
is; but thy offspring not remains.' Afterwards Jāsmā
 Khalikhōlwādē āwtīnē badhē oḍā-nē māllī. Pachhē o
to-Khalikhōlwād having-come all Oḍs-to was-joined. Afterwards that
 bāi huraj-nē hāth jōdtīnē asē bōlli kē, 'mē tō māchē
woman sun-to hands having-joined so said that, 'by-me for-my-part mine
 narvēdlē, paṇ māchī tachelī āgālī jētnē rūp kōi oḍā-chī dhūvē-nē
is-done-with, but my last on-finger as-much beauty any Oḍ-of girl-to
 nā dīō.
not give.'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Siddhrāj Jaisingh said to Jāsmā, 'dig a tank in one day and fill it with water during the night.' She said that she would be able to do so on the third day. Then Jāsmā went to the Virgin River¹ and besought her with folded hands to free her from this great distress. The Virgin said, 'I shall come, but you must not look behind.' At daybreak the Virgin filled the tank. Then Siddhrāo came to Jāsmā and joined her. Jāsmā asked him to turn back, in accordance with his position, but Siddhrāo said that he would not desist from pursuing her. Then the woman said to Mother Earth, 'O mother, if I am a chaste woman, let me be united with you.' Then the Earth came close to her. Siddhrāo raised a cry and said, 'thou art my sister.' Jāsmā said, 'thy sin is forgiven, but thy progeny shall not remain.' Then Jāsmā went to Khalikholwad² and joined the Ōḍṣ. Afterwards she joined her hands and said to the Sun, 'I have done with life, but do not grant to any Ōḍ girl as much beauty as there is on my last finger.'

According to specimens forwarded from the Cutch State the Ōḍṣ there use a form of speech of the same kind as that illustrated in the preceding pages. We may only note the frequent cerebralisation of a dental *d*; thus, *dēwā*, give; *dāḍi*, grandmother; *ḍi*, day.

¹ A name of the river Sarasvatī, which is so called because its water is lost in the desert and does not join the Ocean.

² A village near Modhera, where Jāsmā's shrine is still worshipped by the Ōḍṣ.

[No. 12.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

OPKI.

CUTCH STATE.

‘Āwā, bēśā, Rām-Rām. Tamē kathē-thi āwā sawā?’

‘Come, sit, Rām-Rām. You where-from come are?’

‘Hē Chaprēri-ti āvē sē.’

‘I Chaprēri-from coming am.’

‘Warsāti-mē tamī ghaṇā hērān halē sawā. Tamā sārū

‘Rain-in you much troubled become are. You for

sigri karū? Thōri wār tāphā tō tamō-nē

fire shall-I-make? Little time you-will-warm-yourself then you-to

sukh havi. Tamā sārū kāi rasōi karāvē?’

comfort will-be. You for what meal may-I-cause-to-be-made?’

‘Mācelē i tṇē kāi khāwō naitē.’

‘Me-of this time anything to-eat not-is(-wanted).’

‘Sāw kāi khālē vigar chālē? Thōrē ghaṇē jū

‘Entirely anything eaten without can-it-do? Little much what

bhāvē sū khāwā.

may-please that eat.’

‘I-mā tō mā-nē tras lāgli sē. Pānī pīwū

‘This-in indeed me-to thirst joined is. Water to-drink

dēwā.

give.’

‘Tam-chē lūgrē thōrik wār tīkē sūkwū mēlē?’

‘Your clothes a-little time in-the-sun to-dry may-I-put?’

‘Bhalē, mēlā.’

‘Well, put.’

‘Tamā sārū kāi rasōi karāvē?’

‘You for what meal may-I-cause-to-be-made?’

‘Mē tamā-nē kēlē sē kē bhūkh nāi lāgli.’

‘By-me you-to said is that hunger not is-got.’

‘Thōrik khichri nē bār khātī ghōwā.’

‘Little khichri and bread eating take.’

‘Tam-chī marji sē ta bhalē, karāwā.’

‘You-of wish is then well, let-it-be-prepared.’

‘Tam-chē gharē badhē-y rāji-khusi sī?’

‘Your in-house all happy-glad are?’

'badhē-y thīk si, paṇ māchi dādī parimā
'All well are, but my grandmother the-day-before-yesterday
 marti gēli.
dying went.'

'Tē-nē kāi halēlē?'
'Her-to what had-happened?'

'Chār di tāw ālā.
'Four days fever came.'

'Tam-chē khētrā-mā mōl kisēk halē sī?
'Your field-in crops how become are?'

'Ōy warsād jhājhā halā naitā, tē-thi jhājhē halē naitē.
'This-year rain much became not, that-from much became not.'

'Tā dhagā-chē kitrō nāpē dilē?
'These bullocks-of how-much money was-given?'

'Ma-nē sārē chār sō kōriā bēslā.
'Me-to with-a-half four hundred kōris were-expended.'

'Tē dhagē tamī vēchā?
'These bullocks you will-sell?'

'Pūrē nāpē dēwā tō vēchīnē.
'Enough money will-give then I-shall-sell.'

'Tamā-nē hē tin sō kōriā diē.
'You-to I three hundred kōris may-give.'

'Tin sō kōriā-mā kāi vēchāy?
'Three hundred kōris-in what can-they-be-sold?'

'Hē jāpē sē kē dhagē mōtē sī.
'I knowing am that bullocks old are.'

Sū itri kimat
That so-much price

ghaṇi sē.
much is.'

'Tam-chī dhūi-chā viwā kiē mainē-mē karā?
'Your daughter-of marriage which month-in will-you-do?'

'Māchi dādī-chī warsi warti raigē tē wāsē
'My grandmother's anniversary over will-be that after

karī?
I-shall-do?'

'Āj-chī rāt am-chē gharē nuṭī rēwā.
'Today-of night our in-house sleeping remain.'

'Nā, māchē sāji Dharaṅ pōchnē sē.
'No, mine to-night Dharang coming is.'

'Pachhē-warī kē dī am-chē gharē āwjā.
'Again some day our to-house come.'

'Khāsē, Rām-Rām, i-mā hē jāi.'
 'Well, Rām-Rām, now I will-go.'
 'Tam-chē gharē badhā-nē Rām-Rām kējā.'
 'Your in-house all-to Rām-Rām say.'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

'Come and take a seat. Welcome. Whence are you coming?'
 'I am coming from Chapreri.'
 'You must have been much troubled by the rain. Shall I make a fire for you? If you will warm yourself for a time, you will feel comfortable. What food may I order for you?'
 'I do not now want any food.'
 'It won't do that you should not take any food. Take only as much as you like.'
 'Just now I am thirsty. Give me water to drink.'
 'Shall I put your clothes a little while in the sun to dry?'
 'Yes, if you please.'
 'What food shall I order to be prepared for you?'
 'I have told you that I am not hungry.'
 'Just take a little *kāichri* and bread.'
 'If that be your wish, get it prepared.'
 'Are all well in your house?'
 'All are well, only my grandmother died the day before yesterday.'
 'What was the matter with her?'
 'She had fever for four days.'
 'How are the crops in your field?'
 'There was not much rain this year, and so I have not got much.'
 'What did you pay for these bullocks?'
 'I paid four hundred and fifty *kōris*.'
 'Will you sell these bullocks?'
 'I will if you give a good price.'
 'I will pay three hundred *kōris*.'
 'How can they be sold for three hundred *kōris*?'
 'I think the bullocks are old, and so it is a good price.'
 'In what month are you going to have your daughter married?'
 'I shall do so after the ceremony of the first anniversary of my grandmother's death is over.'
 'Rest in our house to-night.'
 'No, I have to reach Dharang by sunset.'
 'Come to our house some other day.'
 'Very well. Adieu. I am off now.'
 'Give my compliments to all in your house.'

The dialect of the Ōds of Hyderabad and of Thar and Parkar is said to be identical. The same is the case in Shikarpur, and it will be sufficient to print a short specimen, the deposition of a villager in a case of assault, as illustrating the speech of the Ōds of all three districts. It will be seen that the influence of Sindhi, the prevailing language of the districts, is easily recognisable. Compare *rāti-jō*, of the night; *ghōr-karānu*, house-doing, hawking; *mājō*, my, and so on. The Panjābī termination of the dative *nū* has already been mentioned; compare *khurī-nū*, to the heel. An unpublished Standard List of Words and Sentences contains forms of an *h* future, viz. *mārhe*, I shall, thou wilt, he will, beat; plur. 1. *mārhe*, 2. *mārhe*, 3. *mārhe*. Similarly we find *tāphā*, you will warm yourself, in the specimen from the Cutch State printed above. These forms seem to be comparable with the Mārwarī future. In this connexion I may also note the Rājasthānī negative particle *kōnī*, not (lit. *kō-nī*, not at all); compare *kāhi ūē-nā kō-dinā-nī*, anybody him-to not gave; *kō-dēlā-nī*, didst not give.

[No. 13.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

OPKI.

DISTRICT HYDERABAD.

Mai sākhe pari kahē. Mājō nā chhē Hashū. Mājō hā-jā
I oath on state. My name is Hashū. My father-of
 nā Thadā. Mai Hindā-dharam chhē, lohānā chhē. Mājā pōrihiā
name Thadā. I Hindū am, lohānā am. My profession
 ghōr-karāpū chhē. Mājī umuri chālisi baras chhē. Mai Haidrābādi
haoking is. My age forty years is. I Hyderabad
 gāū Haidrābādi taulkā Haidrābādi jillē bihilē. Mājā firyādu
town Hyderabad in-ta'lūqā Hyderabad in-district live. My complaint
 chhē Wasanmalā-par. Subhānē hekē bajē rāti-jō
is Wasanmal-on. Yesterday one when-struck night-of
 tikānē-mā jāelā. Gharē bātē ūpari dōdi-batū chhilē.
abode(-of-a-faqir)-in went. Home way on curds-seller-shop was.
 Ū-kaddhū dādhu ghēlē. Ūthē jawābudār ālā; ālō siri māji
That-from curds were-taken. There accused came; come on my
 sūji khuri-nū thudā mārīā. Māi u-nū kahilē, 'kē-nū
right heel-to stumbling was-struck. By-me him-to it-was-said, 'why
 ādhā hulā-hē? Jakā-māthē mā-nū lugāi āi dhū-pari gali
blind become-art? This-after me-to wife and daughter-on abuses
 dihilīā, thāshā olār-tē lārō-kū ālā. Māi darīā, nastī-patā
were-given, blow having-threatened flight-to came. I feared, far-off
 hulā. Hōtū Nārū Rījhū vichhū achhi-parlē. Tadhī jawābdārā
became. Hōtū Nārū Rījhā between came. Then accused-by
 basi-karī; mā-ta mā-nū mārō-hā. Jawābdārā-sū āgē
stop-was-made; otherwise me would-have-struck. Accused-with formerly
 māji dushmanī kōnī.
my enmity not.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

I make the following statement upon my oath. My name is Hashû and my father's name is Thadâ. I am a Hindû by religion, and I am a Lohânâ. My profession is hawking. My age is forty years. I am a resident of Hyderabad town, Haiderabad *ta'lûqa*, Hyderabad District. My complaint is against Wasanmal. Last night at one o'clock I went to the abode of a faqîr. On my way home I passed a curds-seller's shop, and there I bought some curds. There the accused came and stumbled against my right heel. 'Why,' said I, 'are you blind?' Then he began to pour out abuse against my wife and daughter, and after threatening to beat me he prepared to fight. I became afraid and stood far off. Hôtû, Nârû and Rijhû intervened, and then the accused desisted. Else he would have struck me. I never before had any enmity with accused.

Specimens of Ôdkî have also been received from Muzaffargarh, and a short popular tale from that district is printed below. It will be seen that in the main it agrees with the Ôdkî illustrated in the preceding pages. The cerebralisation of *d* in *dô*, two, etc., and forms such as *mahâ-kan*, from me, point in the direction of Sindhî. There are also some Panjâbî reminiscences such as *raḡḡê-nû*, to the wife; *bâ-dâ*, of a father. On the whole, however, the Ôdkî of Muzaffargarh is of the same kind as in the Gujarâtî districts,—a mixture of Marâṭhî and Gujarâtî-Râjasthâni. The form *huttâ*, was, which does not occur in other specimens, is comparable to Marâṭhî *hôtâ*.

[No. 14.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

OPKI.

DISTRICT MUZAFFARGARH.

Hek bādshāh hutti. Ō-chē gharē olād kār na hutti. Ō
One King was. His in-house 'offspring any not was. He
 apnī bādshāhī chhōr-litī ō hek rōz mārgā ūpar nīti belā. Fakir
own kingdom having-left he one day way on going sat. Fakir
 jurti-kē dhūā ghaltī belā. Hek rōz jhūṇḍ fakirā-chā ālā.
having-turned smoke making sat. One day group fakirs-of come.
 Ō-nē kehlē, 'tū ēthā mārgā-par kahī belā?' Bādshāh
That-by it-was-said, 'then this way-on why sittest?' By-the-King
 kehlē, 'tamī mahā-kan kahī na pūchha.' Fakirē
it-was-said, 'you me-from anything not ask.' The-fakirs-by
 kehlē, 'amī pūchhī.' Bādshāh kehlē jō, 'māchē gharē
it-was-said, 'we ask.' By-the-King it-was-said that, 'my in-house
 olād kār nahī?' Fakirē kehlē, 'dō tapasē chhit.
offspring any not-is?' The-fakirs-by it-was-said, 'two wheels break.
 Hek ap khā, hek apnē randē-nū khullā. Vi-nū hek pūt paidā
One self eat, one own wife-to cause-to-eat. Her-to one son borne
 hōwē; māthē-par chād hōwē, chichī-par tarā hōwē.
will-be; forehead-on moon will-be, little-fingers-on star will-be.'
 Bādshāh-chē gharē pūt jālā. Ō-chē gharē dō randā hutī;
King-of in-house son was-borne. His in-house two wives were;
 jissē mōṭī hutī, vi-chē gharē pūt jamū-palā. Jissī dhārī rand
which elder was, her in-house son birth-got. Which younger wife
 hutī, vi-nē biṭhārī-nū kehlē, 'ē bār gūṭī dē.
was, her-by midwife-to it-was-said, 'this child killing give.'
 Biṭhārī chhāj kōlā-chē bhartī-kē vi-chē gōdhū mēhiltī gēlī. Bār
Midwife basket coal-of having-filled her-of near having-put went. Child
 chatti-kē rūṭī-par nāk-tī ālī. Bādshāh-nū
having-carried manure-heap-on having-thrown returned. King-to
 kehlē, 'tudhyā randē kōlō jālā.' Kuttī bhilī
it-was-said, 'thy wife-by coals were-brought-forth.' Bitch standing
 bādshāh-chī hutī; bārā-nū chatti challī apnē bhāwarē-mē
king-of was; child having-carried went own pit-in
 nittī nāklē. Hek dō sāl guzrē. Ō bār rū lāglā.
going was-thrown. One two years passed. That child to-cry began.

Bādshāhzādi-nū pattā lāglā. 'Ē bārā-nū marāti nākhā' Kutti
 Queen-to news was-got. 'This child killing throw.' Bitch
 bhilli sunlē. Bār-kū chatti-kē khūni ghōrē-chē āgū āpti
 standing heard. Child having-carried bloody horse-of before bringing
 nāklē. O jawān huttā. Bādshāh-nū pattā lāglā. O
 was-thrown. He youth became. King-to news was-got. He
 gharē gēti gallā, ghanē khushī karlē, waqā dān-pun
 in-house taking was-put, much rejoicing was-made, great alms
 karlā.
 were-made.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

There was once a King. He had no offspring in his house. One day he left his kingdom and sat down at the roadside as a *faqīr* near a smouldering fire. One day a group of *faqīrs* came along and asked him why he was sitting there on the road. The King replied, 'do not ask me any question.' The *faqīrs* said they would ask. The King said that he had no offspring in his house. The *faqīrs* said, 'take two *tapāsās*. Eat one yourself and get your wife to eat the other. She will bring forth a son, with a moon on his forehead and a star on his little finger.' Subsequently a son was born in the palace. The King had two wives, and the son was born in the eldest wife's house. The second wife told the midwife to kill the child. The midwife brought a basket full of coal and put it near her. She then took the child and put it on a heap of manure. The King was told that his wife had given birth to coal. The King's bitch was standing there. She carried the child off and put it in her own pit. After the lapse of one or two years the younger queen was informed that the child had been heard to cry, and she again ordered it to be killed. The bitch heard this, took the child and entrusted it to a bloody horse. The child grew up and the King learnt about him. He brought him home, made great rejoicings and gave much alms.

LĀDĪ.

The Lāds are a Gipsy tribe, who sell betel-leaf, areca-nuts, tobacco, *bhang*, etc. The number of Lāds returned at the last Census of 1911 was as follows:—

Bombay	11,781
Central Provinces and Berar	5,383
Baroda State	8,500
Hyderabad State	8,776
Elsewhere	1,132
TOTAL	35,572

It does not seem as if the Lāds generally have got a dialect of their own. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Lādi was reported to be spoken by 500 individuals in the Ellichpur District of Berar. A version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son has been forwarded as an illustration of this form of speech. The beginning of it, which follows, shows that the Lādi of Ellichpur is Eastern Rajasthani, in most respects agreeing with Jaipuri.

[No. 15.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

LĀPL

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Kōnī ēk mānus-ka dūī pōrgā hōtā. U-kī mandhun lahān pōrgō
Some one man-to two sons were. Them-of midst-from small son
 āplē bāp-kha kahyō, 'bāpā, jindgī-kō jō mārō wātō āwśī, wō
own father-to said, 'father, property-of which my share will-come, that
 dē.' Mag unē un-kha paisō hissō kari tākūyō. Mag
give. Then by-him them-to money share having-made was-thrown. Then
 thōdē diwas-na lahān pōrgō saglō paisō jamā kari dūr dēs-ka
few days-in small son all money together having-made far country-to
 gayō; ānī āplē dhatpanā-na rahisan saglō paisō kharāb kari tākūyō.
went; and own impudence-in living all money spoilt doing was-wasted.
 Mag saglō paisō kharch karyā-war unē mulukh-mē kāl padyō. Unē
Then all money spent made-after that country-in famine fell. That
 mulē u-kha phār adchan pādī. Mag wō unē mulukh-mē ēk mānus-pās
for him-to much difficulty fell. Then he that country-in one man-near
 rahan-kō gayō; un u-kha dukar charāwan-kha wāwar-mē pathāyō. Mag
living-for went; by-him him swine feeding-for field-in was-sent. Then
 dukar jē phōtar khātō hōtō, u-kē-war u-kō pōt bharan-kha u-kha
swine which husks eating was, that-on his belly filling-for him-to
 wātūyō, mag u-kha kōnī kāhī dīyō nahī. Mag hōs-mē
it-appeared, then him-to by-anybody anything was-given not. Then sense-in
 āyisan kahyō, 'mārē bāp-kha kitī naukār-kha pōt bharisan
having-come said, 'my father-to how-many servants-to belly having-filled
 rōtī bhēta-chhē, ānī mī upāśī marū-chhē.
bread being-got-is, and I hungering dying-am.'

SĀSĪ.

The Sāsīs are one of the best known criminal tribes. They commonly use the word *bhattū* (in the Panjab) or *bhātū* (Saharanpur) to denote themselves. I cannot suggest any etymology of this name, which is also used by other Gipsy tribes such as the Kolhātīs. The common denomination Sāsī is replaced by the longer form Sāsīyā in the United Provinces. It has been variously derived from Sanskrit *śāśa*, breathing, or from the base *śraṁs*, to fall, to get loose. The former explanation does not give much sense, the latter would perhaps convey the meaning of a fallen, degraded caste, and etymologically *sāsī* might well be derived from an old participle *śraṁsita*. Others derive the word from *śvagaṇika*, accompanied by a pack of hounds, hunter, or from *śvapāka*, who cooks dogs, out-caste, but these derivations are not possible phonetically. If we consider the fact that the Sāsīs often act as bards, it would also be possible to derive their name from a Sanskrit *śāṁsika* = *śāṁsin*, reciting.

Sāsīs are most numerous in the Panjab, especially in the districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat. The total number returned at the last Census of 1911 was 32,481, distributed as follows:—

Panjab	26,990
Delhi Division	3,357
Jullundur Division	1,993
Lahore Division	14,574
Rawalpindi Division	2,000
Multan Division	1,993
Native States	3,083
Other Provinces	5,491
TOTAL	<u>32,481</u>

It is probable that many of these Sāsīs speak the language of their neighbours. Our information about the number of those who speak a separate dialect is very defective. This is partly due to the fact that there are in reality two different things which can be called the Sāsī dialect. In the first place we have a distinct vernacular, specimens of which have only been forwarded from the Panjab. In the second place there is a criminal argot characterised by certain methods of disguising ordinary words so as to make them unintelligible to the uninitiated. Such methods can be applied to words taken from any dialect. Moreover, the returns from the Census of 1911 do not distinguish between the different Gipsy dialects. They seem, however, to show that many Sāsīs have been returned as speaking other dialects. Thus the total number returned for Gipsy languages from the Panjab was only 5,640. The information collected for the purposes of this Survey, on the other hand, must in this case be used with considerable caution. It gives the

number of speakers in Ferozepur as 45,000, but only 360 Sāsīs were enumerated in the district at the Census of 1911. The details of this information are as follows:—

Panjab	48,170
Ferozepur	45,000
Gurdaspur	2,000
Gujrat	1,170
United Provinces	3,380
Saharanpur	3,000
Khuri	380
TOTAL	51,550

It will be seen that this total is considerably more than the number of Sāsīs enumerated in the whole of India in 1911.

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The Sāsīs are to a great extent migratory, and their dialect differs according to locality. Thus the Sāsīs of the United Provinces apparently speak Hindōstānī, while the dialect of their cousins in the Northern Panjab is closely related to Pañjābī. A consequence of their migratory habits is also the use of forms and suffixes belonging to different vernaculars by the same Sāsīs. Thus in the dialect spoken in the Northern Panjab we find the genitive formed by adding a suffix *gā*¹ or *kā* as in Hindōstānī, while the suffix of the ablative is *thā*, which reminds us of Gujarātī. Dr. Grahame Bailey has shown that there are numerous cases of correspondence now with one, now with another Aryan dialect in the speech of the Sāsīs of the Northern Panjab. It might be characterised as intermediate between Pañjābī and Hindōstānī. Such correspondence in grammar cannot, however, prove more than that the Sāsīs have associated much with peoples speaking those tongues. It is quite certain that the stronghold of the tribe is the north of the Panjab, between the Sutlej and the Jhelum. Some phonetical features in Sāsī also point in that direction. Thus the old double consonants, which are so

¹ The postposition *gā* refers us rather to the Bāgrī dialect of Rājasthān than to Hindōstānī. We may also compare *gai*, the postposition of the Dative in the Dardic Maīyī. [G. A. G.]

common in the Prakrits, are treated differently in modern vernaculars. They are often retained and a preceding short vowel remains short in Pañjābī, while they are simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened in Hindōstānī and most Eastern languages. Compare Prakrit *ekka*, one, Pañjābī *ikk*, but Hindōstānī *ek*; Prakrit *piṭṭhī*, back, Pañjābī *piṭh*, but Hindōstānī *piṭh*. The Sāsi of the Panjab here marches with Pañjābī; compare *ekki*, one; *nakk*, nose; *hāth*, hand; *piṭh*, back. In the United Provinces we usually find forms with simplified compounds and long vowels. In Saharanpur, however, we find forms such as *mīl*, back; *kanḥā*, ear; *koḥ*, eye, etc., which seem to show that the state of affairs is not quite the same as in Hindōstānī. The conditions in Sāsi do not therefore prove anything. More importance must be attached to the existence of a cerebral *l* and a cerebral *n* in Sāsi, for the use of those sounds is characteristic of western languages, such as Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Rājasthānī and Pañjābī. Such cases of correspondence between Pañjābī and Sāsi are exactly what we would expect, considering where the stronghold of the Sāsīs is situated. The use of an oblique form ending in *ā* of weak nouns, on the other hand, seems to show that there is in Sāsi an element, a substratum, which does not belong to the Panjab, but rather more to the south, where we approach the Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī areas.

We are comparatively well informed about the Sāsi dialect of the Northern Panjab, which has been dealt with by Dr. Grahame Bailey. The remarks which follow refer to it.

Vowels are pronounced as in Pañjābī. Short vowels are sometimes so shortened as to be almost slurred. I have indicated this short pronunciation by means of the sign [~]; thus, *bappā-gū*, to the father. A short vowel before an old double consonant in monosyllabic words becomes half long, but usually remains short if new syllables are added; thus, *akkh*, eye; *kānu*, ear; *bāpp*, father, but *bappā-gū*, of a father. I have marked this semi-length by adding an accent above the vowel. The same accent is used with the sign of lengthening in forms such as *āttā*, coming; *chugḡācē*, to graze; *chāttā*, wishing. In that case it denotes a peculiar lengthening of a long vowel, which has no parallel in Pañjābī. A similar lengthening of an *i* or *e* occurs in forms such as *kiyyā*, done; *diyyā*, given; *hūccā*, become, when the vowel is followed by a double *y* or *w*, respectively. The pronunciation of consonants is said to agree with Pañjābī. The principal point in which the two differ from Hindōstānī refers to aspirated letters in the beginning of syllables, the aspiration of such words being very guttural, almost like the Arabic *ʿain*. This rule applies to *h*, *gh*, *jh*, *dh*, *dh*, *bh*, *ah* and *mh*. Thus, *hūccā*, become, is almost *ʿūcā*; *ghōrā*, horse, is almost *gʿōrā*, and so forth.

There are two genders, the masculine which is also used as a neuter, and the feminine. The oblique base of masculine nouns ending in *i*, *ā* and consonants, and of feminine nouns ends in *ā*, their case of the agent in *ē*. The nominative plural is like the singular in the case of masculine nouns, while feminines end in *ā*. The oblique plural ends in *ē*. Masculine nouns ending in *ā* change their *ā* to *ē* in the oblique case, to *ē* in the case of the agent, to *ē* in the

nominative plural and to *ē* in the oblique plural. The common case suffixes are,—dative *gū*; ablative *thō*; and genitive *gā*, feminine *gi*, plural *giā*. The usual Hindōstāni suffixes dative *kō*, ablative *sē*, genitive *kā*, *kī*, are used instead in the specimens received from Gujrat, Gurdaspur and Sialkot, and in the United Provinces the inflexion of nouns is the same as in Hindōstāni. According to Dr. Bailey the nominative, genitive and the case of the agent of *bāpp*, father; *kūtā*, dog; and *dhāā*, daughter, are as follows :—

	Singular.			Plural.		
Nominative . . .	<i>bāpp</i>	<i>kūtā</i>	<i>dhāā</i>	<i>bāpp</i>	<i>kūtā</i>	<i>dhāā</i>
Genitive . . .	<i>bāppā-gā</i>	<i>kūtā-gā</i>	<i>dhāā-gā</i>	<i>bāppā-gā</i>	<i>kūtā-gā</i>	<i>dhāā-gā</i>
Agent . . .	<i>bāppē</i>	<i>kūtē</i>	<i>dhāē</i>	<i>bāppē-ṇō</i>	<i>kūtē-ṇō</i>	<i>dhāē-ṇō</i>

These are apparently the regular forms in the dialect of the Sāsīs of the Northern Panjab. They are not, however, the only ones. Thus, a list of words received from the Gujrat District contains forms such as *waḍḍiā-dē pās*, to fathers, with the common Panjābi genitive suffix.

Pronouns.

The following are the regular forms of the personal pronouns :—

	I.	We.	Thou.	You.
Nominative . . .	<i>huā</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>taū</i>	<i>tam</i>
Agent . . .	<i>maī</i>	<i>hamō</i>	<i>taī</i>	<i>tamō</i>
Dat.-Accusative . . .	<i>manū</i>	<i>ham-kō</i>	<i>taū</i>	<i>tam-kō</i>
Ablative . . .	<i>maithō</i>	<i>ham-thō</i>	<i>tēthō</i>	<i>tam-thō</i>
Genitive . . .	<i>māā</i>	<i>māārā</i>	<i>tēā</i>	<i>tuhārā</i>

The demonstrative pronouns are *ēā*, this, oblique base *iṇ*, case of the agent singular *iṇ*, plural *iṇō*; *uh*, *ōh*, that, oblique base *uṇ*, case of the agent singular *uṇ*, plural *uṇō*. There is also a pronoun *tiārgā*, the thing or subject under discussion, which is substituted for nouns in order to prevent a stranger from understanding what is meant.

The common verb substantive is *hōnā*, to be. Its present participle is *hōtā*, being, and its conjunctive participle *hōikē*, having been. The present tense is formed as follows :—

Verbs.

Singular	1. <i>haī</i> .	Plural	1. <i>hā</i> .
	2. <i>haī</i> .		2. <i>hō</i> .
	3. <i>hai</i> .		3. <i>haī</i> .

The past tense is singular masc. *thiyyā*, fem. *thiyyī*; plural masc. *thiyyē*, fem. *thiyyiā*; or *siyyā*, fem. *siyyī*; plural masc. *siyyō*, fem. *siyyiā*.

The verb substantive is largely used in the conjugation of ordinary verbs.

Present Time.—The old present is conjugated like the present tense of the verb substantive; thus, *haũ mārē*, I may beat; *baṛē*, he may enter; *khālā*, we may eat. The present tense is formed by adding the present of the verb substantive to the present participle; thus, *ham mārē hā*, we are beating, we beat. Several compound tenses are used as a habitual present. Such are *haũ mārā hōtā haĩ*, I am being beaten; *haũ mārā kartā haĩ*, I am doing beating; *haũ mārā rihā haĩ*, I having beaten have remained.

Past Time.—The ordinary past tense is identical with the past participle passive; thus, *haũ gayā*, I went; *tam gayā*, you went. The past tense of transitive verbs is a passive form, and the subject is put in the case of the agent; thus, *hamō mārā*, by us beaten, we beat. Similarly also *maĩ mārā thiyyā* (or *siyyā*), by me beaten was, I had beaten. Other forms of the past such as *haũ mārā thiyyā*, I was beating, are of course constructed actively.

Future.—The suffix of the future is *grā*, preceded by an *ā* in the first and second persons singular and the first and third persons plural. The regular future forms of *mārā*, to beat, are:—

Singular	1. <i>māraṅgrā</i>	Plural	1. <i>māraṅgrē</i>
	2. <i>māraṅgrā</i>		2. <i>māragrē</i>
	3. <i>māragrā</i>		3. <i>māraṅgrē</i>

and *māraṅg*, indeclinable for singular and plural.

Similar forms are found in Maṇḍalī, Sukēti and Bilaspūri. Compare Maṇḍalī *māraṅg* or *mārghā*, I shall beat; Bilaspūri *māraṅgrā*, I shall beat.

Imperative.—The imperative is formed as in Pañjābī and Hindōstānī; thus, *mār*, beat; *mārō*, beat ye.

Infinitive and Participles.—The suffix of the infinitive is *ṇā*; thus, *mārṇā*, to beat. Compare Pañjābī *ṇā*, *nā*, Hindōstānī *nā*, Sindhi *ṇu*. The present participle ends in *tā* as in Hindōstānī; thus, *mārā*, beating. The past participle is generally formed as in Pañjābī; thus, *mārā*, beaten; *kahā*, said; though Hindōstānī forms, such as *gayā*, gone, also occur. The conjunctive participle ends in *ī*, *ī-kē*; thus, *jāī*, having gone; *mārī-kē*, having beaten. As in the suffix of the genitive the *k* is often softened to *g*; thus, *āī-gē*, having come; *dēhī-gē*, having seen.

Passive Voice.—Passive forms agree with Pañjābī and Hindōstānī; thus, *haũ mārā jattā haĩ*, I am beaten; *haũ mārā jattā thiyyā* (*siyyā*), I was beaten; *haũ mārā jāṅgrā*, I shall be beaten.

The two specimens which follow illustrate the ordinary dialect of the Sāsī in Northern Panjab. I owe them to the kindness of Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.

[No. 16.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSL.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

SPECIMEN I.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

NORTHERN PANJAB.

Ékki bandē-gē dō pūt thīyyā. Un bichchā nikē
 One man-of two sons were. Them among by-the-little
 bappā-gā kahīā, 'bāpp, mālkīyā-gā jīhrā hissa mā-nū
 father-to it-was-said, 'father, property-of whatever part me-to
 ātā hai, mā-nū dē. Un appā sārā māl un-kō baṭī
 coming is, me-to give. By-him own all property them-to dividing
 dīyyā. Thōrē dinē-gē picchō nikē mūṇḍē sārā kujjh
 was-given. Few days-of after by-the-little boy all whatever
 katthā kīyyā tē dūrā-gē dēsā bichch jāī rihā. Oṭhē
 together was-made and distance-of country in going stayed. There
 sārā māl bhaiṛē kammē bichch urāī dīnā. Jad
 all property evil works in causing-to-fly was-given. When
 sārā kharch karī linā, us mulkhā bichch harā kāl pariā,
 all spent making was-taken, that country in great famine fell,
 tē oh suṛā paṛnē laggā. Tad us mulkhā-gē ékkī ādmīā-gē
 and he narrow to-fall began. Then that country-of one man-of
 pās jāī appā. Un appē pailē bichch sūr chugāṇē ghallīā,
 near going arrived. By-him own fields in pigs to-graze was-sent,
 tē oh chhillū jīhrīā sūr khattē thīyyē appā pēt bharnē-gū chātā
 and he husks which pigs eating were own belly fill-to wishing
 thīyyā, par kōī nahī dētā thīyyā. Tad hōshā bichch āigē
 was, but anyone not giving was. Then sense in having-come
 kahṇē laggā, 'mērē bappā pās kinnē majūrē-gū bahut tūk
 to-say began, 'my father near how-many hired-labourers-to much food
 hai, tē haū bhūkhā martā hai. Haū uthigē appē bappā pās
 is, and I hungry dying am. I having-arisen own father near
 jāngrā tē us-kō kahṇgrā, "hē bāpp, māī shamānā-gā tē tērā gunāh
 will-go and him-to will-say, "O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin
 kīyyā, iw is jōgā nahī kī bhī tērā pūt akhwāwē,
 was-done, now this worthy not that again thy son may-call-myself,

ma-nū apnē majurē bichchā ēkkī jidā baṇā." Tad uthigē
me-to own hired-labourers among one like make." Then having-arisen
 apnē bappā pās tūriā; tē oh ajē dūr hī thīyyā ki us-kō
own father near went; and he yet far indeed was that him
 dēkhigē us-kā bappā-gā tars āyā, tē daurigē gal lāyā tē
having-seen his father-to pity came, and having-run neck pressed and
 barā chumiā. Pūtē us-kō kahiā ki, 'hē bāpp, māī
much kissed. By-son him-to it-was-said that, 'O father, by-me
 shamānā-gā tē tērā guṇāh. kiyyā tē iw haū is jōgā nahī ki
heaven-of and thy sin was-done and now I this worthy not that
 bhi tērā pūt akhwāwē.' Bappē apnē naukarē-gū kahiā ki,
again thy son may-be-called.' By-father own servants-to it-was-said that,
 'chāngiā thō chāngi pushāk kadhī lē-āō tē is-kō lāō, tē
'fine than fine raiment having-taken-out bring and him-to put-on, and
 is-kō haththā bichch chhāp tē pairē bichch juttī, tē palē hūwā
him-of hand on ring and feet on shoes, and reared been
 wachchhē-gū lē-āigē halāl karō, ki khāhā tē khushī
calf having-brought killed make, that we-may-eat and merry
 manāwā; kyū, mērā ēā pūt marī gayā thīyyā, iw jīwiā
we-may-make; why, my this son having-died gone was, now come-to-life
 hai; gawān gayā thīyyā, iw labhī pariā.' Tad oh khushī karō
is; lost gone was, now finding fell.' Then they merry to-make
 laggē.
began.

Us-kā barā pūt pailā bichch thīyyā; jad gharā-gō nēpē āyā,
Him-of big son field in was; when house-of in-vicinity came,
 gaupō tē nachpō-gā wāj soniā, tē ēkkī naukarā thō pūchhiā ki,
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard, and one servant from asked that,
 'ēā kyā hai?' Un us-kō kahiā ki, 'tērā bhāī āyā, tē
'this what is?' By-him him-to it-was-said that, 'thy brother came, and
 tērē bappē pailā hūwā wachchhā halāl kiyyā hūwā hai, is
by-thy father reared been calf killed made been is, this
 wāstē ki rāzi-bāzi labhā.' Un gussā hōigē
on-account-of that safe-and-sound was-found.' By-him angry having-become
 na chāhiā ki andar harē. Tad us-kē bappē bāhr
not was-wished that inside may-go. Then him-of by-father outside
 āigē us-kō manāyā. Un bappā-gū jawāb dīnā,
having-come him-to it-was-persuaded. By-him father-to answer was-given,
 'dēkh innē warhē-gī haū tērī tahl kartā haī, tē kadhī tērē
'lo so-many years-of I thy service doing am, and ever thy

hukmā-gē barkhilāf nahī turīā, par taī kadhi ékk lōlā wī nahī
order-of against not went, but by-thee ever one kid even not
 dīnā ki haū appē yārē sāthth khushī manāē; par jad tērā
was-given that I own friends with merry may-make; but when thy
 ēā pūt āyā jīn tērā māl kanjriē bīcheli udāyā, taī
this son came by-whom thy property harlots in was-wasted, by-thee
 us-kē liyyē paliā hūwā wachehhā halāl kiyyā.' Un
him-of for-the-sake reared been calf killed was-made.' By-him
 us-kō kahiā, 'hē pūt, taū sadā mērē pās hai; jō-kujjh mērā
him-to it-was-said, 'O son, thou always my near art; whatever mine
 hai, sōi tērā hai. Par khushī manāgi tē khush hōnā chāhitā
is, that-even thine is. But merry to-make and merry to-be wanted
 thiyyā; kyū, tērā ēā bhāi marī gayā thiyyā, iw jīwiā
was; why, thy this brother having-died gone was, now come-to-life
 hai; gawān gayā thiyyā, iw labbhā hai.'
is; lost gone was, now found is.'

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

SPECIMEN II.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

NORTHERN PANJAB.

Mhārē	dō	pir	lagē	jattē	thiyyē ;	ēkki	gē
Our	two	saints	going-along	going	were ;	one	village
maṅgē	gaē ;	ēkki	kajjiā	pāsā	dúddh	maṅgiā ;	uṇ
to-beg	went ;	one	female-Jatt	from	milk	was-asked ;	by-her
nahī	dinā ;	uh	turi	gaē,	us-kā	dúddh	lahū
not	was-given ;	they	going	went,	her-of	milk	blood
geā.	Uṇ	kajjiā	dekhīā	ki	dúddh	lahū	hōi
went.	By-that	female-Jatt	was-seen	that	milk	blood	becoming
geā ;	uh	bhī	magar	daṇī.	Uṇō	kihā,	'ja
went ;	she	then	after	ran.	By-them	it-was-said,	'go
bachcha,	tērā	dúddh	usī	tarah	hōi	jāgrā.	Uh
little-one,	thy	milk	that-very	way	becoming	will-go.	She
gharē	āi	tē	dekhīā,	tē	dúddh	usī	tarah
home	came	and	saw,	and	milk	that-very	way
geā	thiyyā.						becoming
gone	was.						
Uṇī	dō	pirē	ēkk	karamāt	kī ;	ēkki	
By-those-very	two	saints	one	miracle	was-done ;	by-one	
arkā	sāthth	dōph	puttī,	bhī	us-kō	riddigē	khāyā,
elbow	with	iguana	was-dug-up,	then	it	having-cooked	was-eaten,
bhī	uṇ	dōjjē-gō	kahiā	ki,	'maī	puttī,	taī
then	by-him	other-to	it-was-said	that,	'by-me	was-dug-up,	then
is-kō	bhī	sarā-jit	kar.'	Bhī	uṇ	haddiā	katthiā
it	again	alive	make.'	Then	by-him	bones	together
tē	hāthth	phērige	kahnē	laggā,	'jā	bachcha,	daṇī
and	hand	having-waved	to-say	began,	'go	little-one,	running
jā ;	'bhī	uh	daṇī	gāi	tē	sarā-jit	hōi
go ;	'then	it	running	went	and	alive	becoming
uṇ	dōē	pirē-gē	nā	Bhalād	Bhagat	tē	Malaṅg
those	two	saints-of	names	Bhalād	Bhagat	and	Malaṅg
Bhalād	Bhagat	Malaṅgā-gā	māmā	thiyyā.			
Bhalād	Bhagat	Malaṅg-of	mother's-brother	was.			

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Two of our saints were going along. They went to a village to beg and asked a female Jatt for milk, but she did not give it. When they went away, her milk was transformed into blood. Seeing that the milk had been changed to blood, the Jatt woman ran after them. They said to her, 'go home, little one, thy milk will be as before.' When she came home and saw it, then the milk had become as it used to be.

Those two saints did a miracle. One of them dug up an iguana with his elbow, cooked it, and ate it. Then he said to the other one, 'I have dug it up, and now thou restore it to life.' Then he put the bones together, waved his hand and said, 'go, little one, run away.' Then it ran away and became alive again. The names of those two saints were Bhalād Bhagat and Malaṅg, and Bhalād Bhagat was Malaṅg's maternal uncle.

The dialect spoken by the Sāsīs of the United Provinces is not so well known. Specimens have been received from Saharanpur and Kheri. They seem to show that the Sāsīs speak the same language as their neighbours. They are much less numerous than in the Panjāb, and conditions are not favourable for preserving a strange dialect. It will be sufficient to give a short specimen, received from Kheri, as an illustration of the speech of the Sāsīs, or Sāsīyās, as they are here called, of the United Provinces. It is practically Hindōstānī. It is, of course, likely enough that other Sāsīyās speak a dialect more closely related to that illustrated in the preceding pages.

[No. 18.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSIYĀ.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

DISTRICT KHERI.

Jānē-mē	katyā	bachyā	pārē	thē.	Das	rupiā
Winter-in	cows	calves	tending	were.	Ten	rupees
chapwārē-nē	māgē	thē.	Ham-par	nikrē	nāhl.	Ham-kō
sub-inspector-by	demandēd	were.	Us-on	were-found	not.	Us
pakar-kar	Mirat	pahōchā	diyā.	Wahā	kaid	
having-seized	Meerut	having-caused-to-reach	were-given.	There	imprisoned	
kar	diyō.	Bayi	hō	gaē.	Phir	Sūrtāpur-kō
making	were-given.	Acquitted	becoming	went.	Then	Sultanpur-to
bhēj	diyā.	Sūrtāpur-mē	char	baras	rahē.	Sūrtāpur-mē
sending	were-given.	Sultanpur-in	four	years	remained.	Sultanpur-in
muñj	aur	rāmbans	kutti	thē.	Ham-nē	munai-sē yeh
muñja	and	aloe-fibres	hammering	were.	Us-by	Munshi-to this
kahā	ki,	'ham-kō	ek	arji,	yahā-sē	likh dō
was-said	that,	'us-to	one	petition,	here-from	writing give
ki	ham	yā-sē	aur	jagah	basāē	jāē.' Lārat-nē
that	we	here-from	other	place	settled	may-go.' Lord-by
yeh	hukum	diyā	ki,	'yā-sē	nikar-kē	ban-mē
this	order	was-given	that,	'here-from	having-gone-out	forest-in
basāē	jāē.'	Ham	ban-mē	āē	aur	ban-sē ek
settled	may-go.'	We	forest-in	came	and	forest-from one
mahinē-ki	chhutī	lē-kar	apnē	bētē-ko	mīnē-ko	gaē.
month-of	leave	having-taken	own	son-to	meeting-for	went.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In the winter I had been tending cattle. The sub-inspector demanded ten rupees from me, and as I had not got them I was seized and sent to Meerut, where I was put in prison. Afterwards I was released and sent to Sultanpur, where I remained for four years, beating *muñja* and *Rām* reeds (for basket work). I said to the Munshi, 'I have a petition. Write that I may be settled in some other place.' The lord gave order that I might go thence and be settled in the jungle. I came to the jungle, and there I took one month's leave and went to see my son.

The specimens printed above illustrate the ordinary dialect of the Sāsīs, especially that spoken in Northern Panjab. As we have seen it mainly agrees with Panjābī in phonology, while its inflexional forms are intermediate between that language and Hindōstānī; some of the case suffixes being identical with those used in the latter form of speech. I have already mentioned that this partial agreement with Hindōstānī can very well be a consequence of the migratory life of the Sāsīs. At present most of them live in Government Reservations and in circumstances which are not favourable for the preservation of the purity of their dialect.

Formerly their condition was different. In the words of Abdul Ghafur, 'they are professional thieves and very brave.' In order to be able to converse with each other without being understood by outsiders, they have, like other criminal tribes, in addition to their real dialect, devised a criminal variation, an argot or 'thieves' Latin' which they themselves call *Fārsī*, Persian.

This is not, however, a different dialect, but identical with the common speech in phonology and grammar. Moreover, it is not known to all Sāsīs, young children being unacquainted with it. It is based on the ordinary dialect and consists in changing individual words so as to make them unrecognizable. As in the case of European argots, it contains a number of peculiar words, probably picked up from various sources, most of which cannot so far be satisfactorily explained. Dr. Bailey has published a long list of them. Many of them are well-known Aryan words. Others such as *kūkar*, cock, are onomatopœic. Several are based on some metaphor, as is often the case in European argots. Compare *gōlt*, poison used for putting into the food of cultivators' cattle, *lit. pill*; *charāwā*, advocate, *lit. herdsman*; *khurā*, lower part of leg, *lit. hoof*. Some words are also apparently borrowed from other languages; thus, *bārmī*, woman, wife, might be compared with Sherpa *permi*; *nād*, village, with Kanarese *nāḍu*, country, Gōṇḍī *nār*, village; *lallī*, night, with Arabic *laila*. The greatest portion of the vocabulary of Criminal Sāsī, however, consists of common words changed or disguised in various ways.

The letters of a word are often transposed. Thus we find *kābrā* instead of *bakrā*, goat; *khūm* perhaps instead of *mukh*, face; *chōmī* instead of *mōchī*, shoemaker; *chhāmī* instead of *māchhī*, a certain water-carrying caste; *ṭēp* instead of *pēt*, belly; *ṭiph* instead of *piṭh*, back; *bakat* instead of *batak*, duck, and so on.

The most common device of disguising words is, however, to add a syllable in front, and this addition often entirely supersedes the beginning of the word. Thus the ordinary Sāsī word for 'ten' is *das*. By adding *kha* in front we get *khadas* and finally *khas*, both of which are used in Criminal Sāsī. Similarly we find *bāl*, *khābāl* and *chhābāl*, hair; *pair*, *khapair*, *chhapair* and *nhair*, foot, and so forth. The usual additions of this kind which occur in the materials at my disposal are as follows:—

k added before vowels. With a following *a* it becomes *ku*, *kó*, with a following *ā* *kō*; thus, *kukkhī*, Panjābī *akkhī*, eye; *kōkkh*, Panjābī *akkh*, eye; *kundar* and *andar*, inside; *kuggē*, Panjābī *aggē*, in front of; *kōṭṭā* and *āṭā*, flour; *kōṣh*=*āṣh*, eight; *kōdmī*=*ādmī*, man; *kōnnā*=*ānā*, anna.

kh is also sometimes added before vowels; thus, *khassī*=*assī*, eighty; *khūpar*=*ūpar*, above. More commonly, however, we find the syllable *kha* added before words

beginning with consonants; thus, *khatin*, three; *khadand*, tooth; *khadas*, ten; *khanāk*, nose; *khanōū*, nine; *khapair*, foot; *khamoi*, by me; *kharājū*, Pañjābī *rājī*, pleased. The additional syllable *kha* then often supersedes the initial syllable of the word; thus, *khuntā*, an iron and wood instrument for digging, cf. Hindustānī *guntā*; *khas*=*das*, ten; *khaū*=*nau*, nine; *khakk*=*nakk*, nose; *khigalnā*=*nikalnā*, to come out; *khīs*=*bīs*, twenty; *khūh*=*mūh*, mouth; *khikhā*=*likhnā*, to write; *khōth*=*hāth*, hand.

g is apparently used in a similar way, though I have not found more than one certain instance, viz. *gupāhī*=*sipāhī*, soldier.

ch only occurs as a substitute for *b*; thus, *chatānā*=*batānā*, to show; *chōli*=*bōli*, speech. It is, however, possible that it can be used instead of other labials. Thus, *chāī*, water, may be for *pānī*; compare Kōlhaṭī *chēnī*. In Western Pāhāṭī, however, we find a similar word *chīs*, water.

chh is quite common; thus, *chhakān*=*kān*, ear; *chhapair*=*pair*, foot; *chhabārmī*=*bārmī*, woman; *chhabāptā* and *bāptā*, father; *chhabhantā* and *bhantā*, brother; *chhabhain* and *bhān*, sister. This *chh* often replaces the initial consonant; thus, *chhātī*, *chhapūtī* and *pūtī*, son; *chhacūt*=*baūt*, much; *chhattū*=*bhattū*, a Sāsi man; *chhāhar*=*bāhar*, outside; *chhājak*=*balak*, tomorrow; *chhuhā*=*būhā*, door; *chhahīrā*=*caihīrā*, calf. In all these instances the original word begins with a labial, and Dr. Bailey restricts the change to such words as begin with *b*, and that is no doubt usually the case. In the materials received from Gurdaspur and Sialkot, however, we also find forms such as *chhakān*, ear; *chhangāk*=*gunāk*, sin; *chhaghar*, house; *chhawrat*, woman; *chhakann*, who? *chhakyā*, what? *chhogadhā*, ass, and so forth.

j and *jh* are used in the same way as *ch* and *chh*; thus, *jadā*=*baṛā*, big; *jhūkhā* and *chhūkhā*=*bhūkhā*, hungry.

ḍh is comparatively frequent; thus, *ḍhagal*=*gal*, neck; *ḍhanērē*=*nērē*, near; *ḍhabān*=*bān*, sister; *ḍhabāptā*=*bāptā*, father; *ḍhamulk*=*mulk*, country. In *ḍhāmā*, village, *ḍh* seems to have superseded an old *g*. *D* in *dimyā*=*jimnā*, to eat, is used in a similar way.

n is a common substitute for various sounds; thus, *nālī*=*chālī*, forty; *nōrī*=*chōrī*, theft; *nīriyā*=*chīriyā*, bird; *neōklā*=*chhōkrā*, boy; *nīkaṭ*=*ṭīkaṭ*, ticket; *nōmbū*=*ṭōmbū*, a house-breaking instrument; *naukhūā*=*dēkhūā*, see; *nañj*=*pañj*, five; *naṛhnā*=*paṛhnā*, read; *nāchhūā*=*pūchhūā*, ask; *nair*=*pair*, foot; *nāgg*=*pāgg*, turban; *nēṭ*=*pēṭ*, belly; *nōhaṭ*=*bōhaṭ*, heap of grain; *nālli*=*lālli*, night; *nadhūk*=*gandūq*, box; *nāhb*=*sāhb*, sāhib; *naihr*=*shahr*, city; *nūraj* or *nūraj*=*sūraj*, sun; *nāth*=*sāth*, with.

nh is often substituted for aspirated letters and for *s*; thus, *nhē*=*chhē*, six; *nhōḍnā*=*chhōḍnā*, leave; *nhōllē*=*chhōllē*, gram; *nhik*=*ṭhik*, right; *nhānā*=*thānā*, police station; *nhāli*=*thāli*, brass vessel; *nhittā*=*phittā*, abuse; *nhāt*=*sat*, seven; *nhir*=*sir*, head; *nhiknā*=*sikhnā*, learn; *nhis*=*sīs*, head, and so forth.

p does not seem to be much used in this way. I have found it in *pōdnā*=*chōdnā*, to have sexual intercourse with, and perhaps in *piṅgi*, fire; *pīrl*, oil, etc.

b is often prefixed to words beginning with vowels, thus, *bēā*=*ēā*, this; *bīc*=*īc*, now; *bōtphē*=*ōtphē*, there; *baur*=*aur*, and; *bēk*=*ēk*, one. Before consonants we find *ba*; thus, *bagōllē*, gram; *balūā*, rupee. In *barlāshī*, stick, we have a double prefix *bar*. In other cases *b* replaces an initial consonant; thus, *bōrā*=*chhōrā*, boy; *bādi*=*chādi*, silver; *bēndrā*=*jandrā*, lock; *bīcar*=*jhiār*, water-carrier; *bēydhā*=*saydhā*, male buffalo; *banh*=*sanh*, house-breaking; *baunā*=*sōnā*, gold; *bunyārā*=*sunyārā*, goldsmith; *bīndū*, Hindu, etc.

r and *rh*, finally, are often substituted for *k*, *kh*, respectively; thus, *rāthī*=*kāthī*, saddle; *rēpnā*=*kāpnā*, cut; *rāl*=*kāl*, famine; *ruñji*=*kuñji*, key; *rudāk* or *rhadhāi*=*khudā*, God; *rhaphā*=*khafā*, angry; *rhijmat*=*khidmat*, service; *rhēt*=*khēt*, field; *rhāt*=*khāt*, bed, and so forth.

It will be seen from the examples quoted that one and the same word often occurs in many variously disguised forms. Thus we find *khapair*, *chhapair*, *nair* and *pair*, foot; *chhabāptā*, *dhahāptā* and *bāptā*, father; *bagōllē*, *nhōllē* and *chhōllē*, gram, and so on. There is not, so far as we can see, any principle according to which one or the other form is chosen. The use of different letters in order to make a word unrecognizable is, so far as can be ascertained, absolutely arbitrary, and it is impossible to detect any rules regulating the choice between them.

Another way of disguising words is by adding consonants after them. Such additions are:—

k in *chulknā*, to speak; cf. *chōli*=*bōli*, speech. A *kh* has apparently been inserted in the middle of a word in *mikhllā*=*millā*, is being met with.

g is common after *r* in several pronominal forms; thus, *mērgā*, my; *tērgā*, thy; *kēhrgā*, which. It is further added after verbs such as *kauhgnā*=*kahnā*, tell; *rauhgnā*=*rahnā*, remain; *gaugnā*, to go; *gaugā*, went, cf. *gayā*, went. It also occurs in several stray instances such as *kadgi*, ever; *kōggi*, *kōi*, anyone; *chaug*=*chār*, four; *duhāngi*=*duhāi*, appeal; *hukamgā-kō*, the command, and so forth.

th is added in *naūthā*=*nā*, name; *dūrthā*=*dūr*, far; *naīthā*=*nāi*, barber.

t occurs in forms such as *bāptā*, father; *bhautā*, brother; *mautā*, mother; and a double addition *dhre* is used in *jaūdhre*=*jaū*, barley.

p is added after vocalic bases; thus, *dēpnā*, to give; *lēpnā*, to take; *hōpnā*, to become. Similarly *nāhpi*, not. The use of an added *b* is more doubtful. I have noted *lēgbā*=*logā*, began; and in *chhābrā*=*chhagrā*, goat, *b* seems to have superseded *g* in the middle of a word.

r is added in words such as *dhōr*, two; *thēr*, three. In *jasna*, go; *asna*, come, *sr* has been added after the base.

More sporadic interchange of consonants can be observed in forms such as *kumbhlā*=*kumhār*, potter; cf. *neōklā*=*chhōkrā*, boy; *gaunā*=*gādhā*, ass, etc.

Abbreviated forms also occur; such are *kōndh*, the dark half of a month; *khōnā*=*khōlnā*, to open; *pāgg*=*pagri*, turban.

The preceding examples will have shown that also the vowels are occasionally changed. Thus, *a* and *ā* become *u*, *o* and *ō*, respectively, when a *k* is prefixed; compare *kuggē*, before; *kōdmī*, man. When a *g* is added *a* and *ā* often become *au*; thus, *kauhgnā*, to tell; *gaugā*, went; *chaug*, four. Compare also *bhautā*, brother;

mautī, mother. In other instances an *a*-sound is changed to *ē*; thus, *chēngūā*=*chāngā*, good; *bāyghā*=*gāyghā*, male buffalo; *lēghā*=*lagā*, began; *rēkhwaṇā*=*rakhṇā*, place; *rēḥnā*=*kāḥnā*, cut. *I* and *u* are sometimes interchanged; thus, *bīṇḍī*=*buadā*, cardrop; *gupāhī*=*sipāhī*, soldier; *kharājū*=*vāji*, pleased. An *ē* or *ai* may be changed to *u* or *au*; thus, *khuatā*=*gautā*, pickaxe; *aukhua*=*dākhua*, see; *ō* is occasionally replaced by *au* or *eō*; thus, *baunā*=*sōnā*, gold; *uōk/ā*=*chhōkrā*, boy. Other instances of interchange are *baleā*=*billā*, cat; *leōkrī*=*lakrī*, wood; *gāddar*=*gīdar*, jackal, and so forth. All such changes are apparently quite arbitrary. Note also double changes in words such as *khadēpaṅgrā*=*dēngṛā*, will give; *khaniṭṭh*=*piṭṭh*, back; *chulkuā*=*bōluā*, to speak; *chhangāh*=*gūāh*, sin; *ḍhamkīr*=Kashmir; *ḍhumalmān*=Musalmān; *thūb*=*ūth*, camel, and so forth.

None of these changes affects the grammar of the dialect. The inflexional forms remain the same. The individual words alone are changed. Thus many of the pronouns appear in a new shape; compare *khamāi* and *maī*, by me; *khamēṛā*, *khamēṛgā*, *mēṛgā* and *mēṛā*, my, and so on. The present tense of the verb substantive is *hōpē*, *hōpē*, *hōpē*, and so forth, or *hōpē* throughout; "I went" is *ganhḡā* or *jasriā* and so forth.

It follows from what has already been said that the Criminal Sāsī is not a separate dialect, and that the individual words have no fixed forms. Ordinary words are of course used to a great extent, and the degree in which they are disguised, and the manner of disguising, differ. The specimens which follow will give a good idea of this argot. The first two have been placed at my disposal by Dr. Grahamo Bailey, the chief authority on Sāsī. The third has been received from Gundaspur. The Standard List of Words and Sentences in ordinary and criminal Sāsī, for which I am likewise indebted to the kindness of Dr. Bailey, will be found on pp. 178ff.

[No. 19.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN I.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

Békki kōdmīā-gē dhōr bōrē thīyyē. Bun bichchā khikē
 One man-of two boys were. Them among by-the-little
 bāptē-gū kauhgiā ki, 'hē bāptē, dhamālā-gā jhrgā khissa mērgā
 father-to it-was-said that, 'O father, property-of what share mine
 asrta hōpē, manīl dēpi nōd.' Bun bun-kō khapnā nhārgā
 coming is, me-to giving leave. By-him them-to own all
 dhamāl khabatī nōdiā. Nhōrē khōjē nichhē khikē bōrē nhārgā
 property dividing was-left. Few days after by-little boy all
 māi natthā kūligē khadūr dhamulkā bichch jārigē rauhgiā,
 property together having-made distant country in having-gone stayed,
 tē bōthē nhārgē naisē nhairē nammē bichch khalāi nōdiā
 and there all piece evil works in expending left.
 Jad nhārgā nharch kūli linā, bus dhamulkā bichch jadā
 When all spent doing was-taken, that country in great
 dhakāl tawīā. Bōh chhauht naurā tawīā. Tad bus dhamulkā-gē
 famine fell. He very narrow fell. Then that country-of
 békki kōdmīā-gē nās gaugā, bun bus-kō khapnā nāliē bichch tūndē
 one man-of near went, by-him him own fields in pigs
 nhugānē ghēlwiā, tē bus-kī kharjī thī bun tāphlē-gū jhrgē
 to-graze he-was-sent, and him-of wish was those foddere which
 tūndē dimtē thīyyē khapnā nēt nharē; bus-kō kōi nahī dēptā
 pigs eating were own belly may-fill; him-to anyone not giving
 thīyyā. Bhī nōshā bichch asrigē kauhgnē laggā, 'mērgē
 was. Then sense in having-come to-say began, 'my
 bāptē-gē nās jadē khajūrē-gā chhauht tūmī hōpē, tē haū
 father-of near many hired-labourers-to much food is, and I
 chhukbā lūgtā hōpē. Haū khapnē bāptē nās jasnāgrā tē
 hungry dying am. I own father near will-go and
 kauhgaōgrā ki, 'hē bāptē, māi namānā-gā tē tērgā jadā nasūr
 will-say that, 'O father, by-me heaven-of and thy great sin

kūlā hōpē, biwkē haū his khajōgā nahī hōpē ki kōdmi manū tērgā
done is, now I this worthy not am that men me thy
 bōrā kauhge; dhumānū khajūrē jīdā rēkhwi nōj. " Bhi
boy may-say; me hired-labourers like placing leave." Then
 buthigē khapnē bāptē nās gaugā, tē bōh khajē khadār thīyyā,
having-arisen own father near went, and he yet far was,
 ki bus-kō naukhigē bus-kē bāptē-gū dhrāhm asriā, tē bīnkigē
that him having-seen him-of father-to compassion came, and having-run
 bus-kō dhagaḷ layā tē chihauht khachumiā. Bōrē bus-kō
him-to neck was-pressed and much it-was-kissed. By-boy him-to
 kauhgiā ki, ' hē bāptē, māī dhamānā-gā tē tērgā nasār
it-was-said that, ' O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin
 kūlā, biwkē his khajōgā nahī hōpē ki bhi tērgā bōrā
was-made, now this worthy not am that again thy boy
 rauhge. ' Bāptē khapnē khaukarē-gū kauhgiā ki, ' nhārē
may-remain. By-father own servants-to it-was-said that, ' all
 satthā chēnguē rīchrē lē-asrō tē bis-kō dhalāō, tē lās-kē khōthā-gū
than fine clothes bring and this-of put-on, and this-of hand-to
 nhāp tē nhārē-gū paupī, tē tōmē kāngalā-gū lē-asrigē balāl
ring and feet-to shoes, and fat calf having-brought killed
 kūlō, ki dīmā tē nushī kūlā. Mērgā bēā bōrā
make, that we-may-eat and merry may-make. My this boy
 lugi gaugā thīyyā, biwkē khajīwi tawīā; gawān gaugā thīyyā,
having-died gone was, now living fell; lost gone was,
 biw khalabhi tawīā. ' Bhi bōh nushī kūlō laggē.
now having-found fell. Then they merry to-make began.

Buskā jadā bōrā naiḷā bīchch thīyyā. Jad khaulē asriā,
Him-of big boy field in was. When house-to came,
 dhagaupē tē khauchnē-gā khawāj nhunīā. Tad bēkkī
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard. Then one
 khansukarā-gū chulāigē nūchhiā ki, ' bēā kyā hōpē ? ' Bun
servant-to having-called it-was-asked that, ' this what is ? ' By-him
 bus-kō kauhgiā, ' tērgā bhautā asriā hōpē, tērgē bāptē tōmā
him-to it-was-said, ' thy brother come is, by-thy by-father fat
 kāngal balāl kūlā, khis nāstē ki bōh chēnguā
calf killed was-made, this on-account-of that ' he well
 khalabhi tawīā. ' Bōh kharinj hōpiā tē bus-kī kharjī kundar
having-found fell. He angry became and him-of wish inside
 jasnē-gī nahī thī. Bhi bus-kā bāptā chhār asrigē bus-kō
going-of not was. Then him-of father outside having-come him

kharajāū kūlā laggā. Bun bāptē-gū khwāb dēpiā, 'naukhī
 pleased to-make began. By-him father-to answer was-given, 'seeing
 lēp, khitnē narsē-gī tērgī khatahl kultā hōpē, tē kadhi tērgā khākhā
 take, so-many years-of thy service doing am, and ever thy saying
 nahī nōriā; tē taī kadhi bēk chhābrī nahī dēpi, ki
 not was-broken; and by-thee ever one goat not was-given, that
 khappē 'khōstē nāthth nushi kālē; jad tērgā bēā bōrā asriā
 own friends with merry may-make; when thy this boy came
 jin tērgā dhamāl bēnjriē biēch lāyā, taī bus-kē
 by-whom thy property harlots among was-spent, by-thee him-of
 liyyē tōmā kāngal balāl kūliā.' Bun bus-kō kauhgīā,
 for-the-sake fat calf killed was-made.' By-him him-to it-was-said,
 'taū nadā mērgē nās hōpē; jihrgā mērgā hōpē, tērgā hōpē. Par
 'thou always my side art; what mine is, thine is. But
 naujā kūlū tē nush hōpūā chāhitā thiyyā; kyū, tērgā bēā
 merriments to-make and happy to-be proper was; why, thy this
 bhautā lūgī gaugā thiyyā, biwkē jiwī tawīā; gawān gaugā
 brother having-died gone was, now living fell; lost gone
 hiyyā, biwkē khalabhī tawīā.
 was, now finding fell.'

[No. 20.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SÂSI.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN II.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

Mhârgê dhôr pîr nurê jasartê thîyyê. Békki nádd
Our two saints going-along going were. One village
 chhêhngê gaugê. Békki khêtiâ nâsâ khadúddh chhângiâ.
to-beg went. One female-Jaff from milk was-asked.
 Bup nahî dêpiâ. Buh nuri gangê, bus-kâ khadúddh
By-her not was-given. They going-away went, her-of milk
 khalahû hôpi gaugâ. Bup khêtiâ nôkhiâ bhai khadúddh
blood becoming went. By-that female-Jaff it-was-seen that milk
 khalahû hôpi gaugâ, buh bhî nêchê binki. Bupê kaubgiâ,
blood becoming went, she then after ran. By-them it-was-said,
 'bôri, jasar, têrgâ khadúddh busi narah hôpi jasarâ.' Buh khaulâ
'girl, go, thy milk that-very way becoming will-go.' She home
 asari tê nôkhiâ, tê khadúddh busi narah hôpi gaugâ thîyyâ.
went and it-was-seen, and milk that-very way becoming gone was.
 Bupî dhôr pîrê ôñê békki karâmât kûlî Békki
Those-very two by-saints by-them one miracle was-done. By-one
 arkâ náthth dôph nuttî. Bhî bus-kô khriddigê
elbow with iguana was-dug-up. Then it having-cooked
 dîmiâ. Bhî bup nûsrê-gê kaubgiâ bhai, 'maî nuttî.
it-was-eaten. Then by-him other-to it-was-said that, 'by-me was-dug-up,
 taî bis-kô bhî narâjit kûl.' Bhî bup kôddiâ náththiâ
thou this again alive make.' Then by-him bones together
 kûliâ, tê kôthth nhêrigê kaubgê laggâ, 'jasar khabachêha,
were-made, and hand having-cared to-say began, 'go little-one,
 binki jasar.' Bhî buh binki gaugî tê narâjit hôpi
running go.' Then it running went and alive becoming
 gaugî. Tê bup dhôrê pîrê-gê naûthê Bhalâd Bhagat tê
went. And those two saints-of names Bhalâd Bhagat and
 Malang thîyyê, tê Bhalâd Bhagat Malangâ-gâ dhamâmâ thîyyâ.
Malang were, and Bhalâd Bhagat Malang-of mother's-brother was.

¹ For a free translation of this specimen, see above, p. 58.

[No. 21.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSL.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT GURDASPUR.

Bēki mānkhē-tē dhōr chhabōhrē thē. Khikē-nē bappā-thiā
One man-to two sons were. Younger-by father-to
 kaugiā paī, 'ē bappā, jō mērgiā dhagliā asartā hai chhaīdvi
it-was-said that, 'O father, which my share coming is dividing
 dē.' Jō kuchh thiā chhaīdvi dinā. Thōrī dīhā pichhūā
give.' What ever was dividing was-given. Few days after
 khikē chhabōhrē-nē nabh kuchh lēpi-kē dūr dhamulkhā-kō
younger son-by all whatever having-taken distant country-to
 chilpiā gōgā. Bōthī jasri jāi raugiā; jērā dhamāl
walked went. There having-gone having-gone stayed; what property
 thiā, bō bōthī dīmi lūā. Jad nabh kuchh rharch kulī
was, that there eating was-taken. When all whatever spent making
 dēpiā. bus dhamulkhā wichh chhaut rāl tauī gangā, hōr
was-given, that country in great famine falling went, and
 chhākhā lūgnē lēgbā, ta bēki rārū khaulē jasri raugiā.
hungry to-die began, and one citizen in-house having-gone stayed,
 Bus-kō tūdhē nageō-nē nhējiā. Bus-kā biyāhi matbal thiā paī
Him-to swine to-graze it-was-sent. Him-of this desire was that
 'jō nhikkar tūdhē dīmtē hōi nhikkar dīmi-kē nhōt nhar
'which husks swine eat those husks having-eaten belly full
 lēpūgā,' paī bus-kō kōi dēptā nāhī thiā. Nhēr bus-nū nhurt
may-take,' because him-to anyone giving not was. Then him-to sense
 asri gangi baur kaugnē lēgbā ki, 'mērgē bappā-kē khabauht khīti
coming went and to-say began that, 'my father-of much bread
 mikhilti thi, haū chhākhā lūgtā haī. Haū kūthi-kē āpnē
being-got was, I hungry dying am. I having-arisen own
 bāptē-kē nhās jārūgā baur bus-kō kaugūgrā paī, 'ē bāptē, māī
father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that, 'O father, by-me
 tērgā baur rhadhāi-kā chhangāh kulīā, baur biā khalāiki-kā nāhpi
thy and God-of sin was-done, and this worthiness-of not

ki mungō tērgā chhabōhrā mānkhō kangā. Mungō kuāpnē rāmā
that me thy son men may-call. He own servants
 khawichcha bēk khamjūr chhanōwi lepp." Ib kuāpnē bappā
among one hired-labourer engaging take." Then own father
 nhās khaturi chilpiā. Ōh ajō dārthē thiā, khabappā-kō khadēkhī-kē
near walking went. He yet far-off was, father-to having-seen
 kharāhm asriā, baur dūrkhi-kē chhagā-kē nhāth lōwī lōpiā baur
compassion came, and having-run usck-of with applying took and
 khachummiā. Bōhrē-nē bus-kō kaugiā, 'rē bāp, māi tērgā
kissed. Son-by him-to it-was-said, 'O father, by-me thy
 ar rhabāi-kā dhagnāh kūliā. Is khalāiki-kā khunāhī khabhi
and God-of sin was-done. This worthiness-of not nor
 tērgā bōhrā dhamannū kaugē. Phabappē kuāpnē khamaukrē-kō
thy son me they-may-call. By-the-father own servants-to
 kaugiā pai, 'koachchhi dalmiā lēpi asar baur bis-kē dāwō,
it-was-said that, 'good clothes taking come and this-on put-round,
 baur khōthā wichch nhāp chaugāi kharāi dāwī dēpō. baur ham
and hand on ring on-feet shoes putting give, and we
 khadimē ar rhusi kūlā, pai khamērā chhabōhrā lōgi
eating and merry let-make, that my son having-died
 gaugiā, khajiwi tawīā; guāchgi gangā siā, khabib lūhwi tawīā. Bib
went, alive fell; lost gone was, now found fell. Now
 bōh rhusi kūlnē lēgbē.
they merry to-make began.

Jadā chhabōhrā rhētā wichch thiā. Jad khaulē nhās asriā
Big boy field in was. When house near came
 roāchnē-kī khaūāchnē-kī dhawāj nhūnī Khatad khamaukrē-kō
singing-of dancing-of sound was-heard, Then servants-to
 chalōwi-kō nūchhiā, 'hiā chhiā hōpi raugiā? Bus-nē
having-called it-was-asked, 'this what becoming is? Him-by
 kaugiā, 'tērgā bhātā asriā, baur tērgē bappā-nē khiti dhamaī pai
it-was-said, 'thy brother came, and thy father-by feast was-given that
 kharājū-khabājū mikhli tawīā. Bus-nē rhabā hōpi-kē khaūāhī
safe-and-sound being-met fell. Him-by angry becoming not
 khachāhiā pai, 'kūndar jasnā. Bus-kē bappā-nē chhāhar asrikē
wished that, 'inside I-may-go. His father-by outside having-come
 bus-kō chhamanāyā. Bus-nē bappā-kō khajawāb dēpi dinā,
him-to was-entreated. Him-by father-to answer having-given was-given,
 'khadēkh, bitnē nhālē tērgi rhiḥmat kūtā ribā, baur khatērgi
'see, so-many years thy service doing remain, and thy

hukamgā-kō kadgī khañāhī makhōriā. Pur khataī radi bēk
order ever not was-transgressed. But by-thee ever one
 chhēbriā-kā chhāunā khañāhī dēpiā ki āpnē khadōstā nhāth rhusī
she-goat-of kid not was-given that own friends with merry
 kūlā. Baur jad khatērā biā chhabōhrā asriā khajis-nē khatērā
may-make. And when thy this son came whom-by thy
 khamāl dhāchuiā khawichch khadēwiā, khataī bus-kē khawāstē khīti
property harlots among was-wasted, by-thee him-of for-the-sake feast
 kūlī. Bus-nē kaugiā, 'bē chhabōhrē, khataū mērgē nhās
was-made. Him-by it-was-said, 'O son, thou my near
 nhāihāi hōpāi, baur jō khamērgā hai, sō tērgā-i hai. Par
always art, and what mine is, that thine-also is. But
 nhusi kūlnī khachāhiti hōpai, khakyū, ēh tērgā bhāutā luggī
merry to-make proper is, why, this thy brother having-died
 gaugā, khajīwi tawiā; dhaguāchi gaugā, baur lēbhwi tawiā.
went, alive fell; lost went, and being-found fell.

KOLHĀṬĪ.

The Kolhāṭis are a tribe of rope dancers and tumblers in Bombay, Berar and the Hyderabad State. They are said¹ to take their name from Name. *kōlhāṭ*, the bamboo on which they perform. The corresponding Kanarese form of the name, however, is *kollatiga*, which is a compound of *kol-kōl*, a stick, a rod, and *aṭiga*, a player. In the Bombay Presidency they are also called Dōmbārī or Dōmbhārī, which word must have something to do with Dōm, the name of another Gipsy tribe. According to Mr. Balfour they call themselves Bhatū; compare *bhattā*, the name used by Sāsīs to indicate a man of their tribe.

In the Bombay Presidency the Kolhāṭis are also makers of the small buffalo horn pulleys which are used with cart ropes in fastening loads. Occupation. They also make hide combs and gunpowder flasks. When a girl comes of age, she is called to choose between marriage and prostitution. If, with her parents' consent, she wishes to lead a married life, she is well taken care of and carefully watched. If she chooses to be a tumbler and a prostitute, she is taken before the caste council, a feast is given, and with the consent of the council she is declared a prostitute. The prostitutes are not allowed to eat with other Kolhāṭis, except with their own children. Still, when they grow old, their caste-fellows support them.² According to Major Gunthorpe,³ the Kolhāṭis of the Dekhan 'belong to the great Sānsya family of robbers and claim their descent from Mallanūr, the brother of Sānsmal. There are two tribes, Dukar Kolhāṭis and Kam or Pal Kolhāṭis. The former are a non-wandering criminal tribe, whereas the latter are a non-wandering criminal class. Depraved in morals, the males of both tribes subsist to a great extent on the prostitution of some of their females, though let it be said to the credit of the former that they are not so bad as the latter. They labour for themselves by cultivating land, by taking service as village watchmen, or by hiring themselves to villages to destroy that pest of Indian farmers, the wild dog, and above all they are professional robbers. Kam Kolhāṭis, on the other hand, are a lazy, good-for-nothing class of men who, beyond making a few combs and shuttles of bone, will set their hands to no class of labour, but subsist mainly by the immoral pursuits of their women.'

At the last Census of 1911 Kolhāṭis were returned only from the Hyderabad State where they were said to be 1,143 in number. The returns of the Census of 1901 were much fuller, and were as follows:—

Bombay Presidency—

Bombay Town	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	123
Thana	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	76
Ahmednagar	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	588
Khandesh	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	435
Nasik	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	383
Poona	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	384
Satara	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	334
Sholapur	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	187
Carried over	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,510

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, ii, 123ff.² *Bombay Gazetteer*, xi, 186.³ *Criminal Tribes*, p. 46ff.

Bombay Presidency—*contd.*

Brought forward	2,510
Akalkot	85
Bhor	7
Satara Agency	19
Belgaum	409
Bijapur	148
Dharwar	380
Kanara	15
Kolaba	306
Ratnagiri	2
Kolhapur	270
Southern Maratha Country	473
Sawantwadi	57

TOTAL BOMBAY PRESIDENCY 4,681

Berar—

Amravati	88
Akola	638
Ellichpur	164
Buldana	281
Wani	97
Basim	57

TOTAL BERAR 1,325

Hyderabad—

Gulbarga	1,049
Naldurg	3,022
Hyderabad	67
Nander	88
Sirpur Tandur	491
Parbhani	75
Bhir	229
Aurangabad	385
Indar	1

TOTAL HYDERABAD 6,007

GRAND TOTAL 12,013

Specimens of a dialect called Kōlhāṭī have been forwarded from Berar and also from the Chanda District of the Central Provinces. They all agree in so many particulars that we are justified in talking of a Kōlhāṭī dialect, and there is no reason for supposing that the Kōlhāṭīs of the Bombay Presidency use a different form of speech. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Kōlhāṭī was returned from the following districts:—

Bombay Presidency—

Ahmednagar	790
Poona	350
Satara	150

1,290 . 1,290

Berar—

Amravati	127
Akola	640
Ellichpur	200
Buldana	150

1,117 . 1,117

Central Provinces—

Chanda	50	50
	Total	2,367

Authority. A Kōlhātī vocabulary has been published in the following work :—

BALFOUR, EDWARD.—*On the Migratory Tribes of Natives in Central India.* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. xiii, Part i, 1844, pp. 1 and ff. Note on the "Bhatoos" on p. 12; vocabulary, pp. 17 and f.

Mr. Balfour states that the names of the tribe are Bhato, Doomur or Kollati.

Dialect. Bhato is identical with the Sāsi word *bhattū*, a Sāsi man. The corresponding Kōlhātī feminine *bhatāni* means 'wife'

and is identical with Sāsi *bhatāpī*, a Sāsi woman. It is tempting to infer a closer relationship between Kōlhātī and Sāsi from this, and indeed, an examination of Kōlhātī shows that it is a dialect of the same kind as Sāsi and connected forms of speech. With regard to phonology we may here note the frequency with which consonants are doubled, while the preceding vowel often is long or half long; thus, *ṣkka*, one; *rakkh*, keep; *khōggā*, house; *ruṭṭi*, bread; *uṭṭhī*, having arisen; *gāḍḍhī*, having taken out; *sātta*, seven; *baddhē*, were bound; *rānna*, ear; *khumma*, mouth; *bhallā*, much. Other phonetical features are of less significance. Such are the occasional change of *ch* to *s* in the Ellichpur specimens; compare *kharsī*, spent; the change of *ḷ* to *y* in Akola, a common occurrence in the current Marāṭhī of the district; compare *rāy*=*kāl*, famine; *muyē* and *mudē*, on account of. The interchange of hard and soft sounds in words such as *ap-sī*, from now; *gāḍḍhī*, having taken out, but *kaḍḍ*, draw, in the Akola specimens may also prove of interest.

The inflexional system is mainly the same as in Pañjābī-Sāsi. We may note the frequent *ā*-termination of the oblique form of masculine bases ending in *i* or a consonant, and of feminines, an important point of agreement with Sāsi; compare *khētā-mē*, in the field; *ārōpiyā-ṭhō*, near the accused; *bhatāniyā-nē*, by the wife. In Akola we find the Gujarātī termination *ō* in forms such as *bāpō*, fathers; *khōggō-mē-si*, from in the house; *kachēriō-mē*, in court.

The case terminations are broadly the same as in Hindōstānī, viz.:—case of the agent *-nē*; dative *-ku*, *-kō*; ablative *-sē*, *-sī*; genitive *-kā*, *kī*, *kē*, *kiā*; locative *-mē*.

With regard to pronouns we may note *hū*, I; *ham*, we, in Akola. In Buldana, Ellichpur and Chanda, we find *mē*, *mī*, I; compare Marāṭhī. In Ellichpur we also find the form *mērē-ku*, to me, which was also used in the Bēldārī of the same neighbourhood. Note also forms such as *jabō*, then, in Akola, which remind us of Rājasthānī.

The conjugation of verbs is mainly the same as in Pañjābī and Sāsi. In the Akola specimens forms such as *kahēngdā*, said, are translated as past tenses. In the list of words, however, we find *hōngdā*, I shall be; compare the Sāsi future suffix *grā*. The future of *mārnā*, to beat, is stated to be *māraṅg* throughout all persons and numbers in Akola. In Ellichpur we find future forms such as *jānēgā*, I shall go; *ballēgā*, I shall say.

The general character of Kōlhātī will be seen from the beginning of a version of the Parable which follows. It has been forwarded from Ellichpur.

[No. 22.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KŌLHĀTĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Yakki mankhā-ku dō chhōrē huvē. Dōnō-mē-kā nhannā happā-ku
One man-to two sons were. Both-in-of younger father-to
 balyā, 'happa, jē jingī-kā battā hai, sē mērē-ku dē.' Majē
said, 'father, which property-of share is, that me-to give.' Then
 un-nō jingī batti di. Majē thōdē dinā-sē nhannā
him-by property dividing was-given. Then few days-after younger
 chhōrā sagal gōlā kari mulkhā-war gayā. Aplē jingī
son all together having-made country-to went. Own property
 mastiyē-si udāi dii, kharsī sari gai. Us mulkhā-mē
debauchery-in wasting was-given, spent all went. That country-in
 badā kāl padyā, u-satti us-ku aḍchan paḍi. Us waktā-kō us
big famine fell, that-for him-to distress fell. That time-at that
 mulkā-si yakki mankhā thānē jāi rahyā; unē apnē
country-of one man near having-gone stayed; him-by own
 khōtā-mē tanjē charāwnē bhēji diyā. O tādē kōndā
fields-in pigs to-lead having-sent he-was-given. Those swine husks
 khōtē thiyē, o khāi pēt bharnō aisā us-ku
eating were, those having-eaten belly should-be-filled thus him-to
 bātyā; us-ku kinē kāi diyā nāi. Majē o
it-appeared; him-to by-anyone anything was-given not. Then he
 sudī-mē āisanē balyā, 'mērē happā-kē gharā-ku mankhā-ku rutti pēt
sense-in having-come said, 'my father-of house-at men-to bread belly
 bhari milti; mī bhukkā martā. Mī ntthi mērē happā-kōnē
filling is-got; I starving die. I having-arisen my father-near
 jānēga, us-ku ballēgā, "ē happā, bindē-kē irud an tērē
will-go, him-to will-say, "O father, heaven-of against and of-thee
 āga mī-nī pāp karyā. Abthunā-si mī tērā bētā kaynē-kē lāik
before me-by sin was-done. Now-from I thy son saying-of worthy
 nāi. Aplē chākriyē-kē gadiyē-wāni mērē-ku rakkha." Majē utyā,
not. Own service-of labourer-like me keep." Then arose,
 utti happā-kunē gayā.
having-arisen father-near went.

The few Kōlhātīs of Chanda use a similar form of speech. The usual past tense of verbs, however, more closely agrees with Hindōstānī; compare *bōlā*, said; *lagā*, began. Other details will be ascertained from the version of a well-known tale which follows.

[No. 23.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KOLHĀTĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHANDA.

Ekka ādmīya-ku dō nhanē laḍkē thīya, ek chhōrā an ek chhōrī.
One man-to two small children were, one boy and one girl.
 Chhōrā thīyā, wō muwā-mē baḍā bānglā thīyā, chhōrī aisi-ch thīya.
Boy was, he face-in very handsome was, girl common was.
 Ekka din wō dō-jhanē chhōrē aīnē-kō najik khēltē thīya. Chhōrā
One day those two-people children glass-of near playing were. Boy
 chhōriya-ku bōltā, 'āya, yē aīnē-mē dikka bhalā nikkī kōn disti
girl-to says, 'O, this glass-in see well good who is-appearing
 ki.' Chhōriya-ku wō nikkā nahī lagā. Us-kō samjhā
what? Girl-to that good not appeared. Her-to it-was-thought
 kī is-nē yē āplyā-ku hināwnē-ku bōlā, Pichhā unē
that this-by this herself lowering-for was-said. Afterwards her-by
 happā-kā najik bhayya-kō gārhanē bōllē. Wō hōlī, 'bappā,
father-of near brother-of complaints were-said. She said, 'father,
 kōynē-mē khum dikhī khushī pūnā, yē bāykā-kā kām; us-mē
glass-in face seeing satisfaction to-get, this women-of work; that-in
 ādmīya-nē man ghālnā nahī.' Bappā-ne, dō-jhanē-kō pētā-sī pākadi
man-by mind to-be-put not.' Father-by both breast-to clasping
 us-kō khushī kiyā. Wō bōlā, 'chhōrēnō, tum laḍhu nā-kō.
her-to satisfaction was-made. He said, 'children, you fight not-should.
 Ajā-sī tum dō-jhanē-bhī dinā-ma aīnē-mē dekhtē jā.
To-day-from you both-even day-in glass-in seeing go.'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A man had two small children, a son and a daughter. The boy was very good looking, the girl was of indifferent beauty. One day the two children were playing near the looking-glass. The boy said to the girl, 'come, let us look in the glass to see who is the prettiest.' This did not please the girl. She thought that he did it in order to humiliate her. Then she went to her father and complained of the boy. She said, 'to derive pleasure from looking at one's face in a glass is the business of women; a man should not put his mind on such things.' The father clasped both to his bosom, satisfied her and said, 'children, don't quarrel. I should like both of you to look into the glass every day.'

The word *kōynē-mē*, in the glass, in the Chanda specimen, where a *k* has been added in front of the word *ainē-mē*, reminds us of various methods of disguising words in Criminal Sāsī and similar argots.

Argot.

The specimens received from Akola show that the Kōlhātīs know the use of an artificial language of the same kind. There are in the first place some peculiar words such as *kājī*, woman; *khōggā*, house; *khūm*, mouth, face; *chēnī*, water; *tummī*, head; *ṭaunā*, fall; *thāy*, beat; *ṭicā*, rupee; *ṭhōkuā*, sit; *ḍutta*, cat; *dhēḍ*, a Mahār (lit. a huge, burly, person); *bhatānī*, wife; *hēṭṭī*, women, and so on. Common words are moreover disguised in various ways, as in other argots.

A consonant is often prefixed or substituted for the initial. Gutturals are used in this way in words such as *kajēṭā*=*bēṭā*, child; *kōkkha*=*ākḥ*, eye; *kōdmī*=*ādmī*, man; *kōhōt*=*hāth*, hand; *khūt*=*ūth*, camel; *khanākka*=*nāk*, nose; *khanajik*=*najik*, near; *khūmbar*=*umar*, age; *khōran*=*haran*, deer, and so forth. It should be noted that after *k*, *kh*, an *a*-sound is often replaced by an *o*-sound, just as is the case in Sāsī.

As in Sāsī and similar argots a palatal is often used as a substitute for a labial. Thus, *chaḍā*=*baḍā*, big; *chhut*=*bhūt*, devil; *(ka)jēṭā*=*bēṭā*, boy; *jōhōt*=*bahut*, much.

ṭh and *ḍh* are prefixed in words such as *ṭhamāl*, property; *ṭhamarnā*, to die; *ḍhōkkal*, a dog.

Of dentals we find *th* in *thēr*, three, and *dh* in *dhōr*, two. Moreover *n* is a common substitute; thus, *nān*=*chād*, moon; *nyār*=*chār*, four; *nōr*=*chōr*, thief; *nāt*=*jāt*, caste; *nāb*=*jibh*, tongue; *nāṭṭa*=*dāt*, tooth; *nusrā*=*ḍusrā*, other; *nēṭ*=*pēṭ*, belly; *nāch*=*pāch*, five; *nōkkaḍ*=*bōkkaḍ*, goat; *nihē*=*liyē*, for the sake of. This *n* is sometimes aspirated, when it has been substituted for an aspirate or *s*; thus, *nhēt*=*khēt*, field; *nhūḍ*=*ḍghūḍ*, tree; *nhāmē*=*sāmuē*, before; *nhuriyā*=*suriyā*, sun.

B is prefixed in words such as *bēk*, one; *bus*, him; *bēṭhē-sī*, from here. It replaces an old initial in words such as *bōrā*=*chhōrā*, boy; *bannagar*=*ḍhangar*, shepherd; *bōmnā*=*sōnā*, gold.

R is apparently only used instead of an initial guttural; thus, *ris-kā*, whose? *rēṭṭī*, how much? *rānna*=*kān*, ear; *rāy*=*gāy*, cow; *rāw*=*gāw*, village; *rhup*=*khūb*, well; *rhōḍā*=*ghōḍā*, horse; *rhālō*=*ghālō*, put.

Sometimes also words are disguised by means of additions at the end. Thus *gh* has been added in *gōghā*, went; *rōghyā*, stayed; a palatal has been suffixed in *bānchī*, sister; *nānchhā*, small; *nānchhā*, name; *hōchchē*, is, etc. Other additions are *tā* in *bāptā*, father; *bhārotā*, brother; *p* in *ḍēppa*, give; *lyēp*, take; *r* in *dhōr*, two; *w* in *āwtā*, comes; *s* and *sar* in *jāssa*, go; *āsartā*, comes, and so forth.

Further details will be ascertained by studying the specimens which follow. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable; the second is the deposition of a witness. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

[No. 24.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

CRIMINAL KOLHATĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT AKOLA.

Kōi bēk kōdmī-kō dhōr bōrē hōcheche. Bus-mā-kā nhamnā
Some one man-to two sons were. Them-in-of younger
 bōrā happā-ku kahēngdā, 'bappā, yō mērā thamālā-kā nāttā mu-ku
son father-to said, 'father, this my property-of share me-to
 āsartā, wō mō-ku dēppō.' Jabō bus-nē bunh-kō nhampat nāttā
comes, that me-to give! Then him-by them-to property deciding
 dēppi. Jabō nhōdē dīnā-sī nhansā bōrā sab namā
was-given. Then few days-from small son all together
 kariknāi dūr nēsā-mē gōghā, anī wōthē khudādēpanā-sī
having-made far country-in went, and there riotousness-with
 iyā ahi khāplī nhampat khudāi dēppi. Jabō bus-nē
was-taken and own property having-wasted was-given. Then him-by
 sab rharchē-par bus mulkhā-mē chadā rāy tawyā, bus-muyē
all spent-after that country-in big famine fell, that-on-account-of
 bus-ku khudchan tavi. Jad ō bus nēsā-mē-kā bēkkā rarasthā-kē
him-to difficulty fell. Then he that country-in-of one man-of
 khanajik jāik rūghyā. Bun-nē bus-ku khāplē nhētā-mē nhār
near having-gone stayed. Him-by him own field-in swine
 narāwnē nāthāyā. Jad sūr jō narphal khātā thiyā bus-par
to-feed was-sent. Then sowing which husks eating were those-on
 khāplā pēt bharnā ēsā bus-kē nīlā-mē āyā; ākhin
own belly should-be-filled thus his heart-in came; and
 kin-nē bus-ku kāhī dīppā nāhī. Jad ō nhudī-par
anybody-by him-to anything was-given not. Then he sense-on
 āiknāhī kahēngdā, 'mērē bappā-kē ēthē ritēk nhāldārā-ku
having-come said, 'my father-of with how-many servants-to
 nhar-pūr rōtti miltī, ākhin hū bhukkā-sī thamartā.
belly-full bread is-got, and I hunger-from am-dying.'
 Utthi khāplē bappā-kē baṅg jāngdā wa bus-kē kēhē, 'nō
Having-arisen own father-of near went and him-to said, 'O
 bāptē, mē-nē nēwā-kē khirdi wa tērē nhāmnē nāp karyā
father, me-by God-of against and of-thee before sin done

hē. Ap-sī tērā chhōrā kēhenē-kē hū lāyak nāhī.
is. Now-from thy son saying-of I worthy not.
 Narantu bappā-nē khāplē nakrā-ku kahyā, 'śābut rapdā
But father-by own servants-to it-was-said, 'good cloth
 lāi bus-ku rhallō; ākhin bus-kē kōhōtā-mē khāngōṭī wō
having-taken him-to put; and his hand-on ring and
 gōtē-mē jōdvē rhallō. Jab āpun khāi nēn karaṅg.
foot-on shoes put. Then we having-eaten merry shall-make.
 Kāran yō mērā chhōrā mari gayā thiyā, ō phiriknāi
Because this my son having-died gone was, he again
 jiwā huwā; wō jattā rhiyā thiyā, ō milyā. Jab
living became; he lost remaining was, he was-found. Then
 ō harikh karhī rihē.
they merriment making were.

[No. 25.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

CRIMINAL KOLHATI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT AKOLA.

Jānu walad Hari, nāt Kolhātī, khumbar baras tis, basti
Jānu son-of Hari, caste Kolhātī, age years thirty, residence
 Kāndī, nēwā-kī ān lī kēhētā kē ājmās pandhrā din huē
Kāndī, God-of oath having-taken I-say that nearly fifteen days become
 hōngē, rōj śukarwār dīn rātī hū wō bhatānī ān dhōr chhōrē
may-be, day Friday day at-night I and wife and two children
 ittē khōggē-mē suktē thīē, Jab dhōr pēhērā-kē rātī-kē
so-many house-in sleeping were. Then two watch-of night-of
 sumhārā-mē mērē bhatānīyā-nē mu-ku jāgī karyā ākhin kibī
approximation-in my wife-by me awakening was-made and saying
 rihī kē, 'khōggē-mē bhāndē bajī rihīpē, ākhin kōdmī-kā chāhāy
she-was that, 'house-in pots sounding are, and man-of noise
 āwtā hē, jāh uṭhī.' Bus-par-sē hū uṭhīyā ākhin bhītī-kē baṅg
coming is, then rise.' That-on-from I rose and wail-of near
 dēkhyā. Jabī bhōk mu-ku dīkhyā. Bus-par-sē mu-ku khās
it-was-seen. Then hole me-to was-seen. That-on-from me-to certainly
 wāṭyā kē kōi-tō-bī khōggā phōḍī māhāy ghūsyā hē.
it-appeared that somebody house having-broken inside entered is.
 Khōggā-mē dīwā nāhī thīyā. Mērē bichhāwnā-tanhē aṅgār-pēṭī thī.
House-in lamp not was. My bed-under match-box was.
 Mō-nē lagēch gāddhī bus-kō pēṭāi. Ittē-mē yō ārōpi
Me-by at-once having-taken-out it was-lighted. This-much-in this accused
 bhītī-kē pādēl bhōkā-ṭhōk jāi-riyā. Bus-par mērī najar gayē-barōbar
wall-of made hole-near going-was. That-on my sight gone-immediately
 mē-nē bus-ku pakadyā, ākhin bus-kā kōhōt pakadyā. Bus-kō kēhōngdā
me-by him-to was-seized, and him-of hand was-seized. Him-to I-said
 kē, 'arē nōrā, katthē chalyā?' Bus-par-sī bus-kī ān mērī
that, 'O thief, where moved?' That-on-from him-of and of-me
 jhōmbājhōmbī khub huī, wō mē-nē khōggē-mē-sī kalhā karyā.
struggling much became, and me-by house-in-from noise was-made.

Bus-par-sī khōggē-kē sējārī-lōk Sitārām wō Iṭhōbā ēsē āyē.
That-on-from house-of neighbours Sitārām and Iṭhōbā these came.

Ittē-mē mērē bhatāniyā-nē diwā lagāyā, ākhin khōggē-kē mähāy-kī
This-much-in my wife-by lamp was-lighted, and house-of inside-of
 sakkayī gāddhī, wō uprē jō isam likhyē vē mähāy
chains were-taken-off, and above which persons were-written those inside
 āyē. Jab mu-ku bhallā jōr āyā; jab is ārōpiyā-ṭhō
came. Then me-to much strength came; then this accused-near

dēkhyē, tō pāch khanna nīkyē. Vē khanna thārā ṭivē
it-was-seen, then five bodices came-out. Those bodices three rupees
 kimatī-kē hē. Vē mērē hē, bhatāniyā-kē gathōdē-mē thiyē. Ō
worth-of are. They mine are, wife-of cloth-bundle-in were. That

gathōdā chakkiyā-ṭhōkē utyaniyā-ṭhō thiyā. Is-kē siwāi nusrā
bundle grinding-stone-near-of jar-pile-near was. This-of excepting other

māl gayā nāhī. Ham-nē thērā-nē hus-kē kōhōt baddhē, ākhin
property went not. Us-by three-by him-of hands were-bound, and

lagēch paṭelā-kē baṅg lī gayō, wō huī bakikat paṭelā-kō
at-once Paṭel-of near having-taken went, and happened account Paṭel-to

kahī. Bus-par-sī paṭelā-nē chaukidārā-kē wō dhēdā-kē tābē-mē
was-told. That-on-from Paṭel-by watchman-of and mahār-of custody-in

ārōpi-ku diyā, ākhin sabērē-kē pēher pōlis ṭhēsan Bārsī-Takliyā-ku
the-accused-to was-given, and morning-of time police station Bārsī-Takli-to

paṭhāyā. Ārōpi kis rāw-kā hē, bus-kē nāwehā kyā hē, yō
he-was-sent. The-accused which village-of is, his name what is, this

mu-ku mālum nāhī, kārān-kē ō hamārē rāwā-kā nāhī. Diwā lagāwnē-kē
me-to known not, because he our village-of not. Lamp lighting-of

nihē mē-nē aṅgār-pēṭī-kī kāḍī ṓdhī. Ittē-mē ō ārōpi
in-order me-by match-box-of stick was-rubbed. This-much-in that accused

bhōkkā-kē khanaṭik dikhānā. Bus-mudē mu-ku diwā lagāwtā
hole-of near appeared. That-on-account-of me-to lamp being-lighted

āyā nāhī. Bhūti-kē pādēl bhōkkā-mē-sī kōdmī-ku adchan-mē-sī jānā
came not. Wall-of broken hole-in-from man-to difficulty-in-from to-go

awnā awtā. Kachērīō-mē huwā khidā jis khidē-sē bhūti-ku bhōk
to-come comes. Court-in become nail which nail-by wall-to hole

pādyā, ō mu-ku bhōkā-kē najikā-kē nāwniyā-mē milyā.
was-split, that me-to hole-of near-of bathroom-in was-found.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

I, Jānu, son of Hari, a Kōlhāṭī by caste, aged thirty, a resident of Kandi, state on oath that, about a fortnight ago, on a Friday night, I and my wife and two children were sleeping in the house. At midnight my wife roused me and said, 'there is a rattling of pots in the house, and footsteps are heard, therefore get up.' Then I got up and on looking towards the wall I saw a hole in it. I then understood that somebody must have broken into the house. There was no light in the house, but there was a match-box beneath my bed. I immediately got hold of it and lighted a match. Then this very accused began to move towards the hole made in the wall. As soon as I saw him, I caught hold of him and holding him by the hand said to him, 'Ah thief, where are you off for?' Then there was a great struggle between him and me, and I cried out loudly from within the house. Thereupon my neighbours Sitārām and Itihōbā came. In the meantime my wife lighted a lamp and unchained the door from within, and the persons just noted stepped into the house. Then I felt much strength. When the accused was searched five pieces of bodice-cloth were found on him. They are worth three rupees. They are mine and were in the bundle of my wife, which was near the jar-pile by the grinding stone. Nothing besides this is lost. We three bound the hands of the accused and immediately took him to the Patēl and informed him of what had happened. The Patēl gave the accused in charge of a chaukidār and a mahār and in the morning sent him to the police station at Barsī Takli. I do not know from what village the accused is or what his name is, for he does not belong to our village. I struck a match to light the lamp, and then I saw the accused at the hole. Therefore I could not light the lamp. A man can with difficulty go in and out of the hole made in the wall. The iron spike before the Court, with which the wall was bored, was found by me in the bath-room near the hole.

GĀRŌḌĪ.

The Gārōḍīs are a wandering tribe of jugglers in the Belgaum District. Their head-quarters are said to be at Miraj near Kolhapur. They are said to have been converted to Muhammadanism about the middle of the sixteenth century, and are looked upon as belonging to the Madārī sect. According to the Bombay Gazetteer,¹ 'the men are middle-sized, sturdy, and dark or olive . . . The women, who like the men are middle-sized, are thin, well-featured, and dark or olive . . . The men are jugglers, tumblers, and snake-charmers. They are hard-working, but are much given to intoxicating drinks and drugs and are poorly clad and scrimped for food . . . Except circumcising their boys they keep no Musalman customs, and are Muhammadans in little more than name.'

The name Gārōḍī or Gārūḍī is derived from *gāruḍa*, a snake-charmer. I have no information as to the number of Gārōḍīs in Belgaum.

Two specimens and a list of Standard Words and Sentences have been received from Belgaum as illustrating the dialect of the Gārōḍīs. It is a rather inconsistent form of speech, and it seems probable that several of the forms registered in the list are incorrect. Thus the future *lugāwāḡō*, shall beat, is stated to be used in both numbers. In the specimens, however, we find *hapeluḡā*, let us become. This latter form most closely agrees with Eastern Rājasthānī. On the whole it will be seen that Gārōḍī is based on a mixture of Hindōstānī, Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī. Thus the nominative of strong masculine bases ends in *ō* in the singular as in Rājasthānī and Gujarātī, though we also find *rēmūā*, goat, as in Hindōstānī. The plural and the oblique base end in *ē* as in Hindōstānī; compare *lācḡē* (but also *lācḡō*), sons; *bhāwutē-kū*, to a father. The genitive ends in *kō* as in Rājasthānī. Before an inflected masculine noun we also find *kā*. In the periphrastic present we find *lugū hū*, I am dying, as in Mēwātī, Mālvi, and Mēwārī. The past tense of the verb substantive is *chhō* as in Jaipurī; Marāṭhī forms are *mā*, I; *lācḡē*, a child; the common emphatic *ch*, and so on. In addition to all these elements there is also an admixture of Dravidian. It is seen in some words such as *ingā*, here; *uḡā*, there; *nīrmā*, water; *nānd*, house, village, etc., in the frequent use of adverbial and relative participles such as *hāyilōtō*, when coming; *hāyilandē*, coming; *bētēsō*, eaten, and so forth.

It would, however, be useless to go into further details. The mixed nature of the dialect will be sufficiently apparent from the specimens.

Like other Gipsy tribes the Gārōḍīs try to make their speech unintelligible by using strange words or else by disguising ordinary words in various ways. Some of the unusual words found in the specimens are *alḡi*, whip; *bēt*, eat; *bōḡā*, gold; *chisam*, good; *chōnō*, name; *dhamuklō*, belly; *dhikmō*, slave; *dharālī*, iron; *dhāyṭi*, property; *dghalwītū*, harlot; *dghāmī*, midnight; *dghangī*, a bulbous root; *gōnō*, hand; *gōnālī*, foot; *ghuruknā*, swine; *jachan*, diagnose; *kāfā*, man; *kanēchī*, eye (cf. Tamil *kaṇa*); *khōmḡā*, mouth; *kāḡsō*, bull; *kāyḡi*, ailment; *lug*, die; *lugā*, beat; *mallā*, garden; *nimal*, run, loose; *nānd*, house, village; *nāḡhā*, wife; *nīrmā*, water; *panēchī*, back (cf.

¹ Vol. xxi, pp. 224 & f.

Kanarese *bennu*); *tabēt*, health; *ṭap*, fall; *ṭōk*, say; *ṭōlohō*, head (cf. Kanarese *talē*); *ṭhīg*, sit; *walā*, give, and so on.

Ordinary words are sometimes disguised by means of a simple transposition of the letters; thus, *dabō*, big; and perhaps *ṭap*, fall. Occasionally we find aspiration or disaspiration of consonants; thus, *ghāyilē*, they went; *ṭhailkanā*, having taken; *nākyō*, threw.

In many cases a consonant has been prefixed or substituted for the initial of a word. *Kh* is used in this way in words such as *khadmi*, man; *khūpar*, above; *khut-kō*, having arisen; *khōyid*=*baid*, doctor. In *gāndilō*, silver, *g* is similarly used instead of *ch*, and in *rēmṇā*, goat, *r* for *m*.

Ch is, as in many similar argots, used instead of *b* in words such as *chulācu*, to call; *chōḷai*, word, state. Note *chirwānd*, bind. In *jilātī*, cat, *j* has been used in a similar way, cf. *bilādī*. *Dzh* is a more common substitute; compare *dzhichādī*, behind; *dzhukāyit*=*bhūkh*, hunger; *dzhāil-kanā*, having gone; *dzhapplī*, shoe, sandal; *dzhupār*, afternoon (cf. *dō pahār*), and so on. A *t* has been substituted for a *p* in *ṭikaḍ*, seize. The initial *q*h in *qhamuklō*, belly; *qhikmō*, slave, is probably of the same kind. The syllable *tur* in *turcālē*, hair, is apparently also an addition made in order to disguise the word, or else it may be a disguised *air*, head. Other consonants used in a similar way are *n* in *nētyā-kō*, to the fields; *l* in *lipadā*, cloths; and, cockney way, *h* in *hāyil*, come; *hust*, camel.

Another way of disguising words is by means of additions at the end. Such additions are,—

k in *bhēkdā*, brother; and *g* in *bōngā*, gold; compare, however, Kanarese *baṅgāra*; *ch* in *kanēchī*, eye; *kānēchī*, ear; *chandichī*, moon; *bhanichī*, sister; *nhanchō*, small, etc.;

ṭ in *ghōrṭō*, horse; *q* in *khagāḍī*, before; *khōmḍā*, mouth; *dāḍwā*, tooth; *bhēkdā*, brother, etc.;

t in *dzhukāyit*, hunger;

p in *chapēlyō*, was; *hapē-nā*, am not;

m in *ek-mū*, one; *dul-mū*, two; *kitmū*, how many? *bhutmū*, devil; *dēmā*, god; *tōḍmō*, I broke; *thudmō*, few; *karmel*, do; *sunmel-kā*, having heard, etc.

l in *karēlyō*, did; *karmel*, do; *ghulel*, put; *ghāyilē*, went; *chalēlō*, went; *jagāyilyō*, waked; *dzhāyil*, go; *batul-kā*, dividing; *rakellō*, keep; *sunel-hāyilyō*, hearing came, was heard; *sunnel-kā*, having heard; *hāyilyō*, came; *dulmū*, two, and so forth. Similarly we find *ṭ* in words such as *nachlan*, dancing; *mōklō*, relief.

Finally we find *s* added in *kharsā*, ass.

By means of all these additions the argot of the Gārōḍis gets a peculiar appearance. Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the second is an incomplete version of a well-known tale.] The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

[No. 26.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

GARŌDĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekmū kājā-kū dūlmū lāwdē chhō. Yē-kē mhayi nhanchō lāwdō
One man-to two sons were. Them-of among younger son
 āplyō bhāwutē-ka tōkyō, 'bhāwutē, tērō dhāyti-mā-si ma-kū hāyilāndē
own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in-from me-to coming
 bātō ma-kū walā.' Bhāwutō yē-kē mhayi āplyō dhāyti bātāl-kā
share me-to give.' Father them-of among own property dividing
 walai. Nhanchō lāwdō āplyō bātō lhail-kanā dūr mulūk-kū
gave. Younger son own share having-taken far country-to
 dzhūil-kanā bharkum dīn hoyilē-nā, ō-mā-ch wō dund hō-kanā
having-gone many days became-not, that-in he riotous having-become
 āplyō dhāyti sab ghālā nākyō. Ō hē karālētō wā
own property all throwing was-lost. He so doing that
 mulūk-ma dabi dzhūanjli tap-kā ō-kū wanwās hāyilyō. Ō
country-in big famine having-fallen him-to poverty became. He
 wā dēs-kā ekmū khadmī kan tsākri rhapēlyō; ē khadmī
that country-of one man near in-service remained; that man
 ō-kū ghuruknā charāpē-kū nētyā-kū lagā-dhailyō. Ungā dzhukāyit-si
him seine feeding-for fields-to was-sent. There hunger-from
 kalmal hōyil-kan ghuruknā bētēsō bhussō hī bēt-kō
exhausted having-become swine eaten husks even having-eaten
 dhamuklō bhārlē-chhō, lēkhin ō-kū koyi-kan-si kujī-ch milēchh-nā.
belly filling-was, but him-to anybody-from anything-even was-got-not.
 Aīsē thudmē dīn ghāyilē, āplyō dzhichālī chōlnī yād hō-kanā
So few days passed, own former state memory having-become
 ō āplyō man-ma tōkyō, 'mērē bhāwutē-kanā chhōtō kitmū
he own mind-in said, 'my father-near being how-many
 tsākriwālā-kū dhamuklā bhār-kā jāstī bētnī mil-chhī; mī-tō-
servants-to bellies having-filled more food got-is; I-on-the-other-
 hī ungā dzhukāyit-si lugū-hū. Mī khuṭ-kō-nā mērō bhāwutē-kanā
hand here hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen my father-near
 dzhūyil-kō tōkyō, "bhāwutē, mī dēmā-kā pāp bhāwutē-kā pāp
having-gone said, "father, by-me God-of sin father-of sin

chirwānd-kā līyō. Mi tērō lāwdō kar-kō tōknē-kā chisam
having-tied was-taken. I thy son having-said saying-for fit
 hape-nā. Ma-kū tērō-kanā ekmū naukar-wāni rakhel-lē." Aśō
am-not. Me of-thee-near one servant-like keep." So
 tōk-kanā uṅgā-si khat-kanā āpiyō bhāwutē-kanā hāyilyōtō bhāwutō
having-said there-from having-arisen own father-near came-when father
 dūr-si ō-kū charch-kanā mayā hāyil-kanā nimal-kā dzhāyil-kanā
far-from him having-seen pity having-come having-run having-gone
 tikaḍ-kanā chummi wolīyū. Tab lāwdō bhāwutē-kā tōkyō,
having-embraced kiss was-given. Then son father-to said,
 'bhāwutē, mi tērē khagāḍi dēmā-kē khagāḍi chūk karēlyō. Tū
'father, by-me of-thee before God-of before sin was-done. Thou
 ma-kū tērō lāwdō kar-kā chulāwu hape-nā.' Ō-kī bhāwutō
me thy son having-made to-call is-not.' This-to father
 āpiyō naukar-kū tōkyō. 'chisam lipadā hāyil-kanā mērē lāwdō-kā walāw;
own servants-to said, 'best robe having-taken my son-to give;
 gōnē-ma khaṅgi ghalel, gōnālī-ma dzhayapli ghalel; bētnī tayārī
finger-on ring put, fest-on shoes put; dinner preparation
 karmel; ham bēt-kanā khuṣī hapelūṅgā; kaikētō yē mērō lāwdō
make; we having-eaten merry shall-become; because this my son
 lug ghailyō chhō, phir-kanā dam hāyilyō; nimal ghailyō chhō-sō,
dead gone was, again life came; lost gone being,
 milyō.' Yō sunel-kanā sab khadmī khuṣī hapellyō.
was-found.' This having-heard all men glad became.

Yā bakhat-kū ō-kē ḍabō lāwdō nētyā-ma chhō. Ō nānd-kanā
This time his elder son field-in was. He house-near
 hāyilētō ō-kū gīd haur nachlan sunel hāyilyō. Ō
coming-when him-to song and dancing to-hear came. He
 tsākriwālē-ma ekmū-kū chulā-kan, 'yō kē hapel?' aśō tōkyō.
servants-among one-to having-called, 'this what is?' so said.
 Ō-kū wa-nā tōkyō, 'tērō bhēkdā hāyilyō hāyi, ē chisam-si
Him-to him-by it-was-said, 'thy brother come is, he well
 hāyilē kar-kā tērō bhāwutē-nā bētnī karēlī hāyi.' Itmu
came having-said thy father-by dinner made is.' This
 sunel-kanā wā ḍabā lāwdō ghusī-kū hāyil-kā mhayi ghailē-nā.
having-heard that elder son anger-to having-come inside went-not.
 Ō-kī wāstē ō-kē bhāwutē-nā bhāyir hāyil-kanā, 'mhayi-hāyil.'
That-of for-the-sake his father-by outside having-come, 'inside-come,'
 kar-kā tā-kū bharkum ajjī karēlyō. Ō-kī ō āpiyō
having-said him-to much entreaty was-made. That-to he own

bhāwutē-kī tōkyō, 'mī itmā baras tak tēri tsākri karel-kanā
father-to said, 'I so-many years up-to thy service having-done
 tēri chōlpi kabī tōdmē-nā. Lēkhin mī mērō dōs-kū lhail-kanā
thy word ever broke-not. But I my friends having-taken
 bētnī karelnē-kē wāstē tū kabī ma-kū ekmā rēmnā-bī
dinner making-of for-the-sake thou ever me-to one kid-even
 walāy-nā. Džhalwātñi-kā saṅgat karel-kanā tērō dhāyti sab
gavest-not. Harlots-of company having-made thy property all
 nīngal-liyōsō yō tērō lāwdō nānd-kū bāyilyō barābar tū ō-kē
devouring-taking this thy son house-to came immediately thou him-of
 wāstē bētnī karēlyō.' Bhāwutē-nā lāwdō-kē tōkyō, 'tū
for-the-sake dinner modest.' Father-by son-to it-was-said, 'thou
 har-gadi mērō saṅgat rhaṇelā; mērō-kan hapēlāsō sab tērō-ch
all-time of-me in-company art; of-me-near being all thine-alone
 hāyil. Luggōsō tērō bhākḍā, phir-kā dam bharēlyō; nimal ghāilyō
is. Dead-being thy brother, again life filled; lost gone
 chhōsō, milēlyō. Aisō ham khuṣī hōyilnē-kē chisam hapelā.
being, was-found. So we happy to-become good is.'

[No. 27.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

GAROPL

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ajar dzhayilnē-kē bhōlō upāw. Ekmā nānd-ma ekmā djabō
Indigestion going-of simple remedy. One town-in one big
 kājā chhō. Ō har-gaḍi bharkum bēt-kanā thigyāsō jāgā-pa thigyō
man was. He every-time much having-eaten sitting place-in sitting
 chhō. Kōusē-ch tarā-si kaishī karel chha-nā. Ō-kī wāstē ō-kē
was. Any-even kind-of labour doing was-not. That-of for-the-sake his
 āng-ma kabī-tō hī sustī hāyil-chhī. Ekmā dīn ō kājā
body-in sometimes also indisposition coming-was. One day that man
 āplyō dōs-kē nānd-kū bētnē-kū ghailyō chhō. Ūngā bharkum bēt-
own friend-of house-to eating-for gone was. There much having-
 kanā dzhāmī-tak jāgāyilyō. Ō-kī wāstē sakāl ō-kā
eaten midnight-till waked. That-of on-account next-morning him-to
 bharkum ajar hō-gaili. Ō bhakhat-kū ō tabēt charch-kanā hāyil
great indigestion became. That time-at he health having-examined come
 kar-kā gāḍī-kē khūpar chad-kan khōyid-kē nānd-kū ghailyō.
having-said carriage-of upon having-mounted doctor-of village-to went.
 Khōyid-nā ō-kē gōnō charch-kanā kāyil-kī jāchan karel-kanā
Doctor-by his hand having-examined disease-of examination having-made
 tōkyō. 'bāwā, īngā-si dūlmū kōs-pa, ekmū mallē-ma yā kāyil-kū
said, 'Sir, here-from two kōs-in one garden-in this disease-for
 wālānē-kī dzhangī hapelā. Khūsi-sē āngā-tak hāyiltō ō khupad-kan
giving-of bulb is. Kindly there-to come-if that having-rooted-up
 wālāñ. Ō-kī wāstē dzhāpār-kē mhayī tērē kāyil dzhayil-kē
I-may-give. That-of on-account afternoon-of in thy disease having-gone
 mōklō hapēlāngō. Itmū sunmel-kā kājā-nā tōkyō, 'mērō
relief will-become.' This-much having-heard man-by it-was-said, 'my
 gāḍi tayār hōyil-kā rhapeli. Hāyil, āngā-tak dzhayil-kanā
carriage ready having-become stands. Come, there-to having-gone
 hāyilānā. Itmū tōk-kanā, ō wā khōyid-kē barābar gāḍī-ma
let-us-come.' This-much having-said, he that doctor-of with carriage-on

chad-kan chālē. Nānd-kanā-si dūlmū kōs dzhayil-kanā khōyid-nā
having-mounted went. House-near-from two kōs having-gone doctor-by
 gōnē-mā-ki alji hōnūkar-kā tamā nakhil diyū.
hand-in-of whip intentionally down throwing was-given.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A simple remedy for indigestion.

There lived in a town a rich man who always ate much and was given to sedentary habits. He took no kind of exercise, and therefore he now and then suffered from indisposition. One day he went to dine with a friend. He ate a lot and stayed up till midnight. Consequently he had a bad fit of indigestion the next morning. Therefore he drove over to the doctor's to have his disease diagnosed. The doctor felt his pulse, diagnosed his disease and said, 'in a garden about two *kōs* from here there is a bulbous root which is a specific for your disease. If you please, follow me there, and I shall have it dug out. Then your ailment will cease in the afternoon and you will get relief.' Hearing this the man said, 'my carriage is ready, come, let us go there.' After having said so he drove along in company with the doctor. When they had gone on about two *kōs* from the town, the doctor intentionally dropped the whip.

MYÄNWÄLĒ OR LHÄRI.

The word *Myänwālā* means a scabbard-maker. No information is available about the people who bear the name. Specimens of their dialect have been forwarded from the Belgaum District. The names given to this form of speech is *Myänwālē* or *Lhāri*. *Myänwālē* is simply the plural form of *Myänwālā*. *Lhāri* probably represents a rapid pronunciation of *Lōhāri*, the language of the *Lōhārs*. At the last Census of 1911, 817 *Lōhārs* were enumerated in Belgaum. It is not, however, probable that the so-called *Myänwālā* is the language of all the *Lōhārs*; it is probably only spoken by a small section.

The base of *Myänwālē* is *Dakhanī Hindōstānī* and *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī*. Thus, strong masculine bases end in *ō* in the singular as in the latter, and in *ē* in the plural as in the former. The distinction between singular and plural forms is, to judge from the conjugation, of little importance; compare *lōtūngō*, he will beat, they will beat. Forms such as *hōtucādyā*, they went, show that the termination *ā* is not the only one in the plural of strong bases; the *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī* termination *ā* must be used as well. Of case terminations we may note dative *kā* as in *Mālvi* and *Dakhanī Hindōstānī*, genitive *kō* as in *Mālvi* or *kā* as in *Hindōstānī*; and locative *mē* as in *Mālvi* and *Hindōstānī*, or *mā*, cf. *Gujarātī mā*. There does not appear to exist a separate case of the agent, the nominative being used to denote the subject even if the verb is the past tense of a transitive.

"I" is *mē* as in *Bundēli*, and "we" is *hamē*, cf. *Gujarātī amē*.

The conjugation of verbs does not appear to be correctly represented in the list of words, where we find forms such as *kā* for all persons and numbers of the present tense of the verb substantive and *lōtā* for the corresponding forms of *lōt-nā*, to beat. Forms such as *lug-nalō*, dying go, I die; *chōkō*, thou art; *hōbrē*, is, show that the present tense is formed like the old present in *Mālvi*. The past tense ends in *ō* or *yō*; thus, *chōhēcādyō*, said; *lōtō*, struck. The future is formed as in *Hindōstānī* but with the singular ending in *gō* as in *Eastern Rājasthānī*; thus, *rhaungō*, I shall be; *hōbraungē*, we shall become. In the list of words forms such as *lōtūngō*, I shall beat, are used in all persons and numbers.

Other forms mainly agree with *Hindōstānī* and *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī*. Note the relative participle in *sō*, as in *dufōsō*, eaten; *hōbrēsō*, being; the use of *karke*, *karkō*, having done, corresponding to the Sanskrit *iti*; and the negative *jīn* in *chulācō jīn*, do not call; for the last, compare *Kanaujī* and *Eastern Hindī*.

Myänwālē is, to judge from the specimens, an artificial argot built up on this base. There are some peculiar words such as *harucāf*, come; *bēt*, take; *ohhēgē*, preparation; *chāuman*, see; *chāyī*, run; *chōyī*, water; *chundaḥī*, ring; *ḍamōlō*, man; *ḍānī*, woman; *duf*, eat; *gēlō*, *gēlpō*, boy; *jukālā*, dog; *kichī*, fire; *khich*, give; *khōk*, house; *lugāḍā*, to break; *lugīf*, die; *lōt*, strike; *nānd*, village; *nīcō*, good; *nōkālō*, name; *rhāklō*, brother. Some of these such as the base *bara*, to come; *nānd*, village (*Kanarese nāḍu*), seem to be Dravidian. Others are comparable with similar words in other argots.

Ordinary Aryan words are, moreover, disguised in various ways so as to make them unintelligible to outsiders. Sometimes a vowel is changed or an aspirated consonant disaspirated; compare *pēsū*=*pās*, near; *nuchō*=*pūchhā*, asked; *ripchō*=*pīchhē*, behind. More commonly an initial consonant is changed or a consonant prefixed.

K is substituted in *hurgā*, swine; compare *sūār*.

Kh has been prefixed in words such as *khādmī*, man; *khagādi*, before; *khāpñō*, own; *khutñē-mē*, in the meantime; *khēk*, one; *khidēw*, god; *khirañā*, harlot. In *khulke*, having ssid, it has replaced an old *ō*, and so on.

A *g* has been substituted for other initials in *gipaḷā*=*kaprā*, clothes; and perhaps in *gēlō*, boy, cf. *bētō*.

As in similar argots *ch* and *chh* are often substituted for labials. Compare *chadḍō*=*baḷā*, big; *chōnd*=*bāndh*, tying; *chhīl*=*bhar*, filling; *chhuk*=*bhūkh*, hunger; *chhurgā*=*murgū*, cock.

Dh is prefixed as in similar argots; compare *dhākō*=*kākā*, uncle; *dhimlē*=*mīlā*, was got; *dhunabī*=*kuḃī*, a cultivator; *dhētyā*, compare *bhērā*, a kid.

N is a very common substitute. It replaces a guttural in *nusāl*, merry; *narībī*, poverty; *nusā*, angry; a palatal in *nākar*, servant; *nūk*, sin; a dental in *nōs*, friend; a labial in *naḍ-ke*, falling; *nāp*, sin; *nir-ku*, again; *nirāw*, put on; *nirādē* (*firyādi*), complainant; *narābar*, immediately; *nāl*, state; *naras*, year; *nīlar*, inside; *nan*, mind; an *h* in *nakhikat*, facts. It has been substituted for an *s* in *nabaḷo*, all; compare *sab* and *sagla*. Instead of *s*, however, we more commonly find *nh*; thus, *nhankaf*, difficulty; *nhun-ke*, hearing; *nhuriyā*, sun. *Nh* is also used as a substitute for aspirated consonants in *nhēt*, field; *nhūa*, chaff; *nhōkuō*, small.

B has been substituted for *l* in *bētō*, took; and for *s* in *bunakke*, to be heard (note the Dravidian termination). A *b* has been replaced by an *m* in *māwutō*, father, probably under the influence of *māwutī*, mother.

R is also a common substitute, especially for labials; thus, *rikan*, ear; *rāfō*, share; *rāl*, hair; *ripchē*=*pichhē*, behind; *rhāklō*=*bhāi*, brother; *rhār*, outside. *Rhāklō*, brother, is, however, perhaps connected with the European Gipsy word *rāklō*, boy.

Another device of disguising words is by means of various additions at the end, which then often replace an old final.

Thus a *k* is added in *rhōkē*, art; *niskō*, head; and a *kn* in *nhōkuō*=*chhōfā*, small. If *rhāklō*, brother, is derived from *bhāi*, a *k* has been added.

An additional *g* occurs in words such as *chōg*, four; *dūg*, far; *dōg*, two, and so on. A *ch* is used in a similar way in words such as *kichō*, did; *ghōdchō*, horse.

An addition *ī* is used in some intransitive verbs; thus, *chīgī*, run; *nukīfō*, lost; *barīfō*, came; *lugīfō*, dead. A *ḍ* is added in *khagādi*, before. I may here add the suffixes *ōḍ* and *acāḍ* in verbal forms such as *natōḍ*, dividing; *rakhōḍ*, keeping; *ghalōḍ*, put; *baracāḍī*, she came; *rhōkwāḍō*, stayed; *hīfāḍyā*, they passed.

A *t* has been added in words such as *bēt*, take; *māwutō*, father, etc. The *p* in *gelpō*=*gēlō*, boy, must be a similar addition.

An *l* or *l* is apparently added or substituted for another final in words such as *gēlō*=*bētā* (?), boy; *dhētyā*, kid; compare *bhērā*, ram; *chhīl*=*bhar* (?), filling; *kōl*=*kar*, doing (compare Sāsī *kūl*); *gawalnō*, singing, and so on.

The *bar* in *hōbar-ke*, having been, and so on, is probably a similar addition.

Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the second a popular tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

[No. 28.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYĀNWALĒ or LHĀRĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Khēk ḍamōlō-kū dōg gelpē hī. Wā-mē nhōknō gelpō
One man-to two sons were. Them-among younger son
 khāpnō māwutē-kū khulwādyō, 'māwutō, tērō jingāni-mē mā-kū barōsō
own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in me-to coming
 rātō mā-kū khich.' Māwutō wā-mē khāpnō jingāni nātōd-bētō.
share me-to give.' Father them-among own property divided.
 Nhōknō gelpō khāpnō rātō bēt-ke dūg mulūk-kū hit-ke chhōt
Younger son own share having-taken for country-to having-gone many
 dīn naī hōbrē khutnē-mē ū dund hō-bar-ke khāpnō jingāni
days not became this-much-in he riotous having-become own property
 nabaḷō narab kōl kichī. Ū wāsārē kōlī khūjar wā
all evil doing was-done. He so having-done after that
 dēs-mā chaḍḍō dukāḷ naḍ-ke wā-kū naribī barawāḍī. Ū wā
country-in big famine having-fallen him-to poverty came. He that
 dēs-kā khēk ḍamōlō khurē nākri rhōkwāḍō. Ē ḍamōlō wā-kū
country-of one man near in-service remained. This man him
 kurnā narāṇē-kū khāpnō nhēt-ku nhandā-kichō. Ūthā chhukē-sī
swine grazing-for own field-to sent. There hunger-from
 nhankat hōbar-ke kurnā dūtōsō nhūs-bī dut-ke rēpaṭ chhil
pangs having-become swine eaten husks-even having-eaten belly full
 bētō-tō, lēkin wā-kū kuṇ-kē pēsō-sē kuch-bī naī ḍhīmlē.
taking-was, but him-to anybody-of near-from anything-even not was-got.
 Yēsō thōkē dīn hitwādyā, khāpnō ripchali nāt yād hōbar-ke
So few days passed, own former state memory having-become
 ū khāpnō nan-mā khulwāḍō, 'mērō māwutō pēsō hōbrēsō chhōt
he own mind-in said, 'my father near being many
 nākar-kū rēpaṭ chhil-ke jāstī dūtan ḍhīmlē; mē hyā chhukē-sī
servants-to belly having-filled more food is-got; I here hunger-from
 lugnalō. Mē khutwāḍ-ke mērō māwutē-kō pēsō hit-ke chhōlwādyō,
am-dying. I having-arisen my father-of near having-gone said,

"māwutō, mē Khidēw-kā nāp māwutē-kā nāp chōnd bētō. Mē tērō
"father, I God-of sin father-of sin tying took. I thy
 gelpō kar-kō kēnē bētanē-kū lāyakh naī. Ma-kū khēk nākarī sarik
son saying saying taking-for worthy not. Me one servant like
 tērō pēsō rakhōd bēt." Yātri khul-ke whā-si khut-ke
of-thee near keeping take." So having-said there-from having-arisen
 khāpnō māwutē-kō pēsō baratē-kō māwutē wā-kū dūg-sē chhumān-ke
own father-of near coming-on father him far-from having-seen
 mayā bar-ke chigit-hit-ke chithī lōtke chummā bētwādō.
pity having-come run-gone-having embrace having-struck kiss took.
 Tab gelpō māwutē-kū chhōlō, 'māwutē, mē tērō khagādi Khidēw-kā
Then son father-to said, 'father, I of-thee before God-of
 khagādi nūk kōlwaḍi. Ma-kū tērō gelpō kar-kū chulāvē
before sin did. Me thy servant having-said should-be-called
 jīn.' Wā-sē māwutō khāpnō nākar-kū khulwādyō, 'nīrō gipadā
not. That-to father own servants-to said, 'good dress
 bēt-ke mērō gelpē-kū nīrāw; khāngli-mē chundādī ghalōd, gōnē-mē
having-taken my son-to put-on; finger-on ring put, feet-on
 jōdakhā ghalōd; dūtnō-kū chhōgē kōlō. Hamē dūt-ke nūsal
shoes put; eating-for preparation make. We having-eaten merry
 hōbraṅgē; kā-chōlē-tō yō mērō gelpō lugitō-tō, nīrku jik barō;
shall-become; ichy-say-then this my son dead-was, again life came;
 nukitō-hityāsō, dhimlō.' Yō nhunke nablō nūsi hōbrē.
lost-gone, was-found. This having-heard all glad became.

Yō bakhat-kū wā-kō chaddō gelpō nhēt-mē hōbrō. Ū khōk-kē
This time-at his big son field-in was. He house-of
 pēsō barawādō, tab wā-kū gawajñō nachaṇñō hupakke barō. Yē
near came, then him-to singing dancing to-be-heard came. These
 nākar-mē khōk-kā chōl-ke, 'kā nālī hōbrē?' nuchawādyō.
servants-among one having-called, 'what going-on is?' asked.
 Wā-kū wā-nē khulwādō, 'tērō rhākļō barawādō; ū nīrō barke
Him-to him-by it-was-said, 'thy brother came; he well having-come
 dhimlō. Wā-kē khāw-sē tērō māwutō dūtnō kōlō.' Ō
was-met. That-of reason-from thy father feast made. That
 bun-ke wā-kō chaddō gelpō nūsa hōbar-ke nītar hitō naī.
having-heard his big son angry having-become inside went not.
 Wā-kē khāw-sē wā-kō māwutō rhār barke, 'nītar barawād,
That-of reason-from his father outside having-come, 'inside come,
 kar-ke wā-kū chhōt khulō. Ū khāpnō māwutō-kū khulwādō, 'mē
having-said him-to much said. He own father-to said, 'I

itnē naras tallakh tērō nākri kōl-ke kabī tērō rhāyadī
so-many years up-to thy service having-done ever thy word
 lugai naī. Nir-ke mē mērō nōs-kū dhimalā-lā-kē dūtan kōlnē-kō
broke not. But I my friends having-gathered feast making-of
 khāw-sē tū ma-kū kbēk dhilyā bī kabī naī khichō. Nir-tū
reason-from thou me-to one kid even ever not gavest. But
 khirāṇḍ-kā naṅgāt-mē naḍ-ke tērō jingānī nah nīngāl-bētēsō
harlots-of company-in having-fallen thy property all decoured-having
 yē tērō gelpō khōk-kū harē narābar tū wā-kē khāw-sē dūtan
this thy son house-to coming as-room-as thou his sake-for feast
 kōl bētētō. Māwutō gelpō-kū chhōlwādō, 'tū nahajē dūn
making given-hast. Father son-to said, 'thou all dogs
 mērō hyā rhōkē. Mērō pēsō hōbrēsō nah tērō-ch. Lugitōsō tērō
of-me near art. Me-of near being all thine. Dead-being thy
 rhākḷō, nirkū jik haritō; nukitō hityāsō, dhimlō. Yēsō hamō naī.
brother, again life came; lost gone, was-found. So we merry
 hōbarkū narābar hōbrē.
to-become proper is.

[No. 29.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYĀNWĀLĒ OR LHĀRĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Khēk nānd-mē dōg chōngmē chhōt nōs hōbrō. Khēk dīn
 One village-in two beggars much friends were. One day
 dōgū dhimal-kē nar-dēs-kū hīṭ-kē khāw-sē nichār
 both having-come-together other-country-to going-of sake-for thinking
 kōl-ke khāpṇī pēsō hōbrēsō thōkō lōkō khēk khiswāsuk
 having-made self near being little money one honest
 chhudikī-kō nābē-mē khich-ke, 'hamē dōgū dhimal-kē
 old-woman-of possession-in having-given, 'we both having-come-together
 chōngkū barō-tō yē ham-kū khichawād, yēsō chōl-ke nimal hīṭ.
 asking-for come-if this us-to give, so having-said away went.
 Khagādī thōkō dīn-kē khūpar wā-mē-sē khēklā nīr-ke wā
 Then few days-of upon them-in-of one having-retained that
 chhudikī-kō pēsō hīṭ-ke, 'māwūtī, mērō nōs rāt-mel lugitō;
 old-woman-of near having-gone, 'mother, my friend road-on died;
 wā-kī khāw-sē hamārō lōkō khichawād, yēsō khulwādō. I chhōt
 that-of sake-for our money give, so said. She many
 nabab khulwādī, lēkin ū buṅkō nāī. Nhēwaṭī i wā lōkō
 excuses said, but he heard not. At-last she that money
 wā-kū khichō. Thōkō dīn-kē khūpar dukarō wā chhudikī pēsō
 him-to gave. Few days-of upon the-second that old-woman near
 bar-ke nēt chōngwādī. Tab wā chhudikī, 'rhākjō, thōkō
 having-come purse demanded. Then that old-woman, 'brother, few
 dīn-kā ripchē tērō nōs bar-ke, tā lugitō, yēsō chōl-ke
 days-of behind thy friend having-come, thou diedst, so having-said
 lōkō chōngwādē. Wā-sē, "tūm dōgū dhimal-ke barawād,"
 money demanded. Him-to, "you both having-come-together come,"
 yēsō chhōt chōlwādō. Ū mērō rhāyaṭī nāī buṅ-ke nulum-sē
 so much said. He my word not having-heard force-with
 nab lōkō bētētō. Wā-sē ū narkār-kō pēsō nīrādē
 all money took-away. That-from he government-of near complainant

hiō. Tab narkār wā chhudikī-kū chnā-kū bōt-kū nabañi
sent. Then government that old-woman summoning-for having-given all
 nakhikat nuchō.
facts asked.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In a certain village there lived two beggars who were intimate friends. One day they thought of going together to a foreign country. They entrusted whatever little money they possessed to an honest old woman, requesting her to return it if they both came jointly to ask for it, and went away. A few days after one of them came back to the old woman and said, 'mother, my friend died on the road; therefore give my money to me.' She made many excuses, but he would not listen, and at last she returned the money to him.

Some days afterwards the other one came to the old woman and asked for the deposit. Then the old woman said, 'brother, a few days back thy friend came, said that you had died, and asked for the money. I remonstrated with him that you two would have to come together, but he did not heed my word and forcibly took the money from me.'

He then lodged a complaint before a judge. The judge summoned the old woman and ascertained all the facts.

KANJARI.

The name Kanjar is used to denote an aggregate of vagrant tribes. Mr. W. Crooke, in his *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, states that they are probably of Dravidian origin. He further remarks that 'there can be little doubt that the Kanjars are a branch of the great nomadic race which includes the Sānsiya, Hābura, Beriya Bhātu, and more distant kindred, such as the Nat, Banjāra, Baheliya.'

Many of them live in the forests, 'where they subsist by hunting wolves, hares, and any kind of animal they can kill or catch, by gathering such roots and vegetable products as require no cultivation, and by extracting juice from the palm tree, which, after it has become fermented, is the favourite beverage of almost all the wandering and low-caste tribes of India. They are clever at trapping birds and squirrels, and any other kind of vermin which chance may throw in their way, all of which they eat indiscriminately. The arts of the Kanjars are making mats of the *sirkā* reed, baskets of wattled cane, fans of palm leaves, and rattles of plaited straw. From the stalks of the *mūnj* grass and from the roots of the *palāka* tree they make ropes, which are sold or bartered to villagers in exchange for grain, milk, pigs, etc. They prepare the skins out of which drums are made, and sell them to Hindu musicians. They make plates of broad leaves which are ingeniously stitched together by the stalks; and plates of this kind are very widely used by the inferior Indian castes and by confectioners and sellers of sweetmeats. They are among the chief stone-cutters of Upper India, especially in the manufacture of the grinding-stone, which is largely used. They gather the white wool-like fibre which grows in the pods of the *śalmālī* or Indian cotton tree, and twist it into thread for the use of weavers. In the manufacture of brushes for the cleaning of cotton yarn, they enjoy an almost entire monopoly, and another complete or almost complete monopoly enjoyed by Kanjars is the collection and sale of the roots of *khaskhas* grass, which are afterwards made up by others into door screens and used as refrigerators during the hottest months of the year. At the same time many Kanjars are now taking to a more settled life: some are cultivators and field labourers; others live in towns and make door screens, baskets, sieves, and the like, and some of them in this way have considerably raised their social status.'

No satisfactory explanation of the word Kanjar has as yet been given. It has been derived from Sanskrit *kānanachara*, wanderer in the jungle, but this etymology is hardly possible from a philological point of view. It is more likely that *kanjar* is a shorter form of the word *kājarō* or *kājarō*, man, which is used by many Kanjars, and which is related to Sāsi *kajjā*, Nāfi *kājā* and Dōm *kājucā*. We do not know whether this word is Aryan or not. It is probably identical with Romani *gājō*.

The Kanjars are most numerous in the United Provinces in which, according to the Census of 1911, they numbered 18,345. Elsewhere there were 5,638, giving a total of 23,983.	
Number.	

The inflexion of nouns in many respects differs from Hindōstānī. The oblique base of weak nouns sometimes ends in *ā*; thus, *garā-sē*, to the neck (Aligarh); *garā-mā*, on the neck (Etawah). Similarly the oblique plural ends in *ā* or *ā̃*; thus, *naukar-chakrā-sē*, to the servants (Aligarh); *varā-sē*, years from (Sitapur); *naukrā-ku*, to the servants (Belgaum). Such forms agree with Marāṭhī, the singular ones also with Bihārī and the plural ones with Rājasthānī.

An *ō* is often added to weak bases and kept in the oblique form; thus, *riḍō-kē*, of the house (Aligarh, Sitapur); *bihārō-mē*, in the property (Etawah); *dāmō-dē*, of value (Farrukhabad); *bāpō-nē*, by the father (Belgaum). This *ō* is different from the final *ō* of strong masculine bases, which becomes *ā* in the oblique form and in the plural; thus, *chūbkō*, son; *chūbkā*, sons; *bāphēlā-sē*, to the father, in the Sitapur specimens and similar forms in the materials forwarded from the other districts. Ordinary Hindōstānī forms are used as well. The Rājasthānī affinities acquire some significance if we remember that we find a similar state of affairs in other argots such as Dōm, Naṭi and Sāsī.

The case suffixes are mainly Hindōstānī. The dative suffix *ku*, *kū*, *kō* also reminds us of Dravidian. The ablative suffix is commonly *sē*, in Farrukhabad, however, also *sū* as in Mārwarī, Jaipurī and Mālvī. In Belgaum we find *dē*, from, which perhaps has something to do with the genitive suffix *dā*, *dī*, which is used in addition to *kā*, *kī*, in Farrukhabad. It will be seen that this latter suffix is identical with the Pañjābī one. It is, however, possible that it has something to do with Tamil *uḍaiya*, Kanarese *da*.¹

In many of the specimens we will find that the final *ō* of adjectives is often kept before an inflected noun; thus, *khachchhō najaū-kū*, to a good man (Sitapur); *ōchhō bafrā-nē*, by the younger son (Etawah); *apuō kaurī paisā*, his money (Farrukhabad); *tēro naukrī*, thy service (Belgaum). Such instances point to the conclusion that the sense of gender is weak and that adjectives are not inflected, a state of affairs which would be natural if the Kanjars were not originally Aryans.

With regard to pronouns we may note the use of the base *jō*, *jī*, as a demonstrative pronoun, just as is the case in Rājasthānī, and, further, the curious forms *urō-nē*, by him (Aligarh); *urō-kā*, his (Etawah); *igal*, this matter; *kēgal*, what matter (Farrukhabad); *ūr*, *birō*, he; *urō-kō*, his (Sitapur); *yō*, thou; *yurō-ku*, *urō-ku*, to thee; *urō-ku*, to him. These and similar forms remind us of Dravidian; compare Tulu *ir*, Kul and Old Telugu *iru*, you; Tamil Kanarese *avar* Gōṇḍī *ōr*, he, etc.

The conjugation of verbs presents some peculiar features. There are several additions to the base which do not appear to modify the meaning. Thus an *r* is frequently suffixed; compare *hubbār rai-r-ī*, is going on (Aligarh); *lugai-r-ō*, he beats (Sitapur); *rah-r-ō*, he remained (Aligarh); *ā-r-ō*, he came; *sun-r-ō*, he heard (Etawah); *ā-r-ō*, he came; *lugai-r-ō̃*, I had beaten (Sitapur); *kuṭ-r-ō*, I struck; *gaug-r-ō*, I went; *dusā-r-ō*, I said; *hu-r-ō*, I became (Belgaum). This *r* is sometimes followed by the termina-

¹ Compare, however, the Western Pākṣī ablative postposition *dā*, which is certainly Indo-Aryan.

tion *s* of the past; thus, *kai-r-s*, did; *saīd*; *kā-r-s*, ate; *pī-r-s*, drank; *kari-gu-r-sē*, having done wentest, hast done, etc. (Aligarh).¹

Often the syllable *wār* or *bār* is added; compare Myānwālā *wāf*, Dōm *uar*. Thus, *baī-wār*, dividing; *jībār-ō*, came to life (Sitapur); *sun-wār-ko*, having heard; *kar-wār-ō*, hast made (Belgaum); *baī-bār*, having divided; *li-bār-kē*, having taken; *ra-bār-ō*, wast (Aligarh), and so forth. In the Belgaum specimens we sometimes find *wād* instead of *wār*; thus, *mil-wād-ō hē*, *mil-wād-dō*, and *mil-wār-ō*, he is found; *tuī-wād-ō*, broke; *puī-wād-ko*, having fallen, and so forth. It seems probable that we should compare the Mārwarī termination *rō*, which is so frequently added pleonastically. We may also compare the causal terminations Mārwarī *wāie*, Jaipuri *ād*, Gujarātī *āie*, *ād*. Forms such as *khanōfō karwārō hai*, thou hast made a feast; *charwārō*, grazing; *bandwār līnō*, I have taken having caused it to be attached to me, I have committed, in the Belgaum specimen, are perhaps actually causals. In most cases, however, the addition of *wār* does not seem to affect the meaning.

This use of added *r*, *wār*, *bār* is accordingly perhaps another point in which Kanjarī agrees with Rājasthānī. Broadly speaking the conjugation of verbs is the same as in that form of speech. In the past tense, however, the termination is *ō* and not *yō*; compare *karō*, did; *lagō*, began (Etawah). Forms such as *dinō*, gave; *līnō*, took, are well known from Mārwarī and Jaipuri. The *l* in *manālō*, entreated (Aligarh); *pūchhlō*, asked (Etawah), may be comparable, or else it may be another form of the *r* mentioned above. The *s* which occurs in several forms such as *dis*, gave; *lis*, took; *sunigulis*, heard; *lakhsars*, said (Aligarh); *līnhs*, took; *dīnhs*, gave (Etawah); *lakhsīs*, said; *riūchhs*, asked; *kaughis*, said (Sitapur), on the other hand, belongs to Eastern Hindī. Such forms are especially common in the Sitapur specimen, and the prevailing language in Sitapur is Awadhī. They are not met with in the Belgaum texts.

In the future we find *s* forms in Aligarh and Sitapur and *g* forms in Farrukhabad and Belgaum. Compare *kahsā*, I will say; *kacugasā*, we will do (Aligarh); *lakhsāwā*, I will say; *lugaoghasi*, thou wilt beat, he will beat (Sitapur); *kuggō*, it will be; *jāwāgā*, I shall go (Farrukhabad); *hōwūngā*, I shall be; *kuṭuūngō*, I shall beat (Belgaum). Similar forms are found in Mārwarī, but more properly belong to Eastern Rājasthānī. In Etawah we find forms such as *jānō*, I shall go; *kahnō*, I shall say. They may be compared with the Jaipuri forms ending in *lō*. Compare also Naipālī.

So far as we have seen hitherto Kanjarī conjugation broadly agrees with Rājasthānī, especially Eastern Rājasthānī. Another feature seems to point in a different direction. Kanjarī seems to possess a participle the characteristic element of which is *d*. Compare *tīdō*, giving; *angadō*, coming; *jaugadō*, *jādō*, gone (Aligarh); *maddō*, dying; *kaddō*, doing; *rahandō-mē*, among the inhabitants (Etawah); *lugaōdō*, beating; *jaughadō*, going (Sitapur); *hōndō*, being; *nikhardō*, going; *awardō*, coming; *margōdō*, dead (Belgaum). It will be seen that such forms are used as present and also as past participles. They are also contained in verbal forms. Some of these belong to present

¹ The termination *rō* may also be a contraction of *rukō* and *re* of *rukōe*, both meaning 'was,' and the latter being the Awadhī form. In many dialects, especially in Western Pahari, this is added to the conjunctive participle to form a past tense. Thus *drō* may be for *dr-rukō*, and so for the others. According to native grammarians, *rukōe* is the 'sister' of *kand*.—G. A. U.

time; thus, *chalgudaũ*, I go; *dũtdaẽ*, they eat (Aligarh); *lugdaũ*, I die; *anghadõ*, he is coming (Sitapur); *maradũ*, I die; *dẽndũ*, I give; *ãndũ*, I come; *nikhardaĩ*, we, you, they go (Belgaum). Others have the meaning of past tenses. Compare *handõ*, was (Aligarh); *jãdõ*, was sent (Etawah); *ãndã*, came; *kainadã*, said (Farrukhabad); *hũdõ*, was; *lugaõdõ*, struck (Sitapur); *handõ*, was; *bharicãr-lẽndõ*, would have filled; *gawãndẽ-gaudõ*, was lost (Belgaum).

It would be possible to compare the suffix *ndõ* of the present participle of Sindhi and Naipali. The fact, however, that these forms are also used in the past perhaps points in a different direction. It will be seen from my remarks on page 296 of Volume IV of this Survey that there is a *d*-suffix which forms the indefinite present participle in Dravidian languages, and that one of the forms of the corresponding suffix of the past participle in Tamil is *ndu*. We have already found other possible traces of a Dravidian substratum in Kanjarĩ, and the *d*-suffix may be of the same kind. In this connexion I may also mention the verbal suffixes *ir* and *gir* in forms such as *lapirõ*, began (Aligarh, Etawah, Sitapur); *ãgõgirõ*, came; *augirõ*, came; *gaigirõ*, went; *lugaighirõ*, I have beaten; *jaoghirõ*, went (Belgaum), and so on, which look like compounds with the Dravidian *iru*, is; *kiri*, am. The *r*-suffix mentioned above may have a similar origin. The extensive use of relative participles and the apparent tendency to form a negative verb in Belgaum is of less significance, because the predominant language of the district is Kanarese.

The facts drawn attention to above show that the dialect of the Kanjars is a mixed form of speech, and that the most important ingredient is Eastern Rãjasthãní. Some characteristics point to the conclusion that there is, besides, a certain Dravidian element. If anything can be inferred from this state of affairs about the original home of the Kanjars, it would be that they lived somewhere in Eastern Rajasthan or Central India. At the present day we find Gõnd dialects spoken in Bhopal, and there can be no doubt that Dravidian forms of speech once extended farther to the west. It must, however, be remembered that the speech of a vagrant tribe like the Kanjars at the present day can hardly show where their original home is, but only, at the utmost, that they have come into contact with those languages which can be traced in their own speech.

Kanjarĩ contains some peculiar words of the same kind as similar forms of speech. Such are *lug*, die; *lugai*, beat (Sitapur); *chũbõkõ*, son (Aligarh and Sitapur); *ũpui*, bread (Aligarh and Sitapur); *jhũkũl*, dog (Sitapur); *dũt*, eat (Aligarh and Sitapur); *thũr*, eat (Belgaum); *jhuraĩ*, fire (Sitapur); *gunãdãlẽ*, loot (Belgaum); *gurãrõ*, foot (Aligarh and Sitapur); *tiũr*, give (Sitapur); *kidõ*, give (Belgaum); *riũ*, house (Aligarh and Sitapur); *nandõ*, house (Belgaum); *kãjarõ*, man (Etawah); *kãjarõ*, man (Belgaum); *najaũ*, man (Sitapur); *tig*, see (Aligarh and Sitapur); *nĩmãni*, water (Sitapur); *nĩcãni*, water (Belgaum), and so forth. Some of the words in use among Kanjars have a Dravidian look. Compare *pãdõ*, bull; *awarõ*, comes; *kidõ*, give, in the Belgaum specimens, with Tamil *mãdu*, bull; *vava*, come; *koũ*, give, respectively, and *tiũr*, give (Sitapur), with Tamil *tera*, give. Mr. Kirkpatrick mentions several more such words, such as *dhĩmrĩ*, bread; *ghamẽlã*, sun; *khainch*, thief; *khuth*,

night; *kūrch*, drink; *mikatch*, death; *ninghār*, ghee; *rikā*, rupee; *tigro*, sea; *tūbargo*, swim; *tūrrak*, sleeping, and so forth. Of these *ghamēlā*, sun, is of some interest, as being evidently connected with Romani *kham*, sun, *lit.* heat.

With regard to the word *jhūkil*, dog, in the Sitapur texts, and *jhūkal* in Mr. Kirkpatrick's list, it should be noted that this word likewise presents a marked similarity with the European Gipsy word *jukel*, dog.

Such words appear to belong to the original vocabulary of the Kanjars, and many of them are no doubt unintelligible to outsiders. The case is a little different with the Arabic numerals which are used by the Kanjars of Belgaum, just as is the case with the Qasāis of the Panjab. The numerals in question will be found in the Standard List of Words and Sentences on pp. 180ff., and their Arabic origin is self-evident.

Like other tribes of the same kind the Kanjars use certain devices for disguising their words and making them unintelligible. The beginning of a word is often changed. Thus *kō* is prefixed in *kōhath*, hand (Sitapur); *kh* is prefixed or substituted for another initial in many cases. Compare *khachchā*, good; *khakāl*, famine; *khyārō-kē*, of the friends (Aligarh); *khamāt*, property (Kheri); *khāgēlē*, before; *khādmī*, man; *khawāf*, sound; *khakkāl*, famine (Sitapur); *khandar*, inside; *khūpar*, above (Belgaum). *Ch*, *chh* are apparently only prefixed to or substituted for labials; compare *chiharwā-kū*, to fill (Aligarh); *chībrō*, big; *chībhai*, brother; *chhūkā-sē*, from hunger; *chhītar*, inside (Sitapur); *chait*, sit; *chibādō*, big; *chanlā-kē*, having called (Belgaum).

Cerebrals are used as disguising letters in words such as *ḡahnā*, eye; *ḡharib*, poor; *ḡhilāp*, against (Urdū *khilāf*); *ḡhusi*, merry (Sitapur); *ḡharrō*, big (Aligarh).

N only occurs as a substitute for *k* or *kh* in the texts. Compare *nēt*, field (Aligarh and Sitapur); *najūn*, man; compare *kājarō* (Sitapur).

Labials do not appear to be much used in this way. Compare *pādō*, bull (Belgaum), which may be Tamil *māḍu* or Hindōstānī *sāḍ*; *bēk*, one; *baur*, and; *bīrō*, that (Sitapur).

R is of more common occurrence. Compare *rakriā-kō rachchā*, a goat's young (Aligarh); *rahnāō*, put on; *rarmēsur*, God; *rusāk*, cloth; *riūchhis*, asked; *ranāi*, make; *rahit*, much; *rūlak*, country; *rañjūrā-kū*, to the servants (Sitapur). In all these instances *r* has replaced an old labial. It is, however, occasionally also used instead of other sounds; compare *ruāb*, answer; *ramā*, together; *rarsā-sē*, from years, all in the Sitapur texts.

An *l* is prefixed in *lakhāwsū*, I will say (Sitapur); *lakhārs*, said (Aligarh), and it has been substituted for an *n* in *likārō*, bring out.

Words are also disguised by means of additions at the end, and such additions are very common in Kanjarī, just as is the case in Dōm. Some of them such as *ō* and *r* have already been mentioned above. With regard to *r* I may add that it is also added after nouns and adjectives. Compare *gurārō*, foot; *bhaiyārā*, brother (Aligarh); *chhufārō*, small; *ṭhurārā*, few (Sitapur); *phalāri*, fruit (Belgaum). Several other additions are used, and most of them are well known from similar

argots. The principal ones are, so far as we can judge from the materials available :—

g or *gh* is used in words such as *aogh*, come ; *liūghis*, took ; *haughē*, is (Sitapur) ; *gaugrō*, went (Belgaum). The initial consonant of the suffix *gir* (*ghir*) mentioned above is perhaps of the same kind.

An element *efō* or *ēhō* is comparatively often added. Thus, *papēfō*, sin ; *malēhō*, property (Aligarh) ; *hattēfō*, hand ; *khanēfō*, food (Belgaum).

A dental has been added in words such as *ramtā*, pity (Sitapur) ; *chamakdē*, lustre ; *bahutdē*, many (Belgaum).

A common suffix is *ēlō* ; thus, *khatēlō-mē*, on the hand ; *batēlī*, words (Aligarh) ; *hisēlū*, share ; *papēlō*, sin (Sitapur) ; *khakēlē*, eye ; *jibēlī*, tongue (Belgaum). Instead of *ēlō* we also find *bēlō* and *hēlō* ; thus, *dubēlū*, two ; *tibēlū*, three ; *bap-hēlō*, father ; *bhus-hēlī*, chaff ; *chum-hēlō*, kissed, all in the Sitapur specimens.

The preceding remarks will be sufficient for removing the difficulties in the way of understanding the specimens of Kanjarī which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son received from the Sitapur district. It will be seen from the Parable and from the Standard List of Words and Sentences printed below on pp. 180ff. that there are comparatively few traces of the influence of Awadhī, the chief language of the district.

[No. 30.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT SITAPUR.

Bek najau dubelu chubha ranghasa. Bithi-ma chhutaro bap-hela-se.
One man(-of) two sons were. Them-in small-one father-to
 lakhamdō, 'bap-helu, merō hiselu jō khujārā-se niphrē, sō tiar.
said, 'father, my share which property-from comes, that give.'
 Bihī batwar tiaris. Thurara din-hela chhutaro chabko
He having-divided gave. Few days-in small son
 ramā-kar-kē rulak chailō gaughirō, haur apnō malhelo
together-having-made country(-to) moved went, and own property
 khurao dinhis. Jab sab khurao tiaris, birō rōkō barō khakkal
wasted gave. When all wasted gave, that in-country big famine
 parghirō, haur dharib hō-gaō. Tab us rōkō-ma bek
fell, and poor becoming-went. Then that country-in one
 ralakh khadmi tir ranghan lagirō. Birō apnō nētū ghurghur
wealthy man near to-live began. He own field seine
 charāwnē pathāis. Birō chaughirō bhūs-heli jō ghurghur datā-dāi
to-feed sent. He wished huaks which seine eating-were
 dūt-kē pit-helo bharighis. Nak-hela kōi na tiaris. Tab
having-eaten belly may-fill. But anybody not gave. Then
 khosō an-kē lakhāis, 'mērē bap-hela tir ranjūrā-kū tipūi bahut
in-senses having-come said, 'my father near servants-to bread much
 rach-raughiri, haur māi chhaka-sō lugdañ. Māi khunar-kō
saved-remained, and I hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen
 bap-hela tir jaughisō, haur birō-sō lakhāwsū, "aī bap-hela, māi-nō
father near will-go, and him-to will-say, "O father, me-by
 khasinānō-kē dhilap baur tērē khāgēlē papelo karōghis; māi tērō
heaven-of against and of-thee before sin done-was; I thy
 chubko lakhāibāwālō nahī. Mōh-kū ranjūrā-kī nāī ranāi." Tab
son one-to-be-called not. Me servants-of like make." Then
 bihī apnō bap-hela tir gaughirō. Abhañ woh durhelo, birō-kō
he own father near went. Yet he far-was, his
 bap-hela tik-kē. ramita kīnhis, haur rapat-kē urō-kō dhalā
father having-seen pity did, and having-run him-to on-neck
 lagāi liūghis, haur rahut chumhelo. Chabko kaughis, 'bap-hela,
attaching took, and much kissed. Son said, 'father,

tērō dhunā kinhañ, baur rarmēsūrō-kō dhunā kinhañ; birā laik-kō
of-thee sin I-did, and God-of sin I-did; now worthy
 nahī ki phir tērō chūbkō lakhāñ. Bap-hēlā apnē
not that again thy son I-shall-be-called. Father own
 nukarhēlā-kō lakhāis, 'achhi rusāk niphār liāō, baur urō-kū rahnāō;
servants-to said, 'good robe taking-out bring, and him-to put-on;
 urū-kē kōhathō-mā khāgūthi gurārā-mā gurārī rahnāō, Ham dutāi
him-of hand-on ring feet-on shoes put-on. We may-eat
 baur dhusī hōē. Mērō chūbkō lōgirō hurō-thō, ab jibbārō;
and merry may-be. My son dead become-was, now revived;
 khubbārō gaō-thō, ab milghirō. Tab woh dhusī karnū lagirō.
lost gone-was, now was-found. Then they merry to-make began.
 Chibbrō chūbkō nētō-mā hūdō, Jab ribō-kē nagich-hēlā aughirō,
Big son field-in was. When house-of near came,
 gabbaribō nach-hēlā-kī khawāj sunghirō. Baur bēk nukarhēlā-kō
music dancing-of sound heard. And one servant-to
 rulāō-kē riūchhis, 'yō kā haughē? Wō us-sē lakhāis, 'tērō
having-called asked, 'this what is? He him-to said, 'thy
 chibhāi aughirō; tērō bap-hēlā-nē bārī rāfat kinhis, birā-rātē birō-kō
brother came; thy father-by big feasting made, this-for him
 khachchhō paughis. Būthwār raughirō chhītar jaughirō-na. Birō-kē
well found. Angry got inside went-not. Him-of
 bap-hēlō chhābir ārō baur ranāñō lagirō. Bap-hēlā-kū ruāb
father outside came and to-entreat began. Father-to answer
 tiūris, 'tigō, itnī rarsā-sē māi tēri dhijmit karū; tērē dhuknō-kē
gave, 'see, so-many years-from I thy service do; thy order-of
 dhillāp na chalughē. Bēk rakariā-kā bachchā na tiūrō ki māi
against not went. One goat-of young-one not gavest that I
 apnē dhinsēlā-kē sātī dhusī ranāñō. Jaisē tērō chhutārō chūbkō
own friends-of with merry might-make. As thy young son
 ārō, jō tērō malhēlō dhasbiyā-mā khupāis, tū bunhā-kī bārī
came, who thy property harlots-among wasted, thou him-of big
 rāfat kinhis. Urū-kō ūr lakhāis, 'ai chūbkā, khamēsā tū mērē
feasting madest. Him-to he said, 'O son, always thou of-me
 tir hās; jō mērō haughē, sō tērō haughē. Dhusī
near art; what mine is, that thine is. merry
 ranāñē, dhusī hurū; tērō chibhāi lagirō-thō, sō jibbārō; khubbār
should-make, merry should-be; thy brother dead-was, he revived; lost
 gayō-thō, phir milghirō.
gone-was, again was-found.

A specimen of Kanjari has also been forwarded from the Kheri District. It does not, however, represent any separate dialect, but is an attempt at writing ordinary Hindostāni, as will be seen from the beginning of the Parable which follows.

[No. 31.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT KHERI.

Ek bāpkē dō nēkrē thē. Lahaurē nēkrē-nē apnē bāp-sē
One father-of two sons were. Younger son-by own father-to
 kahā, 'ayē bāp, apnē khamāl wis-mē-sē mērā bātā dē, jō
it-was-said, 'O father, own property that-in-of my share give, which
 mērē bātē-mē sē. Tab us-nē dōnō nēkrē-kō balwā bāṭi
my share-in may-come. Then him-by both sons-to property dividing
 diyā. Aur lahaurē betē-nē apnā balwā lē-kar dūr-kē
was-given. And younger son-by own property having-taken far
 mulkā-mē jāta rahā aur apnā balwā haram khauri-mē
country-to going stayed and own property forbidden wickedness-in
 urāyā. Sab jab ur-gayā us mulkā-mē kāl pareḍ aur
squandered. All when squandered-went that country-in famine fell and
 woli hō gayā naṅgā. Us mulkā-mē ek basindā-kē tīrē
he becoming went naked. That country-in one resident-of near
 jāi lagā. Us-nē usē sūr chugānē-kō khāt-mē
having-gone attached-himself. Him-by him pigs to-graze field-in
 ghulāyā. Apnā dilā-mē sōchā ki un chhulō-kō jō sūr khālā
sent. Own heart-in thought that this husks which swine ate
 un-par pēt bharē; us-kō kōi khānē-kō dētā nahī thā. Apnē
thae-on belly may-fill; him-to anybody eating-for giving not was. Own
 dilā-mē tab akal kiā ki, 'mērē bāpā-kē itnē ādmī rōṭī
heart-in then sense was-made that, 'my father-of so-many men bread
 khātē haī, aur maī bhūkhō marī-ḥū. Maī uthī-kē apnē
eating are, and I with-hunger dying-am. I having-arisen own
 bāpā-kē dhaurē jāū aur us-sē yeh kahaṅgrā-ḥū ki, "bāp rē,
father-of near may-go and him-to this saying-am that, "father O,
 maī-nē bādar aur tērā barā kasūr kariā. Is lāek hū ab
me-by sky and of-thee big sin was-made. This worthy am now
 nahī ki phir tērā betā kahaṅgrā, ki bāp rē, itnē majūr
not that again thy son shall-say, that father O, so-many servants
 tērē lāgē haī, ek mujhē bhī lāgi jān."'
thine appointed are, one me also appointing consider."

The Kanjarī of Aligarh contains a strong Rājasthānī element. As has already been remarked there are, however, some features which seem to show the existence of a Dravidian element, while the *s*-suffix of the past tense points towards Eastern Hindī.

[No. 32.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT ALIGARH.

Kinui-kā dō chūbkā thā. Irā-mē-sē chhōtā-nē bāpō-sē
Some-one-of two sons were. Them-in-from younger-by father-to
 kairs ki, 'bāpū, ittha-mē-sē tildā mērō.' Urō-nē duhī-kū
said that, 'father, property-in-from give mine.' Him-by both-to
 bathār dīs. Thōrā dinā-mē chhōtō batrō malēthō hikatthō
having-divided gave. Few days-in small son property together
 kairs, apnō libhār-kē par-dēs chalgurō gaigirō. Hūā phēlsūbī
made, own having-taken other-country moved went. There riotousness
 kairs aur khārs pīrs urārs khareh-kar tilis; rabbārō na
did and ate drank squandered expended-making gave; remained not
 kachhu. Tab hūā khakāl dharrō hurō. Dutābās tāng hurō.
anything. Then there famine big became. Food scarce became.
 pallē na rairō. Tab kinū bhagwānō-kē hillā-sir hūā
in-possession not remained. Then some rich-man-of employment-in there
 jā lagirō. Urō-nē apnē nētā-mē ghurair chugānū bhijwārs.
going was-attached. Him-by own fields-in swine to-tend sent.
 Wuī chāhdō thō, 'jin khaptā ghurair dātdō thō wuī māī bī khā
He wishing was, 'which husks swine eating were those I all eating
 tukhulō chihār-wā-kū hundō.' Urā-kō kōi tildō nāy. Tab
belly filling-for am(-prepared). Him-to anyone giving not. Then
 urō-kū khōs ā-gāō, tab urō-nē kairs ki, 'tigō ki mērā bāpō-kē
him-to sense came, then him-by said that, 'see that my father-of
 balutērā rahnā tipuī dātdāē aur chhūkarō papurdaū. Ab māī
many servants bread are-eating and hungry I-starve. Now I
 chalgudaū bapētā-kē thaur jāgsū aur urō-sē kahsū, "bapētā, māī-nē
am-going father-of near will-go and him-to will-say, "father, we-by
 tērē āgē Bhagwānō-kō papētō kērō; ab māī tērō chūbkō kahwā
of-thee before God-of sin was-done; now I thy son to-soy
 lāk na rahrō. Apnā rahnā-kutauā-mē mō-kū rakhwāl-lō."
worthy not am. Own servants-among me putting-take."
 Hūā-se wū chalgurō bāpō-kē thaur augirō. Dūrō-sē tigdāī bapētā-kī
There-from he moved father-of near came. Far-from seeing father-of
 chhātī bhariyāī, wūā-sē niparrō, urō-kū garā-sē lagā līs aur
breast was-filled, there-from went, him-to neck-to clasping took and

bahut chummī lis. Bāpō-sē batrā-nē kairsan ki, 'ā bapū, tērē many kisses took. Father-to son-by said-was that, 'O father, of-thee āgē Bhagwānō-kō papētō kērō; māi tērō chūbkō kahwā lāk na before God-of sin was-done; I thy son to-say worthy not rahrō.' Tab bāpō-nē naukār-chākṛā-sē lakhārs ki, 'khachchā-mē remained.' Then father-by servants-to said that, 'good-in khachchā tūpkā likārō aur irā-kū pēdāwō; aur irā-kē khatelā-mē good clothes bring and him-to put-on; and him-of hand-on chhapēlī pēdā til aur irā-kā guṇārā-mē guṇārīṅṅ dār til. Chalō, ring putting give and him-of foot-on shoes putting give. Come, khusī karuṅgā. kit-kū-ki mērō jī batrō mar-gōgirō, phēr jī merry we-shall-make, because my this son dead-gone-is, again alive parigurō; jī jaugadō rairō thō, phēr ā-gōgirō.' Aur sab khusī fell; he last remaining was, again came.' And all merry karnū lagirō. to-make began.

Urō gharīyē urō-kō barō batrō nētā-mē thō. Urō augirō aur jab That at-time him-of big son fields-in was. He came and when ribō-kē thaurē pahūchigirō, urō-nē gāwā-kō aur nāchwā-kō khabās house-of near came, him-by singing-of and dancing-of sound sunigulis. Aur urō-nē ēkō nukrēthā bulārs aur lakhārs ki, 'jī was-heard. And him-by one servant called and said that, 'this kā hubbār rairi?' Aur urō-nē urō-sē jī lakhārs ki, 'tērō chhōtō what going-on is?' And him-by him-to this said that, 'thy small bhaiyārā bagadi augirō. Tērā bāpō-nē khātārī kari-gursē, kit-kū-ki urō brother returning came. Thy father-by feast done-was, because he achchhō nikō ā-gōgirō.' Tab urō-kū ris ā-gōgirī; bithī-sē urō-kō bapētō good well came.' Then him-to anger came; therefore him-of father ribō-sē likārī-kē augadō rairō urō-kō manālō. Urō-nē lapētā-kā house-from having-come-out come was him entreated. Him-by father-to ūtar dīs, 'tā bāp tigi, itnē barsā-sē māi-nē tēri khābarī answer was-given, 'thou father see, so-many years-from me-by thy service kērī; kabhai tēri batēlī dīraurī nā; tau-bī tē-nē ēk rakriā-kō was-done; ever thy word was-broken not; still thee-by one goat-of rachchā mō-kū nā tillō ki apnā khyārā-kē saṅg rāj upādō; young-one me-to not was-given that own friends-of with merry might-make; pari jaisē jī tērō chūbkō ārō, irō-nē hurikiāpēchō-mē malēthō sab but when this thy son came, him-by adultery-in property all urā dīs, tē-nē urō-kō linē patēlī dīnī.' Urō-nē squandering gave, thee-by him-of for-the-sake feast was-given.' Him-by

urō-sē lakhārs, 'ē chūbkā, tū sadā mērē ṭhaur rabbārō; jō mērē
him-to said, 'O son, thou always of-me near art; what of-me
 pasēlē hubbārē, sō sab tērō-ī hubbārē. Ham khusi karugsā, kit-kū-ki
near is, that all thine-only is. We merry shall-make, because
 tērō jī bhaiyarā marugirō, phēr jibbār-kē; aur jī jādō rairō,
thy this brother dead-was, again having-come-to-life; and he lost was,
 phēr ā-gōgirō.
again came.'

The specimens received from Etawah are essentially of the same kind as the preceding ones. Note, however, the future forms *jānō*, I will go; *kahnō*, I will say, and the greater admixture of Hindōstānī.

[No. 33.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN IV.

DISTRICT ETAWAH.

Kisi kajarō-kē dō batrā thā. Ōchhō batrā-nē dā-sē kahī
Some man-of two sons were. Small son-by father-to it-was-said
 ki, 'arē dā, bihārō-mē jō mērō rīkā hai, mērō dē-dē.'
that, 'O father, property-in which my share is, mine give.'
 Tab us-nē un-kō apnī bihārō lāṭ dīnā. Bahut dīn
Then him-by them-to own property having-divided was-given. Many days
 [na] hōgā kī ōchhō batrā sab kuchh ikatthā kar-kē dūsrō
 [not] became that small son all whatever together having-made other
 mulk-kō gawā aur apnī bihārō upāwā. Tab wā mulk-mē
country-to went and own wealth was-squandered. Then that country-in
 barō akāl pairō aur wah kaṅgāl hō gawā. Aur wā
big famine fell and he destitute becoming went. And that
 mulk-kē rahandō-mē-sē ek-kī yahī rahan lagō, jis-nē usē apnē
country-of inhabitants-in-from one-of with to-live began, whom-by him own
 khētō-mē suar charān jālō. Aur un chhīmiyō-sē jinhē suar
fields-in swine to-tend was-sent. And those husks-from which swine
 khātē thē apnō udrō bhar līnhis, aur kōi na dēnē tō. Tab
eating were own belly filling took, and anybody not to-give was. Then
 usē chētany huē, tab wā-nē kahī ki, 'mērō dā-kō
to-him senses came, then him-by it-was-said that, 'my father-of
 kitnē majūrō-kō jāfat-sē barh rōṭī hōtī hai, aur māī
how-many servants-to food-from more bread becoming is, and I
 bhūkhō maddō hū. Māī uṭh-kē apnē dā dhīg jānō aur
with-hunger dying am. I having-arisen own father near will-go and
 wā-sē kahō ki, "hē dā, māī-nē baikuṭh-kē uṭhē āp-kē sūdhē
him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by heaven-of against you-of before
 pāp karō hai. Māī phir āp-kā batrā kahānē kām-kā nahī.
sin done is. I again your-Honour-of son to-be-called worthy not.
 Mujhē apnē majūrō-mē-sē ek-kē barabbār karwā."
Me own servants-in-from one-of like make."

The Farrukhabad specimens are also much mixed with Hindostāni. Note also Pañ-jābī terminations such as *bich*, *Eich*, *in*, and the doubling of consonants in words such as *laggā*, began. The general character of this form of Kanjari will be apparent from a perusal of the short specimen which follows.

[No. 34.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN V.

DISTRICT FARRUKHABAD.

Ikk chōr kisū ghar-bich ghus-gayā aur andhērē-mā dhūdhnē laggā
One thief some house-in entering-went and darkness-in to-search began
 ki, 'kōi dāmō-dī chij hath laggē, tō lai jāū.
that, 'some value-of thing hand may-be-applied, then taking may-go.'
 Achchānak ikk sandūkh par thukkar laggī. Chōr-nē utthā
Suddenly one box on stumbling was-applied. Thief-by having-lifted
 lā. Sandūkh bhāri thā. Man-vich suchchā ki, 'i-mā
was-taken. Box heavy was. Mind-in it-was-thought that, 'this-in
 māl huggā.' I-gal man-vich sōch ghar-sū bāhar andā
property will-be. This-matter mind-in thinking house-from out came
 aur ikk bagiyā-vich jhārī-dī ōt waith-kar kīl-sū tallā khōlnē
and one garden-in bush-of behind having-sat-down nail-with lock to-open
 laggā ki, 'unā-dā māl nikasū.' I kartā
began that, 'that-of property I-may-take-out.' This doing
 bājā-dī kōi kal chal-gai jī-sū bājā bājnē
musical-instrument-of some spring moving-went which-from instrument to-play
 laggā. Chōr-nē dar-dē mārē bājā patak-mārā aur sanūdē
began. Thief-by fear-of from instrument was-thrown-down and own
 jān lē-kar bhaggā. I bāg-dā māli chōr-dē paggān-dē
life taking fled. This garden-of gardener thief-of footstep-of
 āhat-sē jaggā aur dēkhnē laggā ki, 'i kē-gal hai?'
sound-from awake and to-see began that, 'this what-matter is?'
 Sarhi-dā jān parā ki jhārī-vich bājā-dē āwaj nikas
Him-of knowledge fell that bush-in instrument-of sound coming-out
 rahī hai. Tō i-kō chōr-sē kam dar nahī laggā.
remaining is. Then this-to thief-from small fear not was-attached.
 Dar-dē mārē māli bhī utthē-sū bhuggā aur bāg-dē mālik-sē
Fear-of on-account gardener also there-from fled and garden-of owner-to
 i-gal kaīndā ki, 'bagiyā-vich bhūt ā-gayō.' Ū-nē bagiyā
this-matter told that, 'garden-in spirit came.' Him-by garden
 ghēr-lai aur jhārī-dē ōt khusī karandā-hai.
was-surrounded and bush-of behind merriment made-is.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A thief entered a house and began to search in the dark if he could find anything valuable. Suddenly he stumbled against a box, which he then carried away. The box was very heavy, and he thought that it might contain some property. Thus thinking he came out of the house and sat down behind a bush in a garden, and tried to open the lock with a nail in order to get at the property. By doing so he moved the spring of a musical instrument which then began to play. The thief got afraid, dropped the instrument and fled for his life. The gardener of the garden woke up from the sound of the thief's footsteps, and when he began to look into the matter, he found out that the sound of a musical instrument came out from the bush. He consequently became no less afraid than the thief. Therefore he fled and reported the matter to the owner of the garden, saying that a ghost had entered the garden. He had the garden surrounded and made a feast behind the bush.

In Belgium the speech of the Kanjars is known as Kanjari. Its general nature has been described above, and the specimens which follow do not present any difficulties. The first is a version of the Parable, and the second a popular allegory about the Sun. A Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 180ff. It will be seen that some of the numerals registered in it are, as has already been remarked, Arabic.

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN VI.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekkan kajarō-ku jaudō baidā handā. Unā-mā nunkō baidō
One man-to two sons were. Them-among younger son
 apanē bāpō-ku sidārō, 'bāpō, tērō jindgi-mā mērō ēwākō hissō
own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in mine coming share
 mau-ku kidō.' Bāpō-nē unā-mā apani jindgi batwarrō. Nunkō
me-to give.' Father-by them-among own property divided. Younger
 baidō apani hissō lēwar-ko dūr gaū-kō nikhar-ko bahut din
son own share taking far village-to having-gone many days
 hōrā-nā ittā-mā ē dūndi hōwār-ko apani jindgi sab
became-not this-much-in he riotous having-become own property all
 lutwarrō. Ē aisō karwār-ko khūpar wō mulkō-mā chibaddō dukāl
wasted. He thus having-done after that country-in big famine
 girwār-ko urū-kī garibī awarrī. Ē wō mulkō-mā ekkan
having-fallen him-of poverty came. He that country-in one
 kajarā-kē pās naukri rhairō. Wō kajarō urō-ku dukrē charāwā-ku
man-of near in-service stayed. That man him swine feeding-for
 apani khētō-ku lagā-dinū. Whā bhūkō-dē talmal-ko dukrē
own field-to employing-gave. There hunger-from having-suffered swine
 khāndāsō bhussō-bi thūr-ko pētō bharwār-lēndō, phir-tu urū-ku
eaten husks-even having-eaten belly filling-took, but him-to
 kirō-kē pās-dē kā-bi milwārō-nā. Aisō-ch thōdā din
anybody-of near-from anything-even was-got-not. Thus few days
 hurā, apani pichawādkē batēli yād hōwār-ko ē apani
became, own former state remembrance having-become he own
 ji-mā dusārō, 'mērō bāpō-kē hyā aisā bahutdē naukri-ku pētō
mind-in said, 'my father-of with so many servants-to belly
 bharwār-ko jāstī hōwār-ittō khandētō milwāddō; phir-tu hyā
having-filled excess becoming-so-much food is-got; but here
 māi-tō bhukā-dē mardū. Māi khuj-ko mērō bāpō-kē
I-on-my-side hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen my father-of
 hyā nikhar-ko dusārō, "bāpō, māi mahābūb-kō pāp awar
there having-gone say, "O-father, I God-of sin and

bāpō-kō pāp bandwār linō. Maī tērō baidō kar-ko bōl-lōwā-ku
father-of sin attaching took. I thy son saying to-be-called
 byādik-mā; mau-ku ekkan naukrō-kē sarikō tērō najik rakhwār-tē."
worthy-not; me one servant-of like of-thee near keeping-lake."
 E whā-dō khut-ko * apani bāpō-kē pās awarō, bāpō-nē urō-ku
He there-from having-arisen own father-of near coming, father-by him-to
 dūrū-dē dikhwār-ko mayā awar-ko bhagwār-nikhar-ko chaukaḍ-
far-from having-seen pity having-come running-going embrace-
 lē-ko chummā dinō. Tabi baidō bāpō-ku dūsārō, 'bāpō,
having-taken kiss was-given. Then son father-to said, 'father,
 maī mahābūb-kā sambūr tērō sambūr takhsir karō-hū. Mau-ku
I God-of before of-thee before sin done-have. Me
 tērō baidō kar-ko dūsārō-nā. Use bāpō-nē apanē naukrō-ku
thy son having-said to-be-said-not. That father-by own servants-to
 sidārō, 'uñchō libās lawar-ko mērō baidā-ku pināw; uñgalya-mā
was-said, 'high dress having-brought my son-to put-on; finger-on
 aṅgōṭī dālwarō, guṇḍalē-mā jūtā dālwarō; khanēṭā-kī tayārī
ring put, feet-on shoes put; dinner-of preparation
 karwār. Hamē thur-kō khuśāl hōwnāgā. Kaikutu yō mērō
make. We having-eaten merry shall-become. Because this my
 baidō mar-gōdō, phir jān awarri; gawānde-gaudō, millō-hē. Yē
son died, again life came; lost-gone, found-is. This
 sunwār-ko sārā khuśāl hurā.
having-heard all merry became.

Yē baktō-ku urō-kō chibaddō baidō khētō-mā handō. E
This time-at his big son field-in was. He
 nandō-kē pās awarāsō baktō-mā urō-ku gāṇō awar raṅg sunwār
house-of near coming time-in him-to singing and dancing hearing
 awarō. E naukar-mā-dē ekkan-ku chaulā-ko, 'kā challō
came. He servants-in-from one-to having-called, 'what going-on
 hē? dūsār-ko puchwārō. Use ē sidārō, 'tērō bhai
is? having-said asked. That-to he said, 'thy brother
 awarō-hē, ē khuśī-de awar-ko pohacharō, urū-ko wāsdē tērō
come-is, he happily having-come arrived, him-of for-the-sake thy
 bāpō-nē khanēṭō karwārō-hē. Yō sunwār-ko urō-kō chibaddō baidō
father-by feast made-is. This having-heard his big son
 khandar gaugrō-nā. Us wāsdē urō-kō bāpō-nē bhār awar-ko,
inside went-not. That for his father-by outside having-come,
 'khandar awar, kar-ko urū-ku bahut sidārō. Use ē apanē
'inside come, having-said him-to much was-said. That-to he own

bāpō-ku dusārō, 'maī itnā bars-laga tērō naukri karwār-ko kabi
father-to said, 'I so-many years-for thy service having-done ever
 tērō bateli tudwādō-nā. Phir-tō-bī maī mērō dōstaī-ku milwār-lē-ko
thy word broke-not. But I my friends-to having-collected
 khanētō karwār-ke wāsdē yō mau-ku ekkaṇ bakrā bi
feast making-of for-the-sake thou me-to one goat even
 dīnō-nā. Phir-tu rāṇḍaū-ke sōbatī-mā paḍwād-ko tērō sārī jindgī
given-not. But harlots-of company-in having-fallen thy all property
 mīngal-līnōdo yō tērō baidō nandō-ku ārō barōbar yō
having-devoured this thy son house-to coming immediately by-thee
 urō-ke wāsdē khanētō karwārō-hē. Bāpō-nē baidā-ku dusārō,
him-of for-the-sake feast made-is. Father-by son-to said,
 'yō mērō saṅgāt nit-rōj rahēndō. Mērō pās hē, sō sārī
'thou of-me with all-days art. My near is, that all
 tērī-ch hē. Mar-gausō tērō bhai, phir-ku jidē utrō hē;
thine-only is. Dead thy brother, again alive arisen is;
 gam-gaudō-sō, milwādō hē. Aisō hamē khuśī hōwār-ku byādik hē.
lost-gone, found is. Thus we merry being-for proper is.'

[No. 36.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN VII.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Baidō, maī kōn? mērō nām kā? urō-ku mālum hē kā? Maī
 Boy, I who? my name what? you-to known is what? I
 agarib-dē āndū, awar maī ārō barōbar dīn nigarō. Yō utawā-ko
 east-from come, and I come immediately day comes. You arising
 bakhat hurrō-to maī mērō sunnā-kō sarikō hattōtō tērō khidki-mā-dē
 time comes-then I my gold-of like hand your window-in-from
 lambō karwār-ko yurō-ku uṭhāndū. Yō bichhānā-pō padwāḍ rhaiko
 stretched having-made you awaken. You bed-on falling remaining
 wāsdē maī āndū-nā. Yō uṭwār-ko nbawā-ku wāsdē kitab padwā-ko
 for I come-not. You having-risen to-bathe for books to-read
 wāsdē sāli-ku nikharwā-ke wāsdē maī āndū. Maī nīrō chālwarnēwālō hī.
 for school-to to-go for I come. I good walker am.
 Maī rastō chālwar-ko asmān-mā phir-ko awarwā-ku ekkan dīn
 I road having-walked sky-in returning coming-for one day
 hōnū. Maī kabī thagadū-nā, rahāt-bī-nā. Mērō śir-pō jhalak
 becomes. I ever get-tired-not, halt-also-not. My head-on shining
 sunnā-ki tāj hē. Us-ki chamakdē maī chau-taraph phēkadū-hē.
 gold-of crown is. That-of light I four-directions throwing-am.
 Niwānī-pō nandū-pō dzhādā-pō mērō jhāl phailāndū. Mērō chamakdē girrōsō,
 Water-on houses-on trees-on my rays spread. My light fallen,
 sab chijē khapsūrat awar rōṣanī nājar āndī. Maī yurō-ku uṭālō dēndū,
 all things beautiful and shining sight go. I you-to light give,
 awar dhūp bī maī-ch dēndū. Maī phalāri awar anāj pakāndū. Maī
 and sunshine also I-alone give. I fruit and corn ripen. I
 asmānō-mā bahut khufichō hī. Sabī dzhādān-dē dōngarān-dē abar-dē
 sky-in much high am. All trees-than mountains-than clouds-than
 maī khufichō hī.
 I high am.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Boy, do you know who I am and what my name is? I come from the east. The moment I come, the day breaks. When it is time for you to get up, I stretch forth my golden hand through your window and awake you. I don't come to see you lying in bed. I come that you should be up and bathe, read your books and go to school. I am a fast traveller. I take but one day to travel round the whole sky. I am never tired nor do I ever halt. I have a shining gold crown upon my head. I throw its light in all directions. I spread my rays over water, houses and trees. All things that are lit up by me look beautiful and brilliant. I give you light as well as heat. I ripen fruit and corn. I am very high in the sky. I am high up above trees, clouds and mountains.

KUCHBANDHĪ.

The Kuchbandhīs are a subdivision of the Kanjars. They make the *kūchā*, or brush used by weavers for cleaning thread, and also apply themselves to other of the usual occupations of the Kanjars. A specimen of the so-called Kuchbandhī dialect has been forwarded from the Bahraich District of the United Provinces, the principal language of which is Awadhī. The first lines of it will, however, be sufficient to show that this Kuchbandhī simply is a mixture of Awadhī and Rājasthānī of the same kind as ordinary Kanjarī. Note the genitive suffix *rā* and the word *gīhar*, man. Some remarks about the argot of the Kuchbandhīs will be found in Mr. Kirkpatrick's paper quoted under Authorities above on p. 97. It is of exactly the same kind as the secret language of other Kanjars, and, like similar argots, it is called *Pārsī*, or, according to Mr. Kirkpatrick, *Pāsī*.

[No. 37.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

KUCHBANDHI DIALECT.

DISTRICT BANBAICH.

Ek gihar-kē dui batrā rahin. Arō-mā-tē chhōtkawā batrū aprē
One man-of two sons were. Them-in-from younger son own
 bāpū-tē kahis ki, 'hē bāpū, kōhri-mā jāun hamrō hīsā hōē
father-to said that, 'O father, property-in which my share may-be
 taun bātū dēō.' Tab-hī bāt dīnhō. Thōrē din bitrē
that dividing give.' Then dividing was-given. Few days passed
 chhōtkawā batrū sab hīsā aprō jamā kīnhō ēk mulkō-rō
younger son all share own together made one country-of
 pardēsō chal gayō au uhā aprō mālō chalakī-mā urā
foreign-place going went and there own property wickedness-in wasting
 dīnhō. Jab kauṛī nahī rah gayō tabē ū mulkō-mā
was-given. When a-cowrie not remaining went then that country-in
 barō kāl pirō. Tab ū garīb hōnō lagrō aur ū mulkō-rō ēk
big famine fell. Then he poor to-be began and that country-of one
 basaiā-kō ghar kām karnō lagrō. Ū arō-kō ī kahis ki,
inhabitant-of in-house work to-do began. He him-to this said that,
 'khētān-mā suar char hāō.'
'fields-in swine tending take.'

NATĪ.

The Nat̥s are dancers, acrobats and prostitutes and they are found scattered over a wide area. Their total number as returned at the Census of 1911 was 126,428, distributed as follows :—

Number of Nat̥s.	Assam	5,143
	Bengal	9,979
	Bihar and Orissa	5,651
	Central Provinces and Berar	11,385
	United Provinces	68,376
	Central India Agency	10,090
	Rajputana Agency	8,447
	Elsewhere	7,357
TOTAL		126,428

The name Nat̥ is a Prakrit-Sanskrit word and means 'dancer,' 'actor.' It does not connote any definite tribe but comprises many different clans, who are only linked together by their common occupation. Numerous names of sub-tribes have been returned from the various districts. Thus we find Baisiyās and Banjārās in Mainpuri, Bēpiyās in Etawah, Brijbāsīs, who state that they come from Braj, in Bahraich, Pahārī Bhābars in Rampur, Pastos, Tasmabāz, and so forth. This simply means that any tribe may be represented among the people acting as Nat̥s.

In such circumstances we cannot expect to find a separate language spoken by the Nat̥s. In the information collected for the purposes of this Survey there figures a Nat̥ language, returned under the name of *naṭō-ki bōlī*, with or without specifying additions such as Brijbāsī-Pastō, etc. The figures are as follows :—

Bengal	4,584
Bhagalpur	4,584
United Provinces	6,950
Aligarh	250
Mainpuri	2,000
Etawah	400
Bijnor	1,000
Rampur	300
Khari	2,500
Bahraich	500
</	

The specimens received from the districts, however, show that there is no such dialect as Nat̥ī. The various clans classed together under the head of Nat̥s speak the dialect of their neighbours. Like many other wandering tribes, however, they have a professional argot, made up by disguising ordinary words in the same way as in Criminal Sāsī. This argot has

Nat̥ Argot.

nothing to do with grammar. The underlying dialect is either the ordinary vernacular or a mixture of forms derived from different dialects, such as we might reasonably expect in the mouth of travelling professionals who roam over a wide area and who are recruited from more than one tribe or clan. The specimens printed below will, however, show that the dialect of the Nats of the United Provinces contains an unmistakable admixture of Rājasthānī. Thus we find forms such as *batrā*, sons; *batrā-nē*, by the son, in addition to the regular *batrē-nē*, by the son; *gayō*, went; and *lilpā*, went, in Mainpuri, and so forth. Some few details will be mentioned later on. It therefore seems as if those Nats whose speech is represented in our specimens have come from or at least spent some time in Rājasthān. The specimens will, however, also show that these Rājasthānī features are too few and too little thoroughgoing to justify us in classing Natī as even a debased form of Rājasthānī. What is meant under the denominations *Natī* and *Natī ki bōlī* is not a definite dialect but the professional argot of the Nats.

As in the case of Sāsī the argot of the Nats contains several peculiar words such as *bōrā*, boy; *būnā*, *chhāī*, water; *chhumkar*, day; *chilapnā*, go; *dimnā*, *dūtnā*, eat; *gēm*, *gnīm*, thief; *kājā*, cultivator, squire; *khollā*, house; *khum*, mouth; *lagnā*, die; *lōd*, *nāḍ*, bull; *nāl*, night; *tiyārgā*, that (person or thing) concerned; *ḥōgnā*, drink; *ṭupḍā*, pig, and so forth. Most of such words are known from other argots and dialects such as Sāsī and cannot yet be explained etymologically. Some such terms taken down from the mouth of some Tasmabāz residents of Cawnpore have been printed on pp. 314-318 of the *Selections from the Government Records North Western Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. i. 1862.

The great majority of Natī slang words, however, have been taken from the common Aryan vocabulary of Northern India. To prevent outsiders from understanding them, they are then disguised in the same way as in the argot of the Sāsīs and others. One and the same word can be made unrecognizable in several ways and accordingly assume many different forms.

I have not noted any certain instances of mere transposition. Compare, however, *khum*, mouth (Bijnor); *chūkkā* = *bachchā*, young (Mainpuri).

The prefixing of a consonant, which then often supersedes an old initial, on the other hand, is very common.

A *k* is prefixed in forms such as *kōṭ*, eighth (Rampur); *kōdmī*, man; and substituted for an initial *ḷ* in *kāṭ*, share (Mainpuri). *Kh* is much more common. Compare *khi-mālai*, property; *khimērā*, my; *khandar*, inside; *khakāl*, famine; *khōḍā*, small; *khin*, day; *khēṭai*, belly; *khaināi*, having put on; *khād*, after; *khujhā*, me (all from Mainpuri); *khachchī*, water; *khunaddi*, river; *khapānī*, water; *khaddā*, big one, Sir; *khakhēḍiā*, wolf (all from Bijnor); *khanēṭ*, belly (Rampur), and so forth.

Ch is substituted for an old labial in words such as *chakar*, seize, Hindōstānī *pakar*; *khachhōṭē*, speaking, cf. Hindōstānī *bōlnā*, in the Bijnor specimens. *Chh* is similarly used in words such as *chhūkal*, hungering; *chhulk* = *mulk*, country (Mainpuri); *chhōd* = *bahut*, much (Rampur), etc. The soft palatals are also used as substitutes for labials in *jaṭūp* = *ḷāṭā*, share; *jarā* = *barā*, big (Rampur); *jhurā* = *burā*, evil; *jhāiyā* = *bhāiyā*, brother (Mainpuri), but also in cases such as *jhēk*, one; *jhakāl*, famine (Bhagalpur).

Of dental substitutes we may note *thāmne* = *sāmuē*, before (Rampur), and the frequent use of *n*, *nh*; thus, *nēt* = *khēt*, field; *nātti* = *chhāti*, breast; *naulāj* = *mohlāj*, wanting; *namā* = *samā*, together (Mainpuri); *niōhhē* = *pīchhē*, after; *namēśwar* = *parmēśwar*, God; *nāth* = *sāt*, seven; *nū* = *tū*, thou; *uē* = *thē*, were; *nhē* = *chhē*, six (Rampur), and so forth.

Of labials we may note, *ph* in *phēr*, three (Rampur); *b* in forms such as *bēg*, one; *bithē*, to him (Mainpuri); *bōr* = *aur*, and; *bāki*, watchman (Rampur); and *m* in words such as *mahā* = *kahā*, said; *myō* = *kyā*, why? *māhtā* = *chāhtā*, wishing; *miār* = *pyār*, love; *māt* = *bād*, after, and so forth in the Mainpuri specimens. The form *marluk*, dead, is probably of another kind, the base *mar* being prefixed to the base *lug*, to die. In some of the Mainpuri specimens the old initial which has been replaced by *m* is subsequently added at the end of the word; thus, *mētkhē* = *khēt*, field; *musikhē* = *khusi*, merry; *mōlāchhē-nē* = *chhōfē-nē*, by the younger one; *mēfēbē* = *bēfē*, sons; *māpbē* = *bāp*, father; *mērātē* = *tērā*, thy; *mnarsē* = *sūar*, swine, and so forth.

Of other substitutes we may note *l* in *līpā* = *chalā*, went; *lālchālī* = *bodchālī*, bad conduct (Mainpuri); *r* in *rān* = *kān*, ear; *rahat* = *khēt*, field (Rampur); *rōtkā* = *chhōfā*, small; *rābhō* = *sab*, all (Bhagalpur), and so on. *R* is also used instead of *g* in the List of Words and Sentences from Rampur printed below on pp. 180ff., in the word *tiyārgī rāc*, cow, where *rāc* corresponds to Hindostānī *gāc*, while *tiyārgī* is a pronoun meaning 'that thing just mentioned.'

As in the case of other argots we also find words disguised by means of additions at the end. Note forms such as *khētai* = *pēt*, belly; *khimālai* = *māl*, property (Mainpuri); *labā* = *lab*, direction (Bijnor), and several consonantal additions. Such are, *k* and *g* in forms such as *kaugā* and *kākā*, said; *gaugā*, went; *rangā*, stayed; *paugā*, got (Mainpuri); *ch* and *j* in *hōchā*, was (Rampur); *kujā*, made (Bijnor); cerebrals in forms such as *lagādnā*, to apply (Bijnor); *lugāfnā*, to beat (Rampur); *puchhacārō*, asked (Mainpuri); *t* in forms such as *khābāptā*, father (Etawah); *p* in verbs such as *deppō*, give; *līpō*, went; *līppāi*, applying; *karpā*, made (Mainpuri), and so on. Note also *dhūr* = *dō*, two; *bāpsā-kē*, of the father (Rampur); *kātnā*, to do, and the curious forms *jāturnā*, go; *ālurnā*, come (Mainpuri); *ālre*, came (Rampur); *jāsurtā*, going (Rampur); *āsā*, came (Bijnor), and so forth.

It will be seen from the figures given above on p. 121 that most speakers of Natī in the United Provinces have been returned from the western part of the Province, from Etawah in the south to Bijnor in the north. We are comparatively best informed about the state of affairs in Mainpuri. There are several tribes in the district who make use of the Natī slang, such as the Baisiyās, the Banjārās, the Habūras, the Kanjars and the Kalabāz. The base is apparently everywhere the current Hindostānī dialect with a tissue of Rājasthānī. This element has not been organically mixed up with the underlying Hindostānī, but Rājasthānī forms are occasionally used side by side with the ordinary ones. Thus we find instances of the nominative in *ō*, the oblique base in *ā* and the plural in *ā* of strong masculine bases; compare *rajēfō chīndā hoichchō*, there was a rich man, but commonly forms such as *jharā bafrā hoichchā*, the big son was (in the fields); *bafrā-nē* and *bafrē-nē*, by the son; *dhōr bafrā hoichchē*, there were two sons, and so forth. The version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son which follows well illustrates this form of speech. It has been taken down from the mouth of a Baisiyā.

[No. 38.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BAISIYĀ).

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Bēg rajēttē-kē dhōr batrā hoichehē. Uthi-mē-thi khōtē batrā-nē
One man-of two sons were. Them-in-from small son-by
 chhūarā-thi kangā ki, 'ēyō chhūarā, khimālai-kā khissā khimērā
father-to it-was-said that, 'O father, property-of share mine
 hoichehā hai thō khujhē deppi deppō.' Tō tabi ūthi-nē khimālai-kī
becoming is that me having-given give. And then him-by property-of
 kāt kālī deppā. Thōrē khūñ-kē khād khōtē batrē-nē sabi
shares having-made was-given. Few days-of after small son-by all
 kuchhī namā kāl-kē bēg dūr-kī khulk-kō līpā. Wahā khapnā
whatever together having-made one distant country-to went. There own
 khimālai kuchālī khurāē deppā. Aur jabī sabī
property in-bad-conduct having-wasted was-given. And when all
 hoichehī gaugā ūthi khulk-mē jharā khakāl hoichehā, aur wah
having-ceased went that country-in big famine became, and he
 nautāj hoichehī gaugā. Tabi ūthi khulk-kā bēg rajēttō chindā
in-want having-become went. Then that country-of one man rich
 hoichehō, jithi-kē wah ligpi jālurā. Aur ūthi-nē ūthi-kō khapnē
was, whom-of he employed went. And him-by him own
 nētā-mē taupā dimānē-kō khutāi deppā. Aur wah lūgtā
fields-in swine feeding-for having-sent was-given. And he dying
 hoichehā ki ūthi chhilkō-thē jō taupā dimmatā hoichehā, khapnā
became that those husks-from which pig eating was, own
 khētāi jharī leppē, kī kōi ūthē deppatā khatī hoichehā.
belly having-filled may-take, as anyone him giving not was.
 Jabī khōs-mē ālurā, kangā, 'khimērē chhūarā-kē khītūē kōdmi
When sense-in came, it-was-said, 'my father-of so-many men(-to)
 tāwālī hoichehatī hai; māī chhūkāl lūgtā hū. Māī khuth-kē khapnē
bread becoming is; I by-hunger dying am. I having-arisen own
 chhūarā pās līpūgā aur ūthi-thē kaugūgā ki, "ēyō chhūarā, māī-nē
father near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by
 khagās-kā aur tērā jhurā kālā; abī ithī nāik khatī rahyō hoichhū
heaven-of and of-thee sin was-done; now this fit not remained am

ki tērā batrā kaugī deppi jālurē. Khujhē khapnē
that thy son having-said having-given I-may-go. Me own
 kōdmī-mē-thē bēg-ki nāfik khaunāi leppō." Tabā khuth-kē khapnē
men-in-from one-of like having-taken take." Then having-arisen own
 chhūarā pas līpā. Aur wah abī dūr hoichehā ki uthī-kō naukhtē
father near went. And he yet far was that him seeing
 khī uthī-kē chhūarā-kō miār ālurā, aur līp-kē uthī-kō nātī-thē
immediately him-of father-to love came, and having-gone him breast-to
 līgpāi leppā aur uthī-kē khitnē khītā leppi leppā.
having-clasped was-taken and him-of so-many kisses having-taken were-taken.
 Batrē-nē uthī-thī kaugā ki, 'ēyō chhūarā, māī-nē khagās-ka aur
Son-by him-to it-was-said that, 'O father, we-by heaven-of and
 tērā jhūrā kullā, aur khatī ki phūr tērā batrā kōi kaugē.
of-thee sin was-done, and it-is-not that again thy son anyone may-call.'
 Chhūarā-nē khapnē kōdmīyō-thī kaugī deppā ki, 'chindā chindā
Father-by own men-to having-said it-was-given that, 'good good
 tūpkē leppi ālurō, aur uthī deppi deppō; aur uthī-ki
clothes having-taken come, and to-him having-given give; and him-of
 khangurī-mē khangūthī aur uthī-kē pāw-mē rēwriyā khaināi deppō; aur
finger-on ring and him-of feet-on shoes having-put-on give; and
 hamī dimmē aur nusi khanaē ki yahi mōrā batrā lugi jālurā
we may-eat and merry may-make as this my son having-died gone
 hoichehē, thō chindā ālurā; hūrā bī khatī hoichehē jānē kiya
was, he alive came; anywhere even not is to-know where
 gaugī rā, abī ālurā hoichehē. Tabī nusi kullnē raugā.
having-gone stayed, now come is. Then merry to-make began.

Aur uthī-kā jharā batrā nētō-mē hoichehā. Jālā khakān-kē-tē ālurā
And him-of big son fields-in was. When house-of-near came
 aur khineh-ki khawāj namjā, tabī bēg kōdmī-kō kaugā ki, 'yē
and dancing-of sound was-heard, then one man-to it-was-said that, 'this
 kyā hoichehā hai?' Aur uthī-nē bithō kaugā ki, 'tērā jhāiyā
what become is?' And him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother
 ālurā hoichehē, aur tērē chhūarā-nē jharī chindī dimmnā-kō kullā hai ki
come is, and thy father-by very good feasting-for made is as
 bithō chindā ālurā naukhā. Uthī-nē kīthā hoichehī gaugā ki
him well come was-seen. Him-by angry having-become went that
 bith khakān-kē khandar khatī jālurē. Tabī uthī-kē chhūarā-nē biyā-thē
that house-of inside not will-go. Then him-of father-by there-from
 ālur-kē uthī namjāyā. Uthī-nē chhūarā-thī cheotō-mē kaugā,
having-come him it-was-entreated. Him-by father-to answer-in it-was-said,

'naukh, itnē baras-thē maī tēri nidmat kulltā hoichchū, aur khadī
 'see, so-many years-from I thy service doing am, and ever
 tērē kaugnē-thī khattī khatī kullā, ki tū-nē khadī bēg khakriyā-kā
 thy order-from no not was-done, that thee-by ever one she-goat-of
 chūbkā khujhē khatī deppā, ki khapnē khiyāwrō-kē saūgi nusi
 young-one to-me not was-given, that own friends-of with merry
 kullnō. Aur jab tērā yah batrā alurō jithī-nē tērā khimālāi
 to-make. And when thy this son came whom-by thy property
 rajēttiyo-mē khurāi deppā, tū-nē uthī-kē mātthē jhapī
 women-among having-wasted was-given, thee-by him-of for-the-sake very
 chindā dimmnē-kō kullā.' Uthī-nē uthī kaogā, 'ēyō batrē, tū
 good feasting-for was-made.' Him-by to-him it-was-said, 'O son, thou
 sadā mērai pās hoichchā hai, aur jō-kuchh mērā hoichchē, thē tērā
 always of-me near become art, and whatever mine is, that thine
 hoichchē. Ki nusi hōnā nājim hoichchē ki tērā yah jhāiyā lugā
 is. But merry to-be proper is as thy this brother dead
 hoichchā, thē chindā alurā; aur hurā bī khatī hoichchā, thē abī
 was, he well came; and anywhere even not was, he now
 alurā hoichchē.'
 come is.'

The specimen which follows represents the same kind of Hindōstānī mixed with
 Rājasthānī. Compare Rājasthānī forms such as *khuz-kō bayō mēfābē* (i.e. *bēfā*), his
 younger son; *māpbai*, i.e. *bāpai*, by the father; *mājūrā-kō*, to the servants; *bhayō-chhā*,
 had become; *rauchhū*, I remain; *mahō* and *mahā*, said, and so on. Most forms are,
 however, ordinary Hindōstānī. The specimen has been taken down from the mouth of a
 Baisiyā. It differs from the preceding one in the common practice of suffixing the
 original initial of disguised words; thus, *mānēgā*=*gānē*, singing; *mūtājū*=*jūtā*, shoe,
 and so forth.

[No. 39.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BAISIYĀ).

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Khēk makassē dōs mēṭēlē thē. Un-mā-sē mōṭāchhē-nē
One man-to two sons were. Them-in-from younger-by
 mahā, māphē, khimāl-kā khissā khimārā mujhē dē. Tab
it-was-said, 'father, property-of share mine to-me give.' Then
 us-nē khimāl unhē māṭi diyā. Thōrai dīn-kē māṭ
him-by property to-them dividing was-given. Few days-of after
 mōṭōchhē mēṭēlē sab-kō mahāj kar-kē khēk dūr-kī chhulak-kō
younger son all together having-done one distant country-to
 mupērsē kiya. Wahā apnā māl ladchālī khurpāyā.
journey was-made. There own property in-bad-conduct was-squandered.
 Jab sab mīr-chukā-kīr-chukā us chhulak-mē barā khakāl parā.
When all had-been-casted-away that country-in big famine fell.
 Khus chhulak-mē khēk khirais-kō yahā khajā lagā.
That country-in one squire-of place having-gone was-employed.
 Khus-nō khusē khapnē mēṭklē muarsē charāban gōchā. Wah
Him-by him own in-fields swine to-feed it-was-sent. He
 māhtā thā khī khun mīrkāchhē jō muarsē matēkhē, apnā
wishing was that those kushs which swine eat, own
 māṭayai bharē, khī kōi khusē na dētā thā. Jab
belly may-fill, that anyone him not giving was. When
 hōsh-mē bhayō-chhā, mahā kī, 'merē māphē-kē mōjūrā-kō
sense-in become-had, it-was-said that, 'my father-of servants-to
 bahut kharōṭi hāi. Khimāi bhūkhō martā hū. Khimāi
much breads are. I with-hunger dying am. I
 khuth-kē apnē māphē-kā pas jāṅgā aur khusē kahṅgā, "ai
having-arisen own, father-of near will-go and to-him will-say, "O
 māphē, khāsmān-kā khaur mērātē munāgai kiya; ab is
father, heaven-of and of-thee sin was-done; now this
 laik nāṭhū rōchhū khī tērā mēṭābē kahṅyū; mujhē apnē
fil not am that thy son - may-be-called; me own
 majūrā-mē khēk-sā banā." Tabkhī khuth-kē apnē māphē-kē
servants-in one-like make." Then having-arisen own father-of

pās gayō-chhā. Wah abhī khudār hatō, khusē lakh-kē
 near went. He yet far was, him having-seen
 khus-kē māpbē khirahm bhayō ; khidaur-kē usai malōgē
 him-of to-father pity became ; having-run him to-neck
 khilagāī layō aur bahut khimōmachē. Mētehē-nē khus
 having-clasped was-taken and much kissed. Son-by to-him
 kōkā, 'ai māpbē, mē-nē agās-kā aur khitērē-kā munāgai
 it-was-said, 'O father, me-by heaven-of and thee-of in
 kiya ; is kabil naithū rauchhū ki tērā mētabē
 was-done ; this worth not am that thy son
 kahlāyū. Māphai apnē nōkarō-kō mahā ki,
 I-may-be-called. By-the-father own servants-to it-was-said that,
 'achchhī achchhī mōsākayē khinikās lāō, usē mahdhāē
 'good good dresses having-taken-out bring, him putting-on
 dō, khus-kē khāth-mē khāngūthī aur mābyē-mē mūtājā mahdhāē
 give, him-of hand-on ring and foot-on shoes putting-on
 dō, aur ham musikhē mauāē, myō-ki mērō mētabē islūk
 give, and we merry may-make, because my son dead
 gayō hatō, ab mujī gayō ; mōkhāē gayō, ab milē gayō.
 gone was, now alive went ; lost went, now found went.
 Tab wē musikhē karnē lagē.
 Then they merry to-make began.
 Khus-kō barō mētabē mētakhē-mē hatō. Jab marghē-kē
 Him-of big son field-in was. When house-of
 nazdik āyō mānēgā aur ginchō-bartō-kī awāz sulpi.
 near came singing-of and dancing-of sound was-heard.
 Tab khēk khinōkar bulākē puchhwārō ki, 'yah kai
 Then one servant having-called it-was-asked that, 'this what
 hai ? Khus-nē khusē mahō ki, 'tērā mabhāī āyō ;
 is ? Him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother came ;
 hus-kī tērā māpbē-nē barī māfat karī, is liyē ki
 him-of thy father-by big feast was-made, this for that
 bhalō matigōchī pāyō. Mussā kī, na chāhā khandar
 good sound was-got. Anger was-made, not wished inside
 ki jāē. Tab khus-kē māpbē-nē khimānpāyā. Khun-nē
 that may-go. Then him-of father-by was-remonstrated. Him-by
 bāp-nē jawāb mēlō ki, 'lakh, itnē marashē tērī
 father-to answer was-given that, 'see, so-many years thy
 mijbat karpātō, khabhū tērē khukm-kē mubarkhilāf na chālē.
 service doing-was, ever thy order-of against not went.

Tū-nē kabhi khaik makarhi-kā bachchā na diyā ki
Thee-by ever one goat-of young-one not was-given that
 apnē mōstdē-kē māsthē musikhē manāyū. Jab yah mētabē
own friends-of with merry might-make. When this son
 tērā āyō jā-nō tērā māl mēshyāē-mē urāyō, tū-nā
thy came whom-by thy property harlots-among was-accused, thee-by
 khus-kā liyē barī māftaj karpī. Khus-nē khus-sē
him-of sake-for big feast was-made. Him-by him-to
 lōpī, 'ai mētabē, tū salā mērē māsyāi hai, aur
it-was-said, 'O son, thou always of-me near art, and
 jō-kuchh mērā hai sō khitērā hai. Khimuskhē manānā
whatever mine is that thine is. Merry to-make
 khisuskhē hōnā marūjē thā, myū-ki tērā yah mahhāi marink
happy to-be necessary was, because thy this brother dead
 gayō, sō mijiyāō; aur mukhāē gayō thō, sō ab milyo
went, he reviced; and lost gone was, he now found
 hai.
is.

A third specimen from the Mainpuri District, which has been forwarded under the head of Natī, is of the same kind as the preceding one. It contains the statement of a Nat about a theft.

[No. 40.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Mōrich bhāi; us-mē khaik mutiwā gaō chhō. Khaik mariwā
Theft was; that-in one kettle lost was. One jug
 gai chhō. Dō gamāri thē gaiē. Phir mānēthē-mē gayā.
lost was. Two plates were gone. Then police-station-in went.
 Mē-nē rapat karpī jāi mānathdār āyā likh
Me-by report having-made having-gone police-officer came writing
 likhāē-kē, phir marōgādi khapnē mānēthē-kō chalē
having-caused-to-be-written, then the-inspector own station-to moved
 gayō. Kuehlik nāyī mil-āyō. Marōgādi-kai māsthē chār sipāhi
went. Anything not being-found-came. Inspector-of with from soldiers
 tin māukiehdār āyō thē. Mandrah wā sōlāh khādmī marōgādi-nē
three watchmen come were. Fifteen or sixteen men inspector-by
 khikkitthē karpē tamānā-kī talāshī layī ki, 'is nat-kī
collected were-made house-of search was-taken that, 'this nat-of
 mōrich hō gai yā nāhī.' Khaik khādmī-nē un-mē-sē
theft having-become went or not.' One man-by them-in-from
 mahā ki, 'mē-rē mōrich kartē mēkhādē thē.
it-was-said that, 'me-by theft doing seen were.
 Mukashāy-sē miwāldē-māi khaidi phāi dayō,
Instrument-for-house-breaking-by wall-in hole having-broken was-given,
 us wakat gūmī karpāt thē, sō bālī bachchē jag parpāi.
that time theft doing were, then young children awaking got-up.
 Tab gaim bhāj gayē. Mānathdār-nē mērā khinsāf nāhī
Then thieves running-away went. Police-officer-by of-me justice not
 kiya. Tabkhi mē-nē khidiptī sāhab-kē yāhī kharjī dāi.
was-done. Then me-by deputy sahib-of with petition was-given.
 Tab khidiptī sāhab-nē magwāh buliyāē aur khun-kā izhār
Then deputy sahib-by witnesses were-called and them-of statement
 paugā, 'sach lōpat ki mōrich bhāi ki nāhī bhāi.' Khimāī
was-got, 'truth tell that theft was or not was.' I
 bilkulkhi lut gayō. Khajūr mērā khinsāf nāhī karēgē,
wholly robbed went. Your-Honour of-me justice not will-make,
 tō māī mar jāūgā.
then I dying shall-go.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A theft has been committed, and one kettle, one jug, and two plates have been stolen. I went to the police station, and made a report. The police officer wrote it down. Then the Inspector went to his station. Nothing had been found. Four police soldiers and three watchmen had come with the Inspector. The Inspector then collected fifteen or sixteen men and searched the house to find out if a theft had been committed in my house or not. One of them said that he had seen the thieves at work. The wall had been broken by an instrument, and while they were stealing, the children woke and got up. The thieves then ran away. The police officer, however, did not do me justice, and so I filed a petition with the Deputy Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner called witnesses and took their statement, asking them to tell the truth whether a theft had been committed or not. I have been totally robbed, and if your Honour will not do justice to me, I shall die.

The slang of the Nats of the Etawah district is of the same kind as that used in the neighbouring Mainpuri. Thus we find *bōhrā*, son, as in Hindōstānī, but *bōhrā*, sons, as in Rājasthānī, and so forth. It will be enough to print the beginning of a version of the Parable as illustration of this mixed speech.

[No. 41.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BĒRIYĀ).

SPECIMEN IV.

DISTRICT ETAWAH.

Kohū	ṭehā-kē	khadōē	bōhrā	thē.	Uhi-mā-sē	lahurā-nē
Some	man-of	two	sons	were.	Them-in-from	younger-by
khāptā-sē	kahā,	'arē	khāptā,	pūji-māhi-sē	jō	hamārā
father-to	it-was-said,	'O	father,	property-in-from	which	my
nāṭṭilī	hōē	uh	ham-kā	bāṭbē.	Tab	uh-nē
share	may-be	that	me-to	divide.	Then	him-by
nāṭṭilī	kar	dī.	Bōhit	din	nāhī	kaṭē
shares	having-made	was-given.	Many	days	not	passed
bōhrā	sārī	pūji	ikṭhī	kar	anthā	chhāē
son	all	property	together	having-made	another-country	having-gone
rahyō.						
stayed.						

The Nat argot used in the Rampur State is known under the name of Pahārī Bhābar. The admixture of Rājasthānī forms in the specimens received from the State is comparatively small. Compare, however, the alternative genitive suffix *rā*, *rī*, *rē*; the locative suffix *nē*; forms such as *mārā*, *māhrā*, *my*; *nō*, i.e. *thō*, or *thā*, *I was*; forms such as *rahā*, *rahlā*, and *rehlā*, *was*; *dinī*, *gave*; *kinī*, *made*, and the future suffixes *gā* and *rā*. Note also the aspirated letters in *gōghā*, *went*; *dudhlē*, *eating*; *dhōr*, *two*; *thēr*, *three*, etc. The character of this form of speech will be easily recognized from a perusal of the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable, the second a statement relating to a dacoity. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 180ff.

[No. 42.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (PAHĀRĪ BHĀBAR).

SPECIMEN V.

STATE RAMPUR.

Bik kudmī-kē dhōr niklē rahlē. Khalōhrā-nē bāpsā-sē
 One man-of two sons were. Younger-by father-to
 kūkā ke, 'bāpsā, khaṭum-kā jaṭup mōhē dip-dēō. Bōr
 it-was-said that, 'father, property-of share me-to give. And
 bāpsā-nē dip-diyā. Nihōrgā khadīn nichhē khalōhrā niklē-nē chhōd
 father-by was-given. Few days after younger son-by much
 bīkṭā kōriā bōr khadūr-kē nidhwā-kū gōghā bōr khaṭum
 together was-made and distance-of country-to went and substance
 hīnālī-nā raharēh hupī gōkī. Phīn ōh nidhwā-kē bīk
 riotousness-in spent becoming went. Then that country-of one
 khamīr-kē rōhlē gōghā. Ōh-nē rahṭō-nē tūṇā nukānē rahlē.
 rich-man-of house went. Him-by fields-in pigs to-graze was-sent.
 Bōr ōhē khapīā rahli ke ōh kōḷḷ-sē jō tūṇā dudhṭē
 And his desire was that those husks-from which pigs eating
 haī āpan khanēt thēklē. Phīn ōh-nē kūkā ke, 'mōhrē bāpsā-kē
 are own belly may-fill. Then him-by it-was-said that, 'my father-of
 chhīntē haī; uhaī tāoli haī; bōr mēh chhukā lūṭā hū.
 servants are; to-them breads are; and I hungry dying am.
 Mēh āpan bāpsā-kē dhigē chīlpūngā bōr ōh-sē kūkūngā ke,
 I own father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that,
 "bāpsā, mēh-nē ākās bōr tōhrē thāmne rasōr kelī;
 'father, me-by heaven and of-thee before sin was-made;
 ab mōhē āpnē chhīntē sāhī karbō." Ōh bāpsā-kē
 now me own servant like make." He father-of
 dhigē chīlpā. Bōr ōh khadūr rahlē ke ōhē nūkh-kar
 near went. And he far was that him seen-having
 ōh-nē bāpsā-kū mōh āyā, bōr khatēng-kē ōhē richhā
 his father-to affection came, and having-run his neck
 lagē-liyā bōr chhōd rilchhā kīlī. Bōr bāpsā āpan
 was-clasped and much caressing was-made. And father own
 chhīntō-sē kūkā ke, 'kuchhē kuchhē riprē lēp-āō bōr
 servants-to it-was-said that, 'good good clothes bring and

ōhē nēhr-lāō, bōr ōh-kē khūt-nē ūthī bōr gōnā-nē gōhni nēhr-lāō;
him put-on, and him-of hand-on ring and feet-on shoes put-on;
 bōr ham dutē bōr rusī rōhōpō, ke mahrā nīklā
and we may-eat and merry may-be, that my son
 lugā rahā, phin khājiri gōghā hai; khajātā rahlā, phin khamlā
dead was, again alive gone is; lost was, again found
 hai.' Bōr ōh rusī rōhōpō lāgē.
is.' And they merry to-be began.

Bōr ōh-kā japā nīklā rahat-nē rahā. Jab rōhlē-kē dhigē
And him-of big son field-in was, When house-of near
 āyā ' bōr khēchā-kī chur nōhni. Bīk chhīntē-nu
came and dancing-of sound was-heard. One servant-to
 kūkā ke, 'ē hūp hai?' Ōh-nē ōh-sē kūkā, 'tōhrā
it-was-said that, 'this what is?' Him-by him-to it-was-said, 'thy
 bhaotā āyā hai, bōr tōhrē bāpsā-nē japī dutnā kēli.' Ōh-nē
brother come is, and thy father-by big feast was-made.' Him-by
 rūse hupī gōghā khapiyānā ke rōhlē na chīlpē. Ōh-kē
angry becoming went it-was-wished that house not may-go. Him-of
 bāpsā-nē khabāhar chīlap-kar khamnāyā. Ōh-nē bāpsā-sē
father-by outside having-gone it-was-remonstrated. Him-by father-to
 kūkā, 'nākh, chhōd khadīn hupī gāē ke tōhri khamētī
it-was-said, 'see, many days having-become went that thy service
 kōli rahā; bōr tōhrē kākne-sē na chīlpā. Tōh-nē bīk
doing remained; and thy word-from not went. Thee-by one
 rōhībrī-kā bachchā bhī mōhē na dīnī ke khyārō-kē hāth
goat-of young-one even to-me not was-given that friends-of with
 rusī rahpō. Bōr jō tōhrā ēh nīklā āyā jē tōhrā
merry might-be. And when thy this son came by-whom thy
 khatum patniyō-nē rahach hupī gōki, tōh-nē ōh-kē liē
property harlots-to spent becoming went, thee-by him-of for-the-sake
 chhōd dīnī kīni.' Ōh-nē kūkā ke, 'nīklē, tā sadā
big feast - was-made.' Him-by it-was-said that, 'son, thou always
 mōhrē dhigē hai, bōr jō mēhrā hai, sō tōhrā hai.
of-me near art, and what mine is, that thine is.
 Phin rusī rōhōpnā bōr rusī hōnā rahlā, ke tōhrā
But merry to-make and merry to-be was, that thy
 bhaotā lōgā rahlā, phin khajimān hai; bōr khajātā rahlā,
brother dead was, again alive is; and lost was,
 khamlā hai.
found is.'

[No. 43.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (PAHĀRĪ BHĀBAR).

SPECIMEN VI.

STATE RAMPUR.

Thēr mahinā-sē chhōd khadīn bhāē ki kōdhi nāl-kū mährē
Three months-from many days were that half night-at my
 'rōhlē būlat bhai. Mēh rōhlē-sē khabāhar nīppar-nē nūj
in-house dacoity was. I house-from outside shed-in sleeping
 rahā thā. Mēhri chhahan rōhlē-nē nūj rahī thā. Bik
staying was. My sister house-in sleeping staying was. One
 kudmī mährē rahat-kī dhigē chhāgtā huā mukhā. Khōtthōgā.
man my bed-of near going become was-seen. I-rose,
 ō-sē nūchhā, tō kūkā ke, 'bāki hū.' Mēh
him-from it-was-asked, then it-was-said that, 'chankdār am.' By-me
 kūkā ke, 'ōh bōr kudmī hai.' Phīn ōh chhāp-gayā.
it-was-said that, 'he another man is.' Then he going-went.
 Khadōrgā rihaprē nēhrē huē rehā. Phīn nūchhā khatīa bōl
White clothes put-on become was. Then twenty-five thirty burglary
 āē bōr kūkā ke, 'ham bulṭu hai.' Khandēri nāl rōhlī.
came and it-was-said that, 'we burglars are.' Dark night was.
 Namañchā bōr tikhnī leuthiā nandūkē sah khatiyār ōh-kē dhigē rahlē.
Pistol and sword sticks guns all weapons them-of near were,
 Kōt chul nandūkō-kē bhāē. Mēh gōghāī parā. Bik nōhri
Eight fires guns-of became. I going fled. One knife
 thīs-nē lugārī bōr leuthiā lugārī. Mēh nīst hupī gayā ke
head-on struck and sticks struck. I quiet becoming went that
 lōth dārēgō. Phīn bik kudmī tikhnī liyē mēhrē dhigē rehārā
killing may-throw. Then one man sword taken of-me near standing
 rahā, bōr narwājē-kā ruṇṇ nōrnō lagē. Nīdhwē-kē dāmbhē chhōd
was, and door-of bolt to-break began. Village-of people many
 bikhattē hupā gāē. Tō mēhrē dhigē-sē bōl chilpē gāē.
together becoming went. Then of-me near-from burglars going went.
 Phīn mēh khūṭī-kē chilpā gayā, bōr nīdhwē-nē billāta phirā
Then I having-run moved went, and village-in shouting went-about
 ke, 'mēhrē rōhlē-nē bōl ālrē, rīgh chilpō.' Nēhlīānē
that, 'my house-in dacoits have-entered, quickly come.' All-sides-from

bōl nandūkē lōhtē thē. Khadrā-kē mārē uthē kōi na
dacoits guns firing were. Fear-of on-account there anybody not
 jāsurtā thā. Dhōr ranṭhā tāi bulattē rahē. Phin chilpē gaē.
going was. Two hours for robbing were. Then moved went.
 Bus-kē nīcchē mēh rōhlē gōghā, nukhā ke khatālā nuṭā
That-of after I into-house went, it-was-seen that lock broken
 huā hai, khamāṭī rōdhilā-rī, dāmaiṭā-kī khaṭum khutāri
become is, earth dug-was, women-of property having-taken-out
 li, hōr gahnā sab lipi gaē. Bīkis
was-taken, and ornaments all having-taken had-gone. Twenty-one
 hajārē-kā khaṭum bulṭi-kē lipi gaē. Kāgad
thousand-of property having-robbed having-taken had-done. Paper
 dīppi diyā hai. Rīchīrā hōr nēthrē jalāē-kē
having-given given is. Quilts and stalks-of-juar-tree having-lighted
 bōlō-nē khujitā kī thī. Mēhrā jadhi-sē kāi kharañj nahī
dacoits-by light made was. Of-me defendant-with any ill-feeling not
 hai, na un-kē bhaotē-sē. Mēh-nē kīsi bōl-kū nahī nehoṭhānā.
is, not him-of brother-with. Me-by any dacoit not was-recognized.
 Mēh in bōlō-kū ke kachēriyā-nē rahē hai nahī nahchāntā.
I these dacoits who court-in standing are not know.
 Bōr jō khaṭum khīklē hōkē āyā hai, mēhrgā nahī
And which property recovered having-become come is, mine not
 hai. Bēk rahī tak mēhrē thāmnē mēhrā rōhlā bulattē rahē.
is. One hour for of-me before my house robbing remained.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

More than three months ago there was a dacoity in my house at midnight. I was sleeping in a shed outside the house, but my sister was sleeping in the house. I saw a man coming up to my bed, and on my asking him, he said that he was the watchman. I then said, 'that is another man.' Then he went off. He was wearing white clothes. Then some twenty-five or thirty dacoits came and said they were dacoits. The night was dark. They had all sorts of weapons, pistols, swords, sticks and guns, and eight guns were fired. I then fled, but was hit on the head with a knife and with sticks. I then kept quiet lest they should kill me. One man was standing near me with a sword, and started to break the bolt of the door open. Now many of the village people came together, and the dacoits left me. I ran into the village and went about shouting, 'dacoits have entered my house, come quickly.' From all sides the dacoits were firing guns, and nobody ventured to approach. They kept robbing for two hours, and then went off. After that I entered the house and saw that the lock had been broken, the soil dug up, the property of the women taken and all ornaments taken away. They had robbed

twenty-one thousand rupees' worth of property. I have given a list of it. The dacoits had burned quilts and straw and thus made a light. I have no ill-feeling against the defendant or against his brother. I did not recognize any one of the dacoits. I do not recognize those dacoits who are standing in court. The property which has been recovered is not mine. They were robbing my house in my presence for one hour.

The Natī in the Bijnor District base their argot on a dialect of the same kind as that spoken in Rampur. The Rājasthānī admixture is not very prominent. We may note forms such as *khaddō* and *khaddē*, O big one, Sir; *khaddiā-kē*, of the wolf (but *khaddiā-nē*, by the wolf); *āsrā*, they came, and so on. Note also future forms such as *jāgrā*, I will go; *kōgūgā*, I will say; compare Sāsī. Another future formation is represented by *hōlā*, it will be. For further particulars the two specimens which follow should be consulted. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable; the second a translation of the well-known tale about the wolf and the lamb.

[No. 44.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATL.

SPECIMEN VII.

DISTRICT BIKANER.

Kisi kōdmī-kē dō nōbdē thē Chhōtē nōbdē-nē bāhā-sū
Some man-of two sons were. Small son-by father-to
 kahī ki, 'hamārā bātā bāti dē.' Us-nē apnē
it-was-said that, 'our share having-divided give.' Him-by own
 jūndē-jī bātā diyā. Ghanē dinā nahī huē, chhōtā nōbdā
living-of share was-given. Many days not were, small son
 sab khūbnā lō dūsrē dēsā naī gayā, aur wahī-sē
all goods having-taken another country going went, and there
 sahīā khūbrā khurmasti lagādne-mē barābad kar diyā. Aur
all goods riotousness applying-in wasted making was-given. And
 sab pāngā kar chukā, sō ūthē mulkā-mē ghanā akrā
all spent making ceased, then there country-in mighty famine
 hō gayā. Jab lāchār khōkhā hōnē lagā, tab us
having-become went. When helpless poor to-be began, then that
 dēsā-kē kisi kōdmī-sē jā bhēṭā. Tab us-nē usē tūḍā
country-of some man-with going was-joined. Then him-by him scine
 chugānē bhēṭi diyā. Tab hōshā-mē akē kōghā,
to-graze having-sent it-was-given. Then senses-in having-come it-was-said,
 'mērē bāpā-kē utnē mīhantī-kō bahutā ōṭī haī, māī bhākō
'my father-of so-many servants-to much breads are, I with-hunger
 mar chalpā. Māī ūthī-kē bāpā-kē pās jāgrā aur us-sē
dying went. I having-risen father-of near will-go and him-to
 kōguṅgā ki, "bāpā, hamī-nē āsmānē-kā tērē hazūr taksirā
will-say that, "father, me-by heaven-of of-thee presence fault
 karā hai." '
done is."

[No. 45.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATL

SPECIMEN VIII.

DISTRICT BILSON.

Ek khunaddi badi napā thi. Uh-kē dhāngā-pā ek-hi khabaktā
One river very clear was. That-of bank-to one-only at-time
 khabhēdiā ō khabhēdā-kā khachchē dōnō khapāni pinē āsā.
Wolf and sheep-of young-one both water to-drink came.
 Garmiā khabautā tui rōgi. Khadōnō-kō khapyās lagī
Heat much having-fallen was. Both-to thirst having-become-attached
 rōgi thi. Khabhēdiā uthē khadā khapāni tōgi rahā thā,
being was. Wolf there standing water drinking remaining was,
 uthā-sē thōdī dūrā-par khabāo-kī tarfā khabhēdā-kā khachchē
there-from little distance-at current-of in-direction sheep-of young-one
 khapāni tōgi lagā. Khabhēdiā-kē khumā khulubā lagā huā
water drinking began. Wolf-of in-mouth blood smeared become
 thā, uh-kē kbēdārtē-lī khumā-mē khachchē taluk āyā; us-kē
was, him-of on-seeing-even mouth-in water filled came; him-of
 dōtnē-kē liyē khajhagrā khābā kiya. 'O bē-ādā,
eating-of for-the-sake quarrel much was-made. O respectless-one,
 tujhē chī kulnā chāhiyē ki pāō-sē hilāi hilāi khapāni-kō gādīā
for-thee this to-do is-wanted that fest-by moving moving water dirty
 kultā hai, jī-kī wajah-sē hum pāni na tōg-sāi. khapyās-kō
making art, which-of cause-from I water not drinking-am, thirst-of
 khamārō marī chālpāi. Khubchārō khubachchē-nē jawābā
on-the-account dying may-go. Poor young-one-by answer
 diyā, 'khabdē, kyā hukmā khadērtō hō? Khapāni-kā khabāo
was-given, Sir, what order giving are? Water-of current
 āpā-kī tarfā-sē mēri tarfā hai. Mēri labā-sē
self-of direction-from my in-direction is. My direction-from
 tēri labā-kō nahī jāē saktā. Tab khabhēdiē-nē kaugā,
thy direction-to not go can. Then wolf-by it-was-said,
 'nuhī-sahī, tū bādō khumgrā hai; khachchē mōs huē tan-nē
'never-mind, thou great scoundrel art; six months become thee-by
 mujh-kō bāpā gārī dīpī thī. Khubachchē-nē kaugā, 'khabdā,
me-to great abuses given were. Young-one-by it-was-said, Sir,

kyā nachī khacholtē hō ? Maĩ tō abhī khachh mahinē-kā
what trouble speaking are ? I even now six months-of
 hōpā nahī. Gārīā kis-nē dēpī hōgī ?' Khabhēdiē-nē kaugā,
become not. Abuses whom-by given may-be ?' Wolf-by it-was-said,
 'ithā tum-nē mah-kō gārīā na dēpī hōgī, tau tumhārē bāpā-nē
'here thee-by me-to abuses not given may-be, then thy father-by
 dēpī hōgī. Ah nisāpā yah hōelā ki apnē bāpā-kē kartabō-kā
given may-be. Now justice this will-be that own father-of deeds-of
 dāḍā bhugtī hō.' Yah kaugī-kē khubachchē-kō chakar
punishment reaping may-take.' This having-said young-one-of seizing
 liyā aur tūk-tūk kar-kē tūmī liyā.
was-taken and piece-piece having-made eating was-taken.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A wolf and a lamb came at the same time to the bank of a clear river to drink water. It was very hot and both were thirsty. The lamb was drinking water a little distance downstream from where the wolf was standing and drinking water. The wolf was very bloodthirsty, and its mouth watered on seeing the sheep. He tried to raise a quarrel in order to get an opportunity of eating him. He said, 'O impudent fellow, is it proper for you to make the water dirty by stirring it with your feet, so that I cannot drink it and may die from thirst?' The poor lamb replied: 'Sir, what do you command? The water flows from you to me and cannot flow from me to you.' Then the wolf said: 'never mind, you are a scoundrel; six months ago you abused me.' Said the lamb, 'how can this be true? I am not six months old. Who can have abused you?' The wolf said: 'if you did not abuse me, it must have been your father, and it is only just that you should be punished for the deeds of your father.' After having said this he seized the lamb, tore it to pieces and ate it.

The Nats of the Bahraich District call themselves Brijbāsī and state that they have come from Braj. Their dialect seems to contain a larger admixture of Rājasthānī than we have hitherto found. It is, however, possible that the speech of the different Brijbāsī differs according to their last habitat, and it would be unsafe to base far-reaching conclusions on one single specimen. The first lines of a version of the Parable will be sufficient to show its general character. It will be noticed that the Rājasthānī element is so strong that it can almost be characterised as the base of the dialect. The specimen does not, on the other hand, illustrate the artificial argot of the Nats with which we are here concerned.

[No. 46.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BRĪJBĀSĪ).

SPECIMEN IX.

DISTRICT BAHBAICH.

Ek	ādmī-rē	dui	chhōrā	chhē.	U-mhā-lē	nānhikē	chhōrā
One	man-of	two	sons	were.	Them-in-from	by-small	son
bāū-nē	kahiō,	'ahō	bāō,	dhan	jaun	hamārō	hīsā chhē
father-to	it-was-said,	'O	father,	property	which	my	share is
ham-nō	dai-dēō. ¹	Tabai	ū	dhan	ā-thaī	bāī	dīnhō.
me-to	give. ¹	Then	he	property	him-to	having-divided	was-given.
Ujī	thōr	doṁs	bītē	nānhikē	chhōrā	jāmā-jathri	lē-kō
And	few	days	after	small	son	property	having-taken
	pardēsan	chalō	gayō,	ujī	uttē	āprō	māl-jāl
to-a-foreign-country	moved	went,	and	there	own	property	debauchery-in
	urā-dīnō.						
	was-wasted.						

The argot of the Nat̃s of the Bhagalpur District is based on a mixture of Eastern Hindi and Hindostāni with some Bengali forms. It will be sufficient to give the beginning of a version of the Parable in illustration of this jargon.¹

¹ It is worth noting that the ordinary language of Bhagalpur is Bihāri, a form of speech quite different from Hindi.—
G. A. G.

[No. 47.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATL.

SPECIMEN X.

DISTRICT BHAGALPUR.

Jhēkē kudmī-kē dhūr rawāil rahē. Rōtkā rawāil apnē
 One man-of two sons were. Small son own
 dugwā-sē kutāis jē, 'sab tihā masil mērā jhakhṛā
 father-to said that, 'all wealth money my share
 batkhilālapā.' Dugwā sab tihā masil dhūrō rawāil-kē jhāt
 divide.' Father all wealth money two sons-of shares
 dihis. Thōrācha jhād rōtkā rawāil apnā sab masil gang
 gave. Short after small son own all money pice
 lē-kē jharī dūr rali gapāil. Wahā sab masil gang rahūli-mē
 having-taken very far going went. There all money pice harlots-in
 dharāb-kar dihis. Jab us-kā rabthō marchā hō geā, tab
 spent-making gave. When him-of all spent becoming went, then
 us dēs-mē jharī jhakal parpāil, ō ū bayitē-mē dharīb hō
 that country-in great famine fell, and he food-in poor becoming
 gail. Tab wah jhōkō kājā rangh rahēkō gail. Kājā
 went. Then he one gentleman with to-remain went. Gentleman
 us-kō apnē nēthā-mē rūkar charānē-kō bhējis. Naslāē rūkar-kē bētni
 him own field-in swine feeding-for sent. Husks pigs-of food
 bhū milpāit, tō ū apan chuṭkāl chidhā bhai-kē
 even would-have-got, then he own belly glad having-become
 laurit. Jab wah apnē kihā dharpā, apnē man-mē chhōkē
 would-have-filled. When he own sense held, own mind-in to-say
 lagā jē, 'hamarē dugwā-kē kitnē khēotābā-kē etnā dōmkā hai
 began that, 'my father-of how-many servants-of so-much bread is
 ke wah apnē bayitē hai ō dūsar-kē bayitātē hai, ō ham
 that they self eating are and others-of feeding are, and I
 bhūkan dhimī jāilā. Ham apnē dugwā rangh jāisi ō kutāisi
 by-hunger eating go. I own father near will-go and will-say
 jē, "ō dugwā, ham tērā khahut bējāē kiyā, ō ham tērā
 that, "O father, by-me of-thee many faults were-done, and I thy
 rahūlā chhōkāē jōkar naipī hapāil; apnē nāhar-mē khēotā rakhpā." "
 son to-be-called fit not became; own presence-in servant keep."

DŌM.

The Dōms are a menial caste belonging to what Sir Herbert Risley calls the Dravidian type. It is not uniform but comprises several variations and sub-castes. Some Dōms supply fire at cremation or act as executioners; others are scavengers, and some have taken to basket and cane working. The Dōms in the Himalayan districts have gained a fairly respectable position as husbandmen and artisans, while the wandering Magahiya Dōms of Bihar are professional thieves.

The Dōms are numerous in Assam, Bengal, the United Provinces and Kashmir.

The following are the figures returned at the Census of 1911:—

Assam	30,412
Bengal	173,991
Bihar and Orissa	241,903
Central Provinces and Berar	9,344
Panjab	79,910
United Provinces	333,781
Kashmir State	52,009
Elsewhere	4,374
Total	925,820

To these may be added the following, shown in the Census under the names of Bansphōr and Basōr:—

Central Provinces and Berar	52,947
United Provinces	23,005
Baroda State	9
Central India Agency	52,465
Total	128,516

Giving a grand total for Dōms under all names of 1,054,336.

The common name of the caste is Dōm or Dōmṛā, a word of uncertain origin.

According to the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* a *Dama* is the son of a *lōṭa* and a *chāṇḍālī*, and *Dama* is perhaps the same word as *Dōma*. The *dōmas* or *dōmbas* are mentioned in Sanskrit literature as living by singing and music. The form *dōmba* seems to be the oldest one. It occurs in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (lxxvii. 33), which belongs to the sixth century, and several times in Sanskrit works hailing from Kashmir such as the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Sōmadēva and the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhapa. There cannot be any doubt that these *dōmbas* are identical with the Dōms, and the name of the caste is accordingly old. The base from which it is derived is perhaps onomatopœic; compare Sanskrit *ḍam*, to sound; *ḍamaru*, drum. It is probably not Aryan.

The late Professor Hermann Brockhaus of Leipzig was the first to suggest that the word *dōm* might be identical with the name *rōm*, which the European Gipsies use

to denote themselves.¹ This suggestion has been adopted by Charles G. Leland² and Sir George Grierson,³ and it may now be considered as established, after we have learnt to know that the Nawar or Zutt, a Gipsy tribe of Palestine, call themselves *Dōm* and their language *Dōmāri*.⁴

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So far as can be judged from the materials available the Dōms do not possess a dialect of their own, but use the speech of their neighbours. The words and phrases given by Abdul Ghafur belong to an argot of the same kind as that used by the Sāsīs. A similar remark applies to the Dōm dialect mentioned by Dr. Leitner. Neither his materials nor the sentences published by Abdul Ghafur are, however, sufficient for judging with certainty. According to information collected for the purposes of this Survey a dialect called Dōmrā was spoken in the following districts of Bihar and Orissa :—

Saran	9,500
Champanan	4,000
TOTAL	13,500

These figures refer to the argot of the Magahiya Dōms, who derive their name Magahiya from Magah, Magadha, where they assert that their original home was, or from *māg*, road. They are notorious thieves and bad characters and do not cultivate or labour if they can help it. Their women only make occasional basket work as a pretence, their part being that of the spy, informer and disposer of stolen property.

The estimates of the number of speakers of Dōmrā in Saran are certainly exaggerated. At the Census of 1911 the Dōms of Saran numbered only 8,606, and only a portion of these used the Dōmrā argot. The Dōms of Champanan numbered 7,662, and the estimates for that district are perhaps correct.

As shown by the specimens which follow Dōmrā is an argot based on the current Bhōjpuri of the districts, with a tissue of Rajasthani and Hindostani. To the latter belong forms such as the case suffixes, dative *kō*, genitive *kā*, *kī*, *kē* ;

¹ See A. F. Pott, *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*, Vol. I. Halle, 1844, p. 42; Chr. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I. Second edition, p. 400, note I; Franz Miklosich, *Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas*, viii, p. 67—*Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Classe*, Vol. xxvii. Vienna, 1810.

² *Academy*, Vol. vii. 1876, p. 637.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xv. 1886, p. 15.

⁴ See E. A. Stewart Macalister, *The Language of the Nawar or Zutt, the Nomad Smiths of Palestine.* Gipsy Lore Society. Monographs, No. 3. Edinburgh, 1914.

stray verbal forms such as *kikuas-uā*, to say; *tikunē-sē*, from eating; *kahā*, said; *lagā*, began, etc. Of Rājasthānī reminiscences we may note the termination *ā* in the oblique singular and in the plural of strong masculine bases; thus, *kājuā-kē dū chēfā*, two sons of a man. Most verbal forms and, generally speaking, the whole grammatical system, however, are Bhōjpuri. Compare forms such as *khurē*, am; *karutī*, I did; *kahlak*, said; *kahab*, shall say; *bīruarh*, we shall become; *figuarikhē*, they will see, and the common base *bar*, *bār*, to be.

As in the case of other similar argots there is a certain number of peculiar words. Such are: *baurā*, boy; *fēpar*, cloth; *kājuā*, cultivator; *raguar*, dead; *tigun*, eating; *lawā*, went; *khūrkhā*, horse; *qaulā*, house; *bhōth*, *chōchka*, a Dōm; *bhubbhur*, pig; *ghōmēyā*, *ōban*, rupee; *gēm*, thief, and so forth. Commonly, however, ordinary Aryan words are used but disguised by means of various changes and additions. Occasionally we find transposition of letters, as in *ghanarphul*=*kararphul*, eardrop. More commonly we see that a consonant is prefixed or substituted for the beginning of a word. The gutturals *k* and *kh* are used in this way; thus, *kōg*=*āg*, fire; *kōhath*=*hāth*, hand; *kōhathī*=*hāthī*, elephant; *khēk*=*ēk*, one; *khakāl*=*kāl*, famine; *khīgūr*=*sindūr*, red lead; *khikuar-kē*=*nikāl-kā*, having taken out; *khurē*, *khōrē*=*rahē*, am. It will be seen that the original word is sometimes also abbreviated and changed in other ways at the same time.

The palatals *ch* and *chh* are most frequently substituted for labials; thus, *chap-khaiā*=*pāp*, sin; *chagri*, *pagri*; *chēfā*=*bēfā*, son; *chaikunth*=*baikunth*, heaven; *chāchhri*=*machhri*, fish; *chibantu*=*ban*, forest; *chhiruarkē*=*phir*, again, etc. Sometimes, however, *ch* is also used before or instead of other sounds; compare *chabāi*=*kabhī*, ever; *chayā*=*dayā*, compassion; *chōkarkhaiā*=*naukar*, servant; *chirōfi*=*rōfi*, bread. *gh* is used as a substitute in words such as *ghanarphul*=*kararphul*, eardrop; *ghasaili*=*kasaili*, betel nut; *ghashin*=*kasbin*, harlot; *ghēm*=*gēm*, thief; *ghasi*=*khasi*, goat.

n is used in several words such as *nēf*, coat; *nēkhaiā*=*khēt*, field; *nuihā*=*gōfthā*, cowdung; *nutā*=*jutā*, shoe; *nari*=*dari*, carpet; *nēvānī*=*pānī*, water; *nahar*=*shahr*, town, etc.

Finally we find *r* in words such as *rōpi*=*fōpi*, hat; *rēli*=*tēli*, oilman, and so forth.

In addition to such devices the Magahiya Dōms show a marked predilection for changing their words by means of additions after them. The numerals two and following thus add an *ēm*, and we get *dulēm*, two; *tidrēm*, three; *charēm*, four; *pañchēm*, five; *chhalēm*, six; *satēm*, seven; *chaṣēm*, eight; *navēm*, nine; *dasēm*, ten; *bisēm*, twenty. *Gō* is also commonly added to numerals; thus, *khēgō*, one; *dulēm-gō*, two; *salēm-gō*, hundred.

A common addition is also *tu*; thus, *gōrtu*, foot; *jadatu*, cold, winter; *niraktu*=*chirāgh*, lamp; *jawabtu*, an answer; *dhantu*, property; *chichartu*=*bichār*, deliberation; *baptu*=*bāp*, father; *nālēhatu*=*salāh*, counsel. Compare *Sāsi tā*.

Other common additions are *khaiā*, *khaihē*, *khailā* in the Saran specimen, and *kilā*, *kilē* in the Champaran texts. Thus, *nēkhaiā*=*khēt*, field; *chumūkhaiā*=*chumā*, kissed; *chapkhaiā*=*pāp*, sin; *bhāikhaiā*, brother; *sāngkhaiā*, with; *samankhaihē*=*sāmuc*,

before; *chaskhāē*=*pās*, towards; *bapkhailā*=*bāp*, father; *chētkhailā*, sense; *nētkhailā*=*khēt*, field; *garahilā*=*galā*, neck; *jutahilā* and *nōtahilā*=*jutā*, shoe; *sangahilā*, with; *sunahilā*, heard; *samanahilā*, before. Note the frequent abbreviation of the vowel of the original word in such cases.

Many different additions are made to verbal bases, and the conjugation of verbs therefore has a very puzzling appearance. If we abstract from stray forms such as *khasuaitā*=*ātā*, comes; *charsaitā*=*barsātā*, it rains; *dēghluarsē*=*diyā*, gave; *ligun-gharuarē*, ate, and others, the most characteristic addition is *u*. This *u* can be added alone; thus, *kih-u-ātē*, I will say; *kar-u-lī*, I did; *keh-u-lē* and *kah-u-alak*, said; *kir-u-uē*, to make; *kih-u-uē*, *kih-u-as*, *kih-u-ēsā*, said.

In other cases it is preceded by an *s*; thus, *dī-su*, gave; *lī-su*, took; *dī-su-ātā*, gives; *kha-su-ātē*, coming; *kha-su-aitā*, comes (with *kh* added in front); *kī-suw-alē*, have done; *a-su-ān*, *a-su-ānē*, *a-su-āel*, and *kha-su-ān*, came; *chal-so-āel*, went; *dī-suc-ē*, had given; *dī-suc-ēs*, gavest; *dī-suw-as*, gave; *dī-su-alan*, gave; *dī-su-alin*, gavest.

A very common addition is *uar*; thus, *char-uar-ē*, to graze; *kah-uar-ē*, to say; *dēkh-uar-kē*, having seen, *chal-uar* (*dīsū*), dividing (gave); *rah-uar-ā*, remained; *hō-wr-ē*, it may be; *mar-uar-thī*, I am dying; *kīr-uar-tē*, I did; *dī-suar-tahā*, gave; *chah-uar-tarhā*, he was wishing; *rah-uar-twā*, *rah-uar-toāel*, stayed; *rah-uar-al*, was; *bach-uar-al*, was saved; *tag-uar-alē*, began; *tar-uar-lī*, I transgressed; *rah-uar-alhā*, was; *chuchh-uar-alak*, asked; *mar-uar-alas*, has beaten, and so forth; compare Kanjari *wār*, *bār*, etc.

The *l*-suffix of many of these forms is the suffix of the past participle. It also occurs in the present in forms such as *bar-u-ala*, is; *hō-war-al*, am, art, is; *khō-war-lī*, we are; *sut-uar-al*, sleeps, and so on. Compare Bhōjpuri.

The preceding remarks only explain the most common Dōm devices for disguising common words. There are probably numerous similar ones. Of those occurring in the specimens we may mention the addition of *krā* in pronouns; thus, *khōkrē*, by thee; *khō-krē-mē-sē*, from among them, etc. It should be noted that *khū* may stand for *tū*, thou, and also for *ū*, he. In the case of verbs attention may be drawn to the frequent use of compound tenses formed with the base *faū*, to go; thus, *hō-fwā*, became; *rah-uar-fawā*, stayed; *par-fawān*, fell; *gungar-toāel*, fled; the occasional addition of *rat* in *sunā-rat*, he heard, and so forth. Further particulars will be understood from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in the argot of the Magahiya Dōms of Chapra in the Saran District. The two other ones have come from Champaran and have been forwarded as illustrating the slang of the Dōmrās. The first of them is a version of the Parable, the second a short Dōm story.

[No. 48.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MAGAHİYĀ DŌM.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT SARAN.

Khēk kājwā-kē du chētā baruaral. Khōkrē-mē-sē chōchikā-nē
One man-of two sons were. Them-among-from younger-by
 bapkhailā-sē kihūēsā, ' hē bapkhailā, darbkhailā jē hamrē chakra
father-to said, ' O father, goods which my share
 hōwrē, sē hamē disu. Tab u khōkrē khāpan darbkhailā
will-be, that to-me give. Then he to-him own goods
 chaṭuar disu. Bahut din nā chitaur ko chōchikā chētā sab
dividing gave. Many days not passed that younger son all
 chijkhailā khēkthā kar-kē chari chaurē chālātwā, khaur khuhā
things together having-made far country went, and there
 chadmāsī din chitartwā, khāpan darbkhailā khurā disuwās. Jab
in-riotousness days spent, own goods wasted gave. When
 wah sab kuchh khurā disuwē, tab us chaurē-mē charā khakal
he all whatever wasted had-given, then that country-in big famine
 partawān, khaur wah dhangāl hōtwā, khaur khuhā tawākē
fell, and he destitute became, and there having-gone
 us chaurē khādmī-mē khēk admī rahuarawā, jēkrē khōkrē
that country men-in one man to-live-went, who him
 khapnē nētkhailā bhubbhar charuarē bhējnar-disuwē. Khaur khōkrē
own fields swine to-graze sent. And those
 nēdhiō-sē jinhō bhubbhar tigan-gharuarē khapnā chēt bharuarē
hunks-with which swine eating-were own belly to-fill
 chahuartarhā, khaur kamō nā us-kō kuchh disuartahā. Tab
wishing-was, and anybody not him-to anything giving-was. Then
 khōkrē chētkhailā hōtwā, khaur khunē kahmartē, ' khamrē bapkhailā-kē
to-him sense became, and he said, ' my father-of
 chahut majurā tiganār-sē chahut pōpi hōkhuartē khaur ham
many servants eating-from much bread remained and I
 bhukhēhē maruarthi. Maī khut-kē khapnē bapkhailā pās chālātwā
with-hunger dying-am. I having-arisen own father near go
 khaur khōkrē kihuatē, " hē bapkhailā, kham-nē chaikunthi khultā khaur
and to-him will-say, " O father, me-by Heaven against and
 khōkrē samun-khailhē chapkhailā kiruartē; maī ohiruarke tōhār chētā
thee before sin did; I again thy son

kihus lāek nai-khurē. Khamrē-kē khapnē majurā-mē-sē khēk
to-say worthy not-am. Me own servants-in-from one
 charābar kiru." Tab wah khupkē khapnē bapkhailā chalaṭwā,
like make." Then he having-arisen own father went.
 Chahil paurā nā, khōkrē bapkhailā dēkhuar-kē chaya kiruwās, khaur
Far came not, his father seen-having mercy made, and
 naruar-kē us-kē garkhailā thirū-lisuwēs obumkhailā. Chētā-nē khōkrē-sē
run-having him-of neck kept-took kissed. Son-by him-to
 kahā, 'hē bapkhailā, khamrē-kē chaikunṭh khultā khaur khapnē
It-was-said, 'O father, I (sic) heaven against and yourself
 samankhailā chap-khailā kiruwatē, khaur chihiruar-kē tōhūr chētā kahuarē
before sin did, and again thy son to-say
 lāek nai-khōrē.' Chāki bapkhailā-nē khapnē chōkar-sē kihuwēs, 'sab-sē
worthy not-am.' But father-by own servants-to said, 'all-than
 khachhā tēpar khikuar-kē chahra-dimwēs, khōkrē kōlath aṅguthī khaur
good robe having-brought put-on-him, his hand ring and
 pair-mē nūtā pahinō, aur ham tikunarkē khaur nusi biruarb,
feet-on shoes put-on, and we eating and merry let-become,
 kihuat-biruaral hamār chētā ruarē-barābar rahuārā, phir jīwartwā;
because my son dead-like was, again alive-went;
 chulāṭwā, phir chiluarṭwā.' Tab wē khānanā kiruwar liguwārē.
lost-went, again met-went.' Then they merriment to-make began.

Khōkar charka chētā nēkhailā-mē biruaral. Khaur chālā-khasuātē
His big son fields-in was. And going-coming
 niarkhailē khasuān, tab jakhailā khaur nacharā khawāj sunārat. Khaur
near came, then music and dancing sound heard. And
 khu khapnē chōkarkhailā-mē-sē khōk-kō chaakhaē chōlāwat chuchhuartē khi,
he own servants-in-from one-to near calling asked that,
 'kā hawārā?' Khu khōkrē-sē kihuas, 'khapnē bhaikhailā asuānē,
'what becoming-is?' He him-to said, 'yourself-of brother came,
 khaur tōhār bapkhailā niman tigonār wrēsā khēkhōjkhailā-sē ki usē
and thy father good dinner has-given because that him
 khachhā chaurēsā.' Chāki khōkrē nisān biruaral khaur chitar nā tāwō.
well got.' But he angry became and inside not came.
 Khōkrē khōkar bapkhailā chahri asuā-kē chānānē laga.
Therefore his father outside having-come to-remonstrate began.
 Khōkrē bapkhailā-kē jawābtu dēghuārē kē, 'dēkhuarē, māi bahut
He father-to answer gave that, 'see, I many
 ebaris-sē khōkrī sēvkhailā kiruātē, khaur chab-hī khō-kā hukumkhailā
years-from thy service did, and ever thy order

nā taruarli. Kaur khōkrē hamrē kahikhaiñ khāk nakri na
 not transgressed. And thou to-me ever one goat not
 disuwēs kē khapnē chit saṅkhaiñ khānand kiruati biruaral. Chāki
 guest that one friends with merriment making might-be. But
 khāpan ē chētā jēsua khapnē sab-khaiñ darbkhaiñ tigan-tawā jaisē
 own this son who your-own all-whatever goods eating-went when
 khasuān tyō-hī khap-nē khōkrē khachhā tikunār kiruasisai.
 came then-indeed yourself-by for-him good dinner have-made.
 Bapkhailā khōkrē-sē kihuwēs, 'hē chētā, tu sab din hamrē saṅkhaiñ,
 Father him-to said, 'O son, thou all days me with,
 kaur kichhu khamār hai, sē sab tōr hawwaral. Chāki khānand
 and anything mine is, that all thing is. But joy
 kiruwē kaur nōl hōtwā khachhā thā kākē-ki yah tōr bhāikhaiñ
 to-make and merry to-be good was because this thy brother
 raharlē barābar rahuarā, phir jiwartwā; chulātwā, phir miluwartwā.
 dead like was, again alive-went; lost-went, again met-went.'

[No. 49.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DOMRĀ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHAMPARAN.

Khāk ādmī-kē dukēm-gō chētā rahuarē. Chhōtkā chētā kahlak
One man-of two sons were. Younger son said
 khapnā baptu-sē, 'hē baptu, ōban chubi hamār chakhrā disu-disu.'
own father-to, 'O father, rupees pice our share give.'
 Tab chaṭuar disu. Chahu dīn nā bituaral ki khapnā chakhrā chubi
Then dividing gave. Many days not passed that own share pice
 lisa-kē dūr destu chaltoāel ō khapnā randatn-sē sab khurā disu.
taking distant country went and own misconduct-by all squandered gave.
 Tab u destu-mē khakaltu paruar-toāel, u naklif-mē hō-toāel.
Then that country-in famine fell, he difficulty-in becoming-fell.
 Khēhu destu-mē khēgō ādmī-kē hiā rahuar-toāel, bhumbhur charuarē
That country-in one man-of with living-became, swine for-tending
 lisutoāel-naraēl. Kō jī bhumbhur tikunē khēhu randwā tikunē
was-deputed. Husks which swine ate that rascal to-eat
 chahuarē; kbōkrākē kēu nā disuē kiehlūē. Khōkrā khakil bhauaral,
wished; him-to anybody not gave anything. To-him sense came,
 u kahuaral, 'hamarā baptu kibā chijurā-kē tikunē-sē bahit nōṭi
he said, 'my father with servants-of eating-than much bread
 bachuaral, ham bhukhalē rugtā-nī. Khapnā baptu-kē niar toāeh
is-saved, I with-hunger dying-am. Own father-of near will-go
 khuunkā-sē kahab ki, "ham Bhagwantu-kē samanahilē ō baptu-kē
him-to will-say that, "I God-of before and father-of
 samanahilē paptu karūli; ham tōhār chētā kahāwē lāek na barūli;
before sin did; I thy son to-be-called fit not became;
 hamrā-kē chijurā māfil januari." 'Khuṭuar-kē apnā baptu-kē niar
me servant like consider." 'Arisen-having own father-of near
 toāilin. Chētā-kē thiguar-kē baptu-kē chāyā laguaral, daruar-kē
went. Son seen-having father-to compassion was-applied, run-having
 garahilā thiru-kē chumahilā lisualak. Chētā-nō kahulak, 'hē baptu,
neck embraced-having kisses took. Son-by said, 'O father,
 Bhagwantu-kē samanahilē ō tōhrā samanahilē paptu kirūli; chētā kihūē
God-of before and of-thee before sin did; son to-say

læk nā birualī. Baptu apmā nōkarhilā-sē kihulak ki, 'chadhū tēpar
fit not am. Father own servants-to said that, 'good clothes
 nikalwā-kē chētā-kē chenhāō, ō kōbāth-mē khōngutūhī au gōrtu-mē nōtahilā
taking-out son-to put-on, and hand-on ring and feet-on shoes
 chenhāō; ō ham tīkunī khushahilā karuārī; hamār chētā lugail
put-on; and we shall-eat merry shall-make; my son dead
 rahuarahā, jītuār-ṭōāel; aulā ṭōāel rahualhā, ab miluār-ṭōāel. U-lōg
was, living-became; lost gone was, now found-became. They
 khushahilā hō-ṭōāel.
merry became.

Khō-kar nētkā chētā khētū-mē rahuaral. Khētū-mē-sē apnā ḍaulē
His big son field-in was. Field-in-from own house
 chalṣōāel, nachtu howarail chājā chējuarail sunahilā. Apr nōkarhilā-sē
went, dancing going-on music beating heard. And servant-from
 chōlā-kē chēchmaralak, 'kā hōwaralē? Khun-kā-sē kehulē ki,
called-having asked, 'what is-going-on? Him-to said that,
 'khapnē-kē bhahilā suāel baruaralē; khapnē-kē baptu chadhū tīkunē-kē
'self-of brother arrived has-become; self-of father big eating-for
 karuaralē, khun-kā-kē chinuman paruaralē-bārē. Tab u nīsiā
made-has, because safe-and-sound found-has. Then he angry
 hō-ṭōāel ō ḍaul-mē rā ṭōāel. Baptu ḍaul-sē khikalsuāel
becoming-went and house-in not went. Father house-from going-out-came
 khō-kā-kē chināwē laguaralē. Tab u baptu-kē jababtu disualin. 'ham
him-to to-entreat began. Then he father-to answer gave, 'I
 khapnē-kē katā dintu-sē sēwahilā kīraali. Kabhī khapnē-kē chachan
self-of how-many days-from service did. Ever self-of word
 nā khūtarali. Mudā khamrā-kē khēgō chēthrū nā ḍisu kē khapnā
not transgressed. Ever me-to one kid not gave that own
 dōstu-kē saṅgahilā musī kartī. Bākī ḍhashin-kē saṅgahilā
friends-of in-company merry might-make. But harlots-of in-company
 rāur i chētā sab dhantu khurā ḍisu, to-ī tab-hī suāel, tab-hī
your-Honour's this son all wealth spent gave, he then came, then
 nīmat chadhū mōṭikā chana-kē tihunē-kē disualin. Baptu
good big feast having-prepared eating-for you-gave. The-father
 khō-kā-sē kihulak ki, 'chētā, hamar sāthī tu khamēsē barualā, sē
him-to said that, 'son, me with thou always art, what
 barualē hamar, sē tōhrē biruaralē. Bākī khushahilā kīrūkē chahuaral,
is mine, that thing is. But merry to-make it-was-wanted,
 khuarē-kē tōr bhahilā rōguar ṭōāel, phēr jīuār ṭōāel; nūlā ṭōāel rahuaral,
because thy brother dead went, again alive went; lost gone was,
 phēr milual ṭōāel.
again found went.

[No. 50.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DOMRA.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT CHAMPARAN.

Khak	rajabilā	rahuarē.	Khō-krē	dhantu	pañchēm	dhēm	gimāwē
One	rājā	was.	His	property	five	thieves	to-steal
gahuaral.	Gimātē	gimātē	narichh	hō	toāel.	Pañchēmu	
went.	Stealing	stealing	morning	becoming	went.	Five	
khāpus-mē	nalēhatn	chicharatu	kirialak,	'ab	na	jantu	bachuari.
selves-among	counsel	deliberation	made,	'now	not	living-being	will-be-saved.
Natiā	lisu,	khōhi	par	dhantu	thirū,	tepar	churdā
Bed	bring,	that	on	property	place,	cloth	corpse
Charēmu-gōrū	chārū	chauā	khutā-kē	kandhatu-par	thirū	disu.	Khāk
Four-of-us	four	legs	having-lifted	shoulders-on	place	give.	One
ādmī	nuiṭhā-mē	kīcha	kōhāth-mē	thirū	lisu,	kandhatu-par	nudār
man	cowdung-in	fire	hand-in	place	take,	shoulder-on	hoe
lisu.	Khaisani	kirū-kē	pañchēmō	gēm	gaṅgar	toāel.	
take.	Thus	having-done	five	thieves	escaping	went.	

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

There was once a king, and five thieves came to steal his property. While they were thus occupied the morning came. The five thieves began to consult among themselves. 'Now none of us will escape. Let us take a bed and put the stolen property on it. Then let us put a cloth over the property as if it were a corpse. Let four of us take the bed at its four legs and put it on our shoulders. Let the fifth one take fire and cowdung in his hand and put a hoe on his shoulder.' Having done so all five thieves escaped.

MALĀR.

The Malārs are a wandering caste of moulders in brass found in Chota Nagpur. Mr. H. Streatfeild writes of them in the Report of the 1901 Census of Bengal :—

'They claim to be Hindus and Aryans, but the local tradition is that the original Malār was the elder brother of the original Orāḍ, and that, having accidentally discovered, while warming himself by a fire one cold morning, that brass could be cast into ornamental shapes by means of sand moulds, he left his brother to do the ploughing and took up casting in brass as a profession. Their work is often very clever; small brass ornaments such as are worn by the Kols, brass ornamentation on weapons, and especially elaborately ornamental *poilas* or seer measures, being successfully cast by them. In habits they are absolutely nomadic, each family wandering about as work presents itself, staying in a village for a year or two and then moving on. I know two houses of Malārs permanently settled in a Mundā village, speaking Mundāri and working as cultivators, but a regular Malār in the same neighbourhood told me that these were practically outcasted. They have no legends of any ancestral home, and bury their dead in the village where they happen to die without marking the spot in any way. Their language is a slang formed by syllabic perversions of Nāgpuriā.'

The number of Malārs returned in Chota Nagpur at the last Census of 1901¹ was as follows :—

Ranchi	976
Palaman	125
Manbham	824
Chota Nagpur Tributary States	384
TOTAL	2,309

In addition to these 9 Malārs were returned from the Andamans.

Mr. Streatfeild has been good enough to send me a short Malār vocabulary. It fully bears out his statement that the language of the Malārs is a slang based on Nāgpuriā. Thus we find the plural suffix *man* in *bi-man*, these; *bū-man*, those; the genitive suffixes *kar* and *kēr* in forms such as *bū-kar*, his; *bū-man-kēr*, their; verbal forms such as *tuai-raukhis*, going wast, wentest; *tualak*, he has gone; *tuabai*, we shall go; *tuabā*, you will go; *tuabai*, they will go, and so on. So far as can be seen from the scanty materials the inflexional system is the same as in Nāgpuriā throughout. The vocabulary also is the same as in Nāgpuriā though there are several peculiar words such as *kurmur*, head; *khaut*, house; *khulā*, husband; *chēcās*, hair; *tuai*, going; *tōmā*, neck; *dhaparchū*, forehead; *dharmā*, liver; *tutkā*, temples; *durgā*, old man; *nētrai*, blood; *nōhkā*, man; *nōhkin*, woman, wife; *nōph*, breast; *pipimī*, eyelid; *baitinī*, food; *ladarmī*, stomach; *luluha*, wrist; *supulmī*, foot. In other cases ordinary words are disguised in various ways. In words such as *chēōrmā*=*chamrā*, skin; *kandpathni*=*kanpaṭi*, temples; *tarmū*=*tātū*, palate; *baichhū*=*bāzū*, upper arm; *misi*=*mūchh*, moustache, we find sporadic instances of slight changes of various kinds within the words. The most common way of disguising words is by adding consonants and syllables in front or at the end, just as in numerous other argots.

¹ They do not appear to have been recorded in 1911.

A *k* is prefixed in words such as *kōig*=*āg*, fire; *Kirāuchi*, *Rānchi*; *kōhāt*=*hāth*, forearm; *kōhōr*=*hār*, bone.

Kh is added in the front of some words; thus, *khāngur*, finger; *khōikh*=*āikh*, eye; *khamrē*=*hamrē*, we; *khimsār*=*mās*, flesh; *khirāṛi*=*rāṇṇi*, widow.

Ch and *chh* are, as usual, prefixed to or substituted for labials; thus, *chibhāl*, brother; *chhēfā*=*bēfā*, son.

Dh is used in words such as *dhēr*, a seer.

N is used in a similar way in *nail*=*bhail*, bullock.

B is prefixed in pronouns and in the numeral 'one'; thus, *bī*, this; *bū*, that; *bau*, yonder; *bēk*, one.

R is substituted for a *p* in *rānchlū*=*pāch*, five; *riṭh*=*pith*, back; *rōṭkai*=*pēt*, belly; and *l* has been used instead of *n* in *lāmbhmī*=*nābh*, navel.

In *chahinbahin*, sister, the whole word has been prefixed after substituting a *ch* for the initial *b*.

In other cases words are disguised by means of various additions at the end. Such additions are:—

kai or *khai*, in *rindikai*, veranda; *rōṭkai*=*pēt*, belly; *durkhai*=*duār*, door. *Kh* alone is added in *raukhō*, I was. A suffix *khulā* occurs in *dāntkhulā*=*dāt*, tooth.

chū is a very common addition; thus, *gāchū*=*gāl*, cheek; *jāngchū*=*jāngh*, thigh; *jibchū*=*jibh*, tongue; *bāpchū*=*bāp*, father, and so forth.

chh is added in *mōrchhā*, my; *tōrchhā*, thy; cf. *mōēchā*, I; *tōēchā*, thou.

durā has been suffixed in *kandurā*, ear.

mā, *mī*, occurs in *khaparmā*=*khaprā*, tiles; *thēhunmā*=*thēwnī*, knee; *bhaumā*=*bhaū*, brow; *pakhurmā*=*pakhaurā*, shoulder; *barāṛmī*=*riṭh*, backbone; *ērmi*=*ērī*, heel; *lāmbhmī*=*nābh*, navel, etc.

r has been added in *nākūrā*=*nāk*, nose; *khimsār*=*mās*, flesh; cf. also *nar* in verbs such as *tapuarek*, to warm oneself; *foruarek*, to light a fire; *lipuarek*, to whitewash.

l is suffixed in *kharchul*=*karchhā*, ladle (also Hindī); *dōl*, two, and so forth.

Farther details may be ascertained from the short vocabulary which follows:—

Numerals.

One	<i>bēk</i> (<i>bēknōt</i> = <i>ēk-tō</i>)	Eight	<i>khāflā</i>
Two	<i>dōl</i> , <i>dōlnōt</i>	Nine	<i>naulū</i>
Three	<i>tīnlū</i>	Ten	<i>daslū</i>
Four	<i>chārlū</i>	Eleven	<i>gārmō</i>
Five	<i>rānchlū</i>	Nineteen	<i>onāischū</i>
Six	<i>chaulū</i>	Twenty	<i>bischū</i> , <i>bēk kōrmī</i>
Seven	<i>sātlū</i>	Forty	<i>dōl kōrmī</i>

Pronouns.

I	<i>mōēchā</i>	Your	<i>tohōrmēkēr</i>
My	<i>mōrchhā</i>	He, that	<i>bū</i>
We	<i>khamarē</i> , <i>khamarmē</i>	His	<i>bū-kar</i>
Our	<i>khamrēkēr</i> , <i>khamar-mēkēr</i>	They	<i>būman</i>
Thou	<i>tōēchā</i>	Their	<i>būmankēr</i>
Thy	<i>tōrchhā</i>	This	<i>bī</i>
You	<i>tohōrmē</i>	Yonder	<i>bau</i>

Human beings.

Man	<i>nōhkā</i>	Father	<i>bāpchū</i>
Woman	<i>nōhkin</i>	Mother	<i>maichū</i>
Old man	<i>durgā</i>	Son	<i>chhēṣā</i>
Old woman	<i>durgī</i>	Daughter	<i>chhēṣī</i>
Boy	<i>chōrmā</i>	Brother	<i>chibhāi</i>
Girl	<i>chōrmī</i>	Sister	<i>chahin-bahin</i>
Husband	<i>khulsā</i>	Widower	<i>khirāyā</i>
Wife	<i>nōhkin</i>	Widow	<i>khirāyī</i>

Parts of the body.

Head	<i>kurmur</i>	Thumb	<i>tēpā khangur</i>
Hair	<i>chēwās</i>	Mid finger	<i>māj khangur</i>
Forehead	<i>dhaparchū</i>	Little finger	<i>kanī khangur</i>
Temples	<i>kandpathnī, tatkā</i>	Chest	<i>chhātmi</i>
Eye	<i>khōṣikh</i>	Breast	<i>nōph</i>
Pupil	<i>rajnā</i>	Back	<i>rīh</i>
Eyebrow	<i>bhaumā</i>	Side	<i>dārkhari</i>
Eyelid	<i>pipinmī</i>	Stomach	<i>ladarmī; rōṣkai</i>
Eyelashes	<i>pipinmī chēwās</i>	Navel	<i>lāmbhmī</i>
Cheek	<i>gālohū</i>	Skin	<i>chēṣmā</i>
Ear	<i>kāndurā</i>	Tendon	<i>sirchā</i>
Nose	<i>nākurā</i>	Flesh	<i>khimsār</i>
Mouth	<i>khumhār</i>	Liver	<i>dharmā</i>
Lip	<i>ōṭ</i>	Lungs	<i>pokosmā</i>
Tooth	<i>dāntkhulā</i>	Heart	<i>kamalchū</i>
Tongue	<i>jibchū</i>	Bile	<i>pitichū</i>
Palate	<i>tarmā</i>	Bowels	<i>nanchū pōṣmanā</i>
Jaw-bone	<i>chauhmuā</i>	Blood	<i>nētrai</i>
Beard	<i>dārhi</i>	Bone	<i>kōhōr</i>
Moustache	<i>misi</i>	Ribs	<i>rañjermā</i>
Neck	<i>ṣōṣmā</i>	Backbone	<i>barāṣmī</i>
Shoulder	<i>pakhurmā</i>	Thigh	<i>jāngchū</i>
Upper arm	<i>bāichhū</i>	Knee	<i>ṭhēhunmā</i>
Fore-arm	<i>kōkāt</i>	Ankle	<i>ghuṣū</i>
Wrist	<i>luluha</i>	Foot	<i>supulmī</i>
Palm of hand	<i>tarhāt</i>	Sole of foot	<i>tarpanā</i>
Finger	<i>khangur</i>		

House and furniture.

House	<i>khavū</i>	Cooking pot	<i>kōhjan</i>
Tiles	<i>khaparmā</i>	Earthen pot for carrying water	<i>nōgair</i>
Wall	<i>bhitchū</i>	Ladle	<i>kharchul</i>
Door	<i>durkhai</i>	Fire	<i>kōig</i>
Space in front of house	<i>kōngēnā</i>	Ashes	<i>rākchū</i>
Veranda	<i>rindikai</i>	Broom	<i>cheurhan</i>

Verbs.

to extinguish	<i>uṣhuarek</i>	Thou goest	<i>tuathis</i>
to light a fire	<i>jorwarek</i>	He goes	<i>tuatakulis</i>
to sweep	<i>cheurhaek</i>	We go	<i>tuati</i>
to warm oneself	<i>tapwarek</i>	You go	<i>tuatā</i>
to whitewash	<i>lipwarek</i>	They go	<i>tuathai</i>
I go	<i>tuathō</i>		

QAṢĀĪ.

QAṣāī or Qaṣāb is the name of the butcher caste. The word is derived from Arabic *qaṣab*, to cut. The number of Qaṣāīs returned at the Census of 1901¹ was 369,533, distributed as follows :—

Name.	Number.
Ajmer	66
Andamans	5
Assam	23
Baluchistan	255
Bengal	11,003
Bihar	218
Bombay	24,986
Central Provinces	206
Panjab	125,644
United Provinces	184,150
Baroda	851
Central India	918
Hyderabad	2
Kashmir	824
Rajputana	20,202
TOTAL	369,533

The Qaṣāīs are commonly separated into two endogamous sub-castes, one of which kill cows and buffaloes, while the other only kill goats. In the Panjab the former call themselves *bhakkar-sikkhū*, cow killers, and the latter *mekh-sikkhū*, goat killers, or simply *sikkhū*. The latter are mostly Hindūs, the former Muhammadans of the Sunnī sect.

The Qaṣāīs seem to have a trade language of their own. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Qaṣāīyē-ki Farsī was reported to be spoken by 2,700 persons in the Karnal District. Dr. T. Grahame Bailey has given some information about the secret language of those Qaṣāīs of the Panjab who do not kill cows.

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BAILEY, REV. T. GRAHAME, D.D.—*The Secret Words of the Qaṣāī (Kasāī). In "Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas,"* pp. 273ff. Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. xvii. London, 1920. (A Reprint of the preceding.)

Specimens of Qaṣāī have been received from Karnal and also from the Belgaum District. The Qaṣāīs of Karnal, who numbered 5,794 at the 1901 Census, are all Muhammadans. The dialect

Language and argot.

illustrated by the specimens is of the same kind as the Qaṣāī described by Dr. Bailey. The materials received from Belgaum are stated to illustrate the language of the cow-killing Qaṣāīs. It agrees with the dialect of the Karnal Qaṣāīs in so many points that the two can safely be described as one and the same form of speech, which is an argot based on Hindōstānī. In Karnal we also find Panjābī forms such as *mazdūrā-mē*, amongst the servants. In the Belgaum specimens the dialect is much mixed with

¹ No Qaṣāīs were recorded under that name in 1911.

Dravidian, and it is probably due to this influence that the case of the agent has been discarded and that the sense of the actual meaning of some verbal forms has been weakened. Forms such as *thārtān*, am, also occur in the second and third persons in addition to *thārtai*, art, is, and *ghāduṅgā*, I shall beat, is said to be used in all persons and numbers.

The orthography of the specimens does not seem to be consistent. Thus the word *tīp*, see, which is written with a cerebral / by Dr. Bailey and in the Belgaum specimens, occurs as *tīp* in the Karnal version of the Parable. The same text gives *dēvarnā*, to give, while the second Karnal specimen uses *lēvarnā*, to take, with a cerebral *ṇ*. The sound noted *th* is probably the sound of *th* in English "think." It had, however, been written *th* in a Nāgarī transcript which accompanied the Karnal texts. In *thūr-nā*, eat, this *th* seems to represent an *ś*; compare *śūḍ*, eat, in the Belgaum list and *śhūḍnā*, *śhūrṇā*, to eat, to drink, in the vocabulary published by Dr. Bailey. The same is the case in *this*, six, where Dr. Bailey has *this*; compare Arabic *sids*.

The peculiar appearance of the Qasāi argot is, to a great extent, due to the extensive use of strange words. As in the Kanjarī dialect of Belgaum many of the numerals are Arabic. Thus, *dhallā* (Bailey *talā*), three, Arabic *thalāth*; *arbā*, four, Arabic 'arba'; *khammas*, Belgaum *khammīs*, Bailey *khammas*, five, Arabic *khamīs*; *this*, Bailey *this*, six, Arabic *sids*; *āsir*, ten, Arabic 'ashar.

Numerous other peculiar words occur in the specimens and in Dr. Bailey's List. Such are *aḥāl*, put; *akēl*, one (Hindostānī *akēlā*, alone); *buḥ*, father, or, according to Dr. Bailey, a Jāt; *baḥlā*, rupee; *bhakkar*, cow; *bigarṇā* or *bigharnā*, to die (cf. Hindostānī *bigarṇā*?); *chīlknī*, ring (cf. Hindostānī *chīlaknā*, to glitter); *chīshmī*, application; *chuskā*, interest; *chabine*, tooth; *chhanakā*, boy; *dusarṇā*, to say (Belgaum, compare the Kanjarī dialect of the district); *gaunā*, to get; *gaunā*, foot (in Belgaum *guḍāle*; in the Karnal specimens *gaunā* is also used with the meaning of 'hand'); *ghārṇā*, *ghāḍnā*, to beat, to loose; *gaimb*, thief (Bailey); *hakūk*, swine (Karnal); *hajīb*, bad (Belgaum); *hap-kē-hap* (for *sab-ke-sab*), all together; *hiḍap*, take; *kachēlā* (Belgaum), *kadrā* (Karnal), son (compare *bachchā* ?); *kanēlī*, bread (Bailey *khadēlī*, *khanēlī*); *kajilī*, afternoon; *kahilā* (Karnal), *kailā* (Belgaum), rupee; *kasṇā*, to pay (perhaps English 'cash'); *kid*, give (Belgaum, compare Tamil *koḍu*); *khastā*, property; *khīlas* (Karnal), *khīlsī* (Belgaum), belly; *khēḍā*, village (Belgaum, Kanarese *khēḍā*); *khū*, go; *khūm*, word, noise; *khunsā*, starving; *lāgwārē* (Karnal), hundred; *mēknī*, goat; *minjālī*, tongue; *nakāt*, young, destitute, lost, angry (according to Dr. Bailey the meaning of this word is 'bad,' 'worthless'; it is used in different senses in the first specimen); *nakātī*, sin; *nand* (Karnal), *nann* (Belgaum), house; *nand*, water (Bailey); *nhāt*, run; *nirgā*, water (Belgaum); *pāḍā*, bull; *phēkaṇī*, nose; *sikām*, share; *śēbit*, good; *subak*, younger brother (Belgaum); *subūkdā*, man (Belgaum); *suwālā*, good (Belgaum); *śūḍ*, eat; *thāiknā*, to become, to gather; *thārtā*, being; *thūr*, eat; *thōkanā*, hundred (Belgaum); *tīp*, see; *tuluk*, sleep; *uks*, go away, and so forth.

In comparison with this extensive use of peculiar words, the disguising of common ones by means of additions in front or at the end plays a much smaller rôle in Qasāi.

Among prefixed elements we may note *k* in *kāndhū*, a Hindū (Bailey); *jh* in *jhōrā*=*thōrā*; *m* in *māḍ*, village, cf. *Sāsī nād*; *mīh*, twenty, cf. *bis*; and *l* in *līprā*, cloth, cf. Hindōstānī *kaprā*; *land* and *nand*, house.

Of final additions I have found *k* in *bulkā*, said; *ḥ* in *latōḥā*, hand; *kannōṭyā*, ear; *a* in *akōṇyā*, eye; *l* in *bandāl*, bind; *war* in *āwar*, come; *ḍwar*, give, etc.; *wāḍ* in *baṭwāḍ*, sit; *bōlcāḍ*, call; *sunwāḍ*, hear, and so forth.

Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable and the second a Qasāi version of a statement in court, both received from the Karnal District. The third is a popular tale in the dialect of the cow-killing Qasāis of Belgaum. The Standard List of Words and Sentences from Belgaum will be found below on pp. 181ff.

[No. 51.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀL.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT KARNAL.

Akēl buṭ-kā jāur kadrē thē. Nakāt kadrē-nē buṭ-sē bulkā
One father-of two sons were. Young son-by father-to it-was-said
 ki, 'ai buṭ, khastō-kā silām jō mujhē dēwarnā hai dēwar-dē.
that, 'O father, property-of share which to-me to-be-given is giving-give.'
 Phir khastē unhē dēwar-diyā. Jhōrā dīn pichhē nakāt kadrā
Then property to-them giving-was-given. Few days after younger son
 hap-kē-hap khastē lēwar-kē dūr-kē mulk-mē uks-gayā. Wahā
all property having-taken distant country-to going-away-went. There
 thaik-kar apnē khastē kakāyat-mē urā diyē. Jab sārā uksā
having-gone own property luxury-in wasting was-given. When all spent
 chukā us mulk-mē khunsē bighar-nē lagē, aur wō kadrā nakāt
finished that country-in hungering to-die began, and that son low
 hōnē lagā. Phir us mulk-kē akēl jēdlē-kē thaik gayā. Jēdlē-nē
to-be began. Then that country-of one rich-of near went. Rich-one-by
 kadrē-kō hakūk charānē-kō uksāyā. Aur wō hakūk-kē bachē huā
son seine feeding-for was-sent-away. And he seine-of left been
 gaunō-sē apnā khilā jēdlā karnā chāhtā thā, ak kōi usē
refuse-with own belly good to-make wishing was, but anybody to-him
 dēwarē nā thā. Phir jēd hōkar khumyāyā, 'mōrē buṭ-kē
giving not was. Again sensible having-become said, 'my father-of
 bahut-sē mazdūrō-kō kanēli hai, aur māi khunsā bighrī. Māi uks-kar
many servants-to bread is, and I hungering die. I having-risen
 apnē buṭ-kē pās thaikūgā aur us-sē bulkūgā ki, "ai buṭ, māi-nē
own father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by
 āsmān-kā aur tērē huzūr nakātī kī hai, aur ab is lāik nahī
heaven-of and of-thee in-presence sin done is, and now this fit not
 ki tērā kadrā khumyāyā jāū. Mujhē apnē mazdūrō-mē-sē akēl jaisā
that thy son called shall-go. Me own servants-in-from one like
 banā." Tab uks-kar apnē buṭ-kē pās uks-gayā. Aur wōh
make." Then having-gone-away own father-of near went. And he
 dūr thā ki us-kō tīp-kar us-kē buṭ-kō rahm āyā, aur uks-kar
far was that him having-seen his father-to pity came, and having-gone

galē lagāyā aur bahut chumā. Kadrē-nē usē khumyāyā ki, 'ai neck was-clasped and much kissed. Son-by to-him it-was-said that, 'O but, āsmān aur tērē huzūr nakātī kī hai, aur is kābil nāhl father, heaven and of-thee in-presence sin done is, and this fit not ki tērā kadrā khumyāyā jāū.' But-nē apnē naukrō-kō khumyāyā that thy son called shall-go.' Father-by own servants-to it-was-said kē, 'jēdlē jēdlē liprē lēwar-lāo aur usē dēwar-dō; aur kadrē-kē that, 'good good clothes taking-take and him giving-give; and son-of gaunē-mē chilkni dēwar-dō aur gaunā-mē gauniyā dēwar-dō. Aur ham hand-on ring giving-give and feet-on shoes giving-give. And we thūrē aur jēdlā hō-jāē. kyū-kī yah mērā kadrā bighrā thā, may-eat and well becoming-may-go, because this my son dead was, ab jiyā hai; nakāt hō-gayā thā, ab āwarā hai.' Tab wōh now alive is; lost become-gone was, now come is.' Then they jēd hōnē lagē. merry to-be began.

Aur us-kā jēdlā kadrā khēt-mē thā. Jab land-kē pās āwarā, And his big son field-in was. When house-of near came, gānē aur nāchnē-kī khūm sunī. Tab akēl naukar-kō khumyāyā singing and dancing-of sound was-heard. Then one servant-to it-was-said ki, 'yah kiyā hai?' Us-nē usē khumyāyā ki, 'tērā bhāi that, 'this what is?' Him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother uks-āyā hai, aur tērē but-nē kanēli thūrwāi hai, is-liyē usē back-come is, and thy father-by bread caused-to-be-eaten is, this-for him jēdlā tipā.' Us-nē nakāt hō-kar nā chāhā ki nand-mē well saw.' Him-by angry having-become not wished that house-in āwarē. Tab us-kē but-nē land-sē uks-kar kadrē-kō jēdlā kiyā. may-go. Then his father-by house-from having-gone-out son well made. Kadrē-nē but-sē khumyāyā, 'tip, itnē baras-sē maī tēri khidmat Son-by father-to it-was-said, 'see, so-many years-from I thy service kartā hū, aur kabhī tērē bulk-kō nā uksāyā; par tāī-nē kabhī doing am, and ever thy word not was-reversed; but thee-by ever akēl mēknī-kā kadrā nā dēwar-diya ki apnē dōstō-sē jēdlā one goat-of young not giving-was-give that own friends-with merry hū; aur jab tērā yah kadrā āwarā, jis-nē tērā khastā nakāt-mē might-be; and when thy this son came, whom-by thy property evil-in jhōrā kiyā, tāī-nē us-kō jiyā bārī kanēli kī.' wasted was-made, thee-by him-of for-the-sake big dinner was-made.' Us-nē us-kō khumyāyā, 'ai kadrē, tū sadā mērē pās hai, aur Him-by him-to it-was-said, 'O son, then always of-me near art, and

jō-kuchh mērā hai, sō tērā hai. Par jēdlā hōnā lazim thā,
whatever mine is, that thine is. But merry to-become proper was.
 kyū-ki yah tērā bhāi bighrā thā, sō jiya hai; aur nakāt hō
because this thy brother dead was, he alive is; and bad having-become
 gayā thā, sō ab āwarā hai.
gone was, he now come is.

[No. 52.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀL.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT KARNAL.

Binjhaul māḍ sudhtā thā. Jāṭaul-kē hīrādar aur ham
Binjhaul village being-sold was. Jāṭaul-of brothers and we
 hap-kē-hap akēl jagah thāikē. Binjhaul-mē udhar-sē wuh āwarē,
all one place became. Binjhaul-in that-side-from they came,
 aur idhar-sē ham khis-āē. Āpas-mē khūm kari kī
and this-side-from we again-went. Selves-among word was-made that
 māḍ lēwarā chāhiyē. Jāṭaulwālā-nē khumā karā kī, 'mīh
village to-take is-wanted. Jāṭaul-people-by word was-made that, 'twenty
 bisvā-kē kahilē jitnē hō rabāē sāl-kī bakāyat-sē tum dēwar-dō,
bisvā-of rupees as-many-as are four years-of promise-on you giving-give,
 aur hamārī tarāf-kē bhī batlē tum kas-dō. Un-kā chuskā aur
and our side-of also rupees you pay. Them-of interest and
 kahilē rabāē sāl-mē dēwar-dēgē. Thiswē mahinē chuskā kas-diyā
rupees four years-in giving-shall-give. Six months interest paid
 karēgē.' Hap-kē-hap-nē akēl jagah thāik-kar khūm kari.
shall-make.' All-by one place having-gathered word was-made.
 Ham nand-sē khammas lāgwārō batlē lēkar rabāēwē dīn
We home-from five hundred rupees having-taken one-fourth day
 sāl-kē batlē kas-nē āē. Manījar sāhib-kē yahā
earnest-money-of money to-pay came. Manager Sahib-of in-presence
 sāl-kē batlē kas diyē. Hakāyat kari kī, 'āsar
earnest-money-of money paid was-given. Promise, was-made that, 'ten
 aglē mīh dīn-mē āwar-kar bēwār lēwar liyō. Sārhē
and twenty days-in having-come information taking take. With-one-half
 mīh hazār batlē-mē tum-kō māḍ dēwar-dēgē.' Manījar-nē
twenty thousand rupees-for you-to village giving-shall-give.' Manager-by
 khumā karā, 'hamārā jēdlā vilāyat-mē thāikā hai. Māḍ-kē sōdh
word was-made, 'our master Europe-in seated is. Village-of sale
 dēnē-kā āsar aglē mīh dīn mē khabar lēwar-liyō.' Mīh
giving-of ten and twenty days in information taking-take.' Twenty
 aglē āsar dīn-mē Bērī-kē ilāqē-kē kādā-nē purē akēl mīh
and ten days-in Beri-of district-of banyā-by full one twenty

hazār-mē mād lēwarnē-ki chishmī dī. Hamē khabar
thousand-for village taking-of application was-given. To-us information
 hul ki akāl Bērī-kā kādū mād lēwartā hai. Ham khammas
became that one Bērī-of banyā village taking is. We five
 lāgwārē batlō sāt-kē kas-āē. Aisi hakāyat na
hundred rupees earnest-money-of paying-came. Such matter not
 hōwē, mād bhi gaunē na lagē aur kahilē bhi
should-happen, village also to-get not should-succeed and money also
 ghāpē jāwē. Hap-kē-hap khumā kar-kē Bērī khis-gāē. Bērī
lost should-go. All-together word having-made Bērī again-went. Bērī
 thāik-kar hap-kē-hap-kō thāikā-kar khumā kiya, 'tū hamārē
reaching all having-gathered word was-made, 'you our
 birādar. Kādū tumbhārā hai, us-nē mād lēwarnā thāp liya hai.
brother. Banyā yours is, him-by village to-take resolve taken is.
 Ham Jāṭul-sē āwarē hai. Bhāichārē-sē kādū-kō khunyāō
We Jāṭul-from come are. Brotherhood-on-account-of banyā-to say
 ki mād na lēwarē. Kādū-sē khumā karā, 'tū hamārā
that village not should-take. Banyā-to word was-made, 'thou our
 lālā hai. Hamārī hakāyat mān-lē; hamārē birādrā-kō mād
respected-sir art. Our request obey; our brothers-to village
 lēwarnē dē. Kādū hakāyat mān gayā, mād lēwarnē-sē khis
to-take give. Banyā request heeding went, village taking-from back
 gayā. Ham birādrā-nē mād lēwar-liyā.
went. We brother-by village taking-was-taken.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Binjhaul village was going to be sold. We and our brothers in Jaṭaul came together. They came from there and we from here to Binjhaul, and we agreed to buy the village. The Jaṭaul people said, 'pay the price which may be fixed for twenty biswā¹; you might undertake to pay in four years and also our share of the money. In four years we shall refund you the money with interest, and we shall pay interest every six months.' We had all gathered in one place and consulted, and four days afterwards we came to pay five hundred rupees as earnest-money, and we paid them in the presence of the manager. He told us to come back in a month and get information, and that he might let us have the village for thirty thousand rupees. 'My master,' he said, 'is in Europe. You may get his decision about the sale in a month.' After a month a Banyā² of the Beri District made an application for getting the village at a price of twenty thousand rupees, and we were informed that the Banyā was going to buy it. We had paid five hundred rupees in earnest-money and it would be too bad not to get the village and also to lose our money. We then consulted and went to Beri, and then we all came together and said, 'you are our brothers. There is a Banyā amongst you, and he has resolved to buy the village. We have now come from Jaṭaul. For the sake of our kinship tell the Banyā not to buy the village.' They said to him, 'you are our respected master; listen to our words and let our brothers have the village.' The Banyā took notice of their request and withdrew from the business. Then we brothers got the village.

¹ A *biswā* is the twentieth part of a *bighā*.

² The word *bāḍā*, here translated 'Banyā,' usually means 'grain-patcher.'

[No. 53.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀL.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekkan	khōdō-me	Rāmāyā	kaṇē-kā	ekkan	patēl	thārtā-thā.	Une
One	village-in	Rāmāyā	called	one	patēl	was.	He
ekkan	rōjū	bajār-ku	khū-huwā-thā,	taw	whā	suwālā	khammīs
one	day	bazar-to	went,	then	there	good	five
Gōvē-kā	āmb	mōl-ku-hidap-kō	nann-ku	awaryā.			Us-ku
Goa-of	mangoes	having-bought	house-to	came.			Him-to
arabā-jan	kachēlē	thārtā-the.	Un-kā	nau	Sank	Bala	
four-persons	sons	were.	Them-of	names	Sank	Bala	
Bhīma	Haṇama.	Patēl	apani	arabā	jan	kachēlē-kū	bōlwād-ko
Bhīma	Haṇama.	Patēl	own	four	persons	sons	having-called
dusāryā,	'kachēlē,	hidap,	maī	bajār-mē-si	yō	khammīs	
said,	'sons,	to,	by-me	bazar-in-from	these	five	
āmb	lewaryā-hal.	Tume	arabā	jan	arabā	hidap-ke	
mangoes	taken-are.	You	four	persons	four	having-taken	
khammīs-kā	āmb	tumāre	ammā-ku	kid.		Ē	banat
fifth	mango	your	mother-to	give.		These	words
suwād-ke	ō	kachēlē-ku	khū	huwādā.		Uno	aīsā
having-heard	those	sons-to	pleasure	became.		By-them	such
suwālā	āmb-phal	kab-bī	tipyā-ch-natte.		Uno	yō	phal
nice	mango-fruits	ever-even	seen-not-were.		By-them	these	fruits
hidap-ke	khū-hō-ke	dusārē-wāisā	batwād-karwād-ke			śudē.	
having-taken	having-gone	said-as	divided-made-having			were-eaten.	
Kajilī-ku	tuluk-te	wakht-me	Rāmāyā	kachēlē-ku		bōlwād-ke	
Evening-at	sleeping	time-in	Rāmāyā	sons		having-called	
dusāryā,	'pyār	kachēlē,	tāwach	kidyātā	āmb	kēsa	thārtā-the ?
said,	'dear	sons,	them-only	given	mangoes	how	were ?
Use	Sank	kaṇē-kā	tuwānā	kachēlē	uttar	kidyā,	'bābā, ō
To-that	Sank	called	eldest	son	answer	gave,	'father, that
phal	miḥe	bahut	śēbit	diswādya.	Ō	bahut	śēbit phal
fruit	to-me	much	good	appeared.	That	very	good fruit

thartai.	Maī	us-ki	binīya	jatan	karwād-ke	tharā-liyā-hai.
is.	By-me	that-of	stone	care	having-made	kept-taken-is.
Use	nirgā-ke	rōjū	śuru	hōwād-ke	wakt-me	pēr-wād-taū.
That	rain-of	days	beginning	having-become	time-in	am-sowing.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In a certain village there lived a Patāl named Rāmāyā. One day when he had been to the market, he purchased five excellent mangoes and brought them home. He had four sons, Sank, Bāla, Bhīma and Hanama. He called his four sons together and said to them, 'children, look here, I have brought these five mangoes from the bazar. Keep four of them for yourselves and give the fifth one to your mother.' The children were pleased to hear these words; they had never before seen such nice mangoes. They took the fruit away and divided them among themselves as they had been told. At bed-time Rāmāyā called his children and said, 'dear children, how did you find the mangoes that were then given to you?' To this Sank, the eldest son, replied, 'father, I found the fruit very good. It is an excellent fruit. I have preserved the stone that I may sow it when the rainy season sets in.'

SIKALGĀRĪ.

The caste known as *saigalgars*, *siqligars*, *sikligars*, etc., are armourers and polishers of metal. The name is a Persian word, *saigalgar*, a cleaner, polisher, derived from the Arabic base *saqal*, to polish.

Name:

'Since the disarming of the country,' says Mr. Crooke, 'the trade of the armourer and cutler has become depressed. The ordinary *Siqliqar* seen in towns is a trader of no worth, and his whole stock-in-trade is a circular whetstone (*sān*) worked by a strap between two posts fixed in the ground. He sharpens a four-bladed knife, a pair of scissors or two razors for a pice. Their status is that of ordinary Muhammadans of the lower artizan class.'

The number of *Sikligars* returned at the Census of 1911 was 5,922, of whom 2,096 were recorded in the Rajputana Agency, the rest being shown as 'elsewhere.'

Number:

Of these 4,548 were returned as Hindūs, 818 as Sikhs, and 556 as Musalmāns.

We do not possess any information to the effect that the *Sikligars*, as a whole, possess a language of their own. A separate dialect called

Language:

Sikalgārī was, however, during the preliminary operations of this Survey returned from the Belgaum District of Bombay, where it was said to be spoken by 25 individuals in the Sampgau *talūga* in the south of the district. Two specimens and the Standard List of Words and Sentences in *Sikalgārī* have been forwarded from that place.

To judge from these materials *Sikalgārī* in most particulars agrees with Gujarātī. Compare forms such as *dikarō*, son; *dikarā*, sons; *gāyāyō*, cows; the case suffixes dative *-nē*; ablative *-tō* (Gujarātī *-thō*); genitive *-nō*; locative *-mā*; pronouns such as *mārō*, my; *ham*, we; *tumē*, you; verbal forms such as *chhē*, is; *hotō*, was; *lidyō*, took; *malγū*, it was got; *charācā-nō*, to tend; *thōl*, become, and so forth.

Some few characteristics, however, point in other directions. With regard to phonology we may note the frequent doubling of consonants and the common disaspiration of aspirates; compare *chhukkō*, hungering; *chōllawā*, to be called; *duṭṭinē*, having eaten; *nittē*, always; *guffā*, bale; *khubbō*, standing; *sādīnē*, having searched; *halō*, hand. Both features are found in other Gipsy languages. The former may point towards Pañjābī; the latter reminds us of Dravidian.

Of inflexional forms which are not Gujarātī we may note the periphrastic future in *gō*; thus, *thanngā*, we shall become. Similar forms of the future are also used in Rājasthānī. The termination of the singular is *gō* as in Eastern Rājasthānī.

The *g*-future is also used in some Bhil dialects,¹ and it is possible that there is a connexion between Gipsy dialects such as *Sikalgārī* and Bhilī. Thus it is probable that the dialect described as *Siyālgirī* in Vol. IX, Part iii, pp. 197 and ff., has something to do with *Sikalgārī*.

Connexion with Siyālgirī.

¹ See Vol. II, Part III, p. 7.

Both dialects mainly agree with Gujarātī. They also agree in not possessing the case of the agent, in dropping a *e* before *i* and *ē*, and in the frequent use of a *kh* instead of an *s*. This *kh* has been treated as a spirant *kh* in dealing with Siyālgirī. In Sīkalgārī, however, it is certainly an aspirate as in other Gipsy argots. The Siyālgirs of Midnapore, who are supposed to have immigrated from the west some five or six generations ago, now follow a variety of occupations. Some sell fish, some make and sell bamboo mats, some are cultivators, and a few sell groceries. If they were originally Sikligars, the many points in which their dialect agrees with Sīkalgārī are easily explained. The points of disagreement do not present any serious obstacle to this hypothesis, if we remember that the Siyālgirs have long lived among strangers and must necessarily have come under the influence of the dialects spoken by their surroundings. It is more to be wondered that the two forms of speech still present so many points of agreement.

The substitution of a *kh* instead of an *s* and also of other sounds in Sīkalgārī mentioned above must be compared with the various devices for disguising words in other Gipsy dialects. Sīkalgārī is not a simple dialect, but also an artificial argot. There are several peculiar words such as *kōyrā*, people, men; *khālmānyū*, swine; *khēdō*, village; *khōl*, house; *gār*, give; *chingā*, dress; *chōkō*, good; *chhīmaō*, horse; *duṭ*, eat; *dhōtriyō*, belly; *nikat*, run; *nikar*, die; *nikdīyō*, thief; *pādō*, bull; *poṭṭū*, child; *ranban*, wife; *subādā*, rupee.

Moreover we find some of the common devices of disguising ordinary words by means of various additions. A *kh* is sometimes prefixed before words beginning with a vowel; thus, *khubō*, standing; *khuppar*, above; *khēklā-mā*, in so much, in the meantime; *khāikīnē*, having heard; *kh* is also frequently substituted for an initial *s*; thus, *khāt*, seven; *khāmō*, before; *khārā*, all; *khāpdyō*, he was found; *khō*, hundred. In *khyāpāryō*, a tradesman, it has replaced a *v*, cf. Gujarātī *vēpārī*.

Ch and *chh* are apparently only substituted for labials, as in other Gipsy argots; compare *chōllāwā*, to be called; *chāyē*, way, means, if this is derived from *upāy*; *chhāndī*, having bound; *chhukḥō*, hungering.

An *a* has been substituted for an initial *p* in *nāpchī*, sin.

Several words receive additions at the end, and a final consonant is often dropped before such additions.

Several additions contain a guttural. The simplest one consists of a *kh*, which is substituted for a final *s*; thus, *kāpukh*=*kapās*, cotton; *ikh*, twenty; *dakhalā*, ten; *manekh*, man; *warakh*, year. A *t* is added to this *kh* in forms such as *ākhṭī*, she came; *lēkhtyō*, tookest. In *nikat*, run, *kat* seems to be used in the same way. The addition *gōṭ* in *kagōtyō*, did; *ghāgōṭō*, put, is perhaps also connected. An *n* is also sometimes added to these suffixed gutturals; thus, *jākan*, he goes; *gāknyō*, went; *chhōknō*, boy, compare Gujarātī *chhōkrō*; *rhākan*, he lives; *rhākanyō*, he remained. We may add the suffix *gal* in words such as *ghāgal*, put; *jāgal*, go; *dhagāl-wā-nū*, of catching; *phaglinō*, again.

It is tempting to compare these additions with the Muṇḍā suffixes *kat*, *kan*, which play a great rôle in the conjugation of verbs.

A *khl* or *kl* has been added in words such as *ekhlā*, so many; *kekhalā*, how many? *kheklā-mā*, so-much-in, in the meantime.

A *ch* has been suffixed in words such as *nāṇchī*, sin; *mhēche-lā*, putting take; compare Gujarāṭī *mēlwā*.

Other additions are *t*, *ḍ* and *p*; thus, *dēwā-nū*, of God; *jīwō*, alive; *nākōdū*, nose; *mhōḍū*, mouth; *anpū*, food.

For further particulars the specimens which follow should be consulted. The first is a version of the Parable, the second a popular tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 181ff.

[No. 54.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGÄRI.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ek manekh-nē bē dīkarā hotā, Tinā-mā nhānchōn dīkarō
One man-to two sons were. Them-among by-the-younger son
 āpnō yabā-nē kadyō, 'yabā, tārī jingānī-mā ma-nē akhtwānō wātō
own father-to it-was-said, 'father, thy property-in me-to coming share
 ma-nē gār.' Yabō tinā-mā āpnō jingī wātīnē
me-to give. By-the-father them-among own property having-divided
 gāryō. Nhānchōn dīkarō āpnō wātō line dūr gām-nē
was-given. Younger son own share having-taken far country-to
 jāknīnē ghanā dīn thayā nāī, kheklā-mā tō dhandh thainē
having-gone many days were not, that-in he riotous having-become
 āpnō jingānī hāl-kagōtyō. Tō im karīnē-par tē gāmō-mā
own property wasted-was-made. He so having-done-on that village-in
 jahar dukāl padīnē ti-nē garībī ākhtī. Tō tē gāmō-mā
mighty famine having-fallen him-to poverty came. He that village-in
 ēk manekh-kan tsākri rhakhanyō. E manekh ti-nē khālmānyū
one man-near in-service remained. This man him swine
 charāwānō khētar-nē walāy gāryō. Tyā chhukkō kalwal
to-graze field-to sending was-given. There hungry afflicted
 thainē khālmānyū dutwānō kōpdō-bī duttī-nē dhōtriyō
having-become swine eaten husks-even having-eaten belly
 bhagī-lētō-tō, pan ti-nē kī-kantū kāyī malyū nāī. Im
filling-was, but him-to anybody-from anything was-got not. So
 thōknā dīn gakyā, āpnō pāchānī wāt mālum padīnē tō āpnā
few days passed, own former state known having-fallen he own
 man-mā kadyō, 'mārā yabā-kan rhayelnō ghanā tsākryāw-nē dhōtriyō
mind-in said, 'my father-near living many servants-to belly
 bhārī-nē khuppar anpū māl-tū-tū; mī hyā chhukkō nikartaū.
having-filled above food obtained-was; I here hungry am-dying.
 Mī khubō-thārīnē yabā-kan jāknīnē kadyō, "yabā mī dēwṭā-nū
I having-got-up father-near having-gone said, "father, by-me God-of

pāp yabā-nū pāp chhāndi lidyō. Mī tārā dīkarō karīnē
 sīn father-of sīn having-tied was-taken. I thy son having-said
 chollāwā jōgō nāl. Ma-nē ēk tsakrī dākal tārā-kan
 to-be-called worthy not. Me one servant like of-thee-near
 mbāchivī-lā." Im kainē tyā-tō tō khubō-tharinē āpnā
 keep." So having-said there-from he up-having-arisen own
 yabā-kan jākantō-tō. Pachē yabō dūr-tō tī-nē dekhīnē mayā
 father-near going-was. Then father far-from him having-seen pity
 āvinē niktīnē jāknīnē dhag-līnē matṭi gāryō.
 having-come having-run having-gone having-embraced kiss was-given.
 Pachē dīkar yabā-nē kadyō, 'yabā, mī dēwtā-nū khāmō tārā
 Then son father-to said, 'father, by-me God-of before of-thee
 khāmō nāpchi kagōtyō. Ma-nē tārā dīkarō karīnē chollāwu
 before sīn was-done. Me thy son having-said to-call
 nakō.' I-nē yabō āpnō tsākarwālā-nē kadyō, 'chōkō chingā
 is-not-fit.' This-to father own servants-to said, 'good dress
 lāvine mārā dīkarā-nē ghāgōtō; nāpchā-mā khaṅgōṭi ghāgōtō,
 having-brought my son-to put-on; finger-on ring put,
 pagō-mā jōdwā ghāgōtō; dutwān-nō tayārī kagōtō; ham duttī-nē
 feet-on shoes put; dinner-of preparation make; we having-eaten
 santōs thauṅgā, sakarwā-kai-tō, yē mārō dīkarō nīkaryō-tō, phaglinē
 merry shall-become, because, this my son dead-was, again
 jiwō āyō; niktīnē gāknyō-tō, khāpdyō.' Ē khaikīnē khārā
 alive came; lost gone-was, was-found.' This having-heard all
 santōs thayā.
 merry became.

Yē wakhat-mā tī-nō mōtō dīkarō khētar-mā hotō. Tō khōl-kan
 This time-in his elder son field-in was. He house-near
 āwtākhū tī-nē gānū nāchanū khaikū āyū. Tō tō tsākar-wālā-mā
 coming him-to singing dancing to-hear came. He those servants-among
 ek-nē chollāyīnē, 'sū thāwā lāgū-ch?' kadyō. Tyā-nō tō, 'tārō
 one-to having-called, 'what becoming is?' said. Him-to he, 'thy
 bhāyī ākhtyō-ch; tō chōkō ākhtyō karīnē dutwā kagōtyō,' im
 brother came-even; he well came having-said dinner was-made,' so
 kadyō. Yē khaikīnē mōtō dīkarō rekh-āyīnē māhi gāknyō
 said. This having-heard elder son having-got-angry inside went
 nāl, karīnē tī-nō yabō baharō āvinē, 'māhi ākhtal,'
 not, having-done his father outside having-come, 'inside come,'
 karīnē tī-nē ghanō kadyō. Tī-nē 'ō āpnō yabā-nē kadyō, 'mī
 having-said him-to much said. That-to he own father-to said, 'I

ekhlā warakh tallakh tārō tsākri kagōṭinē kadī tāri wāt
so-many years up-to thy service having-done ever thy command
 bhāgyō naī. Pan mī mārā mḥaitarnē maḥinē duṭwā
was-broken not. But I my friends having-gathered feast
 kagōṭwadē tū ma-nē kadī ēk bakrō-bī gāryō naī. Pantū
making-for thou me-to ever one goat-eaten was-given not. But
 rāṇḍ-nō saṅgat paḍinē tāri jingī khāri galī-gayō-tō
harlots-of in-company having-fallen thy property all squandering-gone
 yē tārō dīkarō khōl-nē ākḥaltākhū tū ti-nē walē duṭwā
this thy son house-to coming-on thou of-him for-the-sake dinner
 kagōṭyō. Yabō dīkarō-nē kadyō, 'tū mārā-kan nittē rhasi.
was-made. Father son-to said, 'thou of-me-near always art.
 Mā-kan rābēlō khārā tārā-ch mayē. Nikaryō-tō tāri bhāyi
Me-near being all thine-alone is. Dead-was thy brother
 phaglinē jiwō ayō; nikṭinē gāknyō-tō, khāpdyō, karinē ham santōs
again alive came; lost gone-was, was-found, having-said we merry
 thawānū barōbar chhē.
to-become proper is.'

[No. 55.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGÄRI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ijāpur-mā ēk khyāpāryō kápukh-nō ghanō khyāpār kagōttō-tō. Ek
Bijapur-in one merchant cotton-of large trade doing-was. One
 dīn tē gām-mā-tū kāyi nikḍiyā malinē wakat sādīnē
day that village-in-from some thieves having-gathered time having-sought
 tē khyāpāryā-nō khōl-mā-nū ghan kápukh-nā gattā nikḍi karinē
that merchant-of house-in-of many cotton-of bales stealing having-made
 li-gayā. Pachā to khyāpāryō bādsahā-kan jākninē apnō khōl-mā
took-away. Then that merchant king-near having-gone own house-in
 nikḍi-thēl wāt kadyō. 'Im nikḍi thawāni ghani sarmundi
theft-committed story told. 'So theft to-become very disgraceful
 wāt chhē; āj-nō dīn dharinē chār dīn-mā tū tē nikḍiyā-nē
matter is; today-of day including four days-in thou those thieves
 nāi dhaglyō-tō tārū mātū nikāruṅgā, im tī-nē hukum kagōtyō. Yē
not caught-hast thy head will-cut-off, so him-to order made. This
 wāt khaikinē kotwāl nikḍiyā-nē patiyō kādwānē walō ghanṭāl
word having-heard kotwāl thieves-of way tracing for much
 khatpat kagōtyō, pan tē khāpdyā nāi.
labour did, but they were-found not.
 Kheklā-mā bādsahā-nō gāral chār dīn kharinē pāchmō dīn
This-much-in king-of given four days having-expired fifth day
 ākhtyō. 'Kotwāl-nō mātū nikāruṅgā,' karinē gām-mā daṅgōrō
came. 'Kotwāl-of head will-cut-off,' having-said village-in drum
 khojādyō. Yē khaikinē khārā kōyrā talmaiyā; sakarwākaitō
was-beaten. This having-heard all people were-grieved; because
 kotwāl khārā-nē chōkō hotō. Yē khabar khaikinē tē gām-mā-nō
kotwāl all-to dear was. This news having-heard that village-in-of
 ēk śyānō manekh bādsahā-kan jākninē hatō jōdīnē māgi
one clever man king-near having-gone hands having-joined begging
 lidyō.
was-taken.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A merchant in Bijapur was dealing in cotton on a large scale. One day some thieves from the city formed a gang and, seeking an opportunity, stole a number of cotton bales from the merchant's house. Then the merchant went to the King and informed him of the theft committed in his house. The King (sent for the Kotwāl) and gave him the following order, 'that such a theft should have been committed in my town, is really a disgrace. If you fail to trace the thieves within four days, I shall have you beheaded.' At this the Kotwāl tried his best to trace the thieves, but they were not found.

In the meantime the four days granted by the King expired, and the fifth day came. It was announced by the beating of drums that the Kotwāl was to be decapitated. All the people were grieved to hear this, for the Kotwāl was very popular. Hearing this news a clever man in the town went to the King, and joining his hands begged.

GULGULIĀ.

The Gulguliās are a wandering non-Aryan tribe, who live by hunting, teaching monkeys to dance, selling indigenous drugs, begging, and petty thieving. Sir Herbert Risley thinks that they are a branch of the Bediyās.

At the Census of 1911, 853 Gulguliās were returned, 824 from Bihar and Orissa and 29 from elsewhere.

No information about the language of the Gulguliās is available in Census Reports, and no such dialect was reported during the preliminary operations of this Survey. At the Census of 1901 it was, however, reported from the Hazaribagh District that the Gulguliās do not ordinarily speak a separate dialect, but that they make use of a kind of argot when they intend to prevent others from understanding what they say. Three short sentences in this jargon were forwarded to Sir Edward Gait, the then Superintendent of the Census operations in Bengal, and he has been good enough to place them at the disposal of this Survey. They show that this argot is of the same kind as other secret jargons. In the first place there are some peculiar words such as *tebigō*, fell; *lugigō*, died; *kutāchhi*, have eaten; *liōr*, tempest; *nēmru*, bullock; *nāhkat*, in the house. Some of these are well known from other argots, compare Sāsi *ṣaupā*, fall; *lugyā*, die; *dūtā*, eat; *nād*, village; Garōḍi *nānd*, house. Besides this, ordinary words are disguised by changing their initials. Thus *kh* is substituted for *b* in *khīāh*=*biyāh*, wedding, and for *p* in *kheāch*=*pāch*, five; *jh* for *t* in *jhīn-gō*=*tīn*, three; *n* for *g* in *nāchh*=*gāchh*, tree, and so forth. I now give the sentences themselves with an inter-linear translation.

Kōrāet	liōr	tebigō;	jhīn-gō	nāchh	tebigō,	kheāch-gō	nēmru
Last-night	a-tempest	fell;	three	trees	fell,	five	bullocks

lugigō.
died.

Jhātu-sēti	nōpi	kutāchhi,	nāhkat	kōnāgi	nōpi	chhakhalō.
Yesterday-from	not	eaten-have,	house-in	food (?)	not	is.

Hamar	pānhīr	khīāh	bhēkthaligō,	jamāe	nāhkat	chhakhalō.
My	daughter's	wedding	became,	son-in-law	house-in	is.

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE GIPSY
LANGUAGES.

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES

English.	ଓଡ଼ିଆ (Cutch).	ସଂସ୍କୃତ (Ordinary).	ସଂସ୍କୃତ (Criminal).
1. One . . .	ଓକ	ଓକ	ଓକ
2. Two . . .	ଦୁଇ	ଦୁଇ	ଦୁଇ
3. Three . . .	ତିନି	ତିନି	ତିନି
4. Four . . .	ଚାର	ଚାର	ଚାର
5. Five . . .	ପାଞ୍ଚ	ପାଞ୍ଚ	ପାଞ୍ଚ
6. Six . . .	ଛଅ	ଛଅ	ଛଅ
7. Seven . . .	ସାତ	ସାତ	ସାତ
8. Eight . . .	ଆଠ	ଆଠ	ଆଠ
9. Nine . . .	ନାବୁ	ନାବୁ	ନାବୁ
10. Ten . . .	ଦଶ	ଦଶ	ଦଶ
11. Twenty . . .	ବିଂଶ	ବିଂଶ	ବିଂଶ
12. Fifty . . .	ପାଞ୍ଚାଶ	ପାଞ୍ଚାଶ	ପାଞ୍ଚାଶ
13. Hundred . . .	ସଂ	ସଂ	ସଂ
14. I . . .	ମୁଁ	ମୁଁ	ମୁଁ
15. Of me . . .	ମୋର	ମୋର	ମୋର
16. Mine . . .	ମୋର	ମୋର	ମୋର
17. We . . .	ଆମ	ଆମ	ଆମ
18. Of us . . .	ଆମର	ଆମର	ଆମର
19. Our . . .	ଆମର	ଆମର	ଆମର
20. Thou . . .	ତୁ	ତୁ	ତୁ
21. Of thee . . .	ତୁର	ତୁର	ତୁର
22. Thine . . .	ତୁର	ତୁର	ତୁର
23. You . . .	ତୁମ	ତୁମ	ତୁମ
24. Of you . . .	ତୁମର	ତୁମର	ତୁମର
25. Your . . .	ତୁମର	ତୁମର	ତୁମର

Eñhàtì (Akola).	Gĩrĩqĩ.	Myámwà.
Bák	Ekimá	Khák
Dhór	Dulimá	Dóg
Thár	Timá	Tág
Nyár	Chyármá	Chóg
Nách	Páchmá	Nách
Chhá	Chhármá	Chhólá
Sátta	Sáimá	Nhatóla
Wotha	Átmá	Khót
Naw	Naumá	Navóla
Dáhà	Daemá	Dasóla
Bia	Biamá	Nia
Nemmá	Chálla-daemá	Nuchás
Só	Saumá	Nhá
Hó	Mi	Má
Mérá	Méro	Méro
Mára	Méro	Méro
Ham	Ham	Hamó
Hamará	Hamáro	Hamáro
Hamára	Hamáro	Hamáro
Tá	Tá	Tá
Térá	Téro	Téro
Térá	Téro	Téro
Tam	Tam	Tamó
Tumára	Tumáro	Tumáro
Tumára	Tumáro	Tumáro

Kanjarī (Simpur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Natī (State Kanpur).
Bak; khakālā	Ekkan	Bak
Dubālā	Jand	Dhār
Tibālā	Dhallā	Phār
Chabālā	Arabā	Chanak
Pachālā	Khammis	Nāch
Chhabālā	Thā	Nhō
Satālā	Khammis-jand	Nāth
Khatālā	Khammis-dhallā . . .	Kot
Namālā	Ope-āsir	Khanau
Dastālā	Āsir	Khas
Bisālā	Mī	Khta
Rachās	Khādo-thōkapō . . .	Machās
Sawālā	Thōkapō	Kharō
Maī	Maī	Hū
Mērō	Mērō	Mērō
Mērō	Mērō	Mērō
Ham; maī	Hamā	Kham
Mērō	Hamārō	Khamārā
Mērō	Hamārō	Khamārā
Taī; tū	Yō	Nā
Tērō	Yurōko	Tērā
Tērō	Yurōko	Tērā
Taī; tū	Tumā	Num
Tērō	Tumārō	Numhārā
Tērō	Tumārō	Numhārā

IN THE GIPSY LANGUAGES.

Qum.	Sikalgel (Belgum).	English.
Ekkan	Ek	1. One.
Jand	Be	2. Two.
Dhallā	Tan	3. Three.
Arhā	Chār	4. Four.
Khammle	Pāch	5. Five.
Thā	Chhā	6. Six.
Khammi-jand	Khāt	7. Seven.
Khammi-dhallā	Āi	8. Eight.
Onpā-āsir	Nau	9. Nine.
Āsir	Dakhālā	10. Ten.
Mi	Tih	11. Twenty.
Pachyā	Bā-ikh-dakh	12. Fifty.
Thokapā	Kho	13. Hundred.
Maī	Mi	14. I.
Mārā	Mārā	15. Of me.
Mārā	Mārā	16. Mine.
Hām	Ham	17. We.
Hamārā	Hamārā	18. Of us.
Hamārā	Hamārā	19. Our.
Tā	Tā	20. Thou.
Terā	Tārā	21. Of thee.
Terā	Tārā	22. Thine.
Tume	Tumā	23. You.
Tumārā	Tumārā	24. Of you.
Tumārā	Tumārā	25. Your.

English.	Ókál (Catch).	Síal (Ordinary).	Síal (Criminal).
26. He	Sá	Uh	Buh
27. Of him	Tá-chá	Uaká	Busaká
28. His	Tá-chá	Uaká	Busaká
29. They	Sá, (awó)	Uh	Buh
30. Of them	Tá-chá, (awá-chá)	Uaká	Busaká
31. Their	Tá-chá, (awá-chá)	Uaká	Busaká
32. Hand	Háth	Háth	Khóth
33. Foot	Pag	Pair	Nair
34. Nose	Nak	Nákk	Khakk
35. Eye	Ákh	Ákkh	Kakkhi
36. Mouth	Mó	Múh	Khúh
37. Tooth	Dái	Dand	Khadaud
38. Ear	Kán	Kánn	Kánn
39. Hair	Wár	Bal	Bal
40. Head	Thor	Sir	Nhis
41. Tongue	Jíbh	Jíbh	Jíbh
42. Belly	Pei	Pett	Nett
43. Back	Patb	Púth	Núth
44. Iron	Lodhá	Lohá	Lohá
45. Gold	Sánná	Sannná	Baunná
46. Silver	Bápe	Chándi	Chándi
47. Father	Bá	Bápp	Báptá
48. Mother	Ái	Má	Mauti
49. Brother	Bháu	Bhai	Bhautá
50. Sister	Bá	Bau	Dhabá
51. Man	Mápas	Banda	Kódmí
52. Woman	Báyrí	Janáni	Bármí

Kōshōji (Akola).	Gāndhī.	Mānvalā.
Ō	Wo	Ū
Ue-kā	Wō-kā	Wāko
Ue-kā	Wō-kā	Wākō
Ō	Yō	Vō
Un-kā	Yō-kā	Wākoyi
Un-kā	Yō-kā	Wākōyi
Hōtta; kohōt	Gōno	Gōt
Pāw; gōnā	Gōnāh	Gōpā
Khanākka; nākka	Nakōchi	Khinak
Kekkha	Kauōchi	Gōdī
Khumma	Khomdā	Chhōgōdō
Natta	Dāḍwā	Kod
Rānu	Kānōchi	Rikan
Nay	Turwālō	Rāl
Tummi	Tolcho	Niako
Nib	Jibōchi	Jib
Neḥ	Dhamuklō	Rāpaḥ
Nitth	Pauōchi	Nit
Lakhaḍ	Dharūt	Lhō
Bōnnā	Bōngā	Bōu
Nāri	Gaudilō	Nāndi
Bāptā	Bhāwntō	Māwutō
Bhāwti	Māwatt	Māwuti
Bhāwtā	Bhōkō	Rhākō
Bānchi	Bhānichi	Rhākī
Kōnd	Khadmi, or kāj	Khādmi
Kājī; hēḥi	Kāj	Dāmi

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Bulgaum).	Nālī (Siets Bampur).
Bihī; wō; hirō; ūr .	Ē	Wah
Birō-kō; urū-kō . .	Urokō	Nus-kā
Birō-kō; urū-kā . .	Urokō	Lus-kā
Bihī; wō; hirō; ūr .	Ō	Wō
Birō-kō; urū-kō . .	Unākō	Nun-kā
Birō-kō; urū-kō . .	Unākō	Nun-kā
Kohat	Hattēto	Hūt
Gurārā, gurārā . .	Gupdāle	Nāḥ
Nak-hēli	Nakoṭā	Nakṭā
Takhut	Khakōle	Ūkh
Khōmar	Maudā	Khum
Dat-hēlō	Datēle	Khudāi
Kan-hēlā	Kanēle	Bān
Bar-hēlā	Bālō	Khabāl
Mar-hēlā	Śirō	Nēbas
Jim-hēli	Jibēli	Khajīb
Pit-hēlō	Pēṭō	Nōṭ
Pit-hēli	Pitēli	Nith
Lahālō	Lahawō	Khalōyā
Rōnō	Sunno	Bēnā
Rūdī	Chāndī	Khanādī
Bap-hēlō	Bapō	Khabāp; nāp
Maktārī	Māyryā	Khamā
Chihbāt	Bhai	Ilhaotā
Rahin	Bhayap	Chēn
Najōḥ; khādmī . . .	Kājarō	Kōdmī
Najāt	Kājarī	Khēr

Qanl.	Sikulguri (Belgaum).	English.
Une	To	26. He.
Ue-kā	Tinā	27. Of him.
Ue-kā	Tinā	28. His.
Uno	Tā	29. They.
Un-kā	Tinā	30. Of them.
Un-kā	Tinā	31. Their.
Hatōtā	Hatō	32. Hand.
Guḍāle	Pagō	33. Foot.
Phakapī	Nākōḍā	34. Nose.
Akōyā	Kāngī	35. Eye.
Mā	Mhōḍū	36. Mouth.
Chahne	Dātō	37. Tooth.
Kannōtyā	Kānōḍā	38. Ear.
Bālā	Bālō	39. Hair.
Śir	Mān	40. Head.
Minjālī	Jib	41. Tongue.
Khūlī	Dhōtriyo	42. Belly.
Piṭ	Piḍōḍā	43. Back.
Lawhā	Lhōḍō	44. Iron.
Sōnā	Khōnū	45. Gold.
Klaurā	Chāndī	46. Silver.
Bālā	Yabō	47. Father.
Āmmā	Yāyī	48. Mother.
Tawānā-bhai (elder), subak-bhai (younger).	Bhāyī	49. Brother.
Bā (elder), bhāy (younger)	Bhāy	50. Sister.
Subākḍā	Mauekh	51. Man.
Subākadi	Bāyko	52. Woman.

English.	Ōjib (Cutch).	S'et (Ordinary).	S'et (Grimed).
53. Wife	Wañ	Rann	Bāml
54. Child	Chōyā	Mōpā, mōpī	Bōā, bōri
55. Son	Pōi	Pōi	Bōō
56. Daughter	Dhā	Dhī	Bōī
57. Slave	Golām	Ghalām	Ghalām
58. Cultivator	Khōrō	Kajā	Khōā
59. Shepherd	Bhōmār	Ājri, ajāri	Ājri, ajāri
60. God	Rhagwān	Khudā	Rudāh
61. Devil	Dāi	Shaitān	Shaitān
62. Sun	Sārāj	Sārāj	Nārāj
63. Moon	Chandar	Chann	Chann
64. Star	Tārā	Tārā	Tārā
65. Fire	Tādhā	Āgg	Piagi, kōgg
66. Water	Pāi	Paōi	Chāi
67. House	Ghar	Ghar	Khanā
68. Horse	Gōrā	Ghōrā	Kōrā
69. Cow	Gāy	Gā	Lālēt
70. Dog	Kutā	Kutā	Bhukul
71. Cat	Mīnā	Baliā	Kōulā, ghālā
72. Cook	Kukrā	Kōkar	Kōkar
73. Duck	Badāk	Batak	Batak
74. Ass	Gāō	Khōā	Gangā
75. Camel	Ūth	Ūth	Thōb
76. Bird	Pakhi	(Little) Chiriyā, piūchhi	Niriyā
77. Go	Jā	Jāyā	Joarā
78. Eat	Khā	Khānā	Dātā
79. Sit	Bās	Bāsqā	Thūkqā

Kōhātī (Akola).	Gārdī.	Mānawālī.
Bhatānī	Nāthyā	Bair
Kajēṭh	Lāwqō	Golpō
Chhōrā	Lāwqō	Golpō
Chhōrī	Lāwqī	Golpā
Lōḍā	Dhikmō	Nāngadī
Nēhṭkārī	Rāt	Dhugabī
Banūgar	Dhanētyā	Dhangar
Nēw	Dēmā	Khīḍew
Chhut	Bhutmā	Nhāt
Nhuriyā	Suriyā	Nhuriyā
Nān	Chandīohī	Chānd
Nārā	Tārā	Tāro
Kōggō	Dghṭlaṅgt	Kiebt
Chānt	Nirmā	Chālyt
Khōggā	Nānd	Khōk
Rhōḍā	Ghōrṭō	Ghōḍchō
Rāy	Kāwzō	Gāyt
Dhōkkāl	Dhagīā	Jakālā
Kuḍkī	Jilāṭī	Nīloyt
Kukōā	Paktā	Chhurgā
Nadāk	Badāk	Nadāk
Bāddhu	Khōrsā	Nopērā
Khōṭ	Huṭ	Khōt
Nonāwar	Chīḍī	Chōgīā
Jāsā	Dghāyīl	Hītwāḍ
Dutta	Bēt	Dutwāḍ
Bā	Thīg	Tawāḍ

Kanjari (Sitapur).	Kanjari (Balgau).	Nari (State Rampur).
Mahnara	Jō	Chhō
.....	Bachchā	Khabālak
Chūkkō	Baidō	Bārā
Chūkt	Baidt	Bāri
Gulamhālō	Pālakō	Gulām
Khit-hālō	Rait	Rasū
Dharariā	Dhangar	Randariyā
Rām	Mahābōh	Nannōswar
Shut-hālō	Saitāne	Khabhūt
Saraj-hālō	Surāj	Naraj
Chand-hālō	Chānd	Khanād
Tar-hālā	Tārō	Khatārā
Jhurai	Angārō	Ōg
Nimāni	Niwāpi	Chhāl
Rib	Nandō	Lohallā
Ghurārō	Ghōrō	Roharā
Nādh	Gayo	Tiyārgi rāō
Jhūkkū	Kutto	Jhumkar
Bilālā	Billi	Khablā
Murgā	Murgā	Khamurg
Radak	Batkō	Tiyārgi nadak
Gādhlā	Gaddō	Rohā
Uṭ-hālō	Hūt	Hūt
Chirālā	Parinde	Narand
Jaugh	Nikhar	Jāsrō
Dūt	Thār	Dōt lō
Raith	Chāt	Thōas jāt

Qash.	Shakshel (Belgum).	English.
Jorā	Ranban	33. Wife.
Bachchā	Potto	54. Child.
Kachchā	Dikaro	55. Son.
Kachchā	Dikari	56. Daughter.
Hājibādā	Lokto	57. Slave.
Rait	Rhait	58. Cultivator.
Dhangar	Dhangar	59. Shepherd.
Allā	Dewto	60. God.
Šaitān	Hbataqā	61. Devil.
Sorij	Din	62. Sun.
Chānd	Chānd	63. Moon.
Tārā	Chāndut	64. Star.
Angār	Āy	65. Fire.
Nirgā	Pānī	66. Water.
Nann	Khol	67. House.
Ghōdā	Chhimeo	68. Horse.
Bhakkar	Gsyōi	69. Cow.
Kuttā	Kutro	70. Dog.
Billi	Billādi	71. Cat.
Muragā	Kakdō	72. Cook.
Badak muragi	Badak	73. Duck.
Gadaqā	Gadaqā	74. Ass.
Hā	Hā	75. Camel.
Parindā	Pākhrā	76. Bird.
Khā	Jākun	77. Go.
Šō	Dut	78. Eat.
Batwā	Bukhal	79. Sit.

English.	Ógáí (Cuteh).	Sĕá (Ordinary).	Sĕá (Criticant).
80. Come . . .	Áw . . .	Aupá . . .	Aarpá . . .
81. Bent . . .	Mar . . .	Márpá . . .	Lópá . . .
82. Stand . . .	Úbh . . .	Khlopá . . .	Khlopá; khalá or rajá hópuá
83. Die . . .	Mar . . .	Marpá . . .	Lupná . . .
84. Give . . .	Dá . . .	Dépá . . .	Dépuá . . .
85. Run . . .	Dhór . . .	Naspa, daupá . . .	Bipkná . . .
86. Up . . .	Máthá . . .	Ulará . . .	Khōpar . . .
87. Near . . .	Papkhō-mā . . .	Nōpá . . .	Dhanōpá . . .
88. Down . . .	Nichō . . .	Tajá . . .	Tajá . . .
89. Far . . .	Pará . . .	Dár . . .	Khadár . . .
90. Before . . .	Morá . . .	Aggō . . .	Kuggō . . .
91. Behind . . .	Wāá . . .	Pichhā . . .	Nichhā . . .
92. Who . . .	Kōn . . .	Kaup . . .	Kann . . .
93. What . . .	Kāy . . .	Kyā . . .	Kyā . . .
94. Why . . .	Kulāy . . .	Kyū . . .	Kyū . . .
95. And . . .	And . . .	Tā . . .	Tā . . .
96. But . . .	Par . . .	Par . . .	Par . . .
97. If . . .	Jā . . .	Jekur, jā . . .	Jekur jā . . .
98. Yes . . .	Hā . . .	Áā . . .	Áā . . .
99. No . . .	Nā . . .	Nā . . .	Nā . . .
100. Alas . . .	Arā . . .	Hāā . . .	Hāā . . .
101. A father . . .	Bā . . .	Bāpp . . .	Bāptā . . .
102. Of a father . . .	Bā-chā . . .	Bāppā-gā (-gē, -gī, -gā) . . .	Bāptā-gā . . .
103. To a father . . .	Bā-nā . . .	Bāppā-gū . . .	Bāptā-gū . . .
104. From a father . . .	Bā-ti . . .	Bāppā-thō . . .	Bāptā-thō . . .
105. Two fathers . . .	Dōn bā . . .	Dō bāpp . . .	Dhōr bāptā . . .
106. Fathers . . .	Bā . . .	Bāpp . . .	Bāptā . . .

Kāshāt (Akshat)	Uārōḥi	Myānwālē
Nyākūā	Hāyil	Barwād
Thāy	Lugā	Lōā
Uā rahō	Khōt-kō khab-cā	Khab-cōk
Luki jā	Lug	Lugit
Dōppa	Walā	Khichwād
Nhaa	Nimal	Chigwād
Uprō	Khōpar	Khōpar
Najik	Kan	Kharō
Tankō	Tan	Talkō
Dur	Dār	Dag
Sāmō	Khagāḥi	Khagāḥi
Pichahō	Dghichāḥi	Ripchō
Kōy-yō	Kōn	Kun
Kyā	Kā	Kā
Kyō	Kaikō	Kāykō
An	Haur	Or
Pac; natanu	Lākin	Lākin
Jab	Tō	To
Hāw	Hāy	Hā
Nāhāpi	Hapenā	Nāi
Arōrō	Arō	Ayyō
Bāptā	Ek-mā bhāwutō	Khāk māwutō
Bāptō-kā	Ek-mā bhāwutō-kō	Khāk māwutō-kō
Bāptō-ku	Ek-mā bhāwutō-kā	Khāk māwutō-kā
Bāppā-ṭhō-at	Ek-mā bhāwutō-at	Khāk māwutō-at
Dhār bāptā	Dul-mā bhāwutō	Dag māwutō
Bāpō	Bhāwutō	Māwutō

Kaujarl (Shapur).	Kajhar (Hajson).	Kajl (State Rampar).
Aogh	Awar	Āwarō
Lugai	Kajwār	Lōthō
Tharō hō	Khōt	Rarōpi
Lugaj	Margō	Lōgt jān
Tidr	Kidō	Dōpi dē
Daurf	Nhapwārō	Khadōrō
Khūpar	Khūpar	Khūpar
Nagich-hālō	Pā	Hadōrō
Tar-hāl	Jinōi	Khatar
Dur-hāl	Dār	Khador
Rāmnō	Sambor	Kōgō
Richhō	Pichwād	Nichhō
Kaon	Kao	Rao
Kā	Kā	Ryā
Kith-kō	Kai	Nō
Baur	Anr	Kor
Mul	Phirta . . . .	.....
.....	Tō . . . .	.....
Hā	Hō	Nā
Nah	Nā	Mahī
.....	Āy	Nahō
Bap-hālō	Ekkay bapō	Bek khabāp
Bap-hālā-kā	Ekkay bapō-kā	Bek khabāp-kā
Bap-hālā-kāl	Ekkay bapō-ko	Bek khabāp-rō
Bap-hālā-ō	Ekkay bapō-ō	Bek khabāp-rō
Dubālō bap-hālā	Jand bapō	Dhōr khabāp
Bap-hālā	Bapō	Chhūt khabāp

Qash.	Sikalgori (Belgaum).	English.
Awar	Ākhat	80. Come.
Ghāḡ	Nikār	81. Bent.
Upwāḡ	Khubōthār	82. Stand.
Bigar	Nikar	83. Die.
Kid	Gār	84. Give.
Nhat	Nikat	85. Run.
Uppar	Khurppar	86. Up.
Najik	Kan	87. Near.
Talle	Khōḡ	88. Down.
Dār	Dār	89. Far.
Sāmmō	Khāmō	90. Before.
Pichchō	Pāchō	91. Behind.
Kōḡ	Kun	92. Who.
Kyā	Sā	93. What.
Ki	Sakarwā	94. Why.
Bhī	Sokat	95. And.
Lekin	Pan	96. But.
To	To	97. If.
Hoya	Hā	98. Yes.
Naī	Naī	99. No.
Ayyō	Ayyōyō	100. Alas.
Ekkay bābā	Ek yabō	101. A father.
Ekkay bābā-kā	Ek yabā-nā	102. Of a father.
Ekkay bābā-kū	Ek yabā-nō	103. To a father.
Ekkay bābā-se	Ek yabā-tō	104. From a father.
Jand bābā	Bā yabā	105. Two fathers.
Bābā	Yabā	106. Fathers.

English.	Orissi (Cuteb).	Sāṭi (Ordinary).	Sāṭi (Criminal).
107. Of fathers . . .	Bāwā-chā . . .	Bappā-gā . . .	Bāptā-gā . . .
108. To fathers . . .	Bāwā-nē . . .	Bappā-gū . . .	Bāptā-gū . . .
109. From fathers . . .	Bāwā-ti . . .	Bappā-thō . . .	Bāptā-thō . . .
110. A daughter . . .	Dhū . . .	Dhī . . .	Borī . . .
111. Of a daughter . . .	Dhū-chā; dhūi-chā, etc. . .	Dhū-gā . . .	Borī-gā . . .
112. To a daughter . . .	Dhū-nē . . .	Dhū-gū . . .	Borī-gū . . .
113. From a daughter . . .	Dhū-ti . . .	Dhū-thō . . .	Borī-thō . . .
114. Two daughters . . .	Dhū dhūā . . .	Dō dhū . . .	Dhōr borī . . .
115. Daughters . . .	Dhūā . . .	Dhū . . .	Borī . . .
116. Of daughters . . .	Dhūā-chā . . .	Dhū-gā . . .	Borī-gā . . .
117. To daughters . . .	Dhūā-nē . . .	Dhū-gū . . .	Borī-gū . . .
118. From daughters . . .	Dhūā-ti . . .	Dhū-thō . . .	Borī-thō . . .
119. A good man . . .	Sārā mānā . . .	Chāgā (or sāk) ādmī (or bandū). . .	Chāgā kōdmī . . .
120. Of a good man . . .	Sārā mānā-chā . . .	Chāgā ādmī-gā (or bandū-gā). . .	Chāgā kōdmī-gā . . .
121. To a good man . . .	Sārā mānā-nē . . .	Chāgā ādmī-gū . . .	Chāgā kōdmī-gū . . .
122. From a good man . . .	Sārā mānā-ti . . .	Chāgā ādmī-thō . . .	Chāgā kōdmī-thō . . .
123. Two good men . . .	Dōp sārā mānā . . .	Dō chāgā ādmī . . .	Dhār chāgā kōdmī . . .
124. Good men . . .	Sārā mānā . . .	Chāgā ādmī (or bandū) . . .	Chāgā kōdmī . . .
125. Of good men . . .	Sārā mānā-chā . . .	Chāgā ādmī-gā . . .	Chāgā kōdmī-gā . . .
126. To good men . . .	Sārā mānā-nē . . .	Chāgā ādmī-gū . . .	Chāgā kōdmī-gū . . .
127. From good men . . .	Sārā mānā-ti . . .	Chāgā ādmī-thō . . .	Chāgā kōdmī-thō . . .
128. A good woman . . .	Sārā bāyī . . .	Chāgī janānī . . .	Chāgī bārmī . . .
129. A bad boy . . .	Nikām chhōyā . . .	Bhāī mānā . . .	Nhāī (or nharāb) bōrā . . .
130. Good women . . .	Sārā bāyī . . .	Chāgī janānī . . .	Chāgī bārmī . . .
131. A bad girl . . .	Nikām chhōyī . . .	Bhāī mānī . . .	Nhāī (or nharāb) bōrī . . .
132. Good . . .	Sārā . . .	Chāgā . . .	Chāgā . . .
133. Better . . .	Wadhārē sārā . . .	[Is thō or is satthā] chāgā . . .	[Bis thō or bis satthā] chāgā . . .

Kōshaji (Ahoia).	Gurōji.	Myōwaji.
Bāptō-kā	Bhāwutō-kō	Māwutō-kō
Bāptō-thō	Bhāwutō-kā	Māwutō-kā
Bāptō-thō-si	Bhāwutō-si	Māwutō-si
Chhōri	Ek-mā lāwḍi	Khāk gelpi
Chhōri-kā	Ek-mā lāwḍi-kō	Khāk gelpi-kō
Chhōri-kn	Ek-mā lāwḍi-kn	Khāk gelpi-kn
Chhōri-thō-si	Ek-mā lāwḍi-sē	Khāk gelpi-sē
Dhōt chhōriyā	Dul-mā lāwḍi	Dōg gelpi
Chhōriyā	Lāwḍi	Gelpi ⁸
Chhōriyā-kā	Lāwḍi-kō	Gelpi-kō
Chhōriyā-kn	Lāwḍi-kn	Gelpi-kn
Chhōriyā-thō-si	Lāwḍi-sē	Gelpi-sē
Kōchchhā kōdmi	Ek-mā chisam khādmi	Khāk khāchō khādmi
Kōchchhā kōdmiyā-kā	Ek-mā chisam khādmi-kō	Khāk khāchō khādmi-kō
Kōchchhā kōdmiyā-kn	Ek-mā chisam khādmi-kn	Khāk khāchō khādmi-kn
Kōchchhā kōdmiyā-thō-si	Ek-mā chisam khādmi-sē	Khāk khāchō khādmi-sē
Dhāt bhalē kōdmi	Dul-mā chisam khādmi	Dōg khāchō khādmi
Bhalē kōdmi	Chisam khādmi	Khāchō khādmi
Bhalē kōdmiyā-kā	Chisam khādmi-kō	Khāchō khādmi-kō
Bhalē kōdmiyā-kn	Chisam khādmi-kn	Khāchō khādmi-kn
Bhalē kōdmiyā-thō-si	Chisam khādmi-sē	Khāchō khādmi-sē
Hōṭṭi kōsal	Ek-mā chisam kōji	Khāk ntri dāmī
Burā chhōrā	Ek-mā bilē lāwḍi	Khāk sugāṇō gelā
Kōsal hōṭṭiyā	Chisam kōji	Ntri dāmī
Burā kajēti	Ek-mā bilē lāwḍi	Khāk sugāṇō gēti
Kōsal; achchhā	Chisam	Khāchō
Achchhā	Isi chisam	Wā-sē-lā khāchō

Karjari (Simpur).	Karjari (Balguna).	Nati (Sata Sampur).
Bap-hā-lā-kā . . .	Bāpāñ-kā . . .	Khabāpō-rā . . .
Bap-hā-lā-kū . . .	Bāpāñ-ku . . .	Khabāpō-ro . . .
Bap-hā-lā-sē . . .	Bāpāñ-se . . .	Khabāpō-rē . . .
Chābki . . .	Ekkap baidi . . .	Bek bōri . . .
Chābki-kā . . .	Ekkap baidi-kā . . .	Bek bōri-rā . . .
Chābki-kū . . .	Ekkap baidi-ku . . .	Bek bōri-ro . . .
Chābki-sē . . .	Ekkap baidi-se . . .	Bek bōri-rē . . .
Dubāla chābki . . .	Jand baidē . . .	Dhār bōriyā . . .
Chābki . . .	Baidē . . .	Chhāt bōriyā . . .
Chābki-kā . . .	Baidē-kā . . .	Bōriyō-rā . . .
Chābki-kū . . .	Baidē-ku . . .	Bōriyō-ro . . .
Chābki-sē . . .	Baidē-se . . .	Bōriyō-rē . . .
Khachchhō najā . . .	Ekkap niro kājarō . . .	Bek kuchchhā kōdmi . . .
Khachchhō najā-kā . . .	Ekkap niro kājarō-kā . . .	Bek kuchchhā kōdmi-rā . . .
Khachchhō najā-kū . . .	Ekkap niro kājarō-ku . . .	Bek kuchchhā kōdmi-ro . . .
Khachchhō najā-sē . . .	Ekkap niro kājarō-se . . .	Bek kuchchhā kōdmi-rē . . .
Dubālā khachchhō najā . . .	Jandō niro kājarā . . .	Dhār kuchchhā kōdmi . . .
Khachchhō najā . . .	Niro kājarā . . .	Chhāt kuchchhā kōdmi . . .
Khachchhō najā-kā . . .	Niro kājarā-kā . . .	Kuchchhā kōdmiyō-rā . . .
Khachchhō najā-kū . . .	Niro kājarā-ku . . .	Kuchchhā kōdmiyō-ro . . .
Khachchhō najā-sē . . .	Niro kājarā-se . . .	Kuchchhā kōdmiyō-rē . . .
Khachchhō najā . . .	Ekkap niri kājari . . .	Bek kuchchhā khēr . . .
Dharāb chābki . . .	Ekkap kargāl baidi . . .	Bek rārāb bōri . . .
Khachchhō najā . . .	Niri kājarē . . .	Kuchchhā khōriyā . . .
Dharāb chābki . . .	Ekkap kargāl baidi . . .	Bek rārāb bōri . . .
Khachchhō . . .	Niro . . .	Kuchchhā . . .
.....	Ue-dā niro . . .	Chhāt kuchchhā . . .

Qn61.	Sikangbet (Belgeand).	English.
Babā-kā	Yabā-nō	107. Of fathers.
Babā-kō	Yabā-nō	108. To fathers.
Babā-ee	Yabā-to	109. From fathers.
Ekkap kachōli	Ek dikari	110. A daughter.
Ekkap kachōli-kā	Ek dikari-nō	111. Of a daughter.
Ekkap kachōli-kō	Ek dikari-nō	112. To a daughter.
Ekkap kachōli-ee	Ek dikari-to	113. From a daughter.
Jand kachōlyā	Bē dikariyā	114. Two daughters.
Kachōlyā	Dikariyā	115. Daughters.
Kachōlyā-kā	Dikariyā-nō	116. Of daughters.
Kachōlyā-kō	Dikariyā-nō	117. To daughters.
Kachōlyā-ee	Dikariyā-to	118. From daughters.
Ekkap śōhit subākō	Ek chōkō manekh	119. A good man.
Ekkap śōhit subākō-kā	Ek chōkō manekh-nō	120. Of a good man.
Ekkap śōhit subākō-kō	Ek chōkō manekh-nō	121. To a good man.
Ekkap śōhit subākō-ee	Ek chōkō manekh-to	122. From a good man.
Jandō śōhit subākō	Bē chōkō mankhō	123. Two good men.
Śōhit subākō	Chōkō mankhō	124. Good men.
Śōhit subākō-kā	Chōkō mankhō-nō	125. Of good men.
Śōhit subākō-kō	Chōkō mankhō-nō	126. To good men.
Śōhit subākō-ee	Chōkō mankhō-to	127. From good men.
Ekkap śōhit subākō	Ek chōki lāyko	128. A good woman.
Ekkap hajib chihorā or chhanakā	Ek khattar chhōkō	129. A bad boy.
Śōhit subākōyā	Chōkiyō bāhōyō	130. Good women.
Ekkap hajib chihorā or chhanakā	Ek khattar chhōkō	131. A bad girl.
Śōhit	Chōko	132. Good.
Itt śōhit	Itt chōko	133. Better.

English.	Ôđi (Cute).	Sĩi (Ordinary).	Sĩi (Criminal).
134. Best . . .	Bađĩđi-ti sãrã . . .	[Sãhĩđĩ sãthĩ] chãngã . . .	[Sãhĩđĩ sãthĩ] chãngũ . . .
135. High . . .	Ũchã . . .	Uchẽhã . . .	Khũchũhã . . .
136. Higher . . .	Wadhãrũ ũchã . . .	[Lẽ thĩ] ũchẽhã . . .	[Hĩ thĩ] khũchũhã . . .
137. Highest . . .	Bađĩđi-thĩ ũchã . . .	[Sãhĩđĩ sãthĩ] ũchẽhã . . .	[Sãhĩđĩ sãthĩ] khũchũhã . . .
138. A horse . . .	Gõrã, (hiãp) . . .	Ghõrã . . .	Kũdrã . . .
139. A mare . . .	Gõrĩ, (hiãp) . . .	Ghõrĩ . . .	Kũdrĩ . . .
140. Horses . . .	Gõrĩ . . .	Ghõrĩ . . .	Kũdrĩ . . .
141. Mares . . .	Gõrĩ . . .	Ghõrĩ . . .	Kũdrĩ . . .
142. A bull . . .	Godhã, đhagã . . .	Dhagã . . .	Kãngã . . .
143. A cow . . .	Gãy . . .	Gã . . .	Lũĩ . . .
144. Bulls . . .	Godhĩ, đhagĩ . . .	Dhagĩ . . .	Kãngã . . .
145. Cows . . .	Gãh . . .	Gã . . .	Lũĩ . . .
146. A dog . . .	Kutã . . .	Kẽtã . . .	Bhũkã . . .
147. A bitch . . .	Kutĩ . . .	Kutĩ . . .	Bhũkĩ . . .
148. Dogs . . .	Kutĩ . . .	Kutĩ . . .	Bhũkĩ . . .
149. Bitches . . .	Kutĩ . . .	Kutĩ . . .	Bhũkĩ . . .
150. A he goat . . .	Bakrã . . .	Bakrã . . .	Chhãbã . . .
151. A female goat . . .	Bakrĩ . . .	Bakrĩ . . .	Chhãbĩ . . .
152. Goats . . .	Bakrĩ . . .	Bakrĩ . . .	Chhãbĩ . . .
153. A male deer . . .	Hũp . . .	Harn . . .	Harn . . .
154. A female deer . . .	Hũpĩ . . .	Harnĩ . . .	Harnĩ . . .
155. Deer . . .	Hũp . . .	Harn . . .	Harn . . .
156. I am . . .	Hũ sũ . . .	Hũ hũ . . .	Hũ hũpũ . . .
157. Thou art . . .	Tũ sũ . . .	Tũ hũ . . .	Tũ hũpũ . . .
158. He is . . .	Sũ sũ . . .	Uũ hũ . . .	Bũ hũpũ . . .
159. We are . . .	Amĩ sũ . . .	Hũ hũ . . .	Hũ hũpũ . . .
160. You are . . .	Tamĩ sũ . . .	Tũ hũ . . .	Tũ hũpũ . . .

Kasraj (Ritapur).	Kasraj (Belgaon).	Naji (State Rampur).
.....	Byādik nīrō	Rab-rō kumhāhā . . .
Khūcho	Khuñcho	Khōchā
.....	Us-da khuñcho . . .	Chhūt khōchā . . .
.....	Byādik khuñcho . . .	Rab-rō khōchā . . .
Ghurārō	Ekkay ghōḍō	Bek ruharchā
Ghurārī	Ekkay ghōḍī	Bek ruharchī
Rahut ghurārō . . .	Ghōḍā	Ruharchō
Rahut ghurārī . . .	Ghōḍī	Ruharchiyā
Sār-hālō	Ekkay pādō	Bek lād
Nāḍī	Ekkay ghāyō	Bek tiyārgī rāḍ . . .
.....	Pādā	Nāḍ
.....	Ghāyō	Tiyārgī rāḍ
Jhūkū	Ekkay kutō	Bek chhumkar
Jhūkūī	Ekkay kutī	Bek chhumkarī
.....	Kuttā	Chhūt chhumkar . . .
.....	Kuttī	Chhūt chhumkariyā . .
Rakrā	Ekkay bakarō	Bek chakra
Rakrī	Ekkay bakarī	Bek chakrī
Rakrā	Bakarā	Chakriyā
Khiri	Ekkay khar	Kharau
Khiri	Ekkay kharī	Kharī
Khiri	Harnā	Chhūt kharau
Maī hughā	Maī hō	Khā rō
Taī hughā	Yō hō	Kharā hōchō
Wō hughā	Ē hō	Woh hōchō
Ham hughā; maī hughā .	Hamā hō	Kham hōchō
Taī hughā	Tamā hō	Nam hōchō

Quell.	Sikalgiri (Belgum).	English.
Sab- <u>we</u> <u>choti</u>	Ghano <u>choko</u>	134. Best.
Uchā	Uchho	135. High.
Isi uchā	Jati uchho	136. Higher.
Sab- <u>we</u> uchā	Ghano uchho	137. Highest.
Ekar <u>ghoḍā</u>	Ek ekhimo	138. A horse.
Ekar <u>ghoḍi</u>	Ek ekhimi	139. A mare.
Ghōḍo	Chhimo	140. Horses.
Ghōḍyā	Chhimiyō	141. Mares.
Ekar <u>pāḍā</u>	Ek pāḍo	142. A bull.
Ekar <u>bhakkā</u>	Ek pāyō	143. A cow.
Pāḍo	Pāḍo	144. Bulls.
Bhakkā	Gāyō	145. Cows.
Ekar <u>kuttā</u>	Ek kutro	146. A dog.
Ekar <u>kutti</u>	Ek kutri	147. A bitch.
Kuttā	Kutro	148. Dogs.
Kutti	Kutri	149. Bitches.
Ekar <u>bakarā</u>	Ek bakro	150. A he goat.
Ekar <u>chhōi</u>	Ek bakri	151. A female goat.
Bakarō	Bakro	152. Goats.
Ekar <u>maḥarā</u>	Ek haro	153. A male deer.
Ekar <u>mādiḥarā</u>	Ek haroi	154. A female deer.
Harā	Harō	155. Deer.
Maḥ <u>thāraḥ</u>	Mi chho	156. I am.
Tā <u>thāraḥ</u>	Tā chho	157. Thou art.
Uo <u>thāraḥ</u>	Tā chho	158. He is.
Ham <u>thāre</u>	Ham chho	159. We are.
Tum <u>thāre</u>	Tem chho	160. You are.

English.	Ókál (Cuteh).	Sēa (Ordinary).	Sēa (Criminal).
161. They are . . .	Sā sī . . .	Uh haī . . .	Buh hōpē . . .
162. I was . . .	Hē silā . . .	Haū thīyyā (or stīyyā, etc.)	Haū thīyyā (or stīyyā, etc.)
163. Thou wast . . .	Tā silā . . .	Taū thīyyā . . .	Taū thīyyā . . .
164. He was . . .	Sē silā . . .	Uh thīyyā . . .	Buh thīyyā . . .
165. We were . . .	Amī silē . . .	Ham thīyyē . . .	Ham thīyyē . . .
166. You were . . .	Tamī silē . . .	Tam thīyyē . . .	Tam thīyyē . . .
167. They were . . .	Sā silē . . .	Uh thīyyē . . .	Buh thīyyē . . .
168. Be . . .	Hō . . .	Hō (sing.), hōwō (plur.)	Hōp, hōpō . . .
169. To be . . .	Hōnō . . .	Hōnā . . .	Hōpā . . .
170. Being . . .	Hōtā . . .	Hōtā . . .	Hōptā . . .
171. Having been . . .	Hōtnō . . .	Hōtkō . . .	Hōpt kē . . .
172. I may be . . .	Hē hawē . . .	Haū hōwē . . .	Haū hōpē . . .
173. I shall be . . .	Hē havi; hē haviāō . . .	Haū hōgrā . . .	Hōpōgrā . . .
174. I should be . . .	Machō halē khapē . . .	Haū hōjā . . .	Hōptā . . .
175. Beat . . .	Mār . . .	Mār, mārō . . .	Lō, lōō . . .
176. To beat . . .	Māyō . . .	Māpā . . .	Lōpā . . .
177. Beating . . .	Mārti . . .	Mārtā . . .	Lōtā . . .
178. Having beaten . . .	Mārtinō . . .	Mārtkō . . .	Lōtkō . . .
179. I beat . . .	Hē mārō sē . . .	Haū mārā haī . . .	Haū lōtō hōpē . . .
180. Thou beatest . . .	Tē mārī sī . . .	Taū mārā haī . . .	Taū lōtā hōpē . . .
181. He beats . . .	Sē mārō sē . . .	Uh mārā haī . . .	Buh lōtā hōpē . . .
182. We beat . . .	Amī mārō sī . . .	Ham mārā hā . . .	Ham lōtō hōpē . . .
183. You beat . . .	Tamī mārā sawē . . .	Tam mārā hō . . .	Tam lōtō hōpē . . .
184. They beat . . .	Sā mārī sī . . .	Uh mārā haī . . .	Buh lōtō hōpē . . .
185. I beat (Past Tense) . . .	Mē mārīā . . .	Maī mārīā . . .	Maī lōyā . . .
186. Thou beatest (Past Tense) . . .	Tē mārīā . . .	Taī mārīā . . .	Taī lōyā . . .
187. He beat (Past Tense) . . .	Tōyē mārīā . . .	Uy mārīā . . .	Buō lōyā . . .

KOIMET (Akola).	* Gāṇḍī.	Mymsāli.
Və hā	Yə hapelā	Və hū
Hā thiyā	Mī chhā	Mə hī
Tā thiyā	Tā chhā	Tā hī
Ō thiyā	Wə chhā	Ū hī
Ham thiyā	Ham chhā	Hamə hī
Tam thiyā	Tam chhā	Tamə hī
Və thiyā	Yə chhā	Və hī
Hā	Rhapel	Rhā
Hōnā	Rhapel-nā-kō	Rhapākō
Hōtā	Rhapel-tā	Rhātā
Hawā hā	Rhapelēō	Rhātō
Hū hōnā	Mī rhapelungā	Mā rhauagā
Hū hōngdū	Mī rhapelungō	Mā rhauagō
Hū hōnā	Mī rhapelungōch	Mā rhōngōkō hōng
Mār	Lugā	Lōt
Mārēnā	Lugānā	Lōtpākō
Mārtā	Lugātā	Lōttā
Māryā hā	Lugākō	Lōt-kō
Hū mārta	Mī lugāū	Mō lōtā
Tā mārta	Tā lugāū	Tā lōtā
Ō mārta	Wə lugāū	Ū lōtā
Ham mārte	Ham lugāū	Hamə lōtā
Tam mārte	Tam lugāū	Tamə lōtā
Və mārte	Yə lugāū	Və lōtā
Mē-nē māryā	Mī lugāyō	Mē lōtā
Tā-nē māryā	Tā lugāyō	Tā lōtā
Un-nē māryā	Wə lugāyō	Ū lōtā

Kanjari (Sitapur).	Kanjari (Belgaum).	Nati (State Rampur).
Wə haughə	Ō hō	Wə hōchē
Maĩ hūdo	Maĩ hando	Khō nō
Taĩ hūdo	Yō hando	Khanū hōchā
Wə hūdo	Ē hando	Woh hōchā
.....	Hamē handā	Kham nō
.....	Tumē handā	Num nō
.....	Ō handā	Wē nō
.....	Huyingō	Hō
.....	Hōwāku	Hōpmā
.....	Hōndō	Hōtē hō
.....	Hōwar-kō	Hōkar
Maĩ hūghasō	Maĩ hōwungō	Hōgō kə khō rō . . .
Maĩ hūghasō	Maĩ hōwungō	Khō rōgā
.....	Maĩ hōnōch	Mij-kō hōpmā chāhiyē .
Lugai	Kuṭwār	Lōthō
Lugaodirē	Kuṭwārku	Lothnā
Lugaōdō	Kuṭwārde	Lōthtē huē
Lugao-kō	Kuṭwār-kō	Lōth-kar
Maĩ lugairō	Maĩ kuṭwārō	Khū lōhtā rō
Taĩ lugairō	Yō kuṭwārō	Tā lōhtā hai
Wə lugairō	Ē kuṭwārō	Woh lōhtā hai
.....	Hamē kuṭwārō	Kham lōhtē hōchē . . .
.....	Tumē kuṭwārō	Num lōhtē hō
.....	Ō kuṭwārō	Wē lōhtē hōchē
Maĩ lugaōdō	Maĩ kuṭrō	Khū-nō lothā
Taĩ lugaoghīs	Yō kuṭrō	Num-nō lothā
Wə lugaoghīs, lugais .	Ē kuṭrō	Ūa nō lothā

Quail.	Sikalgal (Belgama).	English.
Uno thārre	Tā chhō	161. They are.
Maī thārtā-thā	Mī hoto	162. I was.
Tā thārtā-thā	Tā hoto	163. Thou wast.
Ude thārtā-thā	Tō hoto	164. He was.
Ham thārtā-the	Ham hoto	165. We were.
Tame thārtā-the	Tam hoto	166. You were.
Uno thārtā-the	Tō hatā	167. They were.
Thak	Thai	168. Be.
Thakēkyā	Thaiwānō	169. To be.
Thak-tā	Thaitōō	170. Being.
Thakōko	Thainō	171. Having been.
Maī thaknūgā	Mī thanūgā	172. I may be.
Maī thaknūgā	Mī thaungō	173. I shall be.
Maī thak-nā	Mī thauch	174. I should be.
Ghād	Nikār	175. Beat.
Ghād-ku	Nikārwānō	176. To beat.
Ghād-tā	Nikārō	177. Beating.
Ghād-ko	Nikārtō	178. Having beaten.
Maī ghādtāi	Mī nikārā	179. I beat.
Tā ghādtāi	Tā nikār	180. Thou beatest.
Uno ghādtāi	Tā nikār	181. He beats.
Ham ghādte	Ham nikārō	182. We beat.
Tame ghādte	Tam nikār	183. You beat.
Uno ghādte	Tē nikār	184. They beat.
Maī ghādyā	Mī nikāryō	185. I beat (Past Tense).
Tā ghādyā	Tā nikāryō	186. Thou beatest (Past Tense).
Uno ghādyā	Tō nikāryō	187. He beat (Past Tense).

English.	Ófísi (Czech).	SŠel (Ordinary).	SŠel (Criminal).
188. We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).	Amí mārīā . . .	Hamš mārīā . . .	Hamš lōyā . . .
189. You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).	Tamí mārīā . . .	Tamš mārīā . . .	Tamš lōyā . . .
190. They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).	Taīyē mārīā . . .	Upí upš mārīā . . .	Bupí upš lōyā . . .
191. I am beating . . .	Hē mārē sē . . .	Haū piā mārīā haī, or haū mārī rihā haī.	Haū lōtā hōpē, haū lōi rihā hōpē.
192. I was beating . . .	Hē mārē silā . . .	Haū mārīā thiyyā (or siyyā)	Haū lōtā thiyyā . . .
193. I had beaten . . .	Mē mārē silē . . .	Maī mārīā thiyyā (or siyyā)	Maī lōyā thiyyā . . .
194. I may beat . . .	Hē mārē . . .	Haū mārē . . .	Haū lōē . . .
195. I shall beat . . .	Hē mārī . . .	Haū mārāgrā . . .	Haū lōgrā . . .
196. Thou wilt beat . . .	Tū mārī . . .	Taū mārāgrā . . .	Taū lōgrā . . .
197. He will beat . . .	Sē mārī . . .	Uh mārāgrā . . .	Buh lōgrā . . .
198. We shall beat . . .	Amí mārī . . .	Ham mārāgrē . . .	Ham lōgrē . . .
199. You will beat . . .	Tamí mārī . . .	Tam mārāgrē . . .	Tam lōgrē . . .
200. They will beat . . .	Sā mārī . . .	Uh mārāgrē . . .	Buh lōgrē . . .
201. I should beat . . .	Māchē mārīē khapē . . .	Haū mārīā . . .	Haū lōtā . . .
202. I am beaten . . .	Hē mārālā sē . . .	Haū mārīā jattā haī . . .	Haū lōyā jaertā hōpē . . .
203. I was beaten . . .	Hē mārālā silā . . .	Haū mārīā jattā thiyyā (or siyyā).	Haū lōyā jaertā thiyyā (or siyyā).
204. I shall be beaten . . .	Hē mārālē . . .	Haū mārīā jāngrā . . .	Haū lōyā jānāgrā . . .
205. I go . . .	Hē jāē sē . . .	Haū jattā haī . . .	Haū jaertā hōpē . . .
206. Thou goest . . .	Tū jāē sē . . .	Taū jattā haī . . .	Taū jaertā hōpē . . .
207. He goes . . .	Sū jāē sē . . .	Uh jattā haī . . .	Buh jaertā hōpē . . .
208. We go . . .	Amí jāē sē . . .	Ham jattē hā . . .	Ham jaertē hōpē . . .
209. You go . . .	Tamí jāwā sawā . . .	Tam jattē hō . . .	Tam jaertē hōpē . . .
210. They go . . .	Sā jāē sē . . .	Uh jattē haī . . .	Buh jaertē hōpē . . .
211. I went . . .	Hē gēlā . . .	Haū gayā (pronounced gēā)	Haū gangā (or jaertā)
212. Thou wentest . . .	Tū gēlā . . .	Taū gayā . . .	Taū gangā (or jaertā)
213. He went . . .	Ō gēlā . . .	Uh gayā . . .	Buh gangā (or jaertā)
214. We went . . .	Amí gēlē . . .	Ham gāē . . .	Ham gangē (jaertē) . . .

Kāshāī (Akola).	Gadli	Hjānešā.
Ham-nē māryā . . .	Ham lugāyō . . .	Hamō lotō . . .
Tam-nē māryā . . .	Tam lugāyō . . .	Tamō lotō . . .
Unh-nē māryā . . .	Yē lugāyō . . .	Vā lotō . . .
Hū mārtā hē . . .	Mi lugāto hapeh . . .	Mē lotā hū . . .
Hū mārtā thiyā . . .	Mō lugātō chho . . .	Mē lotā hī . . .
Mā-nē māryā thiyā . . .	Mi lugā chho . . .	Mē lotōn . . .
Mē-nē mārnā . . .	Mi lugāwnāgē . . .	Mē lotāngā . . .
Hū māraṅ . . .	Mi lugāwnāgō . . .	Mē lotāngō . . .
Tū māraṅ . . .	Tō lugāwnāgō . . .	Tū lotāngō . . .
Wō māraṅ . . .	Wō lugāwnāgō . . .	Ū lotāngō . . .
Ham māraṅ . . .	Ham lugāwnāgō . . .	Hamō lotāngō . . .
Tam māraṅ . . .	Tam lugāwnāgō . . .	Tamō lotāngō . . .
Vē māraṅ . . .	Yē lugāwnāgō . . .	Vā lotāngō . . .
Mā-nē mārnā . . .	Mi lugānōkuch . . .	Mā lotānōkuch . . .
Mu-ku māryā . . .	Mi lugāō bātā-hapeō . . .	Mē lot dūt hū . . .
Mu-ku māryā thiyā . . .	Mi lugāō bātā-chho . . .	Mē lot dūt hī . . .
Mu-ku māraṅ . . .	Mi lugāō bātāngō . . .	Mē lot dūtāngō . . .
Hū jātē . . .	Mi dghāyilā . . .	Mē hīt . . .
Tū jātē . . .	Tē dghāyilā . . .	Tē hīt . . .
Ō jātē . . .	Wō dghāyilā . . .	Ū hīt . . .
Ham jātē . . .	Ham dghāyilā . . .	Hamō hīt . . .
Tam jātē . . .	Tam dghāyilā . . .	Tamō hīt . . .
Vē jātē . . .	Yē dghāyilā . . .	Vā hīt . . .
Hū gayā . . .	Mi ghayilyō . . .	Mē hītō . . .
Tū gayā . . .	Tē ghayilyō . . .	Tē hītō . . .
Ō gayā . . .	Wō ghayilyō . . .	Ū hītō . . .
Ham gayō . . .	Ham ghayilyō . . .	Hamō hītō . . .

Kanjarī (Sānapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Natī (State Raupur).
.....	Hamē kuṭrā . . .	Kham-nē lōthā . . .
.....	Tumē kuṭrā . . .	Num-nē lōthā . . .
.....	Ō kuṭrā . . .	Unhō-nē lōthā . . .
Maī lugairō . . .	Maī kuḍḍō hō . . .	Khū lōthā rō . . .
Maī lugaḍḍō . . .	Maī kuḍḍō handō . . .	Khū lōth rahā thā . . .
Maī lugaighirō ; maī lugairō	Maī kuṭrōdō . . .	Khū-nē lōthā thā . . .
.....	Maī kuṭuṅgō . . .	Hōgō ko khū lōthō . . .
Maī lugacō ; maī lugao- ghasī.	Maī kuṭuṅgō . . .	Khū lōthōgā . . .
Taī lugaoghasī . . .	Yō kuṭiṅgō . . .	Khanī lōthērā . . .
Biṛō lugaoghasī . . .	Ē kuṭiṅgō . . .	Woh lōthērā . . .
.....	Hamē kuṭiṅgā . . .	Kham lōthērō . . .
.....	Tumē kuṭiṅgā . . .	Num lōthērō . . .
.....	Ō kuṭiṅgā . . .	Wē lōthērō . . .
Maī lugaoghasī . . .	Maī kuṭwār-wā-ku hōnā . . .	Majh-kō lōthmā chāhiyē . . .
Maī lūgairō gaoghirō . . .	Maī kuṭwār-linō . . .	Khū lōthā gayā rō . . .
Maī lūgairō gaoghirō thō . . .	Maī kuṭwār-gau . . .	Khū lōthā gayā thā . . .
Maī lūgairō gaoghasā . . .	Maī kuṭwār-lōwūgō . . .	Khū lōthā jāṭgā . . .
Maī jaoghadō . . .	Maī nikharuṅgō . . .	Khū jāsurā . . .
Taī jaoghasī . . .	Yō nikharuṅgō . . .	Nū jāsurā hai . . .
Wō jaoghasī . . .	Ē nikharuṅgō . . .	Woh jāsurā hai . . .
.....	Hamē nikhardāī . . .	Kham jāsurē hōchē . . .
.....	Tumē nikhardāī . . .	Num jāsurē hō . . .
.....	Ō nikhardāī . . .	Wē jāsurē hōchē . . .
Maī jaoghīrō . . .	Maī gawō . . .	Khū gayā . . .
Taī jaoghīrō . . .	Yō gawō . . .	Nū gayā . . .
Wō jaoghīrō . . .	Ē gawō . . .	Woh gayā . . .
.....	Hamē gawā . . .	Kham gayō . . .

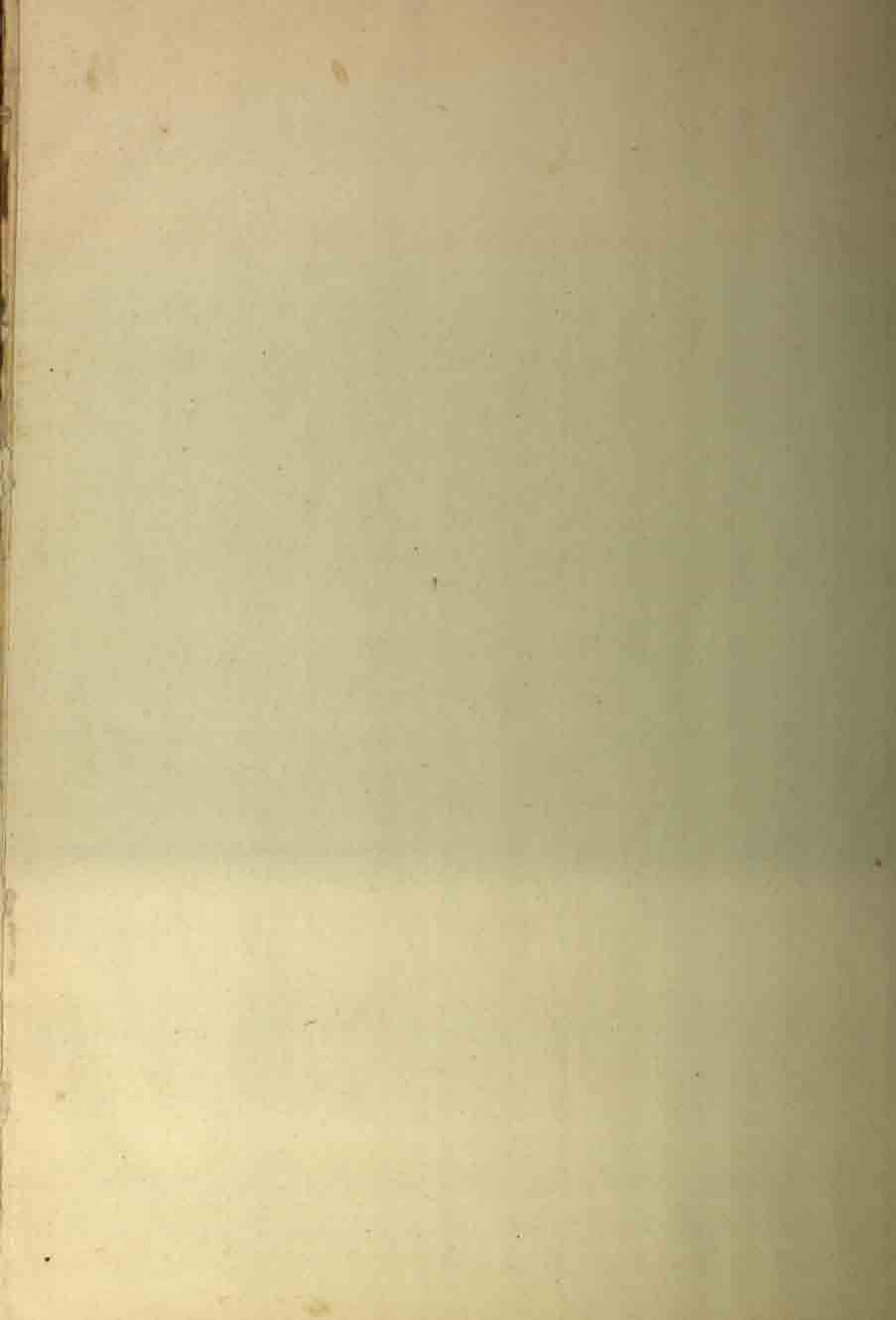
Quail.	Nikalgari (Belgaum).	English.
Ham ghadyā	Ham nikāryō	188. We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Tume ghadyā	Tam nikāryō	189. You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Uno ghadyā	Tē nikāryō	190. They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Mañ ghāḍṭā-hai	Mi nikāṭaū	191. I am beating.
Mañ ghāḍṭā-hattā	Mi nikāṭōis	192. I was beating.
Mañ ghāḍṭātā	Mi nikāṭyōis	193. I had beaten.
Mañ ghāḍṭāgā	Mi nikāṭāgā	194. I may beat.
Mañ ghāḍṭāgā	Mi nikāṭāgō	195. I shall beat.
Tū ghāḍṭāgā	Tō nikāṭāgō	196. Thou wilt beat.
Uñ ghāḍṭāgā	Tō nikāṭāgō	197. He will beat.
Ham ghāḍṭāgā	Ham nikāṭāgō	198. We shall beat.
Tume ghāḍṭāgā	Tam nikāṭāgō	199. You will beat.
Uno ghāḍṭāgā	Tō nikāṭāgō	200. They will beat.
Mañ ghāḍṇā	Mi nikāṭāch	201. I should beat.
Mañ ghāḍ khāū	Mi nikār-dutyo-chhō	202. I am beaten.
Mañ ghāḍ khāyā	Mi nikār-dutyois	203. I was beaten.
Mañ ghāḍ khānāgā	Mi nikār-dutyoāgā	204. I shall be beaten.
Mañ khāwataū	Mi jākan	205. I go.
Tū khāwataū	Tō jākan	206. Thou goest.
Uñ khāwataū	Tō jākan	207. He goes.
Ham khāwate	Ham jākan	208. We go.
Tume khāwate	Tam jākan	209. You go.
Uno khāwate	Tō jākan	210. They go.
Mañ khāhuwā	Mi gakyō	211. I went.
Tū khāhuwā	Tō gakyō	212. Thou wentest.
Uñ khāhuwā	Tō gakyō	213. He went.
Ham khāhuwā	Ham gakyō	214. We went.

English.	ଓଡ଼ିଆ (Oṛiā).	ସାଧାରଣ (Ordinary).	କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ର (Criminal).
215. You went . . .	Tamī gōlā . . .	Tam gāē . . .	Tam gangō (jaerō) . . .
216. They went . . .	Sā gōlā . . .	Uh gāē . . .	Bah gangō (jaerō) . . .
217. Go . . .	Jā . . .	Jā, jā . . .	Jaar, jaerō . . .
218. Going . . .	Jātā . . .	Jattā . . .	Jaactā . . .
219. Gone . . .	Gōlā . . .	Gayā . . .	Gaugā, jaerā . . .
220. What is your name ?	Tam-chē nām kāy ?	Tuhārā nā kyā hai ?	Tuhārgā nāthā kyā hōpē ?
221. How old is this horse ?	Hā gōrā kawpāk mē ?	Is ghōrō-gī kyā 'umr hai ?	Bis kadrō-gī kyā khamr hōpē ?
222. How far is it from here to Kashmir ?	Kashmir aṭhō-ti kitrik chhōṭā sē ?	Bhō Kashmirā tāi kinni dūr hai ?	Bethō Neshmirā tāi kitri khadūr hōpē ?
223. How many sons are there in your father's house ?	Tam-chē bā-chē gharā-mā kōtrēk pāt ai ?	Tuhārō bappā-gē gharā bich kitnō pāt hai ?	Tuhārgē bāptō-gē khaulō kitnō bōrō hōpē ?
224. I have walked a long way to-day.	Āj mē lāmbā path karlā sē	Ājj hañ bari dūr turā .	Kōjj hañ jādī khadūr purā .
225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.	Māchō kākō-chā pāt tō-chō bāṭi-nē pēṭlā sē.	Mērō kākō-gā pāt nakā bānā sath biāhā hñ hai.	Mērgō kākō-gā bōrā buskiā (or khapnā) dhabnā nāth chhiābiā hōpiā hōpē.
226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.	Gharā-mā dhōrō gōrō-chā kēthā sē.	Baggē ghōrō-gī kāthi gharā bich hai.	Dhabaggē kūrō-gī nāthi khaulō bich hōpē.
227. Put the saddle upon his back.	Tō-chi puthā mātō kēthā māḍā.	Kāthi uskiā piṭhā par bāhō	Nāthi buskiā mīthā khapar dāwō.
228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.	Mō tō-chō pūtā-nē ghanē phatkō mārē sē.	Māi uskō pūtā-gā barē kōṭlō (bānt or sōṭē) mārē.	Māi buskō bōrō-gā jadō nōṭlō (nhoṭē) lō.
229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.	Sū dūgrā mātō chōpē charāvē sē.	Uh pahārā-giā chōṭā uppar dāngar chugātā hai.	Bah nahārā-giā nōṭiā khapar khadāngar nūgātā hōpē.
230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.	Sū ō jhārē nichē gōrō mātō bēlā sē.	Uh us rukkhā-gē tal ghōrō-gē uppar biṭhā hai.	Bah bus khukkhā-gē tal kūrō khapar thāṭkiā hōpē.
231. His brother is taller than his sister.	Ē-chi bāṭi-karā s-chā bāu ūchā sē.	Uskā bhāt nakā bānā satthā lamnā hai.	Buskā bhautā buskiā (or khapnā) dhabnā nāthā khalammā hōpē.
232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.	Ē-chi kimat adhi rūpiē sē .	Iskā mōl dhāt rūpayyē hai	Biskā chimul nāñ bānē (or ruknā or lābē) hōpē.
233. My father lives in that small house.	Māchā bā ō dhārē gharā-mā rō-sē.	Mārā bāpp usukē gharā bich rahtā hai.	Mērgā bāptā bus khikē khaulō bich raugtā hōpē.
234. Give this rupee to him	Hā rūpiā tō-nē dēwā .	Uskō ēā rūpayyā dē .	Buskō bēā ruknā (baluā, lābā) dēp.
235. Take those rupees from him.	Ē rūpiē tō pāsē-thi ghēwā .	Uskō pāsā uh rūpayyē lēi lē	Buskō nāsā buh ruknē lēpi lēp.
236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes.	Ē-nā khōb mārā anē rāḍhē-ti bāḍhā.	Uskō achōhhiā tarā mārō tē rassē sātth baddhō.	Buskō chēngutā narā lōṭ tō khassē nāth chhēdwō.
237. Draw water from the well.	Kuwē-māy-ti pāt kāḍhā .	Us khōā bichchā pāt kāḍhō.	Bus nūā khābichchā chāṭ kēḍhō.
238. Walk before me . . .	Mā agiā chāl . . .	Mērē aggē tarō . . .	Mērgē kuggē nūrō . . .
239. Whose boy comes behind you ?	Tamē wāsē kō-chā pāt āwē sē ?	Tuhārō picchē kiskā pāt ātā hai ?	Tuhārgē nichhē kiskā bōrā astā hōpē ?
240. From whom did you buy that ?	Tamē hāw kō pāsē-ti sēchātī ghēlō ?	Tamē kis-thō nē mōlō liyā ?	Tamē kis-thō buh khamōlō lēpiā ?
241. From a shopkeeper of the village.	Gāmā-chā ēk hātāwārē pās-ti.	Gāwā-gē ēkki dukandārā pās.	Dhāmō-(or nādā)-gē bekki kūtā-wālō nāsā.

Kōhātī (Akola).	Gārdī.	Mylādī.
Tam gayō	Tam ghayilyō	Tamē hītō
Vō gayō	Yō ghayilyō	Vō hītō
Jā	Dghāyil	Hitrād
Chalyā	Dghālō	Hītō
Gayā	Ghailō	Hītō
Tērā nāwchhā kyā hō ?	Tērō chyonō kō ?	Tērō nōkādō kō ?
Is rhōdō-ki humbar rōttī hōchhō ?	Ē ghōrō-kō kitmō bars ?	Hō ghōdchō-kō kitmō nārō ?
Bēthō-sī Kāāmīr rōttī dūr hō ?	Jūgū-sī Kāāmīr kitmō dūr ?	Hyā-sī Kāāmīr kitmō dōg ?
Tērō hāppā-kō khōggō kōttō chhōrō hō ?	Tērō bhāwutō-kō nānd-ma kitmō lāwō ?	Tērō māwutō-kō khōk-mō kitmō gōipō ?
Āj bahōtī dūrā-sī phirī āyā.	Mī āj bharkam hāt chāl-kō hāyilyō.	Mō khāj chhōt dōg rāt nālō.
Mērō kākō-kō chhōrō-kō us-kō bāhūnā-sī bihā lagyā.	Wōkō bhantchī mērō kākō-kō lāwō-kō wālilī.	Wākī bhāktī mērō dhākā-kō gōipō-kō khichwājī.
Us khōggō-mō dhothō rhōdō-kō khōgīr hō.	Wā nānd-ma khujō ghōr-kō khōgīrī chapelī.	Wā khōk-mō dhōkō ghōdchō nkhōgīr hōhō.
Us-kō nūttī-par khōgīr dhar.	Wōkō pānchī-pa khōgīrī ghālī.	Wākī nū-kō khōpār nkhōgīr nakhōdī.
Us-kō chhōrō-ku hū jōhōt phatke thāyō.	Mī wōkō lāwō-kō bharkam lagyō.	Mō wākī gōipō-kō chhōt lō.
O us nākō-par dhar chharī chūyā.	Wā wā jōkūt-pa kēwō chārōyillā hō.	O nōkādī-kō khōpār ā nōl mārō rhōkō hōhō.
Us nhāqō-kō tanō rhōdō-par thōktī hōchhō.	Wā wā dāhō-kō-tan ghōr-kā-pa thōgīr hō.	Nhād-kō mājō o ghōdchō khōpār (s-rōkō).
Us-kā bhāwutā us-kō bāhūnā-sī khuchhā hō.	Wōkō bhantchī-sī ōkō bhāqō khuchhō hapellī.	Wākō bhāktī wākī bhāktī-sī khuchhō hōhō.
Bus-kā mōl kōdhāt tīvō hō.	Ōkī kimmat khādō gaudilō hō.	Wākī dhimmat khādō dhōkiyā.
Mērō bāptō bus nāchhā khōggō-mō rōktī hōchhō.	Mērō bhāwutō nāchhō nānd-ma chapelā.	Mērō māwutō wā nkhōkō khōk-mō rhōkō.
Yō tīvā bus-kō dōppō .	Ō-kō yō gaudilō wālī .	Wā-kā yō dhōkiyā khichwājī.
Bus-kō nājikā-sō nō tīvō lyō.	Ē gaudilō wōkō-sō thāyil .	Wā-pēsō yō dhōkiyā chhōg-bō.
Bus-ku rchup tāj ān bus-ku nēkōyā-sī nādīhī lā.	Ōkō chīsām lagā-kā jawdī-sī chīrwānī.	Wā-kā khāchō lōt-kar jōkādī-sō chōnd.
Ruyō-mō-sī chōnt kagō .	Thādgt-mā-sō nīrtmā ghāichmēl.	Rāwādī-mō-sō chāyī tōng-bō.
Mērō nhāmē nāl . . .	Mērō khagādī chāl . . .	Mērō khagādī nālāj .
Tērō nichchhā ris-kā bōrā sārā ?	Tērō dghichhādī-sō kōn-kō lāwō hāyil ?	Tērō rīpchō kuy-kō gōhō bārwājī ?
Byā rītthō-sī mōlō lyōpyā ?	Tā yō kōn-kā-sī mōl lūnīlyō ?	Tā yō kuy-pēsō dīmāl hō ?
Bus rhōdō-kō nūkādārā-thōtī.	Wā nānd-kō ōk-mā rawānyā-kā-sī .	Wā nhōdō-kō nūkādārā-pōtī.

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Nālī (State Rampur).
.....	Tumō gawā	Num gayō
.....	Ō gawā	Wē gayō
Jaogh	Nikhar	Jāo
Jaughado	Nikhardō	Jāsurtē hō
Raūch gaughirō	Nikhar-gaughī	Jāsurtā huā
Tērō kā nao-hēlō ?	Tērō nām kā ?	Numhārā kyā nām hai ?
Il ghupārō kittī rūphō hai ?	Ē ghōḍō-ki kittī amar ?	Is ruhārē-ki kyā khumar hai ?
Ilhā-sē Kashmir kittī dūr-hēlō hōghō ?	Hyāndē Kāsmīr kitnē dūr hō ?	Ēthē-sē Kashmir kitnī dūr hai ?
Tērō bap-hēlā-ki ribō-mā kai chūbkā hōghō ?	Tērō bāpō-ke nandō-mā kittā baiḍā hō ?	Numhārē khabāp-ke rōhallā-mē kitnē lōhrē hōchē ?
Maī āj dūr-hēlō gaughirō .	Maī āj bahut dūr rastō chalō hō.	Hā āj chhūṭī khadōr chālā rō.
Mērō kākā-kā chūbkō burō-ki rahin lēhāis.	Urō-ki bhayap mērō kākā-ke baiḍā-ku dīnā-hō.	Mērō kākē-kā lōhrā us-ki chhēn-sē byāhā gayā.
Ribō-mā rapēd ghupārō-kā jīn-hēlī hai.	Ō nandō-mā ujalē ghōḍō-ki jīnā hē.	Rōhallā-mē us ruhārē-kā gadlā hai.
Birō-ki pichēlī-par jīn-hēlī ṭhikē.	Urō-ki pichēlī-po jīnā ḍālwar	Us-ke pēṭhā-par gaddā dharō.
Maī birō-ke chūbkā-kū rahut chabuk lagaurō.	Maī urō-ki baiḍā-ku bahut ghaḍwāḍō-hō.	Mē us-ke lōhrō-ke chhūṭī lōṭhā.
Birō ruhārā-ki ruṭiā par gahēlī charghadi.	Yō tēkō-po janāwarō charwārō hē.	Woh pahārā-ki gōth par nōḥē churā rahā hai.
Birō pērhēlā tar ghupārā par chhāṭhō hai.	Ē ḍghāḍō-ke jīmīnī ghōḍō-ke khūpar chēṭrō-hō.	Woh us pēṭ-ki khatar bēk ruhārē-ki par ṭhōkā hai.
Birō-ke chibhāī burā-ki rahinā-sē lambō hai.	Urō-ke bhāī urō-ki bhayap-ke khūñchī hē.	Us-kā bhāṭā us-ki chhannī-sē chhūṭī khalambā hai.
Birō-kā dam-hēlā kharaīl gōlī hai.	Us-ki kimmat jawādūnē kailā.	Us-ki rimat khāī khambā hai.
Mērō lap-hēlō birō chhūṭārō ribō-mē hē.	Mērō bāpōnē wō nannkē nandō-mā rahēndō.	Mērā nāp us nanukē rōhallā-mē rōṭhā hai.
Jā gōlī birō tīr	Yō kailā urō-ku kīdō	Yah khambā us-ke dēṭī dē
Wō gōlī birō-sē lā-lūgh	Urō-ke pās-de wō kailā chautga-lē.	Woh khambā us-sē lēṭī lē
Birō-ke khūb lugal baur jibhēhēlī-sē chāḍh.	Urō-ku nīrō ghaḍwāḍ-ke rasēlī-de bandwār.	Usē khūb lōṭhō aur jōriyō-sē bādhē cō.
Dhūā-sē nīmānī nikār	Bawadī-mā-de nīwānī khich-wār.	Rōī-sē chhāī ṭēkī lē
Mērō khūgēlō chalugh	Mērō sambōr chalwār	Mērō gōgē chālō
Tērō nīchhē kīnō-ke chūbkō aughadō ?	Tērō pichwāḍ-de kīrō-ke baiḍō awardō ?	Numhārē nīchhē kīn-kā bōlīrā āsurtā hai ?
Kīnō-sē taī mulah lē lūghīyō ?	Yō kīrō-ke pās-de kimmatnē līnō ?	Num-nō woh nīch kīn-sē lēṭī lī ?
Gaobēlā-ke bēk bānīō-sē	Ō khōḍō-ke ekkan dūkān-wālā ke pās-de.	Nandwā-ke bēk bāniyā-ke

Qasī.	Sikalgiri (Belgannu).	English.
Tume khūhuwā	Tum gakyō	215. You want.
Uno khūhuwā	Tō gakyō	216. They want.
Khū	Jaku	217. Go.
Khūwatā	Jakunā	218. Going.
Khūwāsā	Gaknai	219. Gons.
Tērā nau kyā ?	Tārū nām aū ?	220. What is your name ?
Yē ghōḍe-ku kette sāl ?	Yē chhimnā-nō kokhalā warakh ?	221. How old is this horse ?
Hyāi Kāsmir kette dūr ?	Hyā-tō Kāsmir kokhalā dūr ?	222. How far is it from here to Kashmir ?
Tērā bābā-kā nann-me kettā kachōle ?	Tārā yabā-nā khōl-mā kokhalā dikarā chhō ?	223. How many sons are there in your father's house ?
Maī āj bahut dūr bāṭ chalwāḍku awaryā	Mī āj ghanā dūr wāt chālyō	224. I have walked a long way to-day.
Use bhāp, mērā chichhō-kā kachōlā-ku kidyātal	Tinī bhōn mārā kākā-nā dikarā-nō garyōch	225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.
O nann-me ujāl ghōḍe-ke khōḡir thag-tiyē	Tinā khōl-mā dhōḷ chhimnā-nō khōḡir chhō	226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.
Uakti pū-kū uppar khōḡir adāl	Tinā pūḍā-par khōḡir ghāgal	227. Put the saddle upon his back.
Maī nakā kachōlā-ku bahut ghāḍyā-baū	Mī tinā chhōkhnāne ghantōl nikāryō	228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.
Use o dōngar-ke uppar gōṭpe charwāḍtā hai	Tō tēkadā-par dhōṛo charwāḍyō	229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.
Use o dshād-ke tallo ghōḍe-ke uppar batwāḍe	Tō dshād khōṭo chhimnā-par bukhiyō	230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.
Uekā bhai nakā bhāp-se unchā thāṭtāū	Tinī bhāp-ti tinō bhāyē uchhō chhō	231. His brother is taller than his sister.
Uakti kimmat jawāns kailā	Tinī kimmat khāḍi sabādā	232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.
Mērā bābā o subak nann-me thagtaū	Mārō yabō tō nānchōn khōl-mā rakhān	233. My father lives in that small house.
Uaku o kailā kīd	Tinō yō sabādā gār	234. Give this rupee to him.
O kalle uske pās-te māngāllo	Ti-kantā yō sabādā chigārilo	235. Take those rupees from him.
Use sēbā tarā-se ghāḍko rōst-se bandāl	Tinō ghantōl nikārī-nō dōḍḍā-tō chhānd	236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes.
Bāwāḍī-mē-si nīrgā khaīchāl	Ir-mā-tā pānī kīgōt	237. Draw water from the well.
Mērā sāmne chalwāḍ	Mō khāmō chāgal	238. Walk before me.
Tērā pichōsi kis-kā chhankā awartaū ?	Tārā pāchō kīnō chhōkhnō akhiyō ?	239. Whose boy comes behind you ?
Kis-ke pās-te tume o māul-ku hidāpyā ?	Tō tō kī-kantō khikkātō-lakhiyō ?	240. From whom did you buy that ?
Khōḍe-kā ektap-dukānwālā pāste	Khōḍā-nā wāṭyā-kantō	241. From a shopkeeper of the village.





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