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A GRAMMAR  
OF THE  
EASTERN HINDI

COMPARED WITH THE OTHER

GAUDIAN LANGUAGES

Accompanied by a Language-Map and  
Table of Alphabets.

BY

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TO  
KARL STEFFENSEN  
PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN BASEL  
IN  
GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE  
OF THE  
YEARS OF STUDY PASSED UNDER HIS GUIDANCE  
This Volume  
IS  
DEDICATED.

CALCUTTA, Spring 1880.



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## PREFACE.

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In order to account for the perhaps somewhat unusual arrangement of this book, I must explain, that my original plan was merely to write a Grammar of the Eastern Hindí accompanied by short notes, pointing out its Gaudian affinities. Gradually these notes grew to such an extent as to change almost entirely the character of the book, which in its present state is rather a comparative grammar of the Gaudian languages than a simple grammar of the Eastern Hindí. The two subjects have been kept apart as much as possible, so as to enable the reader to use the book *ad libitum* for the study of either, the Eastern Hindí only, or the Gaudian generally. For this purpose the comparative matter has been mainly distributed in the paragraphs headed „Affinities“ and „Derivation“; the others refer to Eastern Hindí. To further increase the usefulness of the book an index of such Gaudian words as are explained in the Grammar is in course of preparation and will shortly be published.

The amount of information contained within this volume, is very much more than may appear at first sight. An idea of its extent may be gained by a glance over the index of subjects. Putting aside the information about the Eastern Hindí most of which is original, the book not only goes over nearly the entire



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ground, covered by the volumes of Mr. Beames' Comparative Grammar, but also adds a not inconsiderable quantity of additional matter, especially in regard to the derivation of Gaudian grammatical forms from the Prākṛits. It was not easy to compress all this mass of information within one comparatively small volume to which, for various reasons, it was necessary to confine the work. This necessity will account for the perhaps excessive conciseness of diction and the extensive use of abbreviations; an inconvenience for which, I feel, I must crave the indulgence of the reader, but which, by the help of the prefixed list of abbreviations, I hope will prove no serious difficulty.

As regards the sources of my materials for the grammar of Eastern Hindī, in the absence of all literature (except in the Baiswārī), I had to rely almost entirely on the information, partly obtained through long personal intercourse with the people, but especially supplied by native scholars or (in a few cases) by Europeans intimately acquainted with the country people. Among the former it gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the very efficient help rendered me by the kindness of Pandit Gopāl Bhaṭṭa, Professor of Sanskrit at the Jay Narain's College in Benares, who to a scholarly knowledge of Sanskrit adds an intimate acquaintance of the Vernaculars as spoken by the people, representatives of whom, from every part of India, may be met with in Benares.

As regards the comparative portion of the book, every work that I could think of as bearing on the subject has been consulted. Most of these will be found mentioned in the list of abbreviations. A few works, such as E. Müller on the Jaina Prākṛit, Jacobi's edition of the Kalpasūtra, A. Grierson's Maithilī Grammar, unfortunately came into my hands too late to be turned to account. Most of the Prākṛit Grammarians (such as Mār-





## PREFACE.

kaṇḍeya, Śubhachandra, Kramadiṣvara, Trivikrama, Siṃharāja etc.) are quoted from MSS. in my possession; but Vararuchi and Hemachandra are generally cited from the excellent editions of Cowell and Pischel respectively.

The publication of this volume, begun in Germany in 1878, has been so long delayed through my absence from Europe, which necessitated the sending out of the proofsheets to India. I fear this had the further evil consequence of many misprints remaining undetected, for which I hope the kind reader will make allowance. I do not think any serious misprint has escaped correction.

R. H.

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*Map of the Languages of North India; opp. Title page.*

*Table of Alphabets; opp. page. 2.*

*Note: See also „Affinities“ and „Derivation“ in the Index of Subjects, p. 407.*

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

*A. Gr.* = Translation of the Âdi Granth by Trumpp.

*A. Mg.* = Ardha Mâgadhi Prâkrit.

*Ap.* or *Ap. Pr.* = Apabhraṃṣa Prâkrit.

*Ap. Mg.* = Apabhraṃṣa Mâgadhi Prâkrit.

*Ap. Śr.* = Apabhraṃṣa Śauraseni Prâkrit.

*B.* = Bengâlî.

*B. H. Dy.* = Bate's Hindî Dictionary.

*Bh.* = Bhojpuri.

*Bhag.* or *Bh.* = Bhagavatî.

*Br.* = Braj.

*Bs.* = Beames' Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan languages.

*Bs.* or *Bw.* = Baiswârî.

*Cw.* = Cowell's edition of Vararuchi's Prâkrita Prakāṣa.

*Dk.* = Dakṣhiṇâtya Prâkrit.

*Dl.* = Delius' Radices Praecriticae.

*E.*, in conjunction with other initials, = Eastern; e. g. *E. H.* = Eastern Hindî, *E. Gd.* = E. Gauḍian, *E. Rj.* = Eastern Râjpûtânî.

*Eth.* = Etherington's Hindî Grammar.

*G.* = Gujarâtî.

*Gd.* = Gauḍian.

*Gh.* or *Gw.* = Garhwâlî.

*Gl.* = Sg. Goldschmidt.

*H.* = Hindî; or, in conjunction with other initials, = High; as *H. H.* = High Hindî, *H. B.* = High Bengâlî.

*H. C.* = Hema Chandra's Prâkrit Grammar (ed. Pischel).

*J. A. S. B.* = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

*J. G. O. S.* = Journal of the German Oriental Society.

*K. I.* = Kramadîṣvara's Prâkrit Grammar.

*Kf.* = Kafirî.

*Kl.* = Kellogg's Hindî Grammar.

*Km.* = Kumaonî.

*Kn.* = Kanaujî.

*Ksh.* = Kāshmirî.

*Kth.* = Kaithî.

*Ld.* = Panjâbî Grammar printed in Loodiana.

*L. Dh.* = Lakshmî Dhara's Shadbhāshā chandrikā.

*Is.* = Lassen's Institutiones Linguae Praecriticae.

*M.* = Marāṭhî; or, in conjunction



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

13

with other initials, = Modern; as  
*M. Gd.* = Modern Gauḍian, *M.*  
*M.* = Modern Marāṭhī.  
*M. M.* = Max Müller's Sanskrit  
 Grammar.  
*M. W.* = Moniers William's Sans-  
 krit-English Dictionary.  
*Man.* = Student's Manual of Ma-  
 rāṭhī Grammar.  
*Mcch.* = Mr̥chchhakatikā (ed. Stenz-  
 ler).  
*Mḍ.* = Mārkaṇḍeya's Prākṛit Gram-  
 mar.  
*Mg.* = Māgadhi Prākṛit.  
*Mh.* = Māhārāshṭrī Prākṛit.  
*Mh. Śr.* = Māhārāshṭrī-Śauraseni  
 Prākṛit.  
*Mr.* or *Mw.* = Mārwārī.  
*Ms.* = Mason's Pāli Grammar.  
*Mth.* = Maithilī.  
  
*N.* = Naipālī.  
*N. Gd.* = Northern Gauḍian.  
  
*O.* = Oṛiyā; or, in conjunction with  
 other initials, = Old; as *O. H.* =  
 Old Hindī, *O. W. H.* = Old We-  
 stern Hindī, *O. P.* = Old Panjābī;  
*O. S.* = Old Sindhī, *O. Gd.* =  
 Old Gauḍian.  
  
*P.* = Panjābī.  
*Pl.* = Pischel's Dissertatio Inaugu-  
 ralis.  
*Pr.* = Prākṛit.  
*Pr.* or *Pers.* = Persian.  
*Pr. R.* = Prithirāj Rasau by Chand  
 Bardāi.  
*Ps.* = Paisāchi Prākṛit.  
*Psh.* = Paśtū.

*Rj.* = Rājputānī.  
*R. T.* = Rāma Tarkavajisās Prākṛit  
 Grammar.  
  
*S.* = Sindhī.  
*S. C.* = Śubha Chandra's Prākṛit  
 Grammar.  
*S. Ch.* = Shama Charan's Bangālī  
 Grammar.  
*S. D.* = Sahitya Darpana.  
*S. Gd.* = Southern Gauḍian.  
*S. Gdt.* = Sg. Goldschmidt.  
*S. L.* = St. Luke translated into  
 Naipālī.  
*S. R.* = Simha Rājā's Prākṛit Gram-  
 mar.  
*Skr.* = Saṃskṛit.  
*Sn.* = Sutton's Oṛiyā Grammar.  
*Spt.* = Sapta Śataka (ed. Weber).  
*Sr.* = Sauraseni Prākṛit.  
*St. G.* = Stanislas Guyard's Gram-  
 maire Palie.  
  
*T. D.* or *T. Das.* = Tulsi Dās' Ra-  
 māyan.  
*T. V.* = Trivikrama's Prākṛit Gramm.  
*Tr.* = Trumpp's Sindhī Grammar.  
  
*Ved.* = Vedic.  
*Vr.* = Vararuchi's Prākṛit Gram-  
 mar (ed. Cowell).  
  
*W.*, in conjunction with other ini-  
 tials, = Western; as *W. Gd.* =  
 Western Gauḍian, *W. H.* = We-  
 stern Hindī, *W. Rj.* = Western  
 Rājputānī.  
*Wb.* = Weber's edition of the Sapta  
 Śataka (*Spt.*) and of the Bhaga-  
 vatī (*Bh.*).



GRAMMATICAL TERMS.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| abl. = ablative.                                     | gen. = genitive or general.                  |
| acc. = accusative.                                   | imp. or imper. = imperative mood.            |
| act. = active (case or voice or verb).               | ind. or indic. = indicative mood.            |
| adj. = adjective.                                    | indef. = indefinite or indefinite.           |
| adv. = adverb or adverbial.                          | inf. = infinitive.                           |
| aff. = affix.  | instr. = instrumentalis.                     |
| auxil. = auxiliary.                                  | inter. or interrog. = interrogative pronoun. |
| c. g. or com. gen. = common gender.                  | intr. = intransitive.                        |
| C. R. = Causal Roots.                                | intr. V. = intransitive Verb.                |
| C. V. = Causal Verb.                                 | lg. f. = long form.                          |
| cl. = class.   | loc. = locative.                             |
| comp. = compound.                                    | m. or masc. = masculine.                     |
| Cp. R. = Compound Roots.                             | N. = noun.                                   |
| cond. = conditional.                                 | n. or neut. = neuter.                        |
| conj. = conjunct or conjunction or conjunctive mood. | nom. = nominative.                           |
| conj. cons. = conjunct consonant.                    | num. = numeral.                              |
| cons. = consonant.                                   | obl. = oblique.                              |
| constr. = construction.                              | orig. = original.                            |
| contr. = contracted or contraction.                  | P. P. = past participle.                     |
| D.R. or Dm. R. = Denominative Roots.                 | P. R. = Primitive Roots.                     |
| dat. = dative.                                       | part. = participle.                          |
| Db. C. V. = Double Causal Verb.                      | pass. = passive.                             |
| dem. = demonstrative pronoun.                        | pers. = person or personal.                  |
| der. or deriv. = derivative.                         | pl. or plur. = plural.                       |
| dir. = direct.                                       | pleon. = pleonastic.                         |
| Dr. R. = Derivative Roots.                           | postpos. = postposition.                     |
| du. = dual.  | prec. = precative.                           |
| emph. = emphatic.                                    | pret. = preterite.                           |
| euph. = euphonic.                                    | pron. = pronoun or pronominal.               |
| exc. = except or exception.                          |  |
| f. or fem. = feminine.                               |  |
| fut. = future.                                       |  |



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

15

qual. = quality.  
qual. pron. = qualitative pronoun.  
quant. = quantity.  
quant. pron. = quantitative pronoun.

R. = root.  
red. f. = redundant form.  
refl. = reflexive pronoun.  
rel. = relative pronoun.  
resp. = respectively.

S. = suffix.  
S. R. = Simple Roots.  
S. V. = Simple Verb.  
sg. or sing. = singular.

sh. f. = short form.  
st. f. = strong form.  
subst. = Substantive.  
suff. = suffix.

tbh. or tadbh. = tadbhava.  
term. or termin. = termination.  
tr. = transitive.  
Tr. V. = Transitive Verb.  
ts. = tats. or tatsama.

voc. = vocative.

wk. f. = weak form.

An asterisk (\*) prefixed to a word means a conjectural or theoretical form of a word.

## INTRODUCTION.

### THE LOCAL DISTRIBUTION AND MUTUAL AFFINITIES OF THE GAUDIAN<sup>1</sup>) LANGUAGES.

Seven languages of the Sanskrit stock are usually enumerated as spoken in North India, viz. Sindhi, Gujarātī, Panjābī, Hindi, Bangālī, Oṛīya, Marāṭhī. Of these H. is commonly said to be spoken over an area of more than 248000 square miles and to be the language of between 60 and 70 millions or fully  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the inhabitants of India. This statement is true only in a very limited and special sense. It is true if by H. we understand the literary or High-Hindi (including under this term Hindústānī or Urdū); but it is quite incorrect if it be understood to imply that only one language is spoken generally by the people inhabiting that area. It is, a priori, extremely improbable and contrary to general experience that one and the same language should be spoken by such large numbers of people over a tract of country so widely extended. As a matter of fact, two entirely different languages are spoken in the so-called Hindi area; one in the western, the other in the eastern half. For the sake of convenience, these two languages will be called in this treatise Western Hindi and Eastern Hindi; but the terms are not altogether good ones, as they give too much of an impression that Western and Eastern Hindi are merely two different dialects of

1) I have adopted the term Gaudian to designate collectively all North-Indian vernaculars of Sanskrit affinity, for want of a better word; not as being the least objectionable, but as being the most convenient one.





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the same (Hindí) language. In reality, they are as distinct from one another, as B. in the east and P. in the west are supposed to be distinct from what is commonly called Hindí. Indeed the likeness between E. H. and B. is much closer than between E. H. and W. H.; and on the other hand, the affinity between W. H. and P. is much greater than between W. H. and E. H. In short W. H. and E. H. have as much right to be classed as distinct languages rather than different dialects, as P., H., and B.

It is impossible at present, accurately to define the limits of the various Gaudian languages and dialects. It is a subject to which little attention has been paid hitherto. Moreover, it seems probable, that in most cases adjoining languages and dialects pass into each other so imperceptibly, that the determination of the limits of each will always remain more or less a matter of doubt and dispute. At present, we can only fix with certainty the centres of their respective areas. The following remarks and the accompanying map which attempts to show their local distribution, must be understood with this proviso. The area in which H. (commonly so called, i. e. E. H. and W. H.) is spoken, occupies the central portion of North India. It extends in the north to the lower ranges of the Himálaya mountains; in the west to a line drawn from the head of the gulf of Kachchh in a north-easterly direction to the upper Satlaj near Simla; in the south to the Narmadá river or the Vindhya range of mountains; in the east to a line following the course of the Sankhassí river to its junction with the Ganges and thence in a south-westerly direction to the Narmadá. The H. area is bounded on the north by those of Gw., K., and N.; on the west by P., S., and G.; on the south by the M. area, and on the east by O. and B.

The Garhwáli, Kumaoní and Naipáli are apparently dialects of one great language, the area of which is bounded on the south by that of Hindí, on the east by the upper Satlaj, on the west by the upper Sankhassí, and on the north by the higher ranges of the Himálaya. The Garhwáli is spoken between the Satlaj and



Ganges, the Kumaoní between the Ganges and Gogari, the Naipali between the Gogari and Sankhassi. In the following pages these three dialects will be designated by the collective name of *Northern Gaudian*.

The area of the Panjábí nearly covers the province from which it derives its name, extending from the Hindí area in the east to the Indus in the west, and from the lower ranges of the Himálaya in the north to the junction of the five rivers in the south. There are apparently two principal dialects of this language; viz. the Multání spoken in the Southern Panjáb about Multán, and the dialect of the Northern Panjáb. P. is spoken by about 12 millions of people distributed over 60000 square miles.

The Sindhí area lies on both sides of the lower Indus. It meets the Hindí area on the east, and that of the Panjábí on the north, and is bounded by the Kela mountains on the west. The language comprises three principal dialects; the Siráiki spoken in the upper Sindh, north of Haiderábád; the Lári or dialect of the lower Sindh spoken in the Indus delta and on the sea-coasts; and the Thareli spoken in the Tharu or desert of Eastern Sindh (see Tr. II). It is spoken by about 2 millions of people and over 90000 square miles.

The Gujarátí area comprises the provinces of Kacch and Gujarát or the country around the gulf of Kambay. The Kacchí is a distinct dialect, and its true affiliation, whether to Sindhí or Gujarátí appears to be still doubtful. Gujarátí has seemingly no marked dialectic divisions. It is spoken over 50000 square miles by about 6 millions of people.

The Maráthí area is bounded by the Vindhya mountains on the north, where it joins that of Western Hindí. At their eastern extremity it meets the Eastern Hindí area, whence the line of demarcation runs in a south-westerly direction to the sea-coast near the city of Goa. There are two principal dialects: the Konkani and Dakhami. The former is spoken in the west, in the Konkani or narrow strip of country between the mountains and the sea;



the latter in the north-east in the (so-called) Dakhan or Central India. In the south-east, about Satara and Kolhapur, there is apparently a third variety (Bs. I, 104). Maráthí is spoken by about 13 millions of people and over 113000 square miles. It should be observed, that in the neighbourhood of the upper Narmadá Maráthí is contiguous to Eastern Hindí. One gradually merges into the other, and it is impossible, at present, to say exactly where one begins and the other ends. It is certain, however, that E. H. is spoken about Jabalpur. On its south and south-east, respectively, Maráthí has the Dráviḍian languages, the Kanarese and Telugu.

The Oriya area is bounded on the north by the Subanarekhá river and in the west by a line drawn from the sources of that river in a southerly direction to about Ganjam on the east-coast of India. According to Beames (I, 118, 106) it is rapidly supplanting the old non-Aryan dialects, spoken in the vast tract of mountains, lying between its western boundary-line and the eastern limits of the Maráthí area. It is spoken by about 5 millions of people over 66000 square miles.

The Bangálí area is nearly coterminous with the province of Bangál, being bounded by the Eastern Hindí area on the West. Four principal varieties of the language are said to exist (Bs. I, 106); one in Eastern Bangál about Silhet and Tipara, another in Northern Bangál about Dinajpur; one in Southern Bangál about Midnapur and Calcutta, and the principal one in Central Bangál. It is spoken by about 36 millions of people over 90000 square miles.

Within the area of Hindí, as previously defined, many differing dialects are spoken. Their exact number is, at present, uncertain. Eight principal dialectic varieties, however, may be distinguished. Namely, beginning in the West; *first*, the dialects of Western Rájputáná as far as the Aravalli mountains. The principal one is the Márwári or the dialect of the country of the Márs, a Rájput tribe, spoken about Jodhpur and Jaynagar. *Secondly*, the dialects of Eastern Rájputáná, spoken about Jaypur and Kotah, on



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the high lands between the Aravalli mountains and the river Betwá. *Thirdly*, the Braj Bháshá or the dialect of the upper Doáb, spoken on the plains of the Jamná and Ganges, about Agrá, Mathurá, Delhi, etc. It is so called from Vraj „cow-pen“, the name of the district round Brindában and Mathurá, the birth-place of Krishna. *Fourthly*, the Kanaúj spoken in the lower Doáb and Rohilkhand. It takes its name from the old city of Kanauj on the Ganges. *Fifthly*, the Baiswárí or dialect of the country of the Bais, a Rájput tribe; spoken to the north of Allahábád. Its district is nearly coterminous with the province of Audh, whence it is also called Avadhí. In a slightly modified form it is also spoken to the south of Allahábád, in Baghelkhand, the country of the Baghels, an other Rájput tribe. *Sixthly*, the dialects of the country lying north and south of Banáras, and spoken to beyond Gorakh-púr and Bettiah in the North and to about Jabalpúr in the South, where their area is contiguous with that of the Maráthí. The principal one is the Bhojpúrí, which is current in the central portion of this tract on both sides of the Ganges between Banáras and Chaprá. It takes its name from the ancient town of Bhojpúr, now a small village, near Buxar, and a few miles south of the Ganges<sup>1</sup>). *Seventhly*, the Maithilí or the dialect of the district of Tírhút, spoken about Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. It is called

1) „It was formerly a place of great importance, as the head-quarters of the large and powerful clan of Rajpoots whose head is the present Maharaja of Doomraon and who rallied round the standard of the grand old chief Kúhwar Singh in the mutiny of 1857. Readers of the entertaining »Sair-ul Mutakherin« will remember how often the Mahomedan Soubas of Azimabad (Patna) found it necessary to chastise the turbulent Zemindars of Bhojpur, and how little the latter seemed to profit by the lesson. It is remarkable that throughout the area of the Bhojpuri language a spirit of bigoted devotion to the old Hindu faith still exists, and that the proportion of Mahomedans to Hindus is very small. Rajpoots everywhere predominate, together with a caste called Bábhans (ब्राह्मण) or Bhuinhárs (भुईहार = landlente) who appear to be a sort of bastard Brahmins, and concerning whose origin many curious legends are told.“  
 Beames J. R. A. S. vol. III, p. 484 (new series).



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so after the ancient city of Mithilá, the capital of Videha or modern Tirhút (Tirabhukti). *Eightly*, the Mágadh or the dialect spoken to the south of the Ganges between Gayá, Patná and Bhágalpúr. It has its name from the old district of Magadh, now better known as Bihár.

These dialects naturally divide themselves into two great groups, according to some very marked peculiarities of pronunciation and inflexion, etc., which will be noted presently. The first group comprises the western dialects; viz. those of W. and E. Rájpútáná, of the Braj and of Kanauj. The second group includes the dialects of Banáras, Tirhút and Bihár. The central dialect of Audh and Baghelkhand is of uncertain affiliation. In some points it agrees with the western group (e. g., in having the W. H. past part. in *á* or *ia*, see § 302); but as in most others (e. g., the E. H. future in *ab*) it exhibits the same peculiarities as the eastern dialects, it appears more appropriate to class it, for the present, with the latter. The eastern group of dialects constitutes, what I have called, the Eastern Hindí language; the western group the Western Hindí. The latter language is that which most nearly resembles what is commonly known as Hindí, namely the literary or High-Hindí. This latter is merely a modified form of the Braj dialect, which was first transmuted into the Urdú by curtailing the amplitude of its inflexional forms and admitting a few of those peculiar to Panjábí and Marwári; afterwards Urdú was changed into High-Hindí. The H. H., as distinguished from the Urdú or Hindústání, is a very modern language; but Urdú itself is comparatively modern. It originated during the twelfth century<sup>1</sup>) in the country around Delhi, the centre of the Muhammedan power. In that spot the Braj dialect comes into contact with the Márwári and Panjábí; and there among the great camps (*urdú*) of the Muhammedan soldiery in their

1) The great battle of Pánípat near Delhi was fought A. D. 1192. It put an end to the Hindú and established the Muhammedan empire of Delhi. The last Hindú ruler (*Prithiráj*) fell in the battle.





intercourse with the surrounding populations a mixed language grew up, which, as regards grammar, is, in the main, Braj, though intermixed with Panjābī and Mārwarī forms, while as regards vocabulary, it is partly indigenous Hindī, partly foreign (Persian and Arabic). For example, the final long *ā* of strong masculine nouns, where the Braj has *au* and the Mārwarī *o*, is a bit of Panjābī; again the affix *ne* of the active case is a contribution from Mārwarī<sup>1</sup>). Where the Braj has alternative forms, one only was adopted by the Urdū. Thus Braj forms the future either in *ihauṃ* or in *aumgau* (1<sup>st</sup> pers. sg.); Urdū has retained only the latter in the form *ūngā*, on account (no doubt) of its similarity to the Panjābī *ūngā*. It was only in the sixteenth century, chiefly in the reign of Akbar, that Urdū was reduced to a cultivated form. With the extension of the Muhammedan power, its use spread over the whole of the Hindī area; but it remained the language of those exclusively who were more immediately connected with that power, either in the army or court or the pursuit of learning; it never became the vernacular of the people. The High-Hindī dates only from the present century. It is an outcome of the Hindū revival under the influence of English Missions and Education. Naturally enough, Urdū, the dominant and official dialect, came to hand in this movement and was *Hinduised* or turned into High-Hindī by exchanging its Persian and Arabic elements for words of native origin (more or less purely Sanskrit). Hence Urdū and High-Hindī are really the same language; they have an identical grammar and differ merely in the vocabulary, the former using as many foreign words, the latter as few as possible.

It appears, then, that there are three different forms of speech current in the Hindī area; viz. the H. Hindī or Urdū, the W. Hindī, and the E. Hindī. The first of these is nowhere the vernacular of the people, but it is the language of literature, of

1) The affix of the active case was originally a dative affix, which is in Mr. *ne*, in P. *ṇam*, in Br. *kaum*, see § 371.



the towns, and of the higher classes of the population; and it takes the form of Urdú among Muhammedans and of Hindí among Hindús; though the difference between these two forms is less marked in the mouth of the people than in the books of the learned. On the other hand, both the W. H. and E. H. are vernaculars of the people generally. Their boundary line may be roughly set down at about the 80<sup>th</sup> degree of E. Longitude. In the area lying to the west of that line and containing about 150000 square miles W. H. is spoken by about 40 millions of people, in some one or other of its above mentioned dialectic forms. Among these the Braj Bháshá is the most important, as it is the best known variety. It is not only the source of the Urdú and, through it, of the modern literary Hindí, but it has itself received some measure of literary cultivation (see pg. XXXV). In this respect, indeed, the Braj occupies an unique position not only in the W. H., but amongst Hindí dialects generally. In the following pages, whenever W. H. simply is spoken of, the Braj, as being its typical form, is especially intended.

The E. H. area, lying to the east of the 80<sup>th</sup> degree, contains about 100000 square miles and a population of about 20 millions. Among the various E. H. dialects spoken by these people, that of the Banáras district or the Bhojpúrí is the most important. It is the one which is especially referred to in this work by the term Eastern Hindí, and the grammar of which forms more prominently my subject. It must be considered the typical dialect of the E. H.; for it exhibits all the peculiar features of that language in their fullest number and most marked form. This is much less the case with the other E. H. dialects. The more westerly, the Baiswáří, in some not unimportant points shows the distinctive marks of the W. H. (see pg. VI). On the other hand the easterly, the Maithilí especially, exhibit unmistakeable similarities to the neighbouring Bangálí and Naipálí. Indeed, I am doubtful, whether it is not more correct to class the Maithilí as a Bangálí dialect rather than as an E. H. one. Thus in the

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formation of the past tense, Maithilī agrees very closely with Bangālī, while it differs widely from the E. H., see § 503.

Taking, then, the Braj and the Bhojpūrī as the two typical dialects of the two great W. H. and E. H. groups respectively, and comparing them with each other, without entirely excluding from consideration the others; a number of very marked peculiarities present themselves. These, it will be seen, are so important, especially when considered in their relation to the non-Hindī (i. e., other Gaudīan) languages, that it appears perfectly justifiable to consider the W. H. and E. H. as being as completely distinct languages as the other North-Indian languages are universally allowed to be. The following enumeration of differences is not an exhaustive one. I shall only mention the most important. There are many others which the reader will not fail to note for himself, as he goes through the grammar. I shall arrange them under the following heads: 1) pronunciation, 2) derivation, 3) inflexion, 4) construction, 5) vocables.

*Firstly*; as to pronunciation: 1) E. H. has a tendency to dentalise cerebral semivowels; thus E. H. often has *r* and *rh* for W. H. *l* or *rh*; it has also *r* and sometimes *n* for W. H. *l* (see §§ 16. 29. 30. 31). 2) While sometimes W. H. omits medial *h*, E. H. inserts an euphonic *h*<sup>1)</sup>. 3) While E. H. never tolerates, W. H. sometimes adds euphonicallly an initial *y* or *v*<sup>2)</sup>. 4) E. H. has the short vowels *ē*, *aĩ*, *ō*, *au* which are unknown to W. H. (see §§ 5. 6). 5) E. H. generally prefers to retain the hiatus *ai* and *au*, while W. H. always contracts them to *ai* and *au*<sup>3)</sup> (see § 68).

*Secondly*; as to derivation: 1) the strong form of masc. nouns of the *a*-base has in E. H. a final *á*, and of the short form of pronouns a final *e*, but in W. H. a final *au* or *o* (see §§ 47.

1) e. g., E. H., *dihai* he gave, but W. H. *diá* or *diyá*.

2) e. g., E. H., *e me* in this, *o me* in that, but W. H. *yá mem*, *vá mem*.

3) e. g., E. H., *baiṭhai* he sits, W. H. *baiṭhe*; E. H. *aur* and, W. H. *aur*.



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48. 433. 437, 4)<sup>1</sup>). 2) The singular possessive pronoun has in E. H. a medial *o*, but in W. H. *e* or *á* (see §§ 449. 450)<sup>2</sup>). 3) E. H. prefers the weak form in (quiescent) *a* of masculine nouns with an *a*-base, W. H. the strong form in *au* or *o*<sup>3</sup>) (see § 205). 4) E. H. prefers the long form (of subst.) in *avá* or *au*, W. H. that in *ayá* or *ai* (see § 202)<sup>4</sup>). (5.) While W. H. uses, as a rule, only the short form of the pronouns, E. H. has generally also a long form in *na* (see §§ 436. 437, 3)<sup>5</sup>).

*Thirdly*; as to inflexion; and here both as regards declension and conjugation. *As to declension*: 1) E. H. does not possess the active case of the W. H. formed with the affix *ne* (see §§ 370. 371)<sup>6</sup>). 2) The oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns in *á* has in E. H. a final *á*, but in W. H. *e* (see §§ 363, 5. 365, 3. 6)<sup>7</sup>). *Next as to conjugation*: 1) the present tense is made in E. H. by adding the auxiliary participle *lá* to the ancient (Sanskrit) present; in W. H. by adding *gá* or *hai* or *chhai* (see §§ 500. 501)<sup>8</sup>). 2) The past tense is formed in E. H. by means of the suffix *al* or *il*, in W. H. by the suffix *yau* or *yo* (see §§ 502. 505)<sup>9</sup>). 3) The future tense is made in E. H. by means of the suffix *ab* or *ib*, in W. H. by the suffixes *ih* or *as* (or, what need not concern us here, by adding the auxiliary participles *gau* or *go* to the ancient present) (see §§ 508. 509)<sup>10</sup>). 4) While E. H.

1) E. H. *bhalá* good, W. H. *bhalau* or *bhalo*; E. H. *je* which, W. H. *jan* or *jō*.

2) E. H. *morí* (fem.) mine, but W. H. *meri* or *mári*.

3) e. g., E. H. *bar* great, W. H. *barau*; E. H. *mor* mine, W. H. *merau*; E. H. *det* giving, W. H. (Mw.) *deto*, E. H. *parhal* read, W. H. *parhyau*.

4) e. g., E. H. *ram'vā* or *ramau* Rām, W. H. *ramayā* or *ranai*.

5) e. g., E. H. *se* or *tavan* he, W. H. only *so*.

6) e. g., E. H. *ú kailēs* he did, W. H. *vā ne kiyau*.

7) e. g., E. H. gen. *ghorā kai*, W. H. *ghore kau* of nom. *ghorā* horse.

8) e. g., E. H. *holā* he becomes, W. H. *haigā* or *hwaichai* or *hwaichhai*.

9) e. g., E. H. *rahal* he remained, W. H. *rahyau*.

10) e. g., E. H. *karabon* I shall do, W. H. *karihaum* or *karasum* (or *karaungau*).





possesses the infinitive in *ab* or *ib* in common with W. H., it does not share with it that in *an* (see § 261)<sup>1</sup>).

*Fourthly*; as regards construction, there is one great difference, that, in the case of the past tense of transitive verbs, E. H. possesses a regular active construction with a proper active past tense, whereas W. H. uses a passive construction with the help of the active case (in *ne*) of the subject; (see §§ 371. 487).

*Fifthly*; as regards the vocabulary, some of the commonest and most important vocables are altogether different. Thus the (so-called) substantive verb is in E. H. 3. sing. present *bātai* he is, past *rahal* he was, in W. H. pres. *hai* (or *chhai*), past *tho* (or *ho* or *chho*); again the prohibitive particle is in E. H. *jin*, in W. H. *mat*; again the causative post-position is in E. H. *bade* or *bare* for the sake of, in W. H. *liye*.

These differences are sufficiently radical in themselves, to establish the claim of the E. H. to be considered a distinct language from W. H. But their importance will be seen still more clearly, if we now examine them in their relation to the eastern and western Gaudian languages; setting aside, for the present those of the north (Naipālī) and south (Marāṭhī). To the east of the combined E. H. and W. H. area are Bangālī and Oriyā; to the west Panjābī, Gujarātī and Sindhī. On comparing these languages with W. H. and E. H., it appears that B. and O. have in common with the latter all those peculiarities in which it differs from the former; and that P., G. and S. share with the former all (or nearly all) those peculiarities in which it differs from the latter. Thus all the languages of the former class (i. e. E. H., B., O.) show a preference for *n* over *l*; and of *ai* and *au* over *ai* and *au*; they do not tolerate an initial *y* or *v*; and possess the short *ē* and *ō*; their short pronouns have a final *e* and their possessive pronouns a medial *o*; most of their pronouns have an alternative long form in *na*, and their masculine nouns of the *a*-base, gene-

1) e.g., E. H. *karab* doing, W. H. *karabaun* or *karanaun*.

rally, the weak form in  $\tilde{a}$ ; they have no active case; their oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns in  $\acute{a}$  ends in  $\acute{a}$ ; their past tense is made with  $\tilde{u}$  and their future tense and infinitive with  $\tilde{u}$ ; and lastly they construct actively the past tense of transitive verbs. Only in the present tense do B. and O. differ from E. H. in that they form no compound tense like it, but only use the simple ancient present tense; a form which they have in common not only with E. H., but (as will be shown further on, pg. XXXII) with all Gd. languages.

The case of W. H. in respect to P., G. and S. is precisely similar. They all prefer  $r$ ,  $l$ , to  $r$  and  $n$ ; and  $ai$  and  $au$  to  $\tilde{a}$  and  $\tilde{u}$ ; in certain cases they make use of initial  $y$  and  $v$ , but have no short  $\tilde{e}$  and  $\tilde{o}$ ; their strong masculine nouns and short pronouns end in  $o^1$ ); their pronouns have no long form in  $na^2$ ), and, as a rule, their masculine nouns have the strong form in  $o$  or  $au$ ; they have an active case made with  $ne^3$ ), and an oblique form singular in  $e^4$ ) of strong masculine nouns in  $o$  (or P.  $\acute{a}$ ); they make their past tense with the suffix  $ya$  or  $ia$ , and an infinitive with  $an$ ; lastly they all construct passively the past tense of transitive verbs. Besides, G. and P., like W. H., form the present tense by adding the auxiliary verb *chhai* or *hai*, and the future by the suffixes  $ih$  or  $as$ ; and their singular possessive pronouns have, as in W. H., a medial  $e$  or  $\acute{a}$ . In these three points S. follows a way of its own, different, however, from both the others.

Although, therefore, the agreement is not quite perfect within each of the two groups<sup>5</sup>), yet it is complete in the most

1) Exc., P. strong masc. nouns end in  $\acute{a}$ ; G. short pron. end in  $e$ , exc. *so* who.

2) Exc. relat. pron. *kon* in W. H., P., G., but not in S.

3) Exc., S. and Mw. use no affix with the active case.

4) Exc., G. and Mw. and partially Br. and Kn. in  $\acute{a}$ .

5) The agreement is much more complete in the E. than in the W. group. This circumstance is significant, on account of its bearing on the probable history of their respective immigration into and occupation of North-India (see pg. XXXII).



important points. These are the six following, of which the five first are morphological and the sixth syntactical; viz. 1) the form of masculine nouns of an *a*-base, whether weak or strong; 2) the termination of such strong masculine nouns, whether in *á* or *o*; 3) their oblique form singular, whether ending in *á* or *e*; 4) the suffix of the past tense, whether *al* or *ya*; 5) the suffix of the future, whether *ab* or *ih* (or *as*); 6) the construction of the past tense, whether actively or passively. Even in regard to the minor points, the divergences are mostly confined to S., which is the most outlying of the Gaudian languages.

There are two conclusions which are obviously suggested by that agreement. In the first place; E. H. has evidently a much closer resemblance to B. and O., than to W. H.; and on the other hand, W. H. is much more nearly allied to P., G. and S., than to E. H. Whence it follows, that since B. and O. are accounted separate languages from E. H., and P., G. and S. from W. H., a fortiori E. H. and W. H. must be considered as distinct languages, and not merely as dialects of one and the same. Indeed, the only two points of any importance, in which E. H. agrees with W. H. rather than with B. and O. are; 1) the oblique form singular in *e* of strong masculine adjectives in *á* (see § 386), which adjectives the latter do not possess at all; and 2) the first preterite tense made with the past participle in *ya* or *ia* (see 502.503), which they form a little differently<sup>1)</sup>, but which, strictly, belongs not so much to E. H., as to the intermediate dialect, the Baiswári.

The second conclusion is, that the languages whose affinities have been hitherto discussed, divide themselves into two large groups or two great forms of speech; the one extending over the eastern half of North-India and comprising E. H., B. and O.; the other covering its western half and including W. H., P., G. and S.

1) e. g., E. H. *parhyom* I read, B. *parhiyáchhi*, O. *parhiachhum*, but W. H. *parhyau*.



These two great forms of speech I designate in this treatise the *Eastern Gaudian* and the *Western Gaudian* speeches or groups of languages. The close resemblance of the various members of these two groups among themselves clearly points to a time, when those two forms of speech were nothing more than distinct languages, and what we now know as separate languages, were merely their different dialects.

We have now to consider, what relation the two remaining Gaudian languages, viz. Maráthí and Naipálí, bear to those two great forms of speech, the E. Gd. and the W. Gd. On examining their affinities with respect to the points discussed above, it will be found, that they each occupy a distinct position, yet so that Maráthí is rather more nearly allied to E. Gd.; and Naipálí to W. Gd. Their position as forms of speech distinct from both E. Gd. and W. Gd., is founded chiefly on these two facts: 1) that with respect to some of the points, in which E. and W. Gd. differ from one another, M. and N. sometimes agree with one, sometimes with the other; and 2) that in some other points they agree with neither, but follow a line of their own.

Thus as regards Maráthí, it agrees with E. Gd. in the following points: 1) the termination *á* of the strong masculine nouns of the *a*-base (see § 48); 2) the final *á* of their oblique form singular<sup>1)</sup>; 3) the formation of the past tense by the suffix *al* (see § 505); and 4) the formation of the future by the addition of the auxiliary participle *la* to the ancient present (see § 509). This last point requires a word of explanation. It will be remembered (see pg. X and VII) that this compound form, which serves in M. as a future, is used in E. H. as a present, and that a similar compound form, made up of the auxiliary participle *ga* and the ancient present, is used in W. H. as a present tense, and in P. (and H. H.) as a future (see § 501). Now these circum-

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1) e. g., gen. *ghoḍyá chá* of *ghoḍá* horse; *vichá chá* of *vichá* scorpion; *pányá chá* of *pányá* water.



stances show, that the compound form in *ga* is W. Gd., and the other in *la* E. Gd.

On the other hand, M. agrees with W. Gd. in the following points: 1) the pronunciation generally (see §§ 11.16.18); 2) the termination of the short pronouns (see § 437.3.4); 3) the absence of the pronouns of a long form in *na*; exc. the interrog. pron. *kon* who; 4) the strong form, generally, of masculine nouns of the *a*-base (see § 205); 5) the long form in *ayā* of the same nouns (see § 202); 6) the active case formed with *ne* (see § 371); 7) an infinitive made with the suffix *an* (see § 320); and lastly 8) the passive construction of the past tense (see § 487). It will be observed that of those six characteristics which have been noted as being the most important points of difference between the E. Gd. and W. Gd., M. agrees with the former in *four*, and with the latter only in *two*. Having regard to this circumstance, M. must be considered to rank with the E. Gd. rather than with the W. Gd. group. Moreover, of the two points in which M. agrees with W. Gd., one is syntactical, while all four points which it has in common with E. Gd., are morphological. This shows still more clearly the E. Gd. character of M.; for languages are classified according to their morphological characteristics<sup>1)</sup>.

Further, the points which are peculiar to M. are the following: 1) its pronunciation of the palatals, as *ts*, *dz*, etc. (see § 11), and its disaspiration of a medial aspirate (see § 145. exc. 2., e. g., *vichū* scorpion for *vichhū*); 2) its possession of a peculiar form of the singular possessive pronoun (see §§ 450. 430. 5)<sup>2)</sup>;

1) This is illustrated by an observation which Bs. I, 102 quotes from a native author (Shastri Vrajlal Kalidas in his History of the Gujarati Language pg. 50): „If a native from the North (speaking W. Hindi) comes into Gujarat, the Gujarati people find no difficulty in understanding his language; but when people from the South (speaking Marāṭhi) come to Gujarat, the Gujarati people do not in the least comprehend what they say.“ The reason simply is, that although syntactically G. does not differ either from M. or W. H., yet in its morphological characters it differs widely from M., while it agrees very closely with W. H.

2) e. g., M. *mājha* mine, but E. Gd. *mor*, W. Gd. *merau* or *māro*.



3) of a distinct oblique form singular of all nouns (see § 363)<sup>1)</sup>; 4) of a peculiar present resembling closely in form that tense which, in common with all other Gd. languages, it uses as a preterite subjunctive (see § 501); and 5) of a peculiar conjunctive participle in *in* (see § 491). For these reasons, as well as because, with respect to the points before referred to, M. is neither decidedly E. Gd. nor W. Gd., it must be considered to constitute a group by itself. This third group will be called in this treatise, the *Southern Gaudian speech*.

The case of Naipáli (including Garhwáli and Kumáoní) very much resembles that of Maráthí. It agrees with W. Gd. in the following points: 1) the final *o* of the strong masculine nouns of the *a*-base (see § 48); 2) the final *o* of the short pronouns (see § 437, 3. 4); 3) the medial *e* of the singular possessive pronouns (see § 450); 4) the preference of the strong form in nouns of the *a*-base; 5) the possession of an active case made the affix *le* (= *ne* of the W. Gd., see § 371); 6) the formation of the present by adding the auxiliary verb *chha* to the ancient tense (see § 501); 7) of the past by the suffix *yo* or *iyo* (see §§ 305. 503); and 8) of the infinitive by the suffix *an* (see § 320).

On the other hand, N. agrees with E. Gd. in the following points; 1) the pronunciation generally<sup>2)</sup>; 2) the final *á* of the oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns of the *a*-base (see § 363)<sup>3)</sup>; and 3) the formation of the future by adding the auxiliary participle *lá* to the ancient present tense (as in the M. future and the E. H. present, see pg. X, XIV and § 509); and 4) the active construction of the past tense of transitive verbs (see § 487). Here again it will be observed that of the six important points before mentioned, N. agrees with the W. Gd. in *three*, and with the E. Gd. in *three*; but while of the former all three, of the

1) e. g., *ghará* of *ghar* house; *kaví* of *kaví* poet; *gurá* of *guru* teacher; *ghodýá* of *ghodá* horse; *vichvá* of *vichí* scorpion; *pányá* of *páni* water.

2) e. g., often *n* for *l*; short *z* and *ž*.

3) e. g., gen. sg. *kurá ko* of *kuro* word.





latter only two are morphological characters. It follows accordingly that N. is more closely allied to the W. Gd. than to the E. Gd. group of languages.

Further, N. stands by itself in the following points: 1) the aspiration, in certain cases, of a medial consonant<sup>1)</sup>; 2) the softening, occasionally, of an initial hard consonant<sup>2)</sup>; 3) the active affix *le*. These are not very important matters; but taken together with the other fact, that in the six main points N. is divided in its affinity between the W. and E. Gd., they show that it must be looked upon as constituting a separate group of its own, which I shall call in this treatise the *Northern Gaudian speech*. Perhaps the circumstance which brings out most clearly that both M. and N. are really separate forms of speech as well as the W. and E. Gd. is this: that, as regards the past tense of transitive verbs, M. agrees morphologically (suffix *al*) with E. Gd., but syntactically (passive constr.) with W. Gd., while on the other hand N. agrees morphologically (suff. *ya* or *ia*) with W. Gd., but syntactically (active constr.) with E. Gd.

The result, then, so far arrived at is, that there are *four* great forms of speech, occupying the whole of North-India (viz. N. Gd., W. Gd., S. Gd., and E. Gd.). At a former period each constituted a single language. They have gradually broken up into varieties which in the W. Gd. and E. Gd. have already become distinct languages, while in the N. Gd. and S. Gd. they are as yet no more than dialects. Further, it has appeared that these *four* great forms of speech naturally divide themselves into *two* greater groups; one comprising the N. Gd. and W. Gd., the other the S. Gd. and E. Gd. This circumstance, then, points to a still more remote period in the glottic history of India, when there

1) Apparently only when there was originally a double consonant; e. g., N. *āphu* self, for H. *āp*, Pr. *appā*; N. *āghi* before, for H. *āge*, Pr. *agge*; N. *balakh* child, for H. *balak*, Pr. *valakko*; N. *māghad* for H. *mājat*, Pr. *mājant*, etc.; see S. Luke 1, 17. 24. 41. 11, 39.

2) e. g., root *gar* to do for *kar*.

were only two great varieties of speech current in North India, which divided that country diagonally between them; the one occupying the north-western, the other the south-eastern half. These two greater glottic divisions I shall designate, for reasons to be explained presently, the *Śaurasenī Prākṛit tongue* and the *Māgadhi Prākṛit tongue* respectively.

The oldest Prākṛit grammar, which we possess (that of Vararuchi, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. B. C.) enumerates four varieties of Prākṛit; viz. the Prākṛit proper, the Śaurasenī, the Māgadhi and the Paisācī. The first of these is commonly called the Mahārāshṭrī (now Marāṭhī); the Śaurasenī (now Braj) and Māgadhi (now Bihārī) take their names from the provinces which form the centres of the W. Gd. and E. Gd. areas respectively; the Paisācī is ascribed by some later Pr. grammarians<sup>1)</sup> to Nepāl among other places. Hence it might be thought, that those four ancient Prākṛit varieties are coordinate forms of speech and correspond to the four Gaudian speeches. This view, however plausible at first sight, is certainly erroneous. The whole subject of the relation of the Prākṛits, as learned from the old native writers, to the Gaudians, as known to us by actual experience, is involved in much confusion and obscurity, partly because of the sometimes uncertain, sometimes (seemingly) contradictory statements of those authors, partly on account of the apparent discrepancy in phonological and morphological characters between the Prākṛits and the Gaudians. The most probable account of the matter seems to be the following.

There are in reality only two varieties of Prākṛit. One includes the Śaurasenī and the (so-called) Mahārāshṭrī. These are said to be the prose and poetic phases of the same variety, and even this distinction is, probably, artificial. The other is the Māgadhi. The relation of Paisācī to these two varieties may be roughly described as that of Low or Vulgar to High-Prākṛit. The latter

1) e. g., by Lakshmidhara in his *Shāḍbhaṣā Chandrikā*, see La. 13.





was used in literature, and never strictly a *spoken* language; it was more or less artificial from the very beginning, and became still more so in course of time. On the other hand, the Low-Prākṛit (or Paisācī) was the spoken language of the people; that is, probably in the beginning, of those aborigines, who fell under the domination and influence of the Aryan immigrants, and in whose mouth the Aryan vernacular was distorted into Paisācī. For that name is a term of contempt; the uncouth dialect of the *savages* or *cannibals*, as the Aryans called it. It is ascribed by the native grammarians to the tribes, bordering on the Aryan area in the north (Himālaya, Nepāl) and south (Pāṇḍya, Dakṣha)<sup>1</sup>. Again the most striking feature of the Paisācī is its change of the Aryan *n, l* and the sonants into *m, ṛ* and the surds respectively, which latter are peculiar to the Drāviḍian languages. According to Caldwell (Cp. Gr. p. 102—105) those languages had originally no sonant mutes. The Drāviḍians, therefore, when adopting Aryan speech, would naturally mispronounce its sonants as surds. All this time, of course, the Aryan immigrants had their own *vernacular*, understanding by that term the spoken language of the people as distinguished from its literary form. Gradually as the aboriginal population were amalgamated by the Aryan immigrants, the peculiarities of its Paisācī speech would naturally die out<sup>2</sup>; and the Aryan vernacular, incorporating whatever in the Drāviḍian speech was capable of assimilation, would remain the sole occupant of the field. This Aryan vernacular is called by the Pr. grammarians the *Apabhraṃsa* Prākṛit, as being in their opinion a corrupted language in comparison with what they considered the purer, the

1) e. g., Lakṣmīdhara in the *Shāḍbhāṣā* Chandrikā says: *piśācha-desās tu vṛddhair uktāḥ, pāṇḍya kekaya vāhlikā sahya nepāla kuntalāḥ, sudesha bhota gāndhāra haiva kanojanās tathā*. Ls. 18.

2) None of the Gaudians show any trace of the Paisācī change of sonants into surds though some have the *n* and *l*; nor is any specimen of Paisācī found in the Pr. plays (Ls. 388); the ancient *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇādhya is supposed to have been written in a Paisācī dialect (see Pischel Diss. inaug. 32. 55). Pais. clearly died out at a very early period.





literary Prakrit (i. e., the Mh.-Śr. and the Mg.). In reality it was merely the illiterate vernacular of the people spoken by the side of the literary Śauraseni and Māgadhi, and certainly more ancient than the literary Mahārāṣṭrī<sup>1</sup>). It follows, then, that the vernacular of the Aryans when spoken by themselves is the Apabhraṃṣa, and when spoken by the aborigines, the Paisācī. The Apabhraṃṣa, however, of the Pr. grammarians exhibits the Aryan vernacular, as it was at a rather later period than that in which it became Paisācī in the mouth of the aborigines<sup>2</sup>). Of the oldest Aryan vernacular (the *Ancient Apabhraṃṣa*, as I may call it) which was the contemporary of Paisācī and probably not greatly different from it, we have no record; unless, indeed, it be the Pālī. In order of time, therefore, Pś. comes first, next the Ap. Pr., lastly Gd.; but in order of descent the series is: Anc. Ap. (or Pālī), Ap. Pr., Gd.<sup>3</sup>).

1) Compare e. g. the past part. pass. Śr. and early Ap. *kadhido* or *kahido*, Mg. *kadhido* or *kahido*, Mh. *kahio*, later Ap. *kahiṇ* „said“.

2) In the time of the later Pr. gramm., at all events, the knowledge of what Pś. really was, had become lost. Though, following old tradition, they all give the rules of Pś.; yet when they treat of its relation to the Ap., they are constantly confounding the two, and sometimes even invent an altogether new signification for Pś., making it equivalent to certain (more or less pure Skr.) styles of Ap. (e. g., R. T. in Ls. 23. & Exc. 6). — The chronological succession of the Pr. gramm. is still far from settled (see Pl. Diss.), but Hemachandra in the 12<sup>th</sup> century A. D., is probably the earliest grammarian, who mentions the Ap., while the first who notices the Pś. is Vararuchi in the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. B. C. (see Cw. VI), if not earlier. From this fact, however, it must not be concluded, that no Ap. existed in the time of Vararuchi. For the Ap. Pr. (even as known by H. C.) has some older forms than the Mh. Pr., and the latter is already treated of by Vararuchi. The reason of his omitting all mention of any Ap. was probably, that he intended to treat merely of the high or literary Pr. varieties; and, of course, there would be a literary Pś. Pr. variety, whenever the aborigines had to deal with High-Prakrit.

3) Pais. or Pāl. or Anc. Ap. *kathito*, Ap. Pr. *kadhido* or *kahido*, W. Gd. *kahio* or *kahyo* said; Pś. *rutito*, Anc. Ap. *rudito*, Ap. *roido*, W. Gd. *roio* or *royo* wept; Pāl. *gamito*, Ap. Mg. *gamido* or Ap. Śr. *gamido*, E. Gd. *gail* or *gela* or W. Gd. *gaio* or *gayo*.



I have spoken of the Apabhraṃṣa or Aryan vernacular. But it must not be supposed that it was everywhere identical. The Aryan immigration gradually extended over an area, too wide to remain the home of one single form of speech. Accordingly the term Apabhraṃṣa must be understood to be the collective name of several Aryan vernaculars, spoken in various parts of North India. It is invariably used in this sense by Pr. grammarians. They always define it to mean the language of „the Abhiras and other similar people“<sup>1</sup>), i. e., briefly, of the lower orders, which constitute the mass of the population everywhere. In their enumeration of the various Ap., each of the provincial languages (as we now call them) occurs; e. g., Abhirī (Sindhī, Marwārī), Āvantī (E. Rājputānī), Gaurjarī (Gujarātī), Bāhlikā (Panjābī), Śaurasenī (W. Hindī), Māgadhī or Prāchyā (E. Hindī), Odṛī (Oṛīyā), Gaudī (Bangālī), Dākṣhiṇātyā or Vaidarbhiḱā (Marāṭhī) and Saippalī (Naipālī?)<sup>2</sup>).

It will be noticed that in the above list the same Śaurasenī and Māgadhī Prākṛits are enumerated by the Pr. grammarians as Apabhraṃṣas or vernaculars, which they elsewhere treat of as literary or High-Prākṛits. On the other hand, it will be noted that the (so-called) Mahārāshṭrī Prākṛit does not occur in this list at all; nor, indeed, is it found in any list of Apabhraṃṣas or vernaculars. This shows plainly that the Mh. Pr. was not looked upon as the *vernacular* of any people, and that it did not take its name from the Mahārāshṭra (or Marāṭha) country. Indeed, it is doubtful, by what right that name is given to the particular form of Pr., which commonly bears it. In the oldest Pr. grammar of Vararuchi it is never so called, except once in-

1) Thus L. Dh. in the Sh. Ch.: *apabhraṃṣas tu bhāṣā syād abhirā-digirām chayaḥ* (Ls. 12). The Abhirs, or Ahirs as they are now called, are a tribe, members of which are found in every part of North-India. They are cowherds by profession, but are considered by the natives to be a „good“ (Aryan) caste, a sort of inferior Rājputś.

2) See the lists of K. I. and R. T. in Ls. 18. & Exc. 5. 7.





cidentally at the end of the chapter on Śaurasenī<sup>1</sup>). Again it is to be remarked that the great grammarians of the West and South, Hemachandra, Trivikrama and Śubhachandra, who must have been familiar with the living Marāṭhī vernacular, avoid the name altogether. The dialect in question is called by them simply *the* Prākṛit. They, probably, felt that the name was misleading. It is only in the Pr. grammarians of the East, Kramadeśvara, Mārkaṇḍeya, Lakṣmīdhara, Rāmatarakavāgīśa, etc., that the name Mahārāshṭrī is distinctly given to the dialect and connected with the Mahārāshṭra country<sup>2</sup>). This goes far beyond what is justified by Vararuchi's incidental use of the term. The probability is that they misunderstood his meaning. For he seems to use the term not as a *proper name*, but as a laudatory or descriptive expression, meaning „the Prākṛit of the great kingdom“ (i. e., of the famed country of the Doāb and Rājputānā, see note 1 on p. XXV) and therefore the *principal* Prākṛit. According to this view the term Mahārāshṭrī is not far from synonymous with what we now call Western Hindī. At all events, whatever interpretation may be given to the term, there can be no doubt that, as a matter of fact, the dialect so called is Western Hindī, and has no one point in common with Marāṭhī, in which the latter differs from Western Hindī (or W. Gaudian generally). Thus the Mh. Pr. past participle is made with *ia* (or *ya*) as in W. H., not with *al* as in M., the future is made with *iha* as in W. H., not with the auxiliary participle *la* as in M.; and the same is true, as will be shown afterwards (p. XXVII), in regard to the termination of masculine nouns with an *a*-base and to the oblique form or genitive singular. Thus in

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1) After finishing his remarks on the Śr., he says: „the rest of that dialect is like the Mahārāshṭrī“ (*śeṣaṃ mahārāshṭrīvat* Vr. 12, 20); whence it is rightly concluded that by the name Mh. he refers to that Pr. dialect, which he had before treated of simply as *the* Prākṛit.

2) Thus K. I. or rather his commentator: „the Prākṛit of the Mahārāshṭra country is the principal Prākṛit“ (*prākṛitam mahārāshṭradesīyaṃ prākṛitabhāṣyaṃ*); in Ls. 17.



four out of the five important morphological points Mh. Pr. agrees with W. H., and not with M.; the remaining point (the strong form of masculine nouns of an *a-base*), being common to both W. H. and M., is of no account in the question. It appears, then, that the Mh. Pr. is merely a particular form of ancient W. H., or rather since W. H. has become a distinct language in more recent times, of W. Gd. And Śr. Pr., as its name indicates (Śūrasena being nearly the same as Braj), is another form of the same. Together they represent the old W. Gd. speech. This fact is indicated by the peculiar manner of their use in the Pr. plays. For they are not employed as the languages of different peoples, but of different kinds of composition, Mh. for poetry, the Śr. for prose<sup>1</sup>).

It has been already remarked that Pr. grammarians enumerate among the Apabhraṃsas or vernaculars a Māgadhi and a Śauraseni Apabhraṃsa. The two great Pr. varieties, the Māgadhi and the Śauraseni-Māhārāṣṭrī, are simply the high or literary forms of these two low or Apabhraṃsa ones. They are, probably, to some extent artificial; yet there can hardly be a doubt — as the following comparison will show — that they have retained the leading peculiarities of the two vernaculars, of which they are the refinements.

The fact that these two vernaculars, the Mg. Ap. and the Śr. Ap., have furnished both the substratum and the name for the two great High-Pr. varieties, proves that they were the two leading vernaculars of North-India, typical of all the others. Accordingly we find that Pr. grammarians (as Mārkaṇḍeya, etc.) arrange the eastern dialects in a great group around the Mg. Pr. as their type. Among those which they name as its members, the following are the most important: the Māgadhi, Arddhamā-

1) Thus Viśvanātha Kavirāja in the Sahityadarpana says: „noble and educated women, speaking in prose, are to use Śr., but Mh. in speaking in verse“ (see L. 85).

gadhí, Dákshinátyá, Utkalí, and Śábarí<sup>1</sup>). Mágadhí is the speech of modern Bihár and (western) Bangál, and corresponds generally to the present Bangálí (incl. of the E. H. dialects, the Mágadh and Maithilí). Arddhamágadhí is described as a mixture of Mágadhí and Śaurasení (or Māhārāshṭrī)<sup>2</sup>; it follows that it must have been spoken to the west of Mágadhí, that is, in the Banáras district; it corresponds, therefore, to the Bhojpúrí or the E. H. *proper*. Dákshinátyá is the speech of Vidarbha, the modern Berár<sup>3</sup>) and adjoining districts. It corresponds, therefore, to the Dakhaní, one of the principal dialects of the present Maráṭhí, and thus to this language generally<sup>4</sup>). Utkalí is the speech of what is now called Orissa, and corresponds to the modern Oríyá. Śábarí is the name of the dialect spoken in the country lying between that occupied by Dákshinátya on the one side and Mágadhí and Utkalí on the other (about the town of Ratnapur and the Mohar mountains). It will be seen, then, that the Mg. group of the Pr. grammarians consists of what we call now the Bangálí, Eastern Hindí, Oríyá and Maráṭhí languages, at a time when, probably, they were still dialects only of one great speech. Or, in other words, the old Mg. group includes both (what I call) the eastern and southern Gaudian speeches. Accordingly I have given to the two combined the name of the *Mágadhí Prákrit tongue*.

In like manner, the same grammarians arrange the western dialects in a great group around the Śr.-Mh. Pr. as their type.

1) So R. T. in the Prákrit Kalpataru; see Ls. 21.

2) Md. quotes a saying of Bhareta, that it is like Śr. (*sauraseniyá adúratvād iyam eva arddhamágadhí iti bharata*; 12<sup>th</sup> pada, fol. 49); and K. I. 12 (see Ls. 17. 393) connects it with the Mh. (*māhārāshṭrīnī arddhamágadhí*). The description of E. H. as Arddhamágadhí, i. e. half mágadhí, is a very good one; for E. H. has affinities with both Bangálí (= Mágadhí) and Western Hindí (= Māhārāshṭrī-Śaurasení).

3) So in the S. D.: *dákshinátyá vaidarbhí* (see L. 36. 20).

4) Dákshinátya is used to the present day in North India as a synonym for Maráṭhí; e. g., Maráṭhí Bráhmans are generally known only as Dákshinátya Bráhmans.





The most important members of this group are the Māhārāshtrī, Śaurasenī, Āvantī, Prāchyā, and Sakki. The Māhārāshtrī and Śaurasenī together represent W. Hindi; but as the future in *ih* is peculiar to Mh., and the fut. in *is* to Śr. (see Ls. 353, 4.), and on the other hand the Br. and Kn. have the fut. in *ih*, but Mw. the fut. in *as* (or *is*), it appears that Mh. corresponds to Br. and Kn., to which may be added Eastern Panjābī, while Śr. corresponds to Mw., and also to G. as having the same future in *as* (or *is*)<sup>1</sup>). Āvantī is the speech of Ujjain and Eastern Rājputānā. Prāchyā, as its name indicates, is the most eastern member of the group and, probably, corresponds to Baiswāri<sup>2</sup>). Sakki is, probably, the speech of Sindh and the Western Panjāb<sup>3</sup>). Thus it appears that the Mh.-Śr. group consists of what we now call Western Hindī, Gujarātī, Panjābī and Sindhī. To these, for reasons previously stated, Naipālī must be added. In other words, the Mh.-Śr. group represents the Western and Northern Gaudīan speeches; and accordingly I have called the two combined the *Śaurasenī Prākṛit tongue*.

1) Śūrasenā is the name of the country about Mathura or of the Vraj; but it must be remembered that Śr. and Mh. are with the Pr. grammarians not exactly the names of local, but of prose and poetic dialects. Vararuchi (or Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārtikas on Pāpini, see Pl. 12), in whose Pr. grammar the term Mh. first occurs, lived according to Hindū tradition about 56 B. C. at the court of the „great king“ Vikramāditya (see Cw. VI), whose dominions included the whole of N. W. India. The principal „speech of that great country“ or Māhārāshtrī, as Vr. calls it, was taken by him, and after him by all Pr. grammarians, as the standard Prākṛit.

2) Prāchyā is explained in the S. D. as being equivalent to Gaudī (*prāchyā gaudīyā*, see Ls. 36) or, apparently, Bangālī. But, on the other hand, Mā. makes Prāchyā to be an offshoot of Śaurasenī (*prāchyāsiddhiḥ śaurasenīyā* 10th pāda, fol. 47); while, according to Dandī (see Ls. 33), the Gaudī follows the Mg. type. Besides, in another place, in a list of Apabhraṃsas, both Mā. and R. T. (see Ls. Exc. 7) distinguish the Prāchā from the Gaudī. If, then, the Gaudī is of the Śr. type, it can hardly be anything else than the Baiswāri, the intermediate dialect between E. Gd. and W. Gd.

3) Sakki is apparently the language of the Sakas (lat. sacae, Scythians) who overran W. India and were defeated in a great battle by Vikramāditya. In Sindh, many names of villages and towns contain the name Saka; e. g., the town Sakkar on the Indus.



Mg. Pr., then, coincides with S.-E. Gd. and Śr. Pr. with N.-W. Gd. in their geographical limits. It remains to be shown that they do so philologically also. It must be remarked *in limine*, 1) that the particulars noted by the Pr. grammarians with respect to the various Apabhraṃṣas are extremely scanty and, for the most part, only phonological. From this it may be justly concluded — what, indeed, is probable a priori — that the Aps. did not materially differ from their respective High-Pr. forms in their great morphological and phonological features; 2) that the silence of the Pr. grammarians as to any particular peculiarity, now found in modern vernaculars, does not necessarily prove its non-existence in their time; for they note only those peculiarities of Pr., which they could, satisfactorily to themselves, trace to a Skr. origin; all others they simply left unnoticed as being *deśya* (see p. XXXVII); 3) that the dialect which is treated of by Pr. gramm., such as Hemachandra, simply as Apabhraṃṣa, probably occupied in the western division a position analogous to that of the other which is spoken of simply as Prākṛit; i. e., one is *the* Apabhraṃṣa as the other is *the* Prākṛit<sup>1)</sup>. But, as in the case of *the* Pr., so also in the case of *the* Ap. it must, no doubt, be understood, that its rules, unless where the contrary is expressly stated, extend to all other Aps. also.

We now proceed to the examination. Of the already mentioned six important characteristics, the syntactical one (regarding the construction of the past tense) must be at once set aside. The Pr. grammarians never refer to this point at all; and from Pr. writings very little evidence is to be obtained on the subject;

1) With Mḍ. this chief Ap. is called Nāgarāpabhraṃṣa; he expressly connects it with the Mh.-Śr., *the* Pr. of the western division (*nāgarāṃ tu mahārāṣṭrīṣaurasenyoḥ pratīṣṭhitam*); e. g., respecting conjugation: *atra cha karē dhareṭi ityāḍau tasya svarāṣeṣatvaṃ mahārāṣṭrīyāśrayeṇa karēḍi dhareḍi ity āḍau datvaṃ śaurasenīyāśrayeṇa mantavyam* (17<sup>th</sup> pāda, fol. 53. 55); its identity with W. Gd. is shown by the fact, that Mḍ. gives the characteristic W. Gd. possess. pronouns *merā, terā*, to the Nāg. Ap. (*tvadiye teraṃ, madiye meram* 17<sup>th</sup> pāda, fol. 56).

though what little there is makes in favour of my theory (see § 371). There remain, then, the five morphological points. In regard to these, there is a striking coincidence between the evidence of Pr. gramm. and plays on the one hand, and the result of our enquiry concerning the difference of Mg. and Śr., on the other. Thus, *firstly*: Pr. gramm. state that nouns with an *a*-base end in *o* in Śr. P., but in *e* in Mg.; our enquiry shows that in W. Gd. and N. Gd. they end in *o* (or *au*), but in S. Gd. and E. Gd. in *ā*, which vowel appears to be a modification of the Mg. *e* (see §§ 47. 48). *Secondly*: according to the Pr. gramm., the Western (cf. note on pg. XXVI) Ap. Pr. has a genitive singular (= oblique form, § 366) in *ahe*, the Mg. Pr. in *āha*; according to our enquiry W. and N. Gd. have an oblique form in *e*, the S. and E. Gd. in *ā*; here *e* is a modification of *ahe* and *ā* of *āha* (see § 365, 1. 6). *Thirdly*; from our enquiry it appears that W. and N. Gd. use almost exclusively the strong form (in *o*) for *a*-bases, while as to S. and E. Gd., it is used almost exclusively in M., much less in E. H. and very little in B. and O. (see § 205). Now the existence of special rules in Pr. gramm. about the use of the strong form (in *ao* = Skr. *akāḥ*) in the Mh. and Ap. Pr., and its common occurrence in Pr. literature (see Ls. 288. 460. 475. Wb. 69) prove its extreme frequency in the great Mh.-Śr. vernacular. As to the other great vernacular, the Mg., there is only the scanty evidence of Pr. literature; and from this it would appear that the strong form was very frequent in the southern Mg. vernaculars, the Śakarī, Śabarī and, by analogy, Dākṣhinātyā (cf. Ls. 431), but rare in the northern, the Arddhamāgadhi (cf. Ls. 413, 7). There is, then, a sufficiently close agreement in this case also. *Fourthly*; in Gd. the past participle passive is used to make the past tense active. According to our enquiry, the N. and W. Gd. use the past participle in *ia* or *ya*, and the E. and S. Gd. a past participle in *al*. Now Pr. gramm. state that the past participle in *ia* is peculiar to the Mh.-Pr. (Vr. 7, 32. Ls. 363). As to the Mg. Pr. they give no general rule; but in the few cases,





where the past participle is expressly noted, it ends in *da* (see Vr. 11, 15), and from another rule on the nominative it would appear incidentally, that generally the past participle ended in *ida* (Vr. 11, 11. cf. Ls. 396, 4. 6. 400, 3 and H. C. 4, 260. 302). From Pr. literature it appears further, that in the Low-Māgadhis *d* and *ḍ* were apt to be changed into *l* (see Ls. 412. 423). Here again, considering the scanty evidence, the agreement is sufficiently striking<sup>1</sup>). *Fifthly*, our enquiry shows that N. and W. Gd. use a future in *ih* or *as*, but E. Gd. in *ab* or *ib*. The latter is simply the future participle passive used in an active sense, precisely as E. Gd. employs the participle past passive to form an active past tense (see § 487). The W. Gd. future in *ih*, however, is also used in E. H. (see § 509); and it is to be noted that both future forms are promiscuously used in it in the sense of the imperative (or precative) and the future (§§ 498. 508, note). Now according to the Pr. gramm., the future in *ih* or *iss* is peculiar to the Mh.-Śr. Pr. (H. C. 3, 166—170. 4, 275), and from Pr. literature it appears that the Mh. form in *ih* was used in Mg. also (see Ls. 413. 434); while the future in *ab* was confined to the lowest kinds of Mg. (Ls. 422; देव *you will give*). The latter future form was evidently considered very low. I know, indeed, only of that *one* instance of its admission into Pr. literature; but under the circumstances, it is sufficient to establish the agreement in question<sup>2</sup>).

1) It is quite possible that while the High-Mg. had the termination *ida* (or *ida*) the Low-Mg. vernaculars generally changed it into *ila* (or *ala*), but that the latter was considered by the Pr. Paṇḍits (supposing that the change of *d* or *ḍ* to *l* had already taken place in their time) altogether too vulgar to be frankly admitted into literature, excepting a few rare cases, such as *kale* for *kade* or *kade* „done“. Though it is also possible that the universal change of the termination *ida* into *ila* may have taken place after their time.

2) The compound forms of tenses (e. g., the M. future) which constitute another morpholog. character, afford us no help here. These curious formations are neither found in the Pr. gramm. nor in Pr. liter. Either they were considered too vulgar to be noticed, or more probably



As regards the morphological characters, then, my contention that E. and S. Gd. together correspond to the old Mg. Pr., and W. and N. Gd. together to the old Śr. Pr. appears to be fully borne out, considering the kind and amount of evidence, that is available on the subject. It now remains to examine the phonological characters which, according to the Pr. grammarians, distinguish the Mg. Pr. from the Śr.-Mh. Of these the following four are the most important. Mg. changes 1) *s* into *ṣ* (Vr. 11, 3. H. C. 4, 288); 2) *r* into *l* (H. C. 4, 288); 3) *j* into *y* (Vr. 11, 4. H. C. 4, 292); and 4) *ksh* into *sk* (Vr. 11, 8. H. C. 4, 296). As to the change of *s, r, j* into *ṣ, l, y* respectively see §§ 16. 18. 20. As to the change of *ksh* into *sk*, according to the Pr. gramm., *ksh* changes in Mh.-Śr. Pr. into *kkh* (Vr. 3, 29. H. C. 2, 4), but exceptionally also into *chchh* (Vr. 3, 30. H. C. 2, 17). Now according to the analogy of all similar changes (e. g., of *st* into *tth* or *tṭh* Vr. 3, 11. 12), *kkh* presupposes a form *sk*, and *chchh* a form *sch*. It follows of necessity that at some period of the Indo-aryan vernacular *ksh* must have been pronounced sometimes as *sk*, sometimes as *sch*. But the link between these two forms *sk* and *sch* is *ṣk*; for the Mg. speaking people, according to their custom of turning *s* into *ṣ*, would pronounce *sk* as *ṣk*, and the palatal *ṣ* of the latter would gradually palatalize the conjoint *k* into *ch*, making *sch*; finally *sch* would change into *chchh*. Now in the change of *ksh* into *kkh* there are *two* steps; viz. 1) *ksh* into *sk*, 2) *sk* into *kkh*; but in the change of *ksh* into *chchh* there are *four* steps, viz. 1) *ksh* into *sk*, 2) *sk* into *ṣk*, 3) *ṣk* into *sch*, 4) *sch* into *chchh*. It is plain that if these changes proceeded, on the whole, *pari passu*, the Mg. speaking people would have got only as far as *ṣk*, when the Mh.-Śr. speakers had already arrived at *kkh*. Now this is almost exactly what Vararuchi states

they did not exist at all at that time, i. e. 6 or 7 centuries ago. It appears that the verb as „to be“ was the only verb used enclitically in Pr. times, and that the employment of the verb *achh* „to be“ and the participle *gā* „gone“ and *lā* „come“ in this manner is of later date.



to have been the case in his time; viz. Mh.-Śr. had *kḥh*, but Mg. had *sk*. Here *sk* must be, probably, interpreted as *ṣk* by the general rule regarding the change of sibilants in Mg.<sup>1)</sup> (cf. Ls. 398). But the form *ṣk* was only a passing step in the phonetic evolution, the end of which has been reached long since, and now for some centuries already *kṣh* is pronounced *chḥh* or *chh* (see § 36). As the change of *s* into *ṣ* is general in B., partial in M., and rare in E. H. (see § 20), it is, accordingly, found that in most old tadbhava words B. and M. have *chh* for *kṣh*, but E. H. has *kh* or even *h*<sup>2)</sup>. The rule is not quite strict; nor, indeed, has it ever been so; for many instances exhibiting the Mg. change of *kṣh* to *chḥh* occur already in the Mh.-Śr. Pr. (see Vr. 3, 30).

Thus it appears from philological considerations not less than geographical ones, that, at some former period of its history, North India was divided between two great forms of speech, which I call respectively the *Sauraseni tongue* and the *Māgadhi tongue*. Roughly speaking, their areas occupied, one the northwestern, the other the southeastern half of North-India. Their boundary line coincided with that which now divides the areas of the N. and W. Gd. from those of the S. and E. Gd. speeches. But there is reason to believe that at a still earlier period the limits of the Mg. area extended further towards the North West. For 1) the following morphological characters of the Mg. tongue are found in different parts of the Śr. area; a) the termination *ā* of the strong masculine nouns with an *a*-base in P. and, to a certain extent, in Br. and Ku.; b) the termination *ā* of the obli-

1) Pr. literature, apparently, has no example of *sk* or *ṣk* (cf. Ls. 408. 428); but it has numerous examples of *ṣṭ*, where H. C. gives *ṣṭ* (see Cw. 181). H. C. and T. V. have the conjunct *ḥk* with the *jihvāmūliya visarga* for *s*, except in the case of *prekṣh* „to see“, where, curiously enough, all the steps are actually given: viz. *prekṣhate* and *peṣkādi* (or *peṣkādi*) in T. V. 3, 2. 34 and *peṣchadi* or *pechchhāi* in T. V. 3, 2. 32 (cf. H. C. 4, 295. 297).

2) e. g., B. *kāchhe* „near“, „at“, E. H. *kāhī* (Skr. *kākshe*); or B. *māchhi*, M. *māṣī*, E. H. *mākhī* (or *māchhi*) „fly“ (Skr. *makṣhikā*); or B. *dākhin*, M. *dāṣin*, E. H. *dakhin* (or *dachhin*) „south“ or *dāhin* „right“ (Skr. *dakṣhiṇah*).

que form singular in G., M., E. R. and, again to some extent, in Br. and Kn.; c) the genitive affix, which is not only in E. Gd. (*kai, kar, er, ar*), but also in Br. and Kn. (*kau*) and probably in M. (*chá* or old M. *chiya*) a modification of the Pr. *kario* (Skr. *kṛtāḥ*), while G., P. S., and, probably, Mw. use one of a different origin (see § 377); d) the compound future in *lá* (or *lo*) which is possessed by N. and E. R. by the side of the Śr. future in *ih* (see § 509, 4); e) the past participle in *al* which is found in E. R., in as much as it is contained in the enclitic *lá* of the compound future, which is a curtailment of the past participle *ailá* „come“ (see § 509, 4). Again. 2) there occur in the Śr. area the following phonological characters of the Mg.: a) the change of *l* to *n* is found in N. (in the compound future see § 509, 4) and in G. and P. (in the active affix *nem, nīm*, see § 375); b) the change of *l* to *r* is found also in S. (see § 16, also § 14 on *ñ*). It is also worth noting that the Pr. writers themselves supply indications of the partially Mg. character of E. R. and G.; the latter (called Abhīri), though generally classed with the Śr. group, is once included by R. T. in the Mg. (see Ls. Exc. 3); and as to E. R. or Âvantī see Ls. 417. 419 1).

Generally speaking, it will be observed, that the Mg. characteristics, beginning with a very few and isolated traces in the far West, increase in number, as we proceed towards the East, till at last at the present frontier of the E. and S. Gd. areas they predominate so as to constitute the Mg. tongue. These circumstances seem to disclose the fact that sometime in the remote past the Mg. must have reached up to the extreme western frontiers and been the only language of North India; but that in course of time it gradually receded more and more towards the South and East

1) Still the general character of the Âvantī or E. R. is Śaurasēni; thus Mā. calls it expressly „a mixture of Mh. and Śr.“ (*âvantī syān mahā-rāshṭrisaurasēnyos tu saṃkarāt, anayoh saṃkarād âvantī bhāṣhā siddhā syāt* 11<sup>th</sup> pāda fol. 47<sup>b</sup>); and afterwards he says that Bāhlikī is allied to it (*âvantyaṃ eva bāhlikī* ibid. fol. 48<sup>a</sup>); see also Ls. 435. 436.





before the advancing tide of the Śr. tongue, leaving, however, here and there in the deserted territories traces of its former presence. What the eastern and southern frontiers of the Mg. may have been in those early times, when it reached to the far West of India, it is impossible to say. Very probably, as it receded before the Śr., it may have conquered fresh territories in the South and East which had not been before occupied by any Aryan tongue. The headquarters of the Śr. tongue, whence it gradually spread toward the North-East and East, appear to have been in western Rājputānā. It is possible, in some measure, to trace the direction and extent of its advancing tide. Thus a) traces of its past participle in *ia* are found as far east as in B. and O. (see §§ 305. 503), but not in M.; b) traces of its oblique form in *e* are found as far east as in the Bh. and M.; c) traces of its future in *ih* are found as far east as in Bh. It will be seen, that the tide is fullest in the West (especially in Sindh, the Panjāb and Western Rājputānā), but gradually grows weaker and narrower as it advances eastward, mainly following the course of the broad valley of the Ganges, and working itself like a wedge into the Mg. area, which overlaps it on its southern and northern banks, in the E. R., G. and N., in which the Mg. relics are most noticeable.

From these indications it would appear that the Mg. tongue is the older of the two; that is, that its occupation of North India preceded the developement and extension of the Śr. Perhaps this may be taken to point to the fact that two great immigrations of people of the Aryan stock into India took place at different periods, both speaking essentially the same language, though in two different varieties. For there can be no doubt that the two varieties, the Mg. and the Śr., whatever their differences may be, are essentially the same language, of which the Sanskrit variety, being its literary or high form, preserves on the whole the oldest phase. Thus one of the most striking points of identity is the ancient Skr. present tense active, which is preserved to the present day



in all Gd. languages of North-India alike (see § 474)<sup>1</sup>). Even in those cases where the outward shape or grammatical use of a particular form widely diverged, the original unity can be traced by easy and natural steps. Thus as to outward shape, the E. Gd. future in *ab* or *ib* can be traced back (see § 314) to the ancient participle future passive in *tavya* (or *itavya*), and the E. and S. Gd. past tense in *al* or *il* to the ancient past participle passive in *ta* (or *ita*), which, in an other direction, has given rise to the N. and W. Gd. participle in *ia*. These two instances are also examples of a change in grammatical use. For in E. Gd. the two participles, which had originally a passive sense and indeed have it still in S. and W. Gd., are used to form active tenses, viz. the participle future passive in *itavya* to form the future active in *ab* or *ib*, and the participle past passive in *ita* to make the past active in *al* or *il*. Here the intransitive verbs, the „passive“ of which naturally becomes a „middle voice“, afford the connecting link (see §§ 303, note. 309. 371. 487).

We have traced the Mg. tongue back to the extreme western frontiers of North India. Beyond that line lie the areas of the Pashtú and Káfirí languages. They immediately adjoin that of the present Panjábí. Trumpp in his essays on those two languages<sup>2</sup>) has called attention to their many affinities with the Gaudians. Among these there are some with both of the principal varieties of Gd., the N.-W. Gd. or Šr. and the S.-E. Gd. or Mg. But what is, perhaps, more remarkable than the mere fact of their affinity is that, in some of the oft-mentioned great test-points, they — and more especially the Pashtú — exhibit decided Mg. characteristics. Thus a) the masculine strong form of *a-bases* ends in Pashtú with *ai*, corresponding to E. and S. Gd. *ā*, Mg. Pr. *aē*; b) the past participle ends with *alai* (strong form) or *al* (weak form)

1) Modern M. is an exception in using this old pres. tense as a habitual past; but old M. retains it as a present tense.

2) See J. G. O. S. vol. 20 pg. 377 and vol. 21 pp. 10 ff. 23.



corresponding to (strong form) *alá* in M. and (weak form) *al* in E. H.<sup>1)</sup>; e) the Káfiri has a compound future made with the enclitic participle *la*, just like the M. future and the E. H. present<sup>2)</sup>; d) the auxiliary verb has in Pashtú an initial *š*, like the initial *s* of M., which is a modification of the E. Gd. *chh*<sup>3)</sup>; e) Pashtú like M. has a double set of palatals, viz. *ch* and *ts*, *j* and *dz*. Lastly f) Pashtú has the dative affix *lah*, like the M. *lá*, and the dative affix *vatah*, like the E. H. *bate* or *bare*.

It would appear from this, that the Mg. Pr. and the Pashtú and Káfiri were once in close connection, perhaps one language; and that, at some time in the remote past, they became separated by the Šr. Pr. tongue, like a wedge, cleaving them asunder and gradually pushing the Mg. farther and farther away towards the east.

Accordingly four periods may be distinguished in the linguistic history of India. First, when the Mg. tongue, in some form, was the only Aryan vernacular in North India. Secondly, when the Šr. tongue existed there beside the Mg. Thirdly, when these were broken up, each into two speeches, the W. and N. Gd. and the E. and S. Gd. Fourthly, when these four speeches were subdivided into the several Gd. languages. The last period is that now prevailing. As to the date of the first period we know nothing. The earliest Pr. grammar of Vararuchi (1<sup>st</sup> cent. B. C. or earlier) already discloses, in the second period, the two great

1) e. g., weak form Psh. *krał* = E. H. *kayal*, B. *karil* = Ap. Mg. \**karida*, Skr. *kṛtaḥ*; and strong form Psh. *karalai* = M. *kela* (for *kaila* = *karila*) = Ap. Mg. \**karidae*, Skr. *kṛtakāḥ*. — The other, i. e. the Šr., form of the past part. also occurs in Psh. It ends in a quiescent (weak form) or in *ai* (strong form), precisely as in W. and N. Gd.; e. g., weak form Psh. *kar* or *krah* „done“, O. H. *kar* or *kari* = Ap. Pr. *kariū*, Mh. Pr. \**kario*, Skr. *kṛtaḥ*; strong form Psh. *kaṛai* = Bs. *kará* or Br. *karau* or *karyau* = Ap. Pr. *kariaū*, Mh. Pr. \**kario*, Skr. *kṛtakāḥ*. But it should be remembered that the E. Gd., too, has both part., to make the first and second preterites, see §§ 503. 505.

2) e. g., Kf. 3. sg. *balāle* „he will say“ = M. *bolet*, E. H. *botailā*.

3) e. g., Kf. *ši* „he is“ = M. *ase*, O. *chhe* or *achhe*, B. *chhe* or *achhe*.



divisions of the Śr. and Mg. in occupation of North India. The earliest Gd. literature exhibits the third period already existing; for in the Western Gauḍian poet Chand (end of 12<sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.) W. H., P. and G. are indistinguishable; in the Southern Gauḍian poets Nāmdeva and Dnāndeva (end of 13<sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.) M. is seemingly separate; in the Eastern Gauḍian poet Bidyapati (middle of 14<sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.<sup>1</sup>) B. and E. H. are as yet one language. The later Gd. writers of the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> cent. (as the W. Hindī Kabir, the E. Hindī Tulsī Dās, the Bangālī Kabi Kankan, the Oriya Upendro Bhanj, the Marāṭhī Tukarām, the Gujarātī Narsingh Mehta; see Bs. I, 82—96) show the modern division of the Gd. languages already existing.

*Note.* I believe, it will be found on closer examination of the W. H. that its two dialects, the Mw. and Br., must, in reality, be classed as two different languages of the W. Gd. group, in the same sense as P. and G. For Mw. and Br. differ from each other in the same degree, as either of those two from P. and G. Thus in declension: 1) the termin. of the obl. form sg. of strong masc. nouns of the *a*-base is *ā* in Mw., but *e* in Br.; here Mw. agrees with G., but Br. with P.; e. g., Mw. *ghorā ro*, G. *ghodā no* „of a horse“; Br. *ghore kau*, P. *ghore dā*; 2) Mw., like S., uses no active case-affix; but Br. has *nem*, corresponding to P. *nai*; e. g., Mw. *ghorai*, G. *ghodāe*, „by a horse“; Br. *ghore nem*, P. *ghore nai*. In conjugation: 1) Mw., like G., forms the fut. ind. with the suff. *as*, but Br. with *ih*; e. g., Mw. *karasī*, G. *karase* but Br., *karihai* „he will do“; 2) the auxiliary verb has *chh* in Mw. and G., but *h* in Br. and P.; e. g., Mw. *chhai*, G. *chhe* „he is“; Br. and P. *hai*; etc.

1) Or, according to Beames (Ind. Antiquary Febr. 1873), middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> cent.



Table of Affinities.

|             |   |               |         |                   |                 |
|-------------|---|---------------|---------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Literary.   | High = Vernaculars = Low.<br>Ancient Sansk. |               |         |                   | Semi-<br>aryan. |
| Class. Skr. | Pāli  | Anc. Ap.      |         |                   | Paṣ.            |
|             | Mh.-Śr., Mg.                                | Ap. Mg.       | Ap. Śr. |                   |                 |
|             |   | E. Gd.        | S. Gd.  | W. Gd.            | N. Gd.          |
|             | H. B., H. H., etc.                          | O., B., E. H. | M.      | W. H., P., G., S. | N.              |
|             |   |               |         |                   | Urdú.           |

EASTERN HINDI LITERATURE.

As regards E. H. literature, there is very little to be said. In the E. H. proper or the Bhojpúri there is, apparently, no literature whatever, either prose or poetry. All my inquiries on this subject have been alike fruitless. I have heard people say, that there are a few poems in the more easterly dialects of the E. H., as the Maithilī. But I suspect the reference was to the well known religious songs of Bidyápatī and others of the Vaishnava school. These, however, belong to the earlier period, in which E. H. was not yet separate from B. The only specimens of literature of the strictly E. H. period are the writings of Tulsī Dās, especially his great work, the Rāmāyan, a Hindī version of the well known story of Rāma, though not by any means a translation of Vālmiki's famous Sanskrit work of the same name. The language of Tulsī Dās, however, is not E. H. proper or Bhojpúri, but the Baiswārī, which is a dialect formed by a mixture of W. and E. H. (see pp. V. VI). Tulsī Dās was a native of Hājipúr, a village near the celebrated hill of Chitrakúta in the state of Riwá, about 50 miles S. E. of the town of Bandá in Bandelkhand. He lived from 1541 to 1624. Once he made a journey to Brindaban (and Delhi?); but for the most part he lived in Benares as minister of the Rájá of that town. For some more, mainly legen-



dary particulars of his life, see Garcin de Tassy's *histoire de la litterature Hindouie* vol. 3, pp. 235—244, where also some other less known works of his are enumerated.

All the other celebrated Hindí poets wrote in some dialect of W. H., generally Br. or Kn. The oldest of them is Chand Bardai, who was a native of Lahore, but lived at the court of Prithiráj, the last Hindú ruler of Delhi, at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> cent. He is the author of the *Prithiráj Rasau*, an epic poem recounting the exploits of that monarch. He belongs, however, strictly speaking, to the pre-Hindí period, when W. H. was not as yet separate from P. and G. Next to him come Kabír of Benares in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> cent., the author of the *Ramainis* and *Šabdas*. After him are Súr Dás of Mathurá, Nabhájí and Keshava Dás of Bijapur, the authors respectively of the *Súrságar*, the *Bhaktamálá* and the *Rámchandrika*, etc. They flourished in the 16<sup>th</sup> cent., during the reigns of Akbar and Shah Jehan, the Augustan age of North India. Then follow Bihári Lál of Ambir near Jaipur, the author of the *Satsai*, and Lál Kavi from Bandelkhand, the author of the *Chhatra Prakaś*, in the 17<sup>th</sup> cent. For further particulars as to the lives and works of all these poets, see the respective articles in Garcin de Tassy's *hist. de la litt. Hind.* They all were natives of Western Hindústán, except Kabír, whose sect (the Kabír-panthís) still numbers most of its adherents in the E. H. area. He was born in or near Benares, and died and is buried in Magahar near Gorakhpúr in the Benares district. Yet his writings are certainly not in E. H., but in W. H. The fact is strange and has not, I think, been sufficiently noticed. Though he afterwards became a Hindú and even the founder of a Hindú sect, he was brought up originally by his Muhammedan foster-father in his own religion; and apparently he spent some part of his life in or near Delhi at the time of the emperor Sikandar Lodi. Perhaps one or both of these facts may be the reason of the peculiarity.





## THE TERMS TATSAMA, TADBHAVĀ, etc.

The term *tatsama* means lit. „the same as it“ or *Sanskritic*. It denotes properly those Gāḍī words which have retained exactly the same form as they wore in Sanskrit; e. g., E. H. *bhrātā* „brother“, *rājā* „king“. But practically it includes all words which have been reintroduced into the Gāḍī directly from the Skr., though in the process they have undergone slight phonetic changes, analogous to, but not so thorough as those which have been suffered by the *tadbhava* words (see §§ 40 ff.); e. g., E. H. *chhamā* „forgiveness“, for Skr. *kshamā*; E. H. *āgyā* „command“, for Skr. *ājñā*; E. H. *bisnu* „Vishnu“, for Skr. *viṣṇuḥ*; E. H. *kripā* „mercy“, for Skr. *kṛpā*; E. H. *karam* „work“, for Skr. *karma*; E. H. *putar* „son“, for Skr. *putrah*. These might be called *semitatsamas*.

The term *tadbhava* means lit. „having the same nature as it“ or *Prākritic*<sup>1</sup>). It denotes those Gāḍī words which, though the same in substance as in Skr., are considerably different in form. Practically it includes all those words which have come into Gāḍī from the Prākṛit, and not from the Skr. In the E. H. these

1) Pr. Gramm. distinguish two kinds of *tadbhavas*; thus S. R. (fol. 1<sup>a</sup>) *samskrītabhavaś cha dvividhā, siddhyamānasamskrītabhavaś siddhasamskrītabhavaś cheti*; i. e. „there are two kinds of words which have the same nature as in Sanskrit; viz. those which must be shown to be so, and those which are admittedly so.“ It is not quite clear, however, wherein the distinction exactly consists, as no examples are given. Probably such forms are referred to, as *rāt* and *ratti* „night“ (H. C. 2, 88), both for Skr. *rātriḥ*. The latter (*ratti*) is a *siddha tadbhava*, for its identity with the Skr. *rātriḥ* is evident and follows from the general rules (viz. H. C. 2, 79. 1, 84); but the former (*rāt*) is a *sādhyaṁāna tadbhava*, because its identity must be established by a special rule (viz. H. C. 2, 88). It will be seen that the distinction is analogous to what in Gāḍī I have distinguished as *semitatsamas* from the proper *tadbhavas* (as *putar* and *pūt* „son“), or to Beames' distinction of *late* and *early tadbhavas* (see Bs. I, 13–17). But our „*semitatsamas*“ or „*late tadbhavas*“ are not identical with the Pr. Gramm. *siddha tadbhavas*; for the former *ex hypothesi* have not come through the Pr. at all, but are directly resuscitated from the Skr. at various periods. For this reason, and because they are clearly nearer in form to the pure tats. than to the pure tadbh., I have preferred to class them as a subdivision of tats. rather than (as Bs.) of tadbh.

INTRODUCTION.

XXXIX

words are generally obtained from the A. Mg.; but sometimes from the Śr. Thus compare the following prakritic words with the above list of sanskritic ones: E. H. *bhāi* „brother“ for A. Mg. *bhāie*; E. H. *rāy* „king“ for A. Mg. *lāyā* or *lāā*; E. H. *khet* „field“ for A. Mg. *khetṭam* (Skr. *kshetram*); E. H. *dāhin* „right“ for Pr. *dāhinam* (Cw. 100. Skr. *dākṣiṇam*); E. H. *ān* „order“ for Mg. *aññā* (H. C. 4, 293); E. H. *kānh* „krishna“ for A. Mg. *kaṇhe* (Skr. *krishnaḥ*); E. H. *kisān* „husbandman“ for A. Mg. *kisāne* (Skr. *krśhāṇaḥ*); E. H. *kām* „work“ for A. Mg. *kamme*; E. H. *pūt* „son“ for A. Mg. *putte*; etc. It should be remembered that the Gds. are not descended from the high or literary (Mh.-Śr. and Mg.) Pr., but from the low vernacular or Ap. (Śr. and Mg.) Pr. This fact explains, why some Gd. tadbhava words show a higher state of preservation than that observed in the corresponding words of the High-Pr.; for, in some instances, the latter had suffered a greater amount of decay than those of the Low-Pr. Generally speaking, the Low-Pr. is more tenacious of medial consonants than High-Pr. (see Ls. 396. 457). Thus E. H. *rāti* „night“, Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *latti* (cf. H. C. 4, 330), but High-Mh. Pr. *rāi* (Vr. 3, 58, but also *ratti*); E. H. *khāil* „eaten“, Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *khāida*, but Mh. Pr. *khāio*. Sometimes the more and the less perfect forms exist side by side; as E. H. *gāis* (= *gāi* + *s* „thou wentest“), for Ap. (Śr.) Pr. *gāiu si* or *gāido si* or *gamido si* (Pāli *gamito si*, High-Mh. Pr. *gao si* or *gado si*) and E. H. *gailēs* or *gailēs* „thou wentest“, for Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *gāida si* or *gamide si*. Hence, in some cases, it will always be doubtful whether a particular form must be considered as prakritic or sanskritic. Thus E. H. has both *nair* (or *nayar*) and *nagar* „town“; the former is clearly a tadbhava for A. Mg. *ṇayalam* or *ṇaalam*; but the latter may be either a tatsama for Skr. *nagaram* or a tadbhava for Ap. Mg. *ṇagalam*.

Native grammarians add the *deśya*, as a third division, to the tatsama and tadbhava<sup>1</sup>). The term *deśya* means lit. „belonging

1) Thus S. R. (fol. 1<sup>a</sup>) *iha prakṛtaśabdās tridhā, saṃskṛtasaṃśa-ṇskṛtabhavaḥ deśyāḥ chetī*; i. e. „there are three kinds of Prakrit words, viz. the same as Skr., of like nature as Skr., and provincial (or country born).“



to the country", i. e., *provincial* or perhaps *aboriginal*. They designate by this name all those words which they are unable to derive satisfactorily to themselves from some Skr. word and, therefore, consider to have had their origin in the country (i. e., *rure* or *provincia*). In what way exactly they suppose them to have originated is not clear; namely whether borrowed from the aborigines, or invented by the rustic Aryans themselves in post-sanskritic times (Beames I, 12), or so corrupted by their common parlance from a Skr. original as to make them unrecognisable. The last seems to me the most probable, to judge from the sentiment of modern Paṇḍits on the subject. The results of modern research tend towards diminishing the number of these *deśya* words, by discovering, through means unknown to native grammarians, their real origin and tracing them back to Pr. and Skr. In so far, they make in support of the opinion of those grammarians. But the question, as to whether they are or are not Aryan, is by no means decided thereby. A word may be Prākritic or Sanskritic, and yet may not be Aryan. Whatever non-Aryan elements there may be in the Indo-aryan languages, they must have been incorporated in the earliest times; i. e., at the period, when Paisāchī and the Ancient Apabhraṃṣa were spoken by the subject aborigines and their Aryan conquerors respectively, and when old Sanskrit was the Aryan high language; a period which was anterior to that of what is now commonly called (classical) Sanskrit.

Natives distinguish between the *ṭheth* or *gāmvārī* and the *khari* or *nāgarī bhāshā*. *Ṭheth* means *genuine* or *pure* and *gāmvārī* means *rustic* or *vulgar* (from *gāṃ* = *grāma* „village“); again *khari* means *standard* and *nāgarī* *urban* or *cultivated* (from *nagar* „town“). The relation of these two *bhāshās* is analogous to that of English or rather of the South-German dialects as spoken in the towns or by the educated and the same as in the mouth of the village peasantry. The difference exist mainly in the pronunciation and in the vocabulary. Thus, in the *ṭheth bhāshā* the auxiliary verb is pronounced *bārāi* or *bārai*, but in the *khari bhāshā* *bātai*. Again in the latter, tatsama and even Urdū words are much more frequently employed than in the former which is almost entirely destitute of them. The specimens of E. H. appended to this grammar, being written by a Paṇḍit, are rather in the *khari* than in the *ṭheth bhāshā*.



CSL

## ALPHABET.

### FIRST SECTION. ON LETTERS AND SOUNDS.

#### 1. CHAPTER. THE ALPHABET.

1. The E. H. is commonly written in the *Kaithí* (कैथी or कइथी) alphabet. Its name is derived from *Káyath* (Skr. कायस्थ), the designation of the writer-caste among the Hindús. Though it has a general resemblance to the modern Devanágari, there are but few of its letters, which do not exhibit some points of difference; indeed, as will be seen by a reference to the table, all the vowels, and the consonants *kh*, *ch*, *jh*, *bh*, *d*, *dh* and *r* differ entirely in the two alphabets; and the horizontal top-line is omitted by the *Kaithí* in all letters alike<sup>1</sup>). It will be further noticed, that in *Kaithí* the consonants *k* and *ph*, *p* and *dh*, *r* and *l* very closely resemble each other, being distinguished in each case merely by the addition of a hook or curve to the latter; again, that there is only one sign for each of the following groups of Nágari letters: 1) ण (properly = *n*) for the nasals ण ण, ण ण; 2) श (a combination of *s* and *ś*) for the sibilants ण ण, ण ण; 3) ब for the labials ब *b* and व *v*; 4) ज (properly = *j*) for the palatals ज *j* and य *y*; and also that of the two forms of *ch* one is very much like to one of the two forms of *dh*, the other to one of the two forms of *y*. For the vowels *Kaithí* has only four fundamental signs: अ, इ, ए, ओ. The others

1) Sometimes a series of lines is first ruled across the page, and the letters are afterwards hung on to them. These lines must not be confounded with the top-line of the Devanágari, and in native writing the two are easy to distinguish.





are distinguished by diacritical marks, as shown in the table. In Manuscripts the initial *i* and *ú* are rarely distinguished from *ĩ* and *ũ* or the medial *ú* from *ũ*. It will be seen that altogether the Kaithí alphabet has only *twenty nine* distinct signs. It is used in printing as well as in writing; but owing to the preponderance of H. H., which has adopted the Devanágari, the latter is much more common in books. I shall adopt it in this work also, as the more generally known of the two.

2. *Affinities.* Four principal types of alphabet are used in North-India; the Kaithí, the Bangáli, the Oríyá and the Gurmukhí. The Kaithí is the most widely spread; it is used in writing not only in Eastern, but also, slightly modified, in Western Hindústán, Maráthá and Gujarát. In G. and sometimes in E. H. it is adopted also in print. The Bangáli, Oríyá and Gurmukhí are used in Bangál, Orissá and the Panjáb respectively, in writing and printing. The Gurmukhí probably takes its name from being originally used in committing to writing the oral traditions of the Sikh Gurus (Nának, etc.). The general likeness of these four types to one another as well as to the older Kutila and Gupta is unmistakeable, though their exact relation among themselves, their origin and age are matters not as yet fully elucidated. For some account of them see Bs. I, 54 ff. Besides these, there are two sub-types much in use in the area occupied by the Kaithí, to which they are the most nearly related. These are the Nágari or Devanágari and the Mahájani or Koṭhivál. The first is an improvement, the second a corruption of the Kaithí or of its more ancient original. The exact meaning of the term Devanágari (divine city alphabet) is uncertain; but it suggests its being, as it certainly is, a caligraphic (polished or sacred) writing. The Mahájani (mercantile) is, as its name implies, the short-hand writing of the merchants and bankers, their *Koṭhivál* or *office-writing*; and is still commonly used by them. The Devanágari, on the other hand, is the type adopted for printing in Hindi and Maráthí; and as it is exclusively taught in the schools, it

will probably in course of time entirely supersede the Kaithī; perhaps not altogether an advantage, as it can be written with less rapidity and ease than its rival.

### 1. VOWELS.

3. The E. H. possesses fifteen vowels; a *neutral* and fourteen distinct ones. The latter consist of seven pairs, each containing a short and a long one. They are ॐ, ॐ; ॐ, ॐ; ॐ, ॐ; ॐ, ॐ; ॐ, ॐ; ॐ, ॐ; ॐ, ॐ. Five of these, the neutral vowel and the short ॐ, ॐ, ॐ, ॐ are, according to the usual view, unknown to the Sanskrit phonetic system, and therefore have no place in the native grammatical scheme of sounds and characters. But in order to avoid the inconvenience of two different sounds being denoted by the same sign, I have ventured to introduce into the E. H. alphabet, used in this treatise, five new characters. For the short ॐ, ॐ, ॐ, ॐ I shall adopt the Gurmukhī or Bangālī forms, of the ordinary Nāgarī signs, which differ from the latter merely in having a serpentine form ( ˘ and ˘ ) instead of a slightly curved one ( ˘ and ˘ ). For the neutral vowel I shall adopt a dot ( . ) placed after the consonant in the same manner as a stroke ( | ) is placed after it to denote the long ॐ; in transliterating I shall use the *apostrophe*. Accordingly the signs of the fifteen E. H. vowels are as follows:

*Initial:* — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ  
*Noninit.*: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

*Note:* The neutral vowel requires no initial form, as it never occurs in the beginning. The short ॐ has no non-initial form, as it is inherent in the consonant, which could not be pronounced without it. When it is necessary to indicate the mere consonant, an oblique stroke, called the *virāma* or *stoppage*, is appended to the consonantal sign; thus क ॐ, but क ॐ. The manner of writing the non-initial signs may be seen from the following examples; क ॐ, क ॐ, का ॐ, कि ॐ, को ॐ, कु ॐ, कू ॐ, के ॐ, के ॐ, को ॐ, को ॐ, कै ॐ, कै ॐ, कौ ॐ, कौ ॐ.



4. The neutral vowel is the shortest possible vocal utterance, and very obscure in its character. It may be compared to the English *u* in *but*; but it is shorter and more indistinct; like the vowel in the final syllables *ble* or *tre*, as in *amiable*, *centre*. It resembles the Hebrew *Sh'va mobile*; just as *ě* is like the Hebrew *Khateph Segol*, and *o* like the Hebrew *Khateph Qamez*.

5. The five special E. H. vowels are principally met with in the following places:

a) the neutral vowel is pronounced: 1) often in rustic speech, at the end of a word, instead of the *quiescent* *ā* (see § 24), as घर- ghar' house, for घर ghar; and 2) in the penultimate of any word having more than two syllables and ending in a heavy one; as घर-वा ghar'vá house; घोड़-वा ghōṛ'vá horse; कर-तो kar'tō if I did; पढ़-लो parh'lō I read, etc. A compound consisting of two polysyllabic words is treated as if the words were distinct.

b) the short *ě*, *o*, *ai*, *au* occur 1) always in the antepenultimate; e. g., बेटिया bēṭiyá daughter; पड़ोसिया parōsiyá neighbouring; लोट-वा loṭ'vá vessel; बोलावत् bōlāvat calling; 2) optionally in the genitive affixes के kē and कै kai as घर के ghar kē of the house (see § 372); 3) in the short pronominal forms in ह् (see § 433), as नेह् kar jēh kar of which (but ने kar jē kar); 4) in the conjugational suffixes ऐस् ěs, ऐन् ěn and ऐँ aiँ (see §§ 504. 506); as कर-तेस् kar'tēs (if) thou didst; पढ़-लेस् parh'lēs he read; रह-लेस् rah'lēs thou remainedst; कर-तेन् kar'tēn (if) they did; पढ़-लेन् parh'lēn they read; कर-तै kar'taiँ (if) they did; पढ़-लै parh'laiँ they read; 5) in the suffix ए ě of the conjunctive participle (§ 490), as कहे के kahē kē having said; 6) in some frequently used words, as और aur or औ au and (see § 26).

6. *Affinities*. The short vowels (they are not diphthongs) *ě* and *o* must have existed in Pr. already; thus before conjuncts, as in षोढा (or षिढा for निढा Vr. 1, 12), षोडुं (for षोडे Vr. 1, 19), सेवँ (for शैव्यं Vr. 1, 35), सेज्जा (for प्रज्या Vr. 1, 5), सेव्वा, ऐक्कं (for सेवा, एकं Vr. 3, 58), etc.; and मोत्ता (for मुक्ता Vr. 1, 20), तोव्वणं (for यौवनं Vr. 1, 41), तेल्लोक्कं (for त्रैलोक्यं Vr. 3, 58), etc.

See Ls. 145. 149. Cw. XVIII. Their existence, however, is, I believe, nowhere distinctly noticed by Pr. Gramm., except in the Ap. Pr. by H. C. (4, 410) and T. V. (3, 4. 68), कादिस्वैदोत्तोर उच्चारणाद्यन्म् । i. e., after consonants *ě* and *o* are usually pronounced short. — Both the short vowels *ě*, *o*, *ai*, *au* and the neutral vowel are peculiar to E. Gd. The subject, however, has been as yet little attended to by Gd. Grammarians. As regards the short vowels, B. shows the short *ě*, e. g., in ऐक् *ěk one*, and short *o* in गोम् *gōm wheat*, बोले *bōle he speaks*, etc. Oṛiyá, generally, follows the example of B. (see Bs. I, 69). It is usual, apparently, to substitute *ă* for *o* in writing; thus B. गम्, बले; the same as occasionally in E. H. (see § 26). It is probable, that originally all Gd. languages possessed *ě* and *o*; S. has still preserved the *ě* in some cases, but ordinarily it reduces *ě* to *ǣ*, and always *o* to *ǣ* (see Tr. X—XIII). The other W. Gd. languages always substitute *ǣ* and *ǣ* for *ě* and *o* (as to *ě* and *o* in P. see Ld. 4); even the E. Gds. do so occasionally, see § 26 (cf. S. Ch. 330). The Psh. has both *ě* and *o* (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 33—35). — In B. the final of the weak adjectives, is pronounced like *o*, e. g., बड़ *bōrō great*; but it must not be confounded with the real *o* which is a shortening of ओ *o*, while this *o* is a modification of अ *ă*; as shown by O., which pronounces *ă*; e. g., बड़ *bāră*. E. H. agrees with the W. and S. Gds. in dropping the vowel *ă* at the end of all words; see § 24. On the other hand, both the Psh. and Kf. still retain it (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 33. XX, 393). — In tatsamas with a conjunct व् or व् before the final अ, the latter is commonly pronounced, as योग्य *yogyā worthy*, तत्त्व *tatva substance*.

*Note:* The elision of a medial neutral vowel produces a conjunct consonant. Consequently in H. H. and in M. a conj. cons. is sometimes written, as H. H. ब्रिन्ती *bintī* for ब्रिन्ती *bin'tī petition*, H. H. दुल्हा *dulhá* for दुल्हा *dul'há bridegroom*, M. राम्या *rāmyā* for राम्या *rām'yā Rām*, or घोड़्या *ghoḍyā* for घोड़्या *ghoḍ'yā of a horse* (obl. form). It would be well, if this system of phonetic spelling were carried out uniformly.



7. The E. H. does not possess the four vowels ऋ *ṛi*, ॠ *ṛi*, ॡ *ṛi*, ॢ *ṛi* of the Skr. phonetic system. Even in Skr. they occur rarely and are more or less artificial. In Pr. they had already disappeared; consequently they could not well survive in the modern Gd. In Hindī certainly, whether E. or W., they are never pronounced. In H. H. it is customary to write ऋ *ṛi* in tats. words; but in speaking the syllable रि *ri* or even इर *ir* is always substituted; thus Skr. अमृत *ambrosia* is always pronounced *amrit* (अमृत्) or *amirt* (अमिर्त्); Skr. कृपा *favor kripā* (क्रिपा) or *kirpā* (किर्पा). Perhaps it would be well to follow the example of the old Prākṛit Grammarians and apply their system of phonetic spelling to our modern H. H. also. In any case it is incorrect to enumerate these four vowels or any of them as parts of the Hindī phonetic system.

8. *Nasalization*. In E. H. a vowel is pronounced in many words with a nasal tone, precisely as *n* or *m* in such French words, as *compensation*. This tone is indicated by the symbol (°), called the *arddhachandra* (*halfmoon*); the tone itself is called *anunāsika* (*co-nasal*); see § 23. I shall transliterate it by a *circumflex*. It generally occurs with a long vowel, rarely with a short one or with the semivowels व् and वृ; e. g., रह-तो° *rah'tō*, लेई° *leī*, कोई° *koī*, होई° *hōih*, नोई° *nīd*, or चललं *chālālā*, कुघूर *kuār*, कुघारी *kuārī*, जावू *jāvū*, जावू *jāvū*.

9. *Derivation and affinities*. The *anunāsika* generally (except occasionally before ह् and च्, see § 67) indicates the elision of a consonant, i. e., of a nasal, when it occurs between two vowels (§§ 127. 128), and of the first part of a conjunct when it stands before a consonant (§ 149). The first case alone occurs in later Pr.; neither of them in earlier Pr. or in Skr.; both are common in all Gds.; see § 23.

## 2. CONSONANTS.

10. The E. H. possesses *thirty five* consonants. They consist of twenty consonants proper or *mutes*, five *nasals*, nine *semi-*

vowels and one *sibilant*. They may be further classified according to the organ of utterance into gutturals, palatals, cerebrals (or *murdhanya*), dentals, labials, and according to the degree of audibility into *surd* or hard and *sonant* or soft ones; as exhibited in the following table.

|          | Consonants proper |              |                |             | Nasals     | Semi-vowels              |                              | Sibilants  |
|----------|-------------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|------------|
|          | surd or hard      |              | sonant or soft |             | sonant     | sonant or soft           |                              | surd       |
|          | unasp.            | aspir.       | unasp.         | aspir.      | unasp.     | unaspirate               | aspirate                     | unasp.     |
| guttural | क <i>k</i>        | ख <i>kh</i>  | ग <i>g</i>     | घ <i>gh</i> | ङ <i>ṅ</i> | —                        | ह <i>h</i>                   | —          |
| palatal  | च <i>ch</i>       | छ <i>chh</i> | ज <i>j</i>     | झ <i>jh</i> | ञ <i>ṇ</i> | य <i>y</i>               | —                            | —          |
| cerebral | ट <i>ṭ</i>        | ठ <i>ṭh</i>  | ड <i>ḍ</i>     | ढ <i>ḍh</i> | ण <i>ṇ</i> | र <i>r</i>               | रह <i>rh</i>                 | —          |
| dental   | त <i>t</i>        | थ <i>th</i>  | द <i>d</i>     | ध <i>dh</i> | न <i>n</i> | र <i>r</i> or ल <i>l</i> | रह <i>rh</i> or लह <i>lh</i> | स <i>s</i> |
| labial   | प <i>p</i>        | फ <i>ph</i>  | ब <i>b</i>     | भ <i>bh</i> | म <i>m</i> | व <i>v</i>               | —                            | —          |

11. The E. H. palatals are pronounced like the English. Natives, generally good judges in such matters, do not seem, as far as I could learn from them, to have observed any difference between them. I believe the same is the case in B. and O. On the other hand, it has been often observed, that the W. H. palatals are rather more dental than the English; i. e., rather more like *ts*, *dz*<sup>1)</sup>. This is probably true of all W. Gd. palatals; excepting, perhaps, Sindhi<sup>2)</sup>. In M. they are distinctly semidental, and are pronounced as *ts*, *ts + h*, *dz*, *dz + h*<sup>3)</sup>. It appears, therefore, that the E. Gd. palatals are more distinctly and truly palatal than the W. and S. Gd. This seems to have been noticed already by the Pr. Grammarians. It is noticeable that both the true palatals and the semidentals occur in Psh. and Kf.<sup>4)</sup>. In M.,

1) Thus, e. g., Kl. 11.

2) See Tr. 14. His meaning is not quite clear; he seems to identify them at the same time with the „common Indian“ (that is, apparently, the W. Gd.) and with the English palatals.

3) The true palatals occur also; but apparently only in tatsamas and before palatal vowels; cf. Bs. I, 72.

4) See Tr. J. G. O. S. XX, 393. XXI, 20. 23.





ह् is almost universally pronounced and written स् or (generally before palatal vowels) ष्; e. g., M. रीस् *bear*, E. H. रोह्; M. सूरी *knife*, E. H. हूरी; M. माणो *fly*, E. H. माहो (see Bs. I, 218). In Mw., both च् and ह् are pronounced (but not usually written) स्; e. g., Mw. सक्की *wheel* for E. H. चक्की; Mw. सास् *buttermilk* for E. H. हाह् (see Kl. 14, 25). Also G., S., P. and B. pronounce (and write) occasionally ह् as ष्; e. g., G. गो *who* for S. हा (see § 438, 6); B. काणे or काहे *near* (Bs. I, 218); S. सी for Mth. हो *we are*, P. सन् for N. इन् *they are*.

Note: Both the true reading and the true meaning of the Pr. Gramm. rule, however, are doubtful. Vr. 11, 5 (MS., see Cw. 89) has चवर्गस्य स्पष्टता तयोच्चारणः, which is explained by Bhāmaha चवर्गो वया स्पष्टस् तयोच्चारणो भवति i. e. „the palatals are so pronounced as to be distinct“. My MS. of Md. (12<sup>th</sup> páda, fol. 48<sup>b</sup>) reads चयोरुपपत्तयः स्यात्। यकारागमः। चिर्। म्मात्र॥ If the examples can be trusted, the true reading would seem to be चयोरु उपरि यः स्यात् i. e. „*ya* is to be written above (i. e., as first part of a conjunct) the palatals and labials; this *ya* is an (inorganic) addition; e. g., *ychiram* long, *ymáa* (?)”<sup>1</sup>). My MS. is a Nágari copy of one in Oriyá characters, in which च् and प् and again च् and रि would closely resemble each other. K. I. 3 (in Ls. 393) reads यपचवर्गयुक्ता मनामुच्चार्यः, which would yield a sense similar to that of Md.<sup>9</sup> rule: „the labials and palatals in conjunction with *ya* are slightly pronounced”; or, perhaps, rather: „*ya* in conj. with l. and p. is slightly pron.” This is confirmed by the example given in the rule on the Vocative (Md. 12, 22, fol. 49<sup>a</sup>); see § 48, note.

12. The cerebrals are pronounced by striking the tip of the tongue against the centre of the hard palate, the dentals by striking it against the edge of the upper teeth. It has been a matter of much controversy, whether or not the former are originally Aryan sounds. They constitute a prominent feature of the Drávidian languages, whilst among the Aryans they are peculiar

1) *ymáa* mother (*mátá*) or illusion *máyá*?

to India. Hence it has been commonly assumed that they are an importation from the former. This, however, is by no means certain. I am inclined to agree with the opinion of Beames (I, 232—234), that cerebrals of some kind belong to the original stock of the Aryan phonetic system. It is a well known fact that the (so-called) dentals of all the Aryan languages of Europe, especially of England, when referred to the standard of the Indo-aryan (true) dentals are not real dentals at all, but cerebrals of more or less purity. They are formed by striking the tip of the tongue against the anterior part of the hard palate or the gum of the upper teeth; and therefore are semi-cerebrals. To natives of India, whose ears are quick in detecting differences of pronunciation, they sound like real cerebrals and in transliterating English words, they always represent our dentals by cerebrals, as डैरेक्टर *director*, सार्टिफिकेट *certificate* (cf. § 21). The pure dentals, therefore, are as peculiar to the Indoaryan languages as the pure cerebrals and might with equal reason be adjudged non-aryan. It is far more probable that the original Aryan sound was a semicerebral (if not a pure cerebral) which has in India only, for reasons peculiar to that country, varied in two directions so as to become the true cerebral and the true dental respectively. It is deserving of notice as making for this view, that the old Indoaryan (Sanskrit) cerebral ॠ and ॡ have also been dentalised in various parts of India. The truth seems to be, that the whole class of original Aryan cerebrals has been undergoing in India a process of gradual decerebralisation. The first to be affected were the consonants proper and ॠ which had already in Skr. times become to a great extent dentals<sup>1</sup>). The next was the semivowel ॡ which was dentalised in the times of Mg. Pr. Finally the nasal ॢ became dental in the comparatively modern times of Gd. As the dentals

1) The old (Vedic) Skr. still preserves the old Aryan cerebral ॠ. Cp. वेदि मृद *gracious* with Skr. मृदु *gentle*; also R. मृदु or मृदु with मृदु; नदु with नृदु; नदु with नदु, etc.



are softer and smoother sounds than the cerebrals, it may be supposed that the enervating climate of the great North Indian plain was, at least, one of the causes determining that process. On the other hand, it is quite natural also, that in those forms of the Indoaryan languages which were current among the common people, i. e., the Prākṛits and Gaudians, the original Aryan cerebrals should to a great extent have not only stood their ground, but even been more intensely cerebralized. For most of those people belonged to or, at all events, were most in contact with the aboriginal Drāviḍian population whose language, like their own, possessed the cerebrals. It is noticeable, that just as in Skr. times the old Aryan semicerebral consonants were often made fully cerebral, so in Pr. times in many cases the old (semidental) न<sup>1</sup> is cerebralized to ण, and in Gd. times by the side of the old semicerebral न a fully cerebral ण has been formed. — It may be added as some evidence against the Drāviḍian theory of the cerebrals, that though the Gd. languages have now been for centuries under the influence of Arabic and Persian, yet none of the sounds peculiar to the latter have been imported into them (see § 21).

13. The nasal ण *n̄*, I believe, never occurs in E. H., except in conjunction with a following consonant of its own class, as अङ्गिया *aṅgiyā bodice*. The others may occur by themselves. The न *n̄* and ण *n̄*, both initial and medial, are occasionally heard in the more vulgar (*theth*) forms of E. H.; thus जाही *nāhī no*, अगिजा *agiñā fire*, पारसिन् *narsingh manlion*, पारैण *nārāin Nārāyan*, पाणी *pāni water*. But in the higher forms of E. H. they are always changed to न *n*, as नाही *nāhī*, नर्सिन् *narsingh*, etc.; even in tatsama words with an original ण *n̄*, as कारन् *kāran cause* for Skr. कारण *karana*. Hence the Kaithī alphabet has no special signs for न *n̄* and ण *n̄*; and following its practise, I also shall limit myself in this work to the use of न *n*. When any of the five

1) The Europeo-aryan *r* and *n* are semicerebral or semidental.

nasals are used as the first part of a conjunct, they are always indicated by a dot placed over the preceding consonant; as पंक् *pank mire*, अंत *ant end*. This dot is commonly called *anusvāra*, but it must not be confounded with the real Skr. *anusvāra* which does not exist in E. H. (see § 23).

14. *Affinities.* The two nasals इ and ज् (as non-conjuncts) had already been lost in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (T. V. 1, 1. 1. H. C. 1, 1). The latter (ज्), however, is expressly mentioned by Pr. Grammarians (Vr. 10, 9. 10. T. V. 3, 2. 37. 3, 4. 61. H. C. 4, 293, 294. 392), as occurring in Mg. Pr. (and also in Ap. and Ps. Pr.), where the Skr. conjuncts न्य *ny* and एय *ny* change to उज् *nn*. Agreeably with this, ज् occurs in E. Gd. (especially in the respective *theth bhāshās*) before or after the palatal vowel (इ) or semivowel (य); thus E. H. अगिजा *fire* for अगिनिया, Mg. Pr. अगिपिर् (see Ls. 244 अगिपिर्), Skr. अग्निकः; आही *not* for आही *= ने + आही* (ने for न or ना, as in B., see S. Ch. 331); B. अगिजा *order* (see S. Ch. 10) for (O. H.) अगिना (Skr. अग्ना). So also in N. बाजि *at, by* S. Lk. 10, 29. 40 (H. थे) for Ap. Pr. बाणि or बाणे, Skr. बायने; लिजा *taken* (S. Lk. 19, 8) for W. H. लीना (= लिना) <sup>1</sup>). S. which generally follows E. Gd. phonological practices (cf. §§ 16. 18) keeps even more closely to the Mg. precedents; thus S. पुज *virtue*, Mg. Pr. पुजं, Skr. पुषं; S. वजु *woman's milk*, Mg. Pr. वजं, Skr. स्तन्यं; S. वजे *goes*, Mg. Pr. वजइ (H. 4, 294), Skr. वन्यते (§ 18); S. मजे *heeds*, Mg. Pr. मजइ, Skr. मन्यते, etc. In these instances the E. H. follows the old *Ardhamāgadhī* which has न् *nn* <sup>2</sup>) (see Wb. Bh. 402. 403); thus E. H. पुन् *virtue*, A. Mg. Pr. पुत्तं; E. H. जनै *is made*, A. Mg. Pr. वनइ; E. H. मानै *heeds*, A. Mg. Pr. मनइ. It is noticeable, that S. has also preserved the guttural nasal इ (Tr. XVI. XVIII), as सुइ

1) Apparently it inserts even an inorganic ज् after इ; as उराजा *feared* for उराइजा (उराया); विजा *was* for विजा; रुपिजा *money* for रुपिजा; see S. Lk. 19, 21. 23. 24. Such forms as रुपिजा *money*, अगिजा *order*, however, I have heard also in *theth Panjābī*.

2) The Mh.-Sr. Pr. has एय *ny* for एय *ny* (cf. H. C. 1, 66. 2, 159); but न् *nn* for न्य *ny* (cf. H. C. 2, 25. 44. 1, 243. 3, 58—61, etc.).



*anu* body, मनु *manu* ask (E. H. माँग); and apparently O. too (see Sn. 18), as केनु *kenu* who, येनु *je nu* which. This would seem to indicate, that perhaps ऊ also was not quite extinct in Mg. Pr., though I believe that it is not mentioned as present by any Pr. Gramm. I do not know of any instance of its occurrence in E. H. and B. As regards ए and न्, every ए changes to न् in Ps. Pr. (Vr. 10, 5. H. C. 4, 306); vice versa, every medial न् and optionally every initial न् become ए in all other Prs. (H. C. 1, 228. 229. T. V. 1, 3. 52. 53). Agreeably to this, ए is found as a medial in all Gd. languages, and as an initial occasionally in the Hindi. It is, however, now confined more or less to the theth or low forms of the Gds. In Urdu, H. H., H. P. and H. B., especially, ए (even when originally existing in Skr.) has uniformly given way to न्<sup>1</sup>). Thus E. H., etc. पाणी, M. पाणी *water*, Pr. पाणिमं (Vr. 1, 18), Skr. पानीयम्, but H. H., etc. पानी; E. H. पारैए or नारै *Nārāyan*, Mg. Pr. पारायणे or नारायणे, Skr. नारायणः, H. H. नारैन् or नारायन्. As regards न्, it is uniformly preserved in the earlier Pr.; in later Pr. it is in a few cases elided, nasalizing the following vowel, as जडपां *Jamna* for Skr. जमुना (H. C. 1, 178. T. V. 1, 3. 11). In the Gds. this practice is rather common, see §§ 23. 127.

15. E. H. possesses four new consonants, which do not exist in the Skr. phonetic system; the semivowels र *r*, र्ह *rh*, ल्ह *lh* and ळ *rh*. The र *r* is a pure dental like ल्, which explains their facile interchange (§ 30. 110); र्ह and ल्ह are their respective aspirates, pronounced as *r + h* and *l + h*, as बरहै *barhai* grows, कोल्हू *kolhū*

1) Ps. Pr. possesses only न्; the other Prs., as a rule, only ए. The high Gds., then, follow the Ps. It is a curious coincidence, that the area of the modern Ps. practice is nearly coterminous with the area of direct Mohammedan, i. e., foreign influence; see Introd. — Vr. 2, 42 does not yet admit any option in the change of the initial न्; it is allowed only by the later Gramm. H. C. and T. V., who moreover do not admit the change of न् to ए at all, if it is the resultant of a Skr. conjunct, as Pr. नाओ (not पारो) for Skr. न्यायः. This circumstance — unless Vr's silence as to the option be merely an oversight — would seem to indicate the commencement of the modern Ps. practice.

*sugarmill*. The  $\text{ऌ}$ , pronounced  $r + h$ , as बुढ़िया *burhiyā* old woman, is the aspirate of  $\text{ऋ}$  which is a pure cerebral, and, therefore, is equivalent to the Skr.  $\text{ऋ} r$ . For the latter is said by Skr. Grammarians to be a cerebral, not a dental<sup>1</sup>). In fact, it is not, as commonly supposed, the cerebral  $\text{ऋ} r$  which is the new letter, but the dental  $\text{ऋ} r$ . The old Skr.  $\text{ऋ}$  has assumed a new sound, while its old one is represented by  $\text{ऌ}$ . To avoid the inconvenience of diacritical marks, I shall adopt the Gurmukhī form  $\text{ऌ}$  for  $\text{ऌ}$  and  $\text{ऌ}$  for  $\text{ऌ}$ , and the Gurmukhī cerebral  $\text{ऋ}$  for the Skr. cerebral  $\text{ऋ}$ . The aspirates  $\text{ऌ} rh$  and  $\text{ऌ} lh$  are single sounds in the same sense as  $\text{ऌ} rh$ ; all three are in certain cases interchangeable with  $\text{ऌ} dh$ , precisely as  $\text{ऋ}$ ,  $\text{ऌ}$  and  $\text{ऌ}$  with  $\text{ऌ} d$ .

16. *Affinities*. Vedic Skr. has a cerebral  $\text{ऌ}$  and  $\text{ऌ} lh$ , which in certain schools take the place of an original medial  $\text{ऌ} d$  and  $\text{ऌ} dh$  (see M. M. 4). These complete the series of the semi-vowels. In genealogical order they follow thus: from  $\text{ऌ}$  and  $\text{ऌ}$  arise (cerebral)  $\text{ऌ}$  and  $\text{ऌ}$ , then Skr. or W. Gd. (cerebral)  $\text{ऋ}$  or  $\text{ऌ}$  and  $\text{ऌ}$ , then (dental)  $\text{ऌ}$  and  $\text{ऌ}$ , finally E. Gd. (dental)  $\text{ऋ}$  and  $\text{ऌ}$ . Most words which in W. H. contain a non-initial  $\text{ऌ}$ , have in E. H. an  $\text{ऋ}$ , as O. H. फल *fruit* for W. H. फल; E. H. उरहे *it grows up* for W. H. उलहे. Indeed the affinity between these two sounds is so close and the transition so easy that E. Hindūs seem to be hardly conscious of saying  $\text{ऋ}$  instead of  $\text{ऌ}$ . This proves, *firstly*, that the E. H.  $\text{ऋ}$  is a pure dental sound, and *secondly* that it is more modern than  $\text{ऌ}$ , of which it is, in fact, a comparatively recent modification<sup>2</sup>). Hence it follows that wherever E. H. has its

1) The Skr.  $\text{ऋ}$  is, perhaps, not a full cerebral, but a semicerebral, like the English so-called dentals; only in so far, can the modern full cerebral  $\text{ऌ}$  be called a new sound.

2) It existed, however, already in the A. Mg. of the Bhagavatī (see Wb. Bh. 393). It may be noted, that while the Mg., treated of by H. C., has  $\text{ऌ}$  for  $\text{ऋ}$  (H. C. 4, 288),  $\text{ऌ}$  for  $\text{ऌ}$  (H. C. 4, 260. 302), and  $\text{ऌ}$  or  $\text{ऌ}$  for  $\text{ऌ}$  (H. C. 4, 267. 302), the Mg. of the Bhag. has, precisely like E. Gd.,  $\text{ऋ}$  for  $\text{ऌ}$ , elides  $\text{ऌ}$ , and uses only  $\text{ऌ}$  (cf. Wb. Bh. 410. 428. 429), e. g., in H. C. कलेटि, in Bhg. करेइ, in E. H. करे *he does*; in H. C. यापय or नापय, in Bhg.



dental ॠ, there must have been formerly a ल्. This exactly agrees with what, the Pr. Gramms. tell us, was the case in their time. They say (see H. C. 4, 288. T. V. 3, 2. 36 and the examples in Vr. 11, 8. 10. 12. 13), that Mg. Pr. changes every Skr. ॠ into ल्, that is, it turns the cerebral ॠ into the dental ल्. The E. H. has gone a step further and has converted every dental ल् into dental ॠ; e. g., Skr. ज्ञिः *night*, Mg. Pr. ल्नी, E. H. रात्; Skr. नः *man*, Mg. Pr. नले, E. H. नॠ. There are, however, a few exceptions, as E. H. लेनुरी for Mg. Pr. \*लंनुलिआ (with pleonastic लिआ = डिका) = Skr. रंनू, E. H. लरै *he quarrels*, Mg. लउड, Skr. ररति (see § 110). These bear out the statement of the Pr. Grammarians. But further, that dentalizing process of E. H. is still at work in the present day, turning most W. H. ॠ (= Skr. cerebral ॠ) into dental ॠ, as E. H. तोरै *he breaks* for W. H. तोडे; and occasionally the intermediate (Mg. Pr.) ल् is still preserved, as in the W. H. pleonastic suffix ङ which is in E. H. ला and रा; e. g., W. H. डेडो *goat*, E. H. डेली or डेरी (Skr. डग्गी, Ap. Pr. डायडिआ), or W. H. नाडे *watercourse*, E. H. नाली or नारी<sup>1</sup>). Again the very same process, by which the E. H. has already changed all *dialectic* Mg. Pr. ल् into (dental) ॠ, it applies in the present day to all non-initial *original* (Skr.) ल् also; as Skr. फलं *fruit*, Mg. Pr. फलं, E. H. फॠ; Skr. कदलकः, Mg. Pr. कयलए or केलए, E. H. केरा. Initial *original* ल्, it is true, are exempted, as Skr. लंबः *long*, Mg. लंबे

ज्ञाणह, in E. H. ज्ञानह् *you know*. It appears, then, that the change of ॠ to ल् belongs to the most ancient period of Mg., and that the present phonetic state (of ॠ for ल्) existed already in the Mg. period of the Bhag. In the phonological part of the present work, however, I shall generally give the *ancient* Mg. equivalents (with ल्) of E. H. words; for this reason, more than any other, to keep before the student's mind the fact of the change of the Skr. ॠ to E. H. ॠ, through Mg. ल्.

1) Apparently in these exceptional cases the ल् was already present in Skr.; cf. the Skr. pleon. suff. ल and र; and Skr. नड or नल, Ved. नड *tubular seed, bone, artery*, etc., whence perhaps नः *man*; and Skr. नाडी or नाली *watercourse*, whence, perhaps, नारी *water*.

or लम्मे (see § 18), E. H. लाम् (W. H. लंघा), yet the tendency to the change is shown in the occasional substitution of ण् or न् in the place of ल्, as in the pleonastic suffixes णा or ना for ला (e. g., ऋषणा or ऋषना *own*, cf. M. ऋषला); a substitution which is still more common in B. and O. (see Bs. I, 75); for the cerebral ण् contains the sound of *r*, being somewhat like *m*. Again the trustworthiness of the Pr. Gramms. is shown by their noting the remarkable agreement of S. with E. H., on which point see below. Thus Md. and R. T. say, that S. which is called the *pāschā* dialect, is distinguished by the interchange of *l* and *r*<sup>1</sup>). It is also noticeable that in the Kaithī alphabet, proper to E. H., the sign for the dental *r* (र) is different from that originally used for the Skr. cerebral *r* (ठ) and still preserved in the Gurmukhī for the P. cerebral *r*; it is, in fact, a slight modification of the original sign for ल (ल) made by omitting the semicircular stroke (ऌ), and improved into the modern Devanāgarī (र). According to the Pr. Gramm. the change of र to ल् does not obtain in the Mh.-Sr. Pr.; i. e., the latter does not change the cerebral into a dental. This agrees with the fact that to the present day in W. Gd. (i. e., W. H., P., G., excl. Br. and S.) र is more or less distinctly cerebral; and accordingly they do not interchange their ल् and र, nor have they a cerebral र<sup>2</sup>), but on the other hand they possess a cerebral ल<sup>1</sup>. The same is true of the S. Gd., which like its original, the Dk. Pr. (Ls. 415), follows the W. Gds. (i. e., Mh.-Sr. Pr.). In fact their system of semivowels is very much the same still as in (Vedic) Skr. P. shows a tendency to change its cerebral ल to र, and rarely its ल् to र; hence, probably, its र is not fully cerebral. S., on the other hand, agrees with E. H. in

1) Md. पाश्चात्या रेफव्यत्ययेन (18<sup>th</sup> pāda, fol. 56); and R. T. पाश्चात्यता स्वाद् रलपर्वयेण (Ls. Ap. 5).

2) Their र is always *d*, not *r*; and their *r* is equivalent to र<sup>1</sup>; whence, e. g., W. H. बड़ेला *wild hog*, probably written for बड़ेला = बड़ेला from Skr. बर्हल + pleon. ला; W. H. मंतार or मंता for Skr. मन्तारः.



every respect; it has the dental  $\ddot{r}$  and cerebral  $\ddot{r}$ , the interchange of  $\ddot{r}$  and  $\ddot{r}$ , and no  $\ddot{r}$ ; so also Br., except that it does not usually interchange  $\ddot{r}$  and  $\ddot{r}$ . N. and B., again, agree with E. H. in the dental  $\ddot{r}$  and cerebral  $\ddot{r}$ , and the want of  $\ddot{r}$ ; and though they do not interchange  $\ddot{r}$  and  $\ddot{r}$ , they have the analogous change of  $\ddot{r}$  to  $\ddot{r}$  or  $\ddot{r}$ . The same is the case with O., except that it possesses the  $\ddot{r}$ ; this is strange; I suspect that its  $\ddot{r}$  is not a pure cerebral; for sometimes it has both  $\ddot{r}$  and  $\ddot{r}$ , e. g., गोल् and गोल् *ball*; sometimes it has  $\ddot{r}$ , where the W. Gds. have  $\ddot{r}$ , e. g., G. टल्, M. टल्, but O. टल् to *confound*. To sum up: W. Gd. (excl. S.) and S. Gd., like the Mh.-Sr. Pr., keep the cerebral  $\ddot{r}$ ; but E. Gd. and N. Gd. dentalize it, like the Mg. Pr.; S., like the old Páschá, follows the E. Gd. practice.

17. In E. H. the semivowels  $\ddot{r}$  and  $\ddot{r}$  are never *organic*, but always *euphonic*, i. e., either simply inserted, or produced by sandhi in order to prevent a hiatus. Thus जीवै *he lives* for जी + ऐ (Pr. जीवइ); खावल् *eaten* for खाइल् (Pr. खाइदे); ताय् के *having gone* for ताइ के; जाव् *they may go* for जा + ऐ; again लेवै *to take* for लेऐ; रोवल् *he wept* for रो + अल्; घोड-वा *horse* for घोड-वा; जाव् *I may go* for जावै, etc. It follows that they can never occur at the beginning of a word. It should be remembered, however, that in Kaithí,  $\ddot{r}$  is always written for  $\ddot{r}$ , and  $\ddot{r}$  not uncommonly for  $\ddot{r}$ . Whenever such apparently organic  $\ddot{r}$  or  $\ddot{r}$  occur initially, they must be pronounced  $\ddot{r}$  or  $\ddot{r}$  respectively; as योग् or जीग् *jog worthy*; संजुत् or संजुत् *sanjūt joined*; बात् or बात् *bāt word*; बाटे or बाटे *bātai he is*; संबत् or संबत् *sambat year*. This applies even to tatsamas as जात्रा *jātrā pilgrimage*, आचार्य *āchāry preceptor*. The sound of  $\ddot{r}$  is very peculiar; it is neither distinctly  $\ddot{r}$  nor  $\ddot{r}$ ; of the two it is nearer to  $\ddot{r}$ ; but in many cases it is difficult to say which it is. This is especially the case in the *theth bhāshā*; in the *khari bhāshā*, it is, as a rule, distinctly  $\ddot{r}$ . The same remarks apply to B. and O. — Nor does an *organic*  $\ddot{r}$  or  $\ddot{r}$  ever occur in the middle of a word; it is always vocalized and commonly combined with the adjacent vowels, as नारैन्

प्र. नारायण *Nārāyaṇ* (Pr. नारायणो); देवोदार *pine* (Pr. देवदार॰). This applies also to tatsamas, as देवता *deota* (देवोता) *idol*. In tatsamas it is the usual, though not the universal practice to write  $\text{वृ}$  and  $\text{वृ}$ ; but the Pr. Grammarians' practice of phonetic spelling would be greatly preferable; and for clearness' sake I shall observe it in this work.

18. *Affinities*. This subject is involved in some obscurity. According to the Pr. Gramm. an initial  $\text{वृ}$  always changes to  $\text{वृ}$  in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (Vr. 2, 31. H. C. 1, 245. T. V. 1, 3. 74), but in the Mg. Pr. it not only remains unchanged, but even  $\text{वृ}$  (whether initial or medial) changes to  $\text{वृ}$  (H. C. 4, 292. T. V. 3, 2. 39. cf. Vr. 11, 4. K. I. 5 in Ls. 393); e. g., Skr. योन्नम्, Sr. योन्नपं, Mg. योयपं. But not only is the modern E. and S. Gd. practice precisely the reverse of that of Mg., and the same as that of Mh.-Sr.; but even in the contemporary (Mg.) Pr. literature the Sr. Pr. almost uniformly prevails; e. g., in the Bhagavatī (see Wb. Bh. 394; also Ls. 406. 411. 425). It seems impossible to admit that the Pr. Grammarians should have deliberately foisted on a language, and that in some cases probably their own vernacular, a rule the opposite of which they knew to be the truth. And it seems to be an equally impossible supposition — it is, indeed, as just stated, contradicted by the Pr. literature —, that a revolution so complete in the pronunciation of Mg. should have taken place within the last few centuries, as the accustomed interpretation of their rule would involve. Yet if the  $\text{वृ}$ , which they mention, is understood in the sense of the ordinary semi-vowel  $y$ , there seems no escape from one or other of these two improbable alternatives. The solution of the difficulty appears to me to be the admission of the fact, that in the old Mg. Pr. times there must have existed an obscure sound, intermediate between  $y$  and  $j$ , and doing duty for both these two; precisely analogous to the obscure sound which took the place in Pr. of the two sounds  $v$  and  $b$  and which still exists in E. H. (§ 17). These two obscure or neutral sounds I shall call the *semiconsonants*  $\text{वृ}$



and  $y$ . The palatal semiconsonant  $y$  still appears to exist here and there in isolated cases. It has been noticed by Beames to occur in the Panjáb<sup>1</sup>). But from the Pr. Gramm.' statement, it is probable that it once universally prevailed in the Mg. Pr. The two cases, of  $y$  and  $z$  on the one side and of  $v$  and  $z$  on the other, are closely analogous and serve to elucidate one another. The existence of such *semiconsonants*  $y$  and  $v$  is, apparently, nowhere expressly noted in the Pr. Gramm.; but it follows almost of necessity from the fact, that side by side with them Pr. possesses an *euphonic*  $y$  and  $v$ <sup>2</sup>). The latter are very common in modern Gd., and are pronounced precisely like our ordinary semivowels  $y$  and  $v$ ; whence it follows, that the organic  $y$  and  $v$  must have had in Pr. more of a real consonantal character, and are, in fact, semiconsonants, i. e., neutral sounds between the full semivowels and the full consonants<sup>3</sup>). It is this semiconsonant  $v$ .

1) „The Hindi holds fast the correct pronunciation (of  $z$ ), but Panjabi rather finds it a stumbling-block. When a Panjabi says मक *majh* “a buffalocow” the sound he produces is something very odd. It might be represented by *meyh*, a very palatal  $y$  aspirated; perhaps in German by *müch*, or rather, if it may be so expressed, with a medial sound corresponding to the tenuis *ch*” (Bs. I, 71). It is probably the sound, given to  $g$  (as in *lebendig*) in the Rhenish Provinces.

2) Thus K. I. 1, 45. कुचिमतं वा ॥ गमपां गवपां वा ॥ 46. कुचिदू वतं वा । सुहस्रो सुहस्रो वा ॥ i. e. sometimes (when a consonant is elided) an euphonic  $y$  or  $v$  is inserted, as *gayāṃ* for *gaṃyāṃ* (Skr. *gaganāṃ*), *suhavo* for *suhao* (Skr. *subhagah*). Again H. C. 1, 180. सवपां ययुतिः; and T. V. 1, 3. 10 ययुतिः । नयर् ॥ in the place of an elided consonant between the vowels  $ā$  or  $ā$  an euphonic  $y$  is pronounced; as *naṃyāṃ* (Skr. *nagaram*), etc. Mā. 2, 2. has अनदाव् सदितो वपां पठितव्यो । यकारवदिति पाठशिक्षा ॥ (MS. fol. 8°). — See also Wb. Bh. 399.

3) The Pr. Gramm. themselves note a distinction in the sound of the two sets; thus T. V. 1, 3. 10 calls the euphonic  $y$  लघुपयत्नतरयकार „pronounced with smaller effort”; in the same rule among the examples of the euphonic  $y$  the Pr. पावपां *eye* for Skr. नयनं is given; this would have no sense, unless the organic (Skr.)  $y$  was pronounced in Pr. differently from the euphonic  $y$ . Again  $y$  and  $v$  are in Pr. sometimes *vocalized* and, by combination with the adjacent vowels, form  $ē$  and  $ō$ ; this

which according to the Pr. Gramm. is sometimes *substituted* for a single medial Skr. व् or ब्, but as a rule *elided*, both in Mh.-Sr. and in Mg. Pr.<sup>1)</sup>. They give no rule as to the substitution of the semicons. व् for an initial or a conjunct Skr. ब्; whence it may be concluded, that in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. the latter remained unchanged. This conclusion, indeed, is indirectly supported by the fact that the Skr. conj. ब् mb does not change in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. into म् mm, as it would do according to Vr. 3, 8, if it were pronounced in Pr. म् mv with the semicons. व्<sup>2)</sup>. Thus Skr. तम्बु°, Pr. तम्बु° or तंबु° (Spt. 192); Skr. निम्ब°, Pr. निम्ब° or पिम्ब° (Spt. 252); Skr. अम्बु°, Pr. अम्बु° or अंबु° (Spt. A. 32); Skr. बिम्ब°, Pr. बिम्ब° or बिंब° (Spt. 208); also Pr. अम्ब° or अंब° (Vr. 3, 53, for Skr. अम्);

occurs, as a rule, in declension and conjugation, and it will be observed, that the व् and ब् thus treated are always the euphonic semivowels; thus Skr. जयति of जि + अति is Pr. जेदि, Skr. भवति of भू + अति is Pr. होदि, Skr. तन्वी of तनु + ई is Pr. तणुई, etc.; on the other hand, the organic semiconsonants व् and ब् are not vocalized, but as a rule elided; thus Skr. नयनं is Pr. पात्रपां (T.V. 1, 3. 8); Skr. लात्रपयं is Pr. लात्रपां (T. V. 1, 3. 8). In short, the euph. semivowels व् and ब् are treated like vowels; but the semiconsonants व् and ब् like consonants. Again note the change of Skr. ह्रावा to Pr. ह्राह (Vr. 2, 18).

1) Vr. 2, 15 पोवः *v takes the place of p*; H. C. 1, 237. T. V. 1, 3. 61 बोवः *v takes the place of b*; Vr. 2, 2 °पयवां प्रायो लोपः। Mđ. 2, 2 प्रायः °पयववां लोपः (MS. fol. 8\*) „as a rule *v etc. are elided*”. These rules are given on Mh., but they apply to Sr. and Mg. too (by H. C. 3, 302. 236). It is noticeable, that they do not apply to the Ap. Pr., which possesses the full consonant व्; thus H. C. 4, 396 अनादौ स्वरान्दसंयुक्तानां कवतवपकां मध्दधवमाः „*medial single p, ph etc. become b, bh etc.*”.

2) While conjuncts consisting of a semivowel with an antecedent nasal are assimilated in Pr. (Vr. 3, 2. 3), those consisting of a consonant with an antecedent nasal are not. Hence the second part of the conjunct in the examples must be pronounced ब् b, not व् v; otherwise the forms ought to be तम्बु, etc.; as, indeed, they were probably in Mg. The rule Vr. 3, 3 does not apply to the consonant ब् b, but only to neutral व्; the example लोट्यो for Skr. लट्यकः does not prove that it does, as व् would be assimilated, in any case, by the analogy of the rule Vr. 3, 1.



Skr. चुम्बति *he kisses*, Pr. चुम्बइ or चुंबइ (H. C. 4, 239). On the other hand, it is very probable, that both the initial and the conjunct Skr. व् were pronounced in the Mg. Pr. as the semiconsonant व्. For the following reasons: *firstly*, while the W. and S. Gd., the descendants of the Mh.-Sr. Pr., show, like the latter, the cons. व् in the place of the Skr. conjunct व्व्, the E. Gd., the descendant of the Mg. Pr. (and S. which generally follows E. Gd. practices, cf. § 16), shows व् which postulates in Mg. a conjunct व्व्<sup>1)</sup> and hence the pronunciation व्व् for Skr. व्व्; thus Skr. त्वम्बुः, Mh.-Sr. त्वम्बु, M. त्वव्, G. त्वव्, but E. H., B., O. त्वम्, S. त्वम्, Mg. \*त्वम्; Skr. निम्बः, Mh.-Sr. निम्बो, W. H., M., G. नोव्, but E. H., B., O. नोम्, Mg. \*निम्मे; Skr. निम्बूकः, Mh.-Sr. निम्बूको, W. H., M., G. निम्बू, but E. H., B., O. नोम्, S. निम् or लिम्, Mg. \*निम्मूर; Skr. लम्बः, Mh.-Sr. लम्बो, W. H. लम्बा, but E. H. लाम्, Mg. \*लम्मे; Skr. अम्बम्, Mh.-Sr. अम्बं, W. H., P. अम्ब, M. अम्बा, G. अम्बो, but E. H., B., O. अम्, S. अमो (also अम्बु), Mg. \*अम्मं; Skr. ताम्बम्, Mh.-Sr. तम्बं, W. H., P. तव्बा, M. तव्वे, G. तव्वु, but E. H., B., O. ताम् or तामा, S. टामो, Mg. \*तम्मं (cf. Ls. 246); in Skr. कम्बलः *blanket*, Mg. \*कम्मले, E. H. कम्मल् (cf. § 143 exc.) the original Mg. \*क्म् is preserved; Skr. सम्बुध्यते, Mg. \*सम्मुक्तइ, E. H. समुक्तै<sup>2)</sup>. *Secondly*, while E. Gd. (and Br.) possesses the initial semiconsonant व्, the other Gd. languages have either the semivowel व् or the consonant व् (see Bs. I, 252. Kl. 11. 13) at the beginning of words. *Thirdly*, while the Gur-mukhī (i. e. Panjābī) and Gujarātī alphabets possess two separate signs for *v* and *b*, the Kaithī (incl. Devanāgarī), Bangālī and Oriyā have only one, namely व्, to denote both sounds *v* and *b*, and hence, for distinction's sake, they place a dot *under* (E. H. व्) or *over* (O. व̇) it when it has the sound of *v*; as E. H. रावन् *Rāvan*,

1) The Mg. semicons. व्व् seems to have a tendency to change to व्, e. g., Mg. माह्वा for वाह्वा (Skr. ब्राह्मण); Mg. वेसमवा for वेसववा (Skr. वैश्वववा); see Wb. Bh. 414. 415; also see § 134.

2) In the last instance सम्मु<sup>०</sup> the assimilation सम्म् appears to be common to all Gds.; cf. Bs. II, 108. H. समकीर्ती, G. समनुती, M. समनूत.

कवन् *kavan* who; but वचन् *bachan* word, वन् *ban* wood<sup>1</sup>). On the whole the case appears to stand thus: In Mh.-Sr. Pr. the Skr. semivowel व् and consonant ब् remain unchanged at the beginning of words, but become the semiconsonant व्र in the middle. On the other hand, in Mg. they are pronounced as the semicons. व्र in every case whether initial or medial. In E. Gd. the Mg. initial semicons. व्र has a tendency to be hardened into the consonant ब्, and the Mg. medial semicons. व्र has a tendency to be softened into the semivowel व् and vocalized and combined with the adjacent vowels; thus Skr. बुध्यते, Mg. बुद्धते, E. H. बूँ है *he knows*; Skr. व्रपयन्, A. Mg. सवहं, E. H. सोह. The case of व् and व्र is precisely analogous. It is the semiconsonant व्र, to which the Pr. Gramm. rule refers<sup>2</sup>). From this rule it appears, that just as the semiconsonant व्र was pronounced in Mg. Pr. for both the Skr. semivowel व् and consonant ब्, so the semicons. व्र was pronounced in it for both the Skr. semivow. व् and cons. ब्; and that, again, in every case, both in the beginning and middle of a word. Moreover, just like the Skr. conjunct म्ब *mb* is pronounced in Mg. म्व *mv* and changed to म्म *mm*, so the Skr. conjunct न्ज *nj* is in Mg. pronounced \*न्य *ny* and becomes न्न *nn*<sup>3</sup>). Once more: as the Bangálí and Oriyá alphabets have only one character for both *v* and *b*, so they have only one sign for both sounds *y* and *j*, and hence, for distinction's sake, they place a dot (B. य्) or hook (O. य्) under the य् when it has the sound

1) This proves, that the semicons. व्र was felt to be more like *b* than *v*; for otherwise the dot would be used, when it signified *b*; as indeed it is in Devanágari, the alphabet of W. H. and M., where व्र (i. e. व् or dot within व्) signifies *b*.

2) Thus Vr. 11, 4 जो यः *y takes the place of j*; H. O. 4, 292. T. V. 3, 2. 39 ज्ञयौ यः *y takes the place of j, dy and y*.

3) Thus H. O. 4, 293. T. V. 3, 2. 37 स्वययसज्ञां न्नः *nn takes the place of nj* etc.; as स्रज्जली for Skr. स्रज्जली, धणज्जर् for Skr. धनजयः, पउजले for Skr. प्राजलः *straight*; none of these words, I believe, have survived in the modern Gds.; nor do I happen to know any other instance in B. or O.; in S., perhaps, there is म्मिन् *marrow* for Skr. \*मज्ज<sup>o</sup> (see Tr. XXVII).



of *y*<sup>1</sup>). On the other hand the Gurmukhī and (in this case also) Kaithī have two separate signs for *y* and *j*, just as in the case of *v* and *b*<sup>2</sup>). Finally as in the case of the Mg. semicons. *ṽ*, so here too the Mg. init. semicons. *ṽ* has been hardened in the modern E. Gd. into the full consonant *ṽ*, and the Mg. medial semicons. *ṽ* is softened into the semivowel *ṽ*, vocalized and combined with the adjacent vowels; thus Skr. ज्ञानाति *he knows*, Mg. यणाद्, E. H. जानै; Skr. रत्तनी *night*, Mg. रयणी, E. H. रद्दि or रैनि. To judge, however, from the evidence of the A. Mg. Pr. of the Bhagavati, where *ry* and *rj* as a rule appear as *yy*, but *j* remains unchanged (see Wb. Bh. 394. 389), and from the fact that the Kaithī has separate signs for *y* and *j*, it is possible, that the A. Mg. never possessed the *single* semicons. *ṽ*, but only the double semicons. *ṽṽ*, following in the former respect the Mh.-Sr., in the latter the Mg. In any case, in its modern representative, the E. H., the semicons. *ṽ*, whether single or double, has become a full consonant. — This theory of the semicons. *ṽ* is confirmed

1) This shows again that the semicons. *ṽ* was in Mg. Pr. more like *j* than *y*. — It is noticeable that Bhāmaha in his Comm. on Vr. 11, 4 does not use the term स्याने (he says त्कारस्य यकारो भवति), which he employs in all other sūtras where an actual phonetic change is enjoined; thus on Vr. 11, 8 he says यकारस्यकारयोः स्याने प्रकारो भवति; and so even on Vr. 11, 7 यकारत्तकारयोः स्याने व्यो भवति i. e. *yy* for *rj* and *ry*. Now in the Bhagavati *rj* and *ry*, as a rule, change into *yy*, but *j* does not change (Wb. Bh. 394. 389). This curious coincidence would seem to show, that the difference in Bhāmaha's terminology, if it was intentional, was meant to indicate, that in the case of *j* the change was one in *writing* only, but in the case of *rj* and *ry* it was one both in *writing* and *pronunciation*. In other words: in Bhām' time the semicons. *ṽ* had already hardened into the full cons. *ṽ*, though it was still written *ṽ* (as in modern B. and O.), but the double *ṽṽ* was still both written and pronounced as semicons. The latter would naturally hold out longer. In modern E. Gd., however, it too has hardened to *ṽṽ*.

2) It may be remarked, however, that in Kaithī, too, a dot is placed under *ṽ*, when it signifies an *organic y* in tatsama words; thus सत्य *true*; which shows, that formerly *ṽ* (without dot) signified *j*, the Pr. substitute of the Skr. organic *y*.

by and elucidates the treatment of the Skr. conjunct न् *jñ* in Pr. and Gd. According to the Pr. Gramm. न् changes to ण् *nn* in Mh.-Sr.<sup>1)</sup> (H. C. 2, 42. T. V. 1, 4. 37. Vr. 3, 44), to उञ् *ññ* in Mg. (H. C. 4, 293. T. V. 3, 2. 37) and to न् *nn* in the A. Mg. (Wb. Bh. 402. 403). The Gds. show no trace of the form उञ् *ññ*, but have always न् *n* or ण् *n*; as Skr. राज्ञी *queen*, Pr. रणी or रनी, E. H. रानी or राणी, N. रानी, M. G. P. S. राणी; Skr. यज्ञोपवीतं *sacrificial thread*, Pr. \*यज्ञोवित्रं or यज्ञोवित्रं (cf. Vr. 4, 1), G. ज्ञोड्, E. H. ज्ञनड (for ज्ञोड् see § 26. 122), .M. ज्ञवे, S. ज्ञणवो, W. H. ज्ञनेड; Skr. आज्ञा *order*, Pr. आणा (Vr. 3, 55) or आना, H. आन्; Skr. संज्ञा, Pr. सणा or सना, H. सान् *sign*; Skr. विज्ञापिका, Pr. विषन्त्रिया or विन्त्रिया, H. विनती *respectful information, petition*; Skr. संज्ञापिका, Pr. सणन्त्रिया or सन्त्रिया, H. सनती *instead* (lit. *killing*)<sup>2)</sup>. If न् was pronounced as a semicons. (य्), it would easily be assimilated to the succeeding nasal. Besides from the form न् *nn* it appears, that this palatal semicons. य् had a tendency to pass into the dental class. There are, however, traces in Pr. of another modification of न्, beside that into ण् or न्. The Skr. base राज्ञ *king* becomes in Ps. Pr. राचिन (Vr. 10, 12) and in the later Mh. Pr. राङ्ण (H. C. 3, 50—55. K. I. 237. 238. Cw. 45. Ls. 315). The latter presupposes a Sr. form \*राज्ञिया or \*राज्ञिन or Mg. \*रायिज. Here, evidently the conjunct न् has been dissolved into ज्ञिया or ज्ञिन, which the Ps., as usual, changes to चिन. On the same principle the E. H. word सङ्ग् or सैन् *hint* (also S., see Tr. XXXIV) is formed from the Pr. \*सङ्गा or \*सन्त्रिया, Skr. संज्ञा<sup>3)</sup>. Instead, however,

1) They state, however, that न् of the R. ज्ञा *know* always becomes न् (Vr. 8, 23); this is born out by Gd., which has ज्ञान्; they also say that न् of derivatives of the R. ज्ञा *optionally* becomes न् (H. C. 2, 83. T. V. 1, 4. 82. Vr. 3, 5); but Gd. shows no trace of this.

2) Also देवान् or देवाना *mad*, Pr. दइवण् (H. C. 2, 83) or \*दैवन्, Skr. दैवतः (lit. *inspired*); and बीन् or बीना *seeing*, Pr. \*विष्णु or \*विन्नु, Skr. विज्ञः (lit. *knowing*); these two words, however, are probably introduced from the Persian, which accounts for their metaphorical meaning.

3) H. has both सान् and सैन् *hint*, but only रानी *queen*, not रैनी; probably to avoid confusion with रैनी *night* for Skr. रत्नती.



of  $\text{ṛ}$  being elided, it generally appears in the modern Gd. either as  $\text{ṛg}$  (E. and W. Gd.) or  $\text{ṛd}$  (S. Gd.). This can be naturally explained, if the original  $\text{ṛ}$  be supposed to have been at first pronounced as the semicons.  $\text{ṛ}$ . The latter, as already stated, has a tendency to pass into the dental class, but it passes even more easily into the guttural; i. e., original  $\text{ṛin}$  becomes  $\text{ṛin}$  or  $\text{ṛin}$ . Next the nasal was suppressed and the two hiatus-vowels of  $\text{ṛin}$  contracted to  $\text{ṛy}$ . This is still the common practice to the present day in regard to tatsamas in P. and H.; e. g., P.  $\text{ṛigṇān}$ , H.  $\text{ṛyān}$  *knowledge* for Skr.  $\text{ṛjān}$ ; P.  $\text{ṛagṇiṣṭha}$ , H.  $\text{ṛagṇya}$  *order* for Skr.  $\text{ṛjāta}$ ; but it must have existed already in the Ap. Pr., as evidenced by the modern H.  $\text{ṛagṇ}$  or  $\text{ṛagṇ}$  *sacrifice*, which presupposes an Ap. Pr. form  $\text{ṛagṇ}$  in which the conjunct  $\text{ṛy gy}$  has become subject to the ordinary Gd. laws on the treatment of conjuncts (see § 144. 147. 150); so also the S.  $\text{ṛagṇya}$  *omniscient* for \* $\text{ṛagṇya}$  (Tr. XXXII). — In G. tatsamas  $\text{ṛin}^{\circ}$  is changed to  $\text{ṛny}$  *gnya*; and M. has  $\text{ṛny}$  *dnya* for  $\text{ṛin}^{\circ}$ ; e. g., Skr.  $\text{ṛjān}$  is in G. *gnyān*, in M. *dnyān*. It is usual, however, to retain in writing the Skr. conjunct  $\text{ṛj}$  in the place of the modern awkward triple nexus. — It has been already noted, that traces of the insertion of the euphonic semivowels  $\text{ṛ}$  and  $\text{ṛ}$  are already found in Pr. The practice is far more general in Gd.; in E. H., especially, these euph. letters are regularly employed in the formation of the *long* form of nouns (see § 203).

19. E. H. does not possess the two sibilants  $\text{ṛs}$  and  $\text{ṛsh}$  of the Skr. phonetic system. Even in tatsama words they are always pronounced as  $\text{ṛs}$ , as  $\text{ṛiv}$  *siu* (सिउ) *Siva*. Already in the A. Mg. Pr., the original of E. H., they had uniformly given way to the latter (see Wb. Bh. 393. 415. Ls. 411). In writing the symbols  $\text{ṛ}$  and  $\text{ṛ}$  are commonly used; but they are always pronounced *s* and *kh* respectively (as  $\text{ṛṛ}$  *khūs happy*, pers. خوش), and, in fact, are the E. H. (Kaithi) signs of those two sounds. To avoid misunderstanding, however, I shall employ in this work the usual Devanāgarī characters  $\text{ṛs}$  and  $\text{ṛkh}$ .

20. *Affinities.* The sound of  $\text{क्}$  had been already lost in all Prs.; that of  $\text{ख}$  in the Mh.-Sr. and that of  $\text{ख}$  in the Mg. (Vr. 2, 43. 11, 3). Accordingly none of the Gds. have  $\text{क्}$ , the E. Gd. (exc. E. H.) has no  $\text{ख}$ , W. and N. Gd. no  $\text{क्}$ . S. Gd. and E. H., follow, like their prototypes (the A. Mg. and Dk. Pr.), the example of the Mh.-Sr. and have, as a rule, no  $\text{क्}$ . In other words, like their respective originals, E. Gd. (exc. E. H.) pronounces all three Skr. sibilants alike as  $\text{स}$ ; W., N., S. Gd. and E. H. as  $\text{s}$ . In H. H., however, and in the other literary forms of W. Gd. both  $\text{क्}$  and  $\text{ख}$  are sounded in tatsamas, but alike as palatal  $\text{स}$ ; thus  $\text{शिव}$  and  $\text{विष्णु}$  are  $\text{śiva}$  and  $\text{viṣṇu}$ . — In writing, the character  $\text{क्}$ , more or less modified in the different alphabets (see the table), is preserved in all Gds., and used as a symbol of  $\text{क् kh}$ . Similarly E. Gd. uses  $\text{ख}$ , and W. and N. Gd.  $\text{ख}$ , and S. Gd.  $\text{ख}$  and  $\text{क्}$  indifferently, as a symbol for their *one* sibilant. In the literary or high forms of the various Gds., the use of all three characters  $\text{क्}$ ,  $\text{ख}$ ,  $\text{क्}$  (not of their sounds), has been reintroduced; chiefly in tatsamas; in tadbhavas, owing to an imperfect knowledge of their derivation, they are sometimes wrongly employed by native writers.

21. Such foreign sounds as do not occur in the E. H. phonetic system, are assimilated in the following manner:

1) The semigutturals (arabic)  $\text{ق q}$ ,  $\text{خ kh}$ ,  $\text{غ gh}$  and  $\text{ح or ه h}$  become respectively the pure gutturals  $\text{क}$ ,  $\text{ख}$ ,  $\text{ग}$  and  $\text{ह}$ ; as  $\text{कोल}$  for  $\text{قول}$  *agreement*,  $\text{खाली}$  *only* or *empty*;  $\text{गरीब}$  *poor*;  $\text{हल}$  *state*;  $\text{हर}$  *every*.

2) The semipalatals (arabic)  $\text{ذ ḏ}$ ,  $\text{ز z}$ ,  $\text{ص ṣ}$ ,  $\text{ض ḍ}$  become pure palatal  $\text{ज}$ ; as  $\text{कागड}$  (O. H.  $\text{کاغذ}$ ) *paper*;  $\text{जास्तی}$  *more* (see Bs. II, 54);  $\text{زمیندار}$  *landholder*;  $\text{ظاهر}$  *manifest*;  $\text{ظاهر}$  *manifest*.

3) The semicerebrals (english)  $\text{t}$  and  $\text{d}$  become pure cerebral  $\text{ट}$  and  $\text{ड}$  respectively; as  $\text{कलेक्टर}$  *collector*,  $\text{लार्ड}$  *lord*.

4) The semidentals  $\text{ط t}$  and (sibilants)  $\text{ث ṭ}$ ,  $\text{ص s}$  and  $\text{ش sh}$  become pure dental  $\text{त}$  and  $\text{थ}$  respectively; as  $\text{तैयार}$  *ready*;  $\text{ثابت}$  *proved*;  $\text{صاحب}$  *master*;  $\text{خوش}$  *happy*.



5) The semilabial ف *f* becomes pure labial फ़, pronounced *ph*, not *f* as in W. H.; e. g., फैदा *phaidá* for فايد *faidá* profit.

6) The spirants ع *a* and (sometimes) و *v* are dropped, and if they were medial, the hiatus-vowels are contracted; as मालूम for معلوم *known*, माफिक for موافق *like*.

### 3. THE VISARGA AND ANUSVÁRA.

22. The E. H. does not possess the *Visarga* (:) or unmodified sibilant (see M. M. 4) of the Skr. phonetic system. Already in Skr. the visarga had ceased to be pronounced in certain cases and was assimilated either to the preceding vowel or to the following consonant. In Pr. this became the universal practice (cf. Ls. 142. 229. 230). It follows that none of the Gds. can possess the visarga; on the contrary, they further subject the assimilated vowel or consonant of the Pr. to the disintegrating action of their own laws. Thus compare the following examples: Skr. अन्योऽपि *also another*, A. Mg. Pr. अन्ने जि, E. H. अनउ or अनौ; Skr. यशोवान् *glorious*, A. Mg. Pr. जसोवन्ते or जसवन्ते, E. H. जसवन्तु; Skr. दुर्बलः *weak*, Mg. दुबुले, E. H. दूबरू; Skr. निश्चिन्तः *thoughtless*, Mg. निश्चिन्ते, E. H. निचौतु; Skr. निस्ताजयति *he pours off*, Mg. नित्यालइ, E. H. निवारै; Skr. निष्फलं *fruitless*, Mg. निफलं, E. H. नीफल; Skr. अग्निः *fire*, Mg. अग्गी, E. H. अग्नि; Skr. दुःखं *pain*, Mg. दुखलं, E. H. दुखु; Skr. घन्तःकरणं *conscience*, Mg. घन्तक़लणं, E. H. घन्तकरुन; Skr. निष्कालयति *expels*, Mg. निक्कालइ, E. H. निकालै; Skr. निश्वासः *breath*, A. Mg. निस्तासे, E. H. निस्तासु. It will be seen from this, that the spelling with a visarga (as दुःख, घन्तःकरण), affected by Hindí purists (especially foreign lexicographers), is indefensible. A sound, which had disappeared in Pr. already, could not have survived in Gd. As a matter of fact, no Hindú pronounces or writes<sup>1)</sup> it, even in tatsamas; they say *dukh* not *duhkh*, and *antakaran* not *antahkaran*. The latter is even

1) I have seen a native writer use the visarga to indicate a sonant final *a*, as कयः *karaba* (you will do); the practice, however, is not to be commended; as little as the use of the anusvára to indicate nasalization (§§ 23. 8); both are abuses of the Skr. symbols.

sometimes pronounced *antkaran*, where the *quiescence* of the *ā*, which could not be unless the *ā* were final (see § 41), clearly proves the absence of a visarga.

23. The E. H. does not possess the *Anusvára* (·) or unmodified nasal (M. M. 4) of the Skr. phonetic system. The *anusvára* should be carefully distinguished from the *anunásika* (◌̣). The former is a separate sound (like the visarga or like any vowel or consonant), while the latter is merely the nasalization of a sound. If the breath is emitted wholly through the mouth, the *pure* sounds, whether vowels or consonants<sup>1</sup>), are produced; if a part only be thus emitted, while the rest is allowed to escape simultaneously through the nose, a nasalized sound, whether vowel or consonant<sup>1</sup>), is produced; if the breath is expelled wholly through the nose, the mouth being shut, a pure nasal sound (unmodified by any organ of speech in the mouth) is the result. The latter is the *anusvára*, which, therefore, is called by native Grammarians *násikya*, because pronounced in the nose only. The second group, the nasalized sounds, are called by them *anunásika* or *co-nasals*, because they are pronounced through both mouth and nose *at the same time*. The pure nasal, monopolising as it does the whole of the breath, cannot be pronounced *together with*, but only *after* an other sound. Hence it is called by the native Gramm. *anusvára*, i. e. *after-sound*. — Now any sound, whether vowel or consonant, may be nasalized, except *ṛ*, *r*, *ṣ* and *ḥ*<sup>2</sup>); but only five of these, when thus nasalized, are written with separate letters; viz. the nasal consonants or, briefly, the *class-nasals*, *ṛ̣*, *ṇ̣*, *ṃ̣*, *ṣ̣*, *ṃ*. The nasalization of the rest (i. e. *ṛ̣*, *ṇ̣*, *ṃ̣* and the vowels, which I shall call, briefly, the *anunásika*) is indicated by the sign (◌̣), called *arddhachandra* (halfmoon); thus *ạ̄*, *ị̄*, *ụ̄*, *ẹ̄*, *ọ̄*, *ṛ̣*, *ṛ̣̣*, *ṣ̣̣*, etc. (§ 8). The pure nasal (or *anusvára*) is denoted by the sign (·), called *bindu* (dot);

1) Modified in the mouth, according to the organ of speech, into gutturals, palatals, etc.

2) In Skr. also *ṛ̣* and *ṣ̣̣*; and in Gd. also *ṛ̣*.



thus *ám* is the vowel *á* succeeded by a nasal tone, while *ā̃* is the nasalized vowel *á*. The latter is but *one* sound; the former are two successive sounds. The two cases, therefore, are quite distinct. — The anusvára has the nearest affinity to the class-nasal *ṁ*; the latter is formed by a momentary, the former by a prolonged contact of the lips. — As to the use of these three kinds of nasals (the class-nasals, the anusvára and the anunásika) in Skr., Pr. and Gd. respectively, the following *general* laws may be laid down. *Firstly*, as regards the nasal in the *body of the word*. 1) In Skr.: a) a nasal standing before *स्* *s* (ॠ, ॡ) and *ह्* *h* must be the anusvára; b) before any consonant proper it must be the respective class-nasal; c) before nasals, semivowels and vowels it must be one of the three, ॠ or ॡ or ॣ (cf. M. M. 5. 7. 59. 60). 2) In Pr.: a) a nasal standing before *च्* (Mg. ॠ) must be the anusvára; b) before *ह्* and any cons. proper it may be either the anusvára or the respective class-nasal; in the latter case *ह्* changes to *च्* (H. C. 1, 264. T. V. 1, 3. 86); c) before nasals, semivowels and vowels ॠ, ॡ and ॣ remain, as a rule, unchanged<sup>1)</sup>; but occasionally *स्* before *च्* may be changed to anusvára, while before vowels it may become *च्* with or without *anunásika* or be elided<sup>2)</sup> (cf. ad a. b., Vr. 4, 17. H. C. 1, 29. 30. T. V. 1, 1. 47. 48; ad c., Vr. 3, 2. 3. 43. 44. 53. 2, 3. T. V. 1, 4. 78. 79. 37. 48. 49. 3, 2. 37. 44. 3, 3. 3. 1, 3. 11. H. C. 2, 42. 56. 61. 78. 79. 1, 23. 4, 397. 1, 178). 3) In Gd.: a) the nasal is never anusvára under any circumstances; b) before *च्*, *ह्*, and any cons. proper it may be either *anunásika* or the respective class-nasal; if *anunásika*, the preceding vowel is almost universally lengthened; if class-nasal, *ह्* becomes *च्*; c) before semivowels

1) Unless the conjunct is dissolved; as Skr. *अम्लिका* *tamarind*, Pr. *अमल्लिका*, H. इमली (see § 167).

2) Occasionally *च्* before vowels is changed to anusvára or *anunásika* in Pr.; as Skr. *गृहाणि* *houses*, Pr. *घराई* or *घराई* (H. C. 3, 26. T. V. 2, 2. 31), M. घरे.

and vowels it is often changed to *anunásika*, in which case the hiatus-vowels are generally contracted. Compare the following examples: *ad a. b)* Skr. हंस: *goose*, A. Mg. हंसे, E. H. हँस् or हन्स्; Skr. सिंह: *lion*, A. Mg. सिंहे or सिङ्गे (or सिंघे), E. H. सीँह or सीँघ or सिङ्ग (or सिंघ § 13); Skr. पङ्क: *mud*, Mg. पंके or पङ्गे, E. H. पाँक् or पङ्क (or पंक् § 13); Skr. अञ्जनम् *eyesalve*, Sr. अञ्जपां or अञ्जपां, E. H. अञ्जिन् or अञ्जन्; Skr. कण्टक: *thorn*, Mg. कंटए or कण्टए, E. H. काँटा or कण्टा; Skr. चन्द्र: *moon*, Mg. चंदे or चन्दे, E. H. चाँद् or चन्द्; Skr. कम्पति *he trembles*, Mg. कंप्इ or कम्पइ, E. H. काँपै or कम्पै; *ad c)* Skr. पुण्यम् *virtue*, A. Mg. पुण्यां or पुनं, E. H. पुन्; Skr. मन्यते *he heeds*, Mg. मन्इ, E. H. मानै; Skr. गम्यते *it passes*, Mg. गम्मइ, E. H. गमै; Skr. तम्बूल: *roseapple*, Mg. तम्बुले or \*तम्मुले (§ 18), E. H. तामुन्; Skr. अम्रम् *mango*, Mg. अम्वं or \*अम्मं (§ 18), E. H. अमा; Skr. तन्मयते *is born* (Den. R.), Mg. तम्मइ (H. C. 4, 136), E. H. तामै or तमै; Skr. भ्रमरक: *bee*, Ap. भवँरउ, E. H. भौँरा; Skr. कमलम् *lotus*, Ap. कवलं, E. H. कवलं; Skr. कुमारः *prince*, Mg. कुमाले or कुमले (H. C. 4, 302. 1, 67), E. H. कुमँर or कुम्र; Skr. स्थाने *at* (a place), Mg. थाणे or (Ap.) थाणि, E. H. थे; Skr. पञ्चत्रिंशत् *thirty five*, Mg. पञ्चतीसा or पपातीसा (cf. H. C. 2, 174. 43), E. H. पैँतीस् (for पयँतीस्). There are a few exceptions; 1) in Pr.: *a)* occasionally the *anusvára* is optionally dropped, in which case the preceding vowel is generally lengthened (Vr. 1, 17. 4, 16. H. C. 1, 28. 29. T. V. 1, 1. 46. 48); *β)* occasionally an *anusvára* is substituted for a consonant proper forming the first part of a conjunct (Vr. 4, 15. H. C. 1, 26. T. V. 1, 1. 42); *γ)* the nasal preceding a consonant proper which is not *ásanna* (T. V. 1, 1. 47), i. e., between which and itself another consonant has been dropped, *must* be *anusvára* (H. C. 1, 25. T. V. 1, 1. 41); *δ)* a nasal, preceding ह् by transposition, remains, as a rule, unchanged; very rarely it is elided and the preceding vowel lengthened (Vr. 3, 8. 32. 33. H. C. 2, 74. 75. T. V. 1, 4. 67—70. H. C. 2, 73. T. V. 1, 4. 64). 2) In Gd.: *α)* and *β)* the Pr. practice is retained and extended, only substituting *anunásika* for *anusvára*; *γ)* in this case also *anunásika* is substituted for *anusvára*; *δ)* either ह् is elided and the preceding



vowel lengthened or the conjunct is dissolved. Compare the following examples: ad *a*) Skr. विंशति: *twenty*, Pr. बीसा, E. H. बीस्; Skr. सिंह: *lion*, Pr. सीहो or सिंहो, E. H. सीह् or सीह्, etc. (see above); Skr. मांसम् *flesh*, Pr. मासं or मंसं, E. H. मास् or मास् or मन्स्; Skr. संहर्ति *he collects*, Pr. संहर्इ or सहरइ (T. V. 3, 1. 133), E. H. सहरै; Skr. सम्मुखे *before*, Pr. समुहे or समुहे, H. सामहे or समुहे or सोहो; Skr. पठन् *reading*, Mg. पठंते, E. H. पठन्; Skr. संस्य: *together with*, Mg. संये or सत्ये, E. H. साय्; ad *β*) Skr. वक्त्रम्, Pr. वंक्, E. H. वाक्; Skr. अश्रुकम् *tear*, Pr. अंसुअं, E. H. आंसू; Skr. सत्यम् *true*, Pr. सच्चं, E. H. साच्च; Skr. निद्रा *sleep*, Pr. निद्रा, E. H. नीद्, etc. (see § 149); ad *γ*) Skr. पङ्क्तिः *row*, Pr. पंती, E. H. पांति; ad *δ*) Skr. चिह्नम् *sign*, Pr. चिपहं (H. C. 2, 50), E. H. चीन् or चिनहा; Skr. ब्राह्मणः *Brāhman*, Mg. ब्रम्हणे, E. H. बामन् or बगहन; Skr. कृष्णः *krishna*, Mg. कपहे, E. H. कान् or कनइ (as in कानपुर *Cawnpur* and कनहैया लाल *Kanhaiyá Lál*); Skr. अस्मे, A. Mg. अम्ह, E. H. हम् *we*; Skr. कुम्भापटः, Mg. कोहले, E. H. कोहर; Skr. तुष्णं, Pr. तुम्हं, E. H. तोहरा *your*. Secondly; as regards the nasal म् at the end of a word: 1) in Skr. a) before consonants it may become anusvāra or the respective class-nasal; b) before vowels it remains म् (M. M. 29). 2) In Pr. a) before consonants it must become anusvāra; b) before vowels it generally becomes anusvāra or remains unchanged; but it may occasionally become anunāsika or be elided (Vr. 4, 12. 13. H. C. 1, 23. 24. T. V. 1, 1. 39. 40. §. C. 1, 1. 39. 40. H. C. 3, 25. T. V. 2, 2. 30). 3) In old Gd. it becomes anunāsika if preceded by a long vowel, and is elided if preceded by a short one; this is on the whole preserved by M., G. and S.; in the other modern Gds., as in H., B., etc., it is always elided. Compare the following examples: Skr. फलं तोटयति or फलन्तोटयति *he breaks fruit*, Pr. फलं तोडेइ, E. H. फर् तोडे; Skr. फलं लभते or फलल्लभते *he takes fruit*, Pr. फलं लहइ or लेइ, E. H. फर् ले; Skr. फलमवहति *he gathers fruit*, Mg. फलं अवहलइ or फलमवहलइ, E. H. फर् (आहरै); Skr. दधि *curds*, Pr. दहिं or दहिं or दहि; Skr. दधिकम्, Pr. दहिअं, M. दही, E. H. दही. This induction clearly proves two things. Firstly; that in the main a gradual attenuation of the nasal has taken place. The nasal

consonant of the Sanskrit becomes anusvára in Pr., and anunásika in Gd., and finally drops of altogether<sup>1</sup>). In one instance, however, a consolidation of the nasal has taken place; namely the Skr. anusvára before स् and ह् has become in Pr. a nasal consonant before ह्, and in Gd. before both स् and ह्. Secondly, that Gd. possesses no anusvára. This fact has been much obscured by the objectionable modern practice of writing and printing the anusvára, instead of the anunásika, as मै I for मैँ, होह् lip for होँ, etc. The correct practice, which is still generally followed by natives of the old school in their writing and printing<sup>2</sup>), is to use the anusvára, just as in Skr. (M. M. 5. 59), only when the full nasal consonant ought to be written and *must be pronounced*. Here, of course, the *dot* is not the real anusvára, but merely a sort of stenographic sign for the class-nasal, used for the sake of more expeditious writing and not affecting the pronunciation in any way. The anunásika, on the other hand, is used whenever a vowel is to be pronounced with a nasal tone. Thus natives write and pronounce either चाँद् *chāṇḍ* or चंद् *chand*, but not चाँद्. It would be well, to revert generally to this older and more correct practice. In the present work the distinction will be carefully observed.

## 2. CHAPTER. "EUPHONIC PERMUTATION OF LETTERS.

### 1) IN PRONUNCIATION AND INFLECTION.

#### VOWELS.

24. If any word ends in a short अ ऌ, that अ ऌ becomes *quiescent*, that is, it is not pronounced; and such a word may practically be considered as one ending in a consonant. The

1) H. C. (4. 411) and T. V. (3. 4. 67) have a rule on the Ap. Pr. which seems to indicate such an *attenuation* of the final nasal (anusvára); बिन्दोर् अन्ते पदान्ते वर्तमानस्य बिन्दोर् अपभ्रंशे उच्चारलाघवं भवति प्रायः॥ i. e. the anusvára at the end of a word is usually pronounced *slightly*.

2) In writing the anunásika commonly appears as two dots (··), the second being merely an abbreviation of the semicircle (∪).



quiescent *ā* will, for the sake of clearness, be indicated in this work by the *virāma* (cf. § 3, note). Thus बाघ् *bāgh* tiger (not *bāgha*); बात् *bāt* word; चलत् *chalat* walking; होइब् *hoib* we shall be.

*Exception.* It is always pronounced in the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. plur. in conjugation; thus होइब *hōiba* you shall be (not *hoib*), बाट *bāta* you are (not *bāt*).

25. An antepenultimate *ā* is always made *ā* which with a following इ *i* or उ *u* optionally, yet generally, combines to ए *ai* and औ *au*. Antepenultimate ई *i*, उ *u*, ए *e*, औ *o* are shortened whenever followed by a consonant (excl. euphonic व् and ब्). Thus रम्-वा *ram'vā* long form of राम् *rām* Rāma; गिध्-वा *gidh'vā* of गिध् *gidh* vulture; घोर्-वा *ghor'vā* of घोर् *ghorā* horse; बेट्-वा *beṭ'vā* of बेटा *beṭā* son; मिट्-का *miṭ'kā* of मीटा *miṭā* sweet; नउवा *naivā* or नौवा *nauā* of नाउ *nāu* barber; भइया *bhaiyā* or भैया *bhaiyā* of भाई *bhāi* brother; बतिया *batiyā* of बात् *bāt* word; सुतल्तो *suṭlō* 1<sup>st</sup> pr. sg. pret. of सूतब् *sūtāb* to sleep; खइबो *khaibō* or खैबो *khaibō* 1<sup>st</sup> pr. sg. fut. of खाइब् *khaib* to eat; करउतो *karaūtō* or करौतो *karautō* 1<sup>st</sup> pr. sg. pret. conj. of कराइब् *karāib* to cause to do (for करावल्तो *karāv'tō*, see § 34); but पीवतो *piiv'tō* (if) I drank; छूचलो *chūchlo* or छूवल्लो *chūv'lo* I touched (see § 65).

*Exception.* The long vowel of a transitive (or causal) root is never shortened; e. g., मारल्तो *mār'lō* I killed of मारब् *mārb*, caus. of मर्ब् *mārb* to die.

*Note:* There are traces of this law in Pr.; e. g., Ap. Pr. तइसो for \*ताइसो (H. C. 4, 403. T. V. 3, 3. 10) = Mh. तारिसो, Skr. तादृशः *such*.

26. The short ऐ *ē* and औ *āi* are sometimes reduced to इ *i*, and short ओ *ō* and औ *āu* to उ *u*; or, more often, all four to अ *a*. Thus: बेटिया *bēṭiyā* or बिटिया *biṭiyā* daughter; कहै *kahē* or कहि *kahi* having said; गैलेन् *gailēn* or गैलन् *gailān* they went; गैलै *gailāi* or गैलै *gailā* they went; लोटिया *lōṭiyā* or लुटिया *luṭiyā* brass vessel; परोसिया *parōsiyā* or परसिया *parasiyā* neighbouring; जनोड *janōḍ* or जनउ *janau* brahmanical thread; औ *āu* or अ *a* and; और *aur* or अर् *ar* and; मुगाफी or मोगाफी *honey-bee*; चवालिस or चौवालिस *forty four*, etc.

*Note:* There are traces of this law in Pr.; e. g., वेद्यणा or विद्यणा *pain* (Vr. 1, 34); सणित्चरो *saturday* for Skr. शनैश्चरः, E. H. सनीश्चर (H. C. 1, 149. cf. Vr. 1, 38); सत्तुवत्सवं *one hundred and seven* for Skr. सप्तोत्तरशतम् (Wh. Bh. 427); अन्तुत्तं or अन्तुत्तं *mutual* for Skr. अन्योन्यम् (H. C. 1, 156); सुडो *drunk* for Skr. श्रौण्डः (Vr. 1, 44); Ap. कवणु *who* (H. C. 4, 395. cf. 4, 408) for केवणु = केवडु (lit. of *what sort*, see § 438, 2).

27. A final *anunāsika* is often omitted; thus तूँ *tū* or तु *tū* you; तैँ *tai* or तै *tai* thou; मैँ *mai* or मै *mai* I; मेँ *mē* or मे *mē* in; नाँहीँ *nāhī* or नाँही *nāhī* not; जानीँ *jānī* or जानी *jānī* we know, etc.

28. To avoid the *hiatus* of two contiguous vowels, *y* is inserted after आ *á*, ई *ī*; and optionally व *v*, after उ *ú*, ओ *o* and ए *e*. But neither *y* nor *v* can be inserted, if the second vowel be इ *ĩ* or ई *ī*; in this case the hiatus, as a rule, remains, though अइ *ai* may and ईइ *īi* must be contracted to ऐ *ai* and ई *ī* respectively, if they are followed by a heavy syllable. Thus: खिया + अत् = खियायत् *khīyáyat* it was eaten; जा + ए = जाये *to go*; पी + अत् = पीयत् *piyab* to drink; पी + ऐ = पीयै *piyai* he drinks; again चूवत् *chúvat* or चूयत् *chúat* dripping from चू + अत्; चूवै *chúvai* or चूऐ *chúai* it drips from चू + ऐ; रोवत् *rovat* or रोयत् *roāt* weeping from रो + अत्; रोवै *rovai* or रोऐ *roai* he weeps from रो + ऐ; लेवै *levai* he or लेऐ *leai* he to take from ले + ऐ. But खा + ई = खाई *khái* he shall eat; खा + ईला = खाईला *khálla* we eat; पी + ईला = पीईला *píllá* we drink; चू + ई = चूई *chúí* it will drip; चू + ईला = चूईला *chúllá* we drip; बोई *boi* he will sow, बोईला *boíllá* we sow; देई *dei* he will give, देईला *dellá* we give; again खइवै *kháibai* or खैवै *khaibai* we shall eat from खा + इवै; पीवै *pibai* we shall drink from पी + इवै; खाइवै *kháib* we shall eat from खा + इव; पीइवै *píit* (if) we drank from पी + इव; चूइवै *chúibai* and चूइव *chúib* we shall drip; बोइवै *boibai* and बोइव *boib* we shall sow; लेइवै *leit* (if) we took from ले + इव.

*Exception 1.* The suff. ई (3. pr. sg. fut. ind.) may optionally combine with a preceding ई to ईई; thus पी + ई = पीई *píi* or पी *pí* he will drink; जी + ई = जीई *jíi* or जी *jí* he will live.



*Exception 2.* The initial अ of the suff. of the fut. ind. (viz. खावो<sup>१</sup> etc.), of the pres. part. (अत्) and of the pret. conj. (viz. यतो<sup>१</sup> etc.) combines with a preceding आ or ए, and with ओ of the verb हो to become to आ, ए, ओ respectively; thus खा + खावो<sup>१</sup> = खावो<sup>१</sup> *khābō I shall eat*; दे + खावो<sup>१</sup> = देवो<sup>१</sup> *debō I shall give*; हो + खावो<sup>१</sup> = होवो<sup>१</sup> *hobō I shall be*; खा + अत् = खात् *khāt eating*; दे + अत् = देत् *det giving*; हो + अत् = होत् *hot being*.

### SINGLE CONSONANTS.

29. र *r* is generally substituted for ड *r*; thus E. H. तोरे *he breaks* for W. H. तोडे; E. H. तोरे *he joins* for W. H. तोडे; E. H. बारी *garden* for W. H. बागे; E. H. तौर *wife* for W. H. तौर; E. H. नारी *artery* for W. H. नागे, etc. Sometimes also र्ह *rh* for ड्ह *rh*; as E. H. बाई *bārhai he grows* for बाडे (W. H. बाडे); E. H. गार्ह *gārhai he beats into form* for W. H. गाडे.

30. र *r* is almost universally substituted for a non-initial ल *l*; thus E. H. फल *fruit* for W. H. फल्; E. H. गारि *abuse* for W. H. गाली; E. H. चरे *he walks* for W. H. चले; E. H. डारे *he throws* for W. H. डाले; E. H. कर्वा *black* for कलिया, etc.; but never रोम for लोग *people*, etc.

*Exception.* The ल of the suff. अल of the past tense never changes; e. g., गवल *gone*, not गवर; पढलो<sup>१</sup> *I read*, not पढरो<sup>१</sup>.

31. ल *l* and न *n*, if initial, are sometimes interchanged; thus ल for न in नीला *dark blue* or नीला (Skr. नील); and न for ल in नोन *salt* or लोन (Skr. लवण, cf. Vr. 1, 7); नंगोट *waistcloth* or लंगोट (Skr. लिङ्गपट्टः, Mg. लिंगवट्टे<sup>१</sup>).

32. ह *h* may be dropped; 1) always final, thus नेह के or ने के *of whom*; ओह के or ओ के *of that*; ऐलह or ऐल *aila you came*; कर्तह or कर्त *karata (if) you did*. 2) sometimes medial (see § 126); as ताँ or तहाँ *there*, काँ or कहाँ *where*, जहाँ or जहाँ *wheresoever*, मे or मेँ or माही *within*; के or (O. H.) काही *towards*; मराठा or मरहठा *a Marāṭhā*; सगा *full brother* for \*सगहा (see § 120); दिवा *day* for \*दिवहा (see § 134, note).

1) Not from नंग, Skr. नग्न *naked*, as Bs. I, 249; the original ड of लिङ्ग is preserved in the ह of B. नेगुटि.

33. A medial *v* *v*, followed by *इ* or *ई*, is always elided; and further *इ* (but not *ई*) combines with a preceding *आ* *ā* (or *अ* *a* by § 25) to *ए* *ai*; thus *पाव् + इबो* (= *प + इबो*) = *पैबो* *I shall find*; *आव् + इवे* = *ऐवे* *thou wilt come*; *बियाव् + इबह्* = *बियैबह्* *you will cause to eat*. But *पाव् + ई* = *पाई* *he will find*; *आव् + ई* = *आई* *we come*; *बियाव् + ईला* = *बियाईला* *we cause to eat*.

34. A medial *y* *y* or *v* *v*, containing a *neutral* vowel (see § 5, a), are vocalized to *इ* *i* and *उ* *u* respectively, and optionally combine with a preceding *अ* *ā* (or originally *आ* *ā* by § 25) to *ए* *ai* or *औ* *au*. Thus *गयल् + ऐस्* (= *गय-लेस्* *gay'lēś*) = *गइलेस्* *gailēs* or *गैलेस्* *gailēs* *thou wentest*; *पिया + अत्त्यू* (= *पियय-त्त्यू* *piyay'tyū*) = *पियइत्त्यू* *piyāityū* or *पियैत्त्यू* *piyāityū* *I could be drunk*; *कराव् + अतो* (= *करव-तो* *karav'tō*) = *करउतो* *karaūtō* or *करौतो* *karautō* (if) *I caused to do*; *चराव् + अलेस्* (= *चरव-लेस्* *charav'lēś*) = *चरउलेस्* *charaūlēś* or *चरौलेस्* *charaūlēś* *he caused to walk*.

35. *Affinities*. There are instances of this change in Pr.; thus *आइरिओ* or *आयरिओ* = Skr. *आचार्य* (H. C. 1, 73); *केल* for *\*कइल* for *कयल* = Skr. *कदलम्* (H. C. 1, 167); *बोर* for *\*बउर* for *\*बवर* = Skr. *बदरम्* (H. C. 1, 170); *असरइ* for *\*अउसरइ* for *अवसरइ* = Skr. *अपसरति* (H. C. 1, 172); *पाउरपां* = Skr. *प्रावरणम्* (H. C. 1, 175); *उसहो* or *वसहो* = Skr. *बृषभ* (H. C. 1, 133); also in inflexion as *त्रेदि* = *\*तइदि* = Skr. *तवति*; *होदि* = *\*हुउदि* = Skr. *भवति*, etc.; see § 18, note 3, p. 18).

### COMPOUND CONSONANTS.

36. *क्* *ksh* is always pronounced and written *छ* *chh*; thus *छोटा* *chhotā* *small* (Skr. *सुद्रक*?); *छत्रि* *chhat'ri* a *chhat'ri* (Skr. *चत्रिय*); *छमा* *chhamā* *forgiveness* (Skr. *क्षमा* *kshamā*).

37. *ज्ञ* *jñ* is always pronounced and generally written *ग्य* *gy*; as *ग्यान* *gyān* *knowledge* (Skr. *ज्ञान* *jñāna*); *आग्या* *agyā* *command* (Skr. *आज्ञा* *ājñā*).

38. *ङ्* *ṅh* is always pronounced and generally written *ङ्* *ṅh* (or *ङ्* *ṅh*); as *सङ्घ* *saṅgh* *collection* (Skr. *संघ* *saṃgha*); *संघात* *saṅghāt* *collection* (Skr. *संहत* *saṃhata*); *सिङ्घ* *siṅgh* *lion* (Skr. *सिंह*); *सिंघासन* *siṅghāsan* *throne* (Skr. *सिंहासनम्*), etc. (see § 159).



39. 'सू' *ms* is always pronounced and written 'सू' *ns* (i. e. न्स *ns*, cf. §§ 13. 23); as वंसू (or वन्सू) *vans race* (Skr. वंशः *vamśah*); वंसीधर (or वन्सीधर) *banśidhar a name* (lit. *flute-holder*, Skr. वंशीधरः *vamśidharah*); हिंसा (or हिन्सा) *hinsā slaughter* (Skr. हिंसा *himsā*); हंसू (or हन्सू) *hans goose* (Skr. हंसः *hamsah*), etc. (see § 159).

*Note:* It has become the fashion in modern times, to resuscitate the writing of न्न and 'ह्; but the practice of the older, native school is more correct and preferable.

## 2) IN DERIVATION <sup>1)</sup>.

### a) CHANGES OF FINAL SOUNDS.

40. *In limine*, it should be observed, that Skr. and Pr. nouns pass into Gd. in the form of the nominative singular, the final sound of which undergoes the following changes:

41. A *visarga* or *anusvāra* is dropped, and a preceding अ becomes quiescent; thus E. H. पुत्र *son* (a tats.) for Skr. पुत्रः; E. H. कवि *poet* for Skr. कविः; E. H. गुरु *teacher* for Skr. गुरुः; E. H. परम *manifest*, Skr. प्रकटम्; E. H. वन *forest*, Pr. वणं (Vr. 4, 12), Skr. वनम्; E. H. सै or सय *hundred*, Mg. सव (Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. शतम्; E. H. खेत *field*, Pr. खेत्तं (H. C. 2, 17 खेतं), Skr. क्षेत्रम्; E. H. बारि *water*, Pr. वारि or वारिँ or वारिँ (cf. H. C. 3, 25), Skr. वारि; E. H. मधु *honey*, Pr. मधु or मधुँ or मधुँ (cf. H. C. 3, 25), Skr. मधु, see § 23.

42. Pr. masc. or fem. अ or ञ becomes quiescent अ; thus E. H. नींदू *sleep*, Ap. निद्रू (H. C. 4, 418), Pr. निद्रू (Vr. 1, 12), Skr. निद्रा (fem.); E. H. बाह *arm* (also बाहँ), Ap. बाह (H. C. 4, 329), Pr. बाहा (H. C. 1, 36. 4, 329), Skr. बाहा (fem.); E. H. बात *word, event*, Pr. वत्ता (Vr. 3, 24), Skr. वार्ता (fem.); E. H. राय *prince*, Ap. राय (H. C. 4, 402), Pr. राय (H. C. 3, 136) or राय (Vr. 5, 36), Skr. राजा (masc.).

43. Pr. masc. or fem. ई or इ becomes इ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. दीह or दीठि *sight*, Ap. दिद्रि (H. C. 4, 330) or Pr. दिद्रि

1) This list of sandhi-laws lays no claim to completeness, a quality unattainable in the present state of our knowledge of Gd. derivation; but it contains, perhaps, all the more important and more general phenomena.

(H. C. 1, 128), Skr. दृष्टिः (fem.); E. H. बहिन् or बहिनि *sister*, Ap. वहिणि (H. C. 4, 351) or Pr. वहिणी (H. C. 2, 126), Skr. भगिनी (cf. § 132, note); E. H. अग्नी or अग्नि *fire* (fem.), Pr. अग्नी (Vr. 5, 18, fem.), Skr. अग्निः (masc.); E. H. अक्ष् or अक्षि *eye* (fem.), Ap. अक्षि (cf. H. C. 4, 396), Pr. अक्षो (Vr. 4, 20, fem.), Skr. अक्षि (neutr.); E. H. मुन् or मुनि *sage*, Ap. मुणि (cf. H. C. 4, 341) or Pr. मुणी (cf. H. C. 3, 125), Skr. मुनिः (masc.); E. H. बिहफै or बिफै *thursday*, Pr. बिहफई (H. C. 1, 138), Skr. वृहस्पतिः (masc.); E. H. ज्ञान् or ज्ञानि *sage*, Pr. ज्ञाणी, Skr. ज्ञानी (masc.).

44. Pr. masc. or fem. उ or उ becomes उ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. तर or तर *tree*, Ap. तर (H. C. 4, 370), Pr. तर (H. C. 1, 177), Skr. तरः (masc.); E. H. पंसू *rib*, Pr. पंसू (H. C. 1, 26), Skr. पर्णुः (masc.); E. H. तन् or तनु *body*, Ap. तणु (H. C. 4, 401) or Pr. तणू (cf. Vr. 5, 18), Skr. तनुः (fem.); E. H. पतोइ or पतोहु *daughter-in-law*, Pr. पुत्रवहू (cf. Spt. 122), Skr. पुत्रवधू; E. H. सासू or सासु *mother-in-law*, Pr. सासू (Spt. 339), Skr. श्वश्रूः.

45. Pr. masc. ए or इ becomes ऐ ई or इ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. माग road, Mg. मगि or मगे (Mehh. 96, 20), Skr. मार्गः; E. H. नर *man*, Mg. नलि or नले (H. C. 4, 288), Skr. नरः; E. H. काम्, Mg. कम्मि or कम्मे (Wb. Bh. 420, masc.), Skr. कर्म (neutr.); E. H. कर्त् doing, Mg. कलंति or कलेति or कलेति (Mehh. 108, 18), Skr. कुर्वन्; E. H. रखल् or रखिल् *kept*, Mg. लक्खिदि or लक्खिदे (Mehh. 112, 6), Skr. उज्जितः. Also in locatives; as E. H. लाग् or लागि *till*, Ap. लगि or लगे (H. C. 4, 334), Skr. लगे; and in conjunct participles, as E. H. कह् or कहि or कहे *kahē having said*, A. Mg. कहे (see Wb. Bh. 435) or Mh. कहिअ, Skr. कथित्वा (see § 490, 491).

46. *Affinities*. The termin. ए or इ is Mg. Pr.; the Mh.-Sr. is ओ and Ap. उ (H. C. 4, 332) and both become in W. Gd. उ or quiescent अ; in O. H. and especially in S. the Ap. उ is still preserved; thus W. H. नर, O. H. and S. नर (Tr. 33) *man*, Ap. नर (H. C. 4, 362) or नर (K. I. 9) or Pr. नरो or नरो (H. C. 1, 229); W. H. काम्, S. कम् (Tr. 33) *work*, Ap. कम्, Pr. कम्मो (Vr. 4, 18); W. H. माग, O. H. माग, S. माग *road*, Ap. माग (H. C. 4, 357), Pr. मागो (Vr. 3, 50); Kn. कर्त्, Br. कर्त् doing, Ap. कर्त्तु,



Sr. कर्तो or करेत्तो. — It will be observed that just as Mh.-Sr. ओ is reduced to Ap. उ, so Mg. ए is reduced to इ. This is expressly stated by Vr. 11, 10. K. I. 12 (cf. Ls. 393. 402) and Md. 12, 20 (fol. 49<sup>a</sup>) सौ पुंस्यदेदितौ। पुंसि सौ परे अकार एदितौ स्याताम्। i. e., masc. nouns in *ā* have a nom. sing. in *e* or *i*. The form in इ (like that in उ) was probably Ap. Mg. It only occurs exceptionally in the Bhag. (see Wb. Bh. 416). H. C. (4, 287) and T. V. (3, 2. 30) do not notice it; which, perhaps, shows that Ap. Mg. इ was pronounced like short ऐ ē (cf. H. C. 4, 410. and see § 6). — In the Gds., especially in their literary forms, the final इ and उ generally become quiescent, and hence are omitted in *writing*, and thence again have come to be practically identical with quiescent अ. — Occasionally E. H. has Ap. Sr. forms; as घाव् wound, Ap. घाउ (H. C. 4, 346), Sr. घाओ, Skr. घातः.

47. Pr. masc. अए becomes आ; thus E. H. घोरा horse, Mg. घोउए, Skr. घोटकः; E. H. भला good, Ap. भल्ला (H. C. 4, 351), Mg. भल्लए, Skr. भट्टकः; E. H. घरा pitcher, Mg. घउए, Skr. घटकः.

48. *Affinities*. The term. अए is Mg.; the Mh.-Sr. is अओ, and Ap. अउ; the latter contracts in the W. and N. Gd. to ओ or (Br.) औ; thus Br. घोऔ, भलौ, वगौ; Mw., G., S., N. घोजे, भलो, वगो; only P. forms an exception in having the E. H. term. आ, and hence it has got into Urdu and H. H.; thus P., U., H. H. घोडा, भला, वडा. Again M., B. and O. have आ like E. H. It will be seen, then, that while E. and S. Gd. have आ, W. and N. Gd. have ओ or औ; again Mg. Pr. has अए, Mh.-Sr. Pr. has अओ; hence it may be concluded, that the E. and S. Gd. termin. आ is a modification of the Mg. Pr. अए, while the W. and N. Gd. ओ or औ is a modification of the Mh.-Sr. अओ. The Ap. Pr. has both अओ and अउ (H. C. 4, 332). Probably the Br. औ is a contraction of the Ap. अउ; as Ap. भल्लउ, Br. भलौ good; while the Mw., G., S., N. ओ is a contraction of the Ap. अओ, by the quiescence of अ; as Ap. भल्लओ, Mw., G., S. भलो (i. e. भल्लओ). The Ap. Mg. form, corresponding to the Ap. Sr. अउ, would be अइ (cf. § 46); this is still preserved in the Psh. ए (Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 37), as Psh. तलै *talai* bottom,

E. H. तरा or तला, S. तलो, Ap. Mg. तलइ or तलए, Ap. Sr. तलउ or तलओ, Skr. तलकः; but the Psh. has also occasionally the E. Gd. form घा; as Psh. लगिघा *applied*, P. लगिघा, Bs. and H. H. लगा, Ap. Mg. लगिघइ or लगिदए, Skr. लग्नकः (lit. \*लग्नितकः), Ap. लगिघउ, Br. लगो, Sr. लगिघओ, S. लगिओ or लगो. The Psh. ऐ ai, then, corresponds to Br. औ au; being contractions of (Ap.) Mg. घइ ai and Ap. (Sr.) घउ ai respectively; on the other hand, E. and S. Gd. घा corresponds to W. and N. Gd. ओ, being contractions of the Mg. ए and Sr. ओ respectively, by the quiescence of घ. It appears, then, that the termin. घा is distinctly Mg., and merely a (comparatively modern) modification of the old Mg. ए; and not, as it is usually assumed, of the old Sr. ओ. There are, however, some traces of the term. घा in Pr.; moreover, they seem to be distinctly connected with Mg. Pr. *Firstly*: Vr. (11, 17) expressly gives शिघाला as a Mg. by-form of शिघाले *jackal* (E. H. सियार). *Secondly*: Vr. (11, 13) and K. I. (Ls. 393) state that the Mg. vocative ends in घा, and Md. (12, 21. 22. fol 49<sup>a</sup>) adds also ए, as चेलए or चेलघा (E. H. चेरा *oh! disciple*<sup>1</sup>). That is, the nom.

1) Vr. 11, 17 शुगालस्य शिघाला शिघाले शिघालकाः॥ and Md. 12, 21 एदोती सम्बोधने प्रायः। पुंसि सम्बोधने एदोती स्वातां। हे वञ्चसे। हे वञ्चसो। प्रायो ग्रहपातु। हे गोमिका। हे भट्टिदालाघा॥ i. e., the voc. of masc. nouns in ऌ ends in e or o, as, *he voamse, he voamso* (Skr. वयस्य); and Md. 12, 22 आदात्तेपे। पुंसि सम्बुद्धौ चकार आ स्याद् आत्तेपे। मले ले त्वेलघा। चकारात्। त्वेलए। त्वेलघो॥ i. e., the voc. of masc. nouns in ऌ, in the sense of rebuke, ends in ऌ; also in e and o. Neither H. C. nor T. V. give these rules in their chapter on Mg; but they have an allusion to the voc. in घा in their chapt. on the Ap. (H. C. 4, 330. T. V. 3, 4. 1); e. g., ढोला मई तुहुं वारिघा मा कहुं दीहा मानु; this is Bs. ढोला मै तू के वारा मत् कहुं दीहा मान् i. e., lit. boy! I have forbidden you, do not make long sulkiness!; again बिट्टीए मई भणिय तुहुं मा कहुं वंकी दिट्टि, = Bs. बेटी मै भनि तू के मत् कहुं वाँकी दीह i. e., lit. daughter! I have told you, do not make a coquettish look. It is to be noted, that K. I. (16. 18. of Ls. 450) gives both घा and ए as the termin. of the voc. in Ap. Pr. In the present day, E. H. has a voc. in घा, but W. H. in ए; as E. H. हे चेरा, W. H. हे चेल *oh disciple*. This, perhaps, explains the silence of H. C. and T. V. as to the Mg. nom. and voc. in घा; they have relegated it into their chapt. on Ap., in which as, perhaps, indicated in H. C. 4, 447



sing. in ए is used in Mg. as voc., and the form in आ is but a slightly worn down by-form of the nom. (as usual with Pr. voc., cf. H. C. 3, 38. T. V. 2, 2. 42<sup>1</sup>). The latter form, which was at first (in Mg.) confined to the voc.-nom., is in Gd. extended to the nom. generally. *Thirdly*: H. C. gives several instances of a nom. in आ in the Ap. Pr.; e. g., भल्ला हुआ नु मारिआ बहिणि महारा कंतु। (4, 351); this is A. Mg. Ap.; the corresponding Sr. Ap. is in कंतु महाराउ हलि सहिए निच्छेइ रस्सेइ त्रासु। (4, 358); the former is Bs. (a kind of semi E. Gd., see Introd.) भल्ला हुआ नु मारा बहिन् मोरा काँत्, i. e., it has happened well, sister, that my husband has killed; the other is Br. (W. H.) काँत् मेरौ सहेली निहचै रस्से त्रासु i. e. surely friend! with whom my husband is angry<sup>2</sup>).

49. Pr. masc. इए and उए become ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. तेली oilman, Mg. तेलिए (cf. H. C. 2, '98), Skr. तैलिकः; E. H. माली gardener, Mg. मालिए, Skr. मालिकः; E. H. बहिनोई (W. H. भौनाई) sister's husband, Mg. बहिणिवइए, Skr. भगिनीपतिकः; E. H. नाती grandchild, Pr. नत्तिओ (H. C. 1, 137), Skr. नप्तृकः; E. H. भाई brother, Pr. \*भाइओ (cf. H. C. 1, 137), Skr. भातृकः; again E. H. बिडू scorpion, Mg. बिंहुए (Vr. 1, 15. 3, 41, T. V. 1, 4. 18), Skr. वृश्चिकः; E. H. लडू a kind of sweetmeat, Mg. लडुए, Skr. लडुकः; E. H. गोडू wheat (H. H. गेडू), Ap. Mg. गोडुवे (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Mg. गोहुमे, Skr. गोधुमः.

50. *Affinities*. These contractions into ई and ऊ are common to all Gds.; but in W. and N. Gd. they arise from the Mh.-Sr. termin. इओ and उओ respectively; as W. H. तेली, Sr. तेलिओ; W. H. माली, Sr. मालिओ; W. H. भौनाइ, Sr. भामिणिवइओ (cf. H. C. 1, 190); W. H. बिडू, Skr. बिंहुओ; W. H. लडू, Sr. लडुओ; W. H. गोडू, Sr. गोहुओ. But M. and S. have भाऊ brother, Dk. भाउए or भाउओ and T. V. 3, 4. 71, rules of various Ap. dialects would seem to be mixed up (see also Ps. IX).

1) The voc. in Mh.-Sr. Pr. is either like the nom. हे चेलो or worn down हे चेल; so in Mg. either like nom. हे चेलो, or worn down हे चेला.

2) It is also like P., which shares the nom. in आ with E. Gd., भल्ला होइआ जो मारिआ बहिन् मेरा काँत्।.

(H. C. 1, 131); नातू *grandson*, Pr. ननुओ (H. C. 1, 137). This contraction as well as those noted in the following paragraphs, may be explained by the apparently Pr. tendency of lengthening the antepenultimate इ (see Wb. Bh. 438) and उ; while at the same time the final ए and ओ have a tendency in the Ap. to be shortened to इ and उ (see § 46), and in Gd. to be cast off altogether (see § 45); thus Mg. तेल्लि, Ap. \*तेल्लिइ, \*तेल्लोइ, Gd. तेल्लि, Sr. तेल्लिओ, Ap. तेल्लिउ, \*तेल्लोउ, Gd. तेल्लि; or Mg. लुदु, Ap. \*लुदुइ, \*लुदुओ, Gd. लुदु, Sr. लुदुओ, Ap. लुदुउ, \*लुदुउ, Gd. लुदु (cf. § 65, note). There are some traces of this contraction in Pr.; thus Pr. पवासू *traveller* (T. V. 1, 2. 48) or पावासू (H. C. 1, 44. T. V. 1, 2. 10) or पावासुओ (H. C. 1, 95) = Skr. प्रवासी (or प्रवासकः); Pr. सव्वणू *omniscient* (H. C. 1, 56) for \*सव्वणुओ (= Skr. सर्वज्ञः); and other words in एणू.

51. Pr. fem. इया and उया become ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. घोरी *mare*, Pr. घोडिआ, Skr. घोडिका; E. H. माटी *earth* (W. H. मिटी), Pr. मट्टिआ (H. C. 2, 29), Skr. मृत्तिका; E. H. लाठी *club*, Pr. लट्टिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 247), Skr. गट्टिका; E. H. मउत्ती *mother's sister*, Pr. माउसिआ (H. C. 1, 134. 2, 142), Skr. मातृष्वसृका; E. H. माई *mother*, Pr. \*माइआ (see § 63), Skr. मातृका; again E. H. पतोइ *son's wife*, Pr. पुत्रवडुआ (cf. Spt. 35), Skr. पुत्रवधुका; E. H. बालू *sand*, Pr. वालुआ, Skr. बालुका.

52. *Affinities*. Here all Gds. agree; as do also all Prs. But M. has माउ *mother*, Pr. माउआ (H. C. 1, 131), Skr. मातृका. The steps of change are probably these (see § 42); Pr. घोडिआ, Ap. घोडिअ (H. C. 4, 330) or \*घोडीअ, Gd. घोडी; Pr. बालुआ, Ap. बालुअ or \*वालुअ, Gd. बालू, etc.

53. Pr. neut. अअं, इअं and उअं become आ, ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. सोना *gold*, Pr. सोपणअं (cf. Spt. 194) or सुवणणअं (cf. H. C. 1, 26), Skr. सुवर्णकम्; E. H. तामा *copper*, Mg. \*तम्मअं (see § 18) or तम्बअं (cf. Vr. 3, 53), Skr. तामुकम्; E. H. लोहा *iron*, Pr. लोहअं, Skr. लोहकम्; again E. H. घी *clarified butter*, Pr. विसं (cf. Spt. 22), Skr. घृतम्; E. H. पानी *water*, Pr. पाणिअं (Vr. 1, 18), Skr. पानीयम्; E. H. दही *curds*, Pr. दहिअं, Skr. दधिकम्; E. H. मोती



pearl, Pr. मेत्तिचं, Skr. मौक्तिकम्; again E. H. ग्रँसू tear, Pr. ग्रंसुचं (cf. H. C. 1, 26), Skr. अश्रुकम्; E. H. तू yoke, Pr. तुचं, Skr. युगम्; E. H. आलू potato, Pr. आलुचं, Skr. आलुकम्.

54. *Affinities.* As regards the forms in आ, B., O. and also P. agree with E. H.; thus B., O., E. H. तामा, P. तौआ. M. has टै; as तौवे. The M. nouns are neuter, but the corresponding E. Gd. ones are masc.; compare the masc. forms in § 47. In Mg. Pr. neuter nouns either end in अचं or (becoming masc.) in अए (cf. Wb. Bh. 416. Ls. 399). From the Mg. अचं or with the favorite euph. वृ, अवं, which form still occurs occasionally in O. H., arises the contracted M. टै. From the Mg. masc. अए arises probably the E. Gd. आ. On the other hand, the corresponding termin. in G. is उँ or उ; as तौवुँ or तौवु; in Mw. ओँ or ओ, as तौवोँ or तौवो; in Br. औँ or औ (or also आ); in S. ओ, as टागो. The forms with *anunásika* are neuter, those without it are masculine. These W. Gd. forms have arisen from the Ap. (Sr.) Pr., which has the neut. termin. अउं (H. C. 4, 354. T. V. 3, 4. 26). This contracts in W. H. to औँ or औ, and is shortened in G. to उँ. By dropping the final *anunásika*, the neuters would, naturally, become masc., through identity of termination; see § 48. This masculinizing tendency is seen already in the Ap. Pr., where the neut. termin. अं sometimes becomes masc. उ (Ls. 460. 476. H. C. 4, 331. 445; as m. तलु water for n. तल, cf. H. C. 4, 395), and similarly neut. अउं would become masc. अउ. As regards the forms in ई and उ, they are alike in all Gds., except in M., which adds a final *anunásika* (as पाणीँ water, ग्रँसू tear) and treats them as neuters, while the other Gds., having dropped the original *anunásika*, treat them as masculines.

## b) CHANGES OF MEDIAL SOUNDS.

### a) SINGLE VOWELS.

55. अ becomes इ or ई; rarely; thus E. H. पिंजर cage, A. Mg. पंजरचं (cf. Spt. 225), Skr. पंजरकम् (also पिंजरकम्? M. W. 572, 3); E. H. किरकिर splashing, Skr. कर्करम्; E. H. सुमिरन् memory, A. Mg.

सुमलणं (cf. H. C. 4, 426), Skr. स्मरणम्; E. H. पिचोतरसै *one hundred and five*, A. Mg. पंचुन्नलसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. पंचोन्नग्रामम्; E. H. चिरई *sparrow*, Pr. चउइया (cf. H. C. 4, 445?), Skr. चटकिका; E. H. खियावै *he feeds*, Pr. खयावइ, Skr. खादयति (\*खदापयति); E. H. दिन moment, Pr. कणो (H. C. 2. 20), Skr. क्षणः; E. H. फिटनकरो *alum*, Mg. \*फट्टिकालिमा (or \*फिट्टिकालिमा cf. H. C. 4, 177), Skr. रफटिकाजिका; E. H. निनानवे *ninety nine*, Pr. \*नवाणवई, Skr. नवनवति: (see § 397); E. H. द्वियालिम् *forty six* for O. H. द्व्यालिम् (see § 152). Especially before इ; as E. H. द्विहत्तर *seventy six*, Mg. इहत्तलि (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. षटसप्ततिः; E. H. हिलोतरसै *one hundred and six*, A. Mg. क्लुन्नलसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. षडुन्नग्रामम्; E. H. लिहल् *taken*, Mg. \*लहिदे<sup>1</sup>), Skr. लब्धः (\*लभितः); E. H. दिहल् *given*, Skr. दत्तः; E. H. लिहिम् *thou tookst*, O. H. लिहेन्, Ap. Pr. \*लहिग्रसि, Skr. लब्धोऽसि (\*लभितोऽसि); E. H. लिहिन् *they took*, O. H. लिहेन्, Ap. Pr. \*लहिग्रहिं, Pr. \*लहिग्रन्ति, Skr. लब्धाः सन्ति (in active sense); E. H. दिहिस् *thou gavest*, दिहिन् *they gave*; E. H. किहिस् *thou didst*, O. H. किहेस् for \*करेस्, Ap. \*करिग्रसि, Skr. कृतोऽसि<sup>2</sup>); E. H. किहिन् *they did*. Again ई in तीसो *flax*, Skr. श्रतसी (cf. § 172).

Note: W. H. गिने *he counts*, Pr. गणाइ (H. C. 4, 358), Skr. गणायति; W. H. क्रिमा *forgiveness*, Skr. क्षमा; W. H. पिक्लौ or पक्लौ, Ap. Pr. पक्किल्लउ (Skr. पश्चकः); but E. H. गनै, क्रिमा and पाक्लि or पक्लि.

56. अ becomes उ or ऊ; very rarely; as E. H. पुद्याल् *straw*, Skr. पलाली; E. H. मूह् (also मोह्, see § 57) *mustache*, Pr. मंसू (H. C. 2, 86 or \*मंहु? cf. H. C. 1, 265), Skr. ग्रमश्रु; E. H. खुतली *itch*, Ap. Pr. \*खत्तुडिअ (Skr. खर्तुः).

Note: W. H. उंगली *finger*, Pr. अंगुलिमा (cf. H. C. 4, 333), Skr. अङ्गुलिका; O. H. चुगन् *bird* (Chand), Ap. Pr. समुण्, Skr. शकुनः; but E. H. अंगुरी, समुन्.

1) cf. Spt. 146 लहिउपा = Skr. \*लभित्वा or लब्ध्वा; and P. past part. लइमा.

2) Regarding the forms लिहल्, लिहिम्, लिहिन्, किहिस्, etc. see §§ 307. 501. 503.



57. *अ* becomes *ए*, *ऐ*, *ओ* or *ए*, *ऐ*, *ओ*; rarely; E. H. मेहर (or मेहरी or मेहरारू) *woman*, Pr. महिला (Spt. 48), Skr. महिला; E. H. केवार (or केवारा) *door*, Pr. कवाडो, Skr. कपाटः; E. H. चोँचू *beak*, Pr. \*चंचू, Skr. चञ्चुः; E. H. मोँछू *mustache* (see § 56), Pr. मंसू (H. C. 2, 86), Skr. म्रम्यु; E. H. सेँधू *hole* (in a wall), Pr. संधी (cf. H. C. 4, 430), Skr. सन्धिः; and others see § 148.

58. *इ* becomes *अ*; rarely; E. H. ऐतना *this much*, Mg. ऐतिलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157), Skr. इयतकः, cf. S. एतिरो, G. एटलो; E. H. तेतना *so much*, Mg. तेतिलए, Skr. तावतिकः; E. H. जेतना *how much soever*, Mg. जेतिलए, Skr. वावतिकः; E. H. केतना, Mg. केतिलए, Skr. कियतिकः; E. H. लंगोट् *waistcloth*, Mg. लिंगवट्टे, Skr. लिङ्गपट्टः; E. H. धरती *earth*, Mg. धलित्तिआ, Skr. धरित्रिका; E. H. पोरसा *fathom*, A. Mg. पउलिसअं (cf. H. C. 1, 111. 4, 287), Skr. पौरुषकम्; and optionally E. H. परखै or परिखै *he examines*, Mg. पलिकखइ, Skr. पजीक्षते; E. H. °अल् or °इल् *suffix of past part.*, Mg. इदे, Skr. इतः; e. g., E. H. पखल् or पखिल् *read*, Mg. पढिदे, Skr. पठितः; E. H. °अव् or °इव् *suffix of infinit.*, Ap. इव् (K. I. 50. Ls. 468), Skr. इतव्यम्; e. g., E. H. पखव् or पखिव् *to read*, Ap. पढिव्, Skr. पठितव्यम्.

*Note:* Also W. H. गहर *deep*, Pr. गहिर (H. C. 1, 101), Skr. गभीरस्; W. H. बहर *dumb*, Pr. बहिर (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. बधिरः; W. H. कलेस् *trouble*, Pr. किलेसो (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. क्लेशः; W. H. हरस् *joy*, Pr. हरिसो (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. हर्षः; W. H. बरस् *rain, year*, Pr. बरिसं, Skr. वर्षम्; W. H. फरस् *touch*, Pr. फरिसो (cf. H. C. 4, 182), Skr. स्पर्शः. But E. H. गहिर, बहिर, किलेस्, हरिस्, बरिस्, फरिस्. The Pr. form ऐतिल or (in some MSS.) ऐतिलं is probably a curtailment of ऐतिलनं, composed of ऐतिअ and pleon. suff. ल (or ल्), and curtailed just as Ap. इव् from Mh.-Sr. इअव्, e. g., Ap. पढिव् for Sr. पढिअव्.

59. *इ* or *ई* becomes *उ* or *ऊ*; very rarely and optionally; E. H. पहर or पहरी or पहरा *watchman*, Mg. पहलो, Skr. प्रहरी; E. H. बुंदी or बिंदी or बुंदा or बूँद *drop*, Pr. बिंदू (cf. H. C. 1, 34), Skr. बिन्दुः.

*Note:* Compare Pr. पवासू (H. C. 1, 44) for Skr. पवासी *sojourner*.

60. *उ* becomes *अ*; rarely; thus E. H. आपनू or आपुनू *own*, Pr. अप्पुल्लं (H. C. 2, 163), Skr. आत्मीयम् (or आत्मव्यम्), cf. M. आपला,

G. घ्रापणो; E. H. पतोह् *son's wife*, Pr. पुत्रवह्, Skr. पुत्रवधू; E. H. उडगन् *stars*, Mg. उडुगणो (cf. H. C. 1, 202), Skr. उडुगणः; E. H. कुटकी *a kind of medicine*, Pr. \*कटकिघ्रा, Skr. कटुकिका; E. H. त्रया *troop*, Pr. \*तुत्यग्रं, Skr. तूयकम्; E. H. सामहू or समहू *in front of*, Ap. समुहह्, Skr. सम्मुखे (H. H. साम्हने); optionally कपूत् or कुपूत् *bad son*, Mg. \*कुपुते, Skr. कुपुत्रः; also E. H. बूदू or बुंदा *drop*, Mg. बिंदुर्, Skr. बिन्दुकः.

Note: Also W. H. उंगली *finger*, Pr. अंगुलिघ्रा, Skr. अंगुलिका; W. H. बिजली, Pr. बिज्जुलिघ्रा (Vr. 4, 26), Skr. बिजुत्; W. H. कूकर *dog*, Pr. कुकुरो, Skr. कुकुरः; W. H. रौबन् *roseapple tree*, Pr. रंबुलो, Skr. रम्बुलः; W. H. समके *he understands*, Pr. संवुक्क, Skr. सम्बुध्यते; Mw. कण or कुण *who* (see § 438, 2); but E. H. अंगुरी, बिजुरी, कुकुर, तामुन्, समुक्के, कौन्. As regards E. H. आपन् *own*, the change of उ to अ, and ल् to न् appears already in Pr. अप्पपायं (H. C. 2, 153. 4, 350) = E. H. अपना, see § 111.

61. उ *and* ऊ *become respectively इ and ई*; very rarely; as E. H. तनिक् *small*, Pr. तणक्के, Skr. तनुकः; फिन् or फुन् or पुन् *again*, Pr. पुणो or पुणु (H. C. 4, 343), Skr. पुनरू; E. H. वाई (fem.) *wind*, Pr. वाऊ (masc.), Skr. वायुः (or वातिः masc.); बुंदो (fem.) *drop*, Pr. बिंदू (masc.), Skr. बिन्दुः.

62. उ *becomes ए*; very rarely; as फेफरा *lungs*, Skr. फुफुसः.

63. ऋ *becomes इ*; very rarely; thus E. H. किसान् *husband-man*, A. Mg. \*किसाणो, Skr. कृषाणः; E. H. मोध् *vulture*, Mg. जिडे (Md. 1, 31), Skr. गृध्रः; E. H. माई *mother*, Mg. माइन्ना (Wb. Bh. 178. cf. H. C. 1, 135), Skr. मातृका; E. H. भाई *brother*, Mg. \*भाइर्, Skr. भ्रातृकः; E. H. भतीजा *brother's son*, Mg. \*भतिज्जर्, Skr. भ्रातृजकः.

Note: None of these words are mentioned in the exceptional lists of H. C. I, 128—144. T. V. 1, 275—291. Vr. 1, 28—30, enjoining this change instead of the regular one of ऋ to अ (H. C. 1, 126. Vr. 1, 27), exc. माईणं gen. pl. for Skr. मातृणाम् (H. C. 1, 135); but Md. gives जिडे and Bh. माइन्<sup>०</sup>; and it is plain from the general form of the words, that in all of them the change of ऋ to इ must have taken place in Pr. already. In H. C. 1, 128 we find किसिर्माँ for कृषितः as an analogy for किसानो; and in 1, 137 नत्तिघो and नत्तुघो for नत्तृकः as an analogy for भाइघो and भाउघो (H. C.



1, 131) = भ्रातृकः; and in 1, 135 माइहरं for मातृमृहं as an analogy for भन्निजो = भ्रातृजः.

64. ओ becomes ए; very rarely; as गेहूँ or गोहूँ, Pr. गोहुमो, Skr. गोधुमः; but only W. and H. H.; the E. H. only गोहूँ.

65. Short vowels become long; very rarely; E. H. ठीला loose, A. Mg. सिठिल्ल (cf. Vr. 2, 28. H. C. 1, 215), Skr. शिथिलकः; E. H. पूर or पुर town, Pr. पुरं, Skr. पुरम्. Comp. H. C. 1, 113 मूसलं, E. H. मूसर for Skr. मुसलम्; especially in the verbal roots पी drink, सी sew, चू leak, छू touch, मू die, सो sow, नो bow, भो roam; e. g., E. H. पीयै, Pr. पिघइ, Skr. पिवति; E. H. चूरे, Pr. चुघइ (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. श्रोतति.

Note: This is a very common change in M., made for the purpose of compensating the shortening of the ultimate; as M. हत्तीण she-elephant for Pr. हत्तिणी; and it may explain the origin of the modern long termin. घा, ई, ऊ (§§ 47—49); e. g., E. H. घोरो mare for घोरीघ = Pr. घोडिघा, etc. It is, also, very common as the result of the elision of part of a conjunct, see § 147.

66. Long vowels become short; 1) regularly in the first part of a compound; thus E. H. पनसार watering place, Pr. पाणिघसाला (or perhaps Ap. \*पाणिसाला, eliding घ as in इव्णं for इघव्णं see § 58, note), Skr. पानीयशाला; E. H. पनचक्की watermill, Pr. पाणिघचक्रिघा, Skr. पानीयचक्रिका; E. H. फूलवारी flowergarden (for फूलवारी), Pr. \*फुल्लावडिघा, Skr. फुल्लावटिका; E. H. अधपका half-ripe (for आधपका), Mg. अठपकूर, Skr. अथपकुकः; E. H. नदीया name of a town in Bengal (for नादीया), Mg. नखदीयर, Skr. नखदीपकः; E. H. मुमाखी honey-bee (for मौमाखी), Mg. महुमकिलघा, Skr. मधुमक्षिका, etc. 2) rarely otherwise; thus E. H. दिवा lamp (also दीया and दोवा), Mg. दीयर (or \*दियर cf. H. C. 1, 101 पलिविघं = प्रदीपितं), Skr. दीपकः; also in semitats. as E. H. पखान् stone, Skr. पाषाणः; E. H. पताल् shades, Skr. पातालम्; E. H. मुर्छा swoon, Skr. मूर्च्छा; and see also § 25, as E. H. दुबरा weak from दूबर, Mg. दुव्वल्ल, Skr. दुर्बलकः, etc.; and § 146, as E. H. सब् all for \*साब्, Mg. सब्बे, Skr. सर्वः, etc.

67. Vowels are nasalized; often optionally before ह् and च्; as E. H. मुँह or मँह् or मुह mouth, face, Mg. मुहं (H. C. 4, 300),

Skr. मुखम्; E. H. मेह or मेह rain, Mg. मेहे (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. मेघः (lit. cloud, ?); E. H. सोह or सोह oath (fem.), A. Mg. सवहे (cf. H. C. 1, 179), Skr. श्रपयः; E. H. षह shade, Pr. षही (H. C. 1, 249) or षहा (Vr. 2, 18), Skr. षाया; E. H. बाह or बाह (fem.) arm, Pr. बाह or बाहा (H. C. 4, 329), Skr. बाहा (fem., but बाहुः masc.); E. H. माहै or माही or माही within, Ap. मन्नाहिं, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. खाँसो or खाँसो cough, Pr. खाँसिन्ना (cf. H. C. 1, 181), Skr. काँसिका; E. H. हाँसो or हाँसो laughter, Pr. हाँसिन्ना (cf. H. C. 3, 105), Skr. हाँसिका; E. H. घाँस् or घाँस् (fem.) grass, A. Mg. घाँसे, Skr. घाँसः (masc.), etc.; rarely otherwise; as E. H. पाँव or पाँव foot, Ap. पाव, Sr. पावो, Skr. पादः; E. H. कूँया or कूँया or कूँया or कूँया well, Ap. कूँवउ or कूँवउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Skr. कूँकः; sometimes ह् is elided after nasalization, as E. H. त्राँह् or त्राँह् they go (for त्राँह्), Ap. त्राँहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), Pr. त्रंति (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. यान्ति.

Note: In Ap. Pr., too, व् is sometimes nasalized; as Ap. त्रिँव or त्रिँव how (see H. C. 4, 397), E. H. त्रूँ; Ap. त्रिँव or त्रिँव thus, E. H. त्रूँ.

### β) VOWELS IN CONTACT.

68. The hiatus of vowels is treated in three ways: 1) the two contiguous vowels may be contracted or expanded partly by the ordinary Skr. rules of sandhi, partly by special Gd. rules given below §§ 71 ff. Or 2) they may be separated by an euphonic semivowel (§ 28), and the dissyllable, formed thereby, sometimes again contracted (§ 34). Or 3) they may be left in hiatus. On the whole, the third case is less usual, than the two others; even in E. H.; but certainly in Gd. generally; for sometimes, when E. H. preserves the hiatus of the Pr., other Gds. make sandhi; thus E. H. कइस्न् of what kind, but W. H. कैसा, M. कैसा, for Ap. Pr. कइँसो (H. C. 4, 403); or E. H. गइल् he went, but M. गेला, Mg. \*गमिदे; or E. H. खाइल् eaten, but M. खाला, Mg. खाइदे.

69. The semivowels, which may separate contiguous vowels,



are generally *य्* or *व्*, rarely *ह्*. About the use of *य्* and *व्* see § 28. Examples of an inserted euphonic *ह्* are probably; E. H. *ग्रहिहा* or *ग्रहिया inferior*; E. H. *हूहे* or *हूवे* or *हूरे* *he touches*; E. H. *दिहल्* given for *दे + अल्* (probably by analogy to *लिहल्* taken, cf. § 307); E. H. *दिहिस्* *he gave* for *दि + इस्*, and *किहिस्* *he did* for *कि + इस्* (analogous to *लिहिस्* *he took*, see § 307); E. H. *पहिचान्* *cognizance* for *पइचान्* (Pr. परिचयणं, Skr. परिचयनम्?); E. H. *अनिहार* *a suffix of agency*, Ap. Pr. *अणिअग्रडो* (see § 321); E. H. *अहा* *a pleon. suff.*, Mg. *अग्रए*, Skr. \*अककः (§ 208); E. H. *आहृ* or *आवृ* *a suffix of abstract nouns*, Pr. *अग्रवृ* (see § 288). There is, apparently, one instance of an euphonic *ल्*; viz. E. H. *दिलोतरसो* or *दियोतरसो* *one hundred and two* (made analogously to *तिलोतरसो* 103, *चलोतरसो* 104, *द्विलोतरसो* 106); see §§ 394. 397.

70. *Affinities.* All three semivowels *य्*, *व्* and *ह्* are already used in this way in Prākṛit. Thus *य्* is especially mentioned by H. C. 1, 180. T. V. 1, 3. 10. S. C. 1, 3. 5 and apparently both *य्* and *व्* by K. I. 1, 45. 46 (in Ls. Ap. 41). About *ह्* there is no rule; but it occurs apparently in the words *कलिहो*, *निहसो*, *चिहुरो*, *इहा*, etc. (for *स्कटिक*, *निकष*, *चिकुर*, *इया*) mentioned in Vr. 2, 4. 18. H. C. 1, 186. 249. They not unfrequently occur in Pr. literature; especially in Mg.; thus in the *Bhagavatī* (see Wb. Bh. 397. 409. 411. 415); also in the *Saptaśataka* (see Wb. Spt. 28. 29. 45); see also Ps. X.

71. Gd. *sandhi* is made in two ways; 1) by contracting the two vowels, or 2) by expanding the second. By expansion I mean the change of *ए* or *इ* to *या* *ya*, and of *ओ* or *उ* to *वा* *va*. Peculiar Gd. contractions are: *अ* or *आ* with *इ* to *ऐ*; *अ* or *आ* with *उ* to *औ*; *इ* with *अ* to *ऐ* or *ए* or *ई* or *इ*; *उ* with *अ* to *औ* or *ओ* or *उ*; *ए* with *अ* or *इ* or *उ* or *ए* to *ए*; *ओ* with *अ* to *आ*. See in detail § 73, etc.

72. Expansion-sandhi is not unknown in Skr.; but it affects the first vowel; thus *ए*, *ऐ*, *ओ*, *औ* become respectively *अय्*, *अव्*, *आव्*, and in certain cases *इ* or *ई* and *उ* or *ऊ* become *इय्* and *उय्* (see M. M. 53); e. g., gen. sing. *रै-अय्* = *रायः*; *नौ-अय्* =

नावः; धी-अस् = धियः; लू-अस् = लुवः. In Pr. there are traces of the Gd. expansion; thus ओ or उ to व in पवद्गो or पओद्गो or पउद्गो = Skr. प्रकोष्ठ (Vr. 1, 40); आवज्ज for \*आओज्ज or आउज्ज = Skr. आतोयम् (H. C. 1, 156); उ or ऊ to व in सोअमल्ल for \*सोवमल्ल for \*सोउमल्ल = Skr. सौकुमार्यम् (Vr. 1, 22); दुअल्ल for \*दुवल्ल or दुउल्ल = Skr. दुकूलम् (Vr. 1, 25); ओह्लो for \*उवह्लो (cf. H. C. 1, 173) for उउह्लो = Skr. उदूखलः (H. C. 1, 171); सोमालो for \*सुवमालो for सुउमालो = Skr. सुकुमारः (H. C. 1, 171). I do not recollect any example of ए or इ to व. Also the contraction of इ + अ to ए and उ + अ to ओ is found in Skr.; as in gen. sg. अग्नि-अस = अग्नेः; मधु-अस् = मधोः. Here the change is commonly explained as a *guna* of the final इ or उ; but it may be, as in Pr. and Gd. it undoubtedly must be, explained as an expansion of इ and उ to अय् and अव् and contraction of the resultant dissyllable अय and अव to ए and ओ; as \*अगयः = अग्नेः; \*मधवः = मधोः. Instances of this change in Pr. are not uncommon; thus वेइल्ल for \*वयइल्ल for विअइल्ल = Skr. विचकिलम् (H. C. 1, 166); कषेरो for \*कषयारो for कषिआरो = Skr. कर्णिकारः (H. C. 1, 168); एपिहं for \*अयपिं for इआपिं = Skr. इदानीम् (H. C. 2, 134. Ls. 129); एत्तिअं for \*अयत्तिअं for \*इअत्तिअं = Skr. इयतिकम्; केत्तिअं for \*अयत्तिअं for \*किअत्तिअं = Skr. कियतिकम् (H. C. 2, 157); एरूहं for \*अयरूहं for \*इअरूहं = Skr. \*इयादृशम् (i. e. \*इयत् + दृश or ईदृश; cf. Wb. Spt. 59); केरूहं for \*अयरूहं for \*किअरूहं = Skr. \*कियादृशम् (or कीदृश) H. C. 2, 157. Again ओ for \*अव for उअ = Skr. उत (H. C. 2, 172); cf. ओहरइ for अवहरइ = Skr. अवहरति (H. C. 1, 172); पोरो for \*पवरो for \*पूअरो = Skr. पूतरः (H. C. 1, 170); पोक्कलं for \*पवक्कलं for \*पूअक्कलं = Skr. पूगकलम् (H. C. 1, 170); सोपारो for \*सवपारो for \*सुअपारो for सुवपारो = Skr. सुवर्पाकारः (Spt. 194. H. C. 1, 26), etc. An instance of the change of अ + इ to ऐ in Pr. is ऐ for अइ = Skr. अयि (H. C. 1, 169); but the Pr. tendency is to produce and retain the hiatus अइ, अउ, आउ, as दइओ = Skr. दैत्यः (H. C. 1, 151), पउरो = Skr. पौरः (H. C. 1, 162), पाउरणं = Skr. पावरणम् (H. C. 1, 175), etc. Somewhat analogous are in Skr. खैरम् for खइरम्, मोढः for प्रउढः, etc. (M. M. 19).

73. अ or आ with अ or आ becomes आ; as E. H. इहाँ here,



Ap. Pr. एहहं, Skr. ईदृणे (sel. स्थाने, see § 467); E. H. तोहार yours (W. H. तुम्हारी), Ap. Mg. \*तुम्हयलिह or \*तुम्हकलिह or तुम्हक्रेले (cf. H. C. 2, 99. 147. 4, 422), Skr. युष्माकम्; E. H. खात् eating, Mg. खायते, Skr. खादन्; E. H. सडध् (fem.) bad odour, Pr. \*सडिअग्रंधी, Skr. \*ग्रहितगन्धिः (cf. H. C. 4, 219); E. H. राउत् name of a caste, Mg. \*लाअउते, Skr. जगदूतः; E. H. लोहार blacksmith, Mg. लोहखाले, Skr. लौहकारः; E. H. चमार leather-worker, shoemaker, Mg. चम्मखाले, Skr. चर्मकाजः; E. H. परिवा first day of a lunar fortnight, Mg. पडिअवा (Vr. 4, 7), Skr. प्रतिपत्.

*Exception.* Sometimes व् is inserted; as in the nominal long forms, e. g., रमन्वा Rāma for Mg. लामन्वाह, Skr. रामकव्य (see § 369, 2); sometimes व्, as in रैन् or रवन् night, Mg. लअणो, Skr. जतनो.

74. इ or ई with इ or ई becomes ई; as E. H. पो or पीई he will drink, Pr. पिइहि, Skr. पास्यति (\*पिअिअ्यति), W. H. पीहै = Pr. \*पिइइ; E. H. पीओ I shall drink, Ap. Pr. पिइवुडं, Pr. पिअिवुअ्हि, Skr. पातव्यं (\*पिअितव्यं), see § 309.

75. उ or ऊ with उ or ऊ becomes ऊ; as E. H. दूना twofold, Mg. दुउणए (cf. H. C. 1, 94), Skr. द्विगुणकः.

76. *Affinities.* There are some examples of the preceding contractions in Pr.; as Ap. अम्हारा (H. C. 4, 345) = \*अम्हअरिओ or \*अम्हकरिओ, Mh. अम्हक्रेओ (H. C. 2, 147), Skr. अस्माकम् (lit. \*अस्मकृतः), H. H. हमारा, E. H. हमारू, W. H. हमारी (Br.) or म्हारी (Mw.) our; Pr. खाइ or खाअइ (H. C. 4, 228), Skr. खादति, E. H. खाय् he eats; Pr. राउलं or राअउलं (Vr. 4, 1), Skr. राजकुलम्, E. H. राउरू, W. H. राउल् a title of honor; Pr. भाणं or भाअणं, Skr. भाजनम् (H. C. 1, 267) vessel; Pr. सोपारं (Spt. 194) for सुवअअरं, Skr. सुवर्णकारं, E. H. सोनारू goldsmith; Pr. कुम्मारो or कुम्भअरौ (Vr. 1, 4), Skr. कुम्भकारः, E. H. कोहार्, W. H. कुम्हारू potter; Pr. पावालिका for पअावालिका (Spt. 162), Skr. प्रपापालिका guardian of a well; again उअासो for \*उउअासो for उवअासो (H. C. 1, 173, see § 34), Skr. उपवासः, E. H. उपास् (perhaps a semi-tatsama) fasting, etc. See Wb. Spt. 32. But as a rule, Pr. prefers to preserve the hiatus; see Wb. Bh. 408. Skr. has similar laws, see M. M. 14. 52.

77. अ with इ becomes ऐ, if antepenultimate, but ऐ or अय aya

or अय् *ay*, if *penultimate*, optionally; as E. H. गयल् or गइल् or गैल् *gone*, Mg. गमिदे (see §§ 307. 109), Skr. गतः, W. H. गयौ, P. गइच्चा, Ap. Pr. \*गमिच्चउ; E. H. भयल् or भइल् or भैल् *been*, Mg. \*भविदे (see § 307), Skr. भूतः, W. H. भयौ, P. होइच्चा, Ap. Pr. भविच्चउ or हविच्चउ (cf. H. C. 4, 401); E. H. कय् or कै *having done* for कइ, W. H. करि, Ap. Pr. करि (H. C. 4, 357), Pr. करिच्च (H. C. 1, 27), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. पइँ or पैँ *he enters*, Pr. पइइइ (cf. H. C. 4, 444), Skr. \*प्रविष्टति (see § 352); E. H. खइलो or खैलो *I ate*, Mg. खाइइइहि, Skr. खादितोऽस्मि (see § 487); E. H. गइलो or गैलो *I went*, Mg. गमिदइइहि, Skr. गतोऽस्मि; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *such*, Ap. Mg. तइसिल्ले (see § 111), A. Mg. तारिसे (H. C. 4, 287) or तादिसे (Ls. 115), Skr. तादृशः.

*Exception.* The termin. ऐ and ऐँ of the 3. pr. sg. and pl. pres. and of the gen.-affix कै are *always* thus contracted; e. g., E. H. चलै *he walks* (not चलइ or चलय्), Pr. चलइ, Skr. चलति; E. H. करै *they do*, Ap. करहिं (H. C. 4, 382), Pr. करंति, Skr. कुर्वन्ति; E. H. कै of (lit. *done by*) = O. H. करि, Ap. \*करिउ or \*करिओ or केरो (H. C. 4, 422), Skr. कृत्. In the oblique form of the singular and in *postpositional* locatives अइ becomes generally ए or ई; as E. H. भलै obl. form of भला *good*, O. H. भलहि, Ap. Pr. भल्लहे, Skr. भद्रस्य (see § 365, 6. 367, 4); E. H. पाइँ or पाइँ or पाइँ or पाइँ *after*, G. पाइँ, Ap. Pr. पच्छइ (H. C. 4, 334. 420; for पच्छइ, see § 367, 4) or पच्छहिं (§§ 367, 5. and 378), Skr. पश्चे; E. H. आगे *before*, Ap. Pr. आगइ (H. C. 4, 391), Skr. अग्रे; E. H. माँहै or माँहो (cf. § 67) *within*, S. मंजे, Ap. Pr. मज्जहिं or मज्जहि, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. पाहो *near, by side of*, Ap. पक्खहिं, Skr. पक्षे; E. H. लागे or लगे *with, for, till*, M. लागो, Ap. लगहि, Skr. लगे.

78. अ with उ becomes औ, if *antepenultimate*, but औ or अव *ava* or अव *av*, if *penultimate*, optionally; thus E. H. चौय् or चवय् or चउय् *fourth*, Mg. चउत्ये (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. चतुर्थः; E. H. चौया or चउया *fourth*, Mg. चउत्यए (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. चतुर्थकः; E. H. औय् or अवय् *the province of Oudh*, also अनुधा (W. H. अनुधा *semitats*), Mg. \*अयुडा or \*अनुडा, Skr. अयोध्या; E. H. रौरा or रउरा *a honorific title, you* (cf. § 25), Mg. लाउलए (cf. Vr. 4, 1), Skr. गतकुलकः; E. H. ऐकजौता or ऐकजउता (or अकँ or एट) *only-born son*, Mg. एक्कुलउअए



(cf. Wb. Bh. 439) or °दृष्ट (cf. H. C. 2, 165. Vr. 12, 5), Skr. एकलपुत्रकः; E. H. तेढोत् or तेढउत् son of husband's elder brother, Mg. तेढउत्ते (cf. Wb. Bh. 315), Skr. ज्येष्ठपुत्रः.

*Exception.* The termin. औ or ओ of the 1<sup>st</sup> pr. sg. pres. is always thus contracted; e. g., E. H. करोँ or करोँ I do, Ap. कर्उं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. कर्मि, Skr. करोमि; Ap. Pr. सउ hundred is in E. H. सो beside सो, सव्, सउ; Skr. शतम्. In the *postpositional* locatives अउ becomes उ; as E. H. पाइ behind, Ap. Pr. पच्छहुँ, Skr. पश्चे, etc.; see § 367, 5.

79. *Affinities.* In Pr. अइ and अउ generally remain in hiatus, but sometimes become ए and ओ; thus देव् and दइव् fate (H. C. 1, 153), Skr. दैवम्, but E. H. दैव; Ap. केहो of what kind for \*कइहो or \*कादिहो, Skr. कीदृशः (cf. Ls. 455); Pr. केलं for \*कइलं or कवलं (H. C. 1, 167), Skr. कद्रम्, also E. H. केरा plantain; again Pr. लोणं for \*लउणं or लवणं salt (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. लवणम्, also E. H. लोन् or नोन्; Pr. चोव्वारो or चउव्वारो shed, court (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. चतुर्वारः, but E. H. चौव्वार; Pr. चोत्त्यो or चउत्त्यो (H. C. 1, 171), but E. H. चौय्. Only in one exceptional case अइ becomes ऐ, viz. Pr. ऐ for \*अइ = Skr. अयि (H. C. 1, 169). These remarks refer to the Mh.-Sr. and Ap. (Sr.) Pr.; perhaps the Mg. even more strictly preserved the hiatus; for thus it may be explained why on the whole the E. and N. Gd. have ऐ and ओ, while the W. and S. Gd. have ए and ओ and occasionally even modify ऐ to या (just as the Mg. nom. sing. term. ए; see §§ 47. 48), or exceptionally (shortened) to अ; thus E. H., B., O., also M. चौया, N. (also Br.) चौयो fourth, but G., S., Mw. चौयो; E. H., B., O., N., also M. चौदा or चौदह fourteen, but Mw., G. चौद (or चौद), S. चौदह; again E. H. गैल् gone, but M. गेला; E. H. कैल् done, but M. केला; E. H. भैल् been, but M. काला (for \*हैला, \*ह्याला); E. H. खैलो I ate, M. खालो; E. H. ऐलो I came, M. आलो; E. H. तैस् such, M. तला. The contraction of the Ap. Pr. loc. term. अहि to ई is quite regular in M.; see Man. 28, 2. 3; as M. घरि in a house, Ap. घरहि (K. I. 12, 27. in Ls. 451. see § 367, 5), Skr. गृहे; M. पासो by the side of, Ap. Pr. पासहि (cf. H. C. 2, 92),

Skr. पाश्र्वे; M. घाटी for (affix of dative), Ap. Pr. घट्टहिं (cf. H. C. 2, 32), Skr. घट्टे; M. ठाई in (Man. 127), Ap. ठावाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थाने, etc.

80. अ with ई or उ becomes ऐ or अय् and औ or अव् respectively; optionally; as E. H. कनहई or कनहै or कनहय् *kanhai* (krishna); E. H. घड्ड or घडौ or घडव् *pitcher*, redundant forms of कान् or कनहा (W. H. कान्ह) and घड, see § 356.

81. अ with ए, ओ, see § 97.

82. आ with इ or ई and with उ or ऊ remains in hiatus; thus E. H. खाइव् *we shall eat*, Ap. खाइव्वा (scl. इह), Pr. खाइव्वाइहो, Skr. खादितव्याः स्मः (with active sense, see § 309); E. H. खाई *he will eat*, Pr. खाहिइ (H. C. 4, 228), Skr. खादिष्यति (W. H. खाहै = Pr. \*खाहइ); E. H. माई *mother*, Mg. माइया (see § 61), Skr. मातृका; E. H. बाई *wind* (see § 61); E. H. राउरू *you*, Mg. लाउले (cf. Vr. 4, 1), Skr. राजकुलः; E. H. नाउ *barber*, Mg. नाविए or एहाविए (cf. H. C. 1, 230), Skr. नापितः.

*Exception.* The suff. उ of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pr. sg. imper. combines with आ to ओ; as E. H. तो *go thou*, Ap. ताउ (cf. H. C. 4, 387. Ls. 467), Skr. याहि; E. H. खो *eat thou*, Ap. खाउ, Skr. खाद. A final इ or उ optionally becomes य् and व्; as E. H. खाय् or खाइ *having eaten*, Ap. खाइ (cf. H. C. 4, 439), Pr. खाइअ, Skr. खादित्वा; E. H. जाय् or जाइ *having gone*, Ap. जाइ, Pr. जाइअ, Skr. यात्वा; E. H. जाय् or जाई *they go*, Ap. जाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), Pr. जांति, Skr. यांति; again E. H. घाव् or घाउ *wound*, Ap. घाउ (H. C. 4, 346), Pr. घाओ, Skr. घातः; E. H. पाव् or पाव् or पाउ or पाँउ *foot*, Ap. पाउ, Skr. पादः; E. H. राव् or राउ *a title of nobility*, prince, Pr. राउ (as if Skr. राजः); E. H. खाव् *I eat*, Ap. खाउ (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. खामि or खाम्मि, Skr. खादामि; sometimes also penultimate इ or उ; as E. H. खायल् or खाइल् *eaten*, Mg. खाइदे, Skr. खादितः; E. H. रावरू or राउरू *you* (see above).

83. इ with अ becomes ए; as E. H. डेरू or डेरू *one and a half*, for \*दिअरू, Mg. दिवड़े (Wb. Bh. 190. 411, and § 416); sometimes optionally; as E. H. निवरू or नेरू *near*, Mg. निअउं, Skr. निकटम्; when final, ए is shortened to ऐ or इ, as E. H. करे or करि *having*



done, Mg. कलिय (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. चल्यो, O. H. चलेउं, Ap. \*चलिद्यउं (see § 505), Pr. चलिद्यग्धि, Skr. चलितोऽस्मि.

*Exception.* The nominal termin. इद्य contracts to ई; as E. H. पानी water, Pr. पाणिद्यं; see § 53. 49. 50.

84. उ with य becomes ओ; as E. H. सोधा sweet scent, Mg. सुबन्धर (cf. Spt. 13), Skr. सुगन्धकः.

*Exception.* The nominal termin. उद्य contracts to ऊ; as E. H. चाँसू tear, Pr. चंसुद्यं; see § 53. 49. 50.

85. *Affinities.* Both the above contractions are not uncommon in Pr.; thus Pr. लेइ he takes for \*लिहइ or लहइ (H. C. 4, 335), Skr. लभति, E. H. ले (cf. E. H. past part. लिहल); Mg. घोडकार (cf. H. C. 1, 173) magician for \*उघडकार or उवडकार, Skr. उपाध्यायः, E. H. घोका; Mg. होंते for \*हुघंते or हुवंते (cf. H. C. 3, 180), Skr. भवन्, E. H. होत्, etc. (see § 72). They are common alike to all Gds.

86. इ or उ with य become इया and उया; optionally; the insertion of य् is usual, that of व् unusual; thus E. H. हिया or हिआ heart, Pr. हिमयं, Skr. हृदयम्; E. H. बियाह marriage, Mg. बिआहे, Skr. बिआहः; E. H. पियास् thirst, Pr. पिआसा (cf. H. C. 4, 434) or पिआसा (Wb. Bh. 274), Skr. पिपासा; E. H. पुआल or (rarely) पुवाल straw, Pr. \*पलाली, Skr. पलाली; and regularly in the nominal long forms, as घोरिया or (rarely) घोरिआ mare; तोहया or (less usually) तोहवा wife, see §§ 195. 199.

*Exception.* In the nominal short forms, इआ and उआ are always contracted to ई and उ respectively; see § 51.

87. इ with उ or ऊ becomes इयु and इयू; optionally; the hiatus is more usual; as E. H. सिउ or सियु Siva, Ap. सिउ, Pr. सिओ, Skr. शिवः; E. H. पिउ or पियू sweetheart, Ap. पिउउ, Pr. पिओओ, Skr. प्रियकाः.

88. उ with इ or ई remains in hiatus; as E. H. सुइया needle, Pr. सूइया, Skr. सूचिका; E. H. सुई parrot, Pr. सुइया, Skr. सुचिका.

89. इ or उ with ए or ओ; see § 98.

90. ई or ऊ with य; see § 97.

91. ई with any other vowel inserts य्; as E. H. धीया daughter,

Pr. धोघा (Vr. 4, 33), Skr. धोदा or दृहिता; E. H. सोया *Sitā*, Pr. सोघा, Skr. सीता (semitats.); E. H. पौयु *drink thou*, Ap. पिउ (see § 65), Pr. पिब, Skr. पिब; E. H. पीयै *he drinks*, Pr. पिघइ (H. C. 4, 10), Skr. पिघति; E. H. पीयो or पीयो I *drink*, Ap. पिघउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. पिघमि, Skr. पिबामि.

92. उ with घा, इ and ई remains in hiatus; as E. H. धूघाँ *smoke*, Ap. धूउं (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. धूमघो, Skr. धूमकः; E. H. चुइहै *they will leak*, Ap. चुइहहिं (cf. § 65), Pr. चुइहति, Skr. श्रोतिष्यन्ति; E. H. भूईँ *earth*, Ap. भूविँघा (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. भूमिघा, Skr. भूमिका; E. H. सूईँ *needle*, Pr. सूइघा, Skr. सूचिका.

93. उ with ए, ऐ, ओ and औ becomes उवे, उवै, उवो, उवौ; optionally; the hiatus is more usual; as E. H. चूरे or चूवै *it leaks* (W. H. चूर or चूवे), Pr. चुघइ (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. श्रोतति; E. H. चूघो or चूघौ or चूवो or चूवौ *I leak*, Ap. चुघउं, Pr. चुघमि, Skr. श्रोतामि.

94. ए or ओ with घ, इ and उ; see § 97. 98.

95. ए or ओ with a long vowel remain in hiatus; less usually व् is inserted after ओ; as E. H. लेईँ *he will take*, Pr. लहिहिइ, Skr. लप्स्यते (\*लभिष्यति); E. H. होईँ *he will be*, Pr. होही (H. C. 2, 180) or होहिइ (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. भविष्यति; E. H. बोऐ or बोवै *he sows*, Pr. ववइ, Skr. वपति; E. H. बोघो or बोघौ or बोवो or बोवौ *I sow*, Ap. ववउं, Pr. ववमि, Skr. वपामि.

96. ऐ or औ with any vowel insert व् and व्; optionally; the insertion of व् is usual, but not that of व्; as E. H. भैयन् or भइयन् कै (see § 77) of *brothers*, Pr. भाइघापा, Skr. भ्रातृकापाम्; E. H. भैया or भइया brother, Mg. भाइघाह, Skr. भ्रातृकस्य (see § 369, 2); E. H. नौघन् or नउघन् कै (see § 78) of *barbers*, Pr. नाविघापा, Skr. नापितानाम्; E. H. नौघा or नौवा or नउघा or नउवा barber, Mg. नाविघाह, Skr. नापितस्य; E. H. नौईँ *he will bow*, Pr. नविहिइ or नमिहिइ (cf. H. C. 4, 158), Skr. नमिष्यति; E. H. नौघो I *bow*, Ap. नवउं, Pr. नवमि, Skr. नमामि; E. H. नौऐ or नौवै *they bow*, Ap. नवहिं (H. C. 4, 367), Pr. नवन्ति, Skr. नमन्ति.

97. घ before or after a long vowel is often elided; before; E. H. सुघारू *cqok*, A. Mg. सूघाले, Skr. सूषकाः; E. H. फुलेल् *scented oil*, Pr. फुल्लएल्, Skr. फुल्लतैलम्; after; E. H. सीरू or सीयरू *cold, damp*, Pr. सीयलं (cf. H. C. 4, 343. Spt. 53), Skr. शीतलम्; E. H. पीरू or



पीयू *yellow*, Pr. पीयलं (H. C. 1, 213), Skr. पीतलम्; E. H. सूर or सूय *hog*, A. Mg. सूयले, Skr. गृकरः; E. H. थो or थोरा *little* (W. H. थोडा), Pr. थोअं or थोअउअं (cf. H. C. 2, 125), Skr. स्तोक्म् or स्तोक्कम्. But never in conjugation; e. g., E. H. पीयन् *drinking*, Mg. पिअते, Skr. पिबन्; E. H. बोअन् *sowing*, Mg. अवंते, Skr. ववन्.

*Note:* पीयन्, बोअन्, etc. are not real exceptions; for their ई, ओ, etc. are merely subsequent Gd. lengthenings (cf. § 65); nor होन् *being*, देन् *giving*, लेन् *taking*, for these are not contractions of हो-अन्, etc., but of Mg. Pr. हुवंते, लहंते, देंते (cf. H. C. 4, 307).

98. इ or ए and उ or ओ after a vowel often become य *ya* or यू *y* and व *va* or वू *v* respectively; thus E. H. गयल् or गइल् *gone* (see § 77); E. H. धय् *having put* for धइ, Ap. धरि, Pr. धरिअ, Skr. धृत्वा; E. H. खायल् or खाइल् *eaten* (§ 82. exc.); E. H. पाय् *having found* for पाइ, Ap. पावि, Pr. पाविअ, Skr. प्राप्य; E. H. चूय् *having leaked* for चूइ or चूरे, Pr. चुइअ, Skr. श्रुतिव्वा; E. H. होय् *he is*, Pr. होइ (H. C. 1, 9) or हवइ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति; E. H. होय् *having been* for होइ or होरे, Pr. हविअ (H. C. 4, 271), Skr. भूत्वा; E. H. कोयर् or कोइर् *cuckoo* (W. H. कोइल्), Mg. कोइले, Skr. कोकिलः; E. H. नारियर् *cocoanut* (W. H. नारियल्), Mg. नालिएले, Skr. नाजिकेलः; O. H. आयस् *order* (in Tulsidās), Ap. आएस्, Pr. आएसो, Skr. आदेशः; E. H. चवय् or चउय् *fourth* (see § 78); E. H. वाव् or वाउ *wound* (see § 82. exc.); E. H. जाँव् *I go*, Ap. जाउं, Pr. जामि (H. C. 2, 204), Skr. यामि.

*Exception.* The suff. इ of 3<sup>d</sup> pers. and उ of 2<sup>nd</sup> pr. sg. pres. and imper. is always dropped after the roots ले, दे; thus ले *he takes*, Pr. लेइ (H. C. 4, 238, see § 85); E. H. दे *he gives*, Pr. देइ (H. C. 4, 238), Skr. ददाति; E. H. दे *take thou*, Ap. देउ, Skr. देहि. Again the nominal term. Mg. इए and उए (or Sn. इओ, उओ) are contracted to ई and ऊ; see § 49; the expansion of final ए (or ओ) to य or व would naturally tend to lengthen the preceding इ and उ; and the resultant अ after ई and ऊ, would drop off, by § 97; e. g., तेलिए, तेलिय or तेलीअ, तेली *oilman*.

γ) SINGLE CONSONANTS.

99. Medial single consonants in E. H. are of two kinds, *original* and *resultant*. The former are those which have passed as such into E. H. either from the (A. Mg.) Pr.; as in the tadbh. E. H. सगल् *whole*, A. Mg. सगले, Skr. सकलः; E. H. पर्विवा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Pr. पर्विविवा, Skr. प्रतिपत्; or from the Skr.; as in the tats. E. H. राजा *king*, Skr. राजा, or in the semitats. E. H. कृपा *mercy*, Skr. कृपा. The latter are those which have arisen either from the *simplification* (§ 143) of a conjunct consonant by eliding one, as in the tadbh. E. H. पाती *letter*, Pr. पत्रिवा, Skr. पत्रिका; E. H. माया *head*, Mg. मयवृ, Skr. मस्तकः; or in the semitats. E. H. प्रियौ, Skr. प्रयौ; E. H. सनुधा, Skr. सयोध्या; or from the *dissolution* (§ 138) of a conjunct by inserting a vowel; as in the tadbh. भगत् *devoted*, Ap. \*भक्तु, Skr. भक्तः, or in the semitats. जतन् *effort*, Skr. यत्तः. Tatsama single consonants, whether original or resultant, may, of course (as in Skr.), be of any kind, whether surd or sonant, aspirate or unaspirate; they never suffer any further change in E. H.; for some doubtful exceptions see §§ 102. 129. Tadbhava *resultant* single consonants, too, as may be seen from the examples in §§ 138, 143, may be of any kind; but the tadbh. *original* can only be sonants, never surds, because already in Pr. every original single surd cons. has been made sonant, if it be not wholly elided (cf. § 101). Both tadbhava classes, the resultant and the original, are liable to further changes in E. H. These may be of five kinds: 1) sonant consonants proper (i. e. cerebrals and dentals) are *softened* to semivowels (इ or र् or ल् and ऋ or ह् or ल्ह्) cf. §§ 102—115; 2) aspirate consonants proper (except palatals and cerebrals) may be *reduced* to the simple aspirate (ह्), cf. §§ 116—120; 3) semivowels (viz. व् and वृ) and the nasal (म्) may be vocalized (इ and उ), cf. §§ 121. 122; 4) semivowels (viz. व्, ल्, र्, ह्) and nasals (viz. म् and न्) and occasionally double consonants (viz. क्, च्, ज्, त्, प्) may be elided, cf. §§ 123—128 and 151—157; and 5) semi-



vowels (viz.  $\bar{v}$  and  $\bar{u}$ ) may be hardened, cf. § 129. Besides, there are isolated instances of changes of a miscellaneous kind. See in detail § 97, etc.

100. *Affinities.* All these five kinds of changes exist in Pr. already; but modified partly in character, partly in frequency. Thus in Pr. they affect as a rule (exceptions see § 116, note. § 145, exc. 2. and § 142) only *original* single consonants; in E. H. also *resultant* ones. Again 1) in Pr. surds are softened to sonants, in E. H. sonants to semivowels; e. g., *orig.* Skr. कर्पटक: *cloths*, Mg. कप्पड्ढ, E. H. कपरा; Skr. कथित: *said*, Mg. कथिदे, E. H. कहिल्ल or कहल्; *result.* Skr. कपर्दिका, Mg. कवडुग्रा (cf. H. C. 2, 36), E. H. कौरी, W. H. कौगे. This rule refers only to cerebrals and dentals, which alone are capable of the change. But something analogous takes place in the case of the other classes; thus in Pr., labials ( $\bar{p}$  or  $\bar{b}$ ) are softened to  $\bar{v}$  (H. C. 1, 231. 237); in E. H.  $\bar{v}$  is *vocalized*; e. g., Skr. प्रापय: *oath*, A. Mg. सवधे or सवहे, E. H. सोह् (for सउह्); in Mg. Pr. for gutturals ( $\bar{k}$ ,  $\bar{g}$ ) and palatals ( $\bar{c}$ ,  $\bar{j}$ ) is substituted the euphonic  $\bar{y}$  (cf. Wb. Bh. 397); in E. H.  $\bar{y}$  is *vocalized*; e. g., Skr. नगजम् *town*, Mg. नयलं, E. H. नैर; Skr. जतनी *night*, Mg. लयणी, E. H. रैनि. There are, however, traces of these changes in Pr. already, see §§ 35. 105. 109, note, etc. Then 2) in Pr., aspirate consonants are changed to sonant aspirates or reduced to the simple aspirate ह् (see H. C. 4, 267. 302. Wb. Bh. 410); E. H. allows only the simple aspirate and occasionally extends the rule to resultant aspirates; e. g., Skr. कुयुय *you make*, Mg. कलेध or कलेह, E. H. करह; Skr. पत्ते, Ap. पक्खहिं, E. H. पाही (for पाली). Traces of its extension to resultants, however, occur in Pr. also, see § 116, note and Wb. Bh. 410. Again 3) in Pr.,  $\bar{v}$  and  $\bar{u}$  are sometimes *vocalized* (§ 35); in Ap. Pr. also  $\bar{u}$  (see § 122, note); but in E. H. the process is far more common; see examples above (No. 1). Next 4) in Pr., unaspirate consonants proper and  $\bar{v}$  and  $\bar{u}$  only are *elided* (Vr. 2, 2. H. C. 1, 177); E. H. extends the practice occasionally to  $\bar{r}$ ,  $\bar{l}$ ,  $\bar{h}$ ,  $\bar{m}$ ,  $\bar{n}$ , though traces of the latter exist in Pr. also (see §§ 125, note. and 127, note).

Lastly 5) in Mh.-Sr., initial  $\text{क्}$  is always hardened to  $\text{क्}$ ; E. Gd. extends this practice to both initial  $\text{क्}$  and  $\text{क्}$  (see § 17), even when they become the initial of a syllable by the dissolution of a conjunct; e. g., Skr. कार्यम्, E. H. कार्यम्; Skr. पर्वतः, E. H. पर्वतम्. As to the Gds., they all agree generally in regard to the four last kinds of changes. With respect to the first, the E. and S. Gd. agree; but W. and N. Gd. do not change  $\text{क्}$  to  $\text{क्}$ , but elide it; and have a tendency to preserve  $\text{क्}$  or change it to  $\text{क्}$ , but not to  $\text{क्}$ .

101. With regard to tadbhava original consonants proper, the following may be stated *generally*. In Mg., as in Pr. generally,  $\text{क्}$  and  $\text{क्}$  were usually elided; exceptionally  $\text{क्}$  was changed to  $\text{क्}$  (H. C. 1, 177. cf. 4, 396);  $\text{क्}$  and  $\text{क्}$  were, as a rule, elided (not mentioned at all in E. H. 4, 396; one exception in H. C. 1, 177);  $\text{क्}$  and  $\text{क्}$  were never elided, but  $\text{क्}$  softened to  $\text{क्}$  (H. C. 1, 195); in Mg. (but not in Pr. generally, cf. H. C. 1, 177)  $\text{क्}$  and  $\text{क्}$  were not elided, but  $\text{क्}$  softened to  $\text{क्}$  (H. C. 4, 260. 302. cf. 4, 396); in the later Mg., however, (as in Pr. generally, cf. H. C. 1, 177)  $\text{क्}$  must have been, as a rule, elided, except in the past part. pass. and in a few other words; in the Mg. of the Bhagavati, indeed, there appears to be no difference between Mg. and the ordinary Pr. (cf. Wb. Bh. 398. 428. 433); but E. H. (and E. Gd. generally) agree with the Pr. Gramm. statement, as above modified (see § 109). In Mg., as in Pr. generally,  $\text{क्}$  and  $\text{क्}$  are softened to  $\text{क्}$  (H. C. 1, 231. 237). Again in Mg., as in Pr. generally,  $\text{क्}$  and  $\text{क्}$  were, as a rule, reduced to  $\text{क्}$  (only a few exceptions in H. C. 1, 187. 188. cf. 4, 396);  $\text{क्}$  and  $\text{क्}$  were always left unchanged (being not mentioned in H. C. 1, 187. 4, 396); and  $\text{क्}$  was always changed to  $\text{क्}$ , but  $\text{क्}$  left unchanged (H. C. 1, 199). In Mg. (but not in Pr. generally H. C. 1, 187)  $\text{क्}$  was changed to  $\text{क्}$ , and  $\text{क्}$  optionally reduced to  $\text{क्}$  (H. C. 4, 267. 302. cf. 4, 396). In Pr. generally,  $\text{क्}$  was always changed to  $\text{क्}$ , and  $\text{क्}$  optionally reduced to  $\text{क्}$  (H. C. 1, 236. 187. cf. 4, 396). Thus it follows, that E. H. can possess only the following tadbh. orig. cons. proper,



to which it applies its own laws of phonetic change. Of un-aspirates: exceptionally ग्; regularly ड्; in the past part. and exceptionally in other words द्; regularly व्. Of aspirates: exceptionally ख्; regularly छ्, क् and ढ्; optionally घ् and भ्. The unaspirates च् and त् are never present; in words like E. H. पचै *it rots*, चत्तै *it sounds* (§ 143) they are resultant, owing to a doubling (च्, त्त्) in Pr.

aa) Softening.

102. क् becomes ग्; rarely; 1) original; thus E. H. कग्न *crow*, Ap. काग्न, Skr. काकः (but usually कवग, Mg. काए, or कौवा (for \*कववा), Mg. काघए); E. H. सग्न *vegetable*, Ap. साग्न, Skr. प्राकम्; E. H. सग्न *cart* (W. H. सगड्), A. Mg. सगडं (cf. Wb. Bh. 248), Skr. प्राकटम्; E. H. सग्न *whole*, Ap. सगल्लं, Skr. सकलम्; E. H. सग्न *bird*, Ap. सगुण्, Skr. प्रकुना; E. H. ऐगारह *eleven*, Ap. \*एगारह (cf. H. C. 1, 177), Skr. एकादश; E. H. परगट् *manifest*, Skr. प्रकटम् (semitats.). — 2) resultant; thus E. H. बिगत् or बेगत् *individual*, Skr. व्यक्तः; E. H. मुगति *salvation*, Skr. मुक्तिः; E. H. भगत् *devotee*, Skr. भक्तः; E. H. भगति *faith*, Skr. भक्तिः; E. H. भगताई *devotedness* (cf. § 220) = Skr. भक्तता; E. H. रगत् *blood*, Skr. रक्तम्. Not always; as E. H. चक्र *wheel*, Ap. Pr. चक्रं (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. चक्रम्; E. H. बकरी *she-goat*, Ap. बकिया, Skr. बकिका.

*Note:* Probably in most or all of these words, the change took place in Pr. already; for it is expressly mentioned by Pr. Gramm. to occur in exceptional cases; see H. C. 1, 177. cf. 4, 396; as Pr. एगो, Skr. एकः, Pr. चागारो, Skr. चाकारः, etc. (cf. Ls. 202); and in Gd., too, it occurs only as an exception. As a rule क् is elided in tadbh., both in Pr. and Gd.; and in tats. it remains unchanged.

103. ट् becomes ड् or ढ्; very rarely; always resultant, as E. H. निवाडै or निवारै *he accomplishes* for \*निवाटै, Pr. निवुट्टै or निवुट्टै, Skr. निर्वर्तयति; E. H. पेडै or पेड tree for \*पेट् (see § 148), Pr. पट्टी, Skr. पत्री (?).

104. ड् becomes ड् or ढ्; as a rule; ढ् is more usual; 1) original; thus E. H. कपरा or कपग *cloths*, Mg. कपडए, Skr. कर्पटकः; E. H. केवारा or केवाग *door* (§ 57), Mg. कवाडए, Skr. कपाटकः;

E. H. धरै or धरै *he fashions*, Pr. धड्ड (H. C. 1, 195), Skr. धटयति;  
 E. H. चिरई *bird* (cf. § 55), Pr. चड्डया, Skr. चटकिता, H. H. चिडिया;  
 E. H. तोरै or तोडै *he breaks*, Pr. तोड्ड or तोडेड, Skr. तोटयति; E. H.  
 नर or नड्ड *a kind of reed*, Mg. नडे (cf. H. C. 1, 195), Skr. नटः;  
 E. H. परै or पडै *he falls*, Pr. पड्ड (Vr. 8, 51), Skr. पतति; E. H.  
 परिवा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Pr. पडिवया (Vr. 4, 7), Skr.  
 प्रतिपत्; E. H. परोस् *neighbourhood* (cf. § 122), A. Mg. पडिवासे or  
 पडिवेसे, Skr. प्रतिवासः or प्रतिवेसाः; E. H. पापर or पापड्ड *cake*, Mg.  
 पपडे, Skr. पर्पटः; E. H. वारी or वाडी *garden*, Pr. वाडिआ, Skr.  
 वाटिका; E. H. भर or भड्ड *large boat*, Mg. भडे (cf. H. C. 1, 195),  
 Skr. भटः (?); E. H. लरिका or लडिका *boy*, Mg. \*लडिक्कर from Skr.  
 लट (cf. § 252. 334. 353), H. H. लडका; E. H. लरै or लडै *he*  
*quarrels (makes uproar)*, Mg. लड्ड, Skr. जटति (cf. § 110, exc.); E. H.  
 सरै or सडै *it rots*, Pr. सड्ड (Vr. 8, 51), Skr. श्रटति; generally in  
 the E. H. *pleonastic suffixes* ड or र, डा or रा, झाडू or झारू, झाडा  
 or झारा, Ap. Mg. डे, उर, झडडे, झझडर (cf. H. C. 4, 429. 430); thus  
 E. H. गोर or गोड्ड *foot, leg*, Ap. गवडु (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. गमडे,  
 Skr. गमः (lit. going); E. H. बोर or बोड्ड *little* (cf. § 97), Ap. Mg.  
 बोघडे, Skr. स्तोकाः; E. H. ठोकरा or ठोकडा *small piece*, Ap. Mg.  
 \*ठोक्कर (cf. H. C. 2, 125), Skr. स्तोकाः; E. H. चमरा or चमडा *leather*,  
 Ap. Mg. चम्मडमं, Skr. चर्म; E. H. बडर or बड्डू *calf*, Ap. वड्डडुड,  
 Skr. वत्सः; E. H. सैकरा or सैकडा *a hundred*, Ap. Mg. सयक्कडमं, Skr.  
 शतकम्; E. H. नेठरा *eldest*, Ap. Mg. नेट्टर, Skr. ज्येष्ठः; E. H. पडिवाड  
 or पडिवाडू or "वारा" *hindmost*, Ap. Mg. \*पडिवाडडे or "वमडर" or  
 पडिवाडडे or "ममडर", Skr. पश्चिनकः; E. H. पडारी or पडारी (sol. रस्ती)  
*hind-rope (for tying horses' hind-legs)*, Ap. पड्डमडिआ, Skr. पश्चकः;  
 E. H. मगारी or मगारी *fore-rope*, Ap. मगमडिआ, Skr. अग्रकः, etc. —  
 2) resultant; thus E. H. कौरी or कौडी *cowrie*, Pr. कवडिआ (H. C.  
 2, 36), Skr. कपर्दिका, etc.

105. डू becomes लू; *only original*; very rarely; thus the  
 E. H. *pleonastic suffix* लू or ला, Ap. Mg. डे or उर (cf. H. C. 4, 429),  
 e. g., E. H. परलू or "ला" *ulterior*, Ap. Mg. पलडे or "उर", Skr. पजः;  
 E. H. मोटलू *fat*, Ap. Mg. \*मोटुडे or \*मुटुडे, Skr. मूर्धः; E. H. मडली  
*mother*, Ap. Mg. \*माडडिआ, Skr. मातृका, etc.; also otherwise, as



E. H. विलोत्तर-सै or °सो, Ap. Mg. \*वृत्तुत्तरसयं or \*वृत्तुत्तरसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Ap. Sr. \*वृत्तुत्तरसउ, Skr. वृत्तुत्तरप्रतम्.

*Note:* This change is not uncommon in Pr., see Vr. 2, 23. H. C. 1, 202; in such cases E. H. optionally, but usually changes ल् to र्; as Skr. षोडश sixteen, A. Mg. सोलस (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. सोरह् or सोलह्; Skr. तडाकः tank, Ap. तलाउ (cf. H. C. 1, 202), E. H. तराउ or तराव् or तलाव्; Skr. नडम् a kind of reed, Pr. नउं or नलं (H. C. 1, 202), E. H. नर or नल् or नइ; Skr. नाडिका stalk, Pr. नाडिआ or नालिआ (H. C. 1, 202), E. H. नारी or नाली or नागे.

106. इ becomes न्; only original; very rarely; thus E. H. तवन् or तउन् or तौन् that (lit. of that kind), Ap. तेवडु (H. C. 4, 407) or \*तेवडे, Pr. तेवूहो (cf. H. C. 2, 157), Skr. तादृशः (see § 438, 2); E. H. त्रवन् or तउन् or तौन् which (lit. of which kind), Ap. त्रेवडु (H. C. 4, 407), Pr. त्रेवूहो, Skr. वादृशः; E. H. कवन् or कउन् or कौन् who (lit. of what kind), Ap. कवणु (H. C. 4, 395) or केवडु (H. C. 4, 408), Mg. केवन्त्रिय° (Wb. Bh. 422), Pr. केवूहो, Skr. कीदृशः (see § 26, note); cf. also E. H. युयम् or युयना mouth (of a horse, etc.) from वोष् mouth.

107. त् becomes इ or र्; very rarely; always resultant; as E. H. सप्तसठि or सउसठि or सतसठि sixty seven, Pr. सप्तसठौ (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. सप्तषष्टिः.

108. दू becomes र्; very rarely; always original; thus गगरी waterpot, Pr. गगरिआ (cf. Vr. 2, 13), Skr. गगदिका; E. H. सत्रर seventy, Pr. सत्ररी (H. C. 1, 210. Wb. Bh. 248) for \*सत्रदो, Skr. सप्ततिः; E. H. °रह ten, Pr. °रह (Vr. 2, 14) or °रस (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. दशः; e. g., E. H. बारह twelve, Pr. बारह (H. C. 1, 219) or बारस (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. द्वादश.

*Note:* This change, also, is old Pr.; I know no strictly modern example.

109. दू becomes ल्; only original; always in the E. H. suffix of past part. इल् or वल्, Mg. इहे (cf. H. C. 4, 260. 302. Vr. 11, 11), Skr. इतः; e. g., E. H. गइल् or गेल् or गयल् gone (see § 77); E. H. भइल् or भेल् or भयल् been (see § 77); E. H. धइल् or धेल् or धयल् put, Mg. धलिहे (cf. H. C. 1, 36. धरिओ Spt. 241), Skr. धृतः; E. H. कइल्

or कैल् or कयल् *done*, Mg. \*कलिदे, Skr. कृतः (see § 307); E. H. खाइल् or खायल् *eaten* (see § 82. exc.); E. H. पाइल् or पायल् *found* (cf. §§ 33. 123), Mg. पाखिदे (cf. H. C. 4, 387. पाविघ), Skr. प्राप्; E. H. घाइल् or घायल् *come*, Mg. घाखिदे, Skr. आप्; E. H. पढल् or पढिल् *read*, Mg. पढिदे, Skr. पठितः; E. H. चर्ल् or चरिल् *walked*, Mg. चलिदे, Skr. चलितः, etc.; rarely otherwise; e. g., E. H. सल् *hundred*, A. Mg. \*सद्, Skr. शतम्.

*Note:* This change is especially Mg., e. g., कले, गले or कदे, गदे (in Md. 12, 28. optional with कडे, गडे, Vr. 11, 15), Skr. कृतः, गतः; Mg. केलघं (Sak. 37, 13) for \*कलिघं, Skr. कृतकम्; A. Mg. ईलिघे for \*ईदिघे, Skr. ईदृघाः (cf. Lss. 417. 423); rarely in Pr. generally, as Pr. पलिन्नं (H. C. 1, 221), Skr. प्रदीपम्, E. H. पलीत् *a light, candle*; Pr. पलिलं (H. C. 1, 212) for \*पलिदं, Skr. पलितम्, E. H. पलिल् or पलल् *mud*; Pr. बलसी (H. C. 1, 211) for \*बदसी, Skr. बतसी, E. H. बलसी *linseed*.

110. ल् becomes र्; as a rule; see §§ 16. 30; thus E. H. नर् *man*, Mg. नले (H. C. 4, 288), Skr. नजः; E. H. राक् *king*, Mg. लाया (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. जत्रा, etc.

*Exceptions.* E. H. लेनुरी *cord*, (Ap.) Mg. \*लनुडिआ, Skr. उजू; E. H. लरै or लरै *he quarrels* (S. ररे), Mg. लउइ, Skr. जटति (cf. लटति or लउति); but E. H. रारि or रागि *quarrel* (noisy contention), Mg. लाडी, Skr. जटिः; E. H. उलै or उरै *he throws*, Mg. \*उलेइ or दालेइ, Skr. दाजयति (also दालयति); E. H. भूलै or भूरै *he forgets*, Ap. Mg. \*भवलेइ or \*भमलेइ, Skr. भमजयति (?); E. H. गलियावै or गरियावै *he abuses* and गाली or गारी *abuse*, cf. § 142; E. H. निकालै or निकारै *he ejects*, cf. § 115, note; E. H. चलोत्सै *one hundred and four*, Mg. चुलुत्तरसयं (§ 397), Skr. चतुर्त्तरशतम्; E. H. सम्हालै or सम्हालै *he supports*, cf. § 120; E. H. चालिस् *forty*, Mg. चत्रलीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. चत्वारिंशत्; E. H. डाला *branch*, Mg. डालघं (cf. H. C. 4, 445), Skr. दाजकम्.

111. ल् becomes न्; sometimes; in the E. H. pleonastic suffix न् or ना, Mg. लै or लैर्; e. g., E. H. नामुन् *roseapple-tree*, A. Mg. \*नम्मुल्ले (see § 18) or नम्मुल्ले, Skr. नम्बूलः; E. H. ऐतना *so many*, Mg. ऐतिल्लर् (cf. H. C. 2, 157) or Ap. Mg. ऐतुल्लर् (cf. H. C.



4, 408), Skr. इयतिकः; E. H. तेतना *so many*, Mg. तेन्निलए or तेनुलए, Skr. तावतिकः; E. H. जेतना *as many*, Mg. जेन्निलए or जेनुलए (H. C. 4, 407), Skr. यावतिकः; E. H. केतना *how many*, Mg. केन्निलए or केनुलए, Skr. कियतिकः; E. H. आपन् or आपुन् or अपना or अपुना *own*, Mg. अप्पुल्लं or अप्पुल्लुअं (cf. H. C. 2, 163), Skr. आत्मीयम् or <sup>व</sup>यकम्; E. H. अइसन् or ऐसन् *of that kind*, Ap. Mg. \*अइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403. 2, 164. Wb. Bh. 437) or \*अइसुल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 429), Skr. ईदृशः; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *of that kind*, Ap. Mg. \*तइसिल्ले or \*तइसुल्ले, Skr. तादृशः; E. H. जइसन् or जैसन् *of whichever kind*, Ap. Mg. \*जइसिल्ले or \*जइसुल्ले, Skr. वादृशः; E. H. कइसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*, Ap. Mg. \*कइसिल्ले or \*कइसुल्ले, Skr. कीदृशः, see also § 31.

*Note:* There are a few optional examples of this change in Pr.; see H. C. 1, 256. 257; as पांगलं or लंगलं, Skr. लङ्गलम् *plough*.

112. ण् becomes न्; as a rule; see § 13; thus E. H. पानी (or *theth* पाणी) *water*, Mg. पाणिअं (H. C. 1, 101), Skr. पानीयम्, etc.

113. ह् becomes र्ह्; very rarely; only resultant; thus E. H. कोरु *leprosy* for \*कोह्, Pr. कुह् (or कोह् cf. H. C. 1, 116 or कोहु?), Skr. कुष्टम्; E. H. रन्ह् *angry*, Mg. लुह् (or लुह्?), Skr. जुष्टः; E. H. अठत्तिस् *thirty eight*, Mg. अठ्ठीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टत्रिंशत्.

*Note:* This change is possibly Pr.; as the Skr. conjunct ह् has a tendency to change to ह्र् in Pr.; see § 114.

114. ह् becomes ह्र् or ह्रि; as a rule; ह्र् is more usual; thus 1) original; E. H. कमठा or कोठा *a kind of gourd*, Mg. कमठए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. कमठकः; E. H. मठा or मही *shed*, Mg. मठए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. मठकः; E. H. मठो *small temple*, Pr. मठिआ, Skr. मठिका; E. H. पढै *he reads*, Pr. पढइ, Skr. पठति; E. H. पीठा *stool*, Mg. पीठए, Skr. पीठकः. 2) resultant; E. H. काहै or कहि *he draws*, Pr. कइह् (H. C. 4, 187), Skr. कर्षति (lit. \*कृष्यति); E. H. बंढै *he encloses*, Pr. वेइइ (Vr. 8, 40) or वेइइ (H. C. 4, 51), Skr. वेष्टते or वेष्टयति; E. H. बरै *he grows*, Pr. बइइ (Vr. 8, 44), Skr. वर्धति; E. H. बरइ or बरइइ or बरइइ (cf. § 138) *carpenter*, Mg. बइइए, Skr. बर्यकिकः; E. H. बूरा *old man*, Mg. बुइइ (cf. H. C. 1, 131), Skr. वृडकः; E. H. बूरो *old women*, Pr. बुइइआ (cf. H. C. 1, 131), Skr. वृडिका; E. H. डेरु or डेरु *one and a half*, Mg. दिवइ (Wb. Bh. 190), Skr. अर्द्धद्वितीयः.

(see § 416); E. H. अर्द्ध *two and one half*, Pr. अर्द्ध, Skr. अर्द्धतृतीया (see § 416); E. H. सार्धे *one half more*, Pr. सार्द्ध, Skr. सार्द्ध.

115. ह् becomes ल्ह्; very rarely; only original; E. H. कुल्हारा *axe*, Mg. कुहालर् (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. कुहाज्; E. H. कुल्हारी *small axe*, Mg. कुहालिघ्रा, Skr. कुहाजिका; E. H. कोल्हू *mill (for making sugar or oil)*, Mg. कुहले, Skr. कुहज् (a post round which the mill stone moves).

Note: E. H. दुल्हा *bridegroom*, दुल्ही or दुल्हिन् *bride* (spelled H. H. दुल्हा, दुल्हिन् see § 6, note) are Mg. दुल्लहर्, दुल्लहिघ्रा (cf. H. C. 4, 338. Ls. 227. 228), Skr. दुर्लभकः, दुर्लभिका (lit. *difficult to obtain, dear*), not Skr. उद्बोधा, उद्बुधा (as Bs. I, 271. 245). And E. H. निकालै is Pr. निक्कालइ or निक्कालेइ, Skr. निष्कालयति (of R. कल्; perhaps caus. or denom. of कृ), not Pr. निक्कइइ, Skr. निष्कवति (as Bs. I, 354). As to कोल्हू, the Mg. कुहले might be कुहुले in Ap. Mg. (cf. vulgar B. कुहुल् *axe* for Mg. कुहाले, see Bs. I, 270), and thence (eliding ल्) कुहुर्, कुहु or कोल्हू (cf. §§ 49. 125); there is Skr. कुहाहः, Mg. कुहालू *tree (post?)*, which might also produce कोल्हू. An instance of this change in Pr. is अंकोलू for \*अंकोल्हू (H. C. 1, 200; cf. पल्लहृइ and पल्लहृइ H. C. 4, 200), Skr. अङ्कोठं.

#### bb) Reduction.

116. ख् and घ् become ह्; generally when original; as E. H. मुह् or मुँह *mouth*, Pr. मुहं (H. C. 2, 164), Skr. मुखम्; E. H. मेह् or मेँह *rain*, Mg. मेहे (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. मेघः, etc.; sometimes when initial in a compound; as E. H. वोहर् *father's family*, Pr. पिउखं (H. C. 1, 134) for \*पिउघर्, Skr. पितृगृहम्; E. H. नैहर् *wife's mother's family*; E. H. देहर् *idol temple*, Pr. \*देघर्, Skr. देवगृहम्; 2) rarely when resultant; as E. H. रहै *he lasts, stays* for \*रखै, Mg. लक्खइ, Skr. उच्यते (pass.); E. H. पाही by the side of for \*पाखी, see § 74. exc.; O. E. H. कहुँ or काहुँ *by the side of* for \*कखूँ or \*काखूँ, Ap. \*कक्खहुँ, Skr. कचे (cf. § 378, 3).

Exceptions. Sometimes ख् remains unchanged; probably either to avoid confusion, as in E. H. लिखल् *written*, not \*लिहल्, Mg. लिहिदे (cf. H. C. 1, 187 लिहइ), to distinguish from E. H. लिहल् *taken* for \*लहल्, Mg. लहिदे; or to suit analogy, as in E. H.



सुख *pleasure* (Pr. सुहं H. C. 1, 187) like दुख *pain*, Pr. दुक्खं (H. C. 2, 72); but generally words with ख् are tats.; as E. H. सखी *friend*, etc.

*Note:* The change of original ख् and घ् to ह् is Pr. (H. C. 1, 187); there are also examples of ह् for resultant ख् and घ्; as Pr. दाहिणो or दक्खिणो (H. C. 2, 72), Skr. दक्षिणः, E. H. दाहिन् *right*, but दखिन् or दक्खिन् *south*; Pr. दुहं or दुक्खं (H. C. 2, 72), Skr. दुःखम्, E. H. only दुख *pain*; Pr. दीहो or दिग्घो (H. C. 2, 91), Skr. दीर्घः *long*, E. H. *deest*.

117. क् becomes ह्; *very rarely*; only resultant; E. H. माँही<sup>०</sup> or माही<sup>०</sup> *amidst* for \*माकी<sup>०</sup>, Ap. Pr. मज्झहिं, Skr. मध्ये.

*Note:* Probably ह् represents the Mg. semiconsonant व् = ञ्, as in Pr. झाहा for Skr. झया (Vr. 2, 18), see § 18.

118. ह् becomes ह्; *very rarely*; only original; E. H. पहिल् or पहेल् *first*, Ap. Mg. \*पहइल्ले, Mg. पढमिल्ले (Wb. Bh. 437), Skr. प्रथमः; E. H. पहार or पहाइ *mountain-range*, Ap. Mg. \*पढिअउडे, Skr. प्रयितकः (lit. *spread out*); E. H. पहारा or पहाअ *the multiplication table*, Ap. Mg. \*पढिअउए, Skr. प्रयितकः (with pleon. उक, see § 217); the इ is absorbed just as in B., O., H. H. पढा *read*, Mg. पढिअए, W. H. पढ्थो, Ap. पढिअउ.

*Note:* The root पृथ् or प्रथ् shows this change in Pr. already; e. g., Pr. पुठवी or पुहवी or पुहुवी (H. C. 1, 216. 88. 131), Skr. पृथ्वी or पृथ्वी *earth*, O. H. पुहुमि; Pr. पिहं or पुहं beside पिथं or पुथं (H. C. 1, 188), Skr. पृथक्; Pr. पिहुलं, Skr. पृथुलम् *full* (Spt. 313). But perhaps there was an Ap. form पथ<sup>०</sup>. The only other instances of the change of ह् to ह् which I know, are the Pr. पिहडो or पिहरो, Skr. पिठरः *pot* (H. C. 1, 201) and the G. and S. कुहारो *axe*, Pr. कुहारो (H. C. 1, 199), see Bs. I, 270 and § 115. Perhaps also in Pr. काहाअणो or कहाअणो (H. C. 2, 71) for \*कडाअणो, Skr. कार्णापणः or कर्णापणः; cf. Pr. कडइ = Skr. कर्षति (H. C. 4, 187). All Gds. have पहेल्<sup>०</sup>, S. पेहेरो<sup>०</sup>, see § 401.

119. घ् becomes ह्; *always* when original; as E. H. कहै *he speaks*, Mg. कहदि or कधदि (H. C. 4, 267. 302), Skr. कथयति; E. H. साह *a title of merchants*, Pr. साहू (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. साधुः; E. H.

बहिर deaf, Mg. बहिले (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. बधिः; E. H. दही curds, see § 53; also when initial in a compound; as E. H. गोह lizard, aligator, Pr. गोही, Skr. गोधिः; E. H. गोह wheat, see § 64; 2) very rarely when resultant; as E. H. कंहार or कंहार porter, Mg. कंधाले (cf. H. C. 2, 4 or \*कंधाले, cf. H. C. 2, 5), Skr. कंधकाजः. 120. भू becomes ह्; always when original; as E. H. गुहे he strings, Pr. गुहइ or गुभइ (H. C. 1, 236), Skr. गुफति; E. H. सौरी or सहरौ a kind of fish, A. Mg. सुहलिन्ना (cf. H. C. 1, 236), Skr. शफजिका; E. H. सोहै it looks well, Pr. सोहइ (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. शोभते; E. H. गहिर deep, Mg. गहिले (cf. H. C. 1, 101), Skr. गभीः; E. H. घही herdsman, Mg. घाहीले, Skr. घाभीः; also when initial in a compound, as E. H. मुत्राहल् pearl, Pr. मुत्राहलं (H. C. 1, 236) for \*मुत्राभलं, Skr. मुकाफलम्; E. H. कटहल् jackfruit, Mg. \*कंटअहले, Skr. कपटकफलः; E. H. सुहाग good fortune, Pr. सुहगं (cf. H. C. 1, 160), Skr. सौभाग्यम्; 2) rarely when resultant; as E. H. कुहार or कौहार potter, Mg. कुम्भाले or कुम्भाले (cf. H. C. 1, 8), Skr. कुम्भकाजः; E. H. सम्हालै or सम्भालै he supports, Mg. सम्भालेइ, Skr. सम्भाजयति; E. H. सग full brother for \*सगहा or \*सगभा, Mg. सगभए, Skr. सगर्भकः; also optionally, as E. H. त्रीह् or त्रीभ् tongue, Pr. त्रीहा or त्रीभा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. त्रीहा.

Note: Words with original भू are tats. or semitats., as E. H. सुभाव or सुभाउ disposition, Skr. सुभावः, Pr. सहावो (H. C. 1, 187).

cc) Vocalisation.

121. यू becomes इ and combines with the adjacent vowels; thus 1) य ya to इ, as E. H. विगत individual, Skr. व्यक्तः (semitats.); 2) अय aya to ऐ or ए, as E. H. सै or से hundred, A. Mg. सयं, Skr. शतम्; E. H. समै or समे time, A. Mg. समये, Skr. समयः; E. H. उदै or उदे rising, Skr. उदयः (semitats.); E. H. नेरू or नेरू town, Mg. नयलं (cf. H. C. 1, 180), Skr. नगरम्; E. H. नेनू or नेनू eye, Mg. नयणं (H. C. 1, 180), Skr. नयनम्; E. H. रैनू or रेनू night, Mg. लयणी (cf. H. C. 4, 401), Skr. जनी; E. H. पैन्ता foot of a bed, Mg. पायंतए (cf. H. C. 3, 134) or पयंतए, Skr. पादान्तकः or पदान्तकः; 3) इय iya to ए, as E. H. पड़ेत्त backyard, Ap. Mg. \*पच्छियंते or पच्छिमंते, Skr. पश्चिमान्ते, etc.; cf. § 77.



122. *व* becomes उ and combines with the adjacent vowels; thus 1) *व* *va* to उ, as E. H. सिउ or सिव *Siva*, A. Mg. सिवे, Skr. शिवः; E. H. देउ or देव *god*, Mg. देवे (cf. H. C. 1, 177), Skr. देवः; E. H. नेउ or नेव *foundation*, Mg. नेवे, Skr. नेमः; 2) *वि* *vi* to उ, as E. H. नोई *he will bow* for \*नउई, Pr. नविहिइ or नमिहिइ (cf. H. C. 4, 158), Skr. नमिष्यति; E. H. होवो or होवो *I am* for \*हउवो, Ap. हविषउं, Pr. हविष म्हि, Skr. भूतोऽस्मि; E. H. नौआ or नउआ *barber*, see § 96; E. H. जनउ or \*तनोउ *sacrificial thread*, Pr. \*तनोवविषं (see p. 23 and H. C. 1, 101), Skr. यज्ञोपवीतम्; 3) *अव* *ava* optionally to ओ; as E. H. ओरू or अउरू *and*, Mg. अवत्तं, Skr. अवजम्; E. H. कौनू or कउनू or कवनू *who*, see § 106; E. H. कौरी *a kind of shell* (see § 103); E. H. सौती *wife*, Pr. सवन्निआ (cf. Spt. 78), Skr. सपत्निका; E. H. भौँरू *humble-bee*, Ap. भवँरउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Skr. भ्रमरकः; E. H. पढौतो or पढउतो *if I send*, Ap. \*पढुवंतउं, Pr. पढुवंतंमिह or पढुवंतंमिह (cf. H. C. 4, 37), Skr. प्रस्थापयन्मस्मि; sometimes to ओ; as E. H. सोँहू *oath*, see § 100; E. H. कोँडा *a kind of gourd*, see § 114; sometimes to उ; as E. H. लून् or लोन् or नून् or नोन् (see § 31) *salt*, Pr. लोणं or लवणं, Skr. लवणम्; E. H. भूले or भूरे *he forgets*, Ap. Mg. \*भवँलड् or \*भमलेइ, Skr. भ्रमजयति; 4) *इव* *iva* to ओ; as E. H. ब्रह्मिनोई, see § 49; or to उ, as E. H. पडूत् *back-yard*, Ap. पच्छिवंतु, Skr. पश्चिमान्तः; E. H. अगुआ or अगुआ *leader, guide*, Ap. Mg. \*अगिवँअए, Skr. अग्रिमागकः; 5) *इवा* or *इवे* to ओ; as E. H. परोस् *neighbourhood*, see § 104; E. H. परोसै *he distributes*, A. Mg. पलिवेसइ, Skr. पजिवेषयति; 6) *आव* *ava* optionally to ओ; as E. H. महौत् or महाउत् or महावत् *elephant-driver*, Ap. महावँतु, Skr. महामात्रः, etc.; cf. § 34. 78.

*Note.* It will be seen from some of the above examples, that Skr. *प्* is in Pr. *व्* (H. C. 1, 231), in Gd. उ; and Skr. *म्* in Ap. Pr. *न्* or *वँ* (H. C. 4, 397), in Gd. उँ or उ. Traces of these changes are found in Pr.; as Pr. लोणं or लवणं, Skr. लवणम् (Vr. 1, 7), E. H. लोन् *salt*; Pr. ओत्काओ or उवन्ताओ, Skr. उपाध्यायः, E. H. ओका *magician*; Ap. पढउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385) for \*पढवँ, Pr. पढमि or पढामि, Skr. पढामि, E. H. पढौ or पढौ *I read*, see § 497, 2.

dd) Elision.

123. *v* before *h* (or *h̄*) is elided; as a rule (cf. § 33); only original; thus E. H. ऐकस् twenty one (W. H. एकीस्), A. Mg. एक्कीसा (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 1, 28), Skr. एकविंशतिः; E. H. बाइस् twenty two, A. Mg. बावीस (Wb. Bh. 425) or बावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426. T. V. 1, 4. 79), Skr. द्वाविंशतिः; E. H. तेइस् twenty three, A. Mg. तेवीस (Wb. Bh. 425) or तेवीसा (H. C. 1, 165), Skr. त्रयोविंशतिः; E. H. पचीस् twenty five for \*पचइस्, A. Mg. \*पंचवीस or ०सा (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. पचविंशतिः; E. H. सताइस् twenty seven, A. Mg. सत्तावीसा (H. C. 1, 4), Skr. सप्तविंशतिः; E. H. अठाइस् twenty eight, A. Mg. अट्ठावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टाविंशतिः; E. H. नोनइस् nineteen (W. H. उनीस्), A. Mg. उणावीसा or एकूणावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. ऊनविंशतिः or एकीनविंशतिः; E. H. भइल् been, पाइल् found, आइल् come, see § 109; E. H. पठैबो or पठैबो I shall send, Ap. \*पठविबुडे or \*पठविबुडे, Pr. पठविबुड्मि, Skr. प्रस्थापितव्योऽस्मि; E. H. पठाई he shall send, Pr. पठविहिइ, Skr. प्रस्थापयिष्यति; E. H. पठैलो or पठैलो I have sent, Mg. पठविदुस्मि, Skr. प्रस्थापितोऽस्मि, etc. The resultant *v*, being always hardened (see § 129) is never elided.

Exception. A few exceptions, see § 122.

Note: In the numerals all Gds. elide *v*, exc. M., G. and S.; thus 21 M. एकवीस्, G. एकवीष् (S. एकीह); 22 M. बावीस् or बेवीस्, G. बावीष्, S. बावीह; 23. M. तेवीस्, G. तेवीष्, S. टेवीह; 25 M. पंचवीस्, G. पचीष्, S. पंजवीह or पंजीह, etc.

124. *r* (= Mg. ल्) before *h* is elided; sometimes; only original; thus E. H. कइ having done for \*कइ, O. H. करि, Mg. कलिअ (H. C. 4, 302) or Mh. करिअ (H. C. 4, 272), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. धइ having placed for \*धइ, O. H. धरि, Mg. धलिअ, Skr. धृत्वा; E. H. कै suffix of genitive for \*कइ, O. H. करि, Mg. \*कलिअ or \*कलिए, Skr. कृतः; E. H. पै upon, Ap. Mg. पलि, Mg. पले, Skr. पगे; E. H. पै however, Mg. पलि or पले, Skr. पाम्; E. H. धइल् placed and कइल् done, see § 109; E. H. अइसन् or ऐसन् such (see § 111), Ap. Mg. \*अइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403), A. Mg. एलिस or Mh. एरिस (H. C. 1, 142), Skr. ईदृश; E. H. कइसन् or कैसन् of what kind, Ap. Mg. \*कइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403), A. Mg. केलिस or Mh. केरिस (H. C. 1, 142), Skr. कीदृश;



E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् of this kind, Ap. Mg. \*तइसिल्ल, A. Mg. तालिसं or तारिसं (H. C. 4, 287), Skr. तादृशं; E. H. जइसन् or जैसन् of which kind, Ap. Mg. जइसिल्ल, A. Mg. जालिसं or जारिसं (Wb. Bh. 422), Skr. यादृशः; E. H. सा like, A. Mg. सल्लिअए or सरिअए, Skr. सदृशकः (see § 292).

Note: Pr. has an instance of the elision of ल् before इ in बइल्लो bull (H. C. 2, 174), Skr. बल्लिवर्दः.

125. ल् after उ is elided; rarely; only original; thus E. H. पुवाल् straw, Pr. \*पुलाली, Skr. पलाली (cf. Skr. पुलाक); but perhaps for पवाल् or पावाल् = Pr. पायवाली, Skr. पादपाली litter, bed of straw; E. H. केचुवा or केचन्वा earth-worm, Mg. किंचुलए, Skr. किञ्चुलकः; E. H. कोल्लू sugar-mill, see § 115.

126. ह before or after इ is elided; sometimes; thus in the E. H. suffix of 3. pers. sg. fut. ई (for \*इई), Pr. इही or इहिइ, Skr. इष्यति; e. g., E. H. होई he will be, Pr. होही (H. C. 2, 180) or होहिइ (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. भविष्यति; E. H. हँसो or हसो (§ 67) he will laugh, Pr. हसिहिइ (H. C. 3, 157), Skr. हसिष्यति; E. H. ऐँ (for \*अई) suffix of 3. pers. pl. pres., Ap. Pr. अहिं, Pr. अन्ति, Skr. अन्ति; e. g., E. H. करैँ they do, Ap. करहिं (H. C. 4, 382), Pr. कर्न्ति (H. C. 4, 376), Skr. कुर्वन्ति; E. H. हँसैँ or हसैँ they laugh, Ap. हसहिं, Pr. हसन्ति (H. C. 3, 142), Skr. हसन्ति; E. H. ऐँ or ऐँ or ईँ suffix of locative (see § 77. exc.), Ap. अहिं (K. I. 12, 27), Skr. ए; e. g., E. H. पाइँ or पाइँ behind, Ap. पञ्चहिं, Skr. पञ्चे; E. H. ए suff. of the obl. form sing. of adj. (see § 386), O. H. अहि, Ap. Pr. अहे, Skr. अय्य; e. g., E. H. नीढे sweet, O. H. मोठहि, Ap. मिट्टहे, Skr. मिट्टस्य; E. H. ईँ suffix of 1. pers. pl. pres., Pr. इम, Skr. ग्रामः (§ 497, 4); e. g., E. H. हसोँ we laugh, Pr. हसिम, Skr. हसामः; E. H. ले he takes, Pr. लेइ (H. C. 4, 238) for \*लिहइ or लहइ (H. C. 4, 335), Skr. लभते; E. H. लेँ they take, Pr. लेहिं (H. C. 4, 387) for \*लिहन्ति or लहन्ति (H. C. 4, 341), Skr. लभन्ते; E. H. बिफैँ or बिहफैँ thursday, Pr. बिहफई (H. C. 1, 138), Skr. बृहस्पतिः, see also § 32. Sometimes otherwise; as E. H. मो (करू) of me, Ap. Pr. महु (H. C. 4, 379), see § 430, 1.

Note: In W. H., ओ or ओ suffix of 2. pers. pl. pres., Ap.

बहु (H. C. 4, 384), Skr. अयः, see § 497, 5; e. g., W. H. माँगो or माँगो *you ask*, Ap. मागहु (H. C. 4, 387), Skr. मार्गयः; also W. Gd. यो or यो or यो or ए suff. of the obl. form pl., Ap. Pr. बहु or बह or बहिं, Skr. अनाम्, see § 365, 7; e. g., Br. नरौ, H. H. नरौ, S. नरौ or नरौ *men*, Ap. पारहुं or पारहं or पारहिं, Skr. नराणाम्; S. उं suffix of 1. pers. pl. pres., Ap. बहु (H. C. 4, 386), Pr. अमु (H. C. 3, 155), Skr. अमः, see § 497, 4; e. g., S. हलू *we go* (Tr. 314), Ap. चलहुं, Pr. चलमु, Skr. चलामः. About the elision of ह in Ap. Pr. see Ls. 484; also Pr. सरिहाहं (H. C. 4, 300) for \*सरिहाहं, Skr. सदृशानाम्, E. H. सा, see § 124.

127. *म्* before इ and before or after उ is optionally elided; often; generally with *anunāsika*; thus E. H. गोसाई or गोसामी *monk*, Ap. गोसामिउ, Skr. गोस्वामिकः; E. H. साई or सामी *master*, Ap. सामिउ (H. C. 4, 409), Skr. स्वामिकः; E. H. कुयूर or कुयूर or कुवर *prince*, Ap. Pr. कुवूर or कुमर (cf. H. C. 4, 397. 1, 67), Skr. कुमारः; E. H. कुयूर or कुवार or कुमार *youth, prince*, see p. 29; E. H. कुयूरी or कुवारी or कुमारी *virgin, princess*, Ap. कुवारिआ or कुमारिआ, Skr. कुमारिका; E. H. भूई or भूमी, Pr. भूमिआ, Skr. भूमिका; E. H. धूयू or धूवा *smoke*, Ap. धूवउ or धूमउ, Skr. धूमकः; E. H. कोई or कोई *waterlily or jackfruit*, Pr. कुमुइआ (cf. H. C. 2, 182), Skr. कुमुदिका; E. H. सोहै or सोही *in front of*, Ap. Pr. समुहहिं (cf. H. C. 1, 29) or समुहहिं (see § 126), Pr. समुहमि, Skr. सम्मुखे; E. H. रूँ *hair of the body*, Mg. लोमे, Skr. जेम; E. H. रोयू or रोवाँ *hair of the body*, Mg. लोमयू, Skr. जेमकम्. Rarely without *anunāsika*; as E. H. गहलू or गैलू *gone*, see § 77.

*Note:* Four instances of the elision of *म्* before उ are mentioned by H. C. 1, 178 (Vr. 2, 3); Pr. तडपा, Skr. यमुना *Jamūd*; Pr. चाउँडा, Skr. चासुपडा *Durga*; Pr. काउँओ, Skr. कामुकः *a certain plant*; Pr. अणिउँतयं, Skr. अतिमुक्तम् *a certain shrub*. None of these occur in E. H.; here they are tats. or semitats.; e. g., E. H. तमुना, not tadbh. \*तौनू; perhaps to distinguish from तौन *foreigner*, Pr. तवणो, Skr. तवनः, as in E. H. तौनपुर *Jaunpur*, Skr. तवनपुरम्. In Pr. *म्* before इ might become व् by H. C. 4, 397; and such व् too, would be elided in E. H. by § 123.



128. *न* before or after *इ* or before *उ*; with or without *anusika*; very rarely; thus 1) original, as E. H. ठाउँ or ठाउ or ठाव् place, residence, Ap. ठाउ (H. C. 4, 332) or ठाणु (H. C. 4, 362), Pr. ठाणं (H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थानम्; E. H. चौ from for \*चाइ (N. चाञ्जि), Ap. चाणि, Pr. चाणे (cf. H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थाने, W. H. also ते, तई, तार्इ; E. H. बाँसुरी flute, Pr. वंसपालिन्ध्रा, Skr. वंशनालिका; 2) resultant, as in the E. H. conjunct ग्व for O. H. गिन, cf. §§ 18, p. 24. 139, note. 141.

Note: E. H. has also ठाम्, besides ठाव्, ठाउँ; and this rather points to a Pr. word ठाम्, ठामं (cf. § 127); H. C. has थामं (H. C. 4, 267), perhaps Skr. स्थामन्.

ee) Hardening.

129. *व* and *ख* become *न* and *ब*; only resultant; thus E. H. कारन् work, Pr. \*कारिन्तं (cf. H. C. 2, 67), Skr. कार्यम् (or semitats. ?); E. H. सचार्न् teacher, A. Mg. \*सचार्निन्ते, Skr. सचार्थः (or semitats. ?); E. H. सचार्न् wonderful, Pr. सच्छरिन्तं (H. C. 2, 67), Skr. सचार्थम्; E. H. चउबिस् or चौबिस् or चवबिस् twenty four, Pr. चउबूतं (cf. H. C. 3, 137. Wb. Bh. 425. 426), Skr. चतुर्विंशतिः; E. H. इबिस् or इबिस् twenty six, A. Mg. इबूतं (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. षड्विंशतिः; E. H. पारबत् mountain, Skr. पर्वतः (semitats.); E. H. पुरुब् eastern, Pr. पुरुवं (Ls. 183), Skr. पूर्वम्.

ff) Miscellaneous.

130. *घ* or *ङ* become *ग* or *ङ* or *र*; in E. H. घडै or गडै he fashions, Pr. घड् or गड् (H. C. 4, 112), Skr. घटते; E. H. बिगडै or बिगडै it is spoilt, destroyed, Pr. बिगड् or बिगड्, Skr. विघटते; also *भू* or *फू* becomes *बू* or *पू*; as E. H. पर्सै he touches, Pr. फरिसड् (H. C. 4, 182), Skr. स्पर्शयति (denom.); E. H. सबर्क् tale, Skr. सप्रकम् (semitats. cf. § 132).

131. *क* or *ग*, *ङ*, *प* and *ब* become optionally *घ*, *ङ*, *फ* and *भ* respectively; in E. H. परघट् or परगट् manifest (see § 102); E. H. पहिलौठा or पहिलौठा firstborn, Mg. \*पठमित्तुडट्ट (see § 118), Skr. प्रथमपुत्रकः; E. H. पुन् or पुन् again, Ap. पुणु (H. C. 4, 343), Skr. पुनरु; E. H. सब् or सम् all, Mg. सब्, Skr. सर्वः.

Note: In the seventies the aspirate is produced by the

suppression of the neutral vowel; E. H. एवन्तर *seventy one* for एक-हन्तर; E. H. पञ्चन्तर *seventy five* for पच-हन्तर; E. H. सप्तन्तर *seventy seven* for सत-हन्तर; E. H. अष्टन्तर *seventy eight* for अठ-हन्तर.

132. *Aspiration is transferred*; in E. H. अवरख् or अवरक *talé*, Skr. अथकम् (semitats.); E. H. हमार् or हमार् *our* (H. H. हमार्), Ap. Pr. अम्हार् (H. C. 4, 345), see § 73; E. H. कृन्ना *father's sister* for \*पिउहा, Pr. पिउच्छा or पिउत्तिन्ना (H. C. 2, 142), Skr. पितृपुत्रा; also E. H. कुकी; E. H. कुप् *flower*, Pr. पुक्क (H. C. 2, 53), Skr. पुष्पम्; E. H. उखारै or उखारै *he plucks up* for \*उकाडै, Pr. उक्काड्ड (cf. H. C. 4, 187), Skr. उत्कर्षति; E. H. निभाए or निबाहै *he accomplishes*, Pr. निबाहै, Skr. निवाहति; E. H. म्हैस् *buffalo*, cf. § 177.

*Note*: There are instances in Pr.; as बहिणी or भइणी *sister* (H. C. 2, 126), Skr. भगिनी, E. H. बहिनि; Pr. गढ् or घउद् *he fashions* (H. C. 4, 112), Skr. घटते, E. H. गढे or गाढे or गडे or गाडे (§ 130). It is frequent in S.; as पंध्रौ or पंध्रहं *fifteen*, also M. पंधरा; S. इको *this* for \*इतहो; उको *that* for \*उतहो (§ 438, 4); खौ *from* for \*कहौ, खे *to* for \*कहे (§ 375); चाल्कारो *forty* for \*चालीहारो; पांद् or पान्द् जो *own* for \*पानह जो (§ 451).

133. *Consonants are transposed*; in E. H. पहिरै *he puts on* (clothes) for \*परिहै, Mg. \*पलिहद् or \*पलिधद् or \*पलिधेद् (cf. Cw. 99, 21), Skr. परिधाति; E. H. चहुँपै and पहुँचै *he arrives*, Pr. पहुचद् (H. C. 4, 390, 419), Skr. पर्यापत्यते (Mg. पयावचद्); also कीच् or कीचर् and चीक् or चीकर् *mud* (Skr. चिक्रिद्); नखलौ and लखनौ *Lucknow*; बिराम् and बिमार *sick* (persian بيمار); also W. H. रहस् and हरस् *merriment*, E. H. हरिस् see § 58; H. H. डूबै, E. H. बूडै *he sinks*, Pr. बुडुद् (H. C. 4, 101), Skr. बुडति (i. e. मज्जति).

*Note*: Also in Pr.; as बाणारसी (Wb. Bh. 412. H. C. 2, 116), Skr. वाराणसी, E. H. बनार्स् *Benares*; Pr. अलचपुर (H. C. 2, 118), Skr. अचलपुरम्, E. H. अलचर् (for \*अलचउर्) *Alwar*; Pr. मरहद् (H. C. 2, 119), Skr. महाराद्, E. H. मरहद् or मरह् *Mardāhā*, see § 32; Pr. दहो (H. C. 2, 120), Skr. दद्, E. H. दह् *deep water*; Pr. हलिचारी or हरिचाली (H. C. 2, 121), Skr. हरितालः; E. H. हरियार् *green*; Pr. हलुचं (for हलुकं) or लहुचं (H. C. 2, 122), Skr. लघुकम्, E. H. हलुक, H. H. हलका *light*.



134. *Consonants are interchanged*; viz. 1) व् and न्, in E. H. निनानवे *ninety nine*, Pr. \*नवाणवृई, Skr. नवनवतिः; 2) व् and म्, in E. H. चिकनावट् *clayey soil*, Pr. चिकृणामट्टी, Skr. चिकृणकमृत्तिः; and vice versa in E. H. पुहुमि *earth*, Pr. पुहुवी (H. C. 1, 131), Skr. पृथ्वी; E. H. पृथ्वी *earth*, Skr. पृथिवी (semitats.); 3) स् and ह्, in E. H. केहरी or कैसरी *lion*, A. Mg. केसलिर (cf. H. C. 4, 335. Wb. Bh. 255), Skr. केश्रिजिः.

*Note*: The latter in Pr. optionally, in दह or दस *ten* (H. C. 1, 262), Skr. दश, E. H. दस or दहै; Pr. दिवहो or दिवसो *day* (H. C. 1, 263. Wb. Bh. 378), Skr. दिवसः, E. H. दिवा or दिवस् (see § 32); Pr. °दह (H. C. 2, 157) or °रिस् (H. C. 1, 142. Wb. Bh. 422) or रिस् (for रिहं cf. H. C. 4, 300 and § 126, note), Skr. दृश like, E. H. °इस् (in तइस्न् § 124); Pr. °हत्तरि (Wb. Bh. 426) *seventy*, Skr. सप्ततिः, E. H. °हत्तर. The change of व् to म् is not uncommon in B., O. and G.; e. g., O. करिखि or करिमि *I shall do* (Sn. 28), O. केमन् *how for* \*केवन्; B. केमन् *how* = Ap. Pr. केयडु; G. चुमालीण *forty four* = E. H. चौवालिस; W. H. समा *one and a quarter* = E. H. सवा (§ 416). For examples in Ap. Pr., see H. C. 4, 401. 396 and § 122, note.

135. *Consonants are interpolated*; viz. द् in E. H. पन्दरह् *fifteen*, Pr. पणरह (H. C. 2, 43) or पनरस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 3, 123), Skr. पञ्चदश; again र् in E. H. करोड़ or करोड़ *ten millions*, Ap. कोडि (cf. H. C. 4, 399), Mg. कोडी (Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. कोटिः; E. H. सराप् *curse*, Ap. Pr. \*झाप् (H. C. 4, 399), Skr. प्रापः (semitats.); again व् in E. H. ऐक्यावह्, Pr. \*एगारह or एक्कारस (Wb. Bh. 424), Skr. एकादश; E. H. ऐक्यावन् *fifty one*, Pr. \*एक्कावसं, Skr. एकपञ्चाशत्; E. H. ऐक्यासी *eighty one*, Pr. \*एक्कासीई (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. एकाशीतिः; E. H. ऐक्यानवे *ninety one*, Pr. \*एक्काणवृई, Skr. एकनवतिः; E. H. निन्यानवे or निनानवे *ninety nine*, see § 134.

*Note*: E. H. has a word कोरी or कोडे, but it means *score, twenty* (see § 405). — Perhaps E. H. ऐग्य° and ऐक्य° stand for ऐग्य° and ऐक्य, Skr. एकक°. — Occasionally र् is interpolated in Ap. Pr., see H. C. 4, 399; as वासु or वासु, Skr. व्यासः *Vyāsa*.

d) CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

136. Medial conjunct consonants in E. H. are of two kinds, original and resultant. The former are those which have passed as such into E. H. from the Pr., as in the tadbh. पक्का ripe, A. Mg. पक्कर, Skr. पक्कः; E. H. पत्थर stone, A. Mg. पत्थले, Skr. प्रस्तजः; E. H. सत्तर seventy, A. Mg. सत्तरि, Skr. सप्ततिः; E. H. निकम्मा worthless, A. Mg. निकम्मए, Skr. निकर्मकः; E. H. कान्हू krishna, Mg. कण्हे, Skr. कृष्णः; or from the Skr., as in the semitats. बिसुास् belief, Skr. विश्वासः, E. H. ग्रिहस्त household, Skr. गृहस्थः. The latter are those which have resulted either a) from the contraction of contiguous vowels, as in the tadbh. चल्यो I walked, Ap. \*चलिग्रउ, Pr. चलिग्रउम्हि, Skr. चलितोऽस्मि, or in the semitats. आग्या order, P. आगिआ, O. H. आगिना, Skr. आजा; or b) from the suppression of an intermediate vowel, as in the tadbh. ब्रिन्ती petition for ब्रिन्ती, Pr. बिसन्त्रिआ, Skr. विज्ञापिका; E. H. दुल्हा bridegroom for दुलहा, Mg. दुल्लहर, Skr. दुर्लभकः; E. H. बिसुा a measure of land (the 20. part.), Ap. Mg. वोसव्वर or वोसमए, Skr. विंशमकः; E. H. गधा ass for गदहा, Mg. गदूहर, Skr. गर्दभकः; E. H. बरेला hog for बरहेला, Ap. Mg. \*बराहिल्लर, Skr. बराहः, etc. These latter are not uncommon in the *khari* E. H., though very rare in the *theth* (e. g., in the numerals ऐबन्नर seventy one, सयन्नर seventy seven, etc., see § 131, note); in H. H. they are the rule (see § 6, note). Of the resultant conjuncts, those arising from the suppression of a vowel may be of any kind, strong, mixed or weak<sup>1)</sup>, homogeneous or heterogeneous; but those arising from the contraction of vowels must be heterogeneous and either mixed or weak. Neither kind of resultant suffers any further change in E. H. As to the original conjuncts, the tatsamas may be of any kind, but the tadbhavas can only be either homogeneous (as क्क, न्, त्, म्, etc.) or such as consist of a consonant proper preceded by a nasal (as ङ्, ञ्, ञ्, etc.) or of ह् following a nasal or semivowel (as

1) These useful terms of classification I have adopted from Beames I, 281.



ह्र, म्र, ल्ह, ई, ढ्ह = ह्र); for these are the only conjuncts tolerated in Pr. (see § 137). Both original classes, the tadbh. and tats., are, as a rule, liable to further change in E. H. This may take place in three ways: 1) they may be *dissolved* by the interpolation of a vowel (अ, इ, उ, §§ 138—142); or 2) they may be *simplified* by eliding one consonant (see §§ 143—150); or 3) they may be *elided* altogether (see §§ 151—157). There are, also, isolated changes of a miscellaneous kind (see §§ 158—166).

137. *Affinities.* These three kinds of changes exist in Pr. also; thus the conj. is *dissolved* in Pr. सत्ताहा (H. C. 2, 101), Skr. ग्राहा, E. H. सराह् praise; Pr. सिरि (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. श्री, E. H. सिरि prosperity; Pr. दुवारं (H. C. 2, 112), Skr. द्वारम्; E. H. दुवार door. Other examples see § 142. The conjunct is *simplified* in Pr. ईसरो or इस्सरो (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. ईश्वरः, E. H. ईसर lord; Pr. वासा (H. C. 2, 105) for \*वसा, Skr. वर्षा, E. H. वाच् rain (cf. § 283); see also § 150. The conj. is *elided*, either undissolved, as in Pr. राई or रत्नी (H. C. 2, 88), Skr. रात्रिः, E. H. राति night; or after dissolution, as in Pr. रत्नपां (Vr. 3, 60) for रत्नपां, Skr. रत्नम्, E. H. रत्नम् gem; see also § 157. The former kind of elision is not uncommon in E. H. (see § 151—156); the latter is exceptional, both in Pr. and E. H. (see §§ 141. 142). — Generally speaking, however, the treatment of conjuncts is this, that while Skr. admits almost any kind of them, homogeneous or heterogeneous, Pr. makes them, as a rule, homogeneous, and E. H. further reduces them to single consonants either by dissolution or by the elision of one. The only heterogeneous conj., tolerated by Pr., are those consisting of a nasal or anusvāra preceding a consonant proper (see H. C. 2, 92. 1, 30; e. g., संका or सङ्का, Skr. सङ्का, E. H. साँक् evening), or of ह् following a nasal (see H. C. 2, 74. 75; e. g., Pr. कण्हो, Skr. कृष्णः, E. H. कान् krishna; Pr. ब्रम्हणो, Skr. ब्राह्मणः, E. H. ब्रामन् brāhman) or स् (see H. C. 4, 26. 200. 2, 76; e. g., पल्लव्यह् (cf. Wb. Bh. 409), Skr. \*पर्यस्तयति, E. H. पल्लवै he turns over). In the Ap. Pr. also the conjunct of a cons. proper with a following र् may occur (see H. C. 4, 398. 399;

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e. g., Ap. प्रिउ or विउ, Skr. प्रियः *beloved*; Ap. व्रासु or वासु, Skr. व्यासः *Vyāsa*); in E. H., however, this kind of conj. is as a rule dissolved; see § 138. 185. 186.

aa) Dissolution.

138. अ is interpolated; often; E. H. इमली *tamarind*, Mg. अमलिआ (cf. Wb. Bh. 377) for Pr. \*अमलिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. अम्लिका; E. H. सुदरसन *beautiful*, A. Mg. सुदरसणे (cf. H. C. 2, 105), Skr. सुदर्शनः; E. H. दरसन *interview, visit at a shrine*, Pr. दरसणं, Skr. दर्शनम्; E. H. बरही *peacock*, A. Mg. बरिहिए (cf. H. C. 2, 104 but cf. Ls. 142), Skr. बर्हिकः; E. H. परामरस् *consideration*, A. Mg. परामरिसे (cf. H. C. 2, 105), Skr. परामरः; E. H. सुकरू or सुकल् *white*, Pr. सुकिलं (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. शुक्लम् (or शुक्रम्); E. H. अमरा *mango*, Pr. अमिरुअं (cf. H. C. 2, 56), Skr. आम्रकम्; E. H. अमल् *sour*, Pr. अमिलं (H. C. 2, 106. Wb. Bh. 415), Skr. अमूम्; E. H. मुरख *stupid*, A. Mg. मुरक्खे (cf. H. C. 2, 112), Skr. मूर्खः; E. H. मुरहा *swoon*, Skr. मूर्छा (semitats.); E. H. अचरन् *wonderful*, कारन् *work*, अचारन् *teacher*, see § 129; E. H. बरहई or बईई or बईई *carpenter* (see § 114); E. H. बमहन् or बामन् *brāhman*, Mg. बम्हणे (H. C. 2, 74), Skr. ब्राह्मणः; E. H. कन्हैया or कन्हैया *Krishna*, Mg. कपहए (cf. H. C. 2, 75), Skr. कृष्णकः; E. H. सहस्र *thousand*, Ap. Pr. सहसं, Skr. सहस्रम्; E. H. चकरू *wheel*, बकरी *she-goat*, see § 102, etc. Very commonly in semitats., as E. H. पाखल् *mountain* (§ 129), Skr. पर्वतः; E. H. किरपा *mercy*, Skr. कृपा; E. H. किरति *praise*, Skr. कीर्तिः; E. H. जन्म *birth*, Skr. जन्म; E. H. रतन् *gem*, Skr. रत्नम्; E. H. ततन् *effort*, Skr. यत्नः; E. H. बिगल् *individual*, रगत *blood* (cf. H. C. 2, 10 रगं), भगत *devotee*, भगति *faith*, भगताई *devotedness*, मुगति *salvation*, see § 102; E. H. बर्कि *but*, Pers. बल्कि (بالكي).

139. इ is interpolated; sometimes; thus E. H. अग्नि or अगनि or अग्नि *fire*, Pr. अग्निणी (Ls. 244) or अगणी (H. C. 1, 102) or अगो (Vr. 5, 18), Skr. अग्निः; E. H. मिसिरू or मिसरू *a brāhman family-name*, A. Mg. \*मिसिरे (but सीसे *mixed* Wb. Bh. 173. H. C. 2, 170), Skr. मिश्रः; E. H. आइल् or आवल् *come*, पाइल् or पावल् *attained*, see § 109; E. H. बिर्कि *tree*, Skr. वृक्षः; E. H. सइन् *sign*, see § 141.



*Note:* The E. H. conjunct ग्य *gya*, O. H. गिन *gina* is to be explained by this rule; e. g., E. H. राग्यो, O. H. रागिनी, Skr. राज्ञो; see § 18, pp. 23. 24.

140. उ is interpolated; rarely; thus E. H. पुरब्, W. H. पुरब्, Pr. पुरब् (Ls. 183) or पुरब् (H. C. 4, 323 or पुरब्?), Skr. पूर्वम्; E. H. चुरग top, point, but चीग horn and सग spear, Pr. सिंग or संग (H. C. 1, 130), Skr. शृङ्गम्; see also § 187.

141. Dissolved consonants are treated like original single ones; thus क becomes ग (cf. § 102); e. g., in E. H. विगत्, रगत्, भगत्, etc.; see § 138; न् is elided (cf. § 101); e. g., in E. H. सइन् or सेन् sign, Pr. \*सइणा or \*सजिणा, Skr. सज्ज्ञा, cf. Pr. राइणा (H. C. 3, 51) for \*राजिणा, Ps. Pr. राचिजा (H. C. 4, 304), Skr. राज्ञा; द् becomes ल् (cf. § 109) or is elided (cf. § 101); e. g., in E. H. अइलो or आयो I came, Mg. अविदग्मि or अविचग्मि, Skr. अपोस्मि, etc.; व् is elided (cf. § 123); e. g., in E. H. पइलो or पायो I obtained, Mg. पाविदग्मि or पाविचग्मि, Skr. पापोस्मि; न् is elided (cf. § 128); e. g., in the E. H. conjunct °ग्य° for O. H. °गिन°, see § 139, note.

*Note:* The participial examples, as अइलो, पायो, etc. and Pr. तविचो (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. तपः, are scarcely quite apposite, as their इ is a connecting (suff. इ + त), not a dissolving vowel.

142. Affinities. Examples of dissolutions are not uncommon in Pr. Probably many of the above instances, though not recorded by Pr. Gramm., existed in Pr. already. In some cases the dissolving vowel has been changed in E. H.; as in E. H. दरसन् for Pr. दरिषण; other examples see in §§ 138—140. Other examples, in which E. H. has preserved the Pr. dissolving vowel, are: Pr. सारंग (H. C. 2, 100), Skr. शार्ङ्गम्, E. H. सारंग bow; Pr. वरिसं, हरिसो, फरिसो, see § 58, note. Some more Pr. examples, see in H. C. 2, 101—114. Vr. 3, 60—66; most of them do not seem to have survived in E. H. In one case, apparently, E. H. does not dissolve, but simplify; Pr. गरिहा (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. गर्हा, but E. H. गरी or गली abuse = A. Mg. \*गलिह्या or \*गहिह्या, Skr. गहिह्या; but it dissolves in गरियावै or गलियावै he abuses for \*गरिह्यावै, A. Mg. \*गलिह्यावै or Pr. \*गरिहावद्, Skr. गर्हयति (or den. गर्हापयति). Pr. examples of

the treatment of dissolved cons. are: 1) *elision* of cons. proper in रयणं or रघणं *gem* (Vr. 3, 60. H. C. 2, 101) for \*रतणं, Skr. रतन्, E. H. *deest* to distinguish from E. H. रयन् or रैनं *night*; Pr. वडरं *thunderbolt* (H. C. 2, 105) for \*वजिरं, Skr. वज्रम्, E. H. *deest* to distinguish from बैरु *enmity*, Pr. वडरं (H. C. 1, 152), Skr. वैरम्; but E. H. वजरं (*semitats.*); Pr. सुडलं *white* (H. C. 2, 166 or सुकिलं), Skr. शुक्लम्, E. H. *deest*; Pr. तवित्रो *hot* (H. C. 2, 105) for \*तविदो, Skr. तपः, E. H. *deest*, but it has तात् = Pr. तत्रो; Pr. पडमं *lotus* (Vr. 3, 65) for \*पदुमं, Skr. पद्मम्; E. H. *deest*; Pr. राडपा *by a king* for \*राणिपा (see § 141), etc.; 2) *retention* in घाणो *fire* by H. C. 1, 177; 3) *doubling* in सुक्किलं *white* (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. शुक्लम्, E. H. सुकल; Pr. पुरुव्वं *forward* (Ls. 183) or पुरव्वं (H. C. 4, 323), Skr. पूर्वम्, E. H. पुरुव्व or पुरव्व<sup>1</sup>); 4) *reduction* of aspirate in सुहमं (H. C. 2, 101) or सुहुमं (H. C. 2, 113. 1, 118. Wb. Bh. 406. 410) for \*सुखुमं, Skr. सूक्ष्मम्.

bb) Simplification.

143. *The first consonant is elided*; as a rule; thus क् in E. H. सक्के *he can*, Pr. सक्कइ (H. C. 4, 86), Skr. प्रकीर्ति; E. H. सूखा or सूका *dry*, A. Mg. सुक्खए or सुक्कर (cf. H. C. 2, 5. Wb. Bh. 289—291); न् in E. H. नाग् *road* (see § 45); E. H. बाघ् *tiger*, Mg. बाघे (cf. H. C. 2, 90), Skr. व्याघ्रः; च् in E. H. पचै *it is digested*, Pr. पचइ, Skr. पच्यते; E. H. माक्की *fly*, Pr. मच्छिक्का (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. मत्तिका; न् in E. H. चान् *to-day*, Pr. चज्ज (H. C. 1, 33), Skr. अद्य; E. H. बूक्के *he understands*, Pr. बुक्कइ (H. C. 4, 217), Skr. बुध्यते; ट् in E. H. तूटै *it breaks*, Pr. तुट्टइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. तुट्यति; E. H. वेठि *back*, Pr. पिट्ठी (H. C. 1, 35), Skr. पृष्ठम् or Ved. पृष्ठिः; ड् in E. H. कोडो or कोरी, see § 104; E. H. बडै *it grows*, see § 114; त् in E. H. चात् *event, word*, Pr. चत्ता (H. C. 2, 30), Skr. वार्ता; E. H. हाय् *hand*, A. Mg. हत्थे, Skr. हस्तः; द् in E. H. गदहा *ass*, see § 136; E. H. दूय् *milk*, Pr. दुठे (H. C. 2, 89), Skr. दुग्धम्; प् in E. H. इप्पय् or इप्पे *a kind of verse*, Mg. इप्पये (cf. H. C. 2, 77), Skr. पदपदः; E. H. बाप् *steam*, Mg. बप्फे (cf. H. C. 2, 70), Skr. बाष्पः; व् or व् in E. H.

1) सुक्किलं and पुरव्वं seem to be correct readings; as shown by the E. H., which has व् for व्, not for व् (cf. § 129).



सब् *all*, A. Mg. सब्ने (cf. H. C. 3, 58), Skr. सर्वः; E. H. त्तोम् *tongue*, Pr. त्तित्ता (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. त्तित्ता; इ in E. H. पालकी *a palanquin*, Pr. पल्लिकिन्ना (cf. H. C. 2, 68), Skr. पर्यङ्गिका or पल्यङ्गिका; ज् in E. H. पचास् *fifty*, Pr. \*पंचासं (see § 397), Skr. पञ्चाशत्; ण् in E. H. सान् *sign*, Pr. सत्ता (H. C. 2, 83), Skr. संज्ञा; E. H. कटहल *jackfruit*, see § 120; न् in E. H. ग्रान् *other*, Mg. ग्रन्ने (H. C. 3, 58. Wb. Bh. 403), Skr. ग्रन्थः; E. H. हसत् *laughing*, A. Mg. हसते (cf. H. C. 3, 181), Skr. हसन्; म् in E. H. काम् *work*, see § 45; ल् in E. H. पलटे *he turns over*, Pr. पल्लट्टे (H. C. 4, 200), Skr. पर्यस्तयति (den.); स् in E. H. पूस् *the month December-January*, A. Mg. पुस्ते or पूस्ते (cf. Vr. 3, 58), Skr. पुष्यः. Sometimes in foreign words; as E. H. बाकि *but for बलिक*, Pers. بلكي; E. H. बाटे *for the sake of for बास्ते*, Ar. واسطي (?).

*Exception.* Rarely both cons. are retained; as E. H. पक्का or पका *ripe, thorough*, पत्थर or पाथर *stone*, निकम्मा *useless*, see § 136; E. H. चक्का or चका or चाका *wheel*, Pr. चक्कायं (H. C. 2, 79), Skr. चक्रकम्; E. H. सच् or सच् or साच् or सौच् *true*, उच् or ऊच् *high*, see § 149, 2; E. H. बच्चा or बच्चा (§ 145, exc. 2) or बच्चा or बच्चा *young*, Mg. बच्चे (cf. Vr. 3, 40), Skr. वत्सकः; E. H. पट्टा or पट्टा *title-deed*, Mg. पट्टे, Skr. पट्टकः; E. H. सत्तर *seventy*, see § 108; E. H. जिह् or गोध् *vulture*, see § 63; E. H. कम्मल् *blanket*, see p. 20; As a rule, when the first is a nasal; thus E. H. पंक् (i.e. पङ्क् § 13) or पौक् *mud*, and other examples, see p. 29; cf. also § 149.

144. *The second consonant is elided*; only व्, व् and optionally इ; thus व् in E. H. पाथा *teacher* (cf. § 173), Skr. उपाध्यायः; E. H. अन्ध् *Oudh* (cf. § 78), Skr. अयोध्या; E. H. सधि *within*, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. पराग् *Allahabad* for \*पर्याग्, Skr. प्रयागः; E. H. पराजन् *necessity* for \*पर्याजन्, Skr. प्रयोजनम्; E. H. पराचित् *penance* for \*पर्याचित्, Skr. प्रायश्चित्तम् (all semitats). Again व् in E. H. चूमै *he kisses*, Mg. चुम्बे (cf. H. C. 4, 239), Skr. चुम्बति; E. H. अमरा *mango*, अमला *sour*, see § 138; H. H. तामुन् *rose-apple*, see § 111; E. H. लाम् *long*, Mg. लम्बे, Skr. लम्बः; E. H. समुक् *he understands*, Mg. समुक्ता, Skr. समुद्ध्यते, and others, see § 18, p. 20; E. H. पिरवी *earth* (also पिरवमी see § 132), Skr. पृथ्वी (semitats). Again इ in अमन् or

ब्राम्हन् or ब्रह्मन् *Brāhman*, कान् or कान्ह् *krishna* (e. g., in कानपुर *Cawnpore*), see § 136; E. H. सूनू *daughter-in-law* for \*सुन्हू, Pr. \*सुपहुआ or \*सोपहुआ (cf. Vr. 2, 47. H. C. 1, 261), Skr. सुषा (or \*सुषुका; cf. Pr. माउआ for माता, § 52); E. H. समालै or संहालै or समालै *he supports*, see § 120; E. H. पलथै *he turns over*, see § 137; E. H. कोलू or कोल्हू *sugar-mill*, see § 115; E. H. गाली *abuse* for \*गाल्ही, see § 142.

*Exception.* Rarely न् is elided before ह्; as E. H. तोहै *he regards*, looks, Pr. तोपहड़ (cf. H. C. 2, 75), Skr. \*द्वोत्सवति (denom. R.).

145. The remaining consonant is treated like an original single one; thus उ as a rule becomes ड़ or ण़; e. g., in E. H. कौरी or कौरी *cowrie*, see § 104; ल् as a rule becomes ळ (§ 110) as in E. H. गाली or गाली *abuse*, see § 142; ल् sometimes becomes न्, as in E. H. आपन् *own*, see § 111; ण् always becomes न् (§ 112), as in E. H. कान् *ear*, Mg. कसे, Skr. कर्णः; E. H. सान्, घान् see § 143; कान्, सूनू see § 144; ह् as a rule becomes ड़ or ण़, as in E. H. बढै *he grows*, see § 114; व् always becomes व़ (§ 129), as in E. H. सब् *all*, see § 143; for a few rare cases, see §§ 103. 107. 113. 116. 117. 119. 120. Otherwise it remains unchanged; as E. H. चक्रो or चक्की *wheel*, Pr. चक्किआ, Skr. चक्रिका; E. H. लान् *shame*, Pr. लङ्गा, Skr. लङ्गा; E. H. साठि *seventy*, Pr. सट्टी, Skr. षट्ठि; E. H. रान् *night*, see p. 14; E. H. हाथो *elephant*, A. Mg. हत्थिर्, Skr. हस्तिकः; E. H. आधा *half*, Mg. अठर् (cf. H. C. 2, 41), Skr. अर्धकः; E. H. बाप् *father*, Pr. वप्पा (Mehh. 119, 5), Skr. वप्ता; E. H. वाम् *heat*, Mg. वामे, Skr. घर्मः (cf. H. C. 4, 327); and other examples in §§ 143. 144. 146. 147. 148.

*Exception 1.* Sometimes ड़ and ण़ preceded by a nasalized vowel remain unchanged; as E. H. मूँडै *he shaves*, मोँडा *stool*, see § 149.

*Exception 2.* Sometimes aspirates are disaspirated; thus ख् in E. H. परकै or परलै *he tests*, see § 58; व् in E. H. महंग् *high-priced*, M. महवे (Spt. 169), Skr. महर्वः; ध् in E. H. लाँदा or काँधा *shoulder*, A. Mg. लंधर् (cf. H. C. 2, 4), Skr. स्कन्धकः; क् in E. H. अचरन् *wonderful* for \*अकरन्, see § 129; E. H. बचा or बछा *young*, see § 143. exc.;



E. H. पचतावै or पङ्कतावै *he repents*, Pr. पच्छन्तावइ, Skr. पञ्चान्तापयति (denom.); E. H. मूच्छं or मूङ्छं *beard*, see § 56; E. H. चाहै or इहै *he desires*, Pr. उच्छाहइ (cf. H. C. 2, 21), Skr. उत्साहयति (denom.); इ in E. H. अरतिस् or अउतिस् or अउतिस् *thirty eight*, see § 113; E. H. अरतालिस् or अउतालिस् or अउतालिस् *forty eight*, Pr. अउअन्तालीसं (or अउयाल Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. अउसठि or अरसठि *sixty eight*, Pr. अउसठ्ठो, Skr. अष्टषष्टिः; इ in E. H. बडा *great* for \*बडा, Mg. वडू (or वडं Vr. 1, 27), Skr. वृढकः; E. H. बेडू *enclosure* for \*बेडू, Mg. वेडू (cf. Vr. 8, 40), Skr. वेष्टः; E. H. गरै or गडै or गडै *he fashions*, बिगरै or बिगडै *it is spoilt*, see § 130.

Note: There are traces of this disaspiration in Pr., as सुक्कं or सुक्कवं *dry* (H. C. 2, 5), see § 143; Pr. पल्लट्टइ (H. C. 4, 200 for \*पल्लट्टइ) or पल्लट्टइ *he turns over*, see §§ 137. 143; Pr. विंचुओ (H. C. 2, 16) or विंचुओ (Vr. 3, 41), E. H. बिचू or बीचू, M. विंचू (Man. 36); Pr. उट्टो (cf. H. C. 2, 34), see § 149, 2; it is quite the general rule in M., and less so in B. and O.; thus M. हान् *hand*, B., O., E. H. हाय् (§ 143); M. हातो *elephant*, B., O., E. H. हायो (§ 145); M. साँन् *evening*, B., O., E. H. साँक् (§ 149, 1); M. साँद् *hole in a wall*, E. H. सेँध्, see § 57; M., B., O. सीजे *ladder*, E. H. सीडी, Pr. \*सिडी, Skr. श्रेथी (?); M., B. साडे 2 1/3; M. दीड, B. देडू 1 1/2; B. आटत्रिण्, M. अउतोस् or अउतोस् 38; B. आटचलिण् 48; M. बडा *great*, बेडा *enclosure*, etc. (see Bs. I, 273). It is worth noting also, that the old Mg. has स्, स्त, श्र for इ, ए, and च् (see H. C. 4, 290. 291. 295); e. g., Mg. कोस्टागालं, Skr. कोट्टागारम्; Mg. उवस्तिदे, Skr. उपस्थितः; Mg. पुश्चदि, Skr. पृच्छति, etc.

146. The preceding vowel remains short; sometimes; thus always in E. H. अन् suffix of part. pres., Mg. अंते (cf. H. C. 3, 181), Skr. अन् (अन्तं); e. g., E. H. होन् *being*, Mg. होंते (cf. H. C. 3, 180), Skr. भवन्; E. H. कर्त् *doing*, Mg. कलंते (cf. H. C. 4, 431) or कलेंते, Skr. कुर्वन्, etc.; always E. H. पच् *five*, Pr. पंच, Skr. पञ्च in conjunct position; e. g., E. H. पचोस् *twenty five*, see § 123; E. H. पचपन् *fifty five*, Pr. \*पंचपन्, Skr. पञ्चपञ्चाशत्; sometimes otherwise; as E. H. दुख् *pain*, see § 116, note; E. H. गर्भिन् *pregnant*, Pr. गर्भिण्या (cf. H. C. 1, 208), Skr. गर्भिणी; E. H. सकै, पचै, कपय्, सव्, पालकी,

पलटै, सच्, see § 143; E. H. समूकै, पलथै, see § 144; E. H. बरै, see § 114; always in the *antepenultimate* (cf. § 25); thus E. H. ग्राम्, but ग्रमरा *mango*, see § 138; E. H. दूवर, but दुवर *weak, thin*, see § 22; E. H. उतरै *he descends*, Mg. उन्नलइ, Skr. उन्नति; E. H. गदहा, पलटै, see § 143; E. H. अमला, पलथै, see § 144; and others.

*Note:* Similarly M. has अत् suff. of 3. pers. pl., Pr. अंति, Skr. अन्ति (§ 497, 2 f.); as M. चलत् *they were in the habit of going*, Pr. चलंति, Skr. चलन्ति; both M. and B. have the part. suff. अत् or इत्, but पंच् in comp.; e. g., M. पंचवीस्, B. पंचिण्, E. H. पचीव्.

147. *The preceding vowel becomes long; as a rule; thus अ in E. H. आठ् eight, Pr. अट्, Skr. अष्ट; E. H. रानी queen, see p. 23; E. H. साथ् with, Pr. सत्थं, Skr. संथम्, etc.; इ in E. H. भोव् or भोव् alms, Pr. भिक्खा (cf. Wb. Bh. 197. Spt. 312) or भिच्छा (Spt. 163. cf. H. C. 2, 17. 19), Skr. भित्ता; E. H. रीव् or रीव् bear, Pr. रिच्छो or रिक्खो (H. C. 2, 19), Skr. ऋत्तः; E. H. दीठि sight, see § 43; E. H. सौव् boiled rice, indigo, Pr. सित्थं (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. शिकथम्; E. H. तीन or तीन् three, Pr. तिथि (H. C. 3, 121), Skr. त्रीणि, etc.; उ in E. H. सूत् thread, Pr. सुत्तं (H. C. 4, 287), Skr. सूत्रम्; E. H. ऊन् wool, Pr. उणा, Skr. उर्णा; E. H. मूठ् fist, Pr. मुट्ठी (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. मुष्टिः; E. H. पूत् son, Mg. पुत्ते, Skr. पुत्रः, etc.; ऐ in E. H. पेव् bedding, Pr. सेज्जा (see § 6), Skr. ग्रथा; E. H. पेव् lump, Pr. पेण्ड (Vr. 1, 12), Skr. पिण्डम्; E. H. ऐँचा crooked, Pr. \*ऐँचन्नं, Skr. अक्षितकम्; E. H. एक् one, Pr. ऐक्कं (cf. H. C. 2, 99), Skr. एकम्, etc.; ओ in E. H. पोव् hip, Mg. \*पोट्टे, Skr. प्रोथः; E. H. बोले he says, Pr. बोल्ह (H. C. 4, 2), Skr. वदति; E. H. पोवी book, Pr. पोत्थिमा (cf. Vr. 1, 20), Skr. पुस्तिका, etc. See other examples in §§ 143—146.*

148. *The preceding vowel becomes ए or ओ; rarely; thus अ in E. H. लेवुर or लेवुरो cord, see § 110. exc.; सेँध् hole in a wall, see § 57; E. H. पेव् tree, see § 103; E. H. बैँगन् egg-plant, Mg. वंगणे, Skr. वङ्गनः; E. H. एरी or एगी heel, Pr.?, Skr. ग्रहिः; E. H. ऐँचा crooked, see § 147; E. H. केकरा or केकडा crab, Mg. कक्कडए, Skr. कर्कटकः; E. H. केँचुरो or केँचुली skin of a snake, Pr. कंचुलिमा (cf. H. C. 2, 25), Skr. कचुलिका; again E. H. मोँछ् or मूँछ् moustache,*



चोच्च *bill*, see § 57. Again इ in E. H. मकेला *middle*, A. Mg. मङ्किल्लए (Wb. Bh. 437), Skr. मध्यः; E. H. केचुवा *earth-worm*, see § 125; E. H. हेदु *hole*, Pr. हिदु (Wb. Bh. 174. Spt. 146), Skr. हिदुस्; E. H. सेम् *bean*, Pr. सिम्बा, Skr. शिम्बा. Again उ in E. H. कोपे *he is angry*, Pr. कुप्पइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. कुप्यति; E. H. कोरु *leprosy*, see § 113; E. H. कोल् *belly*, Pr. कुक्खो, Skr. कुक्षिः; E. H. सोठ *ginger*, Pr. सुंठी, Skr. प्रुपिठः.

*Note:* The change of अ to ए or ओ is probably to be explained by a transfer of the succeeding vowel इ or उ into the preceding syllable. Similarly the ए in the E. H. मेहर *woman* (see § 57) and in the Bs. अहेस् *thou art*, O. H. अहसि is formed.

149. *The preceding vowel is nasalized*; 1) as a rule after the elision of a nasal; thus आ in E. H. त्राव् *leg*, Pr. तंवा, Skr. तद्वा; E. H. ब्राक् *barren woman*, Pr. वंका, Skr. वन्धा; E. H. साक् *evening*, Pr. संका (H. C. 2, 92), Skr. सन्धा; E. H. चाद् *moon*, see p. 29; E. H. डांजे *footpath*, Pr. डंडिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 217), Skr. दण्डिका; E. H. भांग *pot*, Mg. भंडए (cf. H. C. 4, 422. 12), Skr. भाण्डकः; E. H. कापे *he trembles*, see p. 29; etc. Again ई in E. H. मोत्रे *he rubs*, Pr. मित्रइ, Skr. मृत्ति; E. H. सोचै *he irrigates*, Pr. सिंचइ (H. C. 4, 239), Skr. सिञ्चति, etc. Again उ in E. H. सूंड *elephant's trunk*, Pr. सुंडा, Skr. सुण्डा; E. H. मुंडे *he shaves*, Pr. सुंडइ (H. C. 4, 115), Skr. मुण्डति. Again ए and ओ in E. H. सेद्ध, ऐचा, वेगन्, etc., and चोच्च, मोह्, see § 148. 2) Sometimes otherwise; thus आ in E. H. आँखि *eye*, see § 43; E. H. वाँजे *he requests*, Pr. वागइ (H. C. 4, 230. Spt. 71), Skr. वागवति; E. H. आँच् *flame* (fem.), Pr. \*अच्चो, Skr. अर्चिः; E. H. साँच् *true*, Pr. सच्च (cf. H. C. 2, 13), Skr. सत्यम्; E. H. साँप् *serpent*, A. Mg. सप्पे, Skr. सर्पः, etc. Again ई in E. H. ईख् or ईख् *sugarcane*, Pr. इक्खू (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. इक्षुः; E. H. ईरु or ईरु *brick*, Pr. इट्टा (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. इष्टा; E. H. भीत् or भीत् *wall*, Pr. भित्ति, Skr. भित्तिः; E. H. नीद् or नीद् *sleep*, see § 42. Again उ in E. H. उँख् or उँख् *sugarcane*, Pr. \*उक्खू or उच्छू (H. C. 2, 17. Vr. 1, 15), Skr. इक्षुः; E. H. मूँग् *a kind of pulse* (fem.), Mg. मुग्गे (cf. Vr. 3, 1), Skr. मुद्गः (masc.); E. H. उँच् *high*, Pr. उच्च (cf. H. C. 1, 154), Skr. उच्चम्; E. H. उँह *camel*, Pr. उट्टो (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. उट्टः. Again ए

§ 150. 151.] CHANGES OF CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

In E. H. केंकरा or केकरा *crab*, see § 148. Again ओ in E. H. होठ or होठ *lip*, A. Mg. ओठ (cf. Spt. 22), Skr. ओष्ठः.

150. *Affinities.* 1) The general law of the treatment of conjuncts may be stated thus: Pr. elides the first of the (Skr.) conj. and doubles the second; Gd. (exc. S. and P.) elides the first of the (Pr.) conj. and doubles (i. e. lengthens) the preceding vowel; e. g., Skr. भूक्त्वा *boiled rice*, Pr. भूत्त (H. C. 4, 60. Wb. Bh. 214), E. H., W. H., B., O., M., G. भात्, S. भतु; Skr. सप्त *seven*, Pr. सत्त (cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H., etc. सात्, S. सत, P. सत्त; Skr. अष्ट *eight*, Pr. अठ (cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H., etc. आठ, S. अठ, P. अट्ट; Skr. रात्रिः *night*, Pr. रत्त्री (H. C. 2, 79), E. H., etc. राति or रात्, P. रत्त, S. रति. S. usually preserves the short vowel, and P. the conjunct. 2) Sometimes Pr. exhibits the Gd. process; especially when one of the conj. is स् (or श्र or ष); e. g., Pr. लासं (H. C. 2, 92) for \*लास्सं (cf. H. C. 1, 84), Skr. लास्यम्, E. H. लास् *dance*; Pr. ईसरौ (H. C. 2, 92) or इसरौ (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. ईश्वरः, E. H. ईसर *lord*; Pr. बीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or बीसई (Ls. 320), Skr. विंशत् or विंशतिः, E. H. बीस् *twenty*; Pr. सोसं (H. C. 2, 92), Skr. प्रीर्वम्, E. H. सीस् *head*; Pr. वासा (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. वर्षा, E. H. \*वास् *rain* (in कपास् *violent burst of rain*, see § 283), etc.; also otherwise, as Pr. आणा *command* for \*असा, see p. 23; Pr. दीहो or दिग्घो *long*, see § 116, note, etc.; see Ls. 274. 3) Sometimes in Pr. the preceding vowel optionally becomes ए or ओ; see H. C. 1, 85. 116. Vr. 1, 12. 20; e. g., Pr. वेल्लं or विल्लं, Skr. विल्वम्, E. H. वेल्ल *wood-apple*; Pr. पोखरौ, Skr. पुष्करः, E. H. पोखर *pond*; Pr. पोत्यओ, Skr. पुस्तकः, E. H. पोथा; Pr. मोगरौ, Skr. मुद्गरः, E. H. मोगर *mallet*, etc. 4) Sometimes in Pr. the first of the conj. becomes a nasal, analogous to the nasalization of the preceding vowel in Gd.; see § 158, note. 5) Sometimes in Pr. the second of the conj. is disaspirated, see § 145. exc.

cc) Elision.

151. क् is elided; very rarely; in E. H. चौधरी *headman*, chief for \*चव (§ 69), \*चव, A. Mg. चक्कथरि, Skr. चक्रधरिकः (lit. *discus-holder*; from चक्रिन् + क).



152. *च्* is elided; rarely; in E. H. चौवालिस् or चउआलिस् forty four (B. चोयालिण), A. Mg. चोयालीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), for Pr. \*चउअत्तालीसा (cf. Ls. 259 on च = अ), Skr. चतुश्चत्वाजिणत्; E. H. द्वियालिस् forty six (cf. § 55), Pr. \*द्वअत्तालीसा, Skr. षट्चत्वाजिणत्; E. H. तेत्तालिस् (O. तेयालिण), A. Mg. तेआलीसा (H. C. 2, 174 or तिंयाले Wb. Bh. 425) for \*तेअत्तालीसा, Skr. त्रयश्चत्वाजिणत्.

Note: In composition the र् of चतुर and पृ (or ष्ट) of षष् (or ष्ट) are, as a rule, assimilated, but sometimes elided; thus ass. in चउदूह (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर + दृष) or चउवारो (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर + वार); again इप्पओ (H. C. 2, 77 for ष्ट + पद) or इम्मुहो or इम् (Vr. 2, 40. H. C. 1, 25. 30 for ष्ट + मुख), इगुणो (Ls. 240 for ष्ट + गुण). But el. in चउगुणो (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर + गुण) or चउवीसं (H. C. 3, 137 for चतुर + विंशति), चउमुहु (H. C. 4, 331 for चतुर + मुख); again इहत्तरि (इ + हत्तरि for ष्ट + सप्ति) or इदिसिं (Wb. Bh. 426. 234 for ष्ट + दिशो). Hence the above mentioned num. may be derived from the Pr. forms: चउचत् or (eliding च, see § 101) चउअत्; इचत् or इअत्; and similarly तिचत् or तिअत् (Skr. त्रिचत्वाजिणत्).

153. *न्* is elided; sometimes; in E. H. आउ and आन् suff. of abstract nouns for Ap. Pr. अअउ or अअणु, Pr. अअअं or अअपां or अअत्तं or अअपां, Skr. त्वम् or त्वनम्, see § 227; E. H. चारि four for \*चआरि, A. Mg. चत्तारि (Wb. Bh. 425. H. C. 3, 122), Skr. चत्वारि; E. H. चालिस् forty, see § 110. exc.; E. H. ब्यालिस् forty two, A. Mg. बायालीसं (Wb. Bh. 426) for \*वाअत्तालीसं, Skr. द्वाचत्वाजिणत्; E. H. चवालिस् or चौवालिस् or चउआलिस् forty four (cf. § 26) and E. H. द्वियालिस् forty six, see § 152; E. H. सैत्तिस् thirty seven (O. सैत्तिण) for सयँ or सअँ, A. Mg. सन्नतीसं (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. सप्तत्रिणत्; E. H. सैत्तालिस् forty seven for सयँ or सअँ, A. Mg. \*सत्तअत्तालीसं, Skr. सप्तचत्वाजिणत्; E. H. रोअब् or रोइब् to weep, Pr. रोत्तवुं (H. C. 4, 212. Vr. 8, 55 or रोइअब् Spt. 258 or Ap. Pr. रोइवुं), Skr. रोदितव्यम्; E. H. मिवाँ friend (a respectful address), Mg. मिअए or मित्रए (cf. Wb. Bh. 398. Vr. 3, 58), Skr. मित्रकः; or after simplification, in E. H. धाई wet-nurse; Pr. धाइआ or \*धातिआ or धत्तिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 81), Skr. धात्रिका; E. H. दाई foster-mother, wet-nurse, Pr. \*दातिआ or दत्तिआ, Skr. दात्रिका (lit. giver, scl. of nourishment); E. H. दाउ

*appellation of a father or elder brother* (lit. giver of sustenance), Mg. \*दातृ or \*दतृ (cf. H. C. 3, 44), Skr. दातृकः; E. H. भाई *brother*, Mg. \*भातिर or \*भतिर, and E. H. माई *mother*, Pr. \*मातिघा or \*मनिघा, see § 63; E. H. बाय् *he is* for \*बाइ, Pr. वनइ, Skr. वन्ति.

154. *प्* is elided; *very rarely*; in E. H. चउआ or चउपा *fourfooted*, Mg. चउपाए or चउप्पाए (see § 152, note), Skr. चतुष्पादः; E. H. चौअन or चउअन *fifty four* (M. चौपन), Mg. \*चउपन or \*चउप्पन (see § 152, note), Skr. चतुःपञ्चाशत्.

155. *वृ* is elided; *rarely*; optionally in E. H. ऐ *suffix of the oblique infinitive*, for \*अए or \*इए for \*अवे or \*इवे, Ap. \*इव्वे (see §§ 308. 365, 6), Pr. इअव्वस्स, Skr. इतव्यस्य; e. g., E. H. चले or चलवे (cf. § 129) *to go*, Ap. चलिव्वे, Pr. चलिअव्वस्स, Skr. चलितव्यस्य; E. H. खावे (for \*खाइए) or खाइवे or खावे *to eat*, Ap. खाइव्वे, Pr. खाइअव्वस्स, Skr. खादितव्यस्य.

156. *नृ* is elided; *rarely*; in E. H. वैत्तिस् *thirty five* (O. पईत्तिग, B. पयत्तिग for पयं), A. Mg. पनूतीसं or पणतीसं (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. पञ्चत्रिंशत्; E. H. वैत्तालिम् *forty five* for पनूअत, A. Mg. पनूचत्तालीसा (Wb. Bh. 425 or पणयालीसा), Skr. पञ्चचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. वैसहि *sixty five*, A. Mg. \*पनूसट्ठी, Skr. पञ्चषष्टिः.

157. *Affinities*. In Pr. also, there are a few examples of the elision of a conj.; thus some instances of च् see in § 152, and of त् in § 153; others of त् are, Pr. राई or रत्ती *night*, Skr. रात्रिः (H. C. 2, 88. Vr. 3, 58), but E. H. राति; Pr. काउण *having done* (Vr. 4, 23) for \*कातूण or \*कत्तूण (cf. Vr. 10, 13), Skr. कृत्वा (or \*कृत्वान्), E. H. deest; Pr. काअव्वं (Spt. 229) *what is to be done*, Mg. कायव्वं (Wb. Bh. 398) or कादव्वं (Vk. 67) *to be done* for \*कातव्वं or \*कत्तव्वं, Skr. कर्तव्यम्, E. H. deest (it forms कर्त्तव्य); Pr. वअस्सअअ (Spt. A 53) *companionship*, Skr. वयस्यकत्व. An instance of क् is Pr. तेलोअं or तेलोक्कं *the three worlds* (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. त्रैलोक्यम्, E. H. deest; and of ग्, Mg. निवये *devotee* (Wb. Bh. 397) or निगये, Skr. निगयः, E. H. deest. See also Wb. Bh. 398. Ls. 273. 274.

dd) Miscellaneous.

158. क्, ग्, घ्, क्व, च् become कू, ऊ, ऊ, ऊ, ऊ respectively; thus कू in E. H. ककर *limestone*, Pr. \*कक्कर, Skr. कर्करम्; E. H. कक्करोल्



a kind of gourd, Ap. Pr. कक्कुडुल्लु (cf. H. C. 4, 429), Skr. कर्कटः<sup>1</sup>); again ग् in E. H. नग् naked, A. Mg. नग्गे (cf. Wb. Bh. 185. H. C. 2, 78), Skr. नग्; and in its derivatives as नंगा, नग्गे naked, नंगाई nakedness, etc.; again क्ख् in E. H. पंख् wing, A. Mg. पक्खे (cf. Wb. Bh. 427. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. पन्तः, and in its derivatives पंखा, पंखी fan, पंखरी or पंखड़ी flower-leaf (Ap. पक्खडिआ), पंखी bird (from Skr. पत्तिन्)<sup>2</sup>); again र्च् in E. H. महंग् high-priced, see § 145. exc. 2; again च्च् in E. H. पंढी bird, Pr. पच्छिओ, Skr. पत्तिकः (from पत्तिन् + क), and in its cognates पंढाला tail of a paper-kite (Ap. \*पच्छिओउउ) from Skr. पन्त tail<sup>3</sup>).

Note: There are instances of this change in Pr.; as Pr. वंक्, Skr. वक्कम्, E. H. वक्क् crooked; Pr. मंसू, Skr. मन्नु, E. H. मंसू tear; Pr. मंसू, see § 56; Pr. पुंङ्, Skr. पुच्छम्, E. H. पूङ् tail; Pr. पंसू, see § 44; Pr. मंत्रारो, Skr. मन्तारः, E. H. मंत्रार cat, etc., see H. C. 1, 26. Vr. 4, 15; but E. H. विच्छू or बीछू scorpion (M. विंचू) for Pr. विंछिओ or विंचुओ (H. C. 2, 16), Skr. वृश्चिकः.

159. 'स् and 'ह् become न्स् and ह्; always; thus 'स् in E. H. हन्स् or हाँस् goose, see p. 29; E. H. मन्स्, or माँस् or मास् flesh, see p. 30; E. H. हिन्सा slaughter, see § 39, etc.; again 'ह् in E. H. सिंघ् or सोँघ् lion, see p. 29; E. H. संघार collection, Pr. संघारो or संहारो (H. C. 1, 264), Skr. संहारः, etc.

Note: The change of 'ह् to ह् is optional in Pr. already, see H. C. 1, 264. As to the spelling of 'ह् and 'स्, see §§ 38. 39; and of 'घ् see § 13.

160. 'ङ् and 'ञ् become ङ् and ञ्; rarely; thus 'ङ् in E. H. कंगाल् (i. e., कङ्गाल्, see § 13) destitute, Mg. \*कंकाले (i. e., कङ्काले, see H. C. 1, 30), Skr. कङ्कालः (lit. skeleton, see Bs. I, 98); E. H. कंगन् bracelet, Pr. कंकपां (Spt. 68), Skr. कङ्कणम्; E. H. पलंग् bed, Mg. पल्लुंके (cf. H. C. 2, 68), Skr. पर्यङ्कः; E. H. पलंगरी or पलंगडी small bedstead, Ap. पल्लुंकिआ, Skr. पर्यङ्किका; E. H. पाँग् or पाँक् mud, see p. 29; E. H.

1) But E. H. ककरी or ककडी cucumber, Pr. कक्कुडिआ, Skr. कर्कटिका.

2) Also regularly पाँख्, पाँखा, पाँखी, cf. § 149.

3) पंढी and पंढाला might be corruptions for पुंढी, पुंढाला, from Pr. पुंङ्, see note.

पग salt (obtained from sea-mud), Mg. पंकर, Skr. पङ्कतः; E. H. पंगति row (cf. §§ 102, 2. 138, usually पाँति p. 30), Skr. पङ्क्तिः; E. H. बाँगर high ground, Ap. वंकड, Skr. वक्रम् (lit. curved); again ख in E. H. कुंजी key, Pr. \*कुचिन्ना, Skr. कुञ्चिका.

161. ल् and न् become ल्ह and न्ह; optionally; thus ल् in E. H. काल् or काल्ह yesterday or to-morrow, Pr. कलं (H. C. 2, 186. Spt. 46), Skr. कल्यम्; E. H. चील् or चील्ह kite, Mg. चिल्ले, Skr. चिल्लः; E. H. चीलर or चील्हर louse, Ap. चिल्लुड, Skr. चिल्लुः; E. H. पेलर or पेल्लर testicle, Ap. पेल्लड (cf. H. C. 4, 143 पेल्लड), Skr. पेलम्, etc. Again न् in Bs. दीना or दीन्ह given, A. Mg. दिन्ने (cf. Wb. Bh. 402) or दिणे (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. दत्तः; Bs. कीन् or कीन्ह done (Ap. Pr. किन्नुड H. C. 4, 329?), Skr. कृतः; Bs. लीन् or लीन्ह taken for \*लिन्, Skr. लब्धः; E. H. इन् or ऐन् or O. H. ऐन्हि suffix of 3. pers. pl. for \*एन्नि or \*इन्नि, Pr. इञ्चन्ति, Skr. इतन्ति (see §§ 497, 6. 503); e. g., E. H. पठिन् or पठेन् or O. H. पठेन्हि they read for \*पठिञ्चन्ति, Pr. पठिञ्चन्ति, Skr. \*पठितन्ति (denom.); E. H. चरेन् or O. H. चलेन्हि they walked for \*चलिञ्चन्ति, Pr. चलिञ्चन्ति (Skr. चलिता भवन्ति), etc.

Note: In Pr. पल्लत्वं (H. C. 2, 68) and पल्हत्वं (H. C. 4, 258), Skr. पर्यस्तम्; Pr. एपिहं (Vr. 4, 33) for एपिं (Ls. 129), Skr. इदानीम्.

162. ख् becomes स्त; rarely; as E. H. ग्रिहस्त् husbandman, householder, Mg. °हस्ते (cf. H. C. 4, 291), Skr. गृहस्थः (semitats.), and its derivative ग्रिहस्ती husbandry.

163. पड् becomes न्द or न्त; rarely; E. H. गन्ना or गन्दा or गँडा sugarcane (lit. having joints), Mg. गंउए, Skr. गण्डकः; E. H. गँदेरी or गंडेरी joint of sugarcane, Ap. गंडइल्लिन्ना, Skr. गण्डक°.

164. क् becomes त्; very rarely; E. H. कुत्ता dog (G. कुतर), Ap. कुक्कत, Skr. कुक्करः (usually E. H. कूकर or कुक्कर); and its derivative E. H. कुतर puppy.

165. त् and ध् become त् or त् and ह् or ध् respectively; very rarely; thus E. H. निन् or नित्, A. Mg. निन्ने (cf. Wb. Bh. 414), Skr. नित्यः; E. H. मधि, O. H. मडि, Skr. मध्ये; but see § 144.

166. ज् and च् become छ् and ज्; always in semitats.; see §§ 36. 37.



c) CHANGES OF INITIAL SOUNDS.

a) VOWELS.

167. अ becomes इ; rarely; E. H. इमली or अमली *tamarind* (cf. § 138), Mg. अमलिघा (cf. Wb. Bh. 377), Skr. अमिका.

168. आ becomes अ; sometimes; thus E. H. अचारू *teacher*, Skr. आचारः (§ 129); E. H. अचार or आचार *conduct*, Skr. आचारः; E. H. अया or आया *command*, Skr. आज्ञा (all semitats.).

169. ए becomes अ; rarely; E. H. अकेला *solitary*, A. Mg. एकल्लए (cf. H. C. 2, 165) or \*एक्किल्लए, Skr. एकलकः.

170. ए becomes इ; sometimes; as E. H. इग्यारह or ऐग्यारह *eleven*; इक्यावन or ऐक्यावन *fifty one*, see § 135; and other compounds of एक.

171. ए and ओ become ँ and ॐ respectively; sometimes; thus ए in E. H. एक or ऐक or एक् *one*, Mg. एके (Wb. Bh. 424), Skr. एकः; E. H. यह or ऐह (or ई) *he, this*, Ap. ऐह or एहु (H. C. 4, 362), Skr. ईदृशः; again ओ in E. H. वह or ओह (or ऊ) *he, that*, Ap. \*एवेह or \*एवेहु (see § 438, 1. 5), Skr. \*एवादृशः (= एवंविधः); E. H. वनइस् or ओनइस् *nineteen*, see § 123; and other compounds of ऊन; cf. § 98.

172. अ is elided; sometimes; thus E. H. भीतर *within*, A. Mg. अभिंतरं (Wb. Bh. 206), Skr. अभ्यन्तरम्; E. H. भीतै *he is afflicted with grief*, Pr. \*अभिस्तइ, Skr. अभ्यर्षते (pass. of अर्ष); E. H. भीतै *he is wet*, Pr. \*अभिस्तइ, Skr. अभ्यादूयते (denom. of आर्ष *wet*); E. H. काँठ *he sweeps*, Pr. \*अस्तकइ, Skr. अथर्षयति (caus. of अर्ष) or Skr. अध्यायति (caus. of अर्ष *roam*, cf. Pr. काँठइ H. C. 4, 161); E. H. कंगी *upper garment*, A. Mg. अस्तकंगए, Skr. अथङ्गकः; E. H. कंगिया *child's vest*, Pr. अस्तकंगिया, Skr. अथङ्गिका; E. H. रहह or अरहह *water-wheel*; E. H. तीसो *flax*, see §§ 55. 109, note.

Note: Such elisions occur especially in A. Mg.; see Wb. Bh. 405, as रयणी, Skr. अरतिः, etc.

173. उ is elided; sometimes; thus E. H. चाहै *he desires*, see § 145, exc. 2; E. H. बैठै or अइठै *he sits*, Pr. उवविठइ, Skr. \*उपविष्टि

(denom. of उपविष्ट, cf. Ap. Pr. बड़दुत्त H. C. 4, 444, see § 352);  
E. H. पे upon, see § 124; E. H. पाथा teacher, see § 144.

Note: For such elisions in Ap. Mg. see Wb. Bh. 406; e. g.,  
पोसह, Skr. उपवसथ, etc.

### β) SINGLE CONSONANTS.

174. त् and द् become ट् and ड्; rarely; thus त् in E. H. टूटै or तूटै it breaks, Pr. तुट्टइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. तुट्यति; E. H. टू or तू pony; Mg. \*तुट्ट (cf. H. C. 3, 44. 1, 131), Skr. तर्हकः (of R. तृ; cf. तुरग horse); E. H. टोक् or टोका (fem.) sectarian mark on the forehead, Skr. तिलकः (masc.), cf. § 125; E. H. टोह् or टोर beak for \*टोर, Pr. तोडं (Vr. 1, 20), Skr. तुपउम्. Again द् in E. H. डोह् or दीह् or दीठि sight, see § 43; E. H. डाडी or दाडी beard, Pr. दाडिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 139), Skr. दंष्ट्रिका (also दाडिका); E. H. डाह् or दाह् tooth, tusk, Pr. दाढा (H. C. 2, 139), Skr. दंष्ट्रा; E. H. डार or डाल् or डाल् branch (fem.), A. Mg. दाली, Skr. दागे; E. H. डार or डाला branch, A. Mg. \*दालर् or \*डालर् (cf. H. C. 4, 445. Ap. डालडं), Skr. दाजकः; E. H. डारी or डाली branch, A. Mg. दालिआ, Skr. दाजिका; E. H. डेरु or देरु or डेरु or देवरु one and a half, see § 114.

Note: Instances in Pr. are; Pr. डोला or दोला, Skr. दोला, E. H. डोर or दोर cord, whence E. H. डोला or दोला, डोली or दोली a swing, a dooly, Pr. डोलचो or डोलिआ or द°, Skr. दोलकः or दोलिका; Pr. डडो or दडो, Skr. दग्धः, E. H. डाडा burnt, fire (Skr. दग्धकः?); Pr. डरो or दरो, Skr. दरः, E. H. डर or दर fear; Pr. डाहो or दाहो, Skr. दाहः, E. H. डाह् malice, jealousy and दाह् burning; Pr. डडो or दडो (Wb. Bh. 293), Skr. दर्भः, E. H. डाम् kusa-grass; Pr. डसड्, Skr. दजति he bites, E. H. डसै; Pr. डडो or दडो, Skr. दष्टः bitten, oppressed, whence perhaps E. H. डाह् threat, डाहै or डाहै he threatens; see H. C. 1, 217. 218; but E. H. दहै it burns, Mg. दहड् (cf. Wb. Bh. 155), Pr. डहड् (H. C. 1, 218), Skr. दहति; E. H. दंम् arrogance, Pr. डंभो or दंभो, Skr. दम्भः.

175. क्, ट्, ड् become ख्, ट्, ड्, respectively; very rarely; thus क् in E. H. खाँसी cough, Pr. कासिआ (or खासिआ? cf. H. C. 1, 181),



Skr. कासिका; E. H. ठोर *beak* for \*ठोर, see § 174; E. H. ठेकुना *bug*, Pr. डकुणओ (S. C. 1, 3. 130), Skr. मकुपाकः.

*Note:* Pr. examples are: खप्पर (H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कर्परम्, E. H. खप्पर *skull, tile*; Pr. खोलओ (H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कीलकः, but E. H. कीला *nail*; again Pr. कुच्छं or चुच्छं or तुच्छं (H. C. 1. 204), Skr. तुच्छम्, E. H. कूछ mean; again Pr. कडिलो or ञडिलो (H. C. 1, 194), Skr. ञडिलः, E. H. *deest*.

176. भ् becomes ह्; rarely; E. H. हाँड् or भाँड् *pot*, A. Mg. भँडे (Wb. Bh. 274), Skr. भाण्डः.

*Note:* In Pr. होँड (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति, E. H. होय *he is*.

177. *Aspiration is transferred*; E. H. म्हैस् or भैस् or महिस् or बहिस् *buffalo*, A. Mg. महिसे, Skr. महिषः, see § 178; E. H. भूखा *hungry* for \*बुहुखा, Mg. बुभुक्खिण् (or भुक्खे Wb. Bh. 290?), Skr. बुभुक्षितः; E. H. भवूति or भभूति *ashes of cowdung*, Skr. विभूतिः (semitats.); E. H. भाप् or भाक् or बाक् *steam*, see § 143; E. H. फूप् or फूक् *flower*, see § 132.

178. म् becomes व्; very rarely; in E. H. बहिस् or महिस् *buffalo*, see § 177. 134.

*Note:* In Pr. यम्महो (Vr. 2, 39), Skr. मन्मथः, E. H. *deest*.

179. ल् becomes न्; very rarely; E. H. नोन् or लोन् *salt*, Pr. लोणं (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. लवणम्, see also §§ 31. 111.

*Note:* In Pr. पाहलो, Skr. लाहलः, E. H. नाहर् *tiger*; Pr. पांगलं *plough*, पांगूलं *tail*, Skr. लाङ्गलम्, लाङ्गूलम्, but E. H. लाँगल् and लाँगूल्, see H. C. 1, 256.

180. न् becomes ल्; very rarely; E. H. लोल् or नील् *dark-blue* (§ 31), A. Mg. नीले (Wb. Bh. 160. H. C. 3, 32), Skr. नीलः; E. H. लूरी or नूरी *a kind of parrot*; E. H. लीम् or नीम् *lime-tree* (S. लिमु or निमु), see p. 20.

*Note:* In Pr. लिम्बो or निम्बो (H. C. 1, 239), Skr. निम्बः; but E. H. नीम् *Nimb-tree*.

181. य् and व् become न् and च् respectively; always; thus य् in E. H. जतन् \**effort*, Skr. यत्तः (semitats); E. H. जोग् *worthy*, Mg. योगे (cf. Vr. 3, 2), Skr. योगः; E. H. जानै *he knows*, Mg. यापाइ (cf. Wb. Bh. 394, note) or यापाहि (H. C. 4, 292), Skr. जानाति (see

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pg. 22); etc.; again E. H. ब्रात्, see § 143; E. H. ब्राज्ञे or ब्रज्ञे *it is sounded*, Pr. वज्रज्ञ (H. C. 4, 406), Skr. वज्रते, etc.; also as initial of the second of a compound; as E. H. पुरवासी *citizen*, Skr. पुरवासी (semitats); see § 17.

182. सू becomes झू; *very rarely*; E. H. झोचै or सोचै *he sprinkles*, see § 149.

*Note:* In Pr. इन्नवणो (Vr. 2, 41), Skr. सन्वर्णः; E. H. *deest*.

183. हू is prefixed; *very rarely*; E. H. होहू *lip*, see § 149.

*Note:* Frequently in S.; as एडो or हेडो *so large*, ओडो or होडो *so large*, एतिरो or हेतिरो *so many* (Tr. 224), एकु or हेकु *one* (Tr. 157), इति or हिति *here* (§ 468, a). Sometimes in B. and M., as B. एया or हेया *here*, ओया or होया *there* (§ 468, a); M. इकडे or हिकडे *hither* (§ 468, b).

184. *Consonants are elided*; only in alliterative phrases; thus रू in रोटी ओटी *meal* (lit. bread, etc.); or खू in खाना खाना *dinner*; very commonly पू, as पानी खानी *water*; बास् पास *close by*; उलट पुलट *topsy-turvy*; झुतावै पड़तावै *he repents deeply*; etc.

γ) CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

185. अ is interpolated; often; thus E. H. नहान् *bathing*, Ap. Pr. पहाणु (H. C. 4, 399), Skr. स्नानम्; E. H. नहाय् *he bathes*, Pr. पहाइ (H. C. 4, 14), Skr. स्नाति: E. H. नहाटै *he flees*, Pr. \*पहटइ, Skr. \*स्रस्तयति (denom. of part. स्रस्त); E. H. परोहन् *carriage*, Ap. प्रवहणं (cf. H. C. 4, 398) or Pr. पवहणं (Mehh. 109, 18), Skr. प्रवहणम्; E. H. परघट or परगट् *manifest*, see § 102; E. H. परगास् *clearness*, Ap. Pr. प्रगासु (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. प्रकाशः; E. H. परगासै *he displays*, Ap. Pr. प्रगासइ or प्रगासेइ, Skr. प्रकाशयति; E. H. परसन् *pleased*, Ap. Pr. प्रससु, Skr. प्रसन्नः; E. H. परोहा *leathern waterbuck*, Ap. Pr. प्रवहउ or प्रवाहउ (cf. H. C. 1, 68), Skr. प्रवहकः or प्रवाहकः; E. H. सराहै *he praises*, Pr. सलाहइ (cf. H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्लाघते; E. H. सराहन् *praise*, Pr. सलाहणं, Skr. श्लाघनम्; E. H. सरेस् *glue* (lit. adhesion), A. Mg. सिलेसे (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. श्लेषः (or Pers. سیریش *sirish*?); E. H. सलान् *faded*, Pr. मिलाणं (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. स्नानम्; and in semitats; as E. H. सलोक *verse*, Skr. श्लोकः (Pr. सिलोको H. C. 2, 106).



Ls. 183); E. H. परोक्षन् *necessity*, पराग्न *Allahabad*, पराचित् *penance*, see § 144.

*Note:* In Pr. सलाहा (H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्लाघा, E. H. सराह् *praise*.

186. इ is interpolated; sometimes; thus E. H. तिरपन् *fifty three*, Ap. Pr. \*त्रिपसं (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. त्रिपञ्चाशत्; E. H. तिरसठि *sixty three*, Ap. Pr. \*त्रिसठ्ठी, Skr. त्रिषष्टिः; E. H. तिरिका or त्रिका *triad*, see § 408; E. H. गिरहन् *eclipse*, Ap. Pr. ग्रहणं, Skr. ग्रहणम्; E. H. पिलही *spleen*, Pr. \*पिलहिष्ठा, Skr. प्लीहिका; E. H. गिलानि *fatigue*, Pr. \*गिलाणो (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. ग्लानिः; E. H. तिरिया *woman*, Ap. Pr. \*त्रिष्ठा, Skr. त्रिका.

*Note:* In Pr. सिणेहो (Wb. Bh. 405. Ls. 182) or सणेहो or नेहो (H. C. 2, 102), Skr. स्नेहः, E. H. सिनेह् or सनेह् or नेह् *love*; Pr. सिरि (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. श्री, E. H. सिरि *prosperity*; Pr. किरिष्ठा (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. क्रिया, E. H. किरिया *oath*; Pr. किलेसो (H. C. 2, 106) *trouble*, see § 58, note.

187. उ is interpolated; rarely; thus E. H. सुमिरन् or सुमरन् *recollection*, Ap. Pr. सुमरण् (H. C. 4, 426. cf. 4, 74), Skr. स्मरणम्.

188. The first consonant is elided; always; thus E. H. भीतर *within* for अभीतर, A. Mg. अभिन्तर (§ 172), Skr. अभ्यन्तरम्; E. H. भीत्रे, काठे, कंग्गा, कंगिया, for अभीत्रे, क्काठे, क्कंग्गा, क्कंगिया, see § 172; E. H. इमा *forgiveness* for \*च्छमा, Skr. क्षमा, see §§ 36. 191; E. H. चाहै *he desires* for \*च्छाहै, see § 173.

*Exception.* र्ग remains, as E. H. र्गन् *knowledge*, Skr. ज्ञानम्, see § 191; in the *khari bhāshā* optionally also र्ग following a cons., as प्रगट् or परगट् *manifest*, § 185.

*Note:* In Pr. also; as a rule, see H. C. 2, 89. Vr. 3, 50; thus Pr. काणं (H. C. 2, 26), Skr. ध्यानम्; Pr. कात्रो or धात्रो for \*क्कात्रो or डात्रो (H. C. 2, 27), Skr. ध्वजः; Pr. इमा or लमा for \*च्छमा or क्कलमा (H. C. 2, 18 gives इमा in the sense of *earth* and लमा as *patience* or *forgiveness*; but in E. H., the latter does not exist, and the former means *forgiveness* or *patience*), Skr. क्षमा; Pr. टाणं or वाणं for \*ट्राणं or \*त्याणं (H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्वातम्; etc.; but A. Mg. apparently has occasionally ङ्क्; as ङ्काणं (Wb. Bh. 315. 319),

Skr. ध्यान<sup>०</sup>; or दूक्षिता (Wb. Bh. 295), Skr. अधूषित्वा, etc.; see Wb. Bh. 389. 390.

189. *The second consonant is elided; only ह्; thus E. H. नाड barber, A. Mg. पहाविए or नाविए (cf. H. C. 1, 230), Skr. नापितः (or \*सुपिकः).*

*Note:* In Pr. नेहो (H. C. 2, 102) for \*पहेहो (not for \*पेहेहो as in H. C. 2, 77), Skr. स्नेहः, E. H. नेह् love, oil; Pr. निठे (H. C. 2, 109) for \*पिहठे, Skr. सिग्धम्, E. H. deest.

190. *ञ or इ is prefixed to स् preceding any consonant; only in semitats; thus E. H. अस्तुति or इस्तुति praise, Skr. स्तुतिः; E. H. अस्नान् bathing, Skr. स्नानम्; E. H. अस्नेह् love, Skr. स्नेहः; E. H. इस्तारी woman, Skr. स्त्री; or in foreign words, as E. H. अस्कूल or इस्कूल school; E. H. इस्वन् sponge; etc.*

*Note:* A curiosity is the E. H. अचपल् restless for Skr. चपलः

191. *च् and ण् become छ् and ग्; only in semitats; see §§ 36. 37. In tadbh. ण् becomes ण्; e. g., E. H. ज्ञानी or ज्ञान् sage, Pr. ज्ञाणी (H. C. 2, 83. Vr. 3, 5), Skr. ज्ञानी; but as a semitats. it is E. H. ग्यानी.*

## SECOND SECTION. ON SUFFIXES AND ROOTS.

### FIRST CHAPTER. SUFFIXES.

192. *The E. H. suffixes may be divided into two great classes, which I shall call the pleonastic and the derivative. The former are those, by the addition of which the meaning of a noun is not changed, thus पट् and पटा board, अग्नि and अग्निया fire, चाम् and चमरा leather, मीट् and मिठका sweet, etc. The latter are those which change the meaning of a noun. These may be subdivided into two classes; the primary and secondary. The former are those which are added to (verbal) roots and form primary bases; e. g., R. खा eat, खाड or खनिहार eater, glutton; हँस् laugh, हँसी laughter; बड् grow, बडती growth, etc. The latter are added to the bases*



of nouns and form secondary bases; as बूढा *old*, बुढापन् *old age*; हलुक *light*, हलुकई *lightness*; बंगाल् *Bengal*, बंगाली *a man of Bengal*; भेड़ *ram*, भेड़ी *ewe*; etc.

*Note:* The pleon. suff. are called by Pr. gramm. स्वार्थे or स्वार्थिक (cf. H. C. 2, 164. 429); and the deriv. suff., भवे (cf. H. C. 2, 163).

— In Skr., the primary suffixes are called *kṛt* and the secondary *taddhita*. The pleon. suff., as being added to nouns only, would belong to the *taddhita* class.

193. *Affinities.* In Pr. it had already become customary, and is now almost the rule in E. H. (and Gd. generally) to augment verbal roots (called *dhātus* in Skr.) by the denominative suffix घ्रावि (Pr. घ्रावि or घ्राव, E. H. घ्राव् or घ्रा) and nominal bases (called *prātipādikas* in Skr.) by the pleonastic suffix क (Pr. and E. H. क्). It is the coalescence of the original (Skr.) *kṛt* or *taddhita* suffixes with this radical or basic increment, that — besides the usual effect of phonetic decay — accounts for the difference, which, in many cases, appears between them and their modern representatives; thus Skr. वृद्धि *growth* from R. वृध् and suff. ति, but E. H. ब्रह्मति of R. ब्रधाप् and suff. ति (cf. § 325); or Skr. उच्यता *height* from base उच्च and suff. ता, E. H. उच्चाई from base उच्च and suff. इया (= उच्च-तिका cf. § 223). — Many of the Skr. suffixes, however, have been long since disused both in Pr. and E. H. as *suffixes*; though, of course, they may be met with in E. H. words (especially in *tatsamas*) as *nominal terminations* and variously modified by the effect of phonetic laws; thus the Skr. suff. नि, in E. H. मुनि *sage*, Skr. मुनि; suff. मन् in E. H. कर्म (tats) or काम् (tadbh) for Skr. कर्मन्; suff. त्रि, in E. H. धरती *earth* for Skr. धरित्री; or in E. H. रात् *night*, Skr. रात्रि; etc. These will not be noticed in the following lists. Most of the other Skr. suff., which are still used as such in E. H., are expressly mentioned also by Pr. grammarians.

### 1) PLEONASTIC SUFFIXES.

194. The E. H. pleonastic suff. may be divided into two groups, the elementary forms of which are: 1) क or क् and 2) उ

or इ or ल or न. Their other forms are reduplications or combinations of these.

*First Group.*

195. Set.

*Masculine.*

1. घा, ई, उ; or इउं.
2. अक्, इक्, उक्; or अक्क, इक्क, उक्क.
3. अका, इका, उका; or अक्का, इक्का, उक्का.
4. अवा, इवा, उवा; or अवॉ, इवॉ, उवॉ.
5. अकवा, इकवा, उकवा; or अक्कवा, इक्कवा, उक्कवा.
6. औवा, इयवा<sup>1)</sup>, उअवा<sup>1)</sup>; or औवॉ, इयवॉ<sup>1)</sup>, उअवॉ<sup>1)</sup>.

*Feminine.*

1. ई, ई, उ; or इउं.
2. अक्, इक्, उक्; or अक्क, इक्क, उक्क.
3. अकी, इकी, उकी; or अक्की, इक्की, उक्की.
4. इया, इया, उवा; or इयॉ, इयॉ, उवॉ.
5. अकिया, इकिया, उकिया; or अक्किया, इक्किया, उक्किया.
6. इयवा<sup>1)</sup>, इयवा<sup>1)</sup>, उअवा<sup>1)</sup>; or इयवॉ<sup>1)</sup>, इयवॉ<sup>1)</sup>, उअवॉ<sup>1)</sup>.

*Note:* Observe in adding these suffixes, that their initial vowel always supersedes the final vowel of the word. A long antepenultimate is shortened (see § 25). The semivowels य् and व् may or may not be inserted after इ, उ and औ (cf. § 28); e. g., उवा or उअ, इया or इअ.

196. The first set may be added to either subst. or adj. The forms thus made I shall call their *strong forms*; those without the suff. their *weak forms*. The suff. घा (m.), ई (f.) are added to nouns in अ (*quiescent*). As to adj., all may take them; thus m. सौच् or सौचा *true*; f. सौच् or सौची; or m. मीढ् or मीढा *sweet*, f. मीढ् or मीठी; but the strong form is generally used with fem., while with masc. the weak form is rather the more common. In the case of subst., the usage is more or less fixed; some occurring only in the

1) Sometimes pronounced इवा, उवा or इवॉ, उवॉ; contracted like औवा for \*अववा § 203; and see §§ 83. 84. exc.



weak form, others only in the strong, while many again may be used in both; on the whole those in the weak form preponderate in E. H., as compared with W. H. Thus m. घर *house* (not घरा), f. बात *event* (not बाती); m. घोरा (or घोडा) *horse*, f. घोरी *mare* (not घोर); but m. पट्ट or पटा *board*, f. भेड़ or भेड़ी *sheep*, etc. The suff. ई and ऊ (both *gen. com.*) are added to nouns in इ and उ respectively; but in most cases, at present, only one of the two forms exists. Thus adj. occur only in the strong form, as भारी *heavy*, गर *heavy*, हल *light, slow* (not भारि, गर, हल). Subst. as a rule, have either the one or the other; e. g., माली *gardener*, हाथी *elephant*, बालू *sand* (not मालि, हाथि, बालु); on the other hand आगि *fire*, मुनि *sage*, गुरु *teacher* (not आगी, मुनी, गुरु). There are, however, a few examples of the existence of both forms; as ज्ञानि or ज्ञानी *sage*, बहिनि or बहिनी *sister*, पतोहु or पतोहू *son's wife*, etc. See also §§ 42—53.

197. The suffix इड (com. gen.) can be added to adj. in ई only; as m. f. भारी or भारिड *heavy*. The form in इड I shall call the *uncontracted*, that in ई the *contracted*.

198. The second, third and fifth sets can be added to adj. of the weak form only. The forms made by the two former I shall call their long forms. Those in का, की or क्का, क्की contain the suff. का, ई of the first set and are therefore strong, while those in क् or क्क are weak. As a rule, the strong long forms only are used in E. H. Thus m. मिठका or मिठक्का, f. मिठकी or मिठक्की, of मोट *sweet*; होटका, होटकी or होटक्का, होटक्की, of होट *small*; भरिका, भरिकी or भरिक्का, भरिक्की *heavy*, of \*भारि (only used in the strong form भारी, § 196); हलुक or हलुक्क (gen. com.) or हलुका, हलुकी or हलुक्का, हलुक्की *light*, of \*हलु (only in the strong form हलू § 196). In a few cases the long form alone exists; as तनिक or तनिका *small*, of \*तनु (see § 61); रत्निक *small*. As to the forms in चकवा, etc. of the fifth set, see § 199.

*Exception.* There are a few subst. with the suff. क्, का, as भिडक *beggar* beside भिड; बालक (or बालका) *child* beside बाल and बाला; डोकरा *boy*, डोकरे *girl* beside डोरा, डोरी, from \*डोक or

\*हो° (= Skr. प्राव°, Pr. ह्राव° Vr. 2, 41) with the pleon. suff. रा, री superadded. — Such nouns as लरिका *boy* (H. H. लउका), बैठिका or बैठिक् *seat* (H. H. बैठक्), etc. contain not the pleonastie, but the derivative suff. का (see §§ 252. 334).

*Note:* The forms in क्रा, क्री have the accent on the syllable immediately preceding it; as मिठक्का *mīṭhakkā*, भरिक्का *bharikkā*, हलुक्की *halukkī*; but the others on the first syllable; as हलुक्क *halukk*, हलुका *hāluka*, होटकी *chhōṭkī*, etc.

199. The fourth set may be added 1) to any subst. of the weak form, 2) to any adj. of the weak long form; in the latter case resulting in the fifth set. The forms thus made will be called, in the case of subst., their *long*, in the case of adj., their *redundant* forms. The suff. अवा (m.), इवा (f.) are added to nouns in अ, and the suff. इवा and उवा (both gen. com.) to nouns in इ and उ respectively. Thus, *subst.*, m. घर or घर-वा *house*; f. बात् or बत्तिवा *event*; m. घोरा (wk. f. घोर्) or घोर्-वा *horse*; f. घोरी (wk. f. घोर्) or घोरीवा *mare*; m. माली (wk. f. मालि) or मलिया *gardener*; f. बालू (wk. f. \*बालु) or बलुवा *sand*; f. अग्नि or अग्निया *fire*; m. गुरु or गुरुवा *teacher*, etc. Again *adj.*, m. हलुक् or हलुक्वा *light*; f. हलुक् or हलुक्किया; m. होट-का (wk. f. होटक्) or होट-कवा *small*; f. होटकी (wk. f. होटक्क) or होटकिया.

*Note:* Bs. II, 40 and Bates H. Dict. 67 give the form उअ for अवा; and Bates 58. इअ for इवा. If these be not merely inaccurate spellings, they must be considered as local peculiarities.

200. The sixth set can only be added to subst. of the weak form. The forms thus made, I shall call their *redundant* forms. The suff. m. औवा, f. इयवा (or ईवा) are added to subst. in अ, and c. g. इयवा and उअवा (or उवा) to subst. in इ and उ respectively. Thus m. घर or घरौवा *house*; f. बात् or बत्तिवा (or बतोवा) *event*; m. घोरा (wk. f. घोर्) or घोर्वा *horse*; f. घोरी (wk. f. \*घोर्) or घोरीवा *mare*; m. माली (wk. f. \*मालि) or मलिया (or मलीवा) *gardener*; f. बालू (wk. f. \*बालु) or बलुवा (or बलूवा) *sand*; f. अग्नि or अग्निया *fire*; m. गुरु or गुरुवा *teacher*. The suff. औवा and उअवा may be con-





tracted to औ; e. g., घोरोवा or घोरो; बलुमवा or बलो. The suff. औवा may be also contracted into अउ; as घोरोवा or घोरउ.

*Note:* The contracted suff. औ always takes the accent; as घोरो *ghōraú*, not *ghórau*.

201. All these suff. are, generally speaking, very commonly employed. The sixth set, however, is very vulgar. As a rule, they change in no way the meaning of the word. Occasionally, those of the fourth and sixth sets may imply contempt or affection or smallness, and those of the second and third sets the comparative degree (see § 388).

202. *Affinities.* The existence of these sets of pleonast. suff. in the various Gd. languages has been hitherto but little observed by grammarians; if, at least, we exclude the first, which is very common in them all. It consists, in E. and S. Gd., of आ, ई and ऊ; in N. and W. Gd. of ओ (or औ), ई and ऊ; see §§ 49—54. As to the others, I have not been able to learn whether or not they exist in N. and W. Gd.; excepting the W. H. In this latter and in E. and S. Gd., some of them certainly do occur; whether or not all do, it is impossible to say at present. The fourth set is in B. (m.) आ, ए, ओ contracted for E. H. अवा, इवा, उवा; as B. रामा, E. H. रमन्वा *Rám*; B. हरे, E. H. हरिया *Hari*; B. ग्रंभो, E. H. संभुआ *Sambhú*; (f.) B. ई contracted for E. H. इवा; as B. राधो, E. H. रधिया *Rádhá*, etc. There are, however, many anomalies<sup>1)</sup>. See S. Ch. 71. 72. In M. the fourth set has (m.) अवा for E. H. अवा and (f.) ई for E. H. इवा; as M. राग्या (for रामन्वा cf. § 6, note), E. H. रमन्वा *Rám*; Mg. दुर्गो, E. H. दुर्गिया *Durgá*. See my V<sup>th</sup> Essay on Gd. Gramm. in J. B. A. S. XLIII, 36. The W. H. has अवा, ऐवा, अई, ऐ for E. H. अवा, औवा, अउ, औ of the fourth and sixth sets respectively; e. g., W. H. कन्हवा, कन्हैया, कन्हई, कन्है *krishna*<sup>2)</sup>;

1) E. g., sometimes इ migrates into the preceding syllable, as in B. काप्रो or कप्रो for E. H. कसिया *kási* (abbreviated for *kāṣināth*).

2) By way of illustration compare तलैया *pond* = Mg. तलायये = Skr. तडाककः of तडाक, with कन्हैया = Mg. कण्ठयये = Skr. \*कृष्णककः of कृष्ण.

गडिया, गडैया, गरई, गरै *pit*; etc. In H. H. these pleonastic forms, being more or less vulgar, are not usually employed; but there are a few exceptions, such as बडवा *calf*, कडवा or कडुवा *bitter*; etc.

203. *Derivation.* The original of all these suff. is the suff. क which is sometimes employed in Skr. to form diminutives, as पुत्रक: *little son*, but is more often merely pleonastic. In Pr. it is still more extensively used in the latter way; see Vr. 4, 25 in Cw. 140. E. C. 2, 164. Ls. 258. Wb. Spt. 69. 70; especially in the Ap. Pr.; see H. C. 4, 429. 430. Ls. 341. 475. E. H. employs it, in some cases (cf. § 204), even more frequently than Pr. In the latter the suff. क generally becomes झ, but sometimes remains unaltered. The latter is especially the case in Ps. Pr. (cf. H. C. 2, 164), in Sr. and Mg. Pr. (K. I. 12, 1 in Ls. Ap. 50. cf. Ls. 378. 396), and in Ap. Pr. (K. I. 13, 3 in Ls. 449. 457). The Mg. Pr., moreover, — particularly in its lower types — has not only a tendency to retain क, but even to prolong the preceding vowel<sup>1)</sup>, thus making the suff. झक, ईक, उक Md. 12, 16; cf. Wb. Bh. 348. Ls. 431)<sup>2)</sup>. In one case, Mg. shortens the preceding झ and compensates it by doubling क; viz. in हउके *heart* (Md. 12, 13. Vr. 11, 6. K. I. 11, 3 in Ls. 393), for \*हडाके, Skr. हृदयकम्, Ps. हितमकं (Vr. 10, 14) or हितपकं (H. C. 4, 310), but Mh. हिमयमं (cf. H. C. 2, 164). Further the suff. क is sometimes *reduplicated* in Pr., thus making it झझ (for कक, H. C. 2, 164. 4, 430)<sup>3)</sup> or in Mg. कझ or झकझ,

1) Thus in the Mchh. the Mg. form केलक is much more common than its alternative केलझ. It may be remarked, that since the natural tendency in Pr. is to elide hard consonants, the effort to retain them would tend either to their being doubled or to the lengthening of the preceding vowel.

2) Md. 12, 16 क दीर्घो वा । कप्रत्यये परे पूर्वो दीर्घो वा स्यात् " i. e. „the vowel preceding the suff. क may optionally be long“. The MS. reads पूर्वादीर्घो (?); the example is: लाउसाके । लाउपाके (?).

3) The example in H. C. 2, 164 is बहुमयं, E. H. बहुमना.



इक्य, उक्य. Thus in Mg. the suff. क may have the following forms (in the nom. sing. incl. final of base): 1) अए, इए, उए by elision of क्; 2) अके, इके, उके or आके, ईके, ऊके by retaining क्; 3) अकए, इकए, उकए or आकए, ईकए, ऊकए by reduplicating the suff. and retaining क्; 4) अअए, इअए, उअए by reduplicating the suff. and eliding क्. In E. H., the first Pr. set is either *contracted* to आ, ई, उ (cf. §§ 47. 49. 98, exc.), or separated (by inserting ए or व § 69) into अवा, इवा, उवा<sup>1)</sup>; the result being the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> E. H. sets. Exceptionally the Pr. hiatus is retained in E. H. इउ, which is apparently the same as the Ap. Pr. termination इउ. The second Pr. set becomes in E. H. either अक्, इक्, उक् (cf. § 45) or अक्क, इक्क, उक्क by doubling क् and shortening the preceding vowel; thus forming the E. H. 2<sup>nd</sup> set. The third Pr. set again is in E. H. either *contracted* to अका, इका, उका and अक्का, इक्का, उक्का, or *separated* into अकवा, इकवा, उकवा and अक्कवा, इक्कवा, उक्कवा; thus producing the E. H. 3<sup>d</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> sets. Finally the fourth Pr. set becomes in E. H. औवा (contracted for \*अववा, cf. § 34), इववा (or इअवा or contr. ईवा § 83, exc.), उववा (or उअवा or contr. उवा § 84, exc.) by inserting ए or व; thus constituting the E. H. 6<sup>th</sup> set. E. g., Skr. घोटकः *horse*, Mg. घोउए or (gen.) घोउआह (§ 369, 2), E. H. घोरा or घोरावा; Skr. \*घोटककः, Mg. (gen.) घोउअआह, E. H. घोराँवा (for \*घोराववा); or Skr. मिठकः *sweet*, Mg. मिठए or मिठके or मिठाके, E. H. मोठा or मिठक् or मिठक्क; Skr. \*मिठककः, Mg. मिठकए or मिठाकए, E. H. मिठका or मिठक्का or मिठकवा or मिठक्कवा; etc. Similarly in the feminine: 1) Pr. इया and उया = E. H. ई and उ (§ 51) or इया and उया; 2) Pr. \*अकी, \*इकी, \*उकी<sup>2)</sup> or आकी, ईकी, उकी = E. H. अक्, इक्, उक् or अक्क, इक्क, उक्क (§ 43); 3) Pr. अकिया, इकिया, उकिया or आकिया, ईकिया, उकिया = E. H. अकी, इकी, उकी or अक्की, इक्की, उक्की or अकिया, इकिया, उकिया or अक्किया, इक्किया, उक्किया; 4) Pr. \*इअया, \*उअया<sup>2)</sup>, (= \*इका, \*उका) = E. H. इववा, उववा (or उअवा). Thus Skr.

1) For an explanation of the final आ of these forms see §§ 365, 1. 369, 2.

2) When क् is retained or the suff. reduplicated, the fem. appears to have been formed irregularly.



मृत्तिका *earth*, Mg. मृदृश्वा (cf. H. C. 2, 29), E. H. माटो or मटिया; Skr. \*मृत्तिकका, Mg. मृदृश्वा, E. H. मटियवा; or Skr. मिष्टा or मिष्टिका *sweet*, Mg. मिट्टा or मिदृश्वा, E. H. मोट् or मोठो or मिठिया; Skr. \*मिष्टको, Mg. मिट्टको or मिट्टाको, E. H. मिठक् or मिठक्कु; Skr. \*मिष्टकिका, Mg. मिट्टकिश्वा or मिट्टाकिश्वा, E. H. मिठकी or मिठक्की or मिठकिया or मिठक्किया; etc.

204. *Origin.* The original of the suff. क I am inclined to believe to be the past part. pass. कृत *done* for the following reason. There are two main elements क and उ or ल. Each of them exists in a twofold use, as a pleonastic or a derivative suffix. It will be shown, that the latter (उ or ल) in its two uses is essentially the same element and has the same origin (Skr. दृण), see §§ 218. 244. 248. 251. The same, probably, is true of the former (क) also. It will be shown in §§ 280. 338 that the suff. क — as a derivative one, at least — has originated from the part. कृत; and in § 377, that the genitive affix क has the same origin.

205. *Origin of the pleonastic forms.* Skr. possesses bases in अ, इ and उ. The declension of the bases in इ and उ is intricate; at least, as they form a very small minority, it was much less familiar, than that of the अ-bases. Hence the custom sprang up in Pr., of adding the suff. क to the इ- and उ-bases, in order to turn them into अ-bases; and from habit, it was extended to the अ-bases themselves; thus tending to produce a uniform kind of declension. We shall observe (§ 347) a similar levelling tendency of Pr. in regard to the treatment of the verbal roots whereby the diversity of the Skr. conjugation was reduced to a uniform pattern. In E. H., this uniformity of declension has become an established fact. In the meanwhile, however, the result of the Pr. habit of adding the suff. क was, to produce a double set of forms of the same meaning; the *weak* forms in ए, ई, ऊ, and the *strong* in (Mg.) अए, इए, उए. This must have been felt to be inconvenient. In Gd., therefore, the custom grew up of using only one set; and in the struggle for existence, thus ensuing between the two



sets, the hardier one (i. e., that of the *strong* forms), will naturally survive. The tendency to extinction of the weak forms is, indeed, unmistakeable in Gd. In E. and W. H., the weak forms in इ and उ (probably from having suffered longest the addition of the suff. क) are altogether extinct in adj., and, to a considerable extent, in subst. also. The case of the weak form in अ, in W. H., is not very different from this. But the E. H. has more nearly preserved the older, i. e. Pr., stage, particularly in regard to adj.; though it also shows signs of the same general tendency, in preferring strong fem. in ई and strong long forms in का, की (see §§ 196. 198).

— Another reason for the frequent addition of the suff. क in Pr. was its preference (common to all popular languages) for the use of diminutives. This habit continued in Gd., in whose more uncultivated forms, like the E. H., it is very marked. But as the Pr. strong (or diminutive) forms in अह, इह, उह, in their contracted Gd. forms अ, ई, उ, had been generally substituted in Gd. in the place of the (more or less) extinct Pr. weak (or non-diminutive) forms, Gd. was obliged to distinguish its diminutive (but, in vulgar speech, pleonastic) forms by some new device. Accordingly वृ and वृ were inserted in the Pr. strong terminations, and thus were produced the long termin. अवा, इवा, उवा of the E. H. The excess of this popular tendency is exhibited in the reduplication of those forms in the redundant terminations औवा, इयवा, उअवा.

*Second Group.*

| 206. | Set. | Com. gen. | Masc. | Fem. |
|------|------|-----------|-------|------|
|      | 1.   | अह्       | अहा   | अही  |
|      | 2.   | अह्       | —     | —    |

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others containing the suff. अ, ई of the 1<sup>st</sup> set 1<sup>st</sup> group are strong. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

207. These suff. are sometimes added to adj. or subst. of the weak form: Thus: अह् in गअह् or गअह् fort, from गअ enclosure; अहा in गअहा (or गअहा), from गअ or गअ cavity; m. अउहा, f. औही, from अउ or m. अउरा, f. औरी mad (W. H. आवल् or आवला); m.

मिरकुट्हा, f. °ही feeble (also मिरकुट्हा), from मरकुट् monkey (?); again घाह् in m. f. बउराह् mad.

208. *Derivation.* These suff. are closely allied to those of first group. Their original is the Skr. pleon. suff. क, the क् of which is elided in Pr. and replaced in Gd. by ह् (see § 69). Thus we have in Mg. Pr. (in the nom. sg., and incl. of the final घ of the base) मए (i. e. मकः), in E. H. मह् (for महे); or adding pleon. घ (= क, i. e., doubling क) we have Mg. m. ममए, E. H. ममा, Mg. f. मममा, E. H. ममी. In Mg. the vowel, preceding क, may be lengthened, m. माके, f. माकी, or (eliding क्) मए, माई; whence, inserting ह्, arises E. H. m. f. माह् (= माहे, माही). E. g., Skr. गर्तकः, Mg. गडुके or गडुए, E. H. गडह् or गडू; Skr. वातुलकः, Mg. वाउलाके or वाउलाए, E. H. वउराह्; or Mg. m. वाउलकके or वाउलमए, E. H. वउरहा, f. Mg. वाउलममा, E. H. वउरही. By way of illustration compare E. H. वरिहा inferior, low-priced, Mg. घट्टिमए, Skr. घट्टितकः.

*Third Group.*

| 209. Set. | Com. gen. | Masc.       | Fem.           |
|-----------|-----------|-------------|----------------|
| 1) a.     | मए or मइ  | मरा or मडा  | मरी or मडी     |
| b.        | — —       | मरह् or मडू | मरीह् or मडीह् |
| 2)        | एर or एइ  | एरा or एडा  | एरी or एडी     |
| 3)        | ओर or ओइ  | ओरा or ओडा  | ओरी or ओडी     |
| 4)        | अल् or अर | अला or अरा  | अली or अरी     |
| 5) a.     | एल् or एर | एला or एरा  | एली or एरी     |
| b.        | ईल् or ईर | ईला or ईरा  | ईली or ईरी     |
| c.        | इल् or इर | इला or इरा  | इली or इरी     |
| 6) a.     | ओल् or ओर | ओला or ओरा  | ओली or ओरी     |
| b.        | उल् or उर | उला or उरा  | उली or उरी     |
| c.        | उल् or उर | उला or उरा  | उली or उरी     |
| 7) a.     | अन्       | अना         | अनी            |
| b.        | उन्       | उना         | उनी            |

The forms with ह् are properly W. H., and are rarely used in E. H. (see § 29). Most of the forms with ल् may be, and commonly are pronounced with र् (see § 30); some, however, have always ल्, others always र्. All forms of com. gen. are weak, the others con-



taining the pleon. suff. of the 1<sup>st</sup> set 1<sup>st</sup> group are strong. The forms ग्र or ग्र, contracted from Ap. Pr. ग्रउ = \*ग्रउक्, are properly W. H., and occur only exceptionally in E. H. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

210. The first set occurs in subst. and adj.; often; thus m. गठर or गठरा, f. °री, of गाठ् (or गठा) *bundle*; चमरा, of चाम् *leather*; चीकर (or कीचर), of चीक् (or कीच्) *mud* (cf. § 133); खब्बोर, of खब्ब *glutton*; टुकरा, f. °री, of टूक् (Skr. स्तोक) *piece*; पटरा, f. °री, of पट (or पटा) *board*; पलंगरा, f. °री, of पलंग् *bedstead*; बहरा, f. °री or m. f. बहर *calf, colt*, of बह् (or बहा) *young*; भूखर, of भूक् (or भूला) *hungry*; भूलकर, of भूलक् *forgetful*; मोटरा, of मोट् *bundle*; मेहरार, of मेहर *woman*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as सैकरा *a hundred*, of \*सैक् (A. Mg. सयक्, Skr. शतक); टोकरा *basket*, of \*टोक्; योर or योरा, f. °री *little*, of \*यो (Pr. योन्न, Skr. स्तोक, cf. § 97); होकरा or होरा *boy* and होकरी or होरी *girl*, of \*होक् or \*हो (see § 198 exc.); डेरा, f. डेरी *goat*, of \*डे (Mg. डाय, Skr. डान); अगारी *front*, of \*अगा (Skr. अग्र); पहारि *back*, of \*पाहा (Skr. पश्च); पहार *mountain* and पहारा, *multiplication-table*, of \*पहा (Skr. प्रथित *extended*, see § 118); etc. See also § 104.

211. The second and third sets occur in subst. and adj.; very rarely; thus बहेरा *colt*, बहेरी *filly*, of बह् (or बहा) *young*; घनेर or घनेरा, f. °री, of घन् *much*; गडोरा, of गाड् (or गडा) *pit*.

212. The fourth set occurs in subst. and adj.; often; thus मोटल् or मोटला, f. °ली, of मोट् (or मोटा) *fat*; नेहरा, f. °री, of नेह् (or नेठा) *eldest*; रसर, f. °री, of \*रस् or रस्ता *cord*; मुहरा *vanguard*, मुहरी *cuff, bore of a gun*, of मुह् *mouth*; हयल् or हयरी, of हाय् or हया *handle*; सुतला or सुतरा, f. °री *string*, of सूत् *thread*; पारला, f. °ली, of पार *beyond*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as अगला, f. ली *former*, of \*अग (Skr. अग्र; Ap. Pr. अगलउ H. C. 4, 341); मातली *mother*, of M. माउ, E. H. माई (Skr. मातृ, cf. § 63).

213. The fifth and sixth sets occur in subst. and adj.; rarely; thus the 5<sup>th</sup> set in पतील् or पतीला or पतिला, of पात् *pot, pan*; खपरल्, of खपर (or खपरा) *tile* (see § 175, note); मुरेला, of मोर *peacock*; सपेला, of साप् *snake*; अथेला, of अथ् *one half*; पत्ला, of पाय् *a quarter*;

अकेला or इकेला, of एक *one, solitary*. The 6<sup>th</sup> set in सपोला, of साप् *snake*; कंकरोला, of ककर (or ककरो) *gourd*; बातोला, of बात *talk*; बाँसुली or बाँसुरी *flute*, of बाँस् *bamboo* (see § 128); बाँकुरा *swaggerer*, of बाँक् *fop*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as in अग्रिला *foremost*, of अग्र (Skr. अग्र); मकेला or मकिला or मकोला *middle*, of \*माक् (Skr. मध्य); पहिल् or °ला *last*, of \*पाक् (Skr. पश्च); पहिल् or °ला *first* (cf. § 118).

214. The seventh set occurs in pronouns and sometimes in nouns; thus pron. अइसन् *of this kind*, तइसन् *of that kind*; कइसन् *of which kind*, जइसन् *of which kind*, of \*अइस्, \*तइस्, etc.; see §§ 111. 456—458; ऐतना, f. °नी *this much*, ओतना, f. °नी *that much*; तेतना, f. °नी *so much*; केनना, f. °नी *how much*; जेतना, f. °नी *as much*, of एत्, तेत्, etc.; see §§ 111. 452—454; आपुन् or आपन् or अपुना or अपना, f. °नी *own*, of \*आप् (Skr. आत्मोय), see § 111; तउन्, f. तउनी *he, that*; कउन्, f. कउनी *who*; जउन्, f. जउनी *which*, of \*तेव्, \*केव्, \*जेव्, see §§ 106. 438, 2. Again nouns: झौना, f. झौनी *young of an animal*, from \*झौ, see § 210; झुयना, f. °नी, of झोय् *mouth of an animal*; जामुन्, of जाम् *rose-apple*, see § 111.

215. None of these suff. alter the meaning of the word; though sometimes they restrict it to some particular application; as बह् or बहा *is any young animal*, but बह्ना *is a calf or colt* and बहेरा *a colt*; मकेली or मकोली *a kind of carriage of middling size*; मिठरी *a particular kind of sweetmeat*; etc. Sometimes, they imply smallness, as मुरेला *a peachick*; सपोला *a young snake*; झँलरी *a wink*, lit. a small झाँख् or eye. Sometimes, again, they express likeness, in which case they are more properly to be considered derivative suff., see §§ 241. 245; thus तमरा *a certain jewel of copper color* (lit. like ताम् or copper); ललरी *a false stone resembling a लाल् or ruby*; पातुर or पतुरा *thin, weak*, lit. like a पात् or leaf. Sometimes both; thus पुतरा or पुतला, f. °री or °ली *idol, doll*, lit. a little or like a पूत् son; चीलर or चीलहर् *louse*, lit. a small or like a चील् hawk. — It should be remarked, however, that in the nouns in री or ली which imply smallness, as गठरी, वलंगरी, पठरी, टुकररी, टोकररी, मोटररी, पतोली, सुतली, रसररी, etc. (cf. §§ 210. 213), that quality is denoted by the gender



(cf. §§ 256. 257), not by the suffix; for their corresponding masculines always imply largeness; e.g., गठरा *large bundle*, गठरी *small bundle*, etc.

216. *Affinities.* All Gd. languages possess this group of pleon. suff., see Bs. II, 115—122. As to S., especially, see Tr. 71. 77—79; as to M. see Man. 34. 113. 114. Their forms do not materially differ in any of them from those in use in E. H. But S. has always एरो for एलो; M. has sometimes ६ for ३ (§ 217), and S. sometimes ३ for ल्, as in लिखंदु *writer* from लिखंदो, but generally लु, as डिठलु *seen* from डिठो (Tr. 71). Here S. uses the pleon. लु or डु to turn part. into adj.; in the same way G. uses लो (Ed. 113) and M. एला (e.g., मेला *part.* or मेलेला *adj. dead*, Man. 63, 2. 64, 2). For the same purpose Mw. uses डो and N. को, though more in the manner of an affix; e.g., Mw. लिख्यो *part.* and लिख्योडो *adj.*, N. लिख्यो or लिखियो *part.* and लिख्याको *adj. written*.

217. *Derivation.* All these pleon. suff. occur in Pr. (H. C. 2, 164. 165. 166. 173); more especially in Mg. Pr. (Wb. Bh. 437) and Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 429. 430). Here (in the Ap. Mg.) they have, in the nom. sg. and incl. of the final of the base, the following forms: 1) m. षडे, f. षडी (H. C. 4, 431) or, with the pleon. suff. अ added, m. षडए, f. षडिआ. These change into the first E. H. set, m. f. षड् or षर and m. षडा or षरा, f. षडी or षरी; e.g., Ap. Mg. गंडडे (Skr. ग्रन्थ H. C. 4, 120), E. H. गंडर; Mg. गंडडए, E. H. गंडरा; Mg. गंडडिआ, E. H. गंडरी. 2) The same, with the pleon. अ added to the base of the word, m. अषडे, f. अषडी and m. अषडए, f. अषडिआ. These, by inserting व् (§ 69) and contracting अय to ए (§ 121), result in the E. H. second set, m. f. एड् or एर and m. एडा or एरा, f. एडी or एरी; or by inserting व् (§ 69) and contracting अय to ओ (§ 122) result in the E. H. third set, m. f. ओड् or ओर and m. ओडा or ओरा, f. ओडी or ओरी; e.g., Ap. Mg. वषाषडे or वषाषडिआ, E. H. वषेर; Ap. Mg. वच्छषडए or वच्छषडिआ, E. H. वच्छरी; again Ap. Mg. गडुषडए or गडुषडिआ (Skr. गर्त H. C. 2, 35), E. H. गडोरा. 3) Mg. m. षल्ले or षले, f. षल्ली or षली or, with pleon. अ added, m. षल्लए or षलए, f. षल्लीआ

or अलिङ्गा. These produce the E. H. fourth set, m. f. अल् or अर् and m. अला or अरा, f. अली or अरी; thus Mg. नवले *new* (H. C. 2, 165. Skr. नव), E. H. नवल; Mg. एकल्ल (H. C. 2, 165. Skr. एक) *solitary*, E. H. इकला or इकरा; Mg. एकलिङ्गा, E. H. इकली or इकरी; again Mg. पीयल्ल *yellow* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. पीत), E. H. पीला or पीरा (§ 97); Mg. अंधल्ल *blind* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. अन्ध), E. H. अंधला or अंधरा; Mg. पत्रलं *dish* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. पात्र), E. H. पत्रल् or पत्रर्; Mg. बिज्जुलिङ्गा *lightning* (Ls. 2, 194. H. C. 2, 173. Skr. बिजुत्), E. H. बिजुली or बिजुरी; Ap. Mg. अगल्ल *anterior* (cf. H. C. 4, 141. 444. Skr. अग्र), E. H. अगला. 4) Mg. m. इल्ले or इले, f. इल्ली or इली or, with pleon. अ added, m. इल्लर् or इलर्, f. इलिङ्गा or इलिङ्गा. These constitute the E. H. fifth set, m. f. एल् or ईल् or इल् and m. एला or ईला or इला, f. एली or ईली or इली; thus Mg. m. मङ्किल्लर् or मङ्किलर् *middle* (Wb. Bh. 437. Skr. मध्य), E. H. मकेला or मकिला; Mg. f. मङ्किलिङ्गा or मङ्किलिङ्गा, E. H. मकेली or मकिली; Mg. पढमिल्ले (Wb. Bh. 437. Skr. प्रथम), E. H. पहेल् or पहिल् (§ 118); again Mg. तेन्निल्लर् (cf. H. C. 2, 157 see §§ 58.111), E. H. तेतना, G. तेटलो, S. तेतिरी; Mg. f. तेन्निलिङ्गा, E. H. तेतनी, G. तेटली, S. तेतिरी; again Mg. पत्तिल्लं or पतिल्लं *dish, vessel* (Skr. पात्र), E. H. पतीला or पतिला, etc. 5) Mg. m. उल्ले or उले, f. उल्ली or उली or, with pleon. अ added, m. उल्लर् or उल्लर्, f. उलिङ्गा or उलिङ्गा. These give rise to the E. H. sixth set, m. f. ओल् or उल् or उल्, and m. ओला or उला or उला, f. ओली or उली or उली; thus Ap. Mg. m. मङ्कुल्लर् *middle* (Skr. मध्य), E. H. मकोला; Ap. Mg. f. मङ्कुलिङ्गा, E. H. मकोली; Mg. मुहुल्लं (cf. H. C. 2, 164. Skr. मुख), E. H. मुहुरा *vanguard*; Mg. हत्तुलिङ्गा (cf. H. C. 2, 164. Skr. हस्त) *handle*, E. H. ह्युरी or ह्यरी; Mg. अण्णुले (see §§ 60.111), E. H. अण्णु or अण्णु; Ap. Mg. तेत्तुल्लर् (cf. H. C. 4, 435., see §§ 58.111), E. H. तेतना; etc. 6) with pleon. अ added, m. णर्, f. णिङ्गा, n. णं. These become the E. H. seventh set, m. ना, f. नी; thus Mg. अण्णर् (§ 60, note), E. H. अण्णना; Mg. अण्णिङ्गा, E. H. अण्णी. I believe this is the only example of the pleon. suff. ना in Pr. A comparison with E. H. shows: 1) that the Pr. अण्णं (H. C. 2, 153) stands for \*अण्णं = अण्णं (H. C. 2, 163); and 2) that the न् of this set is a substitute for an original ल्



(or ल्), as in E. H. ताम्र (see § 111). Further a comparison of the various sets tends to show, that the Pr. suff. इल्, इल् and उल्, उल् are modifications of original forms एल् and ओल्, and that the latter are contractions of अयल् and अवल्, formed, by the insertion of व् and व्, from अयल् and, by the prefixion of the pleon. अ, from the simple suff. यल्. The latter (यल्) itself is, probably, a mere modification of अउ, through the common interchange of उ and ल् (H. C. 1, 202); as shown by the S. विजुती lightning for Pr. विजुली<sup>1</sup>). As to the origin of अउ, see § 218. Of the change of अउ to अउ, now almost universal in W. Gd., there are apparently a few examples in Pr.; viz., Pr. दीहर् or दीहं long (H. C. 2, 171. Skr. दीर्घ), E. H. दीर् a long while ago; Pr. बाहर् or बाहिं external (H. C. 2, 140. of Skr. बहिस्), E. H. m. f. बाहिर, m. बाहिरा, f. ०री. For it should be remembered that the old Pr. र् is a cerebral (= र्, see § 15), not (like the E. H.) a dental. The Skr. suff. ल and र (i. e. र्), sometimes (espec. in later Skr.) used pleonastically, are, no doubt, identical with the corresponding Pr. ones. — The Skr. pleon. suff. ट (as in कर्कः or कर्कटः or कर्कटकः crab, Pr. कक्कडो or कक्कडो, E. H. कैकर or कैकर) is probably a hardening of the Pr. suff. उ, and adopted into Skr. in the ancient period of the Ps. Pr. With this would seem to agree the fact, that Psh. and, occasionally, S. possess a diminutive suff. ओटै or उटै (Tr. 77. Bs. II, 122). There are a few nouns of apparently similar formation in H.; but they may well be compounds; e. g., चमोटो a strip of leather = Skr. चर्म + पत्रिका; बाम्हनेरा young brāhman = Pr. बम्हा + विद्वानो (brāhman's son); हिरणीटा fawn = हिरण + पुत्र. B. has अटे (S. Ch. 100) and M. ट (Man. 114).

218. *Origin.* The original of these pleon. suff. I believe to be the Skr. suff. (properly a noun) दृष् like, which is added both to nouns and pronouns. In Pr. it appears as दह; e. g., in एदृह (H. C. 2, 157) = Skr. ईदृष् (lit. \*इवादृष् = इवत् + दृष्); and in

1) Thus: Skr. मध्यक (or मध्यम), Mg. \*मन्कमडे = \*मन्कमले = \*मन्कयले = \*मन्कले = मन्कले or मन्किले, E. H. मकल् or मकिल्.

Ap. Pr. it occurs as *उ* or *उ*; e. g., in *एवउ* or *एवउ* (H. C. 4, 407) = Skr. \**एवादृशः* (from Ved. *ईवत्* or Skr. *एवम्*). These Ap. forms *उ* and *उ* are, evidently, contractions for \**उहो* and *उहु* resp., where *इ* would easily arise from the Skr. *इ* (just as Pr. *इ* from Skr. *ई* H. C. 2, 36. 37) and *ओ* would be suppressed, as e. g. in S. *इते* or *इत्ये* here = Ap. *इत्ते* (H. C. 4, 436., see §§ 468, a. 469). And the Ap. suff. *उ* and *उ*, being once established, would be treated in their further evolutions precisely as any other suff., and thus produce all the alternative sets, enumerated in § 209. Their initial *इ* would be (as usual) liable to change to *ऌ* or *ॡ*, *ऴ* or *ॡ*, and *ऴ*. In the Gd. pronouns it actually has undergone all these changes; see §§ 104. 105. 106. 438, 2.4. 454. — In confirmation of this theory, it is to be remarked: 1) that as shown in § 215, the original meaning *like* of the suff. *उ* or *ल* may still be traced in some words; 2) that a suff., meaning *like*, would easily come to be used diminutively and thence pleonastically, as may be seen in such English words as *such* and *such-like*, *kind* and *kindly*, or in the German *fröh* and *fröhlich*, *krank* and *kränklich*; the intermediate *diminutive* sense is more often preserved in S. and M. (see Bs. II, 117. 118); 3) that such a suff. may easily become a *derivative* one; as in the English *kingly*, i. e., *like a king* or *belonging to a king*, or in the German *tödlich*, i. e., *full of death*, *mortal*, *peinlich*, i. e., *full of pain*. Accordingly, as will be shown in §§ 241. 245. 249., all these pleon. suff. occur also as derivative ones in Pr. and Gd.; 4) that in M. the suff. sometimes have the forms *ढ*, *ढे* (for *उ*, *उ*), which have preserved the original *इ* of the Ap. Pr. \**हो*, \**ही*, as in M. *तेवढ* (Man. 125) for Ap. Pr. *तेवउ*.

## 2. SECONDARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

219. The secondary derivative suff. may be divided into eighteen groups. Of these the eleven first consist of suff. which already existed as such in Pr., the remaining seven contain those which have become such in Gd., but were full nouns in Pr.



*First Group.*

220. Set. 1. Fem. *आई*. Set. 2. Fem. *आई*.

Both, containing the suff. *ई* of § 196., are strong forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

221. These suffixes are used to derive abstract nouns from adjectives. Weak and long forms take the first, strong forms the second set. Thus *आई*; in *हलुआई* *lightness*, of *हलुकू* *light*; *ढंई* *coldness*, of *ढं* *cold*; *सयुआई* *simplicity*, of *सयुआ* *simple*; *भरियई* *heaviness*, of *भरिया* *heavy*; etc. Again *आई*, in *भलाई* *goodness*, of *भला* *good*; *बड़ाई* *greatness*, of *बड़ा* *great*; *मिठाई* *sweetness*, of *मीठा* *sweet*; *गोलाई* *roundness*, of *गोला* *round*; etc.

222. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., though in M. they appear to be considered as non-indigenous and introduced from Hindī (see Man. 112). As to S. see Tr. 58. In P. the suff. is occasionally added also to the long form of adj. in *आ*, not only (as in E. H.) to that of adj. in *उ*. That long form ends (as in W. H. see § 202) in *आ*, and *आ* is vocalized to *इआ* (cf. § 121); thus *बड़ा* *great*, lg. f. *बड़ाआ*, whence *बड़ाआई* *greatness* (see Ld. 13. Ba. II, 79). The *आ* in such forms is anomalous for *अ*, as will be seen by a reference to § 221; unless we suppose the base to have been the redundant, not the long form of the word. W. H. and H. H., too, have the anomalous *आ*; but E. H. has regularly *अ*; e. g., W. H. *गहूआई*, but E. H. *गहूअई* *heaviness*. The H. H. often superfluously adds *आई* to tats. or semitats., which contain already the identical suff. *ता*; as H. H. *कोमलताई* *comeliness*; *योग्यताई* or *योग्यताई* *worthiness*, etc.

223. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. *taddhita ता* (fem.), in Pr. *दा* or *आ* (Vr. 4, 22. H. C. 2, 154). With the pleon. *क* superadded, it is Skr. *तिका*, Pr. *दिआ* or *इआ* or, incl. of the final *अ* of the base, *अइआ*, and Gd. *आई* (§ 51). And with pleon. *अ* (= *क*) added to the base we have Pr. *अअइआ*, contracted in Gd. *आई*. Thus Skr. *मिष्टता* or \**मिष्टतिका*, Pr. *मिष्टइआ*, E. H. *मिठई*; and Skr. \**मिष्टकतिका*, Pr. *मिष्टअइआ*, E. H. *मिठाई*; again Skr. \**साधुकतिका*, Pr. *साधुअइआ*, E. H. *सधुआई*; etc. This derivation is

§ 224—227.] SECONDARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

illustrated by E. H. *अर्द्ध* *two and a half*, which is contr. from Mg. *अर्द्ध* (cf. Wb. Bh. 425. H. C. 1, 101 and § 416), Skr. *अर्धतृतीया*.

*Second Group.*

224. Set. 1. Masc. *आउ* or *आव्*. Set 2. Masc. *आन्*.

Both sets are weak forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

225. These suff. are used to derive abstract nouns from a very small number of adj., expressive of dimension; viz., *ऊँचाउ* or *ऊँचाव्* or *ऊँचान्* *height*, of *ऊँचा* *high*; *गहिराउ* or *गहिराव्* or *गहिरान्* *depth*, of *गहिरा* *deep*; *घोँडाउ* or *घोँडाव्* or *घोँडान्* *depth*, of *घोँडा* *deep*; *चौराउ* or *चौराव्* or *चौरान्* *breadth, width*, of *चौरा* (H. H. *चौडा*) *broad, wide*; *लम्बाउ* or *लम्बाव्* or *लम्बान्* *length*, of *लम्बा* *long*. The forms in *आन्* are properly and generally masc.; but are sometimes used as fem.

*Note:* There are also the ordinary forms in *आई* (§ 229); as *ऊँचाई*, *गहिराई*, *लम्बाई*, etc.

226. *Affinities.* These suff. are not strictly E.H., but introduced from the W.H.; and occur in all W. Gds. See Bs. II, 80. 81. Tr. 59. In S. they are fem., in G. neuter, and in P. masc. The fem. gender in S. is a Gd. formation, like that of the suff. *पी*, *पणी* §§ 228. 230. The tendency of abstract nouns is to become fem.; also in Mg. Pr. there is fem. *ता* or neut. *तं* for Skr. neut. *त्वन्*, see Wb. Bh. 437. S. appears to have occasionally *आइणि* for *आणि*, the former of which, probably, stands for *आयानि* and is to be explained like the P. *इआई* for *आई*, see § 222. In S. the suff. *आनि* may be used with any adj. expressing an inherent quality; as *अइणि* *whiteness*, *कराणि* *blackness*, *बडाणि* *greatness*; etc.

227. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. (neut.) taddh. *त्वं* or (vedic) *त्वन* (cf. Wb. Spt. 68. 69). They become in Pr. (nom. sg.) *तं* or *त्तणं* (Vr. 4, 22. H. C. 2, 154) or, incl. of the final *अ* of the base, *अतं* or *अत्तणं* or (eliding *त*, see § 158) *अयं* or *अयणं* (see Spt. A. 52. *अयस्सअयण* = Skr. *अयस्यकत्वेन*) or in Ap. Pr. *अउ* or *अवणु* (cf. H. C. 4, 331). Now the Ap. form *अउ* or, with pleon. *अ* added to the base, *अअउ* contracts in H. to *आउ* or *आव्*;



and the Ap. form *अग्रणु* contracts to H. *ग्रान्*. E. g., Skr. *उच्चकत्वम् height*, Pr. *उच्चग्रन्* or *उच्चग्रन्*, Ap. *उच्चग्रउ*, E. H. *उँचाउ* or *उँचाव्*; again Skr. *\*उच्चत्वनम्*, Pr. *उच्चत्तणं* or *उच्चत्तणं*, Ap. *उच्चत्तणु*, E. H. *उँचान्*. S. has, apparently, preserved the *त्* in *मुखितणु*<sup>1)</sup> *duty of a मुखी headman* (Tr. 61), but not in *चोकिराटु boyhood*, which is probably a comp. of *चोकर* and *वटु* (Ap. for Skr. *वृत्तन्*).

*Third Group.*

| 228. | Set.               | Masc.                 | Fem.       |
|------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------|
|      | 1) a. <i>प्वा</i>  | b. <i>प् or पा</i>    | —          |
|      | 2) a. <i>प्पन्</i> | b. <i>प्न् or पना</i> | <i>पनी</i> |

The suff. in *ग्रा* and *ई* are strong, the others are weak forms. Those with *प्* are added to weak, those with *प्* to strong bases; but *पना*, *पनी* to either.

229. These suff. are used to derive abstract nouns from subst. or adj. The forms *प्पन्* or *प्न्*, however, are those commonly employed. Thus *प्* in *बृद्धप्* *old age*, of *बृद्धा* *old*; *प्वा* or *पा* in *बृद्धपा* *old age*, *होटप्वा* or *होटपा* *smallness*, of *होट्* or *होटा* *small*; *मोटप्वा* or *मोटपा* *fatness*, of *मोट्* or *मोटर* *fat*; *रंडप्वा* *widowhood*, of *रँड्* *widow*; etc.; *प्पन्* or *प्न्* in *बडप्पन्* or *बडाप्पन्* *greatness* (cf. H. C. 4, 437), of *बड्* or *बडा* *great*; *सुधाप्पन्* *simplicity*, of *सुधा* *simple*; *गह्वप्पन्* or *गह्वप्पन्* *heaviness*, of *\*गह्* or *गह्व* *heavy*; *बालकप्पन्* *childhood*, of *बालक्* *child*, etc.; *पना* or *पनी* in *होटप्पना* *smallness*; *लुचप्पना* or *लुचप्पनी* *profligacy*, of *लुच्* *profligate*; *ज्ञानप्पनी* *knowingness, knowledge*, of *ज्ञान्* (Skr. *ज्ञानी* § 191) *knowing*; *पात्रीपना* *profligacy*, of *पात्री* *profligate*, etc.

*Note:* Exceptionally the suff. appears to be added to a verbal root, as in *खुत्तलाप्पन्* *itching*, from *खुत्तलाव्* *to itch*; but in reality it is added to the noun *\*खुत्तला* (cf. M. *जात्रा* Man. 115) *itch*, which, however, is now used only as a fem. *खुत्तलो*.

230. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds.; though they seem to be less common in B. and O., than in the others

1) It is more probably the Ap. Pr. suff. *तणु* (see H. C. 4, 422, 20); viz., Ap. *मुखितणु* *sel. वटु*.

(see Bs. II, 73). M. has पण् n., पणाम् m. (Man. 112); S. प fem., पो m.; पार्द् f., पी f., पणु m., पणो m. (Tr. 59—61); G. पो m., पण् m., पणु n. (Ed. 14); P. वा m., पुण् or पुणाम् m. (Ld. 13., e. g., उचक्रपुणा *business of a उचक्रा pickpocket*); B. has पन् m., पना or (Bs. II, 71) anomalously पाना; O. has पण् m., पणिच्चा f. (e. g., भौपणिच्चा *rogue*). B. and O. have more commonly मि (or ममि); as लुचामि *profligacy*, भौडामि *rogue*, ढिलामि *laziness* of ढोला, see Bs. II, 77.

231. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. (neut.) taddh. त्व or (vedic) त्वन (see § 227). They become in Ap. Pr. (nom. sg.) एत् or एपां (H. C. 4, 437. Ls. 460) or, with pleon. च added, एचं or एपाचं. The Ap. एत् and एचं become in E. H. ए and एा or एा respectively; and the Ap. एपां and एपाचं become E. H. एपन् or एपन् and एपनी, whence E. H. makes fem. एपनी. Thus Skr. वृद्धत्वम्, Ap. वृद्धत्वं (cf. H. C. 1, 131), E. H. बुढाप; Skr. \*वृद्धत्वकं, Ap. वृद्धत्पचं, E. H. बुढप्पा or बुढपा; Skr. \*वृद्धत्वन्, Ap. वृद्धत्पणं, E. H. बुढप्पन् or बुढपन्; Skr. \*वृद्धत्वनकम्, Ap. वृद्धत्पणचं, E. H. बुढापना or बुढपनी; etc. The ञ in the E. H. forms ञपा, ञपन् might be the usual result of the simplification of the conjunct एत्, but is more likely to be the strong termination of the base, as shown by the M., which changes that ञा to ए, as भलेपण् *goodness* (Man. 112) for E. H. भलापन्; i. e., M. adds एन् to the strong form भले = भलय = Pr. भल्लञ् = Skr. भद्रक. In the B. and O. मि the ए has been apparently softened to म्.

*Fourth Group.*

232.           Set.   Com. gen.           Fem.

1) वन्त् or वत्           वन्ती or वती

2) संत् or सत्           सन्ती or सती

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. Strong masc. forms (ac वन्ता, etc.) do not exist.

233. The weak suff. are used to derive *possessional* adj. from subst. of the weak form. Thus वन्त् or वत् in धनवन्त् or धनवत् (m. f.) *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*; भगतवन्त् or वत् *faithful*, of भगत् *faith*; सोमवन्त् or वत् *sorrowful*, of सोग् *sorrow*; पुनवन्त् or वत् *virtuous*, of



पुन *virtue*; जयवन्त् or वत् *victorious*, of जय् *victory*; मानवन्त् or वत् *proud*, of मान् *pride*; भगवन्त् or वत् *fortunate, excellent*, of भग् *fortune, excellence*, etc. Again मन्त् or मत् in सिरिमन्त् or सिरिमत् (m. f.) *excellent*, of सिरि *excellence*; हनुमन्त् or मत् *monkey*, of हनु *jaw*; भक्तिमन्त् or मत् *devoted*, of भक्ति *devotion*; पुनमन्त् or मत् *virtuous*, of पुन *virtue*; etc.

234. The strong fem. suff. are commonly used to derive abstract nouns from their respective possessional adj., as धनवन्ती *wealthiness*, of धनवन्त् *wealthy*; सोचवन्ती *thoughtfulness*, of सोचवन्त् *thoughtful*, of सोच् *thought*, etc.; see §§ 256. 257.

235. *Affinities*. These suff. exist in all Gds., exc. S. See Bs. II, 106. As to M. see Man. 114. H. H. and the H. Gds. generally are fond of using the tats. forms, m. वान्, f. वती; as रत्नवान् *beautiful*, f. रत्नवती; धनवान् *wealthy*, f. धनवती; दयावान् *merciful*, f. दयावती, etc. In E. H., however, as distinguished from H. H., the tats. forms do not occur, except in a few proper names, as भगवान् *God*, भगवती *the goddess Gaudī*, etc.; हनुमान् *the monkey-god*, etc. S. has the suff. वानु m., वानी f. (Tr. 76. 99), as m. सीलवानु, f. सीलवानी, E. H. m. f. सीलवन्त् or वत्; H. H. m. सीलवान्, f. सीलवती *amiable*. This S. form has in exceptional cases crept into the other Gds.; as H., M., G. गाडीवान् or गाडीवान् *coachman* (see Man. 113. Ed. 14).

236. *Derivation*. The originals of these suff. are the Skr. taddh. वत् and मत्, which become in Pr. वन्त and मन्त (Vr. 4, 35. H. C. 2, 159). Whence in the Mg. nom. sg. m. वन्ते and मन्ते, f. वन्ती and मन्ती; in E. H. m. f. वन्त् and मन्त् (§§ 43. 45) or वत् and मत् (§§ 143. 146). Or with pleon. अ added, in Mg. f. वन्तिआ and मन्तिआ, E. H. वन्ती and मन्ती or वती and मती (§ 51). Thus Skr. m. धनवान्, Mg. धपावन्ते, E. H. धनवन्त् or वत्; Skr. f. धनवती, Mg. धपावन्ती, E. H. धनवन्त् or वत्; again Skr. f. \*धनवतिका, Mg. धपावन्तिआ, E. H. धनवन्ती or वती (scl. वृत्ति *condition*). The S. वानु, f. वानी, though, probably, ultimately connected with the Skr. suff., are independent of the Pr. m. वन्तो, f. वन्ती; for they exist also in Pers., and there are no forms मानु, मानी in S., corresponding to Pr. मन्तो, मन्ती.

*Fifth Group.*

237. Set. 1) Com. gen. *आइत्* (§ 82). Masc. *अइता* or *ऐता*.

Fem. *अइती* or *ऐती* (§§ 25. 77)

The suff. of com. gen. is a weak, the others are strong forms.

238. These suff. occur only with a very few subst. from which they are used to derive possessional adj.; and from the latter abstract nouns are derived by means of the fem. strong form (see § 257). Thus *ढलाइत्* *shield-bearer*, *ढलइती* or *ढलैती* *office of sh.*, from *ढाल्* *shield*; *बरवाइत्* *spearman*, of *बरवा* *spear*; *कडवाइत्* *warrior-bard*, of *कडवा* *war-song*; *लिंगाइत्* *a ling-worshipper*, of *लिंग* *phallus*; *चर्चाइत्* *talker*, of *चर्चा* *talk*; *नताइत्* *kinsman*, of *नाता* *kin*; *कराइत्* or *करइता* or *कैता* *the name of a very poisonous snake*, of *कारा* or *काला* *black*; *उकाइत्* *robber* and *उकइती* or *उकैती* *profession of robbery*, of *उका* *robbery*; *बहुताइत्* (fem.) *abundance*, of *बहुत्* *much*.

239. *Affinities.* These suff. are properly W. Gd., more especially S., whence they have exceptionally passed (mostly in technical terms) into the other Gds. In S. they are: 1) m. *एतो*, f. *एती* (for \**अइतो*, \**अइती*) added to weak bases, as *पुत्रेतो* *having a son*, of *पुत्र* *son* (base *पुद्*, Skr. *पुत्र*); and 2) m. *आइतो*, f. *आइती* added to strong bases, as *वाराइतो* *opportune*, of *वारो* *time* (base *वारा* = *वारश्च*, Skr. *वारश्च*). P. has occasionally the form *ऐत्* or *ऐद्* (see Bs. II, 102).

240. *Derivation.* These suff. may have been originally connected with those of the fourth group. For in Vr. 4, 25. H. C. 2, 159 the Pr. originals *इत्* or *इन्न* are mentioned in close connection with *वंत्* and *मत्*. The latter, incl. of the final *ञ* of the base, would be *अवंत्* and *अमत्* or (eliding *व्* and *च्*) *अवंत्*, or (inserting *व्*, § 69) *अवंत्*, or (vocalizing *व्*, § 121) *अवंत्*, or (again detaching the *ञ* of the base) *इत्*. Thus Pr. *माणाइतो* or *माणाइन्नो* *proud* (H. C. 2, 159) would be = *माणव्यतो* = *माणव्यन्तो*, *माणवन्तो* = Skr. *मानवान्*. With pleon. *ञ* added to the suff., they are Pr. m. *अइन्नञो*, f. *अइन्निञा*; S. m. *एतो*, f. *एती*. Or with pleon. *ञ* added to the base, Pr. m. *अअइन्नो*, f. *अअइन्नी*, E. H. m. or f. *आइत्*; and with pleon. *ञ* added to both the base and suff., Pr. m. *अअइन्नञो*, f. *अअइन्निञा*; S. m. *आइतो*, f. *आइती*; E. H. m. *अइन्ना* or *ऐता*, f. *अइन्नी* or *ऐती*. — There are, however, a few



words of a similar form, such as चढाइत् or चढइता or चढैता *rider, trooper*, दंगइत् or f. दंगइती or दंगैती *quarrelsome*, अकइत् *swaggerer*, etc., which seem to require a different explanation. They are clearly *primary* derivatives of the Rs. चढ् *mount*, दंग् *quarrel*, अकइ *strut*; viz., probably, part. pres. of the denom. verbs चढाव्, दंग्वाव्, अकइवाव् (see §§ 349. 352). The suff. of such part. would be in Skr. आपयन्, in Pr. आवंतो or आवंतो. The latter would change to आअंतो, आवंतो, आइंतो or आइन्तो, and in Gd. आइत्. Possibly the first mentioned derivatives, also, are to be explained in this way, as denominative participles, instead of possessional adj. This is the explanation suggested by Ls. 289. 290. It is favored by the fact that both examples in Vr. 4, 25., viz., रोसाइंतो *angry* and पापाइंतो *alive*, end in आइंतो with long *ā*. Those in H. C. 2, 159., viz., कवइन्तो *poetical* and मापाइन्तो *proud*, indeed, end in अइन्तो with *ā*; but this need be no objection; as Pr. may, optionally, shorten the denom. suff. आव to अव, see H. C. 4, 37. Wb. Spt. 65.

*Sixth Group.*

241. Set. Com. gen. Masc. Fem.

1) आल् or आर् आला or आरा आली or आरी

2) आलु or आर्ह आलू or आर्ह आलू or आर्ह

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them, and the use of the alternative forms with ल् and र्, see § 195, note.

242. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst. In some cases, the word has been restricted to some particular secondary meaning. Thus the first set in तोद्वाल् or तोद्वार् or m. °रा, f. री *pot-bellied*, of तोद्द् *belly*; र्वाल् *sugar-cane* or *mango-tree* (lit. *juicy*), of र्स् *juice*; पखाल् f. or पखारा or °ला m. *a large double water-bag of leather carried across a bullock's back, with one half suspended on each side of it* (lit. *two-sided*), of पख् *side*; रेताल् *sandy*, of रेत् *sand*; दुधार् or दधाल् *milk-cow*, of दध् *milk* (M. दुधाल्), etc. Again the 2<sup>nd</sup> set in दयाल् or दयालू m. or f. *merciful*, of दय् (Skr. दया) *mercy*; लजाल् or लजालू *bashful*, of लज् *shame*; perhaps also कगारल् *quarrelsome* of कगरा *quarrel*; but see §§ 308. 312.



*Note:* In some words the suff. is probably pleonastic (cf. § 209), as in मेहर or मेहरारू *woman*; घग्गे or घग्गिया f. or घग्गियाल् or घग्गियार m. *clock*, *gong*. In others, where the suff. exists only with रू, it is probably of a different kind, as in चिन्हारू *acquaintance*, etc.; see §§ 272. 273.

243. *Affinities.* These suff. occur only as an exception in the E. Gd. and P., but are very common in S. and W. Gd.; especially the second set. M. has, as a rule, हू, sometimes डू; thus केसाहू or केसाहू *hairy*, खेडाहू *frolicsome*, see Man. 114. G. also has हू; as रेताहू or रेताहू *sandy*, S. has लू or रू, like E. H., and sometimes डू (Tr. 66. 69); as धणारू *herdsman*, जवालू (*wheat*) *mixed with barley*; साज्जारू *right-handed*. P. has हू or लू; as उन्नाहू *woollen*, कसाला *distressed*; see Bs. II, 90—94.

244. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Pr. suff. घाल and घालु (Vr. 4, 25. H. C. 2, 159). They occur, however, especially the latter, in Skr. also. The suff. घाल becomes in Mg. (nom. sg.) m. घाले, f. घाली and, with pleon. घ added, m. घालए, f. घालिघा, whence arise the E. H. first set m. or f. घारू or घालू and m. घारा or घाला, f. घारी or घाली. E.g., Skr. रसालः, A. Mg. रसाले (cf. H. C. 2, 159), E. H. रसालू or रसारू; Skr. दुग्धाला, Mg. दुडाला or ०ली, E. H. दुधालू or ०रू; Skr. \*तुन्दालकः (cf. तुन्दिल M. W. 378, 2), Mg. तोंदालए (cf. H. C. 1, 116), E. H. तोंदारा; f. Skr. \*तुन्दालिका, Mg. तोंदलिघा, E. H. तोंदारी. The suff. घालु becomes in Mg., nom. sg., m. or f. घालू and, with pleon. घ added, m. घालुए, f. घालुघा, whence the E. H. second set, m. or f. घालु and m. or f. घालू. E.g., Skr. दयालुः, Mg. दयालू (cf. H. C. 2, 159), E. H. दयालू or ०रू; Skr. लज्जालुका, Mg. लज्जालुघा (H. C. 2, 159), E. H. लज्जालू or ०रू. As to the origin of the suff. घाल and घालु, they are probably derivatives of the Skr. suff. दृश् like; see § 251.

*Seventh Group.*

| 245. | Set.         | Com. gen.  | Masc.      | Fem. |
|------|--------------|------------|------------|------|
| 1)   | अइल् or अइरू | ऐला or ऐरा | ऐली or ऐरी |      |
| 2)   | इल् or इरू   | इला or इरा | इली or इरी |      |
| 3)   | अउल् or अउरू | औला or औरा | औली or औरी |      |
| 4)   | उल् or उरू   | उला or उरा | उली or उरी |      |



The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. In the two first sets ल् is commonly used, in the two others र्; for the rest see § 195, note.

246. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst. Sometimes the word is restricted to some particular meaning. The first and third sets are those commonly used. Thus the 1<sup>st</sup> set in दंगइल् m. or f. *quarrelsome*, of दंगा *quarrel*; गंढैला, f. °ली *knotty*, of गंढ *knot*; पनैला, f. °ली *swampy*, of पानी *water*; पयइल् m. or f., or पयैला, f. °ली *full of stones*, of पय *stone*; डैकैला *having a sting*, of डौक् *sting*; खपरइल् a *tilled house*, of खपरा *tile*; बोकइल् *beast of burden*, of बोक् *load*; दुधइल् *milk-cow*, of दूध *milk*; etc. Again the 2<sup>nd</sup> set in रेतिला, f. ली *sandy*, of रेत *sand*; बोकिल् *loaded*, of बोक् *load*; etc. Again the 3<sup>d</sup> set in पयउर् m. or f., or पयौरा, f. °री *full of stones*, of पय *stone*; डैकउर् m. or f., or डैकौरा, f. °री *having a sting*, a *wasp*, of डौक् *sting*; रसउर् m. or f., or रसौरा, f. °री *juicy*, of रस् *juice*; घमोरी or घमौली *prickly heat*, of घाम् *warmth*; बकौला *hood* and बकौली *green caterpillar*, of बाँक् *a bend*; etc. Again the 4<sup>th</sup> set in पातुर *moth*, of पात् (Skr. पत्र) *wing*; पातुर or पतुरी *prostitute*, of पात् (Skr. पात्र) *vessel*; पातुर *weak* (H. H. पतला; lit. *leaf-like*), from पात् *leaf*; बाउर् or बउरा, f. °री *mad* (H. H. बावला), of बाव् *wind* (lit. *inflated*). Occasionally, the suff. expresses relation generally, as in बनैला, f. °ली *wild, savage*, of बन *a wood*; बरैला, f. °ली *tame*, of घर *house*; कखौरी or कखौली *tumour in the armpit*, of काख *armpit*.

247. *Affinities*. These suff. exist in all Gds., but in the W. and S. Gd. they have an initial ए or ई for ऐ, and ओ or ऊ for औ, and in H. H. also ख for इ or उ. The M., G. and O. have क्, and S. often र् for ल्. Thus W. H. एलौ or ईलौ, H. H. एला or ईला or खला, M. एका or ईका, G. एको or ईको, S. एलो or एरो, ईलो or ईरो, इरु (Tr. 67). The interchange of र् and ल्, however, occasionally occurs in all Gds., and, indeed, already in Pr. (see § 248). Thus H. H. गँढैला, W. H. गँढैली *knotty*; W. H. घमौली, M. घमोको *prickly heat*; H. H. पतला *thin*, रेतला *sandy*; etc.; further examples see in Bs. II, 95—101.

248. *Derivation*. The originals of these suff. are the Pr.



इल्ल and उल्ल (Vr. 4, 5. H. C. 2, 159) or, with the pleon. अ added to the base, अइल्ल and अउल्ल or, with pleon. अ added to the suff., इल्लअ, अइल्लअ, उल्लअ, अउल्लअ, whence the E. H. suffixal forms regularly arise. Thus E. H. पयइल्ल = A. Mg. पयल्लइल्ले; E. H. पयइल्ला = A. Mg. पयल्लइल्लए; E. H. पयइल्लर = A. Mg. पयल्लइल्लरे; E. H. पयइल्लरा = A. Mg. पयल्लइल्लरे; E. H. पयइल्लरी = A. Mg. पयल्लइल्लरी, etc. From the Pr. these suff. were probably adopted into the Skr. as taddh. with one ल्; thus इल्ल in Skr. ग्रन्थिल knotty; उल्ल or उल्ल in चातुल or चातुल gouty; शोल in गण्डोला raw sugar, etc. The Pr. taddh. इर (H. C. 2, 145. Vr. 4, 25), which occurs also in Skr., may, perhaps, be identified with the Pr. इल्ल (or इल्ल), by the interchange of ल् and र (see § 110); in S. it occurs as इर (see § 247); but E. H. has no suff. इर, except as an alternative of इल्ल. — As to the origin of the suff. इल्ल and उल्ल (probably from Skr. दृष्ट), see § 251.

#### Eighth Group.

| 249. | Set. | Com. gen. | Masc.     | Fem.       |
|------|------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| 1)   | a.   | एर or एइ  | एरा or एग | एरी or एगी |
|      | b.   |           | एर or एइ  | एर or एइ   |
| 2)   | a.   | ओर or ओइ  | ओरा or ओग | ओरी or ओगी |
|      | b.   | ओर or ओइ  | ओरा or ओग | ओरी or ओगी |

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. Those with इ are properly W. H. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

250. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst.; but the derivatives are few in number and always restricted to some particular meaning. Thus the first set, in सपेरा or सपेग snake-catcher, of साप snake; कटेरा palings, of काँटा thorn; पखेर- bird, of पाख wing. The second set in लरकोरा or लरकोग parents, of लरिका child; पखोरा shoulder-blade, of पाख side; हयोरा or हयोरा hammer, of हाय handle; करोरा tax-gatherer, of कर tax, etc.

251. Affinities and Derivation. I believe these suff. and their derivatives are, strictly, W. Gd., and only introduced into the E. H. from the W. H. To this group belong the suff., S. इय्यो (Tr. 70) and M. माड्या (Man. 113); e. g., S. पेडिइय्यो walker, of पेड or पैर foot, चाटाड्या guide, of चाट way. — On comparing



this group with the sixth and seventh, it will be seen, that there are, in each, identical suff. containing ल् or क् or इ; thus, sixth group, E. H. आलू or आलू, M. आकू or आकू, S. आडु or M. आड; seventh and eighth groups, E. H. ऐला or ऐला or ऐग, M. एग; E. H. ओला, ओग, W. H. ओला or ओग, M. ओग. Further, on comparing these with the third pleonastic group (§ 209), it will be seen that the suffixes in the two classes are identical. Hence it appears probable, that they have the same origin and are derived from the Skr. suff. दृप्, as explained in § 218. Skr. दृप्कः would, in Ap. Pr., become डिहट्, whence, eliding ह् and contracting the hiatus-vowels, the forms इयो and इया would arise, as contained in S. इयो and M. आइया. The initial vowels of the latter must be accounted for by the addition of the pleon. अ to the base, just as in pleon. एग, एला, इला, etc. (see § 218). — That the Skr. suff. दृप् like would easily lend itself to derive possess. adj., may be seen from the German *peinlich*, i. e., painful, or from the English *lively*, *prickly*, *sprightly* = full of life, pricks, spirit.

*Ninth Group.*

| 252. | Set. | Com. gen. | Masc. | Fem.       |
|------|------|-----------|-------|------------|
|      | 1)   | ई         | —     | इकी        |
|      | 2)   | इक्       | इका   | इनि or इनी |

The suff. इक् and इनि are weak the others strong forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

253. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing, in a general way, possession or relation from subst. The first set is the one commonly used; sometimes in its long form इया (see § 199). Thus, 1<sup>st</sup> set in संगी or संगती *friend, companion*, of संग् or संगत *companionship*; खारी or कुनही *enemy*, of खार or कुनह *enmity*; बकवादी or बतोलिया or बतुनिया *a talkative person*, of बकवाद or बतोला *talk*; सुखी *happy*, of सुख *happiness*; दुखी *miserable*, of दुख *pain*; धनी *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*; तेली *oilman*, of तेल् *oil*; माली *gardener*, of माल् or माला *garland*; धोबी *washerman*, of धोब् (§ 311) *washing*; हथौटी or हथौटिया *craftsman*, of हथौटी *handicraft*; बहेलिया *huntsman*, of बाह *shooting*; गेरिया *shepherd*, of गड़ *fold*, etc. And हिन्दुई *belonging to*

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a *Hindū* of हिन्दू *Hindū*; मराठी *bel. to a Marāthā* of मराठा *Marāthā* (man or country); अंग्रेजी *English* of अंग्रेज़ *Englishman* or *England*, etc. Again the 2<sup>nd</sup> set in धनिक or धनिका, f. °की *wealthy*, of धन *wealth*, etc.

254. Derivatives in ई are gen. com., when used adjectively; but when used as subst., they form a fem. in इनि or इनी, on which see the next group (§ 256). Thus बंगाली भाषा *Bangālī language*; बहिरी तिरिया *foreign woman*; but बंगालिनी or बंगालिनी *a woman of Bangāl*; बहिरिनी or बहिरिनी *a woman of a foreign country*.

255. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. exist in all Gds.; see Bs. II, 83—89., where examples will be found. — The original is the Skr. taddh. suff. इक; in Mg. (in the nom. sg.) इए or इके (or इक्के § 203, footnote 1) or, with pleon. घ added, इकए; whence E. H. ई or इक् or इका. Thus Skr. धनिक, Mg. धणिए or धणिके or धनिकए, E. H. धनी or धनिक or धनिका. Skr. महाराष्ट्रिक, Mg. मरहट्टिए (cf. H. C. 1, 69. 2, 119), E. H. मराठी (cf. § 32). In the latter and in similar words, the original suff. may also have been the taddh. इय; practically it makes no difference, as Skr. इय would be Mg. इए, E. H. ई. As to the origin of the fem. suff., see §§ 256—262.

*Tenth Group.*

256. Set. 1) Fem. — ई Set. 2) Fem. इनि or इनी

3) " आइन् or आइनो " 4) " — ग्रानी

The suff. इनि and आइन् are weak, the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note; but observe that the final उ of a base is not elided, but changed to उ; हिन्दुइनि or हिन्दुइनी *a Hindū woman* of हिन्दू *Hindū*.

257. These suff. are used to derive feminine from masc. nouns; and it may be remarked, that, with inanimate objects, the fem. generally expresses diminutiveness, while in many other cases it forms abstract nouns. Thus उगरी *hillock*, of उगूर *hill*; बनी *copse*, of बन *wood*; बाँसी *flute* (lit. *small piece of bamboo*), of बाँस *bamboo*; गोली *bullet, globule*, of गोला *ball*; डोरी *string* of डोरा *rope*; चोली



*bodice*, of चोला *waistcoat*, etc. Again सोचवंती *thoughtfulness*, of सोचवंतं *thoughtful*; रखवारी *guarding or guardianship*, of रखवारू *guardian*; ढलैती *shildbearership*, of ढलाइतू *shildbearer*; चिन्हारी *acquaintance*, of चिन्हारू *an acquaintance*; पढ़निहारी *reading or readership*, of पढ़निहारू *or पढ़ा reader*; etc.

258. The first set may be used with any adj. or subst. in वा. Thus adj.; सॉँची *true*, of म. सॉँचा; बॉँकी *crooked*, of म. बॉँका; मोठी *sweet*, of म. मोठा; भूखी *hungry*, of म. भूखा; बड़ी *great*, of म. बड़ा, etc. Or subst., झौरी or झोकरी or लरिकी *girl*, of झोरा or झोकरा or लरिका *boy*; बेटो *daughter*, of बेटो *son*; काकी *paternal aunt*, of काका *paternal uncle*; नानी *maternal grandmother*, of नाना *mat. grandfather*; बकरी or डेरी *she-goat*, of बकरा or डेरा *he-goat*; घोरी *mare*, of घोरा *horse*; भेड़ी *ewe*, of भेड़ा *ram*; कुकरी *hen*, of कुकरा *cock*; etc. Occasionally the corresponding masc. in वा is not in use (cf. § 196); as सोनारी *fem. goldsmith*, of \*सोनारा or सोनारू *m.*; चमारी *f. leather-worker*, of \*चमारा or चमारू *m.*; कोहारी, *f. potter*, of \*कोहारा or कोहारू *m.*; कहारी, *f. porter*, of \*कहारा or कहारू *m.*; सुतारी, *f. carpenter*, of \*सुतारा or सुतारू *m.*

*Note:* In a few cases the long form in ह्या (see § 199) is exclusively used; as in कुत्रिया *fem.*, of कुत्रा *dog*; डिबिया *small box*, of डिबा *box*, बुझिया *old woman*, of बूझ *old man*; but the short forms कुत्री, डिबी, बूझी also occur.

259. The second set can be added only to subst. in अ or ई or ऊ, expressing animate objects; never to adj., except when used substantively. Thus in अ; persons; सोनारिनि or ०रिनी *f. goldsmith*, of सोनारू *m.*; चमारिनि or ०रिनी *f. leather-worker*, of चमारू *m.*; गोवालनि or गुवू ० or गू ० *f. cowherd*, of गोवालू *m.*; घटवालनि *ferry-woman*, of घटवालू *m.*, etc. Or animals; पतुरिनी *f. moth*, of पतारू *m.*; बाघिनि or बघिनी *tigress*, of बाघू *tiger*; सींघिनि or सिंघिनी *lioness*, of सींघू *lion*. Again in ई; persons; परोसिनि or ०सिनी *f. neighbour*, of परोसी *m.*; बैरागिनि or ०गिनी *f. ascetic*, of बैरागी; मालनि or ०नी *f. gardener*, of माली *m.*; धोबिनि or ०नी *washerwoman*, of धोबी *m.*; कोत्रिनि or ०नी *f. leper*, of कोत्रो, etc. Or animals; हायिनि or हयिनी *f. elephant*, of हायी *m.* Again in ऊ; नउरनि or नउरनी *f. barber*, of

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नाड m.; पहरइनि or °नी *watchman's wife*, of पहर, etc.; see § 256. Occasionally the masc. is not in use, as बहिनि or बहिन् or बहिनी *sister* (masc. भाई *brother*).

260. The third and fourth sets are confined to some particular words, as पंडाइन or °नी *wife of a पंडा a kind of brāhman*; चौबाइन *woman of the चौबे caste*; दुबाइन *woman of the दूबे (m.) caste*; ठकुराइन *lady of ठाकुर lord, chief*; चौधराइन *wife of a चौधरी headman*; पंडियाइन *wife of a पंडा priest*; गुरुवाइन *wife of a गुरु teacher*; पंडिताइन *wife of a पंडित scholar*; बनियाइन *woman of the बनिया trader-caste*; पुरोहितानी *wife of a पुरोहित family priest*.

*Note:* These suff. are used even with foreign words, as मेहतरानी or मेहतराइन *wife of a मेहतर (pers. مهتر) sweeper*; सईसिन् *wife of a सईस (arab. سائيس) groom*. — With names of castes or professions the fem. signifies either the wife of a man of the caste, or any woman of that caste, or any woman following that profession.

261. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds. But P. and W. H. have अन् and अनी after nouns in अ; thus E. H. सेठिनि *wife of a सेठ merchant*; W. H. सेठन्, P. सेठन् or सेठनी, S. सेठिण् or सेठिणि or सेठिणी; but E. H. कोरिनि *wife of a कोरी weaver*, W. H. कोलिन्, P. कोलिन्, S. कोरिणि or °रिणी (Tr. 99—102. Ld. 13, 41. 42). M. has ईण् as सेठीण्, कोळीण्, बाघीण् (*tigress*), see Man. 24. G. has एण् or अण्, as कोळण् or कोळेण्, बाघण् or बाघेण्, धोत्रण् or धोत्रेण् (*washerwoman*), see Ed. 26, 9. B. has इनी or अनी or अनी, as बाघिनी, धोत्रानी, कामारानी (*a fem. blacksmith*), see S. Ch. 36. 40. 41. For further examples, see Bs. II, 163—170.

262. *Derivation.* The original of the E. H. suff. ई is the Skr. taddh. इका, which becomes in Pr. इया, and is contracted in E. H. to ई, as explained in § 203. It is, in fact, identical with the pleon. fem. ई of the 1<sup>st</sup> set, 1<sup>st</sup> group. — The original of the E. H. second set is the Skr. taddh. इनी or, with pleon. क added, इनिका, in Pr. इणी or इणिआ, E. H. इनि or इनी; thus Skr. base मालिन्, m. माली, Mg. माली, E. H. *deest* (\*मालि); fem. Skr. मालिनी, Mg. मालिणी, E. H. मालिनि; or with pleon. अ added, Skr. मालिका



(i. e., मालिन् + क), Mg. मालिह, E. H. माली; fem. Skr. मालिनिका (i. e., मालिनी + का), Mg. मालिपिआ, E. H. मालिनी. It should be observed that, while in the case of the fem. E. H. preserves both the weak form मालिनि and the strong form मालिनी, on the other hand in the masc. it has only the strong form माली, but not a weak form \*माल् or \*मालि (see § 196). Again E. H. सोनार् has two fem., सोनारी and सोनारिनि or ०रिनी; the former is = A. Mg. सोसञ्चालिआ, Skr. सुवर्णकाजिका fem. of सुवर्णकाजकः pleon. for ०काजः; but the latter is = A. Mg. सोसञ्चालिणी or ०लिपिआ = Skr. सुवर्णकाजिणी or (pleon.) ०जिका, fem. of सुवर्णकाजी (base ०काजिन्). The latter masc. form exists in E. H. only in the weak form सोनार्, not in the strong सोनारी; though E. H. सोनार् might and probably does also stand for the A. Mg. सोसञ्चाले, Skr. सुवर्णकाजः. It is not necessary to assume an anomaly in this and similar words as to the use of the fem. suff. इनि in E. H.; but it appears to be anomalously employed in such words as ब्राघिनि *tigress* from m. ब्राघ्, for which fem. form there is no foundation in Skr., which has m. व्याघ्रः, f. व्याघ्री. — The E. H. suff. आइन् arises in various ways. Thus in चौबाइन् it arises from Pr. चउवेइणी, Skr. चतुर्वेदिनी; in पँडाइन् and पँडियाइन् it is added anomalously to पँडा, पँडिया, Mg. पँडिह, Skr. पण्डितकः, etc. — The E. H. suff. आनी is a tats. for Skr. आनी, as in Skr. इन्द्रानी *wife of Indra*. — The E. H. रस्ती *string* is a regular fem. of the E. H. m. रस्ता, which is derived from the Skr. masc. रश्मिः or pleon. रश्मिकः (or रश्मकः of रश्मन्, see M. W. 835, 1); not *vice versa*, the E. H. masc. रस्ता formed from the E. H. fem. रस्ती (as Bs. II, 149), which would be an unique anomaly.

#### Eleventh Group.

263. Com. gen. अच्. Masc. आ or अवॉ. Fem. अई.

The form अच् is weak, the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them see § 195, note.

264. These suff. are used to derive ordinal numbers from the cardinals, with the exception of the four first and the sixth, which are formed differently (see §§ 269. 401). Thus m. or f. पंचच्,

m. पचा or पचवाँ, f. पचई<sup>१</sup> *fifth*, of पच् *five*; m. f. दसव् or m. दसा or दसवाँ, f. दसई<sup>१</sup> *tenth*, of दस् *ten*; m. f. बारहव् or m. बारहवाँ, f. बारहई<sup>१</sup> *twelfth*, of बारह *twelve*, etc. They are added pleonastically to the following: दुसरा or दुसरव् or दुसरवाँ *second*, of दुइ *two*; तिसरा or तिसरव् or तिसरवाँ *third*, of तीनि *three*; चौथा or चौथव् or चौथवाँ *fourth*, of चारि *four*; छठा or छठव् or छठवाँ *sixth*, of छ *six*; बीसा or बीसव् or बीसवाँ *twentieth*, of बीस् *twenty*, etc.

265. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight differences: thus B. m. आ, f. ई<sup>१</sup> (S. Ch. 195); M. अवा, f. अवी, n. अवे<sup>१</sup> or (from 19<sup>th</sup>) आवा, आवी, आवे<sup>१</sup> (Man. 42. 44); H. H. अवाँ, f. अवी<sup>१</sup>; W. H. अवौ<sup>१</sup>, f. अवी<sup>१</sup>; P. अवौ<sup>१</sup> or अमौ<sup>१</sup>, f. अवी<sup>१</sup> or अमौ<sup>१</sup> (Ld. 82—85); G. (and O. H.) अमो, f. अमी, n. अमुं (Ed. 48); S. ओ<sup>१</sup>, f. ई<sup>१</sup>; e. g., B. पाचा, f. पाचई<sup>१</sup>; M. पाँचवा, f. पाँचवी<sup>१</sup>, n. पाँचवे<sup>१</sup>, but विसावा, f. विसावी<sup>१</sup>, n. विसावे<sup>१</sup> *twentieth*; W. H. पाँचवौ<sup>१</sup>, f. पाँचवी<sup>१</sup>; P. पंजवौ<sup>१</sup> or पंजमौ<sup>१</sup>, f. पंजवी<sup>१</sup> or पंजमौ<sup>१</sup>; G. पाँचमो, f. पाँचमी, n. पाँचमुं; S. पंजो<sup>१</sup>, f. पंजी<sup>१</sup>.

266. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. taddh. स or, with pleon. क added, मक; whence nom. sg. (incl. the final स of the base) अमकः, f. अमिका, Mg. अमर्, f. अमिआ, Ap. Mg. अवर्, f. अविआ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), E. H. अवाँ or (contracted, after eliding म् or व्) आ; f. अई<sup>१</sup> (cf. §§ 33. 47. 51). Thus Skr. पञ्चमकः, Ap. Mg. पंचमर् or पंचवर्, E. H. पचा or पचवाँ; f. Skr. पञ्चमिका, Ap. Mg. पंचमिआ or पंचविआ, E. H. पचई<sup>१</sup>. The M. form आवा may be a contraction of the Skr. अतितमकः; e. g., विंशतितमकः, Mg. बीसइअमर् (cf. Wb. Bh. 476); or it may have arisen by adding the pleon. स to the base and be = Skr. \*विंशकमकः, Mg. \*बीसअमर्. In the latter case the addition of the suff. आवा would be pleonastic, as the Skr. विंश itself means *twentieth*; but so it is in E. H. and all other Gds. in चौथवाँ, छठवाँ, बीसवाँ, etc., the regular forms being चौथा, छठा, बीसा, etc.

### *Improper Suffixes.*

267. The suffixes of the following groups are in reality curtailed nouns, and their derivatives modified compounds. This appears from the following facts: 1) that in some cases the base



does not exist in E. H.; e. g., कोहार् *potter* of \*कोह् (Skr. कुम्भ, E. H. कुम्); कोहार् *porter*, of \*कोह् (Skr. स्कन्ध, E. H. काँध); रोमासा *lachrymose*, of \*रोद् (Skr. रोद); 2) that the various suff. (exc. ब्राह्) are, severally, found only in a very small number of words; 3) that the terminations of their derivatives are not recognised as suff., and their etymology in many cases unknown to all but Skr. scholars.

*Twelfth Group.*

268. Com. gen. सू or सूर. Masc. सरा. Fem. सरी.  
The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong.

These suff. are extremely rare, and occur only in numerals; thus m. f. दूसर, m. दूसरा, f. ०री *second* (lit. *twice removed*, i. e., from Nro. 1), of दुइ *two*; m. f. तीसर, m. तिसरा, f. ०री *third* (lit. *thrice moved*, i. e., from Nro. 1), of तीन *three*; m. चौस् or चउस् or f. चौसरी *a field four times tilled* (lit. *four times moved or turned*).

270. *Affinities.* This curious formation of the second and third ordinal numbers is confined to the E. and S. Gd. and H. H. The W. Gds. have the regular ordinal forms: O. H. दूस्रो or दूसरी; P. दूस्रा or दूसरा = Pr. दुइन्नओ or दुइन्नओ (H. C. 1, 94, 209); S. बीओ or बीओ, G. बीओ, Pr. विइन्नओ (H. C. 1, 94) or बीन्नओ (H. C. 1, 248) or विइन्नओ (H. C. 1, 248); again W. H. तीओ or तीओ, P. तीआ or तीआ, S. तीओ or तीओ, G. तीओ, = Pr. तइन्नओ (H. C. 1, 101) or तइन्नओ (cf. H. C. 4, 339). But H. H. and M. दूसरा, तीसरा.

271. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. past part. pass. सूतः *moved*, in A. Mg. सल्लि or सल्लिन्न, which in Gd. becomes सर by the successive quiescence of the final न्न and इ (cf. §§ 45, 302), and सू by the elision of र (cf. § 124). Similarly the E. H. सरा is = A. Mg. सल्लिन्न, Skr. सूतकः; and f. सरी = A. Mg. सल्लिन्ना, Skr. सूतिका. E. g., Skr. \*द्विसूतः (i. e., द्विः + सूतः), A. Mg. दूसल्लि, E. H. दूसर.

*Thirteenth Group.*

|      |      |           |           |           |
|------|------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 272. | Set. | Com. gen. | Masc.     | Fem.      |
|      | 1)   | सर or र   | सरा or रा | सरी or री |
|      | 2)   | सार्      | सारा      | सारी      |

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

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273. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing (genitive) relation from subst. or pronouns; but they occur very rarely. Thus, in the possessive pron.; m. f. हमार or m. हमरा, f. °री *our* (lit. of us), of हम *we*; m. f. तोहार or m. तोहरा, f. °री *your* (lit. of you), of तोह *you*; m. f. मोर or m. मोरा, f. °री *mine*, of \*मो *I*; m. f. तोर or m. तोरा, f. °री *thine*, of \*तो *thou*. Again in nouns; e.g., m. f. गँवार or m. गँवरा, f. °री *rustic, vulgar*, of गँव *village*; m. f. चिन्हार or m. चिन्हारा *an acquaintance* (lit. of a mark, marked), f. चिन्हारी *acquaintance*; गिखार *beggar*, of मोख *alms*; perhaps also हथियार *tools, weapons*, of हथिया *small handle*; m. घसियारा, f. °री *grassier*, of घसिया (or घास) *grass*; भठियारा, f. °री *innkeeper*, of भठिया (or भठो) *hearth, inn* (Skr. भट्ट).

274. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the gen. affixes कर, करा, करने, see § 377, where their derivation will be fully explained. The full suffix कर still exists in the M. गँवकर *villager* (Man. 113), खोडकर (H. खोडिल्) *mischievous*, of खोड (Man. 114); चिपलुंकर *a man of Chiplun* (Bs. II, 181), etc. The curtailed suff. घर, चार, etc. are employed in B. and O. as their ordinary gen. affixes; as O. घरर *domestic or of a house*, of घर *house*. H. H. has हमारा *our*, तुम्हारा *your*, गँवार *villager*.

*Fourteenth Group.*

|      |      |       |       |       |       |
|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 275. | Set. | Masc. | Fem.  | Masc. | Fem.  |
|      | 1)   | आर    | —     | आरा   | आरी   |
|      | 2)   | —     | आरिनि | आरी   | आरिनी |
|      | 3)   | कार   | —     | कारा  | कारी  |

The forms in घा and ई are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

276. These suff. are used to derive nouns, expressing „workers of something“. They are of a limited number. Thus the 1<sup>st</sup> set in सोनार, f. सोनारी or °रिनि or °रिनी *goldsmith*, of सोना *gold*; कोहार, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *potter*, of कुम्ह *pot*; कदार, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *porter*, of काँध *shoulder*; चमार, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *leather-worker*, of चाम *leather*; सुतार, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *carpenter*, of सूत *thread*; बंधार or बंधियार or बंधारा, f. °री, or बंधियारी m.,



f. <sup>०</sup>री *dark* or *darkness*, of *ग्रंथा dark*. The 2<sup>nd</sup> set in पुनारी, f. पुनारिनि or <sup>०</sup>रिनी *worshipper*, of पूजा *worship*. The 3<sup>d</sup> set in हुटकार or <sup>०</sup>रा or <sup>०</sup>री *deliverance*, of हुटा *delivered*.

277. *Affinities and Derivation*. The original of these suffixes is the Skr. noun कार or कारिन्; e. g., Skr. कुम्भकारः or <sup>०</sup>री, Mg. कुम्भाले or <sup>०</sup>ली or कुम्भाले or <sup>०</sup>ली, E. H. कोहार (cf. § 120); Skr. पूजाकारिकः (i. e., <sup>०</sup>रिन् + क), Mg. पूजालिह, E. H. पुनारी, N. पूनाहारि, (S. Lk. 1, 5). These and similar words occur in all Gds. As to the fem., see § 259.

*Fifteenth Group.*

| 278. | Set. | Com. gen. | Masc. | Fem. |
|------|------|-----------|-------|------|
|      | 1)   | क्        | का    | की   |
|      | 2)   | कै        | —     | —    |

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong.

279. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing relation from a subst. Thus काठक् or काठकै or काठका, f. <sup>०</sup>की *wooden*, of काठ *wood*; घरकै or घरका, f. <sup>०</sup>की *domestic*, of घर *house*; बनकै or बनका, f. <sup>०</sup>की *wild*, of बन् *forest*; etc.

280. *Affinities and Derivation*. These suff. are identical with the common genitive affixes; and their derivatives are really genitives of the respective bases. This can be seen from the fact that all the various Gd. gen. aff. may be used in this way; thus M. चा in M. घरचा *domestic* (Man. 113. Bs. II, 110), in S. गोठेचो *of the same village*, of गोठ; वेढीचो *of the jungle*, of वेढि (Tr. 91); again Konkani ला in M. तेयला *of that place*, of तेवे *there* (Man. 113); again G. पो in S. चोरपो *thievish*, of चोह *thief*, or वातपो *oral*, of वातु *mouth* (Tr. 72. 73); again H. का in M. बोलका *eloquent*, of बोल *word* (Man. 107), मारका *given to beating*, of मार *beating* (Man. 115), पाटिलकी *office of a पाटिल् village accountant* (Man. 113); in P. पिउका *paternal*, of पिउ *father*; in S. हारिका *relating to a हारी peasant* (Tr. 71); again Mw. रो in M. खतरा *itch-producing*, of खत् (Man 115); and, of course, each in its own language. — As to the origin of all these affixal forms see § 377. — The vowel ए before चो in S. is not (as Bs. II. 110)

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the inflected termination of the noun; for the obl. form of मोह is not मोहे but मोहु; similarly of वेष्टि it is not वेष्टी, but वेष्टि (Tr. 123. 128); but all these long vowels in S., viz. ए in एचो, ई in ईचो, आ in आपो or आकू (Tr. 70), ऊ in ऊपो, ओ in ओको (Tr. 71), have probably arisen by the suff. being added to the strong form (in अय or इय or अय or उय, contracted to ए, ई, etc.), just as in M. भलेपण् goodness, of भला + पण् (see § 231).

Sixteenth Group.

| 281. | Set. | Masc. | Fem. |
|------|------|-------|------|
|      | 1)   | —     | आस्  |
|      | 2)   | आसा   | आसी  |

The form आस् is weak, the others are strong. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

282. Of these suff. the first set is used to derive subst., expressing „desire of anything“, and the second set to derive adj. meaning „desirous“, from an other subst. The number of such derivatives, however, is small. Thus f. निदास् desire to sleep, sleepiness; m. निदासा, f. सो sleepy, of नीद sleep; उवास् sleepiness, सा m., सो f. sleepy, of ऊय sleep; मुतास् f. desire to make water, सा m., सो f. desirous of d<sup>10</sup>, of मूत्र urin; हगास् desire to stool, सा m., सो f. desirous of d<sup>10</sup>, of हग excrement; चुदास् f. lasciviousness, सा m., सो f. lascivious, of चोद copulation; पेदास् gluttony, of पेद belly; कटासा m., सो f. inclined to bite, snappish, of काट bite. Sometimes the base is not in use, as in रोघास् f. inclination to weep, रोघासा m., सो f. tearful. In a few words the suff. has come to signify abstract nouns, as मिठास् f. sweetness (lit. desire or tendency to be sweet), of मीठ sweet; उचास् f. height, of ऊच् high; नुरास् coldness, of नुर (H. H. नुह) cold.

283. Affinities and Derivation. These derivatives are found also in W. H. and P. (see Bs. II, 82). In the other Gds. the (so-called) suff. is probably better preserved in its nominal form. It is merely a curtailment of the nouns वाँस् or वाँह (fem.) desire = Skr. वाञ्छा, and वाँसा or वाँहा desirous = Skr. वाञ्छकः, as may be seen from the alternative form चुदवाँसा libidinous. In



the suff., वृ is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted to घा. Thus Skr. निद्रावाङ्म, Pr. निद्रुवङ्म, E. H. निद्रास्; Skr. रोद्रवाङ्मकः, Mg. लोम्वङ्म or लोम्वङ्म, E. H. रोमसा. The change of इ to स् is very common in M. and Mw., and, though less so, in P., whence it has sometimes passed into the other Gds. (see § 11. Bs. I, 218). — Shakespear's (H. Dict.) identification of the suff. with the Skr. noun घ्राणा *hope* is not tenable; neither is the theory of their connection (as Br. II, 81) with the Skr. desiderative. The latter is true only of E. H. पियास् f. *thirst* = Skr. पिपासा, Pr. पिघासा, and E. H. पिपासा m., °सी f. *thirsty* = Skr. पिपासितकः m., °तिका f. (not, as Bs., Skr. पिपासुकः, which would be H. पियास्). It exactly corresponds to E. H. भूख् f. *hunger* = Skr. बुभुक्षा, Pr. बुहुक्खा, and E. H. भूखा m., भूखी f. *hungry* = Skr. बुभुक्षितकः m., °तिका f. — The two words क्पास् f. and कटास् m. *violent burst of rain* do not belong to this group, but are compounds of कप् or कट् *quick* and Pr. वृसा f. or वासं n. *rain* (see H. C. 2, 104), = Skr. वर्षा and वर्षम्.

Seventeenth Group.

| 284. | Set. | Fem.         | Fem. |
|------|------|--------------|------|
|      | 1)   | आहट् or आवट् | घौटी |
|      | 2)   | आवट्         | घौटी |

The forms in ट् are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

285. The first set is used to derive abstract nouns from adj. The form आहट् is the one commonly employed. Thus सचाहट् or सचावट् or सचौटी *truth, truthfulness*, of सच्च् or सचा *true* (= सचाई § 220); मिठाहट् *sweetness*, of मीट् *sweet*; गरमाहट् *warmth*, of गर्म् (Pers. گرم) *warm*; बराहट् *purity*, of बरा *pure*; तिताहट् *bitterness*, of तीत् or तीता *bitter*; चिकनाहट् *smoothness*, of चिकना *smooth*; रुखाहट् *roughness*, of रूख् *rough*; कटुआहट् *bitterness*, of कटुआ *bitter*, etc.

286. The first and second sets occur in a few words, which are derived from subst., and express relation generally; as चमरावट् or चमरावट् *perquisites of a man of the चमार caste*; अपौती *patrimony*, of आप् *father*; समौती *flesh, animal food*, (probably) of समा *kin, related* (= Skr. समं *of the same origin*, hence animal as opp. to vegetable

(cf. § 120); हिनीती *humility, supplication*, of हीन् *destitute*; हथौटो *handicraft, dexterity*, of हात् *hand*.

287. *Affinities.* These derivatives are properly W. Gd. and have been introduced into the E. H. from the W. H. In the latter and in P. they are very common; also in S., which has the contracted forms आटु or आतु (or अतु) or आटो (probably for \*आटो), all masc., see Tr. 60. 62. 68. 74.; e. g., चोकिराटु *boyhood*, of चोकि; डिअपावतु *debtor*, of डिअपा *debt*; भयतु *porter*, of भरी *load*; पापयाटो *damp*, of पापा *water*, etc. Also occasionally in M.; as रानवट् *belonging to a desert*, of रान् (Man. 113), or contracted to इट् (= \*आवट्) as in रामोट् *angry*, of राम् (Man. 114).

288. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. nouns वृत्ति fem. or वृत्त neut., and वार्त्ता fem. or वार्त्त neut.; all meaning *condition, state, mode of life, earnings*, etc. (see M. W. 957. 958). The two former become in Pr. वट्टी or वट्ट (H. C. 2, 29), the two latter वत्ता (or वट्टा) and वत्त (H. C. 2, 30). Next Pr. वट्टी or वट्टा and, with pleon. अ added, वट्टिआ become in H. वट्ट and वट्टी, or, with pleon. अ added to the base, आवट्ट and औटो (contracted for अवट्टी or अउट्टी, cf. § 78, for आवट्टी, § 25) or, with ह् substituted for व् (see § 69), आहट्ट. Similarly Pr. वत्ता or वत्तिआ become in H. आवत् or औत्ती. Thus Skr. \*सत्यकवृत्तिः, Pr. सच्चवट्टी or सच्चवट्टिआ, E. H. सचावट्ट or सचौट्टी; again Skr. चर्मकारकवृत्तिः or वार्त्ता, Pr. चम्मचारवट्टी or वत्ता, E. H. चमरावट्ट or वत् (for \*चमारावट्ट, cf. § 25). The S. m. आटु arises similarly from the Skr. neut. वृत्तम्. — Those suff. which form adj., as S. आतु, M. अवट्ट, arise from the Skr. m. वृत्तः or वार्त्तः, Pr. वट्टी or वत्तो. Thus E. H. गुबरीता or टा *a beetle found in old cow-dung*, from गोवर + वृत्तकः *living in gobar or cow-dung*. — In the E. H. चिकनावट्ट or वत्त (fem.) *clayey soil*, there is probably an exchange of व् and व्, see § 134, 2; E. H. also चिकनी गट्टी. — The suff. of this group should be carefully distinguished from those of the fifth group (§ 322) which are primary, and have an altogether different origin. Practically they are often confounded, and the dental त्, which is proper to the primary group, given to the secondary, the proper cons. of which is ट्; and vice versa.



*Eighteenth Group.*

289. Com. gen. सू. Masc. सा. Fem. सी.

The form सू is weak, the others are strong.

290. These suff. occur in a very few nouns, which more or less distinctly imply „likeness“. Thus आपुस् f. (H. H. आपस्) *kindred* (lit. *like self*); especially in the phrase आपुस् मे *among themselves*, of आपु *self*; पैसा m. *a copper coin*, the fourth part of an anna, of पाइ or पाई *a pice* (lit. *like the pāda or quarter of a weight of gold*, cf. M. W. 564); पनसा m., पनसी f. *insipid* (lit. *like water*), of पानी *water*; m. ऐकसा, f. ०सी *similar, identical* (lit. *like one*), of ऐक् *one*.

291. *Affinities.* These suff. exist. in all Gds. in the above mentioned words (cf. Bs. II, 330). — In M. they may be added, as a pleon. or dimin. suff., to any adj. in the following forms: m. सा, f. सी, n. से<sup>०</sup> or, less curtailed, com. gen. सरू; e. g., कामसरू, c. g. *blackish*, of काम *black*; m. लहानसा, f. ०सी, n. ०से<sup>०</sup> *littleish*, of लहान *little* (Man. 114). For the same purpose m. सी, f. सी are used in W. H. (H. H. सा, सी), but as an affix, not as a suffix; that is, the adj., to which they are added, is itself inflected; thus H. H. ऊँचा सा पहाड़ *a rather high mountain*, नीली सी चिड़ियाँ *rather blue birds*, बड़े से घोड़े *rather large horses* (see Kl. 91)<sup>1</sup>. — In W. H. and H. H. the same aff. is also commonly employed to express resemblance; as मेरी सी दशा *a condition like mine*; मुझ सा पापी *a sinner like me*; पंडित् को सी बोली *speech like that of a pandit* (examples of Kl. 91. Eth. 58). In E. H. सा, सी are not employed as affixes; in their place it uses ऐसन् *such* with subst. (e. g., हाथी ऐसन् *like an elephant*, आदमी ऐसन् *like a man*) and ऐक् *one* or ऐसन् *such* with adj.; as होट् ऐक् (usually spelled होटैक्) or होट् ऐसन् *rather little* (cf. German *etwas klein*); थोरेक् or थोर ऐसन् *rather few, some few*; बहुतेक् or बहुत् ऐसन् *rather many*.

1) The examples are from Kl. The aff. never denotes *intensity*, as Kl., Eth. (H. Gr. 48) and Bates (H. Dict. 740) state. It expresses the English *rather*, not *very*. It has no connexion with the Skr. सम *like*, still less with the Skr. suff. प्रस् *fold* (as Kl. 91, a). Bates gives the correct derivation.

292. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. सदृश *like*, as evidenced by the E. H. use of ऐसन, which is the same as Skr. ईदृश (§§ 111.458). Skr. सदृश: becomes in A. Mg. सरिसे (Wb. Bh. 422, cf. H. C. 1, 142) or सरिर (cf. H. C. 4, 300 for सरिहे, with ह् as in तेदृहं H. C. 2, 157 or in तेहु = \*तद्हु H. C. 4, 402 = Skr. तादृश:). The latter becomes in Gd. \*सरिअ, \*सरि, whence M. सरू or, by eliding र (cf. Ap. तहसो H. C. 4, 403 = Skr. तादृश:, see § 124) and dropping इ, E. H. स. Similarly Skr. m. सदृशक: = A. Mg. सरिअर or Ap. Mg. \*सद्अर, contracted \*सद्अ or (dropping इ and contracted) E. H. सा; fem. Skr. सदृशिका, A. Mg. सरिसिअ, Ap. \*सद्इअ, E. H. contracted \*सद्ई or सी. Precisely similar are E. H. भा or भवा or भद्अ *been* = Mg. भविअर, Skr. भूत:; E. H. गा or गया or गद्अ, Ap. Mg. गद्अर, Skr. गत:; E. H. का (§ 278) = S. कयो = Ap. कद्अउ, Skr. कृत:, see § 307; E. H. स् or सरू = A. Mg. सरिर, Skr. सृत: (§ 268). — The E. H. use of ऐक् may be compared with its analogous use in the indefinite numerals (§ 425), as दस ऐक् *about ten, some ten*.

*Nineteenth Group.*

293. Com. gen. वार or वाल्. Masc. वारा or वाला.

Fem. वारी or वाली and वारिनि or वालिनि.

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak.

294. These suff. are used to derive nouns implying possession or relation generally, from subst. Thus गोवार or गोवाल c. g. or गुवार or °ला m. or गुवारी or °ली or गुवारिनि or °लिनि f. *cow-keeper, cowherd*, of गो *cow*; घटवार or °वाल् c. g., °वारी or °ली or °रिनि or °लिनि f. *wharf-keeper, wharfinger*, of घाट *landing-place*; नाओवार or °ला m., °री or °ली f. *boat-keeper, boat-man*, of नाओ *boat*; म. कपडावार or °ला, f. °री or °ली *cloth-keeper, cloth-merchant*; दिल्लीवार or °ला m., °री or °ली f. *belonging to or native of Delhi*, etc. Even with foreign words; as बक्सवार or °ला m., °री or °ली or °रिनि or °लिनि f. *box-keeper, pedlar*.

295. *Affinities.* These suff. are not properly E. or S. Gd., but W. Gd., whence they have been introduced into E. H., B. (see S. Ch. 88, cf. 154; spelled m. उयाला, f. उयाली; e. g., B. दूषिउयाला *holding or wearing a दूषि cap*) and M. (see Man. 113, 2; e. g.,



दूधवाला *milkman*). In W. Gd. they are very commonly used. S. has वारो m., वारी f. (Tr. 76, 36); e. g., वारवारो *owner of a house*; G. has वामो m., वामि f. (Ed. 14); e. g., दुधवाओ, टोपीवाओ.

296. *Derivation.* The original of these suff., certainly in the two first examples, probably in all, is the Skr. noun पाल *keeper* or, with pleon. क added, पालक. Thus Skr. m. गोपालः or °लकः, f. °लिका, Mg. m. गोवाले or °लए, f. °लिआ, E. H. m. गोवाङ्ग or °र, f. °री. Practically, however, these suff. are confounded with the primary suff. वाला, °ली (in अनेवाला, °ली), see § 315. — The fem. in लिनि is probably an anomalous formation, see §§ 259. 262; though it might be referred to a Skr. base पालिन्.

### 3. PRIMARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

297. The primary derivative suffixes may be divided into eight groups, traces of all which already existed, more or less distinctly, in Pr.

#### *First Group.*

298. Com. gen. अत्. Masc. अता. Fem. अतो (or अति). The forms in अ and ई are strong, the others weak. The masc. strong form is not much used in E. H., except in the oblique form अते, as an adv. part., see § 488.

*Note.* Observe, in adding these suff., that ए is inserted after ई, and optionally व् after उ and ओ; and अ is elided after आ and ए and after R. हो be.

299. These suff. are used to derive the participle present from any root. Thus हसत् *laughing*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पठत् *reading*, of R. पठ् *read*; पीयत् *drinking*, of R. पी *drink*; चूयत् or चूयत् *drip-ping*, of R. चू *drip*; रोयत् or रोयत् *weeping*, of R. रो *weep*, etc. But खात् *eating*, of R. खा *eat*; देत् *giving*, of R. दे *give*; होत् *being*, of R. हो *be*, etc. The fem. in इ is only used as a component part of the pret. conj.; as कर्तिस् (f.) *thou didst*, of कर्त्ति + स्; see § 507.

300. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight modifications; thus B. इत् (only in the obl. f. इते, S. Ch. 148);





is inserted after *आ* and *इ*, and optionally *व्* after *उ* and *ओ*; before those beginning with *इ* neither *व्* nor *ल्व्* is inserted.

303. These suff. are used to derive the past participle from any root. Thus *हसल्* or *हसिल्* *laughed*, of R. *हस्* *laugh*; *पठल्* or *पठिल्* *read*, of R. *पठ्* *read*; *पीयल्* or *पीडल्* *drunk*, of R. *पी* *drink*; *चूयल्* or *चूयल्* or *चूडल्* *dripped*, of R. *चू* *drip*; *रोयल्* or *रोडल्* *wept*, of R. *रो* *weep*; *खाडल्* or *खायल्* *eaten*, of R. *खा* *eat*, etc. The derivatives of the second set, and those of the fem. *अलि* are never used by themselves, but only as component parts of the pret. indicat. (exc. in Bs), see §§ 502.504, thus *हस्यो* *I laughed*, of *हसिञ्च* + *उ*; *खाडस्* *thou eatest*, of *खाड्* + *स्*; again *हसलित्* (f.) *thou laughedst*, of *हसलि* + *स्*, etc. But in Bs. *हसा* m., *हसो* f. *laughed*; *पठ्* m., *पठो* f. *read*; *खाया* m., *खाई* f. *eaten*; etc.

*Note:* This part. is used *passively* in the formation of the passive voice, but *actively* in that of the pret. tense active.

304. *Exception.* The following part. pass. are formed irregularly: R. *कर्* *do*, P. P. 1) *कडल्* or *कयल्* or *कैल्*, or 2) *किडञ्* or *किहि* or Bs. *कया* or *किया* *done*; — of R. *धर्* *place*, P. P. 1) *धडल्* or *धयल्* or *धैल्* or 2) *धडञ्* or *धिहि* or Bs. *धया*; also regularly *धरिल्*, *धरा*, etc. *placed*. — R. *मर्* *die*, P. P. 1) *मुडल्* or *मुयल्* or 2) *मुडञ्* or *मुड* or Bs. *मुया*; also regularly *मरिल्*, *मरा* *died*, etc. — R. *जा* *go*, P. P. 1) *गडल्* or *गयल्* or *गैल्* or 2) *गडञ्* or *गड* or B. *गया* *gone*; also regularly *जाडल्* or *जायल्* (§ 479. exc.); — R. *हो* *be*; P. P. 1) *भडल्* or *भयल्* or *भैल्* or 2) *भडञ्* or *भड* or Bs. *भया* or *भया* *been*; also regularly *होडल्* or *होयल्* (§ 479. exc.). — R. *दे* *give*, P. P. 1) *दिहल्* or 2) *दिडञ्* or *दिहि* or Bs. *दया* or *दिया* *given*. — R. *ले* *take*, P. P. 1) *लिहल्* or 2) *लिडञ्* or *लिहि* or Bs. *लया* or *लिया* *taken*. — R. *आव्* *come*, P. P. 1) *आडल्* or *आयल्* or 2) *आडञ्* or *आड* or Bs. *आया* or *आया* *come*. — R. *पाव्* *obtain*, P. P. 1) *पाडल्* or *पायल्* or 2) *पाडञ्* or *पाड* or Bs. *पाया* or *पाया* *obtained*.

305. *Affinities.* The second set occurs in all Gds., exc. M.; but the first set in the E. Gd. and S. Gd. only. Thus 1) both sets; in B., wk. f. *हल्* (only in the obl. f. *इले* as a cond. part.,

S. Ch. 148), and wk. f. इय (only in the obl. f. इया as past part. and in the pret. tense, S. Ch. 148. 144), or st. f. आ म., ई f. (only in the pass. sense and to form the pass. voice, S. Ch. 148. 142); in O., st. f. इला (e. g., पडिला *fallen*, Sn. 29) or wk. f. इल् (only in the obl. f. इले as a condit. part., Sn. 28); and wk. f. इ (as past part., Sn. 28) or इय (only in the pret. tense, Sn. 30), or st. f. आ म., ई f. (as past part., Sn. 30; and in the pass. voice, Sn. 39). — 2) Only first set; in M., st. f. अला or इला म., अली or इली f., अले or इले n. (Man. 63. 64. 67. 68, note; e. g., सुटला or सुटिला = E. H. कुटल् or कुटिल् and M. सोडिला or सोडला = E. H. डोडल् or डोडिल्). — 3) Only second set; in O. H. (Chand), wk. f. इय (= Mg. इए, इअ) or इव (= Ap. इउ) or st. f. एव (= Ap. इअउ), see Kl. 213. 215.; in H. H., st. f. आ म., ई f.; in W. H., st. f. वो or वो म., ई f.; in P., st. f. इआ म., ई f. (Ld. 24); in G., st. f. वो म., ई f., वुं n. (Ed. 113. 50); in S., wk. f. इउ or इअ or इ (Tr. 289), or st. f. इओ or वो म., ई f. (Tr. 271. 289); in N., wk. f. इअ or ए or इ, or st. f. वो म., ई f. In all W. Gds. the P. P. is used in the pass. sense only, see § 487. — It is worth noting, that both sets exist in *Pashtu* (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXIII, 116); e. g., wk. f. *kar* or *krah* (= कृत.); st. f. *karai* (= कृतक.); and wk. f. *kral* (= \*करित., B. करिल्), st. f. *karalai* (= \*करितक., O. करिला). Trumpp distinguishes the weak and strong forms as part. pret. and part. perf., but these names, being the same in import, do not explain the difference.

*Note:* Some Gds. add. a pleon. suff. to the past part. in order to make it more of the nature of an adj.; viz., M. adds ला (Man. 63. 64), G. लो (Ed. 50. 113), S. लु or जे (Tr. 272. 69), Mw. जे (Kl. 209, 393), N. को (see § 216). The term. of the part. suffers various modifications before these suff., which may be seen from the following examples: M. पडलेला, G. पडेलो, S. पडिअलु or पडिअजो, Mw. पड्योजे or पडोजे, N. पड्याको *read*, from the resp. part. M. पडला, G. पड्यो, S. पडिओ, Mw. पड्यो, N. पड्यो.

306. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. कृत् त or, with the connecting vowel इ added, इत्. The addition of इ is very common in Pr., even with such roots, as do not take



it in Skr. (see Vr. 7, 32. H. C. 3, 156. Ls. 363. Wb. Spt. 65. Wb. Bh. 432. 433). In Gd. it has become almost universal; though there are a very few exceptions, as P. दिद्वा or डिद्वा *seen* (Pr. दिद्वा, Skr. दृष्टकः), but also regularly देखिन्ना (Ld. 66); G. दीढो *seen*, पेढो *entered* (Pr. पइद्वा, Skr. प्रविष्टकः); S. डिढो *seen*, पेढो *entered*, लढो *obtained* (Pr. लढवा H. C. 3, 134., Skr. लब्धकः), and some others, see Tr. 273—279. Ed. 50. — The suff. इत् becomes in Pr. either इद् which is the older form preserved in Sr. (H. C. 4, 269), Mg. (see Vr. 11, 11. H. C. 4, 291. 292) and old Ap. (H. C. 4, 396), or इञ् which is the later form of the Mh. (Vr. 7, 32. H. C. 3, 156) the A. Mg. (Wb. Bh. 433) and the later Ap. (e. g., हसिद् H. C. 4, 396. = Mh. हसिञ्; Ap. धञ्जिद् H. C. 4, 439 et passim; compare the treatment of the similar suff. इत्थ्व = Ap. इत्थ्व H. C. 4, 438). The (older) Mg. form इद् further changes in E. and S. Gd. to इल् and झल् (§ 109). The only instances of this change of दू to ल् in Mg. are: कले for कदे (H. C. 4, 290. Skr. कृतः) *done*, गले for गदे (H. C. 4, 302. Skr. गतः) *gone*, and मले for मदे (cf. Ls. 423. Skr. मृतः) *died*<sup>1</sup>) and, moreover, they are confined to the lower (or Ap.) types of Mg. (e. g., the Śābari<sup>2</sup>) and Avantī, Ls. 417). This tendency of the Ap. Mg. has become the general rule in its descendants, the E. and S. Gd.; though side by side with the special Ap. Mg. forms in इल् they have preserved also the general later (A. Mg., Mh., Ap. Sr.) Pr. forms in इञ्. There are, then, the following forms, in the nom. sg.: 1) Mg. m. इदे, f. इदा, and, with pleon. अ added, m. इदए, f. इदिआ; these result in the E. H.

1) It is commonly supposed (Ls. 412. Bs. I, 238) that दू first changed to ३ and then to ल्; and it is true that Vr. 11, 15 gives the three Mg. forms कडे, गडे, मडे; but Md. 12, 28 gives them only as alternatives besides कदे, गदे, मदे. Seeing that the general tendency of the languages of the Mg. class is towards dentalisation (see §§ 15. 16), it seems more probable, that दू changed at once to (dental) ल्, than that it first became cerebral ३, and then reverted to the dental ल्.

2) It may be remarked, that O. which is closely allied to the Śābari (see p. XXIV) preserves the three forms कल् *done*, गल् *gone*, मल् *died*.

m. इल् or यल्, f. इलि or यलि or इल् or यल्; and m. इला or यला, f. इलो or यलो. 2) Mg. m. इए, f. इया, and, with pleon. य added, m. इयए, f. इइया, whence the E. H. m. f. इय or (dropping य) इ, and m. इया or (suppressing इ) या, f. इई or (contracted) ई. E. g., Skr. चलितः *walked*, Mg. चलिदे, E. H. चलिल् or चलल्; or A. Mg. चलिए (Wb. Bh. 215) or Ap. चलिउ, O. H. चलिय् or चलिव्<sup>1</sup>), E. H. चलिग्र or चलि, Bs. चलि or चल (*chala*). Again Skr. चलितोऽस्मि *I walked*, A. Mg. चलिए म्हि or चलिग्र म्हि, Ap. चलिग्रउं (see § 503, 1. a), E. H. चलयो. Again Skr. चलितोऽसि *thou walkedst*, A. Mg. चलिए सि or Ap. a) चलिग्रसि or b) चलिग्रहि (see § 503, 1. b), N. a) चल्येस् or चलिस्, E. H. चलिस्, S. b) चलिर्. Again Skr. चलितकः *walked*, Mg. चलिदए, E. H. and M. चलला or चलिला, O. चलिला; or A. Mg. चलिग्रए, P. चलिग्र, Bs., H. H., B., O. चला; or Mh. चलिग्रयो, Ap. चलिग्रउ, O. H. चलेव् or चलिग्रो or चलयो, W. H. चलयौ or चलयो, S. चलिग्रो or चलयो, G. and N. चलयो.

307. *Affinities and Derivation of the Exceptional Forms.* Cognate forms are denoted by identical letters. 1) R. खाद् *eat*; Skr. (a and c) खादितः or (b and d) खादितकः, Mg. (a) खाइदे or (b) खाइदए or A. Mg. (c) खाइए or (d) खाइग्रए, E. H. (a) खाइल् or (b) खइला or Bs. (c) खाइ or (d) खाया (for \*खाइया), B. and O. (a) खाइल् or (b) खाइला or (c) खाई or (d) खिया (for \*खया = \*खइया, see below गिया *gone*, cf. Sn. 40), M. (b) खात्ता (Man. 80), H. H. (d) खाया, P. (b) काहरा (with euphon. ह्, § 69) or (d) खाया (Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) खाइदउ or (d) खाइग्रउ, Mw. and G. (b) खाथो (for \*खाइदो or खाइदो with euph. ह्, as in P.), W. H. (d) खायो or खायो. — 2) R. लम् *take*; Skr. (a) लब्धः or (β) लब्धकः, Pr. (a) लढो (H. C. 3, 134) or (β) लढग्रो, S. (β) लयो (Tr. 278); or Skr. (a) \*लभितः or (b) \*लभितकः, Mg. (a) लहिदे or (b) लहिदए or A. Mg. (c) लहिए or (d) लहिग्रए, E. H. (a) लिहल् or (b) लिहला or (c) लिहि (in the pret. tense, cf. § 502 exc., for \*लहि) or Bs. (d) लेवा (contr. for लइया with euph. व्, cf. § 69, Kl. 224) or लया or लिया (like गिया *gone*), B. (a) निल् (in the past tense and

1) M., as usual (§ 65, note), changes इउ or इव् to ईव्; e. g., बाँधीव् *bound* or *built*, from R. बाँध् *bind* (see Man. 107. 114).



condit. part., S. Ch. 190), or (d) निया (S. Ch. 190), O. (a) नेल or (b) नेला or (d) नेया (Sn. 36), M. (b) ल्याला (Mn. 80), H. H. (d) लिया, P. (d) लइया or लिआ (Ld. 66) or (b) लीता (perhaps contr. for a Ps. Pr. form \*लइतए or \*लहितए, or made after दिना given, Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) लहिदउ or (d) लहिअउ, W. H. (b) Mw. लीदो (contr. for \*लइदो) or लीधो (contr. like काधो *eaten*, Kl. 213) or लीनो or लीन्हो (with न् or न्ह for दू or ध्, cf. H. C. 1, 208 गन्धिपो = Pr. \*गन्धिदो = Skr. गर्भितः, Pr. अण्डितयं = Pr. \*अदिउत्तयं = Skr. अतिमुक्ककम्) or (d) लेवो (for \*लइवो) or Br. (d) लयो or लियो, G. (b) लीधो (as in Mw., Ed. 50). — 3) R. दध् give (substitute for दा or धा); Skr. (α) हितः (for \*धितः) or (β) हितकः, Ap. (α) °हिदु (H. C. 4, 446) or (β) °हितउ (H. C. 4, 395), Gd. *deest*; again, formed strictly analogous to the P. P. of R. लभ्, Skr. \*दधितः, Mg. (a) \*दहिदे or (b) \*दहिदए or A. Mg. (c) \*दहिए or (d) \*दहियए, E. H. (a) दिहल् or (b) दिहला or (c) दिहि (in the past tense, for \*दहि) or Bs. (d) देवा (Kl. 224) or दया or दिया, B. (a) दिल् (in the past tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 190) or (d) दिया (S. Ch. 190), O. (a) देल or (b) देला or (d) देया (Sn. 36), M. (b) दिला (Man. 80), H. H. (d) दिया, P. दिना (perhaps for Skr. दत्त, or formed like लीता *taken*, cf. Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) \*दहिदउ or (d) \*दहियउ; W. H. (b) Mw. दीदो or दीधो or दीनो or दीन्हो or (d) दयो or Bs. (d) दयो or दियो, G. (b) दीधो (Ed. 59). — 4) R. धृ place; Skr. धृतः, Gd. *deest*; or Skr. \*धरितः, Mg. (a) धलिदे or (b) धलिदए or A. Mg. (c) धलिए (cf. H. C. 1, 36. धरिओ) or (d) धलियए, E. H. (a) धइल् or धरिल् or (b) धइला or धरिला or (c) धइ or धरि or Bs. (c) धर or (a) धरा, B. and O. (a) धरिल् or (b) धरिला or (d) धरा, M. (b) धरला, H. H. (d) धरा, P. (d) धरिआ; again Ap. Pr. (b) धरिदउ or (d) धरियउ, W. H. (d) धर्वो or धर्यो, G. (d) धर्वो, S. (d) धरिओ or धर्यो. — 5) R. कृ do; Skr. (α) कृतः or (β) कृतकः, Ap. (α) किदु (H. C. 4, 446) or (β) कियउ (H. C. 4, 371), S. (β) कियो (Tr. 277); again Skr. \*करितः, Mg. (a) कलिदे or (b) कलिदए or A. Mg. (c) कलिए or (d) कलियए or Ap. (d) किया (H. C. 4, 396; see H. H. below), E. H. (a) कइल् (§§ 109.124) or (b) कइला or (c) किहि (in the pret. tense, § 502 exc., with euph. ह्, for \*किइ = कइ = करि, formed after लिहि *taken*, दिहि *given*)

or Bs. कर or (d) करा, B. and O. (a) करिल् or (b) करिला (in the past tense and condit. part., S. Ch. 144. 148. Sn. 27) or (d) करा (S. Ch. 148. Sn. 39), M. (b) केला (for \*कइला, Man. 80), H. H. (d) किया (for \*कया = कइया, see S. below, formed after दिया *given*, लिया *taken*, गया *gone*), P. (d) कीता (perhaps for \*कइतए, like लीता *taken*, q. v., Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) करिदउ or (d) करिअउ or कियउ (H. C. 4, 378 = कइअउ, see below W. H.), W. H. (b) Mw. कीदो or कीयो or कीनो or कीन्हो (formed like लीदो, etc., q. v., Kl. 213), or (d) कयो or (d) Br. कयो or कियो (for \*कयो = कइयो, see below S.), G. (b) कीयो (Ed. 50) or (d) कयो, S. (d) कयो (for \*कइयो, Tr. 277) or (b) कीतो (see above P.). — 6) R. गम् *go*; Skr. (a) गतः or (β) गतकः, Mg. (a) गदे or गडे or (β) गदए or गडए, O. (a) गल् or (β) गला (in the pret. tense and condit. part., Sn. 34); or Skr. (a) \*गमितः, Pali (a) गमितो (Ms. 131), Mg. (a) गमिदे or (b) गमिदए or (c) गमिए or (d) गमिअए (cf. Wb. Bh. 405 गमेयाए = \*गमिअयाए = \*गमितकया), or Ap. (d) गया (H. C. 4, 376. see H. H. below), E. H. (a) गइल् or (b) गइला or (c) गइ (in the pret. tense, § 502 exc.) or Bs. (d) गया (= गइया, see below P.) or contr. गा (Kl. 225), B. (a) गेल (in pret. tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 144. 148) or (d) गया (S. Ch. 148, for गया, see below P.), M. (b) गेला (Man. 80), H. H. गया (= गइया), P. गइया or गिया (Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (d) गमिअउ or गइअउ or contr. गयउ (H. C. 4, 422. 20., see W. H. and above P.), W. H. (d) Br. गयो or Mw. गयो or गीयो (Kl. 213.? गियो?), G. (d) गयो (Ed. 50 or गयलो Ed. 83., see § 216), N. गयो. — 7) R. भू *be*; Skr. भूतः, Pr. हुओ (H. C. 4, 64), Gd. *deest*; or Skr. \*भवितः, Mg. (a) भविदे or (b) हविदे or (c) हुविदे (cf. H. C. 4, 60) or (d) भविदए or (e) हविदए or (f) हुविदए or (g) भविए or (h) हविए (cf. H. C. 4, 401 परिहविअ° = परिभूत°) or (i) हुविए or (k) भविअए or (l) हविअए or (m) हुविअए, Ap. (m) हुआ (H. C. 4, 351, for हुइआ, see below H. H., and compare Ap. मुआ and मुइआ), E. H. (a) भइल् or (d) भइला or (g) भइ or भइ (§ 123) or (h) हउ or हौ (in the pres. tense, § 514, 3, for \*हवि, § 122) or Bs. (k) भवा or भवा (= भइआ) or contr. भा, B. (b) हइल (in the condit. part., S. Ch. 144. 148) or (l) हइया (S. Ch. 148), O. (c) होइल् or (f) होइला



(in the pret. tense and condit. part., Sn. 35) or (i) होइ (Sn. 35) or (m) हुआ (Sn. 66, see H. H. below), M. (e) काला (Man. 80, for \*काला or \*हइला), H. H. (m) हुआ (for हुइआ, see P. and Km. below), P. (m) होइआ (Ld. 26); again Ap. Pr. (k) भविष्यत् or (l) हविष्यत् or (m) हुविष्यत्, W. H. (k) Br. भवो (for \*भवो) or भवो (= भइवो) or contr. भो or Km. भवो or भवो or भो (Kl. 205) or (l) Mw. द्वियो (suppressing य between हवि<sup>o</sup>) or द्वियो (? Kl. 236) or (m) हुवो or हुयो (Kl. 210, for हुइवो) or contr. हो (Kl. 200), G. (l) हवो (Ed. 69) or (m) होयो (Ed. 69), S. (m) हुयो (Tr. 298, see H. H. above), N. (k) भवो (= भइवो), Km. (m) हुइवो (Kl. 2, 237), Gw. (m) होयो (Kl. 236). — 8) R. मृ die; Skr. मृत, Mg. (α) मदे or (β) मए (Wb. Bh. 156) or (γ) मडे (Vr. 11, 15) or Mh. मुमो (Spt. 144 et passim), O. (a) मल; or Skr. \*मरित्, Mg. (a) मलिदे or (b) मुलिदे or (c) मलिदए or (d) मुलिदए or (e) मल्लि or (f) मुल्लि or (g) मल्लिअ or (h) मुल्लिअ, Ap. (f) मुइअ (H. C. 4, 367. 419., eliding ल् = र्, § 124) or contr. (h) मुआ (H. C. 4, 442., see H. H. below), E. H. (a) मरिल् or (b) मुइल् or (c) मरिला or (d) मुइला or (e) मरि or (f) मुइ or (g) Ba. मरा or (h) मुआ, M. (e) मेला (Man. 80, for \*मइला), H. H. (h) मुआ (for मुइआ, see Ap. Mg. above); again Ap. Pr. (g) मरिष्यत् or (h) मुरिष्यत् or contr. मुष्यत् (H. C. 4, 442, for \*मुइष्यत्, see Ap. Mg. above and W. H. below), W. H. (g) मवो or मवो or (h) मुआ or मुओ (for \*मुइओ), G. मुवो (Ed. 50), N. (g) मरिवो or मवो, S. dto. — 9) R. आप् come and प्राप् (= प्र + आप्) obtain; Skr. आप्; or प्राप्, Pr. यन्नो or पन्नो (cf. H. C. 4, 332), Gd. deest; or Skr. \*आयित् or \*प्रायित्, Mg. (a) आविदे or (b) आविदए or (c) आविए (cf. H. C. 4, 387 प्रायिअ, and see Ap. below) or (d) आविअए, E. H. (a) आइल् or (b) अइला or (c) आइ or आव् or (d) Ba. आवा (cf. § 423), B. (a) आइल् (in the pret. tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 188. 189)<sup>1</sup>), M. (b) आला (Man. 80, for \*आइला), H. H. (d) आवा (for आइआ), P. (d) आइआ; again Ap. Pr. (c) आवित् or आइत् (H. C. 4, 422) or (d) आविष्यत् (cf. H. C. 4, 432 Bombay Ed. आइष्यो = आविष्यो?), W. H. (d) आवो or आवो (for आइवो), N. आवो. The forms of प्राप् are strictly analogous throughout.

1) The other B. forms आतिल्, etc. are derived from the R. आइस् = Pr. आविस् = Skr. आविष् enter (आ + विष्).

*Third Group.*

| 308. | Set.          | Com. gen.      | Masc.              | Fem. |
|------|---------------|----------------|--------------------|------|
| 1)   | इव् or सव्    | * इबा or * सबा | इवि or सवि         |      |
| 2)   | आव् or आव्    | आवा            | आवाई or आई or आवट् |      |
| 3)   | अव्व् or आव्  | —              | —                  | —    |
| 4)   | अवइया or अइया | —              | —                  | —    |
| 5)   | अवार or अवाल् | अवारा or अवाला | अवारी or अवाली     |      |
| 6)   | आर or आल्     | —              | —                  | —    |

The forms of the fourth set are redundant (§§ 200. 202); of the others those in आ, ई and ऊ are strong, the remainder are weak. — The forms with initial इ are not commonly employed, except with Rs. in आ and causal or denom. Rs. in आव् (or आ by § 33). — The masc. strong forms of the first set are never used, exc. in the obl. form इवे or सवे or (by elision of व्) contr. ऐ. — The suff. आवट् is sometimes wrongly spelled आहट्, owing to a confusion with the suff. आहट् of § 284.

*Note:* Observe in adding these suff., 1) that in the first set the initial अ is elided after Rs. in आ, ए and R. हो be, and इ after Rs. in ई; 2) that before the suff. of the second and fourth sets, the termin. आव् of caus. and den. Rs. is elided, and final radical आ and ए are shortened. For the rest see § 298, note.

309. *Meaning.* These suff. are used to derive 1) part. fut., both pass. and act., and 2) verbal nouns, both of act and agency, from any root. Originally their derivatives were part. fut. passive only; but in the neuter gender they naturally came to express verbal nouns of act and thus were used as the (so-called) infinitive; for the "it is to be done" of a thing is equal to the "doing" of a thing. Next the pass. sense was dropped, as in the case of the past part. pass. (§ 301, note), and the part. used actively (e. g., in the formation of the fut. tense act. cf. § 509, 3); and thus it came to express verbal nouns of agency. The latter process was facilitated by the addition of pleon. suff., see § 314. With some intrans. verbs, as होव् to be, the part. fut. pass. ne-



cessarily has an active sense; and this may have led the way to the general practice of using this part. *actively*.

310. The first set is used to form the part. fut. or the inf. Thus हसब् or हसिब् *what is to be laughed at or to laugh*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पठब् or पठिब् *what is to be read or to read*, of R. पठ् *read*; कर्ब् or करिब् *what is to be done or to do*, of R. कर् *do*; छूब् or छूहब् or छूइब् *what is to be touched or to touch*, of R. छू *touch*; बोम्बब् or बोवब् or बोइब् *what is to be sown or to sow*, of R. बो *sow*. But खाइब् or खाब् *what is to be eaten or to eat*, of R. खा *eat*; कराइब् or कराब् *what is to be caused to be done or to cause to do*, of C. R. कराव् *cause to do*; पीयब् or पीब् *what is to be drunk or to drink*, of R. पी *drink*; देब् or देइब् *what is to be given, debt or to give*, of R. दे *give*; होब् or होइब् *what is to be, future, possible or to be*, of R. हो *be*. Thus मो के or मो से उ करब् बाटे *by me that is to be done*, or actively मैं करबो (= करब् + उँ) *I shall do*. The fem. in इ is used only as a component part of the fut. tense act., as करबिस् (fem.) *thou wilt do* for करबि + स्, cf. § 509, 3.

311. The second set is used to form nouns of act. Thus आवाई *coming*, of R. आव् *come*; जावाई *going*, of R. जा *go*; खावाई *eating*, of R. खा *eat*; सुकाव् or सुकाई or सुकावट् *seeing*, of R. सूक् *see*; सिचाव् or सिचाई or सिचावट् *irrigation*, of R. सीच् *irrigate*; डोलाव् or डोलाई or डोलावट् *movement*, of R. डोल् *move*; लड़ाव् or लड़ावट् *fighting*, of R. लर् *fight*; चलाव् *dispatch*, of C. R. चलाव् *cause to go*. Very commonly the fem. expresses the wages or price paid for doing a thing, as रखवाई or रखाई *wages for keeping*, of R. रख् *keep*; कटवाई *wages for cutting*, of R. काट्; बनवाई or बनाई or बनावट् *making or price for making* of C. R. बनाव् *make*; लिखवाई or लिखाई *wages for writing or dictation*, of R. लिख् *write* or C. R. लिखाव् *dictate*. The masc. strong form is very rarely used and, as a rule, has some special meaning; thus पहिरावा *dress* (lit., *what is to be put on*), of R. पहिर् *put on, wear*; बुलावा *a call*, of C. R. बुलाव् *call*, but बुलावाई, बुलावट् *calling*; मिलावा *mixture*, of R. मिल् *mix*; चढ़ावा *sacrifice*, of C. R. चढ़ाव् *sacrifice* (lit., *cause to ascend*).

312. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth sets are used to form *nouns of agency*. The fourth set is the one commonly employed. Thus खाबू or खब्बू *glutton* or खवइया or खवेया *eater*, of R. खा *eat*; उराबू or उरब्बू or उरालू or उराला or उरवइया *timid, coward*, of R. उर *fear*; रखवारू or रखवारा or रखवइया or रखइया *guardian*, of R. रख *keep*; कगडारू or कगडालू *quarrelsome*, of R. कगड *quarrel*; इवइया *thatcher*, of R. इव *thatch*; दिवइया *giver*, of R. दे *give*; चखवइया *rider*, of R. चख *mount*; देखवइया *observer*, of R. देख *see*; सुनवइया *listener*, of R. सुन *hear*; बनवइया *maker*, of C. R. बनाव *make*, etc. The fem. makes nouns of act., as रखवारी *guarding*.

313. *Affinities*. The first and second sets occur in all Gds. as suff. of the part. fut. pass. or of nouns of act. (i. e., of the infinitive), exc. in P.<sup>1</sup>). Thus the first set in B. (wk. f.) इबू (in the fut. tense act., S. Ch. 146) and (st. f.) इबा or (by elision of ब्) contr. बा (as "gerund or verbal noun", S. Ch. 149, i. e., as part. fut. pass. and inf.); this same बा or (uncontracted) इये (= इबे = इए) is used also in an *active* sense as a suff. of nouns of agency; e. g., घासकाटा *a grass cutter* (S. Ch. 154. 149). Similarly in O. (wk. f.) इबू (in the fut. act. Sn. 27) and (st. f.) इबा or contr. बा (Sn. 30). Also in W. H. (as inf. and part. fut. pass.) (st. f.) Br. अबौ or अबी or इबौ or इबी or Mw. अबौ or अबी or इबौ or इबी (obl. f. अबे or इबे, as in E. H.). In G. it occurs as the suff. of a part. fut. pass., ending in (st. f.) m. अबी, f. अबी, n. अबु, and forms the so-called "potential" (Ed. 57); e. g., मारे होउवो इतो lit., *by me he should be delivered*; also as suff. of the infinit., viz. (st. f.) अबु neut. (Ed. 50. 112); e. g., होउवु *to deliver*. Also in S. it occurs; though never to form an inf., but only a part. fut. pass. in इबो (in the fut. tense pass. Tr. 336), and strangely also a part. present pass. (Tr. 54); e. g., इडिबो pres. *being given up* (Tr. 331) or fut. *he shall be given up* (Tr. 336). Perhaps it exists also in the M. inf. termin. ड, a strong form, contr. for इड = इबू (Man. 61, 5. 71);

1) The so-called P. "gerund" (Ld. 24. 45. 81) ending in इमा m., इ f., is identical with the past part. pass.; see the § on compound verbs.



e. g., सोडूँ to loose (for \*सोडिउं = Mw. होडिबो, G. होडवु)<sup>1)</sup>. — The second set, which now forms in E. H. and similarly in W. H. verbal nouns only, is still used in M. to form the part. fut. pass., ending in (st. f.) आवे neut. (called "supine" in Man. 62. 61, 5), with an obl. f. आवया (= E. H. आवे) or (by eliding व्) contr. आया (= E. H. ऐ, B. इये). It also occurs in M. with the sense of a part. pres. pass. in the formation of the pres. conj. tense, ending in आवा m., आवी f., आवे n.; e. g., M. मी सुटावा I may be loosed (lit. I am to be loosed), or म्याँ सोडावा I may loose him (lit. by me he may be loosed or by me he is to be loosed); see § 509, 3. — The other sets occur also in W. H., except that there is no change of ल् to र् in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> sets; e. g., W. H. रखवाल् or ०ला, f. ०ली; कगडालू. The 5<sup>th</sup> set occurs in M. as अवाडू or अवाडू (see Bs. II, 60; e. g., कन्हवाडू pitiful, of R. कन्हू moan); and in G. as अवानो (commonly used to form the fut. tense act.; e. g., होडवानो he shall deliver, of R. होड Ed. 61), the original pass. sense of which may be seen from its use in the so-called "potential" (Ed. 57); e. g., मारे होडवानो हतो lit., by me he should be delivered. The sixth set occurs in M. as आडू or आडू (see Man. 114. Bs. II, 60; e. g., खेळाडू frolicsome, of R. खेल् play; खानाडू itching, of R. खान् itch); in S. as आरो or आर- (Tr. 53; e. g., आरारो or ओरार- pedlar, of R. ओर seek; पीजारो cotton-carder, of R. पिञ्ज card).

314. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit तव्य forming the part. fut. pass. It is often added with the connecting vowel इ; thus इतव्य. The addition of इ is general in Pr. (Vr. 7, 33. H. C. 3, 157) and universal in Gd. The suff. इतव्यम् (nom. sg. neut.) becomes in Pr. एमवुं or इमवुं (H. C. 3, 157) and in Ap. \*एवुं or एव (H. C. 4, 438. K. I. 53 in Ls. 469, 5) or इवुं (K. I. 50 in Ls. 468, 3); finally in E. H. इव् or अव्. Similarly,

1) If it were not the long vowel उ, it might be taken as a contr. of the Pr. एउं or इउं = Skr. इतुम् H. C. 3, 157; like the M. conj. part. in उपा = Pr. एउपा or इउपा, Skr. \*इवानम्.

with the pleon. *अ* added, Skr. इत्यव्ययम्, Pr. एष्वयम् or इष्वयम्, Ap. Sr. (a) एवुडं (H. C. 4, 438. 4, 354) or Ap. Mg. (b) एवा (= \*एवए or \*एवयम्, cf. § 54), W. Gd. (a) इवौ or यवौ or E. Gd. (b) इवा or यवा or S. Gd. (b) यावे (= \*एवयम्). Thus Skr. कर्तव्यम् (or \*कर्तव्यम्), Pr. करेयम् or करिष्यम्, Ap. \*करेयम् or करिष्यम् or करेवं, E. H. करिष्य or करिष्य; again Skr. कर्तव्यम्, Pr. करेयम् or करिष्यम्, Ap. (a) \*करेयम् or (b) करेयुडं or (c) करेवा; Gd. (a) M. करावे, (b) W. H. करिष्यौ, (c) O. करिष्य. It should be remarked, that H. C. expressly gives the neut. wk. f. एवं (H. C. 4, 441) as an inf. suffix, while the corresponding st. f. एवुडं and एवा (H. C. 4, 438) are mentioned as suff. of the part. fut. pass. — The suff. यवाई is a comp. of the suff. यव् or याव् + suff. याई of § 220; and the suff. यवइया a comp. of suff. याव् + pleon. suff. ऐया (of the redundant form, § 202); and the suff. यवार or यवारा a comp. of suff. याव + pleon. suff. यर or यरा (§ 209); and the suff. यावट् a comp. of suff. याव + ट्. The nature of the latter element (ट्) is obscure. Perhaps it represents the Skr. suff. ता of abstract nouns (§ 220, also contained in the suff. यवाई) or त्वम् (or fem. \*त्वा in Mg., see Wb. Bh. 437); thus Skr. इत्यव्यता or त्वम् = Mg. इष्वव्यता or Ap. \*एवुटा, E. H. यावट्; the change of त् to ट् (as in पट् for पत्न H. C. 2, 29) may be owing to a confusion with the suff. यावट् or याहट् (§ 284) derived from the Skr. वृत्ता = Pr. वट्. — Again the suff. याई, यइया and यार (or यालू) are contr. respectively from the suff. यवाई, यवइया and यवारा (or यवाला), by the elision of व्; just as the E. H. obl. f. ऐ is contr. for B. इये (= इवे), and the M. obl. f. याया for यावया (§ 313). — The suff. तव्य, in course of time, lost its originally pass. sense and became active, as in B. या and इये (see § 313); in the other Gds., this process was facilitated by the addition of the pleon. suff. ऐया and यरा = Ap. Pr. ययय (= यकके) and यउय, the उ of which latter suff. changed, as usual in Gd., to इ or ल् or र् or न्. E. g., Ap. रवेयुयउउ (Skr. रत्तितव्यः), W. H. रवयलौ or E. H. रार; Ap. रवेयुयउउ, M. \*रवेयुयउ or contr. रवेयु. Similarly the originally pass. suff. यनीया (of the part. fut.) and इत (of the past. part.) have become active



in Gd. (see §§ 316. 305). It is a remarkable fact, that the suff. तव्य has suffered a precisely analogous change in the Latin *tivus*. Its derivatives occur very rarely in classic Latin, and, as a rule, are used passively, as *captivus* "prisoner", *devotivus* "dedicated"; but *stativus* "appointed" or "stationary" is both pass. and act., and *fugitivus* "fugitive" is active. But in the later (low) Latin they are very common, and, as a rule, used actively; as *effectivus* "effective", *operativus*, *contemplativus*, *negativus*, etc.

Fourth Group.

| 315. Set. | Com. gen.  | Masc.          | Fem.           |
|-----------|------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1)        | अन्        | अना            | अनी            |
| 2)        | आवन् or आन | आउना or आनी    | आउनी or आनी    |
| 3)        | अनिहार     | अनिहारा        | अनिहारी        |
| 4)        | —          | अनेवारा or °ला | अनेवारी or °ली |

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. The second set, on being added to caus. and den. roots in आव्, supersedes that termin. For the rest, see § 298, note.

316. *Meaning.* These suff. are used to derive 1) part. fut., both pass. and act., and 2) verbal nouns, both of act. and agency, from any root. The nouns of agency are, in fact, *part. fut. act.*, implying the habit of doing a thing. As to the change of the sense from pass. to act., see § 309. The verbal nouns of act., formed by these suff. and used as infinitives in W. H. and the other Gds., are seldom or never employed so in E. H.

317. All these suff. (exc. the strong femin. of the third set) are occasionally used to form the part. fut. pass., and generally have some particular meaning. Thus देन् or देना or देनी *what is to be given, a debt*, of R. दे *give*; लेन् or लेना or लेनी *what is to be taken, a receipt*, of R. ले *take*, as in the phrase लेन् देन् *intercourse, traffic*; बाजन् or बजना *what is to be played, a musical instrument*, of R. बज् *be played*; ओढना or ओढनी *what is to be put on, a cloak or sheet*, of R. ओढ् *put on, wear*; बिहावन् or बिहउना or बिहौना or f. °नी *what is to be spread, bed-clothes*, of R. बिह् or बिहाव् *spread*; खेलउना or खेलौना, f. °नी *what is to be played*

with, a toy, of R. खेल् *play*; भरउना or भरौना *what is to be loaded, a load*, of R. भारव् *load*; कहौनी (H. H. कहानी) *what is to be said, a story*, of R. कह् *speak*; पहिरावन् or पहिरौनी *what is to be put on, garments*, of R. पहिर् *put on*; इउनी or इौनी *encampments, barracks* (lit., *what is to be thatched*), of R. इा *thatch*; पठन् or पठनी *what is to be read, spell, charm*, of R. पठ् *read*. Again होना, f. होनी, or m. f. होनिहार or m. ०रा, or m. होनेवारा, f. ०री *what is to be, possible, future*, and ग्रन्होना *impossible*, of R. हो (but होनेहारी *possibility, futurity*).

318. The third and fourth sets (exc. the strong femin. of the former) are used to form part. fut. act. or nouns of agency. Thus m. f. करनिहार, m. ०रा *one who is going to do or a doer*, of R. कर् *do*; m. f. पठनिहार or m. पठनिहारा or पठनेवारा or ०ला, f. ०री or ०ली *one who is going to read, a reader*, of R. पठ् *read*; m. f. देनेहार or m. ०रा or m. देनेवाला or ०रा, f. ०ली or ०री *one who is going to give, a giver*, of R. दे *give*, etc. Occasionally also the strong forms of the first and second sets form nouns of agency, as हँसना, f. ०नी *jester*, of R. हँस् *laugh*; डरउना or डरौना, f. ०नी *coward, timid*, of R. डर् *fear*; सुहउना or सुहौना, f. ०नी *pleasing*, of R. सुहाव् *please*; छिनउना or छिनौना, f. ०नी *disgusting*, of R. छिनाव् *nauseate*; पहिरउनी or पहिरौनी *a tire-woman*, of C. R. पहिराव् *attire*. The fem. in ऋनी often signifies an instrument, and the masc. in घ्रान् a place; thus fem. खोदनी *a spade* (lit., *digger*), of R. खोद् *dig*; लेखनी *style, pen*, of R. लेख् *write, engrave*; कतरनी *scissors*, of R. कतर् *cut*; सुननी *sense of hearing*, of R. सुन् *hear*, etc.; and masc. उठान् *area, court*, of R. उठ् *rise*; बकान् *place for ensnaring*, of R. बाक् or बेकाव् *ensnare*; ठिकान् *halting-place*, of R. ठिक् *halt*.

319. The weak forms of the first and second sets and the strong femin. of the first, second and third sets are commonly used to form nouns of act. Thus m. कहन् or f. कहनी *speaking, speech*, of R. कह् *speak*; सुनन् or सुननी *hearing*, of R. सुन् *hear*; लेन् or लेनी *taking*, of R. ले *take*; करन् or करनी <sup>1)</sup> *action*, of R. कर् *do*; रहन् or रहनी <sup>1)</sup> *existence, living*, of R. रह् *remain, live*; होनी <sup>1)</sup> *occur*

1) Also कर्तव्, रहतव्, होतव् or होनिहार, which are clearly part.



rence, *accidence*, of R. हो *be*; सुकावन् *direction, advice*, of R. सुकाव् *show*; मनावन् *agreement, respect*, of R. मान् *respect* or मनाव् *persuade*; बजनी *dispute*, of R. बज् *fight*; लिखनी *writing*, of R. लिख् *write*; सिखावन् *instruction*, of R. सिखाव् *teach*, etc. Especially the suff. ग्रन्; as उगान् *flying*, of R. उह् *fly*; कुदान् *leaping*, of R. कूद् *leap*; चरान् *ascent, riding*, of R. चर् *mount, ride*; डोलन् or डोलान् *movement*, of R. डोल् *move*; बइठान् *sitting, session*, of R. बइह् *sit*; धरान् *holding*, of R. धर् *hold*; पकरान् *seizure*, of R. पकर् *seize*; सिचान् *irrigation*, of R. सीच् *irrigate*; उठान् *rising*, of R. उह् *rise*; चलान् *clearance*, of R. चलाव् *dispatch*; लगान् *fighting*, of R. लह् *fight*, etc.

*Note*: उगान् *flying*, etc. may be also उगाव्, उगाई, उगावह्, etc.; see § 308. — The derivatives of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> sets must not be confounded with those of the Skr. suff. ग्रन्, which are not E. H. formations but received from the Skr. as tats. or tadbh. The suff. ग्रन् no longer exists as such in Gd., nor apparently did it do so in Pr. Its derivatives in E. H. can be often recognized by the fact of the non-existence of their roots in it. Thus E. H. पान् *beverage*, दान् *giving*, मान् *respect*, गवन् or गमन् *going*, बधावन् *presents*, etc., whose roots \*पा, \*दा, \*मा, \*गम्, \*वधाप्, etc. do not exist in E. H., at least in this particular form. But sometimes it may remain doubtful, whether an E. H. word is an old tadbh. deriv. of the Skr. suff. ग्रन् or an E. H. formation of the present group.

320. *Affinities*. These suff. occur in all Gds.; but those of the 4<sup>th</sup> set are not properly E. H., nor generally E. or S. Gd. (cf. S. Ch. 154. Man. 113, 2), but introduced into them from the W. Gd., especially from W. H., P. (Ld. 24, 80) and S. (Tr. 76 ग्रन्वारो or ग्रनेवारो). — The third set is that commonly used in E. H.; it occurs also in W. H., P. (Ld. 24, 80) and S. (Tr. 75); in G. it is contr. to ग्रनार (forming the fut. act. tense, Ed. 61), also in M. ग्रपार or ग्रपारा (forming the fut. part. act. or nouns

fat. pass. and thus disclose the etymological character of the words in the text.

agency, Man. 63, 3. 64, 4). — The first and second set is used in all Gds. in the same way as in E. H.; moreover, the masc. strong form commonly serves as the (so-called) infinitive in W. H. (अनौ or अनौ in Br. and अनौ or अनौ in Mw.), P. (अणा or अना Ld. 24, 80); also in M. (neuter) अपो (called "gerund" in Man. 61, 100. 62); and, in the weak form, in B. अन or अनि or अन or अनि (S. Ch. 149. 186), O. अण or अण (Sn. 30, 38), W. H. (Br.) अनि, S. अणु or इणु (Tr. 54. 251), N. अनु. The strong form exists also as a suff. of the part. fut. pass. in W. H. m. अनौ, f. अनौ, and S. m. अपो or इपो, f. अपो or इपो (Tr. 279. 55).

321. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अनौ, which in Pr. becomes अपो (Vr. 2, 17. H. C. 1, 248) or अपि (as in पापि or पापि water = Skr. पानीय Vr. 1, 18. H. C. 1, 101) or अपा (or अपा Wb. Bh. 418. H. C. 4, 443. 441). The latter form has already dropped the passive signification and become a suff. of act. or agency. From the Ap. forms अपि or अपा, by the addition of the pleon. suff. उ or उ or उ or उ, arise the forms अपाउ or अपाउ, which become अपारु or अनारु or अपारु or अनारु in M. and G.; and the form अपाउ, which (inserting euph. व्) appears in S. as अनवारु, W. H. अनवालु; and the forms अपिउ or अपिउ, which (inserting euph. ह्) appear in E. H. etc. as अनिहारु or अनिहारु. The simple Ap. form अपा (H. C. 4, 443) appears in E. H. etc. as अना. The simple Ap. अपा, which forms the inf. (H. C. 4, 441) appears in the W. H. infinitive in अनौ or अनौ; and the Ap. inf. suff. अपहि (H. C. 4, 441) in the W. H. inf. suff. अनै or shortened अनि. — It is probable that in the popular usage the two krit suff. अन (pleon. अनक = Pr. अपा) and अनौ have become confused, so as to make a correct allotment of their respective derivatives a matter of difficulty. But as there can be no doubt, that the passive suff. त्व has become an active suff. of act. and agency (see § 314), it is extremely probable that the same change has occurred in the case of the similar suff. अनौ, the modern derivatives of which exhibit remarkably analogous forms and meanings to those of the



suff. तद्य. — The secondary suff. वाला or वारा (§ 293) have contributed a further cause of popular confusion.

*Fifth Group.*

322. Set. 1) Fem. घत् or घती. Set. 2) Fem. घावत् or घौती. The forms in ई are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

323. These suff. are used to derive nouns of act. from a root; but they exist only in a limited number of words. Thus the first set in चुक्त् or चुकती, *settlement*, of R. चुक् *finish*; चुनत् *plaiting*, *plaits*, of R. चुन् *plait*; बसती *dwelling*, *village*, of R. बस् *dwell*; भरती *filling up*, *enlistment*, of R. भर *fill*; चरती *rising*, *gain*, of R. चर् *rise*; बरती *increase*, of R. बर् *increase*; घटती *decrease*, of R. घट् *decrease*; लगती *belonging*, *assessment*, of R. लग् *belong*. Occasionally the root is not in use, as in चरत् *commission* (lit., *increase*), of R. \*चर्; बिनती *information*, *petition*, of R. \*बिन्. The second set in समुक्तावत् or समुक्ती *explaining*, of R. समुक् *explain*; कुरौती *release*, of R. कुराव् *release*; मनौती *security*, of R. मनाव् *cause to trust*.

324. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds. Those of the second set, however, appear to be extinct in B. and O., see Bs. II, 108. In M. they are ऊत् and अवती; in G. घौती or उती; in P. and W. H. घावत्, घौती. Thus W. H. and P. समुक्ती, G. समनुती, M. समनूत्; W. H. and P. मनौती, G. मनोती; W. H. and P. चुक्ती, M. चुक्वती. S. seems to have only the first set in घती (Tr. 49).

325. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. कृति ति (fem.), added to the caus. or denom. radical suff. घाप् (§ 349); thus घाप्ति or, with pleon. क added, घाप्तिका; and in Pr. घन्ती or घन्तिष्ठा, in E. H. घत् or घती. Thus Skr. विज्ञापिका, Mg. विज्ञानिष्ठा, E. H. बिनती; or Skr. \*वर्धपिका (of R. वृध्), Mg. वद्विष्ठा, E. H. बरती; or Skr. \*वर्धपिः (of R. वृध्), Mg. चरती (cf. T. V. 3, 1. 13)<sup>1</sup>), E. H. चरत्, M. चउत्, O., B., G., S. चाउत् (see Bs.

1) According to H. C. 4, 81 Pr. substitutes घाघृ for the Skr. B.

II, 53). — By the dissolution of the conjunct प्, the forms प्र. घावती or घावतिष्ठा, E. H. घावत् or घौती might arise; thus Skr. \*मनाषिका, Mg. \*मणावतिष्ठा, E. H. मनौती (for मनवती or मनउती, §§ 25. 34. 78).

*Sixth Group.*

326. Com. gen. घ. Masc. घा. Fem. ई.

The form घ is weak; the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

327. These suff. are used to derive nouns of act. from any root. As a rule they are fem. Thus सूक् *sight*, of R. सूक् *see*; लयेर् f. *draggling* (W. H. लयेर्), of R. लयेर् *draggles*; चपेट् f. or चपेटा m. a *slap*, of R. चपेट् *slap*; खेल् m. or f. *play*, of R. खेल् *play*; चाल् f. *walking, conduct, custom*, of R. चाल् or चल् *walk*; पकृ f. *seizure* (W. H. पकृ), of R. पकृ *seize*; हँस् m. f. or हँसा m., हँसी f. *laughter*, of R. हँस् *laugh*; दड्ड् f. or दड्डा m. or दड्डी f. *running, race*, of R. दड्ड् *run*; रगृ f. or रगृ m. *rubbing*, of R. रगृ *rub*; फेर m. or फेरा m. or फेरी f. *turning, circumambulation*, of R. फेर *turn*; दाब् m. *pressure, force, fear*, of R. दाब् *press*; बोल् m. or बोली f. *speech, dialect*, of R. बोल् *speak*; पड़ताव् m. or पड़तावा m. *repentance*, of R. पड़ताव् *repent*, etc.

328. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight differences: W. H. has m. f. घ, and m. औ or ओ, f. ई; S. m, उ, f. घ or इ, and m. ओ, f. ई (Tr. 46, 47); G. m. f. घ, and m. ओ, f. ई; M., B. and O. have the same as E. H. Thus M. बोल्, बोली *speaking, language* (Man. 107); बाँध्, बाँधा *binding, embankment*, of R. बाँध् (Man. 107), etc.; S. भोल् f. *error*, E. H. भूल्, of R. भूल्; S. घटि f. or घटो m. *decrease*, of R. घट्; S. फेर m. *turning* (Tr. 46. 47). Further examples see in Bs. II, 51. 52.

329. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit घ, which (in the nom. sing.) forms m. घः, f. घा and, with pleon. क added, m. घकः, f. इका. These are in Mg. m. ए, f. गा,

घाप्; T. V. 3, 1. 13 gives घाघट्; thus H. C. घाघट्टे, T. V. घाघट्टे. The derivation is obscure; but it seems rather to be connected with the R. रध्.



and m. अष्ट, f. इष्टा; whence E. H. m. f. अ (cf. §§ 42. 45) and m. अष्ट, f. ई (cf. §§ 47. 51). Thus Skr. क्रीडः or क्रीडा (or खेला), Mg. खेले or खेला (cf. H. C. 4, 382), E. H. खेल; again Skr. हसः or हसिका, A. Mg. हसे or हसिमा, E. H. हँस् or हँसी, etc.

*Seventh Group.*

330.

Com. gen. उ or घाउ.

Both forms are strong. Causal roots in घाव् take the suff. घाउ which supersedes the caus. termination; that is, उ is added to घाव्, the व् of which is elided.

331. These suff. are used to derive nouns of (habitual) agency from any root. Thus उ in खाउ *eater*, *glutton*, of R. खा; उचाव् *voracious*, of R. उचाव् *vor*; माव् *fighter*, *beater*, of R. माव् *beat*; मूँड् *ascetic* (lit., *one who shaves his head*), of R. मूँड् *shave*; काट् *cut*, *biter*, of R. काट् *cut*, *bite*; कार् *sweeper*, *broom*, of R. कार् *sweep* (W. H. कार्); ताम् *vigilant*, of R. ताम् *wake*; बिगाव् *spoiler*, of R. बिगाव् *spoil*, etc. Again घाउ; in कगघाउ *quarrelsome*, of R. कगघ् *quarrel*; उगघाउ *spendthrift*, of R. उगघ् *squander* (lit., *cause to fly*); कमाउ *laborer*, *bread-winner*, of R. कमाव् *labor*, *earn*; ठिकाउ *stationary*, of R. ठिक् *stop*; बिकाउ *saleable*, of R. बिक् *sell* (intrans.); फुसलाउ *coaxer*, *tempter*, of R. फुसलाव् *coax*. Occasionally the root no more exists in E. H. as डाँक् or डाक् *robber*, of R. \*डाँक् *bite* or *overpower*.

332. *Affinities.* These suff. are not properly E. H., nor E. Gd., but W. Gd., whence they have been introduced. W. H., P. and S., like the E. H. (Tr. 51), have उ and घाउ; G. appears to have a weak form in उ, as खाउ *eater*, काउ *broom*, etc.; see Bs. II, 37 where other examples will be found; it may, however, be strong; for G. has a tendency to shorten a strong final उ or ओ; e. g., Ap. Pr. सोखउ, Mw. सोनो is in G. सोनु or सोनु *gold* (Skr. सुवर्णकम्).

333. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit त् or, with pleon. क added, तृक; the क् of which has a tendency to change to उ in Pr. (cf. H. C. 3, 44), also in Pāli (see Ms. 40. Bs. II, 57). Whence (nom. sing.) Pr. उ or उओ (= \*तु; or

तृकः), W. Gd. उ or उ; e. g., Skr. भर्ता *husband* (base भर्तृ), Pr. भर्तृ (H. C. 3, 44), Gd. *deest* (E. H. has भर्तार, Pr. भर्तारा H. C. 3, 44); Skr. पिता *father* (base पितृ), Pr. पिउ or पिउओ (H. C. 1, 131), P. पिउ or पिउ; Skr. भ्राता *brother* (base भ्रातृ), Pr. भाउ or भाउओ (H. C. 1, 131) or Ap. भ्राउ or भ्राउउ (cf. H. C. 4, 398), P. भाउ or भाउ or भ्राउ or भ्राउ (cf. Ld. 10, 30), S. भाउ, M. भाउ. Similarly Skr. दंष्ट्रकः (of R. दंश् or दंस्) *one who bites or overpowers*, Pr. उक्कुओ (cf. H. H. 2, 2 उक्को = Skr. दष्ट: *bitten*), Ap. उक्कुउ, W. Gd. उक्कु *robber*. — The suff. तृ was often added in Skr. with the connecting vowel इ; thus इतृ. This was, probably, generally done in Pr. (see the analogous cases of the suff. इत and इतव्य §§ 306. 314), and universally in Gd. Whence we have in Pr. इउ or इउओ and (with absorption of इ) in W. Gd. उ (G.) or उ (W. H., P., S.). Thus Skr. खादिता *eater* (base खादितृ), Pr. खाइउ or खाइउओ, G. खाउ or W. H. खाउ; Skr. मारितृ *beater*, Pr. मारिउ or मारिउओ, G. मारु or W. H. मारु, etc. — The suff. आउ contains the caus. or denom. suff. आप्; thus Skr. कर्मापयितृ *worker*, Pr. कम्मावेउओ or कम्मावउओ, W. Gd. कमाउ, where व् is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted, as usual in caus. or denom. verbs (e. g., W. H. part. pres. कम्मातु *working* = Pr. कम्मावंतो or कम्मावेंतो).

#### Eighth Group.

| 334. | Set. | Com. gen. | Masc. | Fem. |
|------|------|-----------|-------|------|
|      | 1)   | अक्       | अका   | अकी  |
|      | 2)   | आक्       | आका   | आकी  |

The forms of com. gen. are weak; the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

335. The first set forms nouns of act. In many cases the original root is no longer in use; and the derivative itself, in its weak form, is employed as a root. The weak form is, as a rule, fem. Thus बइठक् f. or बइठका m. *sitting, seat*, of R. बइठ् *sit*; कसक् f. *pain*, of R. कस् *tighten*; तडक् f. *cracking, cleft*, तर्का *day-break*, of R. \*तर् or तर्क् (W. H. तडक्) *crack*; कमक् f. or कमका m., °की f. *glittering*, of R. \*कम् (*wave*) or कमक् *glitter*; कलक् f. *glitter*, कलकी f. *glance*, of R. \*ज्वल् or कलक् *glitter*; कपक् f. or °की m. or



°की f. *snatch, wink*, of R. \*कृ be quick (Skr. अद्यत् ?); कटक् f. or °का m. *twitch*, of R. \*कट् be quick (Skr. अद्यत् ?); फडक् f. *palpitation*, फडकी *partition, screen*, of R. फाड् split; फाटक् m. *gate*, of R. फाट् split; सडक् f. *road*, of R. सट् join?, etc.

336. The second set is used to derive nouns of agency from roots. Thus चराक् m. or f. *an animal that grazes*, of R. चर् graze; चलाक् m. or f. *active, clever*, चलाकी f. *cleverness* (see § 257), of R. चल् walk, move; दड्डाक् m. or f. *runner, racer*, of R. दड्ड run; लराक् m. or f. or °का m., °की f. *quarrelsome*, of R. लर् (W. H. लड्) fight; उडाक् m. or f. *capable of flying, fledged*, of R. उड् fly; पडराक् swimmer, पैराकी act or art of swimming, of R. पड् swim, etc.

337. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds.; but the W. Gds. have final औ or ओ for E. Gd. आ; and S. has आकु or आक् for E. H. आक् or आका (Tr. 52, 9). Examples, see in Bs. II, 31—33. 42. 43. They are exactly the same as in E. H.

338. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अक, which is really a compound of the krit suff. (or nominal termin.) अ and the nominal base क (probably = कृत् doing, of R. कृ do) meaning *doing, agent*. On this subject see § 353. The derivatives of the suff. अक, therefore, are really compound words, made up of two nominal bases, one ending in अ, the other being क; e. g., Skr. कर्षक = कर्ष + क lit. *making a tightening*, E. H. कसक्. An initial क् of the second part of a compound has a tendency to be preserved or even doubled in Pr.; e. g., अम्हकरं or अम्हकरं (H. C. 2, 99 = अम्ह + करं), पडिकूलं or पडिकूलं (H. C. 2, 93 = प्रति + कूलं), मुडो or मुडो (H. C. 2, 99 = मू + क lit. *made fast*, i. e., *dumb*). Hence the preservation of it in the Gd. suffixes. — The second set, probably, contains the denom. suff. आप्, and is equal to Skr. आपक; thus Skr. उडापकः, Mg. उडापके or उडापके, E. H. उडाक्, with elision of व् and contraction of the hiatus-vowels.

## SECOND CHAPTER. ROOTS.

339. The usual rule in Hindī grammars for ascertaining the form of the root is, to reject the suff. of the infinitive. This rule holds good for the E. H. also. The root is obtained by detaching the suff. *अन्* or *इन्* (§ 308). Thus R. पढ़ from inf. पढ़न् *to read*; R. बूक from inf. बूकन् *to know*; R. खा from inf. खाइन् *or* खाव् *to eat*. In some cases, however, a *व्* or *य्* must be either supplied or omitted; thus R. पाव् from inf. पाइव् *to obtain* (for \*पाविन् § 33); R. जी from inf. जीयव् *to live*; R. चू from inf. चूवव् *to drip*; R. रो from inf. रोवव् *or* रोवन् *to weep*, etc. It will be found that with a few exceptions (about 25) which have a final vowel, all E. H. roots terminate with a consonant.

340. The same result, however, is obtained by taking the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. pres. conj. (see § 495) and detaching from it the termination *ऐ* (or *ए*); thus R. पढ़, from पढ़ै *he reads*; R. बूक, from बूकै *he knows*; R. पाव्, from पावै *he obtains*; R. खा, from खाव् *he eats*; R. जी, from जीवै *he lives*; R. चू, from चूऐ *he drips*; R. रो, from रोऐ *or* रोवै *he weeps*. Moreover, this, unlike the ordinary method, presents the E. H. root in the most convenient form for comparing it with the original Skr. root which it represents. Thus while in such cases as that of the inf. पढ़न् *to read* and 3. sg. pres. conj. पढ़ै *he reads*, both forms lead equally well to the original Skr. root पठ्, through their respective Skr. and Pr. equivalents (viz., inf. Ap. Pr. पठिष्य, Skr. पठितव्यम् and pres. Pr. पठि, Skr. पठति); on the other hand, in such cases as बूकन् *to know*, it is only the 3. sg. बूकै *he knows*, which leads through its equivalents, Pr. बुक्कइ, Skr. बुध्यते (i. e. बुध्-व-ते), to the original (Skr.) form of the root बुध्; for the inf. बूकन् can, by no possibility, be an equivalent of the Skr. बोधितव्यम्. Its Skr. equivalent would be, if it could exist at all, some such form as \*बुध्यितव्यम्. Such inf. as बूकन्, in fact, are purely Gd. formations, made from a previously changed radical form बूक्. For the explanation of this and similar radical changes, see §§ 344—349.



341. *Affinities.* On the whole, the Gds. show a very close agreement with one another, as regards roots; especially the E. and W. H. The differences are, in general, only phonetic. Thus E. H. uses र् and ल्, where W. H. has र् and ल् (see §§ 29. 30); e. g., E. H. पर् fall, W. H. पड़; E. H. चर् walk, W. H. चल. Or E. H. has इ where M. has स् (see § 11); e. g., E. H. हुद् be loosed, होद् loose, M. सुद्, सोड. Or E. H. has an aspirate, where M. has a tenuis (see § 145, note); e. g., E. H. सिर् or सीर् learn, M. सिक्, etc. Sometimes the difference is greater, and is either phonetic or due to different derivation; e. g., E. H. बैस् sit, N. बस्, P. वह्, S. विह (Skr. उपविष्, cf. § 173); or E. H. सूत् sleep (den. of the Skr. part सुप्, § 352), W. H. सो (Skr. R. स्वप्). Sometimes the same root, though it may exist in both languages, is common in one, but uncommon in the other; e. g., E. H. मोहराव् call, W. H. पुकार. There are, however, a few roots, especially in S. and M., which do not exist in E. H.; e. g., S. पस् see, M. पाह् see, but E. H. दिस् or देख्, which are also S. and M.

342. If the E. H. roots are examined, they will be found capable of division into two classes. Firstly, those which, though disguised more or less by phonetic modifications, are direct representatives of old Skr. roots (single or compound); secondly such as, though ultimately connected with Skr. roots, are not directly traceable to any of them. Examples of the first kind are: E. H. चल, Skr. चल walk; E. H. तप्, Skr. तप् be hot; E. H. ज्ञान्, Skr. ज्ञा know; E. H. कर, Skr. कृ do; E. H. बो, Skr. वप् sow; E. H. खा, Skr. खाद् eat; E. H. चू, Skr. श्रुन् leak; E. H. कोप्, Skr. कुप् be angry (§ 148); E. H. बोल्, Skr. वद् speak; E. H. मल्, Skr. मृद् rub; E. H. तूद् or टूद्, Skr. ब्रुद् break (§ 174); E. H. बस्, Skr. बर्ष rub; E. H. परिस्, Skr. स्पर्स् touch (§ 58, note); E. H. परोस्, Skr. परिबिष् distribute (§ 122, 5); E. H. देख्, Skr. दृश् see; E. H. उठ, Skr. उत्था rise; E. H. काँड्, Skr. श्रवद् sweep (§ 172), etc. Of the second kind are: E. H. भूल् forget, cf. Skr. भ्रम्; E. H. हाह् wish, cf. Skr. उत्साह (§ 173); E. H. बड़् sit, cf. Skr. उपविष्ट (§ 173); E. H. पड़् enter, cf. Skr. प्रविष्ट; E. H. सूत् sleep, cf. Skr. सुप्; E. H.

निकाल् or निकार eject, cf. Skr. निष्कृष्ट (cf. §§ 113. 114); E. H. ब्रतान् make known, cf. Skr. ब्राप्; E. H. पलट् or पल्य् turn over, cf. Skr. पर्यस्त (§ 143); E. H. पक् cook, cf. Skr. पक्; E. H. पहिचान् recognize, cf. Skr. परिचयन् (§ 69); E. H. काँक् spy, peep, cf. Skr. खाँ कृ; E. H. ओक् vomit, cf. Skr. वम् कृ; E. H. कउक् crack, rumble, cf. Skr. कर्द कृ; E. H. धैक् blow, cf. Skr. धुम् कृ, etc. The first class of roots I shall designate *primary*, the other *secondary*.

### 1. PRIMARY ROOTS.

343. The phonetic disguises which affect the primary roots and make them differ more or less from their Skr. originals, are generally owing to the following causes: 1) phonetic permutation of the radical consonant or vowel; 2) the incorporation of the Sanskritic „class-suffix“ into the root; 3) the change of the Sanskritic „class“ of the root; 4) the addition of the pleonastic radical suff. अपि. Not unfrequently several of these causes act together. On the other hand a few roots, favored by peculiar phonetic circumstances, remain altogether unchanged so as to be identical in E. H. and in Skr.

344. *Phonetic permutation.* 1) Final radical consonants are principally exposed to this cause of change, because through the accretion of the (so-called) „class-suffix“, they generally become medial, and then, in their progress through Pr. and according to its laws, liable to permutation or elision. Thus E. H. खा eat for Pr. खा, Skr. खाद्; as 3<sup>d</sup> sing. pres. Skr. खादति, Pr. खाद् or खाइ (Vr. 8, 27), E. H. खाय्. Sometimes, however, a root contains a final consonant which Pr. tolerates, and thus identical roots arise; e. g.; E. H. चल् walk for Pr. जल्, Skr. चल्; as Skr. चलति, Pr. चलद्, E. H. चलै. Hence, when the E. H. exhibits an (apparently) identical root with Skr. (as E. H. तप् be hot), containing a final consonant, which would ordinarily be liable to change in Pr., the identity is open to suspicion, and is, probably, to be accounted for in a different way, namely by the incorporation of „the class-suffix“, see § 345. — 2) Initial radical consonants are rarely



liable to change, and, indeed, never change, unless they are compound consonants or a prefix is added, when the initial cons., being now medial, is either changed or elided in Pr.; but such roots are of unfrequent occurrence in E. H.; thus E. H. चू *leak* for Pr. चु (चो), Skr. च्युत् or चुत्; as Skr. श्र्योतति, Pr. चुञ्चइ (H. C. 2, 77) or चोञ्चइ, E. H. चूरे; or E. H. परोस् *offer food* for Pr. परिवेस्, Skr. परिवेष् (caus. of परि-विष्); as Skr. परिवेष्वति, Pr. परिवेसेइ or परिवेसइ, E. H. परोसे (§ 122, 5). Very exceptionally a real single initial cons. is changed; e. g., E. H. हो *be* for Pr. हुव, Skr. भू (§ 176, note), as Skr. भवति, Pr. हुवइ or होइ (Vr. 8, 1), E. H. होय *he is*; but the original भू is preserved in the E. H. past part. भइल् *been*. — 3) Radical vowels occasionally suffer a change; sometimes through the vocalisation of an adjoining semivowel (य् or व्, §§ 121. 122); thus E. H. हो *be* for Pr. हुव or हव, Skr. भू; E. H. भीत् *moisten* for Skr. अभ्याद् (§ 172); sometimes by the ordinary phonetic laws; thus E. H. मल् *rub* for Pr. मल्, Skr. मृद्, as Skr. मर्दति, Pr. मलइ (H. C. 4, 126), E. H. मलै (§ 109); or E. H. तूट् or टूट् *break* for Pr. तुट्, Skr. त्रुट्, see §§ 143. 147. 174; E. H. कोप् *be angry* for Pr. कुप्, Skr. कुप्, see §§ 143. 148. — 4) Exceptionally the initial vowel of the prefix of a compound root is elided; as E. H. झाइ *wish* for Pr. \*उच्चाइ, see § 173; or E. H. काँइ *sweep* for Pr. कञ्कइ, see § 172.

345. *Incorporation of the „class-suffix“.* Skr. roots are divided into ten classes, according to the suffix which they assume for the purpose of forming the conjugational base for the four principal tenses or moods (pres., imperf., potent., imper.). In all other tenses these „class-suffixes“ are rejected and the root used alone. Already in Pr., however, it had become the custom, sometimes to incorporate the class-suff. and to use the root, thus amended, as the conjug. base in all tenses (or moods) and derivative verbs (passive, causal, etc.). In Gd. this usage has been still more extended. Thus E. H. has R. जान् *know* for Pr. ज्ञाप् and ज्ञा, Skr. ज्ञा, through incorporating the suff. ज्ञा of the IX<sup>th</sup> class, as Skr. जानाति, Pr. ज्ञापाइ (cf. H. C. 3, 154. Ls.

348 = ज्ञा + णा + इ) or ज्ञाणइ (Vr. 8, 23 = ज्ञाण् + ञ + इ); E. H. ज्ञानै; or E. H. चुन् *gather* for Pr. चुण् or चिण् or चि, Skr. चि, through incorporating the suff. नु of the V<sup>th</sup> cl.; as Skr. चिनोति, Pr. चिणोइ (cf. Ls. 347 = चि-णो-इ) or चिणइ or चुणइ (Vr. 8, 29. H. C. 4, 238 = चिण् or चुण् + ञ + इ), E. H. चुनै; or E. H. नाच् *dance* for Pr. णच्, Skr. नृत्, through incorporating the suff. ण् of the IV<sup>th</sup> cl., as Skr. नृत्यति, Pr. णच्चइ (Vr. 8, 47 = णच् + ञ + इ), E. H. नाचै, etc. It should be noticed, that the incorporation of the class-suff. is more or less optional in Pr. and, indeed, exceptional as regards the so-called „general“ tenses and derivat. verbs (cf. Wb. Spt. 59); but in Gd. it is absolute. It may be surmised that, while this was the case in the literary Pr., in the more vulgar Ap. dialects, from which the Gd. took its immediate origin, incorporation was the usual, perhaps the general, practice. That it was a real incorporation of the suff. into the root, even in Pr., can be seen clearly from those forms in which according to Skr. usage the class-suff. could have no place; such as ज्ञाणिञ् (lit., Skr. \*ज्ञानितम्) *known*, but also regularly णाव (H. C. 4, 7), for Skr. ज्ञातम्; or Pr. ज्ञाणिउण (lit., Skr. \*ज्ञानित्वा) or regularly णाउण (H. C. 4, 7), for Skr. ज्ञात्वा *having known*; or Pr. ज्ञाणावेइ (H. C. 3, 149), for Skr. ज्ञापयति (lit. \*ज्ञानापयति) *he caused to know*; or Pr. चिणिहिइ or चिव्विहिइ (H. C. 4, 243), for Skr. चेष्यति (lit. \*चिनिष्यति or \*चिन्विष्यति, i. e., चिन् or चिन्-इष्यति) *he will gather*; or Pr. चिव्वइ (H. C. 4, 242), for Skr. चीयते (lit., Skr. \*चिन्व्यते or Pr. \*चिणुईच्चइ) *it is gathered*; or Pr. सुणइ (Spt. 46) or सुणईच्चइ (cf. H. C. 4, 302. Dl. 24, lit. \*सुन्यते), but also regularly सुव्वइ (H. C. 4, 242), for Skr. श्रूयते (lit. \*श्रुव्यते) *it is heard*; or Pr. सुणिउण (lit., Skr. \*सुनित्वा) or regularly सोउण (H. C. 4, 241), for Skr. श्रुत्वा *having heard*; or Pr. णच्चाविच्चइ (H. C. 1, 33), for Skr. नर्तितानि (lit. \*नृत्यापितानि) *caused to dance*; or Pr. करिच्च (lit. \*कर्व) or regularly कटुच्च (H. C. 4, 272), for Skr. कृत्वा *having done*, etc. In E. H. this incorporation is so thoroughly established, that the old radical forms have entirely disappeared, and their places have been taken by the new ones, even, e. g., as the base for the formation of the ver-



bal noun in *जान्* which is the source of the modern infinitive (§§ 308—314); thus E. H. *जान्* to *know* for Skr. *ज्ञातव्यम्* (lit. \**ज्ञानितव्यम्*); E. H. *नाचन्* to *dance* for Skr. *नर्तितव्यम्* (lit. \**नृत्यितव्यम्*), etc. This process explains why many Skr. roots ending in a vowel terminate in E. H. with a consonant.

*Note:* In most of the above examples there is not only an incorporation of the class-suff., but simultaneously also a change of the „class“; see § 347.

346. An exactly analogous process is the *incorporation of the passive suff.* य, by which means a few intransitive roots are formed in E. H. from Skr. transitive (active) roots; e. g., the Skr. R. चप् is trans. *press*, but the E. H. R. चप् is intrans. *be put down, be abashed*, and equal to the Skr. pass. R. चय; as Skr. pass. चयते *he is pressed*, Pr. चप्ड्, E. H. चपै, etc. Sometimes both the Skr. and Gd. Rs. are intrans.; e. g., E. H. चार् (W. H. चाल्) and Skr. चल् *walk*, as Skr. pass. चलयते (but act. चलति), Pr. चल्लड् (Vr. 8, 53, but act. चलड् H. C. 4, 231), W. H. चालै or E. H. चारै (but act. W. H. चलै, E. H. चरै), etc. In rare cases both are trans.; e. g., E. H. सीच् and Skr. सिच् *irrigate*; as Skr. pass. सिच्यते (but act. सिचति), Pr. सिचड् (H. C. 4, 230, but act. सिचड् H. C. 4, 239), E. H. सीचै (but act. सीचै), etc. Other examples, see § 348.

*Note:* In most cases of this kind also a change of „voice“ from pass. to act. takes place; see § 348.

347. *Change of „class“.* The Skr. distribution of roots into ten classes had already in Pr. become, to a considerable extent, obliterated. In Gd. it has disappeared altogether. While Skr. has ten classes, of which the 1<sup>st</sup> (incl. VI<sup>th</sup>) and the X<sup>th</sup> (incl. denom. and causal) include by far the largest number of roots, Pr. has, in the main, only two, of which one corresponds to the Skr. VI<sup>th</sup> (or 1<sup>st</sup>) and the other to the Skr. X<sup>th</sup> cl. The remaining classes occur in Pr. only in extremely isolated and exceptional cases; but as a rule, roots belonging to them are transferred into the VI<sup>th</sup> 1) (or occasionally X<sup>th</sup>) class, either 1) by

1) It is usual to say the 1<sup>st</sup> cl. (cf. Wb. Spt. 59. Ls. 334); but it seems

substituting the suff. अ of the VI<sup>th</sup> (or X<sup>th</sup>) for their proper class-suff. (नु of the V<sup>th</sup>, न of the VII<sup>th</sup>, उ of the VIII<sup>th</sup>, ना of the IX<sup>th</sup>, य of the IV<sup>th</sup>), see H. C. 4, 239; or 2) by incorporating the latter with the root and, when necessary, eliding and changing the final vowel of such class-suff. (उ, आ) into अ, the characteristic of the VI<sup>th</sup> and X<sup>th</sup> classes (cf. Wb. Spt. 59 ff. Ls. 334); or 3) by interpolating the suff. अ of the VI<sup>th</sup> class. For example; R. चि *gather* is in Skr. of the V<sup>th</sup> cl., base जित्, hence 3. sg. pres. चिनोति, but in Pr. it becomes of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by incorporating नु and changing उ to अ, hence base चिण्, 3. sg. pres. चिण् (Vr. 8, 29); or again R. प्राप् *obtain* is in Skr. of the V<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base प्राप्, 3. sg. pres. प्रप्नोति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by substituting the suff. अ of the VI<sup>th</sup> for नु, hence base पाव्, 3. sg. pres. पाव् (H. C. 4, 239); or again R. भञ् *break* is in Skr. of the VII<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base भनञ्, 3. sg. pres. भनक्ति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by incorporating न and eliding its अ, hence base भञ्, 3. sg. pres. भञ् (H. C. 4, 106); similarly in Pr. पीसेदि or पिसेदि (Ls. 347), for Skr. पिनष्टि, there is a transfer of the R. पिष् from the VII<sup>th</sup> into the X<sup>th</sup> cl.; or again R. कृ *do* is in Skr. of the VIII<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base कर्, 3. sg. pres. करोति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or I<sup>st</sup> or X<sup>th</sup> cl., by changing the suff. उ of the VIII<sup>th</sup> to अ, hence base °कृ (i. e., कृ) or कर् or करे (i. e., कार्य), 3. sg. pres. °कृ (as in लुक्कृ Spt. 173 = Skr. लूकरोति) or कर् (Vr. 8, 13)

to me, on the whole, that the form which such Pr. roots take, is more accurately described as that of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. The I<sup>st</sup> differs from the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. by *gunating* and *accentuating* the radical vowel; the VI<sup>th</sup> does not *gunate* the radicals and *accentuates* the suffixal vowel. Now in many cases Pr. does not *gunate* the rad. vowel; e. g., in चिण्, सुण्, where if they were of the I<sup>st</sup> cl., it should be चेण्, सोण्; for the Rs. are, practically, चिण्, सुण्. Again in many other cases the final rad. sound is a comp. cons., which precludes the *gunation* of the rad. vowel and thus renders it impossible to determine the class by this sign; e. g., in भञ्, पाञ्. Here the class could only be determined by the accent; but as Pr. (and Gd.) is devoid of the old Aryan accent, this aid to determine the class also fails. Thus circumstances are in favor of its being the VI class.



or कोइ (H. C. 4, 337); or again R. ज्ञा *know* is in Skr. of the IX cl., hence base ज्ञाना, 3. sg. pres. ज्ञानाति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or X<sup>th</sup>, by incorporating ना and changing ञा to अ, hence base ज्ञाण or ज्ञाणे (i. e., ज्ञानय), 3. sg. pres. ज्ञाणइ (Vr. 8, 23) or ज्ञाणोइ (Dl. 15); or again R. ग्रह् *seize* is in Skr. of the IX<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base गृह्णा, 3. sg. pres. गृह्णाति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or X<sup>th</sup>, by substituting their suff. अ (अय) for ना, hence base गेंह or गेहे (i. e., गेह्य), 3. sg. pres. गेंहइ (Vr. 8, 15) or गेहेदि (Dl. 90); or again R. नृत् *dance* is in Skr. of the IV<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base नृत्य, 3. sg. pres. नृत्यति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or X<sup>th</sup>, by incorporating ण, hence base णञ्च or णाच्चे, 3. sg. pres. णञ्चइ (Vr. 8, 47) or णाच्चेदि (Dl. 50); or again R. रुद् *weep* is in Skr. of the II<sup>nd</sup> cl., hence irregular base रोदि, 3. sg. pres. रोदिति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or I<sup>st</sup> cl., by substituting their suff. अ for the irreg. इ of the II<sup>nd</sup> cl., hence base रुद or रोद, 3. sg. pres. रुञ्चइ or रुवइ (H. C. 4, 226. Spt. 311 or contr. रोइ H. C. 4, 368) or रोञ्चइ or रोवइ (H. C. 4, 226); or again R. या *go* is in Skr. of the II<sup>nd</sup> cl., hence base या, 3. sg. pres. याति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by interpolating its suff. अ, hence base जाञ्च, 3. sg. pres. जाञ्चइ (H. C. 4, 240 or contr. जाइ H. C. 4, 240. 350). Moreover, there was already in Pr. a tendency to run its two (remaining) classes, the VI<sup>th</sup> and X<sup>th</sup>, into *one*, either by transferring the roots of the VI<sup>th</sup> into the X<sup>th</sup>; or *far more commonly* by reducing the roots (whether primitive or denom. or caus.) of the X<sup>th</sup> into the VI<sup>th</sup>, through changing the X<sup>th</sup> class-suff. ण् into the VI<sup>th</sup> class-suff. अ (see H. C. 3, 158. 149. Wb. Spt. 60. Ls. 341. 342. 344). Thus 1) change of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. into the X<sup>th</sup>; e. g., हसेइ (H. C. 3, 158), for हसइ (H. C. 3, 158. Skr. हसति) *he laughs*; कोइ (H. C. 4, 337), for कइ (Vr. 8, 13) *he does*; नच्चेइ (Dl. 50), for नचइ (Vr. 8, 47) *he dances*, etc.; 2) change of the X<sup>th</sup> cl. into the VI<sup>th</sup>; e. g., कहइ (H. C. 4, 2), for कहेइ (Spt. 35. cf. H. C. 4, 267), Skr. कथयति, from R. कथ् *speak*; or चिंतइ (H. C. 4, 422), for चिंतेइ (Spt. 156. cf. H. C. 4, 265) *he thinks*; or सइ (Spt. 260), for साहेइ (Spt. 188), Skr. साधयति, from R. साध् *accomplish*; again in causals: हरिसइ

(H. C. 3, 149), for दरिसेद्, Skr. दर्शयति, from R. दृश् *see*; or करावद् (H. C. 3, 149), for करावेद् (H. C. 3, 149), Skr. कारयति, from R. कृ *do*; or हसावद् (H. C. 3, 149), for हसावेद् (H. C. 3, 149), from R. हस् *laugh*; or भमावद् (H. C. 3, 151), for भमावेद् (H. C. 3, 151) *he causes to roam*, from R. भ्रम्, etc. In E. H. (and Gd. generally) this process reaches its natural conclusion by all roots whatsoever (whether primitive or derivative) having been transferred to a single class, which practically corresponds to the VI<sup>th</sup> of Skr. While, therefore, in Skr. roots belong to ten, and in Pr. (in the main) to two classes, they all belong in E. H. to one and the same. Thus (see the above examples) E. H. चुनै = Pr. चुणद्; E. H. पावै = Pr. पावद्; E. H. भजै = Pr. भजद्; E. H. वीसै = Pr. वीसद् or विसद्; E. H. करै = Pr. करद्; E. H. ज्ञानै = Pr. ज्ञापद्; E. H. गहै = Pr. गेहद्; E. H. नाचै = Pr. नचद्; E. H. रोरे = Pr. रोमद्; E. H. ज्ञाय् (W. H. ज्ञायै) = Pr. ज्ञाद् (or ज्ञाचद्); E. H. हसै = Pr. हसद्; E. H. कहै = Pr. कहद्; E. H. चिंतै = Pr. चिंतद्; E. H. करावै = Pr. करावद्; E. H. हसावै = Pr. हसावद्, etc. Some E. H. roots ending with an anomalous long vowel, as पी *drink*, चू *drip*, are probably to be explained on the principle of the interpolation of the VI<sup>th</sup> class-suff. च्; just as in the case of the above mentioned R. ज्ञा *go*. Thus E. H. पीवै *he drinks* presupposes a Pr. form \*पिच्यद् or \*पिच्यद्, instead of the common Pr. पिच्यद् (H. C. 4, 10) or पियद् (H. C. 1, 180), Skr. पिवति, which would be in E. H. either \*पीद् or \*पियै; similarly E. H. चूरे *it drips* = Pr. \*चुच्यद्, for the ordinary Pr. चुच्यद् (H. C. 2, 77).

*Note:* Some Skr. roots are conjugated in several classes, one of which is the usual one, while the others are either rarely used or confined to the Vedas. It will be found, that some Gd. roots which have apparently changed their Skr. class, have really preserved such an unusual or vedic class. Thus R. तप् *be hot* is in Skr. both of the I<sup>st</sup> cl., तप्, and also, but rarely, of the IV<sup>th</sup> cl., तप्य. The latter is the modern E. H. तप् (Pr. तप्य). The former would have become in E. H. तव or ती, through Pr. तव (cf. तवद् H. C. 1, 231). Again R. मृ *die* is in Skr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., मिय,



but in the Vedas of the 1<sup>st</sup> cl., मर. The latter is preserved in the E. H. मर, Pr. मर (Vr. 8, 12 मरइ, E. H. मरै). It is possible that other modern Gd. roots, which have apparently changed their class, have really preserved an ancient traditional one of colloquial use, even though in many instances no evidence of it has survived either in Skr. or Pr. literature.

348. An exactly analogous process is the *change of „voice“*. In the case of some simple roots, their passive radical forms, made in Skr. with the suff. वृ, are used in Pr. in an active sense and substituted in their place (cf. Wb. Spt. 64. S. Gdt. in J. G. O. S. XXIX, 492). By this process, practically, such roots are transferred in Pr. from their proper Skr. class into the VI<sup>th</sup> (or X<sup>th</sup>), and in E. H. into the VI<sup>th</sup>. Thus R. भञ् break is in Skr. of the VII<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base भनञ्, 3. sg. pres. भनक्ति; its pass. root or base is भद्य, hence 3. sg. pres. भद्यते *he is broken*. Now Pr. treats this form, as if it were an active one of a R. भञ् of the IV<sup>th</sup> cl., and, by incorporating the (really passive, but practically IV<sup>th</sup> cl.) suff. व, makes the root to be of the VI<sup>th</sup>; hence base भज्, 3. sg. pres. भजइ *he breaks* (cf. Spt. 168 भजंतस्स, Dl. 42 विभज्). Again R. रुध् hinder is in Skr. of the VII<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base रुपाध्, 3. sg. pres. रुपाडि; but in Pr. it is of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by incorporating न and eliding its ञ; hence base रुध्, 3. sg. pres. रुधइ (Vr. 8, 49). The Skr. pass. base is रुध्य, hence 3. sg. pres. रुध्यते *he is hindered*; in Pr. this becomes रुत्कइ (or रुब्भइ) and is used both in its proper pass. sense (*he is hindered* H. C. 4, 245. 248) as well as in the act. sense (*he hinders* H. C. 4, 218); that is, Pr. transfers the R. रुध् into the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by incorporating the pass. suff. व and employing it in an act. sense. Examples of this kind are not uncommon. Thus R. शक् can forms Pr. सकइ, for Skr. शक्नोति (Vr. 8, 52. H. C. 4, 230). Now clearly सकइ is the equivalent of the Skr. pass. शक्यते, used actively. The real equivalent for the Skr. (V<sup>th</sup> cl.) शक्नोति is the alternative Pr. form सकणोइ (cf. Dl. 36 सकणोमि). Again R. लग् belong forms Pr. लगइ (Vr. 8, 52), which cannot be = Skr. (1<sup>st</sup> cl.) लगति, but = Skr.

pass. लग्यते; again R. स्फुट् *burst* forms Pr. फुट् or फुड् (Vr. 8, 53). Of these, evidently, the former = Skr. pass. स्फुट्यते, the latter = Skr. act. (VI<sup>th</sup> cl.) स्फुटति. Again R. सिच् *sprinkle* forms both सिचि (H. C. 4, 230) = Skr. pass. सिच्यते, and सिंचि (H. C. 4, 239) = Skr. act. (VI<sup>th</sup> cl.) सिञ्चति. Again R. हन् *kill* forms either हम्ह = Skr. pass. हन्यते and used both as an act. (Vr. 8, 45) and as a pass. (H. C. 4, 244), or हणि (Dl. 72) = Skr. act. हन्ति. Again the R. विक्री *sell* (i. e. वि-क्री) forms both विक्रे and विक्रीणि, of which the latter = Skr. act. विक्रीणीते; but that the former = Skr. pass. विक्रीयते is shown by the E. H. बिकै *it is sold* which is still used exclusively in a pass. or intrans. sense. This Pr. form विक्रे, by showing that the termin. एइ may represent the Skr. pass. termin. ईयते, throws light on some strange Pr. forms, which thus are shown to be passives, used actively. Thus Pr. धेइ *he places*, of the R. धा, is the same as Skr. pass. धीयते; for from the usual Skr. act. (III<sup>d</sup> cl.) दधाति it cannot be phonetically derived. Thus also देइ (Cw. 99) *he gives*, of R. दा, is probably the Skr. pass. दीयते; and Pr. चेइ *he gathers* (T. V. 2, 4, 72), of R. चि, is the Skr. pass. चीयते rather than an assumed new I<sup>st</sup> cl. चयति (as Wb. Spt. 60); and Pr. ठेइ or ०इ (Ls. 345) *he stands*, of R. स्वा, is the Skr. pass. स्वीयते rather than an assumed new I<sup>st</sup> cl. स्वायति, of R. स्वै (? as Ls. 135); and Pr. उडेइ *he flies* (Cw. 99), of R. उद्-डे, is the Skr. IV<sup>th</sup> cl. उड्डीयते (in reality a pass. form) rather than the Skr. I<sup>st</sup> cl. उडुयते. All these last mentioned forms in एइ, as regards their termination, resemble the Pr. X<sup>th</sup> cl., which likewise ends in एइ, as Pr. कहेइ = Skr. कथयति; and thus they come to be treated as if they were really X<sup>th</sup> cl. formations, and may all be optionally transferred into the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. Just as कहेइ may change to कहइ, so देइ to दइ (Spt. 216), ठेइ to ठइ (H. C. 4, 17), and, no doubt, the others similarly, though in their case the Pr. evidence is wanting. But the fact is proved by the E. H., which here again makes the change absolute and transfers all pass.-act. roots to the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. Thus E. H. बिकै = Pr. विक्री or विक्रे; E. H. ०इ (in परिं *he put son*, see § 133) = Pr.



भइ or धिइ; E. H. संचै = Pr. संचइ or संचेइ; E. H. उडै = Pr. उडइ or उडेइ; the only exception is E. H. दे (or देय) for Pr. देइ. Again E. H. सकै = Pr. सकइ; E. H. लगै = Pr. लगइ; E. H. फुटै = Pr. फुटइ; E. H. चारै or W. H. चालै = Pr. चलइ; E. H. सीचै = Pr. सिचइ.

*Note:* The cause, no doubt, of this confusion in Pr. of the pass. and act. was the great likeness between the form of the (active) IV<sup>th</sup> cl. and that of the passive. Even in Skr. they can only be distinguished by the accent, which in the IV<sup>th</sup> cl. is thrown on the radical, but in the pass. on the suffixal vowel; thus act. नहति *nāhyate* he binds, but pass. नहति *nahyāte* he is bound. In Pr., where the accent is disused, the identity becomes complete. In this way some passives became associated in the popular mind with the IV<sup>th</sup> cl. and came to be used as actives. Most, if not all, the facts might be explained, by supposing a transfer in Pr. of certain roots into the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., but such a change of class is otherwise quite unsupported; and the explanation by means of a change of voice seems much simpler.

349. *Addition of the pleonastic suffix* अपि. In Skr. the causal-roots are occasionally formed by adding the suff. अपि (Pr. आवि, E. H. आव) instead of the ordinary causal suff. इ; e. g., caus. R. अध्यापि (3. sg. अध्यापयति *he teaches*), of R. अग्रो (i. e., अधि-इ) *read*; see other examples in M. M. 217. 218. In Pr. any C. R. may be formed at pleasure with either of these suff. (Vr. 7, 26. 27. H. C. 3, 149. Wb. Spt. 64. 65. Wb. Bh. 436); e. g., Pr. कारेइ or कारवेइ *he causes to do* = Skr. कारयति or \*कारपयति. In E. H. the C. R. is *always* formed with अपि; the original C. Rs. formed with इ, so far as they have survived, having become primitive transitive roots (see §§ 471—473). Thus E. H. कारवै *he causes to do*, not \*कारै, which does not exist; again E. H. मारवै *he causes to die* (i. e., causing death indirectly), but मारै *he beats or he kills*. Now it has been shown in § 347, that, in Pr., roots of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. are occasionally transferred into the X<sup>th</sup> cl. (H. C. 3, 158), i. e., practically are formed like causal roots with इ;



and hence they also occasionally assume the (caus.) suff. *यापि*, which in their case, of course, is practically pleonastic (cf. H. C. 3, 158 *सुपाउ* perhaps contr. for *सुपावउ* or *सुपावेउ*); e. g., Pr. has the pleon. R. *सुहावि* = Skr. *सुह्* or *\*सुहापि* (3. sg. *सुहावेइ* Spt. 169), E. H. *सुहाव्*. In E. H. these pleon. roots are still more common; e. g., *चुराव्* *steal*, Pr. *\*चुरावि*, Skr. *चुर*; E. H. *गरियाव्* *abuse*, Pr. *\*गलिहावि*, Skr. *गल्ह्*, etc. See the List of Roots. There can be little doubt, however, that such Gd. pleon. Rs. as well as their Skr. originals are in reality *denominative* roots (see § 352).

## 2. SECONDARY ROOTS.

350. Secondary roots may be divided into three classes, according to their origin. I shall distinguish them as 1) *derivative*, 2) *denominative*, and 3) *compound*.

351. *Derivative Roots*. In E. H. there sometimes exist pairs of roots, of which one member is intrans. and corresponds to the Skr. simple or (sometimes) passive root, and the other is trans. and represents the corresponding Skr. causal root. In these cases the intrans. has a short and the trans. a long vowel. Thus E. H. *सर* *issue* intrans. = Skr. S. R. *सृ*, and E. H. *सार* *accomplish* (lit. *cause to issue*) trans. = Skr. C. R. *सारि*; or E. H. *मर* *die* intr. = Skr. S. R. *मृ*, and E. H. *मार* *kill* trans. = Skr. C. R. *मारि*; E. H. *बुड* *sink* intr. = Skr. S. R. *बुड्* and E. H. *बोड* *immerse* trans. = Skr. C. R. *बोडि*, etc. In a similar manner, by shortening the radical vowel, E. H. sometimes derives new intrans. from trans. roots, when, on phonetic grounds, only the latter can be shown to have an equivalent in Skr. or Pr.; vice versa, in a few cases, by lengthening the radical vowel, E. H. derives trans. from intrans. roots, when only the latter exist in Skr. or Pr. The latter process is resorted to only very exceptionally, because E. H. has its own special means of forming causal (or trans.) roots with the suff. *याव* (see §§ 349. 474). Thus E. H. possesses a number of new pairs of roots, of which one member is original, while the other is derivative. Thus E. H. *निबाव्* *accomplish*



is trans. and equivalent to the Skr. C. R. निर्वह्, of the trans. S. R. निर्वह्; from निवाह् E. H. derives an intrans. R. निवह् *be accomplished*, which cannot, phonetically, be derived from the Skr. pass. R. निर्वह्य or निर्वह्य; for these forms would become in Pr. निवृक्, and thence E. H. \*निवृक्. Again E. H. नहा *bathe* is equivalent to the Skr. S. R. स्ना (Pr. पहा). From it E. H. derives the intrans. R. नह् *flow*, for which Skr. offers no equivalent. It is, as if नहा were a trans. C. R., and नह् is to it, as कर् do is to करा (or कर्वा) *cause to do*. On the other hand, E. H. संह or सट् *combine* is intrans. and equivalent to the Skr. intrans. S. R. संस्था (Pr. संठा or संठ). From it E. H. derives a trans. (or caus.) R. संह or सट्, which cannot be derived, phonetically, from the Skr. C. R. संस्थापि, Pr. संठाव, etc.

352. *Denominative Roots.* Nouns which are used as roots for the purpose of forming new verbs, are called denominative roots. The practice of thus using nouns is very ancient. Even among the recognised Skr. simple roots, there are many which are really denominative. Pr. and Gd. have considerably added to their number. Theoretically the power of using nouns as roots is unlimited, and a great variety of nouns are actually thus employed upon occasion in Skr., Pr. and Gd.; see examples in M. M. 227—230. Wb. Spt. 60. 65. Wb. Bh. 429. 437. I speak here, however, only of such nouns, as are formally recognised and treated as roots and enumerated as such in *dhātupāthas* (or lists of roots). Such radical nouns or denominative roots 1) always end in स्; 2) may be either common nouns or participles (see also Wb. Bh. 429); and 3) belong, as regards Skr., generally to the X<sup>th</sup> class, but occasionally also to the I<sup>st</sup>. In Pr., with its tendency to obliterate class-differences (see § 347), they are all made optionally to belong to the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., to which they belong without exception in E. H. Thus, e. g., the following roots are derived from common nouns in Skr.: R. मार्त् *scour*, from मार्त् *scouring*, a krit-derivative of the S. R. मृत् *scour*; or R. मार्त् *seek*, from मार्त् *seeking*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. मृत् *seek*; both

preserved in E. H. as मङ्ग and मङ्ग. Again Skr. roots derived from participles are amongst others: R. वेष्ट *surround*, from वेष्ट *enclosure*, perhaps a past part. pass. of S. R. विष् or विष् with suff. त; or R. कष्ट *pull* from कष्ट *pulled*, a past part. pass. of S. R. कष् (or कृष्) *rub, pull* with suff. त; both preserved in E. H. as वेष्ट and काष्ट (cf. Cw. 99. Wb. Spt. 107). Examples from the E. H. and Pr. are: 1) roots derived from common nouns: R. जन् *germinate*, from Skr. जन्म *birth*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. जन् *be born*; thus 3. sg. pres. Skr. \*जन्मयति, Pr. जन्मेइ or जन्मइ (H. C. 4, 136), E. H. जन्मै; again R. धार or ढार or ढाल् *pour*, from Skr. धार *flowing*, probably connected with the S. R. धाव् *run*; Skr. \*धारयति, Pr. धाडेइ or धाडइ (T. V. 3, 1. 14, where it is said to be a substitute of Skr. धिःसृति), E. H. धारै or ढारै *he pours*. Again 2) roots derived from participles: R. पलट् or पलट् *turn over*, from Skr. पर्यस्त *turned over*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. Cp. R. परि-अस् *turn over* with suff. त; Skr. \*पर्यस्तयति, Pr. पलट्इ or पलट्इ (H. C. 4, 26. 200), E. H. पलटै or पलटै *he turns over*; again R. पीट् *beat*, from Skr. पिष्ट *beaten*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. S. R. पिष् *beat* with suff. त; Skr. \*पिष्टयति or पिष्टयति (? Spt. 173. Comm.), Pr. पीट्इ (Spt. 173 for \*पीट्इ) or पीट्इ, E. H. पीटै *he beats*. Examples, from the E. H. or Pr., of denominative roots, formed with the pleonastic suff. of the X<sup>th</sup> cl. चापव (Pr. चावे, H. चाव, see § 349), are the following. One root derived from a common noun is सुहाव् *be pleasant*, from Skr. सुख *pleasure* (said to be a compound of सु *good* and ख *a mine*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. खन् *dig*), Skr. सुखयति or \*सुखापयति, Pr. सुहावेइ (Spt. 169) or सुहावइ, E. H. सुहावै *it is pleasant*. A root derived from a participle is चित्ताव् *make known*, from Skr. चित्त *known*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. S. R. चित् *know* and suff. त; Skr. \*चित्तापयति, Pr. \*चित्तावेइ or \*चित्तावइ, E. H. चित्तावै *he makes known*.

353. *Compound Roots.* The great diversity and intricacy of the old Skr. system of radical „classes“ must always have formed a formidable obstacle to its being adopted in the language of the common people. An evidence of this fact has been already



noted in § 347, in the decided tendency of Pr. and still more of Gd. to reduce the ten Skr. classes to one. But they made use, besides, of an other remedy, viz., instead of inflecting the root itself, they took some very simple form of a noun derived from it and construed it with the inflected root कृ do. This is still a common practice in modern H., where numerous verbs are formed from (especially foreign) nouns by construing them with the verb कर्त्तु to do; thus जमा कर्त्तु to collect, बंदु कर्त्तु to shut, बौल कर्त्तु to boil, पास कर्त्तु to pass an examination, मेल कर्त्तु to mix, ध्यान कर्त्तु to meditate, बिचार कर्त्तु to think (for बिचार, as in English to make answer for to answer), etc. Even in Skr., paraphrased roots of this kind are often found; thus न्यक् + कृ make low, degrade, चिरं कृ make long, delay, etc. (see more examples in M. W. Skr. Lex. under Art. कृ). In fact, any suitable noun might be thus turned into a verb. But it is not of these, that I speak here, but of a special and small class from among them, in which the construction of the noun with the R. कृ has become so firmly established by more or less obscure causes, as to produce, through constant usage, a coalescence of its two component parts (N. + R.) into one single simple form, and the recognition and treatment of this compound form as a simple root. Such roots I designate compound roots. Thus there is in Skr. a paraphrased verb सुत् + कृ or पुत् + कृ blow, whence सुत्करोति he blows; this appears in Pr. as सुक्करो or पुक्करो and in E. H. as पूक्के. In Skr. the two component parts, N. सुत् and R. कृ, are still separate and clearly recognisable, but they have already in Pr. and still more in E. H. coalesced into one form, Pr. सुक्क, E. H. पूक्क which is now recognised in E. H. as a simple root; in reality it is compound. This process of amalgamation must have been already at work in old times, for among the recognised simple roots of Skr. are found several, which are clearly compound; as बुक्क bark (cf. H. C. 4, 169) = बू or वद + कृ; धक्क destroy = धक् + कृ or धत् + कृ (acc. sg. neut. of N. दह् or धव्); फक्क swell = स्फट् + कृ; चिक्क pain = चत् + कृ; टक्क bind = तन् + कृ, etc. There can hardly

be a doubt as to the compound character (as above explained) of such roots; though the exact phonetic process, by which it was produced, may be obscure. The following may be found a probable explanation. It has been shown in § 348, that in Pr. passive roots are often employed in an active sense; and that sometimes they are recognisable by the termination रुह्, which is occasionally reduced to म्ह्. It is probable, therefore, that the Pr. form केह् or क्ह् (as in लोक्केह् or लोक्क्ह् Spt. 173 = Skr. लुक्करोति) is a passive-active form, or identical with the Skr. pass. क्रियते, used actively. There are in E. H. a few forms which support this view. Thus it has the form म्हे which is both active (*he wears*) and passive or intrans. (*it is worn or it wears*); the corresponding Pr. forms would be उम्हइह् or उम्हइह्; and in Skr. we find the form उपध्रियते which is both pass. and act. (VI<sup>th</sup> class). In fact, in this particular case, the properly passive form उपध्रियते has already in Skr. assumed an active sense; for the usual active form of the R. धृ is धरति, of the I<sup>st</sup> class. Similarly the R. मृ die is said to be in classic Skr. an active belonging to the VI<sup>th</sup> class (म्रियते). It is, however, really passive with an active sense<sup>1</sup>); for the proper active voice, which has been lost in the classic Skr., but preserved in the Vedic and also in Pr. and E. H., is (like that of R. धृ) of the I<sup>st</sup> cl. (मरति). It is precisely the same with the R. कृ do. Its Skr. pass. form क्रियते has come to be occasionally (i. e., in compound roots) used in Pr. as an active (of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl.). Its corresponding proper active form is (like that of the Rs. मृ and धृ) कर्ति, of the I<sup>st</sup> class, and, though lost in classic Skr., still preserved in the Vedic and in Pr. (करह्) and E. H. (करै). But although the Pr. केह् or क्ह् and the E. H. कै have generally assumed an active meaning, their original passive signification is still apparent enough in some cases. Thus E. H. बहकै,

1) The change, in this case, was facilitated by the R. मृ being intrans. Besides, as both the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. and the pass. accentuate the suffixal vowel, there is absolutely no difference, externally, between the act. VI<sup>th</sup> cl. म्रियते *mriyāte* and the pass. म्रियते *mriyāte*.



from E. H. R. बह्क् *stray* (i. e., lit. *be turned out, scl., of the right path*) represents the Pr. बहिक्र or बहिक्रे and Skr. बहिक्रियते; or E. H. उचक्, of the E. H. root उचक् *be raised, rise*, representing the Pr. उचक्क्र or उचक्क्रे and Skr. (Vedic) उचाक्रियते *he is carried on high*, etc.<sup>1</sup>). It has been stated already that in such compositions the R. कृ was usually constructed with some simple derivative noun. The simplest form of a noun, derived from the simple root, is the root itself; as Skr. R. रुध् *hinder*, N. रुध् *hindrance*. The next simplest is a noun, formed by one of the krit-suffixes त् or च्; as Skr. R. च्यु *cease*, N. च्युत् *ceasing*; or R. कप् *pain*, N. कप् *pain*. In constructing such a noun with the R. कृ, it is, if it has the form of the simple root or is formed with the krit-suff. त्, immediately joined with the R. कृ; as N. रुध् *hindrance*, acc. sg. neut. रुत्, whence Cp. R. रुत् + कृ = E. H. रोक् *hinder*; or N. च्युत् *ceasing*, acc. sg. neut. च्युत्, whence Cp. R. च्युत् + कृ = E. H. चुक् *cease*. Or if it is formed with the krit-suff. च्, it is joined with R. कृ by means of a connecting vowel, generally ई; e. g., N. कप् *pain*, when Cp. R. कपीक् = E. H. कसक् *pain*<sup>2</sup>). It will be seen that in such compounds the initial क् *k* of the R. कृ or of its inflected form क्रियते is preceded either by a consonant or a long vowel; hence in Pr., according to its phonetic usages, the क् is always doubled, either by assimilating the consonant or shortening the vowel; thus Skr. रुत्-क्रियते = Pr. रुक्क्रे or रुक्क्रे *he hinders*;

1) In the Vedas the R. कृ is also of the II<sup>nd</sup> cl., thus 3. sg. pres. parasm. कर्ति, atm. कृते. The latter would be in Pr. क्क्रे and by transfer into the X<sup>th</sup> cl. (§ 347) क्क्रे. This may serve as an alternative explanation, if the pass-act. theory given in the text be not accepted.

2) This ई is, probably, the debris of an old case-ending. In Vedic Skr. occasionally ञा is used, which is also without doubt an old case-ending, such as we see, e. g., in Skr. बलात्कृतः lit. *violently treated, forced* (बलात् abl. sg. of बल *violence*); thus Ved. उचाक्रियते *he is carried up* = Pr. उचक्क्रे, E. H. उचक् *he rises*. As these C. Rs. were probably formed in very old times, it was possibly the connecting vowel ञा rather than ई, which was used in them. However, it makes no practical difference, whether it was ञा or ई; for in E. H. both are equally reduced to च्.

Skr. च्युन्-क्रियते, Pr. चुक्कइ or चुक्कइ *he ceases*; Skr. कषीक्रियते = Pr. कसिक्कइ or कसिक्कइ *it pains*; indeed the doubling of क् is already insured by the following र् (in क्). In E. H., finally, according to its phonetic laws, the double क् is reduced to single क् (§ 143). Thus Pr. रुक्कइ = E. H. रोकै (§ 148); Pr. चुक्कइ = E. H. चुकै (§ 146); Pr. कसिक्कइ = E. H. कसकै (§ 58). This explains the preservation in E. H. of the initial क् of the R. क्, which, therefore, is an almost unerring indication of the presence of a compound root, in which it now forms the terminal sound; thus E. H. चुक् *cease*, रोक *hinder*, कसक् *pain*. Similarly E. H. चमक् *glitter*, 3. sg. pres. चमकै, Pr. \*चमक्कइ or \*चमक्कइ, Skr. \*चमत्क्रियते, comp. of N. चमत् (onomatop.) and R. क् *do*, etc.

*Note:* Sometimes, though a C. R. does not exist in E. H., nominal derivatives of it do. Thus नक्क *degraded, vile*, from the unused C. R. नक्, Pr. नक्क, Skr. न्यक्क *degrade* = नि-ञ्च-क्.

354. It remains briefly to notice a small number of E. H. roots, which probably belong to the one or the other of the above mentioned two principal classes, but which I am not able satisfactorily to trace to a Skr. origin. They must have been subject to extreme phonetic deterioration. They may be divided into:

1) such as are, probably, primary roots; e. g., टस् *burst*, टूस् *vex*, टेरू *shout*, टेल् *remove*, टेव् *sharpen*, टो *handle*, टोप् *cram*, टो *carry*, तग् *stick*, तच् *be parched*, विज् *be congealed*, तिहुइ or त्योइ or त्योइ *bend*, पत्र् *drip*, पसा *skim*, पहुइ or पौइ *repose*, पैना *sharpen*, पो or पोव् or पोइ *make bread or thread*, मूच् *shut*, मुर *acquire a taste*, लच् *bend*, लट् *be laden*, लिउ or लील् *swallow*, लेइ *recline*, लौइ *turn over, return*, सन् *be mixed, be soiled* and tr. सान् *mix, soil*, सोइ *review*, हट् *be perverse*, हिच् *loathe*, etc.

2) such as are, probably, secondary roots, and divisible into:  
a) *denominative*; as मोहराव् *call*, हलग् *be kindled*, etc.; — b) *compound*; as नोक् *scold*, टोक् *prevent, challenge*, भटक् *go astray*, etc.; — c) to these may be added a class of roots which end in ल् or इ



(or र्) or द्; as टहल् or टहर *walk to and fro* (cf. N. टहल् f. *service, drudgery*); ठहल् or ठहर *stop, remain* (cf. ठहर or ठाँव् a *place*); ठकेल् or धकेल् or धकोल् *shove* (cf. ठक्का or धक्का a *shove*); बहल् *pass agreeably, be amused* (cf. R. बह् *flow*); भिसल् *be dazzled* (cf. Pr. R. भिस् H. C. 4, 203 = Skr. भास्); कगड़ *quarrel*; लयड़ *be draggled or lyeड़ draggle*; लताड़ or लतेड़ (lit. *kick*) *insult, exhaust by labour* (cf. लात् or लत् a *kick* and लतरू an *old shoe*); कपट् *spring or कपेट् attack suddenly* (cf. कप् *quick*); चपट् *be flattened or चपेट् flatten* (cf. R. चाप् or चप्प् *press* and N. चाप् a *bow*); रपट् *slip or रपेट् chase* (cf. राषी or राँषी an *iron scraper or knife*); लपट् *adhere or लपेट् enclose, fold* (cf. N. लप् *palm of the hand hollowed so as to hold water*); घसट् or घसिट् or घसीट् *drag* (cf. R. घस् *rub*); ब्रुकोट् *scratch* (cf. ब्रुकर् or ब्रुक्का *claw, a handful*). The forms with a penultimate long vowel are, as a rule, trans.; those with a short one, intrans. These roots, however, are not properly E. H. or E. Gd., but introduced from W. Gd. It will be shown (in § 476) that in W. Gd. there are causal roots in आल् or अला (W. H.), आउ or अवाउ (G.), आरू or अरा (S.); e. g., W. H. बिठला. or बिठाल् *cause to sit*, G. खवाड़ *cause to eat* (Ed. 114), S. डियारू *cause to give*, वारारू *cause to wound* (Tr. 256. 257). It seems probable, that these W. Gd. causals and the above mentioned (W. Gd.) secondary roots have an identical origin. There is, moreover, a curious analogy in Pashtu (see Tr. in J. G. O. S. XXXIII, 7 ff.). It has a class of secondary roots in *ēd* (infin. in *ēdal*), which are, as a rule, intrans.; e. g., *bahēd flow* (cf. E. H. बहल्), *matēd be broken* (cf. Skr. मृष्ट *rubbed*); *kēd be done*; but occasionally trans.; e. g., *āvrēd hear, blōsēd torment, puštēd ask* (cf. Skr. पृष्ट *asked*). Occasionally the primary root exists also, as *zang* or *zangēd swing, kr do* and *kēd be done*; just as in E. H. चाप् and चपेट् *flatten*. And further, the causal roots may be made with *ēd* in Pashtu<sup>1)</sup>.

1) Trumpp explains the Rs. in *ēd* as being compounds with *kēd be done*. This might suit the intrans., but not the trans. and caus. Rs. in *ēd*; moreover the R. *kēd* itself requires to be explained; for it is clearly a derivative of the R. *kr do*.

The origin of these roots is very obscure. Possibly they are denominative roots, derived from nouns which are themselves again derived from others by the secondary or pleonastic suff. *ञल, इल, ञड*, etc. (cf. §§ 209. 245) or *वट्* (cf. § 285). Or perhaps they may be compound roots, formed from the Skr. R. *वृत्* (Pr. *वट्*), of which the terminal *ट्* (or *ञट्, एट्, ऐट्*) is the sole remnant, as *क्* (of R. *क्*, Pr. *क्*) is in the other compound roots. Thus Skr. *वर्षे वर्जते* *he is occupied in rubbing, he drags* = \**वर्षवर्जवति* den. of \**वर्षवर्ज*, Pr. \**वस्सवट्* = \**वस्सञट्* = \**वस्सवट्* = E. H. *वसेटै* or *वसीटै*. At all events, in some cases, these roots have an alternative form, ending in *क्*; thus *कपट्* and *कपक्*; *चपट्* and *चपक्*; *लपट्* *cling* and *लपक्* *spring*; cf. also E. H. *चौचट्* and *चौचक्* *suddenly*.

355. There is also in E. H. a very small number of what may be called *tatsama* roots; viz., denom. roots formed from tats. nouns. Some are comparatively modern formations. Thus *गरत्* *thunder* (Skr. *गर्ग*); *त्याग* *abandon* (Skr. *त्याग*); *धूप* *perfume* (Skr. *धूप*); *भोग* *enjoy* (Skr. *भोग*); *लोभ* *be enamoured* (Skr. *लोभ*), etc.

## THIRD SECTION. INFLEXION OF NOUNS.

### FIRST CHAPTER. THE SUBSTANTIVE.

#### 1. FORMS OF THE SUBSTANTIVE.

356. Every subst. admits of three forms: the short, long and redundant. The short is the primary form, which is given in dictionaries, and by which it is generally known. It is, as a rule, the only one admissible in good or literary language. The other two forms are more or less vulgar. They are made by adding to the short form the pleon. suff. of the fourth and sixth sets of the first group, as explained in §§ 199. 200 (q. v.). E. g., masc. sh. f. *मीत्* *friend*, lg. f. *मित्वा* or *वॉ*, red. f. *मितोवा* or *वॉ* or *मितौ*; fem. sh. f. *बाट्* *bed*, lg. f. *बटिया* or *वाँ*, red. f. *बटियावा* or *वाँ*;



masc. sh. f. बेटा *son*, lg. f. बेटवा or ०वाँ, red. f. बेटौवा or ०वाँ or बेटौ; fem. sh. f. सीता *Sitā*, lg. f. सितिया or ०याँ, red. f. सितियवा or ०वाँ; in इ; masc. sh. f. मुनि *sage*, lg. f. मुनिया or ०याँ; rel. f. मुनियवा or ०वाँ; fem. sh. f. अँखि *eye*, lg. f. अँखिया or ०याँ; red. f. अँखियवा or ०वाँ; in ई; masc. sh. f. भाई *brother*, lg. f. भइया or भैया or ०याँ; red. f. भइयवा or भैयवा or ०वाँ; fem. sh. f. धूरी *axle*, lg. f. धुरिया or ०याँ; red. f. धुरियवा or धुरीवा or ०वाँ; in उ; masc. sh. f. तहू *tree*, lg. f. तहूवा or ०वाँ; red. f. तहूचवा or तहूचवा or ०वाँ; fem. sh. f. पतोहु *daughter-in-law*, lg. f. पतोहुवा or ०वाँ; red. f. पतोहुचवा or पतोहूवा or ०वाँ; in उ; masc. sh. f. नाउ *barber*, lg. f. नउवा or नौवा or ०वाँ; red. f. नउचवा or नौचवा or नउवा or ०वाँ; fem. sh. f. बहू *daughter-in-law*, lg. f. बहूवा or ०वाँ; red. f. बहूचवा or बहवा or ०वाँ, etc.

*Note:* Sometimes the W. H. long and red. forms are used; as कन्हैया or कन्हई *krishna*, रामै or रमैया *Rām*.

357. Many subst. (especially among those in अ) admit of two forms, a weak and a strong. Most of them, however, (especially those in इ and उ) exist in one of these forms only. The weak form is the original one; the other is made by adding to it the pleon. suff. of the first set of the first group, as explained in § 196 (q. v.). Thus 1) in अ or आ; masc. भेड़ or भेड़ा *ram*, माथ् or माया *forehead*, बास् or बासा *dwelling*, बाल् or बाला *child*, etc.; fem. भेड़ or भेड़ी *ewe*, लाह् or लाठी *staff*, मूह् or मूठी *fist*, etc.; in इ or ई; masc. very rare, e. g., ज्ञान् (ज्ञानि) or ज्ञानी *wise man*; fem. बाति or बाती *wick*, light, बहिनि or बहिनी *sister*, etc.; in उ or ऊ; masc. very rare, e. g., पीलु or पीलू *elephant*; fem. बहु or बहू *daughter-in-law*, पतोहु or पतोहू *daughter-in-law*. 2) Only in अ; masc. सोनारू *goldsmith*, कहारू *porter*, देव *god*, बाघ् *tiger*, बैल् *ox*, घरू *house*, नाम् *name*, फूल् *flower*, पेट् *stomach*, पेड़ *tree*, etc.; fem. बात् *word*, event, नाँक् *nose*, नींदू *sleep*, etc. 3) Only in आ; masc. लरिका or होकरा *boy*, बनिया *merchant*, घोरा *horse*, काँठा *thorn*, कुत्ता *dog*, मोठा *footstool*, etc.; fem. only tats., as दुर्गा *Durgā*, सीता *Sitā*, or semitats., as कृपा *mercy*, etc. 4) Only in इ, rarely; masc. generally tats., as मुनि *a Muni*, or semitats., as रिखि *a Rishi*, etc.; fem. आगि *fire*, अँखि *eye*, etc. 5) Only in ई; masc. धोबी *washerman*,

माली *gardener*, तेली *oilman*, हाथी *elephant*, नाती *grandchild*, भाई *brother*, बहिनोई *brother-in-law*, कोन्ही *leper*, पानी *water*, मोती *pearl*, घी *clarified butter*; fem. घोरी *mare*, बिल्ली *cat*, लरिकी or झोकरि *girl*, माई *mother*, टोपी *hat*, मोरी *drain*, माखी *fly*, etc. 6) Only in उ; rarely, masc. तत्स. तरु *tree*, गुरु *teacher*, etc.; fem. *deest*. 7) Only in उ; masc. नाऊ *barber*, पहरा *watchman*, हिन्दू *a Hindu*, घालू *potato*, पेटू or खाऊ *glutton*, etc.; fem. मेहरारू *woman*, जोरू *wife*, जलू *leech*, बालू *sand*, etc.

*Note:* On the meaning of these various forms, see § 201.

## 2. GENDER.

358. There are only two genders, the masculine and the feminine. No practically workable rules can be given to recognise the gender of a subst. by its termination; excepting, that short forms in ञा (exc. tats., like दुग्गा) are always masc.; e. g., घोरा *horse*, हँडा *pot*, गोला *ball*, जूता *shoe*, etc., and that such short forms in ई, as have a synonymous masc. in ञा, are always fem.; e. g., घोरी *mare*, हँडी *pot*, गोली *bullet*, जूती *shoe*, etc. As a rule E. H. subst. retain the gender which they had in Skr.; but Skr. neut.ers become masc. in E. H. This affords, on the whole, a safe guide for those who can use it. Where there is a natural gender, that of course, determines the grammatical gender also. For the rest, the gender must be learned by practice.

359. The difficulty of determining the gender of E. H. words by their termin., is easily explained. Compare §§ 42 to 53. The termin. ई and उ must be uncertain, because they are contractions of the Mg. Pr. termin. masc. इए or उए, fem. इया or उया; thus Pr. fem. घोडिया *mare* = E. H. घोरी; but Mg. Pr. masc. तेलिए *oilman* is likewise = E. H. तेली; again Mg. Pr. fem. बालुया *sand* = E. H. बालू, but Mg. masc. बिचुए *scorpion* is also = E. H. बिछू. — The E. H. termin. इ and उ must be uncertain, because they were so even in Pr. and Skr., where their nom. sg. in ई and उ (Pr.) or इ; उ (Skr.) may be of either gender. — On the other hand, since the Pr. termin. ञा, whether masc. or



fem., always becomes स्त्र in E. H. (e. g., Pr. masc. राज्ञा or राज्ञा king, E. H. राज् or रै; Pr. fem. वत्ता word, E. H. वत्), no E. H. short form in स्त्र can be fem. (always excepting tats., which have not passed through Pr.); and since every final E. H. स्त्र of a short form stands for a Mg. masc. स्त्र, therefore all E. H. short forms in स्त्र must be masc. Similarly, since every final E. H. ई of a short form, which corresponds to a synonymous masc. short form in स्त्र, stands for a Pr. fem. इस्त्रा, all such E. H. short forms in ई must be fem. — Finally the termin. स्त्र of E. H. long and redundant forms must be uncertain, because it is a contraction of the Mg. Pr. gen. termin. masc. स्त्राह, fem. स्त्रा ( §§ 369, 2. 365, 1); e. g., E. H. नतिया grandchild = Mg. नन्निस्त्राह (Skr. नन्तृकः, H. C. 1, 137); but E. H. बुद्धिया old woman is also = Mg. बुद्धिस्त्राह. — The number of words, which are masc. or neut. in Skr., but fem. in E. H., is limited; and in the case of most of them the change had already taken place in Pr. Thus (see Vr. 4, 26. H. C. 1, 35. S. C. 1, 1. 53) Skr. n. अक्षि eye, Pr. n. अक्षि or f. अक्षी or \*अक्खी, E. H. f. अक्षि; Skr. m. रश्मिः cord, Pr. m. or f. रस्सी, E. H. f. रस्सी<sup>1</sup>); Skr. m. अञ्जलिः handful, Pr. m. or f. अञ्जली, E. H. f. (also m.) अञ्जलि; Skr. बलिः offering, Pr. m. or f. बली, E. H. f. बली; Skr. m. त्रिधि (good) conduct, Pr. m. or f. त्रिही, E. H. f. त्रिही; Skr. n. पृष्ठम् back, Pr. n. पिठ्ठं or f. पिठ्ठी, E. H. f. पीठ्ठ; Skr. m. कुक्षिः belly, Pr. m. or f. कुक्षी, E. H. f. कोष्ठ or कोख; Skr. n. चौर्यम्, Pr. n. चौरिञ्चं (Vr. 3, 20) or f. चोरिस्त्रा (Spt. 210), E. H. f. चोरी<sup>1</sup>). Again Skr. m. ग्रन्थिः knot, Pr. m. or f. गंठी (H. C. 1, 35), E. H. f. गाँठ (also m.); Skr. m. बाहुः arm, Pr. m. बाहू or f. बाहा (H. C. 1, 36. S. C. 1, 1. 54), E. H. f. बाह or बाँह; Skr. n. अन्तस्त्रम् intestines, Pr. f. अन्ती (in Ap. अन्तरी H. C. 4, 445. T. V. 3, 4. 69), E. H. f. अन्त; Skr. n. अस्थि or अस्थिकम् bone, Pr. n. अष्टिञ्चं (cf. Spt. 100) or f. अष्टी (H. C. 2, 32), E. H. f. अँठी. To these may

1) The Pr. fem. चोरिस्त्रा is really a different word, i. e., = Skr. चोरिका (cf. Wb. Spt. 45); so also the E. H. fem. रस्सी is really derived from the masc. रस्सा; see §§ 257. 262.

be added, as examples of what seem to be purely E. H. changes, E. H. f. अग्नि *fire*, Skr. m. अग्निः, Pr. m. अग्नी (Vr. 5, 18. S. R. fol. 9<sup>b</sup>); E. H. f. देह *body* (but S. m. डेहु), Skr. m. देहः, Pr. m. देहो (Spt. A, 63); E. H. f. सोह् *oath*, Skr. m. श्रपयः or n. श्रपयस्, Pr. m. सवहो (Vr. 2, 15) or n. सवहं (Spt. 361); E. H. f. बिंदू or बिंदी or बूंद or बूंदी *drop*, Skr. m. बिन्दुः, Pr. m. बिंदू or n. बिंदुं (H. C. 1, 34. S. C. 1, 1. 52); E. H. बाई *wind*, Skr. m. वायुः, Pr. m. वाउ (Vr. 5, 18)<sup>1</sup>. The strong E. H. forms बिंदी (or बूंदी) and बाई seem to be diminutives (Pr. \*विदिन्ना, \*वाइन्ना) and to presuppose Pr. fem. forms \*विन्दा, \*वाया; just as Pr. fem. वाहा and masc. वाहू *arm*. Curious anomalies are, E. H. वस्तु *thing* (S. regularly tadbh. वयु fem. Tr. 105) and धातु *metal* (also वस्तु and धातु), which are masc., but are sometimes used as fem., though they are tats., which always keep their original gender, in this case n. and m. respectively in Skr. Of words in which the gender has changed from fem. in Skr. to masc. in E. H., there is, I believe, only one; and the change took place in Pr.; viz., Skr. fem. प्रवृष rainy season, Pr. m. पाउसो (Vr. 4, 18. H. C. 1, 31. S. C. 1, 1. 50), E. H. m. पाउस् or पावस्<sup>2</sup>). As regards the change of Skr. neut. to E. H. masc., it had already taken place in Pr., in the case of all neut. ending in the cons. न् and स् (Vr. 4, 18. H. C. 32. Wb. Bh. 404. 420); thus Skr. n. कर्म (base कर्मन्) *work*, A. Mg. m. कम्मे (Bh. 163. 167) or Mh. कम्मो, E. H. m. कम्; Skr. n. यज्ञः *renown*, A. Mg. m. ज्ञे (Bh. 420) or Mh. ज्ञसो, E. H. m. जस्; Skr. n. उरस् *breast*, A. Mg. m. उरे, E. H. उर; Skr. n. पयस् *milk*, A. Mg. m. पवे, E. H. m. पय or पै; Skr. n. चक्षुस् *eye*, Pr. m. चक्खू (H. C. 1, 33. S. C. 1, 1. 51, also n. चक्खुं), E. H. m. चख्, etc. Sometimes also the change took

1) E. H. f. तान् *string* is not = Skr. m. तन्तुः (as Bs. II, 174 after Tr. 69 says), but = Skr. f. तन्त्री. — The E. H. बाई *wind*, however, is more probably = Skr. f. वातिः.

2) The other word mentioned by the Pr. Gramm., m. सग्गो = Skr. f. शरद्, occurs in E. H. only as a fem. semitats. सरद्. — There is, however, also a Skr. m. प्रवृषः.



place in the case of neut. in घ (Skr. nom. sing. घम्; see H. C. 1, 33. S. C. 1, 1. 51), especially in Mg. (Wb. Bh. 416. Ls. 399. 408. 429) and in Ap. (H. C. 4, 445. Ls. 461. 476); thus Skr. n. कुलम् *family*, Pr. n. कुलं or m. कुलो, Ap. m. कुलु (H. C. 4, 361), E. H. m. कुल्; Skr. n. दुःखम्, A. Mg. n. दुःखं or m. दुःखे (Bh. 190. 191), E. H. m. दुःख्; Skr. n. नयनम् *eye*, Pr. n. पात्रपां or m. पात्रपा or पात्रपो, E. H. m. नयन् or नैन्; Skr. n. वचनम् *word*, Pr. n. वचपां or m. वचपा or वचपो, Ap. वचपु (H. C. 4, 387), E. H. वचन् or बैन्; Skr. n. लोचनम् *eye*, Pr. n. लोचपां or m. लोचपा or लोचपो, E. H. m. लोचन्; Skr. n. हृदयम् *heart*, Pr. n. हिद्यञ् (Vr. 1, 28) or Mg. m. हियर् (Bh. 394, also हउक्के) or Mh. हिद्यो (Urv. 23, 10 in Pl. Diss. 5), E. H. m. हिया; Skr. n. धनम् *wealth*, Mg. m. धपो (Vr. 11, 11) or Ap. धपु (H. C. 4, 358), E. H. m. धन्; Skr. n. शिरस् *head*, Mh. n. सिरं (H. C. 1, 32), but Ap. m. सिर (H. C. 4, 445), E. H. m. सिर. In Gd. (exc. M., G. and exceptionally W. H.) the Pr. tendency to change neut. into masc. is extended to all neut.; thus Skr. n. दाम् (base दामन्) *string*, Pr. n. दामं (H. C. 1, 32), but E. H. m. दाम् (sometimes even fem.); Skr. n. गृहम् *house*, Pr. n. घर, M. n. घर, but E. H. m. घर; Skr. n. घृतम् *clarified butter*, Pr. n. घिञ्, M. n. घी, but E. H. m. घी; Skr. n. दधिकम् *sour milk*, Pr. n. दहिञ्, M. n. दही, but E. H. m. दही; Skr. n. पानीयम् *water*, Pr. n. पाणिञ् (Vr. 1, 18), M. n. पानी, but E. H. m. पानी; Skr. n. मौक्तिकम् *pearl*, Pr. n. मोत्तिञ् (Spt. 314), M. n. मोती, but E. H. m. मोती; Skr. n. मस्तिष्कम् *head*, Pr. n. मत्तिञ्, M. n. माती, but E. H. m. मावी; Skr. n. सुवर्णकम् *gold*, Pr. n. सोलञ् or सोल्यं (cf. Spt. 194), O. H. सोनयं, M. n. सोने, but E. H. m. सोना; Skr. n. श्रुक् *tear*, Pr. n. शंसुञ्, M. n. शंसू, but E. H. m. शंसू (O. H. शंसुञ् in Chand Devagiri 22); Skr. n. युगम् *yoke*, Pr. n. जुञ्, M. n. तू, but E. H. m. तू or strong form जुञ्; Skr. (st. f.) n. कर्तव्यकम् *doing*, Pr. n. करिञ्चुञ्, Ap. n. करेवुञ् (H. C. 4, 438) or करिवुञ्, W. H. n. करिबौ or m. करिबौ, O. m. करिबा, E. H. (wk. f.) m. करिब or करब्.

360. *Affinities.* As regards the gender of nouns, E. H. occupies an intermediate position. The M. and G. have preserved the three genders of the Skr. and Pr. Again B. and O. distinguish

no gender at all. But E. H. has at least two genders, masc. and fem. Generally speaking it agrees in that respect with W. H., P., S. and N.; though traces of the old neut. survive in W. H. in the infinitives in *अनौ* and *इबौ* or *अबौ*, as indicated by the final *anunásika*. — All the above mentioned E. H. instances of change of gender are common to W. H. and, as a rule, to the other Gds. also.

### 3. NUMBER.

361. There are only two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plur. of nouns, which signify *rational beings*, is formed 1) generally by adding the noun *लोग् people*, without any change in the sing. noun; or 2) less commonly by using the same form of the noun as in the sing. Thus *disciples* may be either *चेलालोग्* or less frequently *चेला*, from sing. *चेला*; or *daughters* *बेटीलोग्* or *बेटो*, from sg. *बेटो*. The plur. of any other being or thing can, generally, be formed only in the second way. Thus *horses* is *घोरा* but not *घोरालोल्*; *words* is *बात्*, not *बातलोग्*, from the sing. *घोरा* and *बात्*. In such cases, if the noun be in the nom. case, the context must decide its number. The plural, formed with *लोग्*, I shall call the *compound*, the other the *simple*.

*Exception.* A few nouns optionally form anomalous plurals, as *तन् man*, pl. *तने*; *मनुल् man*, pl. *मनइ*.

362. The termination of the subst. suffers no change in the sing. nor in the nom. and acc. *proper* of the plur.; but in the oblique cases of the plur. the suff. *अन्*, *इन्*, *उन्* are added to subst. in *अ* or *आ*, *इ* or *ई*, *उ* or *ऊ* respectively. In the case of the comp. plur. they may be added either to the noun itself or, as is more common, to the plur. sign *लोग्*. The form thus made, I shall call the *oblique plural*; that of the obl. cases of the sing. and of the nom. and acc. *proper* of the (simple) plur., the *oblique sing.*; and that of the nom. sing., the *direct form*. See examples in § 379.

*Exception.* Subst. in *ई*, signifying *inanimate objects*, do



not make the oblique plur. (with इत्) in the short, but only in the long and red. forms; see examples in § 379.

363. *Affinities.* 1) In E. H. the nom. and acc. *proper* of the simple plur. of all subst. are identical with the obl. form of the sing.; the reason of which will be explained in § 369. The same, in principle, is the case in all Gds., except in O. and, partially, M. In the latter the fem. and neut. subst. have a special dir. form of the plur., whilst in O. there is no simple plur. at all (exc. in the plur. sign माने, see below Nro. 2. 3). But the B. and N. are peculiar in adding to the obl. sg. a special case-affix to denote its nom.-plur.-application; viz., B. रत्, N. ह्; and N. has the further peculiarity of using an archaic obl. sg. in हे or ह (see §§ 364, 3. 365, 6). Thus E. H. ob. sg. चेला, nom. pl. चेला *disciples*, W. H. obl. sg. चेले, nom. pl. चेले; B. obl. sg. चेला, nom. pl. चेला-रत्, N. old obl. sg. चेलाहे or चेलाह, nom. pl. चेलाहे-ह् or चेलाह-ह्, etc.; for other examples see §§ 364, 3. 369, 1. — 2) The E. H. has both a simple and a comp. plur., the former for all subst., the latter (as a rule) for those only which denote *rational beings*. Formerly the O. also had, for subst. denoting rational beings, a simple plur. which, in the case of न-bases, ended in ट् (see Bs. II, 198; e. g., कुमारं pl. of कुमार *boy*); but now the comp. plur. (made with माने) only is used. For all other subst. the O. has no plur. at all (see Sn. 14). None of the other Gds. possess a comp. plur.; B. using the simple plur. for rational beings only (S. Ch. 44. 53); the rest of the Gds., for all subst. alike. The comp. plur. is made, in O. with माने, obl. f. मानन्, in E. H. with लोग्, obl. f. लोगन्. Thus nom. pl. E. H. चेला or चेला-लोग् *disciples*, O. चेला-माने; dat. pl. E. H. चेलन्-के or चेला-लोगन्-के, O. चेला-मानन्-कु. It should be observed, however, that, for the purpose of emphasizing the plur. meaning, a periphrastic plur. may be formed in all Gds. for any subst. whatsoever, by appending to the sing. some suitable collective noun, such as गण् *troop*, वर्ग *class*, सङ्ग *or* सङ्ग *all*, etc. — 3) All Gds. have an obl. f. of the simple plur. (see

table, below), exc. the N., B. and, apparently, G. which use the form of the nom. pl. in the obl. cases also. Thus E. H. nom. pl. चेला, obl. चेलन्; H. H. चेले, obl. चेलो, etc.; but G. nom. and obl. चेलाव् or (variously spelled) चेलाउ or चेलाओ. However, in G. the final anunásika (Pr. anusvára), which usually distinguishes the obl. plur. (see § 368, 6), may have been dropped. Where there is no simple plur., as in O., there can be, of course, no obl. plur. But the O. and E. H. comp. plur. signs माने and लोग् (see Nro. 2) form a regular obl. pl. मानन् and लोगन्. As to the N. and B., see § 364, 2. 3. — 4) As regards the sing., the general tendency of the Gds. is to assimilate the obl. to the dir. form. In the E. Gd. the assimilation is complete, no subst. (of whatever termin.) having its obl. differing from its dir. form. In W. Gd. (exc. S.) and N. Gd., it is almost complete, the only exceptions being strong nouns in ञ्. In S. the obl. form of masc. nouns in उ and ओ, and of com. gen. nouns in ई and ऊ is different from the direct. In S. Gd. the two forms differ in most nouns of whatever termination. It must, however, in all cases be understood, that the obl. f., though *now* it may outwardly be the same as the dir., is not really identical with it, but has a different origin, as will be shown in § 365. Thus nom. sg. A. Mg. सामिर् or सामिन्न = dir. f. M. and E. H. सामी, or nom. sg. Mh. सामिओ, Ap. सामिउ = dir. f. S. सामी *lord*; and gen. sg. A. Mg. सामिन्नाह = obl. f. M. साम्या, E. H. (lg. f.) समिया; or gen. sg. Ap. सामिन्नहो or °हु = obl. f. O. H. सामिन्नह, S. सामिन्न, W. H. and E. H. सामी. Again nom. sg. A. Mg. घोडर् or घोडन्न = dir. f. M. and E. H. घोडा, or nom. sg. Mh. घोडओ, Ap. घोडउ = dir. f. S. घोडे; and gen. sg. A. Mg. घोडन्नाह = obl. f. M. घोड्या (for \*घोड्या), E. H. (lg. f.) घोड्या; or gen. sg. Ap. घोडन्नहो or घोडन्नहे = obl. f. O. H. घोडन्नह or O. P. घोडन्नहि, G., W. H., E. H. घोडा, P., H. H. घोडे. — 5) The subjoined tables give a comparative view of the various terminations of the Gd. dir. and obl. forms. Observe, that where a form is not ascribed to any particular Gd., it belongs to all; and where no gender is mentioned, it is common.



*Direct forms singular*

|                 |      |   |
|-----------------|------|---|
| of weak bases   | in अ | अ; exc. S., O. H., O. P. उ m., अ f.   |
|                 | in इ | इ; exc. M., H. H. इ m. n., इ or अ f.  |
|                 | in उ | उ.  |
| of strong bases | in आ | E. Gd., H. H., P. आ m., Br. आ or ओ m., Mw., S., N. ओ m., G. ओ m., उ n., M. आ or उ m., ऐ or उ n., O. H. ओ or अय m. अय n. |
|                 | in ई | ई; exc. M. ई m. f., ई n., O. H. ई m., इय f.   |
|                 | in उ | उ; exc. M. उ m. f., उ n., G. उ c. g.  |

*Direct forms plural in M.*

|                 |      |              |
|-----------------|------|--------------|
| of weak bases   | in अ | आ f., ऐ n.   |
|                 | in इ | ई f.         |
|                 | in उ | deest        |
| of strong bases | in आ | ई or ऐ n.    |
|                 | in ई | या f., ये n. |
|                 | in उ | वा f., वे n. |

*Oblique forms singular*

|                 |      |  |
|-----------------|------|--|
| of weak bases   | in अ | अ; exc. B. अ or ए, M. आ m. n., ए f., O. H. अ or अह or अहि, O. P. अ or अहि.   |
|                 | in इ | इ; exc. M. ई, O. H. इ or इह or इहि, O. P. इ or इहि.  |
|                 | in उ | उ; exc. M. उ, O. H. उ or उह or उहि.  |
| of strong bases | in आ | B., O., E. H., Mw. आ m., Br. आ or ए m., H. H., P., S. ए m., M. या or आ m. n., G. आ m., आ n., O. H. अअह or अअहि m. n. |
|                 | in ई | ई; exc. S. इअ, M. या m. n., ये f. or ई c. g., O. H. इअह or इअहि.   |
|                 | in उ | उ; exc. S. उअ, M. वा m. n., वे f. or उ c. g., O. H. उअह or उअहि.   |

*Oblique forms plural*

|               |      |  |
|---------------|------|--|
| of weak bases | in अ | E. H. अन्, H. H. ओ, Br. ओ or अन् or अनि, Mw., M. आ, P. आ m., ईआ f., G. ओ, S. आ or ऐ or अनि c. g., उनि f., O. H. आन् or अन् or अन्ह or अन्हि. |
|               | in इ | E. H. इन्, H. H. इयो, Br. इयो or इन् or इनि, Mw. वा, P. इआ, G. इओ, M. ई, S. इआ or इए or इनि or इअनि or इउनि, O. H. इन् or इन्ह or इन्हि.     |
|               | in उ | E. H. उन्, H. H. उओ, Br. उन or उनि, Mw., P. उआ, G. उओ, S. उनि, M. ऊ, O. H. उन् or उन्ह or उन्हि.   |

N. B., in B., O., N. *deest* throughout.

|                 |      |   |             |
|-----------------|------|---|-------------|
| of strong bases | in ञ | P. इञ्चो m, S. ञो or ऐ or ञनि m., G. ञाव् (or ञाञ्चो) m., ञो n., M. वौ or ञो m. n.                  | the rest    |
|                 | in ई | Br. इवो or इवन् or इवनि or इन or इनि, P. ईञ्चो, G. ईञ्चो, M. वौ or ई.                               | as in the   |
|                 | in उ | Br. उञ्चो or उञ्चन् or उञ्चनि or उन् or उनि, P. उञ्चो, S. उञ्चो or उऐ or उञ्चनि or उनि, M. वौ or उ. | weak bases. |

*Obl. forms used as nom. plur.*

|                                       |      |  |  |
|---------------------------------------|------|--|--|
| of weak bases                         | in ञ | B. ञ-रा or ए-रा, N. ञहे-ह् or ञह-ह्, E. H. ञ, H. H. ञ m., ऐ f., Br., O. H. ञ m., ऐ f., Mw. ञ m., ञो f., P. ञ m., इञ्चो f., S. ञ m., ञो or उ f., M. ञ m., G. ञ m., ञो c. g. |  |
|                                       | in ई | B. इ-रा, N. ईहे-ह् or इह-ह्, E. H. इ, H. H., Br. इ m., इवो f., Mw. इ m., वौ f., P. इ m., इञ्चो f., S. इ m., इउ f., G. इ m., इञ्चो c. g., M. इ c. g.                        |  |
|                                       | in उ | B. उ-रा, N. उहे-ह् or उह-ह्, E. H. उ, H. H., W. H., P. उ m. उञ्चो f., S. उ m., उ f., G. उ m. or उञ्चो c. g., M. उ.   |  |
| N. B., in O. <i>deest</i> throughout. |      |  |  |
| of strong bases                       | in ञ | B. ञा-रा, N. ञाहे-ह् or ञाह-ह्, E. H., Mw., S. ञा m., H. H., P. ए m., Br. ञा or ए m., G. ञा or ञाव् m., ञो or ञोव् n., M. ए or उ m.  |  |
|                                       | in ई | B. ई-रा, N. ईहे-ह् or ईह-ह्, E. H. ई, G. ईञ्चो, H. H. ई m., इवो f., Br. ई m., ई or इवो f., Mw. ई m., वौ f., P. ई m., ईञ्चो f., S. ई m., ईवू f., M. ई m.                    |  |
|                                       | in उ | B. उ-रा, N. उहे-ह् or उह-ह्, E. H., S. उ, H. H., W. H. उ m., उञ्चो f., P. उ m., उञ्चो f., G. उञ्चो or उ c. g., M. उ m.   |  |
| N. B., in O. <i>deest</i> throughout. |      |  |  |

*Note:* It will be observed, that in W. Gd. the obl. plur. of weak nouns in ई and उ generally adopts the obl. termin. of strong nouns in ई and उ, and vice versa in E. H. the obl. plur. of strong nouns in ञा, ई, उ the obl. termin. of the weak nouns in ञ, इ, उ.

364. *Derivation of the plural signs.* 1) The O. माने or, shortened, मान is, probably, identical with the E. H. plur. *मान* men (§ 361, exc.; from Skr. मानव *man*; not मान *measure*, as Bs. II, 199) and is a plur. noun with the old termination ए, obl.



मन् (see § 363, 2). The E. H. लोग *men* (Skr. लोक § 102) is also a plur. noun, as shown by its obl. f. लोगन् (§ 363, 2), and, like मान, is shortened for लोगे. The shortened form मान is not used with rational beings (see Sn. 11). — 2) The B. is generally said to form a comp. plur. with the pl. sign दिग्, which is sometimes (see Bs. II, 200) believed to be none other than the Skr. दिक् *region, side*. But there can be little doubt, that this identification is a mistake. For a) the B. दिग् ends in (quiescent) म्, while the Skr. दिक् does not; b) a final Skr. क् would not become ग् in either Pr. or Gd.; c) the Skr. दिक् is merely the nom. sg. of the base दिग्, while the B. दिग्, if anything, is an obl. f., i. e., equal to the Skr. gen. sg. (see § 366) which is दिग्ः (Pr. दिसो or rather दिसाट्, cf. H. C. 1, 19. 3, 30); d) the sg. दिग् (or nom. दिक्) is not a collective noun and, therefore, could not serve to form a plur.; on the other hand e) in the plur. (like माने, लोग) it would be Skr. दिग्ः, Pr. दिसाम्ने, which would not produce the B. दिग्. I am inclined to believe, that दिग् is not a real word, but merely a compound of two case-affixes. The ordinary B. gen. pl. ends in देर्. This I divide into दे (base) and र् (case-aff.), just as in the gen. sg.; thus देवदेर् *of gods* = देवदे-र्, just as देवेर् *of a god* = देवे-र् (see § 365, 6). Here देवदे, like देवे, is an obl. f.; its dir. f. would be देवदा (or देवद); and, in fact, the two forms, thus deduced, are the same as the P. gen. sg. देव-दा and its obl. f. देव-दे. It should be observed that the B. uses the gen. sg. to serve as a plur. base (see § 369); its nom. pl. देवे-र् *gods* is but the st. f. of its gen. sg. देवे-र् *of a god*. Similarly it uses an other (now obsolete) gen. sg. देव-दा, to serve as the pl. base of the obl. cases, which are made by adding certain case-affixes. Before the latter, as usual, the base is inflected, i. e., देव-दा becomes देव-दे, and with the gen. aff. र् it is देव-दे-र्. With the dat. aff. के it ought to be देव-दे-के; but के has a tendency to change to ने (just as in W. H. among the *Mairs* the gen. aff. are गो, गा, etc. for को, का; in N. गरू *to do* for करू) and दे to become दि (just as the B. and E. H. dat. aff. के is in O. कि); hence it is देव-दि-ने

for देवदिग्गे, as it is commonly spelled, see S. Ch. 58, with two ग्, to compensate for the shortening of ए). Similarly with the loc.-aff. ते or के-ते, it is देव-दि-गे-ते (just as, e. g., in H. H. dat.-acc. उस-के-तई to him, lit. up to him). In course of time this origin was forgotten and an imaginary noun दिग्ग formed, and henceforth treated like a real noun. Thus a dat. दिग्ग-के and a gen. दिग्गे was made. The form दिग्गे, however, is, according to S. Ch. 50 not commonly used in speaking, which points to a surviving consciousness on the part of the people of the unfitness of the formation. The occurrence of the ordinary P. gen.-aff. दा in B., at the two furthest extremities of the Gd. area, is no doubt remarkable; but it is by no means the only fact of its kind. Thus there is the same peculiar auxil. past tense in the O. बैला he was and in S. यिओ, P. या; and indeed the ordinary B. and O. gen.-aff. र occurs also in the distant Mw. रो (see § 377, 1). In each case, these words are almost entirely absent in the intermediate Gds.; though occasionally यो and दा are met with in W. H. (see Kl. 70. 157), and या and यो are the regular forms in H. H. and N. respectively, and र occurs in the plur. of N. (see Nrp. 3). It will be shown also in § 377, 3, that the B. instr.-aff. दिया is connected with the gen.-aff. दा. — 3) There is a close analogy between the N. and B. plur. The former is made by adding हेरु or हुरु to the sing. But these plur. signs are not, as it has been supposed, nouns, but are compounded of the old gen. or obl. termin. हे or ह (see § 365, 6) and the gen.-aff. रु, which is identical with the B. gen.-aff. र, but has preserved the old termin. उ. In fact, the N. plur. termin. हेरु is identical with the B. gen. termin. एरु and the B. plur. termin. एरा; the latter being the st. f., the other two wk. forms. Thus N. देवहे-रु or देवह-रु gods = B. देवे-रा (or gen. देवे-रु). The B. ए is but a contraction of the older form एहे or एहि. In the O. Gd. the gen. or obl. sg. in एहे or एहि or एह or (shortened) ए was used as a nom. plur. (see § 369); e. g., जने men = जनहि lit. of man scl. multitude; and in order to make it a plur. base capable of declension, the declinable



gen.-aff. *ह* or (st. f.) *रा* (a curtailed nomin. base, § 377) was added. Thus the N. *जनह-ह* (originally a gen. sg., = Ap. Pr. *जनहो केह*) is now a plur. base, which can be regularly declined; e. g., gen. *जनह-ह-को* of *men*, dat. *जनह-ह-लाई* to *men*, etc. Similarly in B.; only instead of declining the plur. base *जन-रा*, it substitutes in the obl. cases an other plur. base *जन-दा* or *जन-द*, which was also originally a gen. sg. Thus gen. *जन-दे-रू* of *men*, dat. *जन-दि-ने* to *men*, etc. But, as in the case of the B. *दिग्*, the true nature of the N. *हेह* or *हह* is now forgotten, and it is supposed to be a real noun; see also § 369, 1.

365. *Derivation of the obl. terminations.* It will be seen from the table of obl. termin. (§ 363), that they are divisible into two great types, of which those of the M. and S. are respectively most characteristic, and which can be best distinguished in the sing. In M. the sg. obl. forms end in a long, in S. in a short vowel. Thus M. obl. sg. (wk. f.) m. *आ*, f. *ए*, m. f. *ई*, m. f. *उ*, and (st. f.) m. *या*, *वा*, f. *ये*, *वे*; again obl. pl. (wk. f.) m. f. *आँ*, *ईँ*, *ऊँ*, and (st. f.) m. f. *वाँ*, *वाँ*. But in S. obl. sg. (wk. f.) m. f. *अ*, *इ*, *उ*, and (st. f.) m. f. *आ* or *ए* (= *अअ*), *इअ*, *उअ* (or in the other Gds. contracted *ई*, *ऊ*); again obl. pl. (wk. f.) m. f. *आँ* or *एँ* (in W. H. *आँ*, *ओँ*), and (st. f.) m. f. *इआँ* or *इएँ*, *उआँ* or *उएँ* (in W. H. *इआँ* or *इओँ*, *उआँ* or *उओँ*). To the S. type belong the W. and N. Gds.; to the M. type, of course, the S. Gd. (i. e. M.), though exceptionally, a few forms of the S. type have found admittance into M.; viz., the M. strong obl. forms in *आ*, *ई*, *उ*. The E. Gds. again are a mixture of both; for their short (incl. weak and strong) forms are of the S. type, and their long forms of the M. This double character can be best seen in E. H. — The original of the Gd. oblique form is the Pr. genitive (see § 366). The obl. f. of the M. type goes back to the M. gen.; that of the S. type to the Ap. gen. — 1) *Deriv. of the Mg. type.* The suff. of the gen. sg. are in Mg. Pr. *स्स* (or *स्स* = Skr. *स्य*) or *ह* (Vr. 11, 12. H. C. 4, 299), which are added indifferently to all three kinds of bases in *अ*, *इ* and *उ* of whatever gender (see § 367).

Before *ह* the final of the base is lengthened. Thus there are two sets of Mg. gen. termin.: 1) अस्स, इस्स, उस्स and 2) अह्, ईह्, उह् or, with strong bases, 1) अअस्स, इअस्स, उअस्स and 2) अआह्, इआह्, उआह्. In M. (representing the old Dk. Pr. of the Mg. Pr. type, see Introd.) the 1<sup>st</sup> set becomes (§§ 143. 147) आत्, ईत्, उत् or (st. f.) वात् (for अयात् or इयात्), वात् (for उयात्), and the 2<sup>nd</sup> set (dropping *ह*<sup>1</sup>) आ, ई, उ or (st. f.) वा (for अया or इया), वा (for उया). In the E. H. (= old A. Mg. Pr.) only the 2<sup>nd</sup> set occurs; viz., (lg. f.) अवा, इवा, उवा (with euph. *व्* and *व्*). Both sets are preserved in the M. dat., which is identical with the old gen. (see Vr. 6, 64); thus M. देवास् or देवा to a God = Dk. Pr. देवस्स or देवाह्, Skr. देवस्य. But, in M., the first set is also preserved in its proper gen. sense in the so-called post-position आढी, which is really a compound of the gen. termin. *स्* and the post-position आढी (= Ap. Pr. अट्टहिं, Skr. अर्थे for the sake of); thus M. देवासाढी lit. for the sake of God, i. e. देवास् आढी = Dk. Pr. देवस्स अट्टहिं, Skr. देवस्य अर्थे. The 2<sup>nd</sup> set is used as the termin. of the ordinary M. and E. H. obl. form, and as such retains its old gen. sense. Thus M. dat. देवा लाई lit. for the benefit of God = Dk. देवाह् लाहहिं, Skr. देवस्य लाभे; or (lg. f.) M. देव्या लाई = Dk. देवयाह् लाहहिं, Skr. देवकस्य लाभे; or E. H. dat. देववा के lit. at the side of God, A. Mg. देवआह कहि, Skr. देवकस्य कत्ते. — 2) The suff. of the gen. sg. of fem. nouns in आ, ई and उ is in Pr. ए (= Skr. वात्) or, shortened, इ or अ (Vr. 5, 22. 23. H. C. 3, 29. 30). The form अ is, evidently, the latest, whence it passed into Gd. Thus the latest Mg. Pr. gen. termin. are: आअ, ईअ, उअ or, with strong bases, इआअ, उआअ. In M., these become ए (for आअ with euph. *व्*), ई and उ (dropping अ), and (st. f.) ये, वे (for वाअ, वाअ); and in E. H., (lg. f.) इया, उआ or उवा (dropping अ and inserting euph.

1) As to the Gd. tendency to drop a final *ह*, see § 32. In the O. H. of Chand *shāh* king is often spelled सा, and *sh* lion सी; e. g., कर्तो आनि साहाब सा बन्धि मोरी, *Revatāṭa* 43; or हा चावँउ जैतसी *Devagiri* 51 for साहाब साह and जैतसीह.



वृ and वृ). These M. and E. H. termin. occur in their obl. forms. Thus M. obl. f. त्रीमे *of a tongue*, contr. for Dk. त्रीमाय or त्रिमाय or त्रिमाइ or त्रिमाए = Skr. त्रिङ्गयाः, of M. त्रीम्, Dk. त्रिभा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. त्रिङ्गा. — 3) There are some M. strong masc. and fem. nouns in ई and उ, the obl. form of which ends also in ई and उ instead of in या m. (वे f.) and वा m. (वे f.). Thus m. विंचू *scorpion* has obl. f. विंचवा or विंचू; m. हत्ती *elephant* has obl. f. हत्ती (not हत्त्या); f. घोड़ी *mare* has obl. f. घोड़ी, (not घोड़े), f. सासू *mother-in-law* has obl. f. सासवे and सासू. It is just possible, that here ई and उ may be contractions of या, वे and वा, वे respectively; but it is much more probable that they are Ap. Pr. forms which have been mixed up in M. with Dk. Pr. forms (see Nro 6)<sup>1</sup>). The same remarks apply to the E. Gd. obl. forms in आ, ई, उ of short-form nouns in आ, ई, उ. Thus E. H. obl. f. घोरा *of a horse* might be contracted from A. Mg. gen. घोउआह; but it is much more probably a contraction of the Ap. Pr. घोउअहो. — 4) The suff. of the gen. pl. are in Mg. Pr. पां or पा (Vr. 5, 4, 4, 16. H. C. 3, 6. 1, 29 = Skr. नाम्) and हँ (H. C. 4, 300), which are added indifferently to bases in अ, इ and उ of whatever gender (see § 367), and before which the final of the base is lengthened. Thus there are two sets of Mg. Pr. termin.: 1) आपां, ईपां, उपां and 2) आहँ, ईहँ, उहँ, or, with strong bases, 1) अआपां, उआपां and 2) अआहँ, उआहँ. In M. the 1<sup>st</sup> set becomes आनां, ईना, उना<sup>2</sup>) or (st. f.) वाना (for अयान or इयान), वाना

1) That both the Mg. and Ap. gen. have contributed to the M. obl. forms, can be clearly seen from the following example: Skr. nom. घोटकः, gen. घोटकस्य becomes, in M., nom. घोडा, obl. घोडवा; analogously Skr. वृत्तसर्कः should be, in M., nom. वाटसर्ग, obl. वाटसर्वा, but it becomes वाटसर्ग, obl. वाटसर्ग. The reason is, that the former represent Mg. forms: nom. घोउए, gen. घोउआह; the latter Ap. forms: nom. वृत्तसर्ग, gen. वृत्तसर्गह or ०हो.

2) These forms are usually divided into आ + ना, ई + ना, उ + ना, and ना is considered to be an aff., and the rest to be the ordinary obl. f. This is possible, as ना might be a modification of the ordinary M. dat. aff. ला, analogous to the G. sg. and pl. dat. aff. ने. But in that case,

(for उञ्जान), and the 2<sup>nd</sup> set becomes (by elision of ह् and contraction of the hiatus-vowels) अॉ, ईँ, ऊँ or (st. f.) वॉ (for अवाँ or इवाँ), वाँ (for उवाँ). In E. H. the first set becomes (by shortening the initial vowel) अन्, इन्, उन्, or (lg. f.) अवन्, इवन्, उवन्, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> set (lg. f.) अवाँ, इवाँ, उवाँ (with euph. व् and व्). In O. H. (Chand and Kabir), however, examples of the 1<sup>st</sup> set with a long vowel still occur; e. g., महिलान् of women, द्रव्यान of riches, गुरवन् to teachers (Bs. II, 219. 207. 282). In M., the 1<sup>st</sup> set is, just as in the sing., preserved in the dat. (= old gen.); thus M. देवांना to Gods = Dk. देवाणं, Skr. देवानाम्. In E. H. the 1<sup>st</sup> set forms the termin. of the ordinary obl. pl., with the sense of the gen.; e. g., loc. देवन् मे lit. in the midst of Gods = A. Mg. देवाण मत्कि, Skr. देवानां मध्ये. The 2<sup>nd</sup> set forms the termin. of the ordinary obl. pl. in M. and obl. sg. in E. H.<sup>1</sup>), also retaining the sense of the gen.; e. g., loc. M. देवाँ ठाईँ lit. in the place of Gods = Dk. देवाहँ ठाणहिं, Skr. देवानां स्थाने, or (lg. f.) M. देव्याँ ठाईँ = Dk. देवयाहँ ठाणहिं, Skr. देवकानां स्वः; or (lg. f.) E. H. देववाँ मे in a God = A. Mg. देववाहँ मकि, Skr. देवकानां मध्ये. — 5) The masc. nouns in ईँ and ऊँ, mentioned in Nro. 3 as having an obl. sg. in ईँ and ऊँ for वा, वा, similarly have an obl. pl. in ईँ and ऊँ, which might be contractions of वॉ and वाँ, but more probably are Ap. forms (see Nro. 7). Thus हत्तो elephant has obl. pl. हत्तो (not हत्वाँ), विंचू scorpion has obl. pl. विंचवाँ or विंचू. — 6) Deriv. of the S. type. The suff. of the gen. sg. are, in the Ap. Pr., हो and हे or, shortened, हु or हि (H. C. 4, 338. 336. 351 and 4, 350. 341. 352. K. I. 30. 34. 36. 35. 29 in Ls. 451. 462), which are added alike to bases in अ, इ, उ of whatever gender (see § 367). Thus there are two sets of Ap. termin.; viz. 1) अहो, इहो, उहो or अहु, इहु, उहु

one would expect ना to be used also in the sg., which is not the case. On the whole, I think it more probable, that the whole is *one* suff., to which, however, a mistaken popular etymology has given an anomalous final अ; the forms ought to be अॉन, ईँन, ऊँन.

1) This confusion of sg. and pl. forms may be also otherwise observed in उँ, see § 367, 5.



and 2) ग्रहे, इहे, उहे or ग्रहि, इहि, उहि or, with strong bases, 1) ग्रग्रहो, इग्रहो, उग्रहो or ग्रग्रहु, इग्रहु, उग्रहु and 2) ग्रग्रहे, इग्रहे, उग्रहे or ग्रग्रहि, इग्रहि, उग्रहि. In old Gd. (O. H., O. P.) the 1<sup>st</sup> set becomes ग्रह, इह, उह or (dropping ह) ग्र, इ, उ, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> set ग्रहि or ए (contr. for ग्रहि = ग्रह), इहि, उहि, or in strong bases, 1) ग्रग्रह, इग्रह, उग्रह or ग्रा (for ग्रग्र), इग्र, उग्र, and 2) ग्रग्रहि or ग्राय (for ग्रग्रह) or ऐ or ए, इग्रहि, उग्रहि. The 1<sup>st</sup> set (in ह) is still found in the O. W. H. of Chand, the 2<sup>nd</sup> set (in हि) in the O. P. of the Granth (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXXVI), in the O. H. of Kabir, Tulsí Dás, etc. and in the O. B. of Vidyápati, etc., in their proper sense of the gen. sg.; e. g., गोचार परह चारै सु गोइ । *a herdsman tends the cattle of an other* (Chand 28, 62), or बोल बोलहु ब्रविचारह । *you speak a speech of inconsiderateness* (Ch. 28, 50), or चहुवानह पास । *by the side of the Chahuván* (Ch. 28, 33). Again राम नाम लै वेराधारा ५ सो तै ले संसारहि पारा ॥ i. e., *so thou mayest reach the farther shore of the world* (Kabir Ram. 75, 3), or जीवहि मरन न होइ ॥ i. e., *of the soul there is no dying* (Kabir Ram. 22, 6). Again प्रणउँ पुर नर नारि बहोरी । ममता जिन पर प्रभुहि न थोरी ॥ i. e., *concerning which the pride of the Lord is not small* (Tulsí Dás, Bal. 10), or होइहि संतत पियहि पियारी ॥ *there will be offspring of the beloved one of the beloved* (T. Dás, Bal. 26), or को गुण दोषहि करै बिचारा ॥ i. e., *who takes account of virtue and vice* (T. Dás, Bal. 30). In the sense of the dat. (= old gen.) हि is very common in O. H. <sup>1)</sup>; thus रंगमयनि सत्र मुनिहि दिवाई ॥ i. e., *he showed all the decorations to the sage* (T. Dás. Bal.), or आपु बुवराजपद रामहि देउ ॥ i. e., *give the heir-apparentship to Rám* (T. Dás Ayodh. 5); also in O. B., e. g., ग्रानहि to another (see Bs. II, 229). Both ह and हि also occur as the termin. of the obl. f.; e. g., कह्यो सम बान ततारह । *he spoke with the Khán Tartár* (Chand 28, 58), or ततारह उपरह । *upon the Tartár* (Ch. 29, 19); or बादिहि ते सब कथा सुनाई *he narrated the whole story from the beginning* (T. Dás

1) Also often, in the sense of the acc. (= dat. = old gen.); e. g., बहु विधि राम शिवहि समुतावा । पर्वती कर जन्म सुनावा ॥ i. e., *in many ways Rám admonished Shiva and narrated the story of the birth of Parvatí* (T. Dás, Bal. 26), etc. See also Kl. 65. 283. 286 and § 367, 3,

in Bs. II, 212). These examples contain also instances of the curtailed form of the gen.; thus राम नाम लै *taking the name of Rāma*, प्रपाडं पुर नर नारि *I salute the men and women of the town*, पियारि संतत (for पियारिच) *offspring of the beloved one*, etc. In modern Gd. both sets occur only in their curtailed forms (with one exception in N., see below): 1) अ, इ, उ and 2) ए or, in strong bases, 1) आ, इअ or ई, उअ or ऊ and 2) आव् or ऐ or ए. The 2<sup>nd</sup> set is still preserved in the B. and O. dat. (= old gen.; especially in words denoting inanimate objects; but generally in poetry and *theth bhāshā*; see S. Ch. 46, 2. 59, 4. 62. 63. Sn. 14. 15); thus B. and O. घरे *to a house* = O. Gd. घरहि, Ap. Pr. घरहे, Skr. गृहस्य; B. दोने *to the poor*, O. Gd. दोनहि, Ap. दीणहे, Skr. दीनस्य; B. तामाव् *to copper*, O. Gd. तामाहि or तामअहि, Ap. तम्वअहे, Skr. ताम्रकस्य, etc. But both sets are used in all Gds. (with the exceptions in Nros 1—5) as the ordinary termin. of the obl. sg., and as such retain their old gen. sense. They are distributed among the various Gds. in the following manner. The contracted weak form ए is confined to the gen. and loc. sg. and nom. pl. of B.; thus B. gen. sg. देवे-ए lit. *done of God*, O. Gd. देवहि कर, Ap. देवहे केह, Skr. देवस्य कृतः (see § 377); loc. sg. देवे ते *in God*; nom. pl. देवे-रा *Gods*, O. Gd. देवहि करा, Ap. देवहे केरउ, Skr. देवस्य कृतकः scl. सङ्गः (see § 364, 2). N. has preserved even the full old form (in हे or ह्) in its nom. pl.; thus N. देवह-ह् or देवहे-ह् *Gods*, O. Gd. देवह केह, Ap. देवहे or °हो केह, Skr. देवस्य कृतः (scl. सङ्गः). The contr. st. f. आ occurs in B., O., Mw. and G.; E. H. has आ and ए, Br. आ and ऐ (i. e. आ in subst., ए or ऐ in adj.); P. and S. have ए; thus gen. sg., B., O. घोडा-ए, Mw. घोडा-रौ, E. H. घोरा कै, Br. घोडा कौ, G. घोडा नो, P. घोडे दा, S. घोडे जो *of a horse*, O. Gd. घोडअह or °हि करौ or केरौ, Ap. घोडअहो or °हे केरउ, Skr. घोटकस्य कृतकः; again E. H. भले कै, Br. भलै कौ *of good*, O. H. भल्लअहि क°, Ap. भल्लअहे क°, Skr. भद्रकस्य क°. The uncontr. st. f. इअ and उअ are possessed by S. only; the contr. ई and ऊ by all other Gds.; thus loc. sg., E. H. etc. हाथी मे, but S. हयिअ मे lit. *in the midst of the elephant*, O. Gd. हयिअह माँही, Ap. हयिअहो मङ्कहिं, Skr. हस्तिकस्य मध्ये; or E. H. etc. विहू मे, but



S. विष्णु मे in the midst of the scorpion, O. Gd. विष्णु मं, Ap. विष्णुमहो मं, Skr. वृश्चिकस्य मं, etc. The weak forms म, इ, उ are common to all Gds; thus dat. sg., O. नरकु, B., E. H. नरके, Br. नर कै, Mw. नर नै, G. नर ने, P. नर नूँ, N. नर लार्ह, S. नर खे lit. by the side of the man, Skr. नरस्य कक्षे. — 7) The suff. of the gen. plur. are, in the Ap. Pr., हं, हुं and हिं (H. C. 4, 339. 340. 337. cf. 347. 351. K. I. 31. 32. 28 in Ls. 451), which are added indifferently to bases in म, इ, उ of whatever gender (§ 367). Thus there are three sets of Ap. Pr. termin.: 1) म्हं, इहं, उहं, 2) महुं, इहुं, उहुं, 3) महिं, इहिं, उहिं or, with strong bases, 1) ममहं, इमहं, उमहं, 2) ममहुं, इमहुं, उमहुं, 3) ममहिं, इमहिं, उमहिं. In O. H. the 3<sup>d</sup> set is still found in the sense of the dat. (= old. gen.); thus मातुषितहिं पुनि वह मत भावा this counsel, again, pleased (her) parents (T. Dás. in Kl. 286); or दोन्ह सलोस सबहिं सुखमानो he gave a blessing to all of happy import (T. Dás, Bal.); or जो तुमहिं सुता पर नेहू। lit. if to you there is love for your daughter or if there is love of you for your daughter<sup>1</sup>). In modern Gd., ह is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted; thus 1) मी, ई, ऊ, 2) मी or मी, (इहुं deest), ऊ, 3) ऐ or ऐ, ई, (उहिं deest) or, in strong bases, 1) मी, इयाँ or वी, उयाँ or वी, 2) मी or मी, इयोँ or इयोँ or इयूँ, उमी or उमी or ऊ, 3) ऐ or ऐ, इऐ or ई, उऐ. Most of these forms serve as the termin. of the ordinary obl. plur., and, as such, retain their original gen. sense. They are distributed among the various Gds., as follows. The forms मी (wk. or st.), इयाँ or वी, उयाँ or वी occur in S., P. and Mw.; the forms मी or मी (wk. or st.), इयोँ or इयोँ, उमी or उमी in Br. and H. H.; the forms ऐ (wk. or st.), इऐ, उऐ in S., and the st. forms ई and ऊ in M. Thus loc. pl.; S., P., Mw. नरीं मेँ lit. in the midst of men, Ap. पारहं सकहिं, Skr. नराणां मध्ये; Br. नरीं मेँ, H. H. नरीं मेँ, Ap.

1) Also often in the sense of the acc. (= dat. = old gen.); e. g., तब रामहिं बिलोकि बैदेही then Vaidehī having beheld Rāma (T. Dás, Bal.); रामहिं is here the plur. majestatis; but the pl. हिं is often used for the sg. हि, see § 367, 5.

नरुं मं; S. नरे मे, Ap. पारहिं मं; or in st. f., S., P., Mw. घोडों मे  
in the midst of horses, Ap. घोडग्रहं मरुकिहिं, Skr. घोटकानां मध्ये; Br.  
घोडों मे, H. H. घोडों मे, Ap. घोडग्रहं मं; S. घोडों मे, Ap. घोडग्रहिं मं;  
etc. Again M. dat. pl. हत्ती ला lit. for the benefit of elephants,  
Ap. हत्तिग्रहिं लाहि, Skr. हस्तिकानां लाभे, etc. The rest of the forms  
are used as termin. of the nom. pl.; see § 369<sup>1</sup>). — 8) I add  
a few more examples to illustrate the preceding remarks: *Weak*  
*bases in* अ: masc. or neut., जल water; gen. sg., Skr. जलस्य, 1) Mg.  
Pr. (a) जलप्रश्न or (b) जलाह, M. (a) जलास् or (b) जला; 2) Ap. Pr.  
(c) जलहो or (d) जलहे, O. Gd. (c) जलह or (d) जलहि, M. Gd. (c)  
जल (in all) or (d) जले (in B. and O.). Fem. जिह्वा tongue, gen. sg.  
Skr. जिह्वायाः, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जिभार or जिभाइ or जिभाग्र or जिभाय  
(with euph. य्), M. (a) जिभे; 2) Ap. Pr. (b) जिभहो or (c) जिभहे,  
O. Gd. (b) जीमह or (c) जीमहि, M. Gd. (b) जीम (in all) or (c) जीमे  
(in B., O.). Gen. plur., Skr. जलानाम्, जिह्वानाम्, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जलापां,  
जिभपां or (b) जलाहं, जिभाहं, M. (a) जलांना, जिभांना or (b) जलाँ,  
जिभाँ, E. H. (a) जलन्, जीमन्, Br. (a) जलन् or जलनि, जीमन् or जीमनि,  
S. (a) जलनि, जीमनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) जलहं, जिभहं or (d) जलहुं, जिभहुं  
or (e) जलहिं, जिभहिं, O. H. (c) जलहिं, जिभहिं, S., P., Mw. (c) जलाँ,  
जिभाँ, Br. (d) जलोँ, जीमोँ, H. H. (d) जलोँ, जीमोँ, S. (d) जलेँ, जिमेँ. —

*Strong bases in* अ: masc. or neut., ताम्रक copper; gen. sg., Skr.  
ताम्रकस्य, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) तम्रप्रश्न or (b) तम्रयाह (with euph. य्); M.  
(a) ताँव्यास् or (b) ताँव्या, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) ताम्रवा (with euph. व्);  
2) Ap. Pr. (c) तम्रग्रहो or (d) तम्रग्रहे, O. Gd. (c) ताँव्राह or (d) ताँव्राहि,  
O., E. H. (c) ताम्रा, W. H., N., G. (c) ताँव्रा, B. (c) ताम्रा or (d)  
ताम्राय्, P., H. H. (d) ताँव्रे, S. (d) ताम्रे. Fem., see fem. strong bases in इ.  
Gen. plur., Skr. ताम्रकानाम्, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) तम्रयापां or (b) तम्रयाहं,  
M. (a) ताँव्यांना or (b) ताँव्याँ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) ताम्रवन् (with euph. व्)  
or (b) ताम्रवाँ (but used in the sg.); E. H. has also the anomalous  
short form ताम्रन्, Br. ताँव्रन् or ताँव्रनि, S. ताम्रनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c)  
तम्रग्रहं or (d) तम्रग्रहुं or (e) तम्रग्रहिं, P., Mw. (c) ताँव्राँ, S. (c) ताम्राँ,  
Br. (d) ताँव्रौँ, H. H. (d) ताँव्रौँ, S. (e) ताम्रे. Fem., see fem. strong

1) Some of them are also used to form the loc., instr. and abl. sg.  
or pl. in S., P. and M.; see §§ 367, 2. 376, 3. 378, 3.



bases in इ. — *Weak bases in इ*: masc. or neut., कवि poet.; gen. sg., Skr. कवेः (lit. कविस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) कविप्रश्न or (b) कवीह, M. (a) कवीस् or (b) कवी; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) कविहो or (d) कविहे, O. Gd. (c) कविह or (d) कविहि, M. Gd. (c) कवि (in all). *Fem.* भिन्नि wall; gen. sg., Skr. भिन्त्याः or भिन्नेः (lit. भिन्नस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) भिन्निप्रश्न or (b) भिन्नीह, M. (a) भौत्तोस् or (b) भौत्तो; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) भिन्निहो or (d) भिन्निहे, O. Gd. (c) भौतिह or (d) भौतिहि. P., S. (c) भिति, B., O., E. H., W. H., G. भीत. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. कवीनाम्, भिन्नीनाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) कवीणां, भिन्नीणां or (b) कवीहं, भिन्नीहं, M. (a) कवीन्ना, भौत्तोन्ना or (b) कवी, भौत्तो, E. H. (a) कविन्, भौतिन्, Br. कविन् or कविनि, भौतिन् or भौतिनि, S. कविनि, भित्तिनि or (lg. f.) भित्तिञ्चनि or भित्तिडनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) कविहं, भिन्निहं or (d) कविहुं, भिन्निहुं or (e) कविहिं, भिन्निहिं, O. H. (e) कविहिं, भौतिहिं, in M. Gd.; only the long forms occur; viz. Ap. Pr. (c) कविञ्चहं, भिन्निञ्चहं or (d) कविञ्चहुं, भिन्निञ्चहुं or (e) कविञ्चहिं, भिन्निञ्चहिं, Mw., P., S. (c) कवियाँ, Br. (d) कवियों, H. H. (d) कवियो, भौतियो, S. (e) कविहँ, भिन्निहँ. — *Strong bases in इ*: masc. or neut., मालिक gardener; gen. sg., Skr. मालिकस्य; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) मालिचप्रश्न or (b) मालिचाह, M. (a) माल्यास् or (b) माल्या, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) मलिया; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) मालिचहो or (d) मालिचहे, O. Gd. (c) मालिचह or (d) मालिचहि, S. (c) मालिच, E. H. etc. (c) माली. *Fem.* घोडिका mare; gen. sg., Skr. घोडिकायाः, Ap. Pr. (a) घोडिचहो or (b) घोडिचहे, O. Gd. (a) घोडिचह or (b) घोडिचहि, S. (a) घोडिच, E. H., M., etc. (a) घोडे, The Mg. forms exist only in M. monosyllabic words and E. H. long forms: as स्त्रिका woman; gen. sg., Skr. स्त्रिकायाः, Mg. \*स्त्रियार् or \*स्त्रियाह or \*स्त्रियाय, M. स्त्रिये, E. H. स्त्रिया (tats.); similarly E. H. (lg. f.) घोडिया. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. मालिकानाम्, घोडिकानाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) मालिचाणां, घोडिचाणां or (b) मालिचाहं, घोडिचाहं, M. (a) माल्यान्ना, घोड्यान्ना or (b) माल्याँ, घोड्याँ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) मलियन्, घोडियन् or (b) मलियाँ, घोडियाँ (but used in the sing.); Br. (a) मालिवनि, घोडिवनि, S. (a) मालिचनि or माल्यनि or मालिडनि or माल्युनि, घोडिचनि or घोडिडनि, etc.; E. H. has also the anomalous short forms मालिन्, घोडिन्, Br. and S. मालिनि, घोडिनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) मालिचहं, घोडिचहं or (d) मालिचहुं, घोडिचहुं or (e) मालिचहिं, घोडिचहिं, S. (a) मालिचाँ or माल्याँ, घोडिचाँ or घोड्याँ, Mw. (a) माल्याँ, घोड्याँ, P. (a) मालीचाँ, घोडिचाँ

(with anomalous ई), Br. (d) मालियो, घोडियो, H. H. (d) मालियो, घोडियो, S. (e) मालिर्, घोडिर्. — *Weak bases in उ*: masc. or neut., गुरु teacher; gen. sg., Skr. गुरोः (lit. गुरुस्); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गुलुग्रा or (b) गुलूह, M. (a) गुरस् or (b) गुर; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) गुरुहो or (d) गुरुहे, O. Gd. (c) गुरुह or (d) गुरुहि, M. Gd. (c) गुरु (in all). *Fem.* like masc. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. गुरुणाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गुलूपा or (b) गुलूह, M. (a) गुरन्ना or (b) गुरन्, E. H. (a) गुरुन्, Br. (a) गुरुन् or गुरुनि, S. (a) गुरुनि; 2) short forms *desunt* in Gd.; in their place the long forms are used: Ap. Pr. (c) गुरुग्रहं or (d) गुरुग्रहुं or (c) गुरुग्रहिं, P. (c) गुरुग्रा, Mw. (c) गुर्वी, Br. (d) गुरुग्रो, H. H. (d) गुरुग्रो, O. H. (e) गुरुहिं or गुरुग्रहिं. *Fem.* like masc. — *Strong bases in उ*: masc. or neut., वृश्चिक scorpion; gen. sg., Skr. वृश्चिकस्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) विच्छुग्र or (b) विच्छुग्राह, M. (a) विच्छास् or (b) विच्छा, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) विच्छुग्रा or विच्छुवा; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) विच्छुग्रहो or (d) विच्छुग्रहे, O. Gd. (c) विच्छुग्रहं or (d) विच्छुग्रहि, S. (c) विच्छुग्र, E. H. (c) विच्छु, M. (c) विच्छू. *Fem.* बालुका sand; gen. sg., Skr. बालुकायाः; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) बालुग्रा or बालुग्राह or बालुग्राय, M. (a) बालू, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) बालुग्रा or बालुवा; 2) Ap. Pr. (b) बालुग्रहो or (c) बालुग्रहे, O. Gd. (b) बालुग्रह or (c) बालुग्रहि, S. (b) बालुग्र, E. H., etc. बालू. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. वृश्चिकानाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) विच्छुग्रापां or (b) विच्छुग्राह, M. (a) विच्छाना or (b) विच्छा, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) विच्छुग्रन् or (b) विच्छुग्रा (but used in the sing.), Br. विच्छुग्रन् or विच्छुग्रनि, S. विच्छुग्रनि; E. H. has also the anomalous short form विच्छुग्रन्, Br. and S. विच्छुग्रनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) विच्छुग्रहं or (d) विच्छुग्रहुं or (e) विच्छुग्रहिं, P. and S. (c) विच्छुग्रा, Mw. (c) विच्छा, Br. (d) विच्छुग्रो, H. H. (d) विच्छुग्रो, S. (e) विच्छुर्. *Fem.* like masc. — G. is peculiar in dropping the final *anunāsika* in the obl. plur. of masc. and fem. nouns; e. g., G. obl. pl. देवो Gods for \*देवो, Ap. देवहुं; fem. जीभो tongues for \*जीभो, Ap. जिभहु; again in strong bases: G. masc. obl. pl. घोडाव or घोडाउ<sup>1)</sup>

1) These forms are sometimes spelled with final ओ, as घोडाओ (so in Ed. 36. Bs. II, 189); the really correct spelling is with उ or व्, as written for me by a Pandit. But it is quite customary now in Gd., to spell the same final sound as उ or व् or ओ; thus in W. H. देउ or देव् or देओ god, चहाउ or चहाव् or चहाओ attack.



horses for \*घोडाउ, Ap. घोडग्रहुं; fem. पोघीउ books, Ap. पोबिग्रहु. According to H. C. 4, 351, even in the Ap. Pr., fem. nouns have no final anuswāra. But G. retains it in neut. nouns; e. g., G. obl. pl. सोनौ or सोनौउ, Ap. सोसग्रहुं. On the other hand, it adds it anomalously in the sg. neut.; as G. obl. sg. सोनौ gold for \*सोना, Ap. सोसग्रहो.

366. *Origin of the obl. form.* 1) The Gd. obl. f. is identical with the Skr. and Pr. gen. case. For a) it has been already shown (§ 365) that the suff. of the former can be phonetically traced back to those of the latter. b) It will be shown in §§ 375—378, that the Gd. case-affixes are, in reality, nouns (generally in the loc. case); as such they must be constructed with the gen. of the noun, which they govern; hence it follows that the obl. f., in which the latter is always put, when it takes a case-aff., must be the old gen.; e. g., E. H. नरन् मे वटै *he is in the midst of men*, O. H. नरन्ह महि वटै, Pr. नराणं मन्त्रि वटइ, Skr. नराणां मध्ये वर्तते. c) Pr. Gramm. state expressly (H. C. 4, 422. T. V. 3, 3. 56) that the word केर, which is the same as the E. H. gen. aff. कै or कर or O. H. केर, is constructed with the gen., whence it follows that the obl. form, with which those gen. aff. are constructed, is the old gen. d) It can be shown, that Pr. has a tendency to substitute the gen. in the place of all other obl. cases and to make it the one, *universal inflexion*. This proves that the obl. form, which is the one, universal inflexion in Gd., must be the old gen. In Pr. this is but an other instance of its general tendency to produce uniformity of grammatical forms. Two instances of this have been already noticed; the one in regard to roots (§ 347), the other referring to bases (§ 205). Here we have a third instance, affecting the cases. In Skr. there are, generally, seven cases or inflexions: the nom., acc., instr., dat., abl., gen., loc. In Pr. the dat. has (almost) entirely disappeared, and its place been taken by the gen. (Vr. 6, 64. H. C. 3, 131); but there is a tendency to substitute the gen. for the other obl. cases also, so as to leave only two inflexions, the nom. and gen. This is

expressly stated by Pr. Gramm. (H. C. 3, 134. T. V. 2, 3. 39). In the Ap. Pr. that process of substitution is especially marked. Its gen. suff. are expressly stated to form the abl. (compare H. C. 4, 336. 337. 341. 351 with 4, 338. 340) and the loc. (H. C. 4, 340) also<sup>1</sup>). In Gd. there are only two inflexions left, the direct form or nomin., and the obl. form or gen. But in order to obviate the necessary ambiguity of this uniformity, Gd. adds different affixes to the obl. form, to indicate the particular case, in the sense of which the obl. form is to be understood. Thus the obl. form with कै means the gen., with से the instr., with मे the loc., etc. In this way the original seven cases are re-established in Gd. — 2) It should be observed, however, that since there are in the Ap. Pr. several gen. suff. for the sing. (हो and हे) and the plur. (हं, हुं, हिं), several obl. forms are possible in the Gds. and do actually exist in most of them. In the latter case, one of them is used as the *general* obl. form and always constructed with case-aff.; but the other constitutes a *special* obl. form for one or, at most, two cases, and, as a rule, takes no affix. Thus there is in G. and Mw. the *general* obl. f. sg. in चा = Ap. gen. in चहो, and the *special* obl. f. sg. in ऐ or ए = Ap. gen. in चहे; e. g., G. instr. घोडा पे or घोडे by a horse; Mw. loc. घोडा में or घोडे in a horse. — 3) It is curious to observe that the levelling process noted just now, has a tendency, both in the Ap. and in Gd., to reduce the whole declension to *one inflexion*, by substituting (§ 369) the obl. form even for the dir. form or nom. case. The cause, possibly, was their similarity; thus in the Ap. the nom. sg. would be देवमो or देवउ god (Skr. देवका), the gen. sg. देवहो or देवहु; whence, by inserting an euph. ह in the nom., the two forms would be easily assimilated.

1) Exceptionally all these cases are preserved in Pr.; thus the dat. sg. in the sense of „for the sake of“ (H. C. 3, 132. 133), as देवय for the sake of god; in the Ap. Pr., the abl. sg. in चाहु or चाउ (Ls. 461), and the loc. sg. in इ (H. C. 4, 334 = Skr. ए). The abl. sg. in चाउ survives even in S. poetry (Tr. 118).



367. *Distribution of the Pr. gen. suff.* The ordinary Pr. suff. of the gen. sg. is स्स and of the pl. पां. There are also the suff., sg. ह, pl. हँ which are peculiar to Mg., and sg. हो or हे, pl. हँ, हुँ, or हिं which are peculiar to Ap. 1) The ordinary Pr. suff. are derived from the Skr. sg. स्य, pl. नाम् (i. e. न् + अम्). In Skr., नाम् is added to all three kinds of bases in अ, इ and उ; but स्य is added only to अ-bases. In Pr. both पां and स्स, and similarly the special suff. ह, हँ, etc., are added to all three kinds. In Vr. 5, 8. H. C. 3, 10 स्स and पां are apparently limited to *a*-bases, but the succeeding rules Vr. 6, 60. H. C. 3, 124 extend them to *i*- and *u*-bases also; and this is born out by Pr. literature. Hence there can be no doubt, that the Mg. ह and हँ and the Ap. हो, though apparently limited by H. C. 4, 299. 300. 338 to *a*-bases, in reality belong to *i*- and *u*-bases also. This is born out by the evidence of modern Gd.; and, moreover, it is expressly affirmed by K. I. and Md. Thus H. C. 4, 336. 338 gives हो to the gen. and abl. of masc. (always incl. neut.) *a*-bases; and हे to the abl. of masc. *i*- and *u*-bases (4, 341)<sup>1</sup>). Again K. I. (30. 34 in Ls. 451. 462) gives हो to the gen. of all masc. bases and to the abl. of masc. *i*- and *u*-bases; and हे (29. 36) to the abl. of all masc. bases and to the gen. of masc. *a*-bases. Again both H. C. (4, 350) and K. I. (35) give हे to the gen. and abl. of all fem. bases. Lastly Md. gives both हो and हे to the abl. of all masc. and fem. bases<sup>2</sup>). These conflicting statements really supplement each other, as shown by modern Gd. It should be remembered, 1) that the abl. and gen. are identical in Ap. Pr. (as, indeed, they ge-

1) H. C. 4, 336 gives हुँ as the abl. suff. of *a*-bases, but this is merely a shortening of हो, which is given by Md. (see next footnote). As to the gen. of *i*- and *u*-bases, H. C. is silent; which seems to indicate, that it may be हो by the analogy of *a*-bases, and हे by the usual identity of the gen. and abl. of cases.

2) Md. says: उस्तु हे हो च ॥ उस्ते स्थाने हेहो च स्वातां ॥ रुक्खहे वडिदु । रुक्खहो ॥ (अग्निहो) । अग्निहो ॥ बालाहे । बालाहो ॥ i. e., the abl. sg. has हे or हो, as „he is fallen from a tree, from fire, from a girl“. On the gen., I cannot find any rule; which would seem to show that it is identical with the abl.

nerally are even in Skr.), and 2) that the Ap., no doubt, varied slightly in the localities of the different grammarians. The general result is, that in the Ap. Pr. both *हो* and *हे* were used to form both the gen. and abl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, whether masc., fem., or neut. — The case of the Ap. plur. suff. *हं* and *हुं* is similar. In H. C. 4, 339. 340 *हं* is ascribed to the gen. and *हुं* to the abl. (4, 337. 341) of all masc. bases, and *हुं* (4, 340) also to the gen. of masc. bases in *i* and *u*. Again K. I. (31. 32) gives *हं* to the gen. of all masc. bases and to the abl. (33) of masc. bases in *i* and *u*, and *हुं* to the abl. (28) of masc. bases in *a*. Lastly Md. allows both *हं* and *हुं* to all masc., both in the gen. and abl.<sup>1)</sup> As regards the fem. bases, both K. I. and Md. are silent, which really means, that their gen. and abl. do not differ from those of the masc. (and neut.). This is confirmed by H. C. 4, 351, who gives to the fem. gen. and abl. the suff. *हु*, which is either the same as the sg. gen. and abl. suff. *हु* or *हो* (H. C. 4, 336. 338), or identical with the pl. gen. and abl. suff. *हुं* dropping the anuswāra. The general result again is, that in the Ap. Pr. both *हं* and *हुं* are used to form both the gen. and abl. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, whether masc., fem., or neut. And this is born out by the state of the modern Gds. — 2) As to the Ap. pl. suff. *हिं*, both H. C. (4, 347) and Md.<sup>2)</sup> ascribe it to the loc. and instr. plur. K. I., by his silence (Ls. 463), probably implies the same thing; since *हिं* was already the instr. pl. suff. in the Mh. Pr. (Vr. 5, 18). But it appears to have been used also for the gen. plur. This is, perhaps, the true reading

1) Md. says: *हंहुं भयसः ॥ भयो हंहुमौ स्यातां ॥ हक्खहं पडिटु ॥ परहुं चलिदु ॥ बाहुल्यात् ॥ हक्खाहितो ॥ पोसुंतो ॥ सुपो वा । यामो वा । हंहुमौ स्यातां ॥ वम्भणाहं । वम्भणाहुं । ब्राह्मणानामित्यर्थः । वम्भणाणां ॥ i. e., the abl. pl. takes *हं* or *हुं*; as „it fell from the trees“, „he came from foreign (countries)“; also the loc. and gen. pl. take *हं* and *हुं*, as „of Brāhmanas“.*

2) Md. says: *हिभिस्त्रिसुपां ॥ त्रिषेष्वां हि स्यात् ॥ पुरिसहिं । वषाहिं । बहुहिं ॥ i. e., all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* take *हिं* in the loc. and instr. plur., as „in or by men, in or by forests, in or by wives“.*



in K. I. 32 (Ls. 451. 464), where हेँ is given for the gen. plur. Again both H. C. (4, 340) and Md. (see footnote 1, p. 205) allow the gen. suff. हँ and हुँ to the loc. plur. also; vice versa, the loc. suff. हिं may have been allowed to the gen. At all events, in O. Gd., हिं is found as a suff. of the dat. (= old gen.); and in M. Gd. (S.) it appears as the obl. pl. suff. रँ (contr. for ग्रहिं); see examples in § 365, 7. Indeed the term. ग्रहिं seems to occur in the contracted form रँ even in the Ap. Pr.; though as a term. of the instr. sing. (see H. C. 4, 343. K. I. 23. 24). The examples in Md. are: वणरँ *by a forest*, वालारँ *by a girl*, अगिरँ *by fire*, वाउरँ *by wind*; they would be equal to \*वणग्रहिं, \*वालोग्रहि, \*अगिग्रहिं, \*वाउग्रहिं. Here रँ can hardly be = Skr. term. रन (as Ls. 461); for the latter would not be added to fem. bases in ग्रा. Moreover, as will be shown in Nro. 3, the sing. term. ग्रहि is similarly contracted to र. It may, also, be added that the pl. term. ग्रहिं is similarly used as a term. of the loc. sing. (see K. I. 26. 27. Ls. 451. 463), as घरहिं or घरे or घरि *in a house*. In Gd., this practise of using the pl. suff. for the sing. is sometimes extended to all plur. suff. हँ, हुँ, हिं; see Nro. 5. — 3) The Ap. sing. suff. हो is sometimes shortened to हु (H. C. 4, 336. 351); thus H. C. has रुखहु, but Md. (see footnote 2, p. 204) रुखहो *from a tree* or of a tree; sometimes even to ह, according to Ls' conjecture of K. I. 34 (Ls. 462); e. g., अगिहो or अगिह *of fire*; sometimes even ह is dropped (H. C. 4, 345). In the form हु it still occurs in the O. P. of the Granth (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI) and expresses the abl. In the form ह it is often found in the O. W. H. of Chand, and expresses the gen., abl., loc., act., acc.-dat.; thus *gen.* in गोचार परह चारै सु गोह । i. e., *the herdsman tends the cows of an other* (28, 62), or *सेन भीमह करि किनिय । i. e., he dispersed the Army of Bhima* (38, 41), or *चरुयौ उदै क्रूरह बलिय । i. e., he marched at the rise of mighty Saturn* (27, 47), or *वन वृष मृग सिंहह रु गत । i. e., in the forest is plenty of deer, lions and elephants* (27, 13); *abl.* in फूलह सुधार धर । *having adorned the body with flowers* (38, 37) or *तब सुमंत परधानह पुझिय । i. e., then he asked good counsel of the Premier* (28, 88);

loc. ज्ञाने कि अकासह मान दिन । *just as in the sky the measure of day,* i. e., the sun (26, 25), or न्याय तौ कलह न किञ्चै । i. e., *justice is not done in the Kali age* (28, 41); act. बीसलह राज कवि पुच्छ कथ्य । i. e., *Visala rāja told the whole story* (1, 82) or तप सु डंउ तुग्रह । i. e., *the Tugr has abandoned asceticism* (28, 55); acc. अनंगपालह बुलाइय । i. e., *he has called Anangpāla* (28, 9), or अनंगेसह लैआउ । i. e., *bring ye Anangesa* (28, 77). The form without ह is the common one in M. Gd.; see § 365, 6. — 4) The Ap. sg. suff. हे of the gen. and abl. is sometimes also used as a loc. suff., e. g., एताहे *now*, lit., *in that*, scl. *time* (H. C. 2, 134; the same एताहे is an abl. from that, H. C. 3, 82, 83), or एतहे *in this*, तेतहे *in that*, scl. *place* (H. C. 4, 436). But, as a rule, it is shortened to हि, when it expresses the loc. (H. C. 4, 341, 352), e. g., कलिहि *in the Kali age*; and after a-bases ह् may be elided, as पच्छह *behind*, after (H. C. 4, 420 for \*पच्छहि), अगह *before* (H. C. 4, 391), एम्बह *thus* (H. C. 4, 420), but commonly the term. अहि (or अह) is contracted to ए (H. C. 4, 334), e. g., तले *below* for \*तलह् or \*तलहि<sup>1</sup>). In this contracted form ए, it is also used in the Ap. Pr. to express the instr. sg. (of fem. nouns<sup>2</sup>); see H. C. 4, 349, 333. K. I. 38 and Md. स्त्रियां च ए च स्यात् ॥ बुद्धि । धेनुए । पाइए । बहुर । बालाए ॥ i. e., fem. bases also take ए (viz. besides ए, as बालाए), as *by intelligence*, *by a cow*, *by a river*, *by a wife*, *by a girl*; contr. for \*बुद्धिअहि, \*पाइअहि (Skr. नदिकायाम्). In the form हि it still occurs in the O. P. of the Granth, to express the gen., abl., dat. and acc. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXV); also in O. H., to express the gen., abl., loc., dat. and acc.; thus *gen. in राजहि तुम पर प्रीति विजोषी there is a special love of*

1) This ए is usually considered to be the Skr. and (Mh. Pr.) loc. suff. ए; but that old suff. is hardly likely to have survived so long; and has been, indeed, worn down to इ in Ap. (H. C. 4, 334); e. g., Ap. तले or तलि *below*; the former = Ap. तलहि, the latter = Skr. तले.

2) This cannot be the Mh. Pr. instr. suff. ए; for that suff. had already in the Mh. Pr. been (optionally) worn down to इ or अ, and, moreover, requires the lengthening of the final vowel of the base (Vr. 5, 22); thus the instr. sg. of नदी *river* is in Mh. Pr. पाईए or पाईइ or पाईअ, but in the Ap. पाइए.



*the king for you* (T. Dás in Kl. 286); *abl.* को किहि वंसहि उपज्यौ (Chand I, 167 in Bs. II, 211), or गुरुहि पूछ करि कुलिविधि राजा *the king having enquired from the Guru performed the family rites* (T. Dás in Kl. 65); *loc.* in किहि काज रिपि आवौ घरहि *for what cause, Rishi, hast thou come into the house* (Chand I, 45 in Bs. II, 211); *dat.* बहु विधि चेरिहि आदर देइ *in many ways he shows honor to the bond-maid* (T. Dás in Kl. 286); *acc.* मुनि रघुबरहि प्रसंस *the sage extolled Raghubar* (T. Dás in Kl. 283); see other examples in § 365, 6. The contr. form *ए* is used in B. and O., to express the *dat.-acc., loc. and instr.*; as घरे *to or in or by a house* (see S. Ch. 59, 4. 62. Sn. 15); and in B. even for the *nom.* (S. Ch. 56, see § 369). In G. and Mw. it is used to express the *instr. (or act.) and loc.*; thus G. घरे, Mw. घरै *by or in a house* (Kl. 66, a. Ed. 31, 87. 34, d); in H., P., S. it is used for the *loc.*; thus घरे *in the house* (Ld. 12, 37. 77, 133. Tr. 120, 7). — 5) The Ap. Pr. gen. plur. suff. are sometimes used in the *sing.* Thus in the Ap., the suff. हिं (or the term. ग्रहिं), which commonly expresses the *loc. or instr. pl.* (H. C. 4, 347) is often used for the *loc. sg.*; see K. I. 26. 27 (in Ls. 451. 462); e. g., सुरहिं or सुरे or सुरि *in a god*; and, in the contracted form एं, for the *instr. sg.* (H. C. 4, 343, see Nro. 2); e. g., अग्निएं *by fire* for \*अग्निग्रहिं (Skr. अग्निकेन). In O. H. the suff. हिं is as often used for the *dat., acc. and loc. in the sing. as in the plur.*; thus *dat.* in कहु केहि रंकहिं करौं नरेसु, i. e., *say, what pauper shall I make a king* (T. Dás in Kl. 283); *loc.* in निज लोकहिं विरंच गये देवन्ह इहै सिखाइ। i. e., *Brahmá, having taught this the gods, went to his own world* (T. Dás in Kl. 122); *acc.* in रामहिं प्रेम समेत लखि सखिन समीप बुलाइ i. e. *beholding Ráma with affection she called near her friends* (T. Dás in Bál.), etc. Similarly it occurs in M., in the contracted form ईं, both in the *loc. sg. and plur.* (Man. 17, 45. 27, 66. 28, 2); as घरों *in a house or in houses* for \*ग्रहिं; and, in the contracted form एं, in the *instr. sg.* (Man. 17, 45. 28, 66); e. g., घरें *by a house* for \*ग्रहिं<sup>1)</sup>. Also E. H.

1) This explains why the M. instr. in एं is seldom used except with the postpositions कहन् or कइन् (Man. 28, note 1); for it is really a gen.

and W. H. occasionally have it, in the contr. form ऐ or ए, in the loc. sing.; as पाइँ or पाइँ behind, after for \*पच्छिं (see § 77, exc.). Again the suff. हुँ (or term. अहुँ) which in Ap. Pr. expresses the abl. and loc. plur. (H. C. 4, 340), is used in S. for the abl. sg. in the forms अउँ or ओँ or उँ (Tr. 118), in P. for the abl. or, occasionally, loc. sg. in the form ओँ (Ld. 12, 37), and in W. H. for the loc. sg. in the form उ; thus S. घरउँ or घरौँ or घरौँ, P. घरौँ from a house, or P. पाछौँ, W. H. पाछ behind, after, for \*घरहुँ, \*पच्छहुँ. Again the suff. हँ (or termin. अहँ), which in the Ap. expresses the abl. and loc. plur. (see Nro. 2), is used in M. for the loc. both of the sing. and plur. in the contr. form अं (Man. 17, 45. 27, 66. 28, 2); e. g., घरँ in a house or in houses, for \*घरहँ; also occasionally in E. H. and W. H.; e. g., E. H. इहाँ, W. H. यहाँ here, lit. in this, scl. place, for \*एरहँ (Skr. ईदृश); in S. it forms the abl. sing. (Tr. 117, 5); e. g., घरँ from a house, मंकाँ from within, for \*मन्काहँ. Lastly the Mg. Pr. gen. plur. suff. आहँ (H. C. 4, 300) is used in E. H. for the obl. sing.; thus घोडवाँ (कै of) a horse, for Mg. घोडआहँ; see § 365, 4. — 6) The gen. sg. suff. हो and हे are also used in Ap. Pr. and Gd. to express the nom. and voc. sg. or pl.; see § 369.

368. *Origin of the gen. or obl. suffixes.* 1) The Skr. gen. sg. suff. स्य becomes in Pr. स्स (Vr. 5, 8) according to the usual phonetic laws (Ls. 274. 275; see §§ 150. 137). But though स्स is the common form, yet in the pronouns Pr. already shows a tendency to reduce it to स and to lengthen the preceding vowel (see § 150, 2); e. g., gen. masc. कास = कस्स of whom (Vr. 6, 5. H. C. 3, 64); neut. कीस why = \*किस (Ls. 326); fem. कीसे = \*किसे (Vr. 6, 6. H. C. 3, 64). In Gd. this process is extended to all gen., including those of nouns, as may be seen in M. (see § 365, 1); in Br. the two pronom. gen. तास of which, तास of him (Kl. 122. 133) are its only relics. Besides स्स (K. I. 30 in Ls. 451)

or obl. form, and as such naturally takes a postposition; see § 366, 1; if it were, as commonly supposed, identical with the old Skr. instr. in एन, the addition of the postpos. would be very superfluous and anomalous.





the Ap. Pr. has स्तु or सु; in the latter case with or without the lengthening of the preceding vowel (H. C. 4, 338. 358. K. I. 30); though it is not clear, how the final उ arose. Traces of this Ap. form have survived in the O. H. and Br. pronom. gen. तासु, त्रासु; e. g., तासु किन्तो चंद कहिय of *him the glory Chand has told* (Chand 1, 46 in Bs. II, 316, see Kl. 122. 133). The O. W. H. of Chand has occasionally nominal gen. in अस (perhaps = Ap. असु); e. g., पुत्री बरी उत्तैन दिसि । पहिलै पंगस पुत्र ॥ i. e., *a daughter has married in Ujainland, first the son of Panga* (25, 22). The O. P. of the Granth appears to have a gen. in असि (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI). — 2) The Skr. स्व, however, also changes in Pr. to ह or हि, with the lengthening of the preceding vowel (cf. Ls. 398); the conj. स्त् becoming ह्, as in the fut. suff. हामि, हिद् for स्वामि, स्वति (Vr. 7, 12. 13), and the vowel being lengthened by way of compensation. The form ह is limited to the Mg. Pr. (Vr. 11, 12), and हि to the abl. case (Vr. 5, 6), which is identical with the gen.<sup>1)</sup> Thus Pr. abl. वच्चाहि from a calf (lit. gen. of a calf), Mg. Pr. gen. वच्चाह of a calf, Pr. गिरिहि from a mountain, गुरुहि from a teacher (H. C. 3, 124). The Ap. Pr. gen. suff. हे is, probably, an other modification of the Skr. स्व (cf. Ls. 462), which, because of its final र being heavy, does not lengthen the preceding vowel; as वच्चेहे, गिरिहे, गुरुहे<sup>2)</sup>. In O. Gd. it is shortened to हि (as वच्चेहि, गिरिहि, गुरुहि), the gen. character of which is shown by its being especially used for the dat. (= old gen., see examples in §§ 365, 6. 267, 4) or generally for the obl. in connexion with case-aff. which require the gen. (see § 366, 1. b). In that particular kind of Apabhrāṃṣa (probably Gujarātī or Marwārī) which is treated by H. C. 4, 350, this shortened obl. or gen. suff. हि was, in the case of masc. and neut. nouns, confined to the loc. sing., probably because the alternative gen. suff. हो or हु (see Nro. 3) were used in the gen.

1) It may be observed that even in Skr. the abl. takes the gen. suff. असु in the case of all bases, exc. those in अ.

2) Exceptionally the vowel is lengthened in Mh. Pr., e. g., एत्ताहे from *that* (H. C. 3, 82), but Ap. Pr. एत्तहे (H. C. 4, 420) = Skr. इतः or एतत्.

(incl. dat. and abl.). — 3) There is an other Ap. Pr. gen. suff. हो or shortened हु (H. C. 4, 336. 338)<sup>1)</sup>, which, however, has no connection with the Skr. स्व. Its origin is obscure. Ls. 462 identifies it with an assumed Skr. suff. स्व. It seems more probably to be identical with the Skr. abl. plur. suff. यस्, which in Pr. would regularly change to ओ or हो (cf. Pr. त्रीहा or त्रीभा *tongue* in H. C. 2, 57 and § 120) and easily serve as a gen. suff. also. In the Ap. of H. C. 4, 351 हु actually occurs as an abl. and gen. plur. suff. The change of „number“ would be analogous to that in the case of the Pr. abl. pl. suff. हितो which is used in the sing. also (see H. C. 3, 8. 9, see also § 367, 5). — 4) The Skr. gen. plur. suff. नाम् becomes in Pr. णं or ण (Vr. 5, 4) with the lengthening of the preceding vowel; as Skr. वत्सानाम्, Pr. वच्चाणं of *calfs*. This form has survived in M., E. H., Br. and S., see § 365, 4. — 5) The Skr. gen. pl. suff. नाम्, however, also changes in Pr. to एहं or एह, हं and हँ, the last with, the former two without the lengthening of the preceding vowel. The process is quite regular; a) Skr. न् is doubled, and the preceding long vowel shortened, as in Pr. लख् = Skr. स्वाणुः, Pr. तुषिहक्को = Skr. तूष्णीकः, Pr. युल्लो = Skr. स्यूतः, etc. (H. C. 2, 99, see Ls. 143. 276); b) the Pr. ए is changed to एह (see § 161 and Ls. 271); c) Pr. एह *nha* is changed to हं *ham* (projecting the *anusvāra*, for *nha*), or to हँ, prolonging, in the latter case, the preceding vowel, to compensate for the loss of the *anusvāra* (see §§ 143. 149). Thus, e. g., Skr. अनाम is in Pr. \*अणं = अएहं = अहं = अहँ. The form एहं is added in Pr. to numerals only, as पंचएहं of *five* = Skr. पञ्चानाम् (H. C. 3, 123), and exceptionally to pronouns, as कइएहं of *how many* = Skr. कतीनाम् (H. C. 3, 123). The form हँ is added also to nouns, especially in Mg. Pr. (H. C. 4, 300). The form हं is used only in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 339). In Gd. all three forms are used

1) Observe that in the Ap. of H. C. the gen. suff. हो (H. C. 4, 338) becomes हु when used for the abl. (H. C. 4, 336); just as the gen. suff. हे (H. C. 4, 350) becomes हि when used for the loc. (H. C. 4, 352).



with nouns (see § 365, 4. 7); though ऋ or न is limited to E. H. Br. and S. — 6) There is also an Ap. Pr. gen. pl. suff. हुं (H. C. 4, 340), the origin of which is obscure. Ls. 463, 11 derives it from the Pr. abl. pl. suff. चुन्तो (Vr. 5, 7). It may possibly be identical with the Ap. Pr. gen. and abl. suff. हु (see Nro. 3), to which, being both plur. and sing., perhaps an inorganic *anusvāra* was added, to distinguish better its plur. character by making a pair हु, हुं analogous to the other two pairs of Ap. suff., sg. ह, pl. हं, and sg. हि, pl. हिं. — 7) There is, lastly, an Ap. plur. suff. हिं (H. C. 4, 347) or हे (K. I. 32 in Ls. 451). Ls. 310, 3 identifies it with the Skr. pl. instr. suff. भिस्. It is more probably identical with the Skr. abl. suff. भ्याम्<sup>1</sup>), which would regularly change in Pr. to हे or हि (for षे or षि), and easily come to be used in the Ap. Pr. for the gen. (K. I. 32) and instr. or loc. (H. C. 4, 347) of the plur. Its gen. character is shown by its being still used in O. Gd. for the dat. (= old gen., see examples in §§ 365, 7. 367, 2. 5), and in S. for the act. (= old instr.) and obl. generally; thus O. H. dat. नरहिं to men, S. act. नरे by men or obl. नरे छे to men.

369. *Derivation of the direct terminations.* 1) A comparison of the various Gd. terminations of the obl. sing. and plur. with those of the dir. or nom. plur. will show at once that the latter are always identical with the former. Sometimes it is some obl. form of the sg., sometimes (apparently) of the pl.; again sometimes it is an obl. form of the same Gd., sometimes of an other, which is thus used for the nom. plur.; but in every case it is some one obl. form. To this rule the M. fem. and neut. nouns form the only exception. For example compare the following weak forms: a) *masc.*, the S. nom. pl. जन men with the S. obl. sg. जन man (nom. sg. जन्), and the E. H. nom. pl. जने (§ 361, exc.)

1) Even in Skr. the suff. भ्याम् is used for the instr. and dat. also, similarly the pl. abl. suff. भ्यस् for the dat. and, in the modified form भिस्, for the instr.; there is also a dat. sg. suff. भ्याम् in Skr., as तुभ्याम् to thee. — If हु be rightly identified with चुन्तो, हिं might be derived from the Pr. abl. pl. suff. हितो (Vr. 5, 7).

with the B. obl. sg. जने; b) *fem.*, the Br. nom. pl. जीमै or जीमै  
*tongues* with the S. obl. pl. जिमै; the Mw., P. and S. nom. pl. जीमौ  
 or जिमौ with the S. obl. pl. जिमौ; the S. nom. pl. जिमू with the  
 abl. sg. (really obl. pl., § 367, 5) जिमू; the W. H., P. nom. pl. भित्तिवाँ  
*walls* with the S. obl. pl. भित्तिवाँ; the S. nom. pl. भित्तिङ् with the  
 S. abl. sg. (really obl. pl.) भित्तिङ् (or भित्तू), etc. Again strong forms:  
 a) *masc.*, P., H. H., M. nom. pl. घोड़े *horses* with the P., H. H. and S.  
 obl. sg. घोड़े; the B., O., E. H., W. H., S., G. nom. pl. घोडा *horses* with  
 the B., O., E. H., W. H., G. obl. sg. घोडा; b) *neut.*, the G. nom.  
 pl. सोनाँ *goldpieces* with the G. obl. sg. सोनाँ; c) *fem.*, the W. H. and  
 P. nom. pl. घोड़ियाँ *mares* with the S. obl. pl. घोड़ियाँ; the S. nom.  
 pl. घोड़िङ् with the S. abl. sg. (really obl. pl.) घोड़िङ्; the W. H.  
 nom. pl. पोथी *books* (Kl. 64, 130) with the P. loc. pl. पोथी *in*  
*books*<sup>1)</sup>; the W. H. and P. nom. pl. सासुआँ *mothers-in-law* with the  
 S. obl. pl. सासुआँ, etc. It will be observed, that in the case of  
*fem.* nouns the dir. pl. is identical with the obl. pl., but in the  
 case of *masc.* and *neut.* it is the same as the obl. sg. The differ-  
 ence, however, is probably in appearance only. For, no doubt, the  
 pl. obl. forms when employed as dir. pl. are used as sing., just as  
 in the S. abl. and M. loc. (see § 367, 5). There can be no doubt,  
 that these so-called nom. plur. forms are *elliptic* phrases, which  
 must be filled up by supplying some collective noun, as लोग *people*,  
 जन *troup*, etc. The E. H. practice of forming the plur. by the  
 addition of such a collective noun, illustrates this theory (§ 361).  
 Such nouns would require the principal word to be in the *gen.*  
 case; and this explains the use of the obl. form, which is the  
 same as the old *gen.* (§ 366). In B. it is actually the *gen. sg.*  
 (not merely the obl. f.), which is used to form the plur.; e. g.,  
 B. obl. f. देवे, *gen. sg. देवे-रू of a god*, nom. pl. देवे-रा *gods*; here  
 रा is merely the strong form of रू; see § 364, 2. Similarly in N.  
 the plur. is an archaic form of the *gen. sg.*, composed of the

1) The form पोथी, both in the nom. and loc. pl., is a contraction  
 for पोथिहँ = Ap. पोथिआहिं.



gen.-affix *र* (for *कृ* or *के*, § 377) and the O. Gd. gen. sg. in *हे* or *ह* (§ 365, 6). Thus O. Gd. gen. or obl. sg. *देवहे* or *देवह*, N. nom. pl. *देवहे-रु* or *देवह-रु* *gods*; see also § 364, 3. Thus the H. H., P. or S. nom. pl. *घोडे* *horses* is really as much as Ap. Pr. *घोडग्रहे* scl. गणु = Skr. *घोटकस्य गणाः*, lit. *a troop of horse*. The nom. pl. of nouns in *इ*, *उ*, *ई*, *ऊ* is, of course, of the same character; though it does not come out so strikingly. — 2) The obl. sg. is sometimes even used to form the nom. sing. Thus always in the long forms: e.g., E. H. nom. sg. *रमवा* or *रमवाँ*, M. *राम्या* (for \**रामवा*) *Rāma* = obl. form E. H. *रमवा* or *रमवाँ*, M. *राम्या* = A. Mg. or Dk. Pr. gen. sg. *रामग्राह* or pl. *रामग्राहँ* (see § 365, 1. 4)<sup>1</sup>). But sometimes also in masc. short forms; viz. in B. weak forms in *अ*, and B., P., Br. and H. H. strong forms in *आ*. Thus in B. the nom. sg. may be *देवे* *a god*, *घोडाव्* *a horse* (for the usual *देव*, *घोडा*), both obl. forms = O. Gd. gen. sg. *देवहि*, *घोडाहि* (§ 365, 6); see S. Ch. 56, where these nom. are described as loc. Again P. or Br. or H. H. nom. sg. *घोडा* *a horse* = O. Gd. gen. or obl. sg. *घोडाह* or *घोडग्रह*, Ap. Pr. *घोडग्रहो*. With these exceptions, the nom. sg. of short forms in all Gds. is simply a modified form of the Pr. nom. sg., as explained in §§ 40—54. Thus S., G., Mw. *घोडो*, Br. *घोडो* = Ap. Pr. nom. sg. *घोडउ*, Pr. *घोडओ*; E. H., B., O., M. *घोडा* = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. *घोडअ* or *घोडइ* or *घोडए* (Vr. 11, 10) = Skr. *घोटकः*; again E. H., B., O., M. *देव* *a god* = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. *देव* or *देवि* or *देवे*; W. H., P., G., N. *देव* or S., O. W. H., O. P. *देवु* = Ap. Pr. nom. sg. *देवु*, Pr. *देवो*, Skr. *देवः*. — 3) The nom. pl. of fem. and neut. nouns in M. is identical with the old Pr. nom. pl. The suff. of the nom. pl. neut. is in Pr. *ई* (Vr. 5, 26 = Skr. *नि*), before which the final vowel of the base is lengthened; in the Ap. Pr. it is also *ई*, but without lengthening the preceding vowel (H. C. 4, 353). Hence the termin. are in Mh. Pr. *आइं*, *ईइं*, *उइं*, in Ap. Pr. *अइं*, *इइं*, *उइं*, or with strong bases *अअइं*, *इअइं*, *उअइं*. These be-

1) Not = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. *रामए*; for *ए* could not well become *आ*; and it would not account for the final *anunāsika* in E. H.

come in M.  $\text{हं}$  (इहं and उहं *desunt*) or, with strong bases,  $\text{हं}$  or  $\text{इं}$ , वे, वे. Thus M. घरे houses, Ap. घरहं, Pr. घराहं, Skr. गृहाणि; M. बसरे calves, Ap. बच्छइहं, Skr. वत्स; M. केली plantains, Ap. केलइहं, Pr. कयलइहं (H. C. 1, 167), Skr. कदरकाणि; M. मोले pearls, Ap. मोलिइहं, Pr. मोलिइहं, Skr. मौक्तिकानि; M. बंसु (or बंसवे), Ap. बंसुइहं, Pr. बंसुइहं, Skr. बंसुकाणि. — 4) The suff. of the nom. plur. fem. is in Pr. ओ or उ or may be dropped altogether (Vr. 5, 19. 20); so also in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 344. 348). Thus M. जीभा tongues (nom. pl. of जीभ), Pr. जिम्भा or जिम्भाउ or जिम्भाओ, Skr. जिह्वा; or M. घोइया mares, Pr. घोडिआ or घोडिआउ or घोडिआओ, Skr. घोडिका; or M. सास्रा (or सासवा) mothers-in-law, Pr. सासुआ or सासुआउ or सासुआओ, Skr. प्रश्रुकाः. — 5) The use of the gen. sg. (or obl. form) for the nom. sg. or pl. is expressly taught by Md. for the Ap. Pr. As this is a point of some importance, I will quote his rules on the subject. They are: a) उत्सुमोः सुमोहत् स्यात् चन्दु । राउ । अगिउ । महुउ, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 331), i. e., *a*-bases have *u* in the nom. and acc. sg., as moon, king, fire, honey; b) होच सुमोर हो च स्यात् हकखहो i. e., they have also *ho* (gen. suff., see H. C. 4, 338) in the nom. and acc. sg., as tree; c) सौ पुंस्य अत ओ कुचित् सपो i. e., masc. *a*-bases have sometimes *o* (cf. H. C. 4, 332), as serpent; d) ततो हे च हकखहे वालाहे *a*-bases have also *he* (gen. suff., see H. C. 4, 350) in the nom. plur., as trees, girls; e) खियाम् उच् च जप्रसोः वालाउ चकाराद् वालाहे i. e., fem. *a*-bases have *u* (cf. H. C. 4, 348) or *he* in the nom. and acc. plur., as girls; f) इ नपुंसके दीर्घो वा नपुंसके जप्रसोर् इ स्यात् प्राग् दीर्घो वा वपाहं वपाहं मुहुइं मुहुइं i. e., neut. bases have *im* in the nom. acc. pl., and the preceding vowel may be long, as woods, honeys. — 6) It may be further observed, that the voc. sg. and pl. throughout the Gds. is identical with some one Gd. form of the obl. sg. or nom. pl. Thus in masc.; E. H. obl. sg., voc. sg., nom. pl. alike घोडा (of a) horse, oh horse, or horses; H. H. and P. obl. sg., voc. sg. and nom. pl. alike घोडे; voc. pl. H. H. घोडे, P. घोडिउ (= \*घोडयु or \*घोडउ); S. nom. pl. and voc. sg. घोडा, voc. pl. घोडा or घोडउ or घोडे; G. obl. sg. and voc. sg. घोडा, nom. pl. and voc. pl. घोडाउ or घोडाव् (or घोडाओ); M. obl. sg. घोइया,



nom. pl. घोड़े, voc. sg. घोड़ा or घोडे. So also in fem. nouns<sup>1)</sup>. The identity of the voc. sg. and pl. with the obl. sg. and nom. pl. is expressly taught by Pr. Gramm., who ascribe the two suff. of the gen. sg. हो and हे to the voc. Thus Md. states: सम्बुद्धौ सौ हे च ॥ स्त्रियाम् इत् एव ॥ बालाहे । पाइहे ॥ चकारान् महाराष्ट्रीवच् च ॥ i. e., the voc. sg. of fem. only takes *he*. The Mh. Pr. forms would be बाले, पाइ. The latter forms alone are enjoined by K. I. 17, 18 (in Ls. 450), who does not identify them with the Mh. Pr. forms. In this he is correct; for बाले is a mere contraction for बालहे or बालहि; and पाइ has dropped the suff. हे or ह, just as in the obl. or gen. sg. (cf. H. C. 4, 345). The form ए is preserved in P. fem. nouns; as त्रिभे *oh tongue*, मावे *oh mother*, पीए *oh daughter*; but also extended to masc. sg.; as घोडे *oh horse*, and to masc. pl., as देवे *oh gods*. Again Md. continues: त्रिषु हो त्रसः ॥ त्रिषु त्रसो हो स्यात् ॥ रुक्महो । वपाहो । पाइहो ॥ i. e., the voc. pl. of all bases in *a, i, u* takes *ho*. So also H. C. 4, 346 and K. I. 29 (in Ls. 450). In M. Gd. the suff. हो becomes उ (for हु) or अ (for ह), which are contracted with a preceding अ to ओ or आ respectively; e. g., P. voc. pl. घोडीउ *oh mares* = घोडिअहु (with ई for इअ) = Ap. घोडिअहो; or S. नरो or नरा *oh men* for \*नरउ or \*नरअ = \*नरहु or \*नरह, Ap. नरहो. Gd. extends the contr. form अ even to the sing.; e. g., P. voc. sg. देवा *oh god*, but voc. pl. देवे *oh gods*; the former being derived from Ap. देवहो, the latter from Ap. देवहे. Indeed, as such it is noticed by K. I. 26 (in Ls. 450) as already occurring in the Ap. Pr. The general result seems to be, that in the Ap. Pr. both हे and हो or its modifications are used to form both the voc. sing. and the voc. pl. of all bases in *a, i, u* whether masc., fem. or neut.

#### 4. CASE.

370. There are seven cases, viz. nominative (incl. vocative), accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative.

1) Exceptionally, the voc. pl. is the same as the obl. pl.; e. g., Mw. nom. pl. and voc. pl. घोडाँ *oh horses* or (*of*) *horses*.

The nom. serves also as the voc., and in that case some interjection, as हे, रे or बेटे, is generally prefixed; e. g., nom. राम् *Rāma*, voc. हे राम् *oh! Rāma*; nom. बेटा, voc. बेटे बेटा *oh! son*; nom. दुर्गा, voc. रे दुर्गा *oh! Durgā*, etc. The E. H. has no (eighth) case of the "agent", or (as I shall call it) *active case*.

371. *The active case.* The absence of the act. case in E. H. is a point of great importance, as it helps to determine its affiliation or position with regard to the other Gd. languages. This case is one of the main features that distinguish the W. and S. Gds. from the E. Gds. The latter are without it; the former possess it. E. H., therefore, as not having the act. case, belongs to the E. Gd. group, and is more nearly allied to B. and O., than to W. H. — The rationale of the act. case is as follows. The old organic past tenses active of the Skr., mostly very complicated forms, were in Pr. already disused (cf. Wb. Spt. 63) with a few fragmentary and rare exceptions (cf. Vr. 7, 23. 24. H. C. 3, 162. 163). The inconvenience of this want was obviated by the simple expedient of giving to the sentence the passive construction; thereby turning the subject or nom. case into the instr. case and the past tense act. into the past part. pass. This method of expressing the past act. was already much used in Skr.; and in Pr. it has become the common one; thus "they have not devoured that" may be in Skr. ते एतद् न खाचेहः or in pass. constr. तैर् एतद् खाचीर्णम्; but in Pr. only the latter तेहिं एत्तं खाइलं (cf. H. C. 3, 134). But there is yet a simpler way of using the pass. constr.; viz., by employing the past part. pass. in an act. sense, whereby the change of the nom. case into the instr. in the subj. becomes unnecessary. This practise may have originated from the use of the past part. pass. of intrans. verbs in an act. sense, which is very common in Skr.; as ग्रहं गतः *I went for ग्रहं ज्ञानम्*. In Pr. it is already found occasionally extended to trans. verbs (cf. Gl. in J. G. O. S. XXVII, 492), as *Setub. 6, 51 चाढता दीसिउं तिसिग्रच्छाया the shadows of the night-walkers began to be seen* (Skr. निशिचच्छाया दृष्टम् आरब्धाः), and intrans., *ibid. 8, 30 दीसिउं पउन्न*



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सुखं ब्रह्म सुखं the head of the bridge began to be seen, or *ibid.* 7, 71  
 वेषिणं वृत्ता पवंग the monkeys began to be taken, etc. Now of these  
 two methods of using the past part. pass. to supply the past  
 tense act., the former, i. e., the *real pass. constr. with the subj. in*  
*the instr. case*, was adopted by the W. and S. Gds., while the  
 other, i. e., (what I may call) the *pass-act. constr. with the subj.*  
*in the nom. case*, was chosen by the E. and N. Gds., and, of  
 course, these latter make the past part. pass. to agree in number  
 and gender with the subj. Thus „they have not eaten that“ is in  
 E. H. ईलोम् उ न खैलेन्, in W. H. इन्हो ने वह न खायो. Here खैलेन्  
 is the 3<sup>d</sup> plur. masc. 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. (formed from the past part. pass.  
 खैल् or खायल्, see § 307), agreeing with the nom. ईलोम् and  
 governing the acc. उ; while खायो is the nom. sg. masc. (of the  
 past part. pass. खायो) agreeing with वह and governed by the  
 instr. or rather act. इन्हो ने. — It has been stated already  
 (§ 366, 1. d) that the tendency of the later Pr. was to substi-  
 tute the gen. for every other case. Thus the example of the  
 gen. in the place of the instr., given by H. C. 3, 134, is तेसिं  
 एषं अपाइषं, where तेसिं is the gen. plur. (= Skr. तेषाम्) for the  
 instr. तेहिं (= Skr. तेभिः)<sup>1</sup>). It has also been stated (*ibid.*) that  
 this Pr. tendency has become in Gd. an absolute law, and also, that  
 the Gd. so-called obl. form is identical with the old Pr. gen.  
 Hence, as regards the W. Gd. and S. Gd., their method of ex-  
 pressing the past tense act. by means of the *real pass. constr.*  
*with the subj. in the instr. case*, may now be stated thus, that  
 they express it by means of the *past part. pass. with the subj.*  
*in the obl. form* (= old gen.-instr.). Now there is every reason  
 to believe, that this was once the universal usage in the whole  
 of the W. and S. Gd.; that is, that in the *pass. constr.* the  
 mere obl. form was used without the addition of any affix (ने or

1) His other examples are: धपास्स लडो for धपोषा लडो *acquired with money*, or चिरस्स मुक्का for चिरेषा मुक्का *long delivered*; here the gen.-instr. has not the sense of the act.

ने). Thus in the O. H. (of Chand, Kabir, Behári Lál, etc.) the aff. never or very rarely occurs 1). In O. S. it cannot have been used; for it does not exist even in the M. S. Nor was it used in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI); nor, as far as I can ascertain, in O. M. (see Man. 138) and O. G. Even in the modern S. (Tr. 113, 3) and Mw. (Kl. 66, 132. a) it is always omitted; also, as a rule, in G. (Ed. 87) and not, unfrequently, in Br. (Kl. 287, 543) and P. (Ld. 7, 22. 73, 119). Indeed, it may be said to be really confined to the literary forms of the Gd. languages and, therefore, to be comparatively modern. Such, at all events, is the case with Hindí, where it is confined to the H. H. (or Urdu) and originated at the same time with the literary cultivation of the language. The latter took place in the sixteenth century around the centre of the Moghul empire in Western Hindústán. In the low dialects of those parts the following dat. aff. are in use, G. नेँ, Mw. नेँ, P. नेँ; and it so happens that in G. the same aff. नेँ is also used as an aff. of the act. case in the pass. constr. It may be concluded, therefore, that the founders of the H. H. adopted what they found current as a dat. aff. in their regions for the act. case also. It should be remembered, that the mere obl. f. which originally was the act. case was often outwardly not to be distinguished from the nom. This was too inconvenient for a literary language which necessarily aims at grammatical precision. Seeing, then, two dat. aff. current in different parts of their neighbourhood (viz., कोँ or को in Br., नेँ or ने in Mw.) they assumed one (ने) for the act., while they reserved the other (को) for the dat.; and thus, as will be seen, any confusion between the act. and the dat. in H. H. was avoided. Possibly, the dat. aff. ने was already employed, in some cases, by the common people (as in G.) to signify the act., and thus a precedent was

1) It must be remembered, that in many cases the obl. f. happens not to differ from the dir. or nom.; thus in Pr. R. 1, 49 (in Bs. II, 267) दुन and रन are not nom., but obl. f., just as तिन and त्रिहि in the other cited verses.



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afforded. The choice of the dat. aff. to supply an affix of the act. must have been felt to be natural; for it has merely the general sense of „referring to“. An affix, having such a vague and general meaning, might well be employed to express any relation in which a noun may stand in a sentence. — This theory of the identity of the act. aff. with that of the dat., with which I entirely agree, was, I believe, first propounded by Beames (II, 270). The common theory of its identity with the Skr. instr. termin. एन or न can hardly be seriously maintained, and has been well refuted by the same writer (ibid. 266). — It should be mentioned, that G. and Mw. employ a special obl. f. in ए or ऐ for the act. case sing., their general obl. f. ending in आ, see § 366, 2; while S. uses its general obl. f. for the act. case also. — The various act. case-aff. are: H. H. ने, Br. ने, M. sg. ने or pl. नी, P. ने, G. ने or ने, N. ने. The aff. यी in G. and ही, सी or ग्री in M. do not belong to the act., but to the instr. or abl., just as से in E. H. (see §§ 372. 376). — N. alone has the curious anomaly of using the act. case with ले together with the act.-pass. constr.; i. e., of constructing the subj. like the W. Gds., but the verb like the E. Gds. (see § 487).

Note: On the derivation of the act.-dat. affixes see § 375.

372. All cases, exc. the nom. and acc. (*proper*) are formed by adding to the obl. form of the noun certain affixes which are the same for both numbers. These are the following: instr. or abl. से *by, with* or *from*; dat. के *to*, gen. के, के or कर, करे *of*, loc. में *in*. The acc. *proper* is identical with the nom.; but commonly, as in all Gds., the dat. is substituted for the acc. See paradigms in § 379.

Note: The following aff. are also sometimes used: dat. कहं, abl. सो or सेन or ते or यी, loc. में or म or माँ or माँक or माँही.

373. For the gen., there are two sets of aff.: 1) के and के, 2) कर and करे. Of these two sets, nouns (i. e., subst., adj., and numer.) may affix only the former (के, के), while pron. may

take either pair at pleasure. Of the two members of each pair, the former (कै, कर) are used when the governing word is in the nom. or acc. proper; the latter (के, करे) when it is in any obl. case. The number and gender of the governing word make no difference in this respect. Thus घर कै सामी आवत् बा *the master of the house is coming*; घर के सामी से कहूँ *tell ye the master of the house*; घर कै लोग आवत् बाटै *the people of the house are coming*; घर के तिरियालोगन् के बुलावहूँ *call ye the women of the house*. Again ई ओकर or ओके घर बाटै *this is his house*; उ ए करे or ए के घर में बाटै *he is in his house*; उ ए कर or ए कै पोथी बाटै *those are his books*; उ एकरे or एके पोथी में पढ़ैला *he reads in his book*.

374. *Affinities.* Besides the want of the act. case (§ 370), E. H. shows its affinity to E. Gd., as against W. Gd., also in the government of the gen. aff. In the W. Gd. the form of the aff. changes not only with the case, but also with the number and gender of the governing word; it is for the *nom. sg. masc.* Br. कौ, H. H. का, Kn. को, Mw. रो, G. नो, P. दा, S. जो; *obl. sg. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा or रै, G. ना, P. दे, S. जे; *nom. sg. neut.* G. नूँ; *obl. sg. neut.* G. नाँ; *nom. sg. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नी, P. दी, S. जौ; *obl. sg. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. को, Mw. रो, G. नो, P. दी, S. जे or जिघ; *nom. pl. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा, G. ना or नाव, P. दे, S. जा; *obl. pl. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा, G. ना or नाव, P. दे or दिघाँ, S. जे or जनि; *nom. pl. neut.* G. नाँ or नाँव, *obl. dto.*; *nom. pl. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नीउ, P. दीघाँ, S. जूँ or जिउँ; *obl. pl. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नीउ, P. दीघाँ, S. जे or जिनि or बुनि or जिघनि or जिउनि (see *Ld. 7. Tr. 129*). The S. Gd. and N. Gd. follow the W. Gd. practice; thus *nom. sg. masc.* M. चा, N. को, *obl. M. चे or च्या, N. का*; *nom. sg. neut.* M. चे, *obl. चे or च्या*; *nom. sg. fem.* M. ची, N. की, *obl. M. चे or च्या, N. की*; *nom. pl. masc.* M. चें, N. का, *obl. M. चे or च्या, N. का*; *nom. pl. neut.* M. ची, *obl. चे or च्या*; *nom. pl. fem.* M. च्या, N. की, *obl. M. चे or च्या, N. की* (see *M. 27. 41*). On the other hand, in B. and O. the form of the gen. aff. never changes; not even, as in E. H., with



the case. — The case-aff. have a great variety of forms in the different Gds.; they are exhibited in the subjoined table.

|             | B.  | O.       | E. H.   | H. H. | Br. | Mw.  |
|-------------|-----|----------|---------|-------|-----|------|
| dat. acc.   | के  | कु or कि | के      | को    | कौ  | नै   |
| abl. instr. | इते | रु, कर्  | से      | से    | सौ  | सू   |
| gen.        | र   | र, कर्   | कै, कर् | का    | कौ  | रो   |
| loc.        | ते  | रे, करे  | मे      | मे    | मे  | माँ  |
| act.        | —   | —        | —       | ने    | ने  | obl. |

|             | G.         | P.  | S.      | M.                    | N.  |
|-------------|------------|-----|---------|-----------------------|-----|
| dat. acc.   | ने         | रूँ | खे      | ला                    | लाई |
| abl. instr. | थी         | ते  | खो, खाँ | सौ, हीँ,<br>हून्, उन् | संग |
| gen.        | नो         | हा  | जो      | चा                    | को  |
| loc.        | माँ        | मै  | मे      | तू                    | मा  |
| act.        | obl. or ने | नै  | obl.    | ने                    | ले  |

Besides these affixes which are allotted to particular cases, there is a large number of others, which are used to modify the noun in various senses which may, in a general way, be referred to the dat., abl. or loc. These may be divided into two classes, according as they are or are not added to the obl. form of the noun by means of the gen. aff. In the former case, I shall call them *postpositions*, in the latter, *affixes*. Many of them, however, belong to both classes, sometimes in the same, sometimes in different languages; e. g., E. H. बदे is a postpos. in के कर् बदे *what for*, but an aff. in केहू बदे *what for*; again लये or लिये is a postpos. in E. H., W. H. घर के लये or लिये *for the sake of the house*, but an aff. in S. घर लइ (Tr. 404). The following list contains most of these aff. or postpos.; their meanings (indicated by numbers) generally are; *for* or *to* 1, *till* or *up to* 2, *with* 3, *by* 4, *from* 5, *in* or *at* 6. Thus a) (Skr. लग्), B. लगामत् or O. B. लगि, E. H. लग्, लगि 2, W. H. लगि 1, S. लगे or लगि 1, G. लगो 1, M. लगो or लागुनि 1, N. लागी 1; b) (Skr. लब्ध), E. H. लिये 1, W. H.

लय or लए or लये or लौ or लो 2, P. लई 1, S. लाइ or लइ 1, G. लौधे 1, M. ला 1, N. लाई 1; c) (Skr. स्थान), B. ठाई 1, थेके 5, O. ठा-रे 1, ठा-रु or ठु or ठाउ 5, E. H. थो 5, W. H. थो 5, G. थो 5, P. थो or थो or O. P. थावहु or थो or थो 5, ठाइ or थानि 1, N. थाजि 5 or 6, M. ठाई 6; d) (Skr. कर्ण), W. H. कने or कने or कानी or कणि 1, P. कनी 1, G. काने 1, S. काणे or काणि or कने or कनि 1, कनौ or कनो 5; e) (Skr. पक्ष), B. पक्षे or पाके, E. H. पाही, W. H. पै, P. पाहो 5; f) (Skr. कक्ष), B. काड़े or के 1, O. कु or कि 1, E. H. के or कहँ 1, Br. को 1, H. H. को 1, O. H. कहं or कहुं or कहूं or काहुं 1, O. P. कह or कहु or कउ or को or कू or कू 1, S. खे 1 or खौ or खो 5; g) (Skr. तरित?), B. तक् 2, ते 6, E. H. तक् 2, ते 5, W. H. तक् or तलक् or ताई or तई 2, ते or ते 5, P. ताई or तोकु or तोकुर or तेजे 2, ते or उतो or उताँ 5, S. ताई or तोई or तोजे or तोपी 2, ताँ or तो 5, ते 6; h) (Skr. वार्त), E. H. बाटे 1, S. वटे 1, वाटाँ 5, G. वते 1, N. बाट 5; i) (Skr. वरे), E. H. वरे 1, M. वरल्ल 5; k) (Skr. कार्य), E. H. कात् 1, O. H. कात् 1; l) (Skr. कृत), S. करे or करि 1, M. करल्ल 5, करिताँ 1; m) (Skr. ग्रथ), M. ग्राठी; n) (Skr. सङ्ग), B. सने 3, E. H. सन् or सने or सेन् or सेनी 3, W. H. सणि 1, P. सणे 1, S. सणि or सणिँ 1, सेणु or साणु 5, N. सणँ 5; o) (Skr. सदृश), Mw. सार or सार 1, S. सार 1, G. सार 1; p) (Skr. समाधा?), W. H. सूधी 2, S. सूधी 5; q) (Skr. भवन्त), B. हइते 5, O. H. हुंतो or हूंतो 5, N. भन्दा 5; r) (Skr. कृत्वा), B. करिया 4, E. H. कर or करि 4, W. H. करि or करके 4, P. करके 4; s) (Skr. दत्त्वा), B. दिया 4; t) (Skr. पास्यु), E. H., W. H. पास 6, P. पास 6, पासो 5, S. and G. पासे 6, M. पासो 6, पसून् 5; u) (Skr. पर), B. पर or परे 6, E. H. पर or परि 6, W. H. पर or परि or पै 6, P. पर 6, परो 5, S. परे 6, पराँ or परो 5; v) (Skr. मध्य), B. मध्य or मध्ये or माके 6, E. H. माँफ or माँही or मेँ or मे or मा or म 6, W. H. मेँ or मोँ or माँ or माँय् or मई or माहै 6, O. H. मधि or मडि or मकि or माँक or मक्क or माहैँ or माँहीँ or माही or महि or मै 6, O. P. मै or माहि 6, S. मके or मे 6, माँ or मो 5, G. माँ 6, O. M. माझी 6, M. मध्ये 6; w) (Skr. भ्रयन्तर), B. भितर or भितरे 6, E. H. and W. H. भीतर 6; x) (Skr. कउ), M. कउे 6, कउन् 5; y) (Skr. मस्त), S. मये 6, G. माटे 1, N. मायि 6; z) (Skr. सिस्), P. सिर् 6, S. सिरे 6; aa) (Skr. वृत्त्य), W. H. बीच् 6, P. विच् 6, O. P. बिचि 6, S. बिचे 6; and others.



375. *Derivation of the dat. affixes.* 1) In B. there is a dat. postpos. काहे (S. Ch. 62, 215) meaning lit. *near*; and the O. H. has a dat. aff. कहँ or कहुँ or कहूँ or काहूँ, which often also means *near, by the side of*; e. g., अरि सिद्धि संपत्ति नदी सुहाई । उमगि अवध अंबुधि कहँ आई ॥ i. e., *fair rivers of prosperity, success, wealth, overflowing came near to the sea of Avadh* (see Bs. II, 253 where some more examples will be found). This points to the Skr. loc. कते *at the side of* as their source. In the Ap. Pr. it would be कच्चे (as in B.), or \*ककले or \*ककलहुँ (see § 378) or probably \*कहे or \*कहि or \*कहहुँ (or \*काहहुँ, see § 116). The latter would contract in O. H. to कहूँ (or काहूँ), and in M. W. H. to कौ or (with the loss of *anunásika*) in H. H. को. The former, कहि, contracts in E. H. and B. to के (see S. Ch. 49) and is shortened in O. to कि (Sn. 13). Similarly the O. कु (Sn. 13) is a shortened form of the H. H. को (= कहूँ). The S. ले has arisen from कहे or कहि by the metathesis of ह, just as in भैस् *buffalo* for बहिस or महिस, गधा *donkey* for गदहा (Pr. गदह H. C. 2, 37). — 2) Again the G. has the dat. postpos. लीये *for* (Ed. 115) and W. H. लये or लयेँ or लए (Kl. 273, 508), H. H. लिये, S. लाइ or लइ (Tr. 404), P. लई. These are identical with the past part. G. लीयो, W. H. लयो, H. H. लिया (see § 307) = Skr. लब्धः *obtained, benefited*. This points to the Skr. loc. लब्धे lit. *for the benefit of* (lat. *commodo*) as their source. In the Ap. Pr. it would be \*लहिए or \*लहियहिँ or (eliding ह) लइए or लइयहिँ, whence contr. W. H. लये or लयेँ or P. लई, and still more contr. ले or \*लै. The form ले exists in N. as an act. aff. (§ 371); but लै and ले further change to Mw. नै and G. ने, which latter is used in W. H. as an act. aff. (§ 371). The change of ल् to न् occurs also in the B. नेउन् (S. Ch. 189) and O. नेवा (Sn. 36) *to obtain* = H. H. लेना, E. H. लेब. The contraction of लये to ले is like that of the Br. भये or हये to भे or हे *they were* (Kl. 225, 438. 201). Another Ap. loc. would be \*लहियहुँ or \*लइयहुँ (see §§ 307. 378, 3) which would contract to \*लयूँ or लौ or लो. The last two forms exist in W. H. in the sense of *up to, until*. From लो arises the P. dat. aff. लू. Those forms of this dat. aff.

which have न्ना, as N. लाई, S. लाइ, M. ला, are probably to be referred to the Ap. Pr. loc. लाहि or लाहे, Skr. लाभे lit. *for the benefit of*. — 3) There is another set of dat. postpos. which has been much confused with the preceding one, though it is of an entirely different origin; viz. E. H. लग् or लगि, W. H. लागि, S. लगे or लगि, G. लगो, N. लागो, M. लागी, H. H. लग्. It means *up to, until, or on account of, for*, and is derived from the Skr. loc. लग्ने lit. *in contact with*. In the Ap. Pr. it is लगे or लगि, whence the Gd. लगे or लगि or लग् or लागि; or Ap. Pr. लागहि, whence the Gd. लागी or लागो or लागी<sup>1</sup>). P. has also the abl. postpos. लागो and S. लाकू (Tr. 401, ?लागू?) *from up* = Ap. Pr. abl. लागहुं. — 4) The dat. postpos., B. ठाई and O. ठा-रे, are clearly the same as the Ap. Pr. loc. ठाणि or ठाणे, Skr. स्थाने *in the place of*; B. also uses the tats. स्थाने itself. — 5) The M. चाढी (in the so-called postpos. चाढी, see § 365, 1) is = Ap. Pr. loc. चढहि, Skr. चर्ये lit. *in the interest of*. — 5) The B. पाके (for पाखे, see § 145, note), E. H. and W. H. पाही or पै, P. पाह् (Ld. 74) are = Ap. loc. \*पक्खे or \*पाहे or \*पाहहि, Skr. पक्षे lit. *at the side of* (see § 116); B. also uses the tats. पक्षे; and P. has also an abl. postpos. पाहो (Ld. 74) = Ap. \*पाहहुं. — 6) The set, W. H. कणि (Km., see Kl. 69) or कने (Br.) or कने or कानी (Mw.), P. कनी, S. कने or कनि or काने or कानि (Tr. 401. 407), G. काने, which is also used in the lit. sense of *at the side of*, is = Ap. loc. कप्पे or कप्पहि and probably (as Tr. 401) = Skr. कर्णे or कर्णे (lit. *at the ear or belonging to the ear, i. e., side*). — 7) The forms, B., E. H., W. H. तक् or तलक्, W. H. तई or तई, P. तई or तीकु or तीकुर or तेजे (Ld. 76. 126), S. तई or तोई or तोजे or तोणी (Tr. 399) meaning *up to, till, to*, I believe, form one set, together with the abl. aff., W. H. ते, ते, P. ते, उतो, उता (Ld. 77), S. ताँ, तो (Tr. 400), meaning *from up to*, and the loc. aff., B., P., S. ते

1) The O. M. लगुनि or लगोनि is the conj. part. of the same verb, = Pr. लगिडप्प; so also might be the G. लगो = Pr. लगिडप्प; but not (as Bs. II, 260. 261) the M. लागी, on account of the final *anundāsika*.



SL

an, upon (S. Ch. 49. Ld. 77. Tr. 400). I am inclined to connect them with the Skr. past. part. तर्तित (or उत्तरित, of the R. तृ) passed to, hence up-to, upon, from-upon. The loc. तर्तिते would become Ap. तर्तिर् or \*तर्त्तिर् (see § 124) and contract to Gd. ते, just as Gd. ले arises from लर्हिर्, etc. (see above Nro. 2). The elements क्, कु I take to be the dat. aff. कि, कु (as in O.), and the elements डी, णी to be pleon. suff. (see § 209). — 8) The set, Mw. सर- or सार-, S. सार-, G. सार, which mean lit. conformable to (Tr. 400) and thence for the sake of, I connect with the Skr. सदृश like, Ap. obl. (or loc.) सरिहृ or सरिग्रह (cf. § 292). — 9) The dat. aff., W. H. सणि (Km., see Kl. 69), S. सणि (Tr. 407), meaning on account of, for, together with the abl. aff., E. H. सन् or सेन् or सेन् or सेनी with, from, P. सणो with (Ld. 74), S. सणु or सेणु with (Tr. 401), N. सणि from, S. सणि on account of (Tr. 407), I connect with the Skr. सङ्गे, which may mean in company with (from R. सम् + गम्) or in attachment to (from R. सङ्ग). The conj. च् would readily pass into छ् or न्, cf. पक्ष for पक्ष (H. C. 2, 43. Wb. Bh. 403, see also p. 21). — 10) The W. H. सूधी (Kl. 69) up-to, till and S. सूधी along with (Tr. 401), the former a loc., the latter an abl., I would connect with some derivative of the R. समाधा (Ap. \*सवँड or \*सउँड), meaning collected, adjusted, whence with or up-to. — 11) The dat. aff., E. H. बाटे, S. वटे (Tr. 402), G. वते (Ed. 115), meaning for or instead, and the abl. aff., N. बाट्, S. वट् from (Tr. 402), I connect with the Skr. वार्त्त (or वर्त्त or वृत्त) welfare, Pr. वट् or वत्त (cf. H. C. 2, 29. 30), loc. वर्त्ते lit. in favor of, for, whence in place of, instead. — 12) The dat. aff. E. H. वरे and the abl. aff. M. वरन् are derived from the Skr. वर boon, advantage. — 13) The E. H. काज् is the Pr. loc. कज्ते, Skr. कार्ये for the work or sake of. — 14) The S. करे or करि is contracted for \*करिर् = Skr. कृते for the sake of, and the corresponding abl. aff. is the M. करन्; similar is the M. dat. aff. करित् which is apparently a loc. sg. of the pres. part. (see §§ 300. 307). — 15) As to the relics, in M., of the organic dat. in वास्, ईस्, उस् sg. and वाना, ईना, उना plur., see § 365, 1. 4.

*Note:* I think the identification of the S. खे with \*कहे more consonant with Gd. analogy (see § 132, note) than Trumpp's theory that खे = Skr. कृते, by the loss of र and consequent aspiration of कृ (i. e., कृते = क्रिते = खिर = खे Tr. 115). For this process there is, I believe, no analogy in Gd. The examples, to which Tr. refers (मिथु tabor, हिर्या heart, for Skr. मृदङ्ग a drum, हृदय heart Tr. V.), are not analogous. For 1) र has not disappeared, and 2) it has aspirated the following, not the preceding cons.; whereas, in the case of खे, it is the preceding cons., and र has disappeared. According to the adduced analogy, Skr. कृते would become किरै, not खे. There is one really analogous case in Pr. in the adverbial suff. त्र, for which Pr. has त्व (e. g., Pr. एत्त or एत्तु here = Skr. अत्र), but the case is unique, and the identification of त्व with त्र (Ls. 251) is, to my mind, doubtful, see § 469. — Beames' remarks on my theory (II, 258) are founded on a misunderstanding. I hold that both the W. H. को and the B. कहे are the same words, in as much as both are various modifications of the same Skr. words; and that the H. form represents a later phase of phonetic development than the B. form, in as much as B. has preserved the aspirate cons. of the Pr., while H. has worn it down to the simple aspirate ह (in कहुं) and even dropped it altogether (in को, को); but not, that the one is actually derived from the other. The H. form comes after the B. phonetically, though not historically; only in this sense can one be said to be derived from the other.

376. *Derivation of the abl. and instr. affixes.* 1) Pr. has the instr. suff. हितो and हुतो (Vr. 5, 7), both in the plur. (H. C. 3, 7), but हितो also in the sing. (H. C. 3, 8). Of these the former contracts to M. हो, the latter to E. H., W. H. सो, Mw. सू, G. झू; similarly as the 3. pl. pres. termin. Skr. अन्ति, Pr. अन्ति contracts in Gd. है or ऐ or ई (see § 497, 2 f.). In the Ap. Pr., there is an abl. aff. होतमो or होतउ (H. C. 4, 355), which appears in O. H. (Chand) as हुतो or हुत<sup>1</sup>). These forms

1) हुत् is a wk. f. = Ap. Pr. होतु or हुतु.



are really part. pres. of the verb *भू to be* (cf. H. C. 3, 180). The modern B. has still an abl. aff. *इत्ते*, and N. *भंदा*, which are part. pres. (cf. S. Ch. 148, and see § 300), representing the Pr. forms *ह्वंत*<sup>o</sup> and *भवंत* or *भंत* (cf. H. C. 4, 60 *ह्वन्ति* and H. C. 4, 365 *भंति* = Skr. *भवन्ति* *they are*). The rationale of this usage may be explained (as Bs. II, 237) „by supposing the idea to be that of having previously been at a place, but not being there now, which involves the idea of having come away from it“; thus Ap. *तहाँ होतउ आगदो* (H. C. 4, 355), O. H. *तहाँ हुंतो आयो*, N. *ताँहाँ भंदा आयो*, B. *ओया इत्ते आइल् from there* (lit. *being there*) *he has come*. The Ap. and O. H. forms are *direct*, i. e., *he who is there* (lit. *the there being*) *has come*; the B. and N. forms are *oblique* and may be taken as *loc.*, i. e., *in being there he has come*. Possibly the ordinary Pr. suff. *हंतो* and *सुंतो* may be also part. pres. of the Rs. *भू be* and *अस् be* respectively, slightly modified for *हंतो* (cf. H. C. 4, 406 *हंति*)<sup>1)</sup> and *संतो* (cf. H. C. 1, 37). Just as *हंतो* or *हुंतो* (H. C. 4, 61) have become *हंतो*, so *संतो* or *सुंतो* may become *संतो*; and this form appears to exist in the N. *सित्*<sup>2)</sup>, and in the S. *से* (Tr. 401), E. H. and H. H. *से*, G. *जे* and M. *सी*<sup>3)</sup> or *प्री*<sup>3)</sup>. The S. *साँ* (Tr. 401) I would similarly derive from *संतो* which is still used by S., in the form *संदो*, as a gen. aff. (Tr. 129), or from *संति* which is still used in E. H. as an adv. part. *on being* (see § 488, note). — The Pr. suff. *हंतो* and *सुंतो* are used for the

1) Pr. has a tendency to change *अ* to *इ* in the suff. *अंति* of the 3. pl. and *अंत*<sup>o</sup> of the part. pres., see Wb. Bh. 404. 428, and B. has *इत्ते* in the part. pres. for E. H. *अत्ते* (§ 300).

2) With *त्* for *न्त्*, as in the M. 3. pl. pres. *अत्* for Pr. *अंति*, and in the E. H. part. pres. in *अत्*, B. *इत्* for Pr. *अंतो* (§ 300).

3) The M. *सी*<sup>o</sup> or *प्री*<sup>o</sup> cannot be divided (as Bs. II, 272) into *स् + ई*<sup>o</sup>, the former being the termin. of the (Pr.) gen. sg., the latter the Pr. instr. plur. suff. *हि*; thus M. *देवासी*<sup>o</sup> = *देवाम्* or *देवस्स + हि*. No doubt, modern M. case aff. (like *ने*<sup>o</sup> in *त्याच्या ने*<sup>o</sup> *by him*) may be added to a gen.; for they are relics of what were formerly full nouns. But *ई*<sup>o</sup> is not an aff., but the relic of an old suff.; see at the end of this paragraph.

instr. only, but the Ap. aff. होतु for the abl. also; similarly प्रो and हो are confined, in M., to the instr., but in the other Gds. the corresponding aff. express both the instr. and abl. Thus instr. in E. H. ओह से कहल गइल *done by him or with it*, but abl. in तहाँ से आइल *come from there*. They never have in E. H. strictly the sense of „in company with“; thus *gone with him* is not ओह से गइल but ओह के संग गइल; but they appear to be used so occasionally in S. (Tr. 403), e. g., वरु पुनहू से पलकु *return with Punahū a moment*; and, of course, the instr. easily admits of this sense. — The Pr. हितो (H. C. 3, 7. 8) and the Ap. होतु (H. C. 4, 372. 373) are used both in the sing. and plur.; but हितो was in Pr. originally confined to the plur. (Vr. 5, 6. 7), and the M. हो is so still; on the other hand, both M. and all other Gds. extend सो, से, etc. to the sing. also, while the corresponding Pr. सुतो is limited to the plur. — The M. abl. aff. हुन् or, curtailed, उन् can not well be derived from the Pr. हितो (as Ls. 311. Bs. II, 234. 236); though it may be (like the O. H. हुँत) traced to the Ap. होतु (or rather the wk. f. होतु) by the change of न् to न, as in the S. suff. च्चि of the 3. plur. pres. for Pr. च्चि. Indeed this derivation would hardly admit of a doubt, but for the fact, that in O. M. the aff. is हुनि or हुनियँ, which points to its being a conj. part., the suff. of which is in O. M. उनियँ or उनि and in M. M. उन् (see § 491). Accordingly it would be equal to होउन् *having been*. Similarly N. uses the conj. part. देखि *having seen* as an abl. aff.; e. g., ताँहाँ देखि निस्कयो *he came out from there*, माँक् देखि *from the midst*. But very possibly (as Bs. II, 236 suggests) some confusion may have taken place between the abl. aff. हुन् and the conj. part. होउन्; and, on the whole, the identification of हुन् with हुँतो seems most to commend itself<sup>1</sup>). — 2) As regards the other groups of abl. and instr. aff. or postpos., the B. ठाँह

1) With Bs.' identification (II, 272) of the M. हो with Pr. हि and of the H. सो or से with Skr. सम (II, 274) and with Ls.' derivation (§10) of हितो from हि + तस् I cannot agree.



(S. Ch. 229) and O. ठा-ह or ठाउं or ठूं (Sn. 13) are derivatives of Skr. स्थान, ठाँइ or ठा (ह is the abl. aff.) being = Ap. loc. ठाणि, and ठाउं or ठूं = Ap. abl. ठाणाहु. Identical with these, only substituting थ् for ह् (cf. H. C. 4, 16) is the other set: N. थाजि, P., E. H., W. H. थोँ (Ld. 77), G. थो (Ed. 115), all = Ap. loc. थाणि; and O. P. थावहु or थोँ or थो, M. P. थोँ = Ap. abl. थाणाहु; in the B. थेके (S. Ch. 62. 230) and G. थको the aff. के and की are super-added. — 3) The explanation of the set of instr. aff., E. H. सन्, सने, सेन्, सेनी, S. साणु or सेणु *with*, and of the abl. aff., E. H. ते, तेँ, P. उतोँ, S. ताँ or तोँ, has been given in § 375. So also that of the M. abl. aff. करन्न् and वरन्न्, and of the N. बाट, S. वटाँ. Others, as M. पासन्न्, P. पासोँ, and P. परोँ, S. पराँ or परोँ, and S. माँ or मोँ or मंकाँ and S. मयाँ, will be explained in § 378. — 4) There are also some relics of the old organic instr. or abl. Thus M. has an instr. sing. suff. रँ (Man. 17), which is the Ap. instr. sg. suff. रं (H. C. 4, 342), probably contracted for अहिं (see § 367, 5); e. g., M. देवेँ *by a god*, Ap. देवेँ, for \*देवहिं. Again M. has an instr. pl. suff. ईँ, which is contracted from the Ap. instr. pl. suff. अहिं (H. C. 4, 347); e. g., M. देवीँ *by gods* = Ap. देवहिं. Again there are the abl. sg. suff. अँ and अउँ or ओँ or ऊँ in S. (Tr. 117, 5) or ओँ in P. (Ld. 12) which are the same as the Ap. abl. plur. suff. अहं and अहुं (H. C. 4, 337. 339, see § 367, 5); e. g., S. घरँ *from a house* = Ap. Pr. घरहं, or S. घरउँ or घरोँ or घरँ, P. घरोँ = Ap. घरहुं.

377. *Derivation of the gen. affixes.* The O. H. possesses a gen. aff., which in the weak form, dir. and obl. sing. and pl., is केरू m., केरि f., and in the strong form, masc., dir. sg. केरा (E. H.) or केरो, केरो (W. H.), obl. sg. and dir. pl. केरे (E. H. and Br.) or केरा (Mw.); fem., dir. and obl., sg. and pl. केरी. The same forms exist also in O. P. (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI) and in O. G., which latter adds the st. form neut. sg. केह, pl. केराँ (see Bs. II, 283). Thus masc. sg. केरू in सो सुग्रीव केरू लघु धावन, i. e., *it is Sugriva's little messenger* (T. Dás, Lapká) or मिरै न तीवन्ह केरू कलेसा *the pain of the creatures is not removed* (T. Dás in Kl. 72); fem. sg. केरि in सीता केरि करहु

रखवारी, i. e., *keep a watch of Sitā* (T. Dās in Kl. 72); masc. sg. dir. केरा in एक नारि बत रघुपति केरा, i. e., *to have one wife is the rule of Raghupati* (T. Dās, Lanka), or केरो in को तेरा पुत्र पिता तू काको मिथ्य भ्रम जग केरो, i. e., *who is thy son, whose father art thou, (such questioning) is a delusion and error of the world* (Kabir, Suravali 12), or केरो in दोरै गत ग्रंथं चाहवान केरो *blindly ran the elephant of the Chāhuvān* (Chand 20, 141); masc. sg. obl. केरे in खाखर केरे वषत ने बंदे किस का करौगे दीदार *at the time of the end, oh friend, to whom will you look up?* (in Kabir's Rekhtās); masc. pl. dir. केरे in ये किरौट दशकंधर केरे *these are the diadems of Ravana* (T. Dās, Lanka), or केरा in गान्धर्वी केरा तरंग तजो ने तट माँ जाइ कूप खादे रे *having left the waves of Ganges he goes on to the bank and drinks from a well* (Narsingh, Kāvya. 2, 4 in Bs. II, 283); fem. sg. dir. केरो in सुनि कठोर वाणी कपि केरो *having heard the stern voice of the monkey* (T. Dās, Lanka), etc. Some more examples will be found in my Essay I. in J. B. A. S. XLI, 127. 128. Bs. II, 281—284. Kl. 72. On referring to the rules for the treatment of adj. (§§ 381. 384. 386) it will be seen, that these gen. aff. केर etc., are treated exactly like adj. This remark applies also to the other sets of gen. affixes. The O. H., namely, possesses also another set, which is merely a slightly modified form of the former. It consists of the weak forms, dir. and obl., sg. and plur., कर m., करौ f. Thus masc. dir. sg. कर in कौन रंग है जीव को ता कर करहु विवेक *what is the pleasure of life, of that make investigation* (Kabir, Ramaini 24), or तजि जाति कर रोष *the wrath of the warrior-caste* (T. Dās, Lanka); or plur. सब कर खानु सुकृत फल बीता *to day the fruit of the good deeds of all has passed away* (T. Dās Ayodhyā 343 in Bs. II, 279); fem. sg. dir. करि in सु भट सीसन बिन किनिय । हय किनिय बिन नरनि । सेन भीमह करि किनिय ॥ *lit. the warriors without heads he made, the horses he made without men, the army of Bhima he dispersed* (Chand, Somabhadha 41). For some more examples, see again my Ess. I, Bs. and Kl. *ibidem*! This set is preserved in E. H., which adds the corresponding strong forms, masc. dir. sg. करा, obl. sg. and nom. pl. करे, fem. sg. and pl., dir. and obl. करौ. They are confined,



however, to the pronouns (see § 439). They occur also in O., but are limited to the plur., in connection with the plur. sign मानन् (obl. f. of माने § 363, 2); thus gen. देव-मानन्-कर of gods, where कर is both masc. and fem., sing. and plur.; again loc. or dat. देव-मानन्-करे to gods and abl. देव-मानन्-कह from gods, where करे and कह are the regular O. dat. and abl. of कर (cf. O. हाते to or in a hand, हातु from a hand of हात् hand, see Sn. 15). In the sing., O. curtails कर, करे, कह into र, रे, ह respectively, e. g., जन-र of a man, but जन-मानन्-कर of men; जन-रे to a man, जन-ह from a man. Again B., N. and Mw. possess only these curtailed forms; viz., B. the wk. f. र in the gen. (e. g., sg. जने-र of a man, pl. जन-दे-र of men; sg. चेला-र of a disciple, pl. चेला-दे-र of disciples, see § 364, 2), and the st. f. रा in the nom. pl. (e. g., जने-रा men, lit. (multitude) of man; चेला-रा disciples, see § 369); N. the weak f. ह in the nom. pl. (e. g., जनहे-ह or जनह-ह men, चेलाहे-ह or चेलाह-ह disciples, see § 364, 3); Mw. the st. f. रो m., रो f. (e. g., जन-रो घर the house of a man, जन-रै घरै in the house of a man, जन-रा घर-ने to the house of a man, जन-रा घर the houses of a man, जन-रो बात or बातों the word or words of a man). Similarly in Mw. and E. R., the conj. part. कर is curtailed to र (e. g., मर-र having died = H. H. मर कर, see § 491)<sup>1</sup>). On the other hand, र may be elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted; whence arise the st. forms का or को or कौ m., की f., के or का obl., for करा or करो, etc., and the weak forms कै or के or shortened कि or क comm. gen. for करि or कर. Thus masc. dir. sg. in प्राण इन-कै दुष मुक्कै his life departs from pain (Chand 26, 2); fem. dir. sg. in सुनहु विभीषण प्रभु-कै रोती। hear, o Vibhūshan, the lord's custom (T. Dās, Sundara 298 in Bs. II, 278); masc. dir. sg. क in प्रेम-क गुण कहव सब कोइ every one will say (it is) the quality of love (Vidyapati, Pad. in Bs. II, 281); fem. dir. sg. in पितु आयसु सब धर्म-क टीका (to obey) a father's command is the crown of all virtue (T. Dās, Ayodhya 334 in Bs. II, 283); masc.

1) Similarly ओर and is shortened in E. H. to ओर and curtailed in N. to र; e. g., बिया र and they were.

obl. sg. क in हरि सु उदरै हिन-क महि *Hari can save in an instant* (Chand 1, 60 in Bs. II, 283) or फुटल बाँधुलि कमल-क संग *the bāndhuli has flowered with the lotus* (Vidyapati in Bs. Ind. Antiq. Febr, 1873). In the E. H., as a rule, the weak forms कै and के only are used. The former, however, is now constructed only with dir., the latter with obl. forms (e. g., जन कै घर *the house of a man*, but जन के घर *मे in the house of a man*); perhaps by way of assimilation to the W. H. obl. के, if the E. H. obl. के is not actually identical with it. The st. forms का or को sometimes occur already in O. Gd.; thus को in कंठसोभ बर इंद्र को । नाम कह्यो परवान ॥ *the name of this verse is truly called Kantasobha* (Chand 27, 31); fem. की in कया मंड चुहुआन की कहि *they well told the story of Chahuān* (Chand 27, 22); obl. के in सूकर खान के जन्मै धरई । जो गुरु केरी निंदा करई, i. e., *he will take the births of a swine and dog who causes the disgrace of his teacher* (in Kabir's Rekhtās). They are the ordinary gen. aff. in W. H. (exc. Mw.) and H. H. Lastly there is an example of a fem. st. f. किय in कया जंषि ससीवृत्त किय । अब कहत कया विस्तार किय । जो राजन दूतन करिय ॥ *narrating the story of Sasivritta, he now tells the story in detail, which the messengers of the kings had told* (Chand 25, 41); and the corresponding masc. occurs, e. g., in the O. P. abl. aff. किमहु (Tr. A. Gr. CXXV) which is a regular Ap. Pr. abl. of किमो<sup>1</sup>). There can hardly be a doubt, *prima facie*, that all these various sets of gen. aff. are merely different modifications of the same original form. Turning to Pr., we find the 1<sup>st</sup> set not unfrequently occurring in the following forms: 1) in the wk. f. sg. केरो or केह m., केरी f., केरं or केह n.; st. f. sg. केरयो m., केरिया f., केरयं or केरउं n., or (specially in Mg. Pr.) केरको etc. or केसके etc. They are treated in every way like adj., i. e., they are fully declined in conformity with the governing subst. Thus masc. केरो in H. C. 2, 147. 148; n. केरं in H. C. 2, 99. 148; masc. केरयो in एसो कखु अलंकारयो अलंकार केरयो *this surely*

1) It is quite analogous to the above mentioned O. abl. aff. करै, which is a curtailed form of the Ap. abl. करहु or करो.



is the ornament of the lady (Mrchh. act. 4. Skr. चार्यायाः अलङ्कारः); fem. in मम केलिका बह्वलित्रा my turn of slaughter (Mrchh. act. 10. Skr. मम बह्वपारी); neut. in कस्स केरकं एदं पवहणं whose is this conveyance (Mrchh. act. 6. Skr. कस्य पवहणम्) or तुम्हं केरउं धणु your wealth (H. C. 4, 373. Skr. युष्माकं धनं); masc. instr. sg. in जसु केरं हुंकारउं मुहं पडंति तणां on account of whose (the lion's) roaring the grass falls from the mouths (of the deer) (H. C. 4, 422. Skr. यस्य हुंकारेण<sup>1</sup>). It will be observed, that केर is here used in Pr. as a gen. aff. precisely as in Gd. For 1) it takes its dependent noun in the gen. (= Gd. obl. form) and agrees with its governing noun as an adj.; thus compare T. Dās' जीवन्ह केर कलेसा the pain of the creatures or Chand's भीमह करि सेन the army of Bhima with H. C.'s, तुम्हं केरउं धणु the wealth of you; 2) it is pleonastic, i. e., it has no meaning of its own and might be omitted from the passage without affecting the sense; thus तम्हं धणु and तुम्हं केरउं धणु<sup>2</sup>) or कस्स पवहणं and कस्स केरकं पवहणं are absolutely identical in meaning, just as जीवन्ह कलेसा or भीमह सेन would be in Gd.; 3) it is added merely to distinguish or emphasise the gen. or, in other words, simply as a gen. aff.; just as in Gd., where it is added only to distinguish the obl. f. in its gen. sense from its other senses; this, indeed, is expressly affirmed by H. C. 4, 422 संबन्धितः केरतसौ i. e. सम्ब<sup>०</sup> परे केर<sup>०</sup> भवतः after (or in addition to) the gen. kera and tana are used; and then follows the example जसु केरं etc. (see above). It cannot be doubted, then, but that the Pr. केरो, etc. are identical with the Gd. केर, etc. and therefore, *prima facie*, with the other Gd. sets of gen. aff. Now, according to old Indian tradition, the Pr. केर is the same as the Skr. past part. कृत done, made, of the R. कृ do. I believe, this tradition can be shown to be correct both on intrinsic and phonetic grounds. In the first place, the phrase done by most easily lends itself to express the gen. sense „of“; thus in H. C.'s example

1) More exam. will be found in my Essay I. in J. B. A. S. XLI. 129. 130, and in an article by Pischel in the Ind. Antiq. April 1873. p. 121. 122.

2) H. C. 4, 373. 380 expressly states that तुम्हं by itself is the gen. plur.

the phrase *जसु केरुं हुंकारउरं* lit. *through the roaring made by whom* is equivalent to *through whose roaring*. It may be remarked here, that in the literary Pr. the word *केर* is usually not added to the gen., but compounded with its dependent noun; the gen. construction being confined, as a rule, to the Ap. and the lower Mg. dialects; thus Mh. Pr. *रायकेरुं* *royal*, *पारकेरुं* *foreign* (H. C. 2, 146) or *अम्हकेरुं* *ours*, *तुम्हकेरुं* *yours* (H. C. 2, 147. 1, 246. 2, 99), but Ap. Pr. *अम्हं केरुं* *ours*, *तुम्हं केरुं* *yours* (H. C. 4, 373. 359) or Mg. Pr. *कप्रा केरुं* *whose* (Mrchhh. 96, 22), *तविप्रणीए केरुं* *of an ascetic* (Mrchhh. 152, 6), etc. Originally *केर* cannot have been pleonastic, but must have had a meaning of its own, and supposing the latter to have been the past part. „done“, *केर* would naturally be first used in the compounding construction; thus Mh. *रायकेरुं* = Skr. *राजकृतं* lit. *done by a king*, Mh. *अम्हकेरुं* or *अम्हकेरुं* (H. C. 2, 99) = Skr. *अस्माकृतं* *done by us*<sup>1</sup>). But the original meaning was soon lost sight of, and *केर* looked upon as a mere possessive (gen.) suff. and used in the compound constr., or even as a gen. aff. and, in this case, appended pleonastically to the gen. The former usage is expressly taught by H. C. in his rules on the Mh. Pr. *इदमर्थस्य केरुं*: i. e., *kera* is used as a possessive suff. (H. C. 2, 147) and *परराज्यां कृडिकौ च* i. e., *kha, ikka and kera* are used as possessive suff. after *para* and *rāja* (H. C. 2, 148), i. e., like the Skr. possessive suff. *ईय* and *कीय*. The latter usage is taught by him in his rule on the Ap. Pr. (quoted above) *संनयिनः केरुं* (H. C. 4, 422)<sup>2</sup>). — The identification (by Psch. in the

1) E. g., Pr. *रायकेरुं वयनं* = Skr. *राजकृतं वचनं* lit. *speech made by a king*, i. e., *a king's speech*.

2) The comp. usage probably preceded the pleon. one; accordingly we find the comp. form Mh. Pr. *तुम्हकेरुं* *yours* contracted in the later Ap. Pr. to *तुम्हारा* (H. C. 4, 434) which occurs in the Ap. beside the pleon. form *तुम्हं केरुं* (H. C. 4, 357). Probably the Ap. *तुम्हारा* is really = \**तुम्हकरिओ*, see § 73. — The curtailment of *करुं*, *करो* to *इ*, *रो* in B., O. and Mw. may perhaps be traced back to the original compounding usage. — The Skr. suff. *कीय* itself may well be derived from the past part. *कृत*.



Ind. Ant. Dec. 1873, p. 368 and Ls. 118. Wb. Spt. 38. 66) of केर with the Skr. part. fut. pass. कार्य is untenable. For 1) the meaning of कार्य *what is to be done* would not produce a gen. without a violent wrench (so rightly Bs. II, 286), and 2) phonetically, all Pr. analogies are (not, as Ls. thinks for, but) *against* it. In all the examples mentioned by the Pr. gramm., it is a *short* अ which absorbs a following इ; thus Pr. सेज्ञा, वेल्ली, पेज्ञंतो or पेरंतो, सुदेरो, अच्चेरो, बम्हचेरो are = Skr. प्राया, वल्लिः, पर्यन्तः, सौन्दर्यः, आश्चर्यः, ब्रम्हचर्यः (Vr. 1, 5. H. C. 1, 57. 58. 59)<sup>1</sup>). On the other hand Skr. °आर्य° becomes in Pr. °अज्ञ° or °आरिअ° (Vr. 3, 17. 10, 8. H. C. 2, 24. 4, 314); e. g., Pr. भज्ञा or भारिआ = Skr. भार्या *wife*; Pr. कज्ञं or कारिअं = Skr. कार्यम् *to be done*<sup>2</sup>). — *Secondly*, the identification of केर with कृत is supported by Pr. and Gd. phonetic analogies. Skr. roots in कृ, as कृ, धृ, मृ, चृ, etc., become in Pr. कर, धर, मर, सर, etc. (Vr. 8, 12. H. C. 4, 234) and form their past part. by means of the connecting vowel इ (Ls. 363), as करिओ, धरिओ (H. C. 1, 36), सरिओ, सरिओ (H. C. 4, 355 पसरिअउं = Skr. प्रसृतकम्), etc. By the transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, करिओ and the

1) H. C. 1, 78 gives Pr. गेःकं for Skr. ग्राह्यं; but even this single case is no real exception; for Skr. has both गृह्यं and ग्राह्यं; and the Pr. गेःकं is clearly the former; just as Skr. गृह्णाति is in Pr. गेपहइ (H. C. 4, 209); that is, Skr. गृह्यं = \*ग्रह्यं = Pr. गेःकं. — The Pr. सेत्र or सेत्य for Skr. मात्र is not an exception; for no इ has been absorbed; besides the derivation from मात्र is doubtful; Ls. 128 suggests an original मित्र.

2) Md. 19, 4 allows to the Ps. Pr. °अरिअ° also, but not °रर°; viz. र्वस्य रिअः प्राप्स्वो वा । र्वस्य रिअः स्यात् । प्राक् इस्वश्च वा स्यात् ॥ भारिआ । भारिआ ॥ कार्यं कच् च दृश्यते । कश्च । चकारात् कारिअं । करिअं च ॥ i. e., „ry becomes *ria* and the preceding vowel may be short or long“. — Skr. कार्य never becomes कार in Pr. (as Psch. ibidem); the Skr. कार is a different word, with an active sense, *doing*, while कार्य is passive, *what is to be done*. The B. gen. आपनकार, आजिकार, कलकार do not contain a gen. aff. कार; there is no such B. aff.; but the forms are regular gen. of आपना *own*, आजिका *of to-day*, कलका *of yesterday* (gen. आपनका-र, etc.), which words exist in H. also and may be declined through all cases, both in H. and B.; see S. Oh. 115.

st. f. करिष्यो become करो and कर्यो, just as Skr. आश्चर्यम् *wonderful* becomes in Pr. अचरिषं or अचरे (Vr. 1, 5. H. C. 1, 58). Similarly Pr. उक्करो *a heap* and देरं *a door* are, in all probability, modified from the past part. pass. Pr. उक्करिषो *heaped up* and दरिषं *split*, of the Rs. उक्क and दृ resp.<sup>1)</sup>. The modified part. forms करो and कर्यो are never used in Pr. or Gd. but as gen. aff., while the unmodified forms करिष्यो and करिष्यो serve both as proper part. and as gen. aff. No examples, indeed, I believe, of the latter two forms in either usage have been found as yet in Pr. literature. But notwithstanding this, their existence would be but in accordance with the general rule of the Pr. gramm. (Vr. 8, 12. H. C. 4, 234) that the conjugational base is कर् (not कृ). And what is more, they do actually exist in Gd. as the *ordinary past part.* of the verb कर् *to do*; see § 307; which §, moreover, will show, that in Gd. the part. forms of कर् are the same as the gen. aff. Thus the gen. aff. करा or कर म., करी or करि f. occur identically as part. in O. H. (T. Dās) and Bs. and, in the slightly modified form करी म., in Kn., कर्यो म. in Mw. and कर्यो म. in Br., करी f. in all (see Kl. 205, 3. 207, 390. 213, 405. 216, 414. 223, 431). The O. H. gen. aff. किय or O. P. abl. aff. किञ्चु occur as the ordinary H. H. part. किया म., किई f. *done*. The contr. gen. aff. का or क do not, I believe, occur as part., but quite analogous contractions are the part. ना or न for गया or गिया *gone*, भा or भ for भया *been*, पा for पाया *found* in Bs. (see Kl. 225, 438. 230, 449) and O. H.; e. g., तमसि तमसि सामंत सब । रोच भरि न प्रथिराज ॥ i. e., *in great passion were all the chiefs, with wrath was filled* Prathirāj (= H. H. भर गया). The E. H. part. कइल, M. केला, B.

1) Pr. gramm. (H. C. 1, 58. 79) identify them with the Skr. उत्कर् and दारं, which, of course, can be true as to the meaning only. Ls. 118 derives उक्करो from a supposed vulgar form उत्कर्ष, which shows that he himself felt, that Pr. analogy requires a *short अ* before र् to produce कृ; for according to rule (Pan. 3, 1. 120. 124) the part. fut. pass. ought to be उत्कर्ष. — The common Skr. past part. is उत्कीर्ण; but Pr. would form, as usual, उत्करित.



करि<sup>ल</sup> presuppose an original form करिद् or करित (§§ 109.307). The st. form कयैत m. (= Ap. करिअउ) is found frequently in the O. H. of Chand; thus चिद् तलाट प्रसेद् । कयैत संकर गजरात्रं ॥ *of the drops of perspiration made a chain the elephant* (Revatāṭa 3); or तिहि उपर् चामंड । कयैत हुस्सैन वान सजि ॥ *upon this Chāmaṇḍ made Hussain Khān ready* (Revatāṭa 58); and the st. form करिय f. (= Ap. करिइअ) in करिय अरज उमराउ *the nobles made petition* (Revatāṭa 96), or सब मिलि सु ताहि पुज्जा करिय *all assembling made adoration of him* (Adiparv. 96); again the wk. form करि f. in करि सलाह संमेल करि *they (made) took counsel having made an assembly* (Revatāṭa 96), etc. — Thus the gen. aff. of W. H., E. H., N., B. and O. form a group by themselves, all being derivatives of the past part. कृत. — 2) To this group I would also affiliate the M. aff. चा m., चो f., चे<sup>३</sup> n. In the O. M. the forms चिया m., चिये<sup>३</sup> n. (Man. 138) occur, from which the modern forms are contracted, just as M. H. का from O. H. किय. In M. the initial क् has been palatalised by the influence of the succeeding palatal इ; just as in Pr. चिलादो for Skr. किरातः (Vr. 2, 33) and in Pr. अम्हेचयं *ours*, तुम्हेचयं *yours* (H. C. 2, 149) beside Pr. अम्हेकरं and तुम्हेकरं (H. C. 2, 99. 2, 147). In fact, in the two last examples we have, in a slightly modified form, the O. M. gen. aff. चिया (cf. E. H. गवा, but B. गिया *gone*). According to Pr. gramm. (H. C. 2, 147. 149) अम्हेचयं is but an other form of अम्हेकरं, which shows that it is = \*अम्हेक्यं = \*अम्हेक्यं = \*अम्हेकरिअं, the इ having been transferred into the preceding syllable अक् and having palatalised it into एच्. — The M. चा is sometimes identified with the Skr. suff. त्य (as Bs. II, 289. Man. 132, 3). This theory assumes, that an old suff. has in comparatively modern times changed into an aff.; for the M. चा is not added to the base (as the Skr. suff.) but to the obl. form, i. e., to the old gen. Such a change would be, as far as I know, altogether unique, without any analogy or evidence to support it. The word केर (unlike त्य) was never a real suff., though sometimes it is practically used like one in Pr.; but it is a real noun with a meaning of its own, viz. *made or done*; and this accounts

for its peculiar use as an aff. constructed with the obl. f. On the other hand, the change of क् to च् through a following इ is supported by the examples above quoted, to which may be added the S. neut. interrog. pron. *इहा* *what* (i. e., *chhá* = *khá* = *kihá*) corresponding to the P. किय्या and W. H. क्वा for \*किहा (cf. P. obl. किह दा of *whom*); also the G. प्रो m., प्रो f., प्रु n. *who* for \*हो, \*हो, \*हु (see § 438, 5)<sup>1</sup>. — 3) The P., S. and possibly G. and Konkani gen. aff., I believe, form a distinct group. The P. gen. aff. are: दा m., दो f. The same aff. occurs in B. as a component part of the plur. sign, viz. दे or दि in देर, दिगे (see § 364, 2), and as the instr. aff. दिया with which may be compared the P. obl. plur. masc. दिद्या, see § 374. I believe them to be identical with the past part. दिया *given* of the verb दे to *give* (see § 307), and their origin to be precisely analogous to that of the preceding groups. The past part. *given*, just like the part. *made*, would easily produce the gen. sense „of“; e. g., the P. तंत्र दो बाणी lit. *the sound given by an instrument* is the same as *the sound of an instrument*. — The S. gen. aff. are तो m., तो f. Here the original initial द् has been palatalised by the following palatal इ. Other examples of the same change are the P. मनिहा or मनेहा of *such sort* (Ld. 19) and the S. इको *this* (Tr. 198, for *idhio* = *idiho*, see § 132, note) for Skr. ईदृक्; the S. उको *that* (Tr. 202) = Skr. \*एवदृक्; the Ap. Pr. एजाहो (Ls. 455, for \*एदिआहो = \*एदाइहो) = Skr. एतादृक्; the S. कुजाओ *what* (cf. H. कुजा *where*) for Skr. \*केवदृक् (see § 438, 4). — The O. P. has a gen. aff. डा (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI), where the initial द् has been cerebralised, as in the M. S. डिअनु to *give* (Tr. 276. H. H. देना). The modern G. gen. aff. नो m., नो f., नु n. I am inclined to count with this set by the not uncommon change of द् or ड् to ण् or न् (§ 106). They might be, however, as Bs. II, 287 suggests, curtailed forms of the gen. aff. तणो, तणी, तणु, which occur in

1) In the Romance languages the change of the guttural into the palatal is very common, even before the vowel *a*; e. g., lat. *camera*, french *chambre*, engl. *chamber*; lat. *caminus*, fr. *cheminée*, engl. *chimney*, etc.



O. G. and still earlier in the *Ap. Pr.* (H. C. 4, 422, e. g., *अह भग्ना ब्रह्माहं तपा* *that is the fortune of us*). They still occur occasionally in Br. (तनो) and Mw. तपो or तपू m., तपो f., तपा plur. (see Kl. 68, 73). — The Mewári gen. aff. ओ m., ओ f., ऋ or ॠ obl. (Kl. 68) and Konkaní लो, etc. (Bs. II, 287) I am also inclined to refer to this group, on account of the cerebral ॠ, which appears to be a modification of the ॡ in the O. P. डा. They might be, however, identified with the Mw. रो, etc. (as Bs. II, 287), which occur also in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI). And I may add here, that the aff. का, केरा, चा of the other groups and the S. ञा occur in O. P. also (see Tr. ibidem). — 4) There is one more peculiar group of gen. aff.; viz. in Mw. (poetry) हंदो m., हंदी f. (Kl. 68, 73); in S. sg. dir. संदो m., संदी f., obl. संदे m., संदिअ f., plur. dir. संदा m., संदिऊँ f., obl. संदे or संदिनि m., संदिनि or संदिअनि or संदिउनि f.; in Ksh., with a sg. noun, sg. संदू m., संदू f., pl. संदि m., संत f., with a plur. noun, sg. हिंदू m., हिंदू f., pl. हिंदि m., हिंज f. (see Bs. II, 290)<sup>1</sup>). Bs. (II, 291) identifies them with the Pr. pres. part. हंतो and संतो *being* of the Rs. भू and वसू *to be*. This is quite possible. But perhaps an other derivation may be suggested. They may be divided into सं-दो, हं-दो or हिं-दो; the first parts सं and हं or हिं being the Pr. gen. termin. of the sing. and plur. resp. (§ 365, 1. 7), and दो the gen. aff. as in P. Thus Mw. जनहंदो or Ksh. जनहिंदू *of men* being really जनहं or जनहिं + दो or दू; S. जनसंदो and Ksh. जनसंदू *of a man* being जनस-दो for the Pr. gen. sg. नपास. This would explain the singular difference in Ksh. between the sing. and plur. aff. On the other hand, one would have to assume that S. has lost the plur. and Mw. the sing. forms. But these curious gen. aff. are at present too little known, to allow of any satisfactory theory being propounded.

1) Bs. transliterates *سانجہ* by संजह, which is hardly correct. The final *s* is merely a mater lectionis, to indicate that the word in which it is used ends in a short or, sometimes, long *a*; e. g., *نہ* = न *not*, *سے* = स *with*, *سے* = संदा *servant*, etc. Hence either संज *sanja* or संजा *sanjā*; probably the former.

378. *Derivation of the locative affixes.* 1) The original of the aff. मे etc. is the Skr. loc. मध्ये *in the midst of*, which in Ap. Pr. becomes मत्के or मत्कि or मत्कहिं. From these Ap. forms arise two Gd. sets, one retaining क्, the other changing it to ह् (see § 117). To the first set belong the B. माके, S. मंके for Ap. मत्के; the O. H. मकि or माँक, E. H. माँक् for Ap. मत्कि, and the O. M. मात्तो (or मात्तो) for Ap. मत्कहिं; also the S. abl. aff. मंको or मंकाँ *from-within* for Ap. मत्कुहुं or मत्कुहं. To the second set belong the O. H. महि for Ap. मकि, and the O. H. माँहै or माँही or माँही, E. H. and Br. माँही, Mw. माहै or माई or मई (for \*मही) for Ap. मत्कहिं; also the E. H. मे contracted from मदि, W. H. मेँ contr. from \*मही, E. H., W. H., G. माँ, N. ना similarly contr. from \*महो = मकाँ (cf. S. abl. aff.) = Ap. मत्कुहं; and W. H. मोँ for \*महो = मको (cf. S. abl. aff.) = Ap. मत्कुहुं. Both, माँ and मोँ, occur in S. also as abl. aff. — 2) Other groups of loc. aff. or postpositions are; a) the M. ठाई = Ap. ठापहिं, and the N. वाजि = Ap. वाणि, for Skr. स्वाने *in the place of*; b) the N. नावि and S. मये *upon* = Ap. Pr. मत्वि or मत्वे for Skr. मस्ते *on the head or top of*, and the corresponding S. abl. aff. मयाँ *from-upon*; similar to these are: S. सिरे, P. सिर् *upon* = Ap. सिरे for Skr. सिर्षि *on the head of*; c) the B. मितर or भितरे, E. H., W. H. भीतर *within* (see § 172); d) in all Gds. पर or परि or परे *upon*, Ap. Pr. परि (H. C. 4, 438), Skr. परे *beyond*; and the corresponding abl. aff. S. पाँ and S. or P. परो *from-upon*; e) the S. and G. पासे, P. and W. H. पास = Ap. पावि or पासे, and M. पासो = Ap. पासहिं, for Skr. पार्श्वे *by the side of*; f) the S. विचे, P. विच्, O. P. विचि, W. H. वीच् *within* = Ap. विचे or विचि, perhaps for Skr. वृत्ते *lit. surrounded by*; cf. H. C. 4, 421, where the Ap. विच is said to be a substitute for Skr. वर्तमान; g) the M. त् *in*, as in बरात् *in a house*, कवीत् *in a poet*, मधुत् *in honey* (Man. 30.31), is probably a curtailment of the Pr. संतो or संते (H. C. 1, 14.60) for Skr. संतर *within*; and related to it, in all Gds., संतर = Ap. संतर (H. C. 4, 350), for Skr. संतरम् *within*. — 3) There are also some relics of the old organic loc.: a) loc. sg. in इ in most Gds.,



for Ap. इ, Skr. ए; b) loc. sg. in ऐ or ए in most Gds., or ई in N., P., G., for Ap. ए or अइ or अहि; c) loc. sg. in ऐ or ए in E. H., ई in P., or loc. sg. and pl. in ई in M., for Ap. sg. and pl. अहि; d) loc. sg. in अ in E. H., W. H., or loc. sg. and pl. in अ in M., for Ap. pl. अहं; e) loc. sg. in ओ or उ in W. H., for Ap. pl. अहुं. Examples see §§ 367, 5. 375, 1. 2. 77. 78.

## 5. DECLENSION.

379. There is only *one* declension. All subst. are declined exactly alike; and the base never changes, exc. in the obl. cases of the plur., where अन्, इन्, उन् are added (see § 362). One example, therefore, of a subst. fully declined will be sufficient. But as a matter of convenience, I shall add a list of nom. and gen. of a subst. of every form, gender and termin., leaving it to the student to supply the remainder.

### 1. Masculines in अ.

#### a) Short form: राम् *Rām*.

| Sing.                          | Simple plur.     | Comp. plur.                              |
|--------------------------------|------------------|--|
| nom. राम्                      | राम्             | रामन्लोग् or रामन्लोग्                   |
| acc. राम् or र <sup>०</sup> के | राम् or रामन् के | रामन्लोग् or ०गन् के or रामन्लोग् or ०के |
| instr. राम् से                 | रामन् से         | रामन्लोगन् से or रामन्लोग् से            |
| dat. राम् के                   | रामन् के         | रामन्लोगन् के or रामन्लोग् के            |
| abl. राम् से                   | रामन् से         | रामन्लोगन् से or रामन्लोग् से            |
| gen. राम् कै, ०के              | रामन् कै, ०के    | रामन्लोगन् कै, ०के or रामन्लोग् कै, ०के  |
| loc. राम् मे                   | रामन् मे         | रामन्लोगन् मे or रामन्लोग् मे            |
| voc. हे राम्                   | हे राम्          | हे रामन्लोग् or हे रामन्लोग्             |

#### b) Long form: रामन्वा or रामन्वाँ.

|                                   |                        |                        |                                      |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| nom. रामन्वा                      | रामन्वा                | रामन्वालोग्            | or रामन्वन्लोग्                      |
| acc. रामन्वा or र <sup>०</sup> के | रामन्वा or रामन्वन् के | रामन्वालोग् or ०गन् के | or रामन्वन्लोग् or र <sup>०</sup> के |
| instr. रामन्वा से                 | रामन्वन् से            | रामन्वालोगन् से        | or रामन्वन्लोग् से                   |
| dat. रामन्वा के                   | रामन्वन् के            | रामन्वालोगन् के        | or रामन्वन्लोग् के                   |
| abl. रामन्वा से                   | रामन्वन् से            | रामन्वालोगन् से        | or रामन्वन्लोग् से                   |
| gen. रामन्वा कै, ०के              | रामन्वन् कै, ०के       | रामन्वालोगन् कै, ०के   | or रामन्वन्लोग् कै, ०के              |

|      | Sing.     | Simple plur. | Comp. plur.                       |
|------|-----------|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| loc. | रमन्वा मे | रमन्वन् मे   | रमन्वालोमन् मे or रमन्वन्लोमन् मे |
| voc. | हे रमन्वा | हे रमन्वा    | हे रमन्वालोमन् or हे रमन्वन्लोमन् |

c) Redundant form: रमौवा or रमौवा or रमौवाँ or रमौवाँ.

|        | Sing.                      | Simple plur.               | Comp. plur.   |
|--------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| nom.   | रमौवा                      | रमौवा                      | रमौवालोमन् or रमौवन्लोमन्   |
| acc.   | रमौवा or र <sup>०</sup> के | रमौवा or वन् के            | रमौवालोमन् or गन् के or रमौवन्लोमन् or र <sup>०</sup> के          |
| instr. | रमौवा से                   | रमौवन् से                  | रमौवालोमन् से or रमौवन्लोमन् से                                   |
| dat.   | रमौवा के                   | रमौवन् के                  | रमौवालोमन् के or रमौवन्लोमन् के                                   |
| abl.   | रमौवा से                   | रमौवन् से                  | रमौवालोमन् से or रमौवन्लोमन् से                                   |
| gen.   | रमौवा के, <sup>०</sup> के  | रमौवन् के, <sup>०</sup> के | रमौवालोमन् के, <sup>०</sup> के or रमौवन्लोमन् के, <sup>०</sup> के |
| loc.   | रमौवा मे                   | रमौवन् मे                  | रमौवालोमन् मे or रमौवन्लोमन् मे                                   |
| voc.   | हे रमौवा                   | हे रमौवा                   | हे रमौवालोमन् or हे रमौवन्लोमन्                                   |

Note: The long and redundant forms in या may be pronounced with a final *anunāsika* (see §§ 195. 365, 4); thus gen. रमन्वाँ के or रमौवाँ के, etc. — Subst. which do not denote *rational* beings, can not form the comp. pl. (see § 361); thus gen. घरन् के of houses, बाघन् के of tigers, not घरलोमन् के, बाघलोमन् के.

## 2. Masculines in या.

a) Short form: बेटा son.

|      | Sing.                          | Simple plur.                    | Comp. plur.   |
|------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| nom. | बेटा                           | बेटा                            | बेटालोमन् or बेटन्लोमन्   |
| gen. | बेटा के, <sup>०</sup> के, etc. | बेटन् के, <sup>०</sup> के, etc. | बेटालोमन् के, <sup>०</sup> के or बेटन्लोमन् के, <sup>०</sup> के, etc. |

b) Long form: बेटन्वा or बेटन्वाँ.

|      | Sing.                             | Simple plur.                       | Comp. plur.   |
|------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| nom. | बेटन्वा                           | बेटन्वा                            | बेटन्वालोमन् or बेटन्वन्लोमन्   |
| gen. | बेटन्वा के, <sup>०</sup> के, etc. | बेटन्वन् के, <sup>०</sup> के, etc. | बेटन्वालोमन् के, <sup>०</sup> के or बेटन्वन्लोमन् के, <sup>०</sup> के, etc. |

c) Redundant form: बेटौवा or बेटौवाँ, etc.

|      | Sing.                            | Simple plur.                      | Comp. plur.   |
|------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| nom. | बेटौवा                           | बेटौवा                            | बेटौवालोमन् or बेटौवन्लोमन्   |
| gen. | बेटौवा के, <sup>०</sup> के, etc. | बेटौवन् के, <sup>०</sup> के, etc. | बेटौवालोमन् के, <sup>०</sup> के or बेटौवन्लोमन् के, <sup>०</sup> के, etc. |

## 3. Masculines in इ.

a) Short form: रिखि rikhi patriarch.

|      | Sing.                          | Simple plur.                     | Comp. plur.  |
|------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| nom. | रिखि                           | रिखि                             | रिखिलोमन् or रिखिन्लोमन्   |
| gen. | रिखि के, <sup>०</sup> के, etc. | रिखिन् के, <sup>०</sup> के, etc. | रिखिलोमन् के, <sup>०</sup> के, etc. or रिखिन्लोमन् के, <sup>०</sup> के, etc. |



b) Long form : रिषिया or रिषियाँ.

| Sing.                     | Simple plur.          | Comp. plur.                                      |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| nom. रिषिया               | रिषिया                | रिषियालोग् or रिषियन्लोग्                        |
| gen. रिषिया कै, °के, etc. | रिषियन् कै, °के, etc. | रिषियालोगन् कै, °के or रिषियन्लोग् कै, °के, etc. |

c) Redundant form : रिषियवा or रिषियवाँ.

|                            |                        |  |
|----------------------------|------------------------|--|
| nom. रिषियवा               | रिषियवा                | रिषियवालोग् or रिषियवन्लोग्                        |
| gen. रिषियवा कै, °के, etc. | रिषियवन् कै, °के, etc. | रिषियवालोगन् कै, °के or रिषियवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc. |

4. Masculines in ई.

a) Short form : भाई brother.

|                        |                     |   |
|------------------------|---------------------|---|
| nom. भाई               | भाई                 | भाईलोग् or भाइन्लोग्                        |
| gen. भाई कै, °के, etc. | भाइन् कै, °के, etc. | भाईलोगन् कै, °के or भाइन्लोग् कै, °के, etc. |

b) Long form : भैया or भैया or भैयाँ or भैयाँ.

|                         |                     |  |
|-------------------------|---------------------|--|
| nom. भैया               | भैया                | भैयालोग् or भैयन्लोग्                        |
| gen. भैया कै, °के, etc. | भैयन् कै, °के, etc. | भैयालोगन् कै, °के or भैयन्लोग् कै, °के, etc. |

c) Redundant form : भैयवा or भैयवाँ.

|                          |                      |  |
|--------------------------|----------------------|--|
| nom. भैयवा               | भैयवा                | भैयवालोग् or भैयवन्लोग्                        |
| gen. भैयवा कै, °के, etc. | भैयवन् कै, °के, etc. | भैयवालोगन् कै, °के or भैयवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc. |

5. Masculines in उ.

a) Short form : तर् tree.

|                        |                     |        |
|------------------------|---------------------|--------|
| nom. तर्               | तर्                 | deest. |
| gen. तर् कै, °के, etc. | तर्न् कै, °के, etc. |        |

b) Long form : तर्वा or तर्वा or तर्वाँ or तर्वाँ.

|                          |                       |        |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------|
| nom. तर्वा               | तर्वा                 | deest. |
| gen. तर्वा कै, °के, etc. | तर्वान् कै, °के, etc. |        |

c) Redundant form : तर्खवा or तर्खवाँ.

|                           |                       |        |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|--------|
| nom. तर्खवा               | तर्खवा                | deest. |
| gen. तर्खवा कै, °के, etc. | तर्खवन् कै, °के, etc. |        |

6. Masculines in उ.

a) Short form : नाउ barber.

|                        |                     |   |
|------------------------|---------------------|---|
| nom. नाउ               | नाउ                 | नाउलोग् or नाउन्लोग्                        |
| gen. नाउ कै, °के, etc. | नाउन् कै, °के, etc. | नाउलोगन् कै, °के or नाउन्लोग् कै, °के, etc. |

b) Long form: नञ्वा or नौञ्वा or नौवा or नञ्वाँ etc.

Sing.

Simple plur.

Comp. plur.

nom. नौवा नौवा नौवालोग् or नौवन्लोग्  
gen. नौवा कै, °के, etc. नौवन् कै, °के, etc. नौवालोगन् कै, °के or नौवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: नञ्वा or नौञ्वा or नौञ्वाँ, etc.

nom. नौञ्वा नौञ्वा नौञ्वालोग् or नौञ्वन्लोग्  
gen. नौञ्वा कै, °के, etc. नौञ्वन् कै, °के, etc. नौञ्वालोगन् कै, °के or नौञ्वन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

### 7. Feminines in ञ.

a) Short form: बात् *word, thing, event.*

nom. बात् बात् deest.  
gen. बात् कै, °के, etc. बात् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: बतिया or बतिवाँ.

nom. बतिया बतिया deest.  
gen. बतिया कै, °के, etc. बतियन् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: बतियवा or बतियवाँ.

nom. बतियवा बतियवा deest.  
gen. बतियवा कै, °के, etc. बतियवन् कै, °के, etc.

### 8. Feminines in ङ.

a) Short form: दुर्गा *Durgā.*

nom. दुर्गा दुर्गा दुर्गालोग् or दुर्गन्लोग्  
gen. दुर्गा कै, °के, etc. दुर्गन् कै, °के, etc. दुर्गालोगन् कै, °के or दुर्गन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: दुर्गिवा or दुर्गिवाँ.

nom. दुर्गिवा दुर्गिवा दुर्गिवालोग् or दुर्गिवन्लोग्  
gen. दुर्गिवा कै, °के, etc. दुर्गिवन् कै, °के, etc. दुर्गिवालोगन् कै, °के or दुर्गिवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: दुर्गिवा or दुर्गिवाँ.

nom. दुर्गिवा दुर्गिवा दुर्गिवालोग् or दुर्गिवन्लोग्  
gen. दुर्गिवा कै, °के, etc. दुर्गिवन् कै, °के, etc. दुर्गिवालोगन् कै, °के or दुर्गिवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

### 9. Feminines in इ.

a) Short form: अग्नि *fire.*

nom. अग्नि अग्नि deest.  
gen. अग्नि कै, °के, etc. अग्नि कै, °के, etc.



b) Long form: अगिया or अगियाँ.

| Sing.                    | Simple plur.         | Comp. plur. |
|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| nom. अगिया               | अगिया                |             |
| gen. अगिया कै, °के, etc. | अगियन् कै, °के, etc. | deest.      |

c) Redundant form: अगियवा or अगियवाँ.

|                           |                       |        |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|--------|
| nom. अगियवा               | अगियवा                |        |
| gen. अगियवा कै, °के, etc. | अगियवन् कै, °के, etc. | deest. |

### 10. Feminines in ई.

a) Short Form: लाठी staff.

|                         |                     |        |
|-------------------------|---------------------|--------|
| nom. लाठी               | लाठी                |        |
| gen. लाठी कै, °के, etc. | deest (§ 362, exc.) | deest. |

b) Long form: लठिया or लठियाँ.

|                          |                     |        |
|--------------------------|---------------------|--------|
| nom. लठिया               | लठिया               |        |
| gen. लठिया कै, °के, etc. | लठियन् कै, के, etc. | deest. |

c) Redundant form: लठियवा or लठियवाँ.

|                           |                       |        |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|--------|
| nom. लठियवा               | लठियवा                |        |
| gen. लठियवा कै, °के, etc. | लठियवन् कै, °के, etc. | deest. |

### 11. Feminines in उ.

a) Short form: बहू daughter-in-law.

|                        |                     |   |
|------------------------|---------------------|---|
| nom. बहू               | बहू                 | बहूलोग् or बहुन्लोग्                        |
| gen. बहू कै, °के, etc. | बहुन् कै, °के, etc. | बहूलोगन् कै, °के or बहुन्लोग् कै, °के, etc. |

b) Long form: बहुवा or बहुया or बहुयाँ, etc.

|                          |                      |  |
|--------------------------|----------------------|--|
| nom. बहुया               | बहुया                | बहुयालोग् or बहुयन्लोग्                        |
| gen. बहुया कै, °के, etc. | बहुयन् कै, °के, etc. | बहुयालोगन् कै, °के or बहुयन्लोग् कै, °के, etc. |

c) Redundant form: बहुयवा or बहुयवाँ.

|                           |                       |  |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| nom. बहुयवा               | बहुयवा                | बहुयवालोग् or बहुयवन्लोग्                        |
| gen. बहुयवा कै, °के, etc. | बहुयवन् कै, °के, etc. | बहुयवालोगन् कै, °के or बहुयवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc. |

## SECOND CHAPTER. THE ADJECTIVE.

### 1. FORMS OF THE ADJECTIVE.

380. Every adj. admits of three forms: the short, long and redundant. The short is the primary form, which is given in the dictionaries and by which it is generally known. The other two are more or less vulgar. The latter are made by adding to the weak form (see § 381) the pleon. suff. of the second, third and fifth sets of the first group, as explained in §§ 198. 199. Thus, *masc.*, sh. f. मोट् *thick*, lg. f. मोटक्का or मोटका, red. f. मोटक्का or मोटका; *fem.*, sh. f. मोट्, lg. f. मोटक्की or मोटकी, red. f. मोटक्की or मोटकी; *masc.*, sh. f. बडा *great*, lg. f. बडक्का or बडका, red. f. बडक्का or बडका; *fem.*, sh. f. बडी, lg. f. बडक्की or बडकी, red. f. बडक्की or बडकी; *com. gen.*, sh. f. भारी *heavy*, lg. f. *masc.* भारिक्का or भारिका, *fem.* भारिक्की or भारिकी, red. f. *masc.* भारिक्का or भारिका, *fem.* भारिक्की or भारिकी; *com. gen.*, sh. f. भारिक्का or भारिका, *fem.* भारिक्की or भारिकी; *masc.* गह् *heavy*, lg. f. *masc.* गहक्का or गहका, *fem.* गहक्की or गहकी, red. f. *masc.* गहक्का or गहका, *fem.* गहक्की or गहकी, etc.

381. All adj. of the short form in अ admit of two forms, a weak and a strong. The weak form ends in अ and is the original one; the strong form is made by adding to this the pleon. suff., अ म., ई f., of the first set of the first group, as explained in § 196. Thus, *masc.*, wk. f. लाम् *long*, st. f. लामा; *fem.*, wk. f. लाम्, st. f. लामी; or wk. f., *com. gen.*, उच् *high*, st. f. *masc.* उच्चा, *fem.* उच्ची, etc. Adj. in ई and उ exist only in the strong form; their weak forms in इ and उ are obsolete. Thus st. f., *com. gen.*, भारी *heavy*, हल् *light*; the wk. f. भारि, हर् or हल् occur in O. H. (Tulsī Dās).

382. The adj. of the strong form in ई admit of two forms, the contracted and uncontracted. The latter is made by adding the pleon. suff. ईङ् to the former, see § 197. Thus भारी or भारिङ् *heavy*. Of the uncontracted a long form भारिङ्का m., भारिङ्की f., may be made, but no redundant form.



383. When adj. are used as subst. or parts of proper names, their long and redundant forms are made exactly like those of real subst. Thus सेठ-वा (not सेठ-का), lg. f. of सेठ् a name of a caste (lit. *best*, Skr. श्रेष्ठ); or मिठवा ग्राम् the name of a species of mangoe, but मिठका ग्राम् any sweet mangoe.

## 2. GENDER.

384. Adj., like subst., have only two genders, masc. and fem. Strong and long adj. change, in the fem., the final वा to ई, and redundant adj. ववा to इवा (see §§ 258 ff.). In other adj. the two genders are identical in form. Thus the wk. f. मोट् *sweet*, छोट् *small*, etc., and the st. f. भारी *heavy*, हलू *light*, etc. are *gen. com.*; but st. f. *masc.* मोठा, छोटा, *fem.* मोठी, छोटी, etc., and lg. f. *masc.* मिठका or मिठका, *fem.* मिठकी or मिठकी, etc., and red. f. *masc.* मिठका, *fem.* मिठकिया, etc.

385. *Affinities and Derivation.* All other Gds. have, like the E. H., a fem. in ई for their strong forms in वा (E. and S. Gd. and P.) or ओ or औ (W. and N. Gd.). Thus *masc. B., O., W. H.* काला, E. H. कारा *black*, M., P. काझा, G. काझे, S. कारो; *fem. B., O., W. H.* काली, M., P., G. काझी, E. H., S. कारी, etc. But the B. and O., as a rule, and even the E. H. not unfrequently, dispense with the use of strong adj. in वा. In S. the weak forms in उ (corresp. to अ in the other Gds.) have a fem. in इ or अ (Tr. 99. 152); in all other Gds. the fem. ends in अ; thus S. अयु *half*, *fem.* अयि or अयि, but E. H., B., O., G. *masc. or fem.* अयु. In E. H., however, the fem. wk. f. in इ is preserved in the part., when the latter are used to form participial tenses (see §§ 502 ff.); thus *fem.* कर्ति, of *masc.* कर्त् doing, in the 2. sg. pret. conj. कर्तिस् *if thou didst (fem.)*; or कइलि *fem.*, of कइल्, in the 2. sg. pret. ind. कइलिस् *thou didst*; कर्चि *fem.*, of कर्च्, in the 2. sg. fut. ind. कर्चिस् *thou wilt do*, etc. In H. H. the weak fem. in अ and इ cannot properly be used. In Skr., adj. in अ generally form their fem. in अ; but in Pr. they may optionally have a fem. in अ or ई (Vr. 5, 24. H. C. 3, 32), which become अ or इ in Gd.

(see §§ 42. 43). As to the derivation of the fem. term. ई and इया see § 262.

### 3. DECLENSION.

386. Adj. are declined precisely like subst., with the following exceptions: 1) strong adj. in आ change it to ए in the obl. form sg. and pl. — 2) long adj. in का or क्का change आ to उ in the voc. sg., and also throughout the plur., if the adj. is used in a derisive sense (i. e. परिहस्ये). Thus, dir. form, nom. sg. ई मीठा आम्र खाटे *this is a sweet mango*; obl. form, acc. sg. उ मीठे आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate a sweet mango*; dir. f., nom. sg. उ मिठका आम्र खाटे *that is a sweet mango*; obl. f., acc. sg. उ मिठके आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate a sweet mango*; dir. f., nom. sg. थोकूरु थड़ा घोड़ा खाटे *his is a good horse*; obl. f., loc. sg. उ थड़े घोड़ा पर चढल् खाटे *he is mounted on a good horse*. Again, dir. f., nom. pl. ई मीठा आम्र खाटे *these are sweet mangoes*; obl. f., acc. pl. उ मीठे आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate sweet mangoes*; dir. f., nom. pl. उ मिठका आम्र खाटे *those are sweet mangoes*; obl. f., acc. pl. उ मिठके आम्र के खैलेस् *he ate sweet mangoes*; dir. f., nom. pl. थोकूरु थड़ा घोड़ा खाटे *his are good horses*; obl. f., loc. pl. उ थड़े घोड़े पर चढल् खाटे *they are mounted on good horses*.

387. *Affinities*. The M. and Br. agree with the E. H. in inflecting, in the sing., their strong adj. in आ differently from their strong subst. in आ. While the termination of the obl. sing. of subst. is आ in E. H. and Br. and या in M., that of the obl. form of adj. is ए in all three. In the other Gds. the adj. does not differ from the subst. in the obl. sg. Thus, gen. sg., E. H. बड़े घोड़ा के *of a big horse*, Br. बड़े घोड़ा को, M. बड़े घोड़ा चा; but Mw. बड़ा घोड़ा रो, G. बड़ा घोड़ा नो, P. बड़े घोड़े दा, S. बड़े घोड़े जो, B. बड़ा घोड़ा-र, etc. In all Gds. the obl. form of adj. is the same in both plur. and sing., except in S., where their obl. f. pl. may be optionally like that of the subst. (Tr. 145); thus, gen. pl., E. H. बड़े घोड़ों के *of big horses*, Br. बड़े घोड़ों को, M. बड़े घोड़ों चा, Mw. बड़ा घोड़ों रो, G. बड़ा घोड़ा नो, P. बड़े घोड़ियाँ दा, S. बड़े घोड़े जो



or बड़े घोड़े जो, etc. It must, of course, be understood, that if an adj. is used substantively, and not attributively, it is declined in every respect like a real subst.; and that in all Gds.

#### 4. COMPARISON.

388. The degrees of comparison cannot be indicated by any change in the (positive) form. The comparative is expressed by putting the object with which another is compared in the abl. (made with the aff. से), and the superlative by prefixing to the adj. either the adj. itself or the pron. सब् all in the abl. case; e. g., ओकरे मोट् बर्दा से मोर बर्दा म्हा बाटै *my bullock is better than his fat bullock*; ओह् से बडा *greater than he*; ई सब् से मिठका घाम् बाटै *this is the sweetest mangoe*, lit., this is a mangoe sweet (compared) with all (others); अच्छी से अच्छी तरकारी *the best vegetable*; अच्छे से अच्छे चाउरु के भात *the best (cooked) rice*. Sometimes, however, the comp. is expressed by the long form of the adj. (see § 198), as it emphasizes its meaning. Thus के बडका बाटै *which is the elder one*; उ होटका बाटै *that is the younger one*.

389. *Affinities*. In all Gds. the comp. and superlat. degrees are formed precisely as in E. H.; see S. Ch. 83. Sn. 21. Man. 40, 78. note 1. Ld. 15. Ed. 45, 97. 98. Tr. 156. Thus, comparative, E. H. ओह् से बडा *greater than he*, B. ताहा हइते बड, O. ताहा-रु बड, M. त्याहून् बडा, Br. वा सो बडो, Mw. उण् सू बडो, G. आ बी बडो, P. उह ते बडा, S. हुन खाँ बडो; and superlat., E. H. सब् से बडा *greatest*, B. सकल् हइते ब, O. सकल-रु ब, M. सर्वाहून् ब, Br. सब् सो ब, Mw. सब् सू ब, G. सभ बी ब, P. सब ते ब, S. सभ खाँ ब.

#### THIRD CHAPTER. THE NUMERAL.

390. There are various kinds of numerals in E. H., as cardinals, ordinals, multiplicatives, collectives, reduplicatives, fractionals, beside which there are some others, as proportionals, subtractives, distributives, indefinitives, which are expressed by various modes of paraphrase.

1. CARDINALS.

391. Their forms from *one* to *hundred* are the following:

|              |              |                |               |              |
|--------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|
| 1. एक        | 21. ऐकइस्    | 41. ऐकतालिस्   | 61. ऐकसठि     | 81. ऐक्यासी  |
| 2. दुइ       | 22. ब्राइस्  | 42. ब्रयालिस्  | 62. ब्रासठि   | 82. ब्रयासी  |
| 3. तीनि      | 23. तेइस्    | 43. तैतालिस्   | 63. तिरसठि    | 83. तिरासी   |
| 4. चारि      | 24. चौबिस्   | 44. चौवालिस्   | 64. चौसठि     | 84. चौरासी   |
| 5. पाँच्     | 25. पचीस्    | 45. पैतालिस्   | 65. पैसठि     | 85. पचासी    |
| 6. छ         | 26. इब्बिस्  | 46. द्वियालिस् | 66. द्वाइठि   | 86. द्वियासी |
| 7. सात्      | 27. सताइस्   | 47. सैतालिस्   | 67. सरसठि     | 87. सत्तासी  |
| 8. आठ्       | 28. अठाइस्   | 48. अठतालिस्   | 68. अठसठि     | 88. अठ्ठासी  |
| 9. नौ        | 29. ओनतिस्   | 49. ओनचास्     | 69. ओनहत्तर   | 89. नवासी    |
| 10. दस्      | 30. तीस्     | 50. पचास्      | 70. सत्तर     | 90. नब्बे    |
| 11. ऐग्यारह् | 31. ऐकतिस्   | 51. ऐक्यावन्   | 71. ऐकत्र     | 91. ऐक्यानबे |
| 12. बारह्    | 32. ब्रतिस्  | 52. ब्रावन्    | 72. ब्रह्त्र  | 92. बानबे    |
| 13. तेरह्    | 33. तैतिस्   | 53. तिरपन्     | 73. तिह्त्र   | 93. तिरानबे  |
| 14. चौदह्    | 34. चौतिस्   | 54. चौवन्      | 74. चौह्त्र   | 94. चौरानबे  |
| 15. पन्तरह्  | 35. पैतिस्   | 55. पंचावन्    | 75. पङ्त्र    | 95. पंचानबे  |
| 16. सोरह्    | 36. इत्तिस्  | 56. इप्पन्     | 76. द्विह्त्र | 96. द्वानबे  |
| 17. सत्तरह्  | 37. सैतिस्   | 57. सत्तावन्   | 77. सयत्र     | 97. सत्तानबे |
| 18. अठारह्   | 38. अठतिस्   | 58. अठ्ठावन्   | 78. अठत्र     | 98. अठ्ठानबे |
| 19. ओनइस्    | 39. ओनतालिस् | 59. ओनसठि      | 79. ओनसी      | 99. निनानबे  |
| 20. बीस्     | 40. चालिस्   | 60. साठि       | 80. अस्सी     | 100. सौ      |

392. Some of the cardinal numbers admit one or more slightly different forms; but those marked with an asterisk are used only in the multiplication table, and those marked with two asterisks, only in the formation of cardinals above *a hundred*; thus:

|            |            |                 |                 |              |
|------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1. एक      | 5. पच्* or | 11. इग्यारह् or | 38. अरतिस् or   | 54. चौबन् or |
| 2. दो*     | पाच्       | ग्यारह्         | अठतिस्          | चउअन्        |
| 3. तिन* or | 6. इह्* or | 15. पन्तरह्     | 44. चवालिस् or  | 55. पचपन्    |
| तीन्       | इव्        | 24. चवबिस् or   | चउआलिस्         | 67. सठसठि or |
| 4. चर्* or | 7. सत्*    | चउबिस्          | 48. अरतालिस् or | सतसठि        |
| चार        | 8. अठ्     | 30. तिस्*       | अठतालिस्        | 68. अरसठि    |



|            |                 |                  |              |
|------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------|
| 71. ऐकहत्र | 78. अष्टहत्र or | 95. पनचानवे      | 100. सै** or |
| 75. पचहत्र | अनन्नत्र*       | 99. निन्नानवे or | सो** or      |
| 77. सतहत्र | 84. चवरासी      | निन्वानवे        | सत्          |

The final syllables <sup>०</sup>त्रिस्, <sup>०</sup>तिस्, <sup>०</sup>लिस् may, optionally, be spelled <sup>०</sup>ब्रीस्, <sup>०</sup>तीस्, <sup>०</sup>लीस्; thus 24 चौबिस् or चौबीस्, 33 तै<sup>०</sup>तिस् or तै<sup>०</sup>तीस्, 40 चालिस् or चालीस्; but 21 ऐकइस्, not ऐकईस्; 23 only तेइस्, not तेईस्. Again all numbers of the seventh decade may drop the final इ; thus 60 साठि or साठ्, 66 ढाइठि or ढाइठ्, etc. Again the initial syllable ओन्<sup>०</sup> may also be spelled वन्<sup>०</sup>; thus 19 ओनइस् or वनइस्, 79 ओनासी or वनासी.

393. All cardinals above a hundred are formed by subjoining the lower number to the higher without any intervening conjunction; thus:

|                |                |                  |                  |
|----------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| 101. एक सै एक  | 103. एक सै तीन | 105. एक सै पाँच् | 210. दुइ सै दस्  |
| 102. एक सै दुइ | 104. एक सै चार | 200. दुइ सै      | 220. दुइ सै बीस् |
|                | 300. तीन सै    | 1000. सहस्र      |                  |
|                | 400. चार सै    | 100,000. लाख     |                  |
|                |                | 10,000,000. कोटि |                  |

1874. एक सहस्र आठ सै चौहत्र

2,154,210. एकइस् लाख चौवन् सहस्र दुइ सै दस्, etc.

394. The cardinals between one hundred and two hundred are differently formed, when employed in the multiplication table (पहाडा). Namely up to 120 the higher number is subjoined to the lower one with which it is compounded by means of उत्तर above, the initial उ of the latter combining with the final अ of the preceding word to ओ (ओत्तर); thus 108 is अठोत्तरसो, i. e., अठ + उत्तर + सो eight-above-hundred. From 120 and optionally from 110 up to 160 and optionally up to 170, the connecting vowel आ is interposed, instead of उत्तर, except in the fifth decade where चालिस् forty is curtailed to चाल्. In the rest the original form remains unchanged. Moreover, in the second, third and fourth decade the penultimate short vowel is lengthened. The accent is always on the antepenultimate of the whole compound;

e. g., 161 *eksātthāso*, 152 *bavānnāso*, 112 *barāhāso*, etc. Thus the forms of these cardinals are the following :

|                  |                     |                      |                    |
|------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| 101. ऐकोत्तरसो   | 117. सतराहासो       | 140. चालसो           | 170. सत्रसो        |
| 102. दिलोत्तरसो  | 118. अठराहासो       | 141. ऐकतालसो, etc.   | 171. एकत्रसो       |
| 103. तिलोत्तरसो  | 119. ओनैसासो        | 149. ओनचासासो        | 179. ओनासीसो       |
| 104. चलोत्तरसो   | 120. बीसासो         | 150. डेहसो           | 180. अस्तीसो       |
| 105. पिचोत्तरसो  | 121. ऐकैसासो        | 151. ऐकवन्नासो       | 181. ऐकवासो        |
| 106. हिलोत्तरसो  | 122. बइसासो         | 152. बवन्नासो        | 189. नवासीसो       |
| 107. सतलोत्तरसो  | 123. तेइसासो        | 153. तिरपन्नासो      | 190. नव्वेसो       |
| 108. अठोत्तरसो   | 124. चौबीसासो       | 154. चौवन्नासो       | 191. ऐकवानबेसो     |
| 109. निगरोत्तरसो | 125. पचीसासो        | 155. पनचौनासो        | 192. बानबेसो       |
| 110. दहोत्तरसो   | 126. इच्छीसासो      | 156. इपन्नासो        | 193. तिरानबेसो     |
| 111. ऐगरोत्तरसो  | 127. सत्तैसासो      | 157. सतवन्नासो       | 194. चोरानबेसो     |
| 112. बरहोत्तरसो  | 128. अठैसासो        | 158. अठवन्नासो       | 195. पनचानबेसो     |
| 113. तेरहोत्तरसो | 129. ओनतीसासो       | 159. ओनसट्ठासो       | 196. झानबेसो, etc. |
| 114. चौदहोत्तरसो | 130. तीसासो         | 160. साठसो           | 199. निनानबेसो     |
| 115. पनराहासो    | 131. ऐकतीसासो, etc. | 161. ऐकसट्ठासो, etc. | 200. दुइ सौ        |
| 116. सोराहासो    | 139. ओनतालसो        | 169. ओनहत्तरसो       |                    |

395. The following are alternative forms of some of the preceding cardinals :

|                   |                    |                |              |
|-------------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------|
| 101. इकोत्तरसो    | 113. तेराहासो      | 119. ओनइसासो   | 163. तिरसठसो |
| 102. द्वियोत्तरसो | 114. चौदाहासो      | 121. ऐकइसासो   | 164. चौसठसो  |
| 106. द्वियोत्तरसो | 115. पन्दरहोत्तरसो | 155. पचपन्नासो | 165. पैँसठसो |
| 108. अठोत्तरसो    | 116. सोरहोत्तरसो   | 159. ओनसाठसो   | 166. डाइठसो  |
| 111. इगरोत्तरसो   | 117. सतरहोत्तरसो   | 161. ऐकसठसो    | 170. सत्रसि  |
| 112. बराहासो      | 118. अठरहोत्तरसो   | 162. बासठसो    |              |

396. *Affinities.* On the whole the numeral forms are very much alike in all Gds. There are, however, three main points of difference. In the first two the E. Gd. differs from the W. and S. Gd., in the third the W. Gd. from the E. and S. Gd. — Firstly; in E. Gd. the final syllable of the second, third, fourth and fifth decades is short (viz. अइ, इस् or अस्, तिस्र, लिस्र) but in W. Gd. it is long (viz. अँ or अहँ, ईस् or बीस्, तीस्, लीस्), G. only being a partial exception; thus :



|     | O.        | B.         | E. H.     | W. H.     | P.      |
|-----|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|---------|
| 13. | तेर       | तेर        | तेरह्     | तेरा      | तेराँ   |
| 14. | चौद       | चौदू       | चौदह्     | चौदा      | चौदाँ   |
| 23. | तेइण्     | तेइण्      | तेइस्     | तेईस्     | तेई     |
| 24. | चविण्     | चविण्      | चौबिस्    | चौबीस्    | चौबी    |
| 32. | बत्रिण्   | बत्रिण्    | बतिस्     | बतीस्     | बती     |
| 46. | पइँचालिण् | पयँतालिण्  | पैँतालिस् | पैँतालीस् | पैँताली |
|     | S.        | M.         | G.        | H. H.     |         |
| 13. | तेरहँ     | तेरा       | तेर       | तेरह्     |         |
| 14. | चोउहँ     | चौदा       | चउद       | चौदह्     |         |
| 23. | देवीह     | तेबीस      | त्रेवीण्  | तेईस्     |         |
| 24. | चौबीह     | चौबीस्     | चौबीण्    | चौबीस्    |         |
| 32. | बट्टीह    | बत्तीस्    | बत्रिण्   | बतीस्     |         |
| 46. | पँतेतालीह | पंचेचालीस् | पशतालीण्  | पैँतालीस् |         |

Secondly; in E. Gd. a final short इ is retained, while in W. Gd. it is dropped, S. only being a partial exception; thus:

|     | O.   | B.   | E. H. | W. H. | P.  | M.   | G.    | S.   | H. H. |
|-----|------|------|-------|-------|-----|------|-------|------|-------|
| 2.  | दुइ  | दुइ  | दुइ   | दो    | दो  | दोन् | बे    | ब    | दो    |
| 3.  | तिनि | तिनि | तीनि  | तीन्  | तिन | तीन् | त्रण् | ट्रे | तीन्  |
| 4.  | चारि | चारि | चारि  | चार   | चार | चार  | चार   | चारि | चार   |
| 60. | षाठि | षाठि | साठि  | साह्  | संठ | साह् | सठि   | साह् | साह्  |

With regard to सत्तर *seventy* alone, all Gd. languages agree in dropping the final इ, excepting O. and S. which have सत्तोरि and सत्तरि respectively; and E. H. optionally in सत्तरि सै *seven hundred*. — Thirdly; in W. Gd. the syllable च, but in the E. and S. Gd. either the conjunct च् or the whole increment चन् of the Pr. चत्तालीसा *forty* is always elided in the fifth decade. In this case E. H. occupies an intermediate position; thus:

|     | M.          | O.       | B.       | E. H.     | P.     | S.          | G.        |
|-----|-------------|----------|----------|-----------|--------|-------------|-----------|
| 41. | एकेचालीस्   | एकचालिण् | एकचलिण्  | एकतालिस्  | एकताली | एकेतालीह्   | एकतलीण्   |
| 42. | बेचालीस्    | बयालिण्  | बेयालिण् | बयालिस्   | बैताली | ब्याएतालीह् | बैतालीण्  |
| 43. | त्रेचालीस्  | तेयालिण् | तेतलिण्  | तेँतालिस् | तैताली | ट्रेतालीह्  | तैँतालीण् |
| 44. | चव्वेचालीस् | चौचालिण् | चोयालिण् | चौवालिस्  | चीतालो | चोएतालीह्   | चुमालीण्  |

|     | M.          | O.        | B.        | E. H.      | P.       | S.        | G.         |
|-----|-------------|-----------|-----------|------------|----------|-----------|------------|
| 45. | पंचेचालीस्  | पइंचालिष् | पयंतालिष् | पैतलिस्    | पैताली   | पंततालीह  | पशतालीष्   |
| 46. | प्रेचालीस्  | इयालिष्   | इचलिष्    | द्वियालिस् | द्विताली | इष्टतालीह | इष्टतालीष् |
| 47. | सन्नेचालीस् | सतचालिष्  | सतचलिष्   | सैतलिस्    | सैताली   | सतेतालीह  | शुडतालीष्  |
| 48. | अष्टेचालीस् | अठचालिष्  | अठचलिष्   | अठतालिस्   | अठताली   | अठेतालीह  | अडतालीष्   |

Some minor differences are the following: 1) S. and P. change the final स् of ओस्, तीस्, लीस्, ज्ञास् into ह्, which is generally afterwards dropped by P.; thus S., P. वीह् 20, P. तीह् or त्रीह्, S. द्वीह् 30, S. द्वेवीह् 23, वद्वीह् 32, P. तेई or त्रेई, वती or वत्री, S. चालीह्, P. चाली 40, S., P. पंताह् 50, S. व्रजंताह्, P. व्रजंता 52, etc. Similarly these two languages alone change the initial स् of साह् 60 into ह्; e. g., 61 P. इकाह्, S. एकहहि, while P. also changes ह् to ह् (see § 145, exc. 2). With regard to सत्र 70, again, all Gds. agree in changing the initial स् to ह्, except O.; thus 71 B. एकात्र (= \*एकसत्र = एकहत्र), E. H. एवत्र or एकहत्र, W. H. एकहत्र, P. इकहत्र, S. एकहत्रि, M. एकाहत्र, but O. एकसुरि (= \*एकसुरि). — 2) M., G. and S. alone retain the initial व् of वीस् or वीह 20 in compounds; see § 123, note. — 3) G., S., B. and optionally P. retain र् in त्रिष् or त्रीह 30 and its compounds; as 31 B., G. एकत्रिष्, P. इकत्री or इकत्री, S. एकद्वीह, 30 B., G. त्रिष्, P. तीह् or त्रीह्, S. द्वीह, etc. — 4) B. alone doubles ल् in चलिष् 40 and its compounds, as एकचलिष् 41, etc. — 5) M. alone preserves the semitats. सट् 60 in compounds, as एकसट् 61, बासट् 62, etc.; but साह् 60 (see Man. 43). — 6) P. alone forms optionally नभे for नवे 90 in compounds, as इकानवे or इकानभे 91, etc.; but नव्वे or नव्वे 90 (see Ld. 85). — 7) S. alone preserves the full termination अह्, while the others contract it to अर् or अ or shorten it to अह् or अ; thus 12 S. बारह्, but P. बारर् (= \*बारर् = \*बारह्), M. बार, W. H. बार, or E. H. बारह्, B., O., G. बार.

397. *Derivation.* 1. एक् regularly for प्र. एक्को (Vr. 3, 58. § 143); as to the forms वक्, ऐक् and इक् see §§ 170. 171. प्र. has also the forms एगो (H. C. 1, 176) and एगो (H. C. 2, 99); the latter does not occur in E. H., but the former in compounds; e. g., ऐगोतस् 111 or shortened इग, e. g., इगोतस् 111. —



२. दुर् regularly for Pr. दुर् (Ls. 318, see § 45) or दुवे (Vr. 6, 57); the Mg. Pr. has दुवे or दो or दोन्नि (Wb. Bh. 424, see H. C. 3, 130); the first is preserved in E. H., B., O. दुर्, the second in E. H. दो (§ 392), the third in M. दोन् and S. दूँ (Tr. 158); Pr. has also the form बे (H. C. 3, 120) which is preserved in the G. बे and S. ब; the P. and W. H. have दो. — 3. तीनि regularly for Pr. तिणि (Vr. 6, 56. cf. §§ 143. 147). — 4. चारि see § 153. — Pr. दुवे or दोणि, तिणि, चत्तारि are gen. comm. (Vr. 3, 56. 57. 58); but they appear to have arisen from the Skr. neut. द्वे or \*द्वानि, त्रीणि, चत्वारि respectively (see Ls. 318. 319). The Skr. masc. द्वौ is perhaps represented by the Pr. and Gd. दो. Mg. Pr. has a masc. तत्रो (Wb. Bh. 475) = Skr. त्रयः *three*, but it has not survived in Gd. Pr. has also the masc. चत्तारो (Skr. चत्वारः nom.) and चउरो (= Skr. चतुरः acc., see M. M. 124) H. C. 3, 122. Wb. Bh. 425, but they do not occur in Gd.; the latter, however, survives in the Ksh. चोर *tsor* (Bs. II, 132). — 5. पाँच् or पाच्, 7 सात्, 8 आत् regularly for Pr. पंच, सत्त, षट् = Skr. पञ्च, सप्त, षट् (see §§ 143. 147); S. and P. have पंत्त, P. सत्त, षट्, S. सत्त, षठ्, B. आट. — 6. इ, also Pr. इ (Wb. Bh. 425. Ls. 319) for Skr. षट्, eliding final ट् (Vr. 4, 6) and changing ष् to इ (Vr. 2, 41); also W. H., S. and G. इ; E. H. has a form इह which occurs also in S. इह, M. सहा and Ksh. शिह (Bs. II, 132) and which represents perhaps the Skr. form षष्, Pr. \*इस or \*इह with final ष (cf. Ls. 220. H. C. 1, 19. cf. M. दहा 10). E. H. has also a form इव् corresponding to B. इव्, O. इव, W. H. and P. द्वे, with euphonic व् or व् for elided इ; Pr. has also इव see Ls. 320. — 7. नौ or नउ regularly for Pr. नव, Pr. has also नव (Ls. 320) which does not occur in E. H., but in O. नव and B. नव; P. नौ and S. नव add an *anunāsika*. — 8. दस् regularly for Mg. Pr. दस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 1, 262), Skr. दश; Pr. has also दह (Vr. 2, 44) which is only preserved in P. दह (also दस्), S. उह, M. दहा, Ksh. दह (Bs. II, 133). — As the latter part of the compound numerals of the second decade, Skr. दश becomes in Pr. दह or उह or रह (H. C. 1, 219), in Gd. दह or लह or रह. Thus 11 Skr. एकादश, Pr. \*एगारह,

E. H. ऐग्यार्ह or इग्यार्ह or ग्यार्ह. As to its euphonic  $\ddot{y}$ , see § 135; it is more properly W. Gd.; for B. एग्यार्, O. एग्यार्, M. अक्यार् have it not; while W. H. ग्यार्ह, P. गिग्यार्ह, G. अगिग्यार् have it. The other P. form एग्यार्ह (Vr. 2, 44) occurs only in S. ग्यार्ह. The Pr. has also दस, रस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 3, 123), which have not survived in Gd. — 12. Skr. दादश, Pr. वार्ह (Vr. 2, 44), E. H. वार्ह, B., O., G. वार्, M., W. H. वार्, P. वार्ह, S. वार्ह. — 13. Skr. त्रयोदश, Pr. तेरह (i. e. त्रयोदश for त्रयः + दश cf. H. C. 1, 165)<sup>1</sup>, E. H. तेरह; other Gds. see § 396. — 14. Skr. चतुर्दश, Pr. चउदह (Vr. 2, 14. H. C. 1, 171), E. H. चौदह; other Gds. see § 396. — 15. Skr. पञ्चदश, Pr. पसरह (H. C. 2, 43, but पसरहो Vr. 3, 44), E. H. पनरह (§ 392 and in पनराहासो 115, see § 394); so also B. पनेर (perhaps rather for the Pr. form पसारह, see Ls. 320. Cw. 24, note); the usual Gd. form, however, inserts an euphonic  $\ddot{d}$  (§ 135), as E. H. पंदरह, O. पंदर, W. H. पंदरा, P. पंदरह, S. पंदरह or पंर, M. पंधरा, G. पंदर. — 16, see § 105, note, E. H. सोरह, B. सोल, O. सोहल (with a strange metathesis), W. H. सोला, M. सोझ, P. सोलह, S. सोरह, G. सोझ. — 17. Skr. सप्तदश, Pr. सत्तरह (T. V. 1, 3. 42), E. H. सतरह; other Gds. see § 396. — 18. Skr. अष्टादश, Pr. अट्टारह (T. V. 1, 3. 42. cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H. अठारह, G. अठार, S. अउह (cf. 38. 48 below); other Gds., as in § 396. — 19. Skr. उनविंशतिः, Mg. उनवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. अनइस्, W. H. उनीस्, B. उनिश, O. उपाइश; Skr. has also एकोनविंशतिः, Mg. एकूनवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), only preserved in M. एकुपीस्, O. H. अगुनीस् and गुनीस्, G. अगोपीस्; the P. has उनीह and S. उपीह or उपावीह with ह for स् (see § 396). — As to 21 एकइस्, etc. see §§ 123. 129. The (apparently anomalous) अ in सत्ताइस् is probably (as Bs. I, 291) caused by the ancient accent of the oxytone *saptā*. Of all dissyl-

1) The Pr. form तेरह is explained in H. C. 1, 165 as containing a change of the first अ together with the following cons. and vowel to ए; that is, in Skr. त्रयोदश the first अ together with the following syllable यो (i. e. cons.  $\ddot{y}$  + vow. ओ) becomes ए; hence तेरह. Cowell's view, therefore, (Cw. 121, note) as to the Pr. Gramm. theory is more correct than Beames' (II, 135).



labic numerals only *saptā* and *aṣṭā* are oxytone, all others are barytone, *ēka*, *pāñcha*, *nāva*, *dāśa*, etc.; now Gd. has अ in सप्ताइस्, अष्टाइस्, but अ or ई (for अइ) in एकइस् (W. H. एकीस्) and पचीस् (for पचइस्, M. पंचवीस्). In Skr. the influence of the accent is seen in अष्टादश, अष्टाविंशति, अष्टात्रिंशत्, etc.; but not in सप्तदश, सप्तविं, सप्तत्रिंशत्; in Pr. and Gd. both sets show it in the third decade, but neither set in all other decades; e. g., 37 सैत्तिस्, 38 अठतिस्, 47 सैत्तालिस्, 48 अठतालिस्, and in Skr., too, the accent of अष्ट only optionally influences the form after the first four decades; e. g., 48 अष्टचत्वारिंशत् or अष्टाचत्वारिंशत्, etc. — 20 बीस् regularly for Pr. बीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or बीसई (Md. 4, 3. Ls. 320), Skr. विंशतिः. — 30 तीस् regularly for Pr. तीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or तीसआ (Md. 4, 3. Ls. 320), Skr. त्रिंशत्. — 32 बतिस् regularly for Pr. बनीसा (T. V. 1, 4. 79), with अ on account of the following double च, Skr. द्वात्रिंशत्. — 33 तैत्तिस् regularly for Pr. तेनीसा (H. C. 1, 165, see § 149), Skr. त्रयस्त्रिंशत्; M. has तेहतीस् (Man. 43) beside the regular तेतीस्. — 35 वैत्तिस् see § 156, W. H. वैतीस्, P. वैती, G. वैत्रिण; but M. पस्तीस् (Man. 43, for पसतीस् with स् for च, cf. § 11) and S. पंतद्रीह. — 37 सैत्तिस् see § 153, also W. H. सैतीस्, P. सैती, B. सौइत्रिण; but M. सदतीस् or सततीस्, G. साउत्रिण, S. सतद्रीह. — 38. Skr. अष्टात्रिंशत्, Pr. अठतीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), O. अठतिण, B. अठत्रिण, S. अठद्रीह, P. अठती, M. अठतीस् or अउतीस्, E. H. अठतिस् (§ 113) or अउतिस् or अरतिस् (§ 145, exc. 2), G. आउत्रिण. — 40. E. H. चालिस् see § 153. — 41. Skr. एकचत्वारिंशत्, Pr. एकचत्तालीसा or (eliding च) \*एकअत्तालीसा and (contracted according to Vr. 4, 1), E. H. एकतालिस्; this derivation is proved by the S. एकेतालीह, which is contracted from एकयतालीह with euph. य. The usual explanation, identifying °तालिस् with °चालिस्, assumes a changes of च to त्; thus Pr. एकचत्तालीसा = एकचत्तालीसा = एकचालीस् = एकतालिस्; but such a change of च to त् is not only intrinsically improbable, but also lacks all evidence. Similarly are formed 43 तेत्तालिस् (see § 152), 49 ओनतालिस्, 45 वैत्तालिस् (see § 156), 47 सैत्तालिस्, 48 अठतालिस् (see § 145, exc. 2). The latter is in Pr. also अउयाले (Wb. Bh. 412); here both the syllable च *cha* and the conjunct त् *tt* are elided; so also in

the Gd. forms: 42 वयालिस्, 44 चौवालिस्, 46 द्वियालिस् (see §§ 152. 153); as to the other Gds. see § 396, 3; Pr. has 42 वायालीसं (Wb. Bh. 412). — 50. Skr. पञ्चाशत्, Pr. \*पंचासा, E. H. पचास् (see §§ 143. 146), also W. H. पचास्, G., O. पचाश्, but the nasal is preserved in B. पंचास्, P. पंताह् and S. पंताह्. The common Pr. form is पञ्चासा (Vr. 3, 44. H. C. 2, 43); it is preserved in the M. पन्नास् 50 and in the curtailed form पन् or वन् of the compound numerals of the 6<sup>th</sup> decade of all Gds., exc. P. and S.; thus वन् in 52 E. H. बावन्, W. H. G. dto., O. बावन्, B. बाउन्, M. बावन्, Pr. बावणं (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. द्वापञ्चाशत्; 57. E. H., O., W. H., G. सतावन्, M. सत्तावन्, Pr. \*सत्तावसा or °सं, Skr. सप्तपञ्चाशत्; 58. E. H., O., W. H., G. अठावन्, M. अठ्ठावन्, Pr. \*अठ्ठावणं, Skr. अष्टापञ्चाशत्; 55. E. H., O., G. पंचावन्, M. पंचावन्, Pr. पंचावसा (H. C. 2, 174), Skr. पञ्चपञ्चाशत्; B. contracts सातान् 57, अठान् 58, पंचान् 55. The other E. H. form पचपन्, which is also H. H., presupposes a Pr. form \*पंचवसा. There is another Pr. form पपावसा (H. C. 2, 174) or पपावन् (Wb. Bh. 426), but it has left no trace in Gd. Again पन् in 56 E. H., W. H. इवन्, O., G. इवन्, B. इवान्, M. इवन्, Pr. \*इवसा, Skr. षट्पञ्चाशत्; 53. E. H. त्रिपन्, W. H. त्रिपन् or त्रेपन्, G. त्रेपन, M. त्रेपन्, O. तेपन्, B. तिप्पान् presuppose a Ap. Pr. form \*त्रिपसा (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. त्रिपञ्चाशत्; the common Pr. form तेवसा (H. C. 2, 174) does not occur in Gd.; 54. W. H., G. चोपन्, M. चोपन् or चौपन्, regularly for Pr. \*चउपसा, Skr. चतुःपञ्चाशत्; but in E. H. चौअन् or चउअन् or (with euph. व्) चौवन्, O. चउवन्, B. चोवान् the conjunct प् has been elided (see § 154). The unusual Pr. form पंचासा 50 is preserved in E. H. 49 अोनचास्, with the syllable *pa* elided, precisely as च *cha* in अोनतालिस् 39 (see above); thus Skr. उनपञ्चाशत्, Pr. उपावंचासा or उपापंचासा, whence B. उनपंचास्, G. ओगणपचाश्, S. उपावंचाह्, P. उपावंचा or उपांता, O. उनंचाश्, E. H. अोनचास्; but M. regularly एकुपापन्नास्. Moreover it is used throughout in P. and S., thus S. द्वेवंताह्, P. तिवंता or त्रिवंता 53; S. चोवंताह्, P. चोवंता or चुवंता 54; S. पंचवंताह्, P. पंचवंता 55; S. द्विवंताह्, P. द्विवंता or द्विवंता 56, etc. — 60. Skr. षष्टिः, Pr. सट्ठी (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. साठि, B. साठि, M., G., W. H. साह्, P. सट्ठ, S. सठि; the O. साठिह् adds a pleonastic ए.



In the compounds, M. has सष्ट, S. हृति and P. हट्, see § 396. Otherwise they differ little. But 61 is in P. इकाहट्, 62 in O. बाग्रसति with घा; 63. O., B. तेसति, G. तेसाठ, W.H. त्रेसट् or तिरसट्, M. त्रेसष्ट, P. तेहट् or त्रेहट्, S. त्रेहति; 65. B. पयंसति, M. पयंसष्ट, W.H. पैसट्, P. पैहट्, but O. पंचसति, G. पंचसाठ, S. पंचहति; 66. O. इग्रसति, M. सासष्ट, S. झाहति, W.H. द्वियासट्, P. द्विआहट्, B. इसति; 67. E. H. सतसति or सउसति or सरसति, M. सतसष्ट or सदसष्ट, W.H. सरसट्, see § 107; the others retain त्, O. सतसति, B. सातसति, P. सत्वाहट्; 68. E. H. अउसति or अरसति, see § 145, exc. 2, M. अउसष्ट or अउसष्ट, W.H. अउसट् or अरसट्, see § 145, exc. 2; but O. अठसति, S. अठहति, P. अठाहट्, B. अठसति; 69. B. उनसत्तर, all others regularly हत्तर, see § 396. — In the Bh. the following curtailed forms occur, 62 वावट्, 64 चोयट् (but also चउसट्), 66 झावट्, and even 61 एगट्, 67 सत्तट् (Wb. Bh. 426), which (if trustworthy) may be explained by the intermediate change of स् to ह् (as in P. and S.) and subsequent elision of ह्. — 70. E. H. सत्तर see § 108; so also in the other Gds. see § 396. In the compounds there is little difference, but 72 is in O. बाग्रसतुरि, B. बाहत्तर, S. बाहत्तरि, M. बाहत्तर; 73. M. त्रेहत्तर or आहत्तर, B. तेहत्तर, O. तेसतुरि; 74. M. चौयहत्तर; 75. M. पंचेहत्तर; 76. O. इग्रसतुरि, B. द्वेयात्तर, S. झाहत्तरि, M. ग्राहत्तर or ग्रेहत्तर (see § 55); 77. B. सातात्तर, M. सत्वाहत्तर or सत्नेहत्तर, P. सतत्तर; 78. B. अठात्तर, P. अठत्तर, M. अठ्याहत्तर or अठेहत्तर. — 80. Skr. अशीति, but Pr. आसीई with आ (Wb. Bh. 426), and so in B. आशी; but E. H., W. H., P. अस्सी with double स्, which explains the आ of B.; in S. असी and O. अशी one स् has been elided; as to M. ऐशी and G. ऐसी, see § 148. In the compounds, which differ very little has all Gds. have आसी, exc. M., which आयँशी; thus 81. E. H. एक्वासी, M. एक्वायँशी; on the euph. य् see § 135. — 82. B. द्वियाशी, M. द्वायँशी, P., S. द्विआसी, O. द्वायाशी, B., E. H., W. H. द्वासी. — 86. O. द्वयाशी, M. प्रायँशी, S. इहासी; 83. M. त्रायँशी, G. तेआसी or तासी; 84. Pr. चउरासी (Wb. Bh. 426), M. चौयँशी; 87. M. सत्वायँशी; 88. M. अठ्यायँशी; 89. M. नव्यायँशी, E. H., W. H. नवासी are Skr. नवाशीति; but M. has also एकुषानवट्, B. उननवट्, O. उपानउ, P. उपानवे, S. उपानवे = Skr. एकोननवतिः. — 90. Skr. नवति, Pr. नउट् (Wb. Bh.

426), E. H. नब्बे, O. नवे, B. नब्बद्, M. नब्बद्, W. H. नब्बे, S. नवे, P. नब्बे or नब्बे; these Gd. forms seem to presuppose a Pr. form \*नब्बर्; the origin of the final र् is obscure; so also is that of the connecting vowel आ which occurs in all the compounds of नवे, and is especially marked in S. and M.; e. g., 92. S. विद्यानवे, M. व्यासव; 93. S. दिद्यानवे, M. व्यासव; 94. E. H. चौरानवे, S. चौरानवे, M. चौर्यासव, etc.; it occurs already in Pr. सत्तानउर् 97 (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. सत्तानवे, S. सत्तानवे, M. सत्त्यासव. — 99 is in S. नवानवे, B. निवानवुद्, M. नव्यासव (with euph. व् see § 135) for Skr. नवनवतिः; the E. H. and W. H. निनानवे or निवानवे apparently exchange न् for व्, though it might be also a modification of उ in the P. नडिन्ने or नडिन्ने (see § 396, 6) which are probably connected with the other S. forms नधानवे or वधानवे; for these as well as for the P. forms I know no satisfactory explanation. O. alone has अनेषत्, perhaps for Skr. अनेषत्. — 100. E. H., W. H., S., G., P. सौ or सो is the Ap. Pr. सउ (cf. H. C. 4, 331), Skr. णत्, and E. H., P. सै, B. ण, O. णये, M. णे is the Mg. Pr. सन्न or सयं (Wb. Bh. 426); as to E. H. सल् see § 109. — The compounds above 100, formed with उत्तर, occur also in M. (Man. 44) and S. (Tr. 165); in the latter they may be formed up to 200; they are also found in Pr. (see Wb. Bh. 427); in the Bh. the original ओ is reduced to उ, but Gd. preserves it; e. g., 107 सनुत्तरं सयं (Bh. 15<sup>a</sup>), S. सतोत्तरसौ; or Ap. Pr. पंचोत्तरसउ, S. पञ्जोत्तरसौ, E. H. पिचोत्तरसौ (§ 55); 106. S. इहोत्तरसौ, E. H. द्वियोत्तरसौ or द्विलोत्तरसौ (see § 55); the latter as well as 104 E. H. चलोत्तरसौ (for चुलो, cf. Pr. चुलसीत 84 in Wb. Bh. 425), S. चोरोत्तरसौ, 103 E. H. तिलोत्तरसौ or तियो, S. द्विरोत्तरसौ, 102 E. H. दिलोत्तरसौ or दियो (see § 69), S. चिरोत्तरसौ, M. दुवोत्तरणै are formed anomalously; the Skr. would be षडुत्तरणतं, चतुर्त्तरं, त्र्युत्तरं, द्व्युत्तरं. Very anomalous are the E. H. सतलोत्तरसौ 107 (for \*सतोत्तरसौ) and निगरोत्तरसौ 119; there seems to be here some confusion with the forms of 111 and 117. — The other compounds formed with the connecting vowel आ occur also in S., which has ओ; e. g., 112. E. H. बराहासौ, S. बराहो सौ; 115. E. H. वनराहासौ, S. पन्द्राहो सौ, etc. E. H. shortens the first आ by § 25, and lengthens



the second च, probably, for the sake of euphony. The first part of these compounds is probably a collective or aggregate numeral; see §§ 404. 405; e. g., E. H. तीसा, S. दीहो *a sum of thirty*, whence E. H. तीसा सौ, S. दीहो सौ 130, i. e., 100 *plus the sum of 30*, or E. H. तेरहौ, S. तेरहो *sum of thirteen*, whence E. H. तेराहासौ, S. तेरहो सौ 113, etc.

398. *Declension.* All cardinals can be declined, when used as subst., in which case they are inflected like them; thus gen. pl. पाँचन् कै *of five*, etc. But दुइ *two* and तीन *three* have a special form in these circumstances; viz. दूनो or दुन्हुन् or दुनुहुन् *two* and तीनो *three*; thus gen. pl. दूनो कै or दुन्हुन् कै or दुनुहुन् कै *of two*, तीनो कै *of three*. When they are used as adj., they are not inflected; thus पाँच जनन् कै *of five men*, दुइ जनन् कै *of two men*, तीन जनन् कै *of three men*.

399. *Affinities and Derivation.* M. has special obl. forms दोहो, तिहो, चोहो for दोन् *two*, तीन *three* and चार *four* (Man. 46). When used adjectively with persons, they are changed to दोबे m., दोबी f., दोबे n. *two*; similarly तिबे, तिबी, तिबे *three*, चौबे, चौबी, चौबे *four* (Man. 46). Otherwise the declension is regular; thus gen. एका चा *of one*, दोहो चा or दोबाँ चा *of two*. — S. has the obl. forms बनि or बी, द्विनि or द्वी, चइनि or चई for च *two*, द्वे *three*, चारि *four*; otherwise the declension is regular; thus gen. बनि त्ते *of two*, पंजनि त्ते *of five*, etc. (Tr. 169. 171). S. inflects the cardinals, when they are used adjectively (Tr. 171); as दहनि बैरिनि खे or दहे बैरिँ खे *to ten enemies*; बनि or बी बैरिनि खे बी बैरिँ खे *to two enemies*. — In the E. H. form दुनुहुन् the conjunct न्ह has been dissolved (see § 138). The second उ of दुन्हुन् is probably euphonic, for \*दुन्हन्. In this and the other E. H. and M. special obl. forms the plur. suff. has been apparently reduplicated. The Pr. gen. pl. is दोपहं or बेपहं *of two* (H. C. 3, 119), तिपहं *of three* (H. C. 3, 118), which are contr. in S. to बी, द्वी or slightly modified बनि, द्विनि; but E. H. दूनो or दुन्हुन्, M. दोहो would presuppose the Pr. form \*दोपहहुं or \*दोपहपह, etc.

## 2. ORDINALS.

400. The formation of the ordinals from the cardinals has been explained in §§ 263—266. They are treated in every respect like adj., i. e., they admit of a weak and strong form (§ 381), and the latter has a fem. in ई or ईँ (§ 384) and an obl. masc. ए or एँ (§ 386). The following are the first seven ordinals of which some are formed peculiarly: *First*, wk. f. पहिल् or पहेल् c. g., or st. f. पहिल्ता or पहेल्ता or °लका m., °ली or °लकी f.; *second*, wk. f. दूसर् or दुसरब् c. g., or st. f. दुसर्ता or दुसरवाँ or दुसरका m., °री or °रईँ or °रकी f.; *third*, wk. f. तीसर् or तिसरब् c. g., or st. f. तिसर्ता or तिसरवाँ or तिसरका m., °री or °रईँ or °रकी f.; *fourth*, wk. f. चउथ् or चौथब् c. g., or st. f. चौथा or चौथवाँ or चौथरका m., °थी or °थईँ or °थकी f.; *sixth*, wk. f. ढट्ठब् c. g., or st. f. ढट्ठा or ढट्ठवाँ m., ढट्ठी or ढट्ठईँ f.; *fifth*, wk. f. पंचब् c. g., or st. f. पचा or पंचवाँ m., पची or पंचईँ f.; *seventh*, wk. f. सातब् c. g., or st. f. सत्ता or सत्तवाँ m., सत्ती or सत्तईँ f. The rest are formed exactly like the forms of the *fifth* and *seventh*. Their obl. forms are, e. g., gen. sg. or pl., masc. पहिले कै of the first, दसवेँ कै of the tenth; fem. पहिली कै, दसईँ कै, etc. When they are used as subst., they are inflected like them; thus gen. sg. पहिल्ता कै of the first one, pl. पहिलन् कै of the first ones; but पहिले न्न कै of the first man, पहिले न्नन् कै of the first men, etc.

401. *Affinities and Derivation.* For the derivation of पहिल् see §§ 118. 213. B. and O. पहेल्ता or पहिल्ता (§. Ch. 105. Bs. II, 142), M. पहिल्ता, W. H. पहलौ or पहिलौ or °लो, P. पहिल्ता, G. पेहेलो, S. पेहेरोँ or पेहेर्योँ or पहर्योँ. The first ए of the G. and S. forms is merely euphonic (see § 57). — The deriv. and affin. of दूसर् and तीसर् see in §§ 270. 271, and for the deriv. of चौथ्, see § 78. B. and O. have चौथ (chauthō) or चौथा (§. Ch. 105), M. चवथा, W. H. चौथी (Br.) or चौथी (Mw.), P. चौथा, G. चौथो, S. चौथोँ. — The E. H. ढट्ठा, B. and O. deest, W. H. ढट्ठी or ढट्ठो, G. ढट्ठो are derived from Pr. ढट्ठो, st. f. of Pr. ढट्ठो (H. C. 1, 265), Skr. षष्ठः, the M. सहावा, P. ढेवाँ, S. ढहोँ are formed anomalously (as if Skr. \*षष्ठमः) from the Gd. cardinals M. सहा, P. ढे, S. ढह. The E. H.



forms इठवाँ, दुसरवाँ or दुसरवाँ anomalously contain the suff. अवाँ or अवाँ, see § 264. The forms पहिलका, दुसरका, तिसरका contain the pleon. suff. का (see § 198). The form चौसरका is formed anomalously after the analogy of दुसरका, तिसरका. As to the deriv. and affin. of the rest, see §§ 265. 266.

### 3. MULTIPLICATIVES.

402. The multiplicatives denote how many times a number is multiplied. They are formed from the cardinals by adding the suff. आ or आँ or आँई, excepting the first six which are made in a peculiar way. They are used only in the multiplication table.

- |                              |                                 |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. ऐकं or ऐकै or के or कं    | 6. इक् or इक्का or इक्के or इक् |
| 2. दूनी                      | 7. सते                          |
| 3. तियाँ or त्रिका or तिरिका | 8. अठे or आठ                    |
| or त्रिके or तिरिके or ति    | 9. नवाँ or नवाँई                |
| 4. चौक् or चौका              | 10. दहाँ or दहाँई, etc.         |
| 5. पचा or पचे or पुरे        |                                 |

403. The forms ऐकं and ऐकै are only used in the phrase ऐकं एक or ऐकै एक *once one is one*; and पचा only in पचा पचीस् *five times five are twenty five*. The form पुरे is used only when the product contains the words पच् or पै *five*, i. e., when it is fifty or an odd multiple of five (excepting, however, पाँच् *five*, पंद्रह *fifteen* and पचीस् *twenty five*). As to the other alternative forms, no strict rule can be given; the practice varies according to local or individual fancy. In general it may be said, that the shorter forms, as ति, आठ, इक् or इक्, are used when the product is polysyllabic. The multiplicative always takes the middle place in the sentence. The following tables are given as examples:

10 × 1 is 10, etc.

3 × 1 is 3, etc.

|                 |                |                 |                  |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| दस् के दस्      | दस् इके साठि   | तीन् के तीन्    | तीन् इक् अठारह   |
| दस् दूनी बीस्   | दस् सते सत्तर  | तीन् दूती इ     | तीन् सते एकदस्   |
| दस् तियाँ तीस्  | दस् अठे असी    | तीन् त्रिका नौ  | तीन् अठे चौबिस्  |
| दस् चौक् चालिस् | दस् नवाँ नब्बे | तीन् चौक् बारह  | तीन् नवाँ सताइस् |
| दस् पुरे पचास्  | दस् दहाँ सौ    | तीन् पचे पंद्रह | तीन् दहाँई तीस्  |

13 × 1 is 13, etc.

|                  |                    |
|------------------|--------------------|
| तेरह के तेरह     | तेरह ढाक़ अठन्नत्र |
| तेरह दूनी इबिस   | तेरह सते ऐकानब्बे  |
| तेरह ति वनतालिस् | तेरह आठ चलोतरसो    |
| तेरह चौका बावन   | तेरह नवाँ सतराहसो  |
| तेरह पुरे पैँसठि | तेरह दहाई तीससो    |

The table of one is formed in a peculiar manner; thus:

|              |             |             |          |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|----------|
| ऐकै एक       | चर के चार   | सत् के सात् | दहाई दस् |
| दु के दुइ    | पच् के पाँच | अठ के आठ    |          |
| तिन् के तीन् | इ के इह     | नवाँ नौ     |          |

The multiples of five are formed thus:

|                |              |                   |                     |
|----------------|--------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| पच् के पाँच    | चार पचे बीस् | सात् पुरे पैँसिस् | दस् पुरे पचास्      |
| दो पचे दस्     | पचा पचीस्    | आठ पचे चालिस्     | इग्यारह पुरे पंचावन |
| तीन् पचे पंदरह | इ पचे तीस्   | नौ पुरे पैँतालिस् | बारह पचे साठि, etc. |

404. *Affinities and Derivation.* The forms in ए are probably obl. forms or nom. plur. of the resp. nom. sing. in अ, as सते of सता, अठे of अठा, etc. For the rest see § 407. The multiplicatives are identical with the collectives or aggregates; thus तीन् अठे चौबिस means lit. *three sums-of-eight are twenty-four.*

#### 4. COLLECTIVES.

405. The following words are used to express some aggregate sums: जोरा or जोरी *a pair*, चौकरा or ोरी or गंडा *a four*, गाही *a five*, कोड़ी *a score*, सैकरा *a hundred*, सहसर *a thousand*, लाख *a hundred thousand*, कोरा or करो *ten millions*. Collectives may also be formed by adding आ or आँ to the cardinals, so especially बीसा *a score*, तीसा *a thirty*, चलीसा *a forty*, also एका *a one*, पंचा *a five*, सता *a seven*, अठा *a eight*, नवाँ *a nine*, दहाँ *a ten*, etc. The multiplicatives दूनी, तियाँ or त्रिका, चौक् or चौका, ढाक् or ढका may be used as collectives.

406. All collectives are subst.; those in अ (*quiescent*) or आ are masc.; those in ई fem.; they are declined precisely like all other subst.



407. *Affinities.* These numerals probably occur in all Gds., though they are not noticed by all Gd. grammarians. As to S. see Tr. 178—181 (§§ 26. 27); thus एको or हिको 1, बिको 2, त्रिको 3, चउको or चउकु or चउकगे 4, पंजो 5, षको 6, सतो 7, अठो 8, नाँओ 9, उहो or उहाको 10, बीहो or बीहारो or बिहारो or कोगे 20, दीहो or दीहारो or दिहारो 30, चालीहो or चाल्हारो (for \*चालीहारो) 40, पंजाहो or पंजाही 50, साठीको 60, सत्रियो or सौकिगे 100, सहसु or हज़ार 1000 (Tr. 168), लाख 100000, कोरु or किरोटि 10000000. As to P., see Ld. 85. 86, thus काउ or काउ 1, दूणी 2, तिआउ or तिआउ 3, चौका 4, पंजा 5, इका 6, साता 7, अठा 8, नाइयाँ 9, दाहा or दहाका 10, कोगे or बीहगे or बीहा 20, पंजाहा 50, सैकग 100, सहसु or हज़ार 1000, लकख 100000, करोड 10000000, etc. As to W. H., see Kl. 105—107; they do not much differ from E. H.; एकाई 1, दूना or दूनी or जोग or जोगे 2, ती or तीन् 3, पंजा 5, नम् or नम्मा 9, दहाम् or दहाई 10, कोगे or बीसा 20, सैकग 100, सहसु or हज़ार 1000, करोड 10000000; some collectives are formed by adding the fem. suff. ई (for mase. अ), as अतीसी a *thirty two*, पचीसी a *fifty*, etc. In M. सहसु or हज़ार 1000, लाख 10000, कोट or क्रोट 10000000.

408. *Derivation.* Collectives are derived in Skr. by means of the suff. क, whence the Gd. forms arise regularly. Thus *unit*, Skr. एककम्, Pr. एककं, E. H. एका; *triad*, Skr. त्रिकम्, Pr. त्रिकं, W. H. ती, E. H. ति; *score*, Skr. विंशकम्, Pr. वीसकं, E. H. बीसा; *hexad*, Skr. षट्कम्, Pr. इक्के, E. H. हाक्; *quaternion*, Skr. चतुष्कम्, Pr. चउक्कं, E. H. चौक्; *pentad*, Skr. पञ्चकम्, Pr. पंचकं, E. H. पंचा, etc. Sometimes the pleon. suff. क (see § 195) is added; thus *triad*, E. H. तियाँ or त्रिका, Pr. त्रिककं, Ap. Pr. त्रिककं, Skr. त्रिककम्; *quaternion*, E. H. चौका, Pr. चउक्कं, Skr. चतुष्ककम्; *hexad*, E. H. इक्का, Pr. इक्कं, Skr. षट्कम्; *ten millions*, E. H. कोरा or कोग, Pr. कोडिं, Skr. कोटिकम् (or \*कोटकम्); sometimes the pleon. suff. रा (or ग, see § 209) is superadded; as *four*, E. H. चौकरा, W. H. चौकगे, Ap. Pr. चउक्कुड, Skr. चतुष्क°; *hundred*, E. H. सैकरा, W. H. सैकगे, Ap. Pr. सवक्कुड, Skr. शतक°, etc.; perhaps also E. H. तोरा, W. H. तोगे, Ap. Pr. \*तुक्कुड (cf. H. C. 2, 15 त्रिं = Skr. त्रिहान्),

Skr. दिक°, though this might be a noun derived from the R. नुद् or नुद् join. Sometimes the „collective“ sense is emphasised by making the numeral an abstract noun by means of the suff. ञ्चई (see § 220); thus W. H. एकाई *unit*, E. H. नवई *nine*, दहाई *decade*, etc. — Differently derived is दूना m. and दूनो f. *duad*, viz. from Pr. दुउपाञ्च (cf. H. C. 1, 94), Skr. दिगुपाकम्. — As to the E. H. सहस्र and करोड़ see §§ 138. 135. — The E. H. गंडा is properly a noun, the Skr. गण्डकः, lit. *aggregate of four sides* (?); so is also the E. H. गाही, lit. *the aggregate of the five (ancient) planets* (Skr. ग्रह). — For the E. H. कोरी or कोठी *score* I know no satisfactory explanation; possibly it may be connected with कौठी, (Skr. कपर्दक) *aggregate of twenty shells* (?).

## 5. REDUPLICATIVES.

409. The reduplicative numbers are defective. Only the following occur in E. H.; अकेहरा *onefold, single*, दुहरा or दोहरा *twofold, double*, तेहरा *threefold, triple*, चौहरा *fourfold, quadruple*. The rest are made by adding the word बार or बेर *time* to the cardinal numbers; as पाँच बार or पाँच बेर *five times, quintuple*, etc.

410. The reduplicatives are adj. and treated precisely like those of the strong form (§ 381); that is, they make a fem. in ई (§ 384), as दोहरी, तेहरी, etc., and an obl. form in ए (§ 386), as दोहरे, etc.

411. *Affinities*. The reduplicatives exist in all Gds. As to W. H. see Kl. 105. In P. there are 1 इकहरा or कहरा, 2 दोहरा, 3 तिहरा, 4 चौहरा or चउहरा, 5 पंतौहरा or पंतउहरा, 6 छैघौहरा, 7 सतौहरा; and even the „ordinal“ suff. म may be added pleonastically; thus पंतौहराम *quintuple*, just as पंतभाँ or पंतवाँ *fifth* (Ld. 88). In S. there are, 1 हेकर or हेकार, 2 बिहर or बिहार, 3 दिहर or दिहार, 4 चौहर or चोहार (Tr. 184). M. adds पट *strip* instead of हरा; thus 1 एकपट, 2 दुपट, 3 तिपट, 4 चौपट, 10 दसपट, etc. (Man. 42). Similarly W. H. adds लग *string*, e. g., 3 तिलग, 4 चौलग (see Kl. 105). — B. and O. seem to use tats. forms; as एकधा, द्विधा, etc. (see §. Ch. 109. Sn. 24).



412. *Derivation.* Reduplicatives are formed in Skr. by the addition of the *quasi-suff.* विह (from विधा *form, manner*), which in Pr. becomes विह or, curtailed, ह, whence, probably by the addition of the pleon. suff. रा (see § 209, or in S. ग्रार), arises the E. H. हरार. Thus in the Bh. (Wb. Bh. 425. 426) the following occur: 2 दुविह, 4 चउविह, 5 पंचविह, 6 षड्विह, or contracted 1 एगाहिय, 2 वेहिय, 3 तेहिय (perhaps from Skr. विहित past part. of R. वि-धा). Accordingly Skr. द्विविह<sup>o</sup> *twofold*, Pr. दुविह<sup>o</sup> (H. C. 1, 94) or वेविह<sup>o</sup>, whence contracted Ap. Pr. दोहउउ or वेहउ, and W. H. दोहरौ or E. H. दोहरा, S. बिहर. The S. form बिहार presupposes an Ap. Pr. वेहउउ, containing the pleon. suff. क and उ. Compare the names of the E. H. metre दोहा masc. (Skr. द्विविहकः) and Pr. दोहडिया fem. However, the Pr. ह and Gd. हर might be also derived from the Skr. *quasi-suff.* ध or धा, as in द्विधः (from द्विधा *in two parts*).

## 6. FRACTIONALS.

413. The following fractional numbers occur in E. H. Those marked with an asterisk are used both as subst. and adj.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| $\frac{1}{2}$ *आध् or *आधा                               | $\frac{1}{16}$ सोरही or सोरहिया                              |
| $\frac{1}{3}$ तिहाई or तिहड्या or तिहैया                 | $1\frac{1}{4}$ *सवा or सवाई or सवड्या or सबैया               |
| $\frac{1}{4}$ *पाउ or *पाव or चौथाई or चौथड्या or चौथैया | $1\frac{1}{2}$ *डेह् or डेहा or डेहे or देह् or देहा or देहे |
| $\frac{1}{10}$ दहाई or दहड्या or दहैया                   | $2\frac{1}{2}$ *आढा or आडाई or आड्या or आढैया                |
|  | $\frac{3}{4}$ पाउन् or पौना                                  |

It is to be noted, that पउने or पौने deducts *one fourth*, but सवा adds *one fourth* and साढे *one half* to the numeral to which they are prefixed. Thus एक पाउ सेर *one fourth of a ser*; आध् सेर or आधा सेर *half a ser*; पउन् or पौना सेर *three quarters of a ser*; सवा सेर *one ser and a quarter*; डेह् सेर *one ser and a half*; पौने दुइ सेर *one ser and three quarters* (lit., one quarter less than two sers); सवा दुइ सेर *two sers and one quarter*; आढा सेर or आडाई सेर *two sers and one half*; साढे तीन सेर *three sers and one half*, etc.

414. None of the adjectival fractionals change their form in construction with a subst., except आध् *half* which makes re-

gularly fem. *आधी* (§ 384), and obl. form *आधे* (§ 386). Thus *आधी राति* *midnight*, *आधे माग्न* *मे at half-way*.

415. *Affinities*. These fractionals occur in all Gds., though there are additional forms in some of them. Thus  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. H. पाञ्चो or चौथाई, P. पाउ or चुथाई, S. पाउ or चोये or चोथाई or चोया, G. पा, M. पाव्, B. चौटि or सिकि, O. पा or पाए;  $\frac{1}{3}$ , W. H., P. तिहाई, S. दिहाई, B. तिहाइ;  $\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. आधू or आधी, P. अठ or अठा, S. अधु or आधो, G. अर्धो, M. अर्धा, B. आधू or अर्ध or अर्धक्, O. अथ or अर्थ or अर्धक्;  $\frac{3}{4}$ , W. H., P. पौन्, G. पोणो, M. पाउपा;  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. H. सवा or समा or सम, P. सवा or सवाई or सवाईया, S. सवाई, G. सवा, M. सवा, B. सउया;  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. डेरू or डौठा or डेओठा, P. डेरू or डूठ or डूठा or डेउठा, S. डेरु or डेठे, G. डोठ, M. दीड, B. देरू, O. देरू;  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. अठ्ठाई or ठामा or ठाम्, P. ठाई or ठाईया or ठाया, S. अठ्ठाई, G. अठो or हठी, B. अठ्ठाई, O. अठ्ठाइ;  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. हूँटा or होटा, P. उठा or उँटा or उटा;  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. ढोँचा, P. ढोँचा (or पौचा?);  $5\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. पोँचा, (P. पौँचा?);  $6\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. लोँचा;  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. सतोँचा. Again *minus*  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. H., B., O., P. पौने, S. पौणो or मुनो, G. पोणा, M. पाउपो or पात्रपो; *plus*  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. H., P., S., G. सवा, M. सवा, B. सउया, O. सउयाइ; *plus*  $\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H., P., O. साढे, S. साढा (or साडु), G. साडा, M., B. साडे. See Kl. 103. 105. Ld. 85. 86. 87. Tr. 184. 185. Ed. 48. Man. 45. S. Ch. 109. Sn. 24.

416. *Derivation*. आधू or आधा regularly for Pr. अठो or अठमो, Skr. अर्धः or अर्धकः. — तिहाई, चौथाई, दहाई, सोरही are abstract nouns derived with the suff. ई or आई from the ordinal or cardinal forms (see § 220). The ह् in तिहाई is probably merely euphonic, for तिआई = तीआई = Pr. तईअ (H. C. 1, 101) = Skr. तृतीय°. — पाउ or पाव् (or H. H. पाञ्चो) regularly for Ap. Pr. पाउ, Pr. पाञ्चो, Skr. पादः; O. पा or पाय् or पाए = Mg. पाए or पाये. — सवा curtailed from Ap. Pr. सवाउ, Pr. सवाञ्चो, Skr. सपादः; O. सवाई, Mg. सवाई or सवाये. — साढे is the obl. form of साढा (which, however, is never used), regularly for Pr. सडुमो, Skr. सार्धकः from स + अर्ध (lit. *with a half*). — पउने or पौने is the obl. form of पौना or wk. form पाउन् or पौन्, regularly for Pr. पाञ्चोणो, Skr. पादोनः, from पाद + उन, lit. *one quarter less*. — The forms देरू or डेरू, अठ्ठा, अठ्ठा



उठा, etc. are made by compounding अर्ध *half* with the next highest ordinal; thus  $3\frac{1}{2}$  is in Mg. Pr. अर्धदुष्ट (see Wb. Bh. 425), which is evidently shortened for अर्धदुष्ट = अर्ध + अर्धदुष्ट = अर्ध + चर्ध (cf. H. C. 2, 33) = अर्ध + चर्ध lit. *half-fourth*. The same shortening of ओ to उ occurs in Mg. सत्तुत्तरं for सत्तोत्तरं = Skr. सप्तोत्तरम् (Wb. Bh. 427). Next Pr. अर्धदुष्ट is changed to अर्धदुष्ट (see § 119) and the initial अ is dropped (see § 172), whence arises the W. H. होटा or हूटा or (dropping ह्) the P. उठा or उँटा (cf. § 145, exc. 2). Again  $2\frac{1}{2}$  is in Mg. Pr. अर्धदुष्ट (Wb. Bh. 425), which is contr. for अर्धदुष्ट or अर्ध + अर्धदुष्ट = अर्ध + तर्ध (cf. H. C. 4, 339 तर्ध) = Skr. अर्ध + तृतीया lit. *half-third*. An alternative Pr. form of तर्ध is तर्ध (cf. H. C. 1, 101), whence arises Pr. अर्धदुष्ट or contracted अर्धदुष्ट or E. H. अर्धदुष्ट or अर्धदुष्ट or (dropping initial अ, § 172) P. ढादुष्ट or ढाई. Similarly  $4\frac{1}{2}$  must be Skr. अर्धपञ्चमः *half-fifth*, Ap. Pr. अर्धपञ्चमः or contracted अर्धपञ्चमः, whence (dropping initial अ, § 172) P. ढौँचा, W. H. ढौँचा. Similarly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  would be in Skr. अर्धद्वितीया, Mg. अर्धदुष्ट (or \*अर्धद्विष्ट), and transposing अर्ध and दुष्ट (or \*द्विष्ट), द्विष्ट, which form occurs in the Bh. (see Wb. Bh. 190.411) and whence is contracted E. H. देष्ट or डेष्ट, M. दीष्ट or G. डेष्ट or P. डेष्ट and डूष्ट or W. H. डौष्ट. — The forms पौँचा, खौँचा, सत्तोँचा are anomalous and fanciful forms, made after the analogy of ढौँचा under a mistaken idea of its true derivation. They have, certainly, no connection with उँचा *high* (as Kl. 108). The ख् of खौँचा is merely the modern pronunciation of ख् in the Skr. ख्, and shows that the word is of modern origin, without any foundation in Pr. — In the W. H. समा or सम the ख् of समा has been changed to ख् (see § 134), as W. H. नम्मा or नम *nine* for नवा. In the W. H. ढम्मा or ढम corresponding to P. ढाया or ढाई the ख् appears to be merely euphonic.

## 7. PROPORTIONALS.

417. Proportional numbers are made by adding the word गुना *time* to the cardinal numbers; thus दुइ गुना *two times*, तीनि गुना *three times*; चारि गुना *four times*; पाँच गुना *five times*, etc.

There are also the contracted forms दुगुना *twice*, तिगुना *thrice*, चौगुना *four times*.

418. *Affinities and Derivation.* The proportionals exist in all Gds. Thus B. दुइगुण 2, etc. (S. Ch. 109), O. तिनिगुण 3, etc. (Sn. 24), W. H. दुगुना 2, तिगुना 3, चौगुना 4, सतगुना 7, etc. (Kl. 105); P. uses either the full or the contracted forms throughout; e. g., दूणा or दूणी 2, तीउणा or तिगुणा 3, चौणा or चौगुणा 4, पचौणा or पंचौणा 5, छिन्नीणा or छिगुणा 6, सतौणा or सतगुणा 7, अठौणा or अठगुणा 8, नौणा or नौगुणा 9, दसौणा or दसगुणा 10, etc. (Ld. 87). S. has only the contracted forms: thus हेकूणो 1, बीणो 2, दूणो 3, चउणो or चौणो 4, पन्णो 5, बहूणो 6, सतूणो 7, बहूणो 8, नउणो 9, उहूणो 10, etc. (Tr. 182). S. has also हेकूटो *once*, बीटो *twice*, which, perhaps, are contractions of हेक-पटो, बिपटो, as in M. which uses पट् instead of गुण; thus एकपट् 1, दुप्पट् 2, तिप्पट् 3, चौपट् 4, etc. (see § 411). — E. H. दुगुना regularly for Pr. दुगुणाञ्च, Skr. द्विगुणाकम्; E. H. तिगुना for Pr. तिगुणाञ्च, Skr. त्रिगुणाकम्; and E. H. चौगुना for Pr. चउगुणाञ्च, Skr. चतुर्गुणाकम्.

## 8. SUBTRACTIVES.

419. Subtractive numerals are made by adding कम् *less*; thus 99 is एक कम् सै *one hundred less one*; 48 is दुइ कम् पचास *fifty less two*.

420. *Affinities and Derivation.* कम् is thus used also in B. (S. Ch. 110), and in W. H., H. H., and probably in all W. Gds., as it is a persian word. B. uses also the Gd. word बार्ह (S. Ch. 110).

## 9. DISTRIBUTIVES.

421. Distributive numbers are made by repeating the numeral; thus दुइ दुइ *by twos, two each*; दस् दस् *by tens, ten each*. Sometimes distribution is idiomatically expressed by the word पाछे *after*; e. g., ब्राह्मन् के दुइ दुइ पैसा दिहलेस् or ब्राह्मन् पाछे दुइ पं दि° *he gave the Brāhmins two paisás each*. Sometimes करि *having made* is added to the reduplicated num.; e. g., दुइ दुइ करि दि° *he gave two to each*.



422. *Affinities.* This practice of reduplication is common to all Gds.; thus B. दण् दण् or दण् दण् करिया *by tens* (§. Ch. 108. 245), O. दुइ दुइ *by twos* (Sn. 24), and so in all. B. also expresses distribution by adding the particle टा or टी to a single numeral, as दण् टा करिया देउ *give ten to each* (§. Ch. 245).

## 10. DEFINITIVES.

423. Definiteness or emphasis is given to a number by adding the suff. ओ or ओ; thus दोनो बरिस् *the two years*; तीनो दिन् *the three days*; चारो ब्राह्मन् *the four Brāhmans*, etc. A final इ is dropped before the suff., e. g., चारो of चारि *four*, साठो of साठि *sixty*, etc.

424. *Affinities and Derivation.* This suff. is used also in W. H. (see Kl. 101), to which it more properly belongs. It is the same as the suff. of the obl. plur. (see §§ 362. 363. 365, 7), which is occasionally transferred to the nom. plur. also (see § 369).

## 11. INDEFINITIVES.

425. Indefiniteness in a number is expressed either by prefixing or suffixing एक् *one* to the numeral, as एक् दस् *about ten*, सौ एक् *about one hundred*, etc.; to एक् itself आध् *half* is added, एक् आध् *about one*. Or it may be expressed by joining another number according to the following rules: 1, every number is used with the one immediately following, as तीनो चारि *about three*, दस् इग्यारह् *about ten*, etc.; or 2, ten or any multiple of ten is used with the next following multiple of five or ten; as दस् पंदरह् or दस् बीस् *about ten or any number between ten and fifteen or between ten and twenty*; बीस् पचीस् or बीस् तीस् *about twenty*; or 3, exceptionally 2 is used with 4, दुइ चारि *about two*, 5 with 7, पाँच सात् *about five*, 8 with 10, आठ् दस् *about eight*, 10 with 12, दस् बारह्, 12 with 14, बारह चौदह् *about twelve*, 20 with 50, बीस् पचास् *about twenty*.

426. *Affinities.* These usages are probably common to all Gds. As to B. see §. Ch. 106. 107, and as to W. H. see

Kl. 101. B. also expresses indefiniteness by prefixing one of the particles गोटा, गोटी, खान् or यान्, गच्छ to a numeral (§. Ch. 106); O. uses गोटा (Sn. 24); S. suffixes खनु (Tr. 180). Thus B. or O. गोटा त्रिम् or B. खान् त्रिम् or S. दिहारो खनु *about thirty*. — The B. खान् or यान्, S. खनु is, probably, the Skr. स्थाणुः *stake* or *post*, which becomes in Pr. बाणू or खाणू (H. C. 2, 7) or खणू (H. C. 2, 99). — The B. गोटा or गोटी is probably the Skr. गोष्ठकः or गोष्ठिकः *assembly, heap*, and गच्छ probably the Skr. गच्छ *a progression*.

#### FOURTH CHAPTER. THE PRONOUN.

427. There are six kinds of pronouns, 1) the personal, 2) the correlative, 3) the reflexive, 4) the honorific, 5) pronominal adjectives and 6) pron. adverbs. The genitives of the personal and reflexive pron. serve to express the corresponding possessive pron.

##### 1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

428. E. H. possesses pron. for the first and second person only. For the third pers. the remote demonstr. pron. is used. The pers. pron. are alike for both genders. The forms of the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. are, dir. sg. मै *I*, obl. sg. मो or मो, dir. and obl. pl. हम् *we*; those of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. are, dir. sg. तै *thou*, obl. sg. तो or तो, dir. pl. तू *you*, obl. pl. तोह्.

429. There is a long form of the pers. pron., which, however, now occurs only in the fem. plur. and is made by adding the suff. जनी (see §§ 209. 214) to the obl. plur., thus हमनी *we*, तोहनी *you*.

*Note:* The weak form हमन् *we* occurs in the O. H. (Kl. 127); the corresponding form of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. would be \*तोहन् *you*. From these are derived the strong fem. forms हमनी and तोहनी, to which would correspond the strong masc. \*हमना and \*तोहना, obl. \*हमने and \*तोहने. Some of these masc. forms may be in actual use. All alike are very vulgar and almost exclusively used



by women, even in a sing. sense<sup>1</sup>). A plur. तुम् and even a sing. तुइन् actually exists in Gw. (see Kl. 129). See similar long forms of the correlative pron. in § 436.

430. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) *The first pers. pron. sing.* The dir. form is essentially the same in the E., S. and N. Gds.; thus B. मुइ, O. मु or मुइ or मुहि, E. H. मै (Bh.) or मइ or मय् (Bs.), M. मो, N. मै or मो; also H. H. मै. It is quite different in the W. Gds., viz. W. H. हो (Br.) or हो (Kn.) or हू (Mw.), P. हउ, G. हु, S. छाउ or छा (dropping ह). The other forms, however, also occur dialectically in the W. Gds., viz. W. H. and P. मै, S. मू or मा, but, as a rule, they are only used as the obl. form; e. g., abl. sg. Mw. मै सू from me, P. मै यो, S. मू खा or मा खा; act. sg., W. H. and P. मै, G. ने, S. मू or मा. On the other hand, the proper dir. form छा is occasionally used as an obl. in S. (Tn. 190), and so also हउ in P. (Ld. 16). This shows that the forms with initial म् are properly obl., and have been anomalously transferred to the nom. sg., as has occasionally happened in the case of subst. (see § 369). — *The obl. form* is essentially the same in all Gds.; viz. B. and O. मो, E. H. मो (Bh.) or म्हा or म्वहि (Bs.), O. H. मोहि or मुहि, W. H. मोहि or मुहि or मो or मै or मे (Br.) or मै or म्हे or (shortened) म or म्ह or म्हो or म्हा or मा (Mw.)<sup>2</sup>, P. मे or मै, S. मू or मा or मुहु<sup>3</sup>, G. म or मा or मे<sup>4</sup>, M. म or मो or म्वा<sup>5</sup>, N. म or मै or मो or मे<sup>6</sup>. — There are, then, in Gd. two principal types: 1) that of the proper dir. forms हो, etc.; 2) that of the various obl. form मै, मो, etc., some of which are also occasionally used as direct forms.

1) I may state here as a general fact, that among the vulgar in India the plur. forms of the pron. and verb are almost universally used in the place of the sing. Inattention to this fact has led to many errors in the statements of Kl. and Bs. as to E. H.

2) मे and मा or म्हा only in the gen. मेरो (Br.), मारो or म्हारो (Mw.).

3) मुहु only in the gen. मुहु जो.

4) मा only in gen. मारो, and मे in the act.; but acc. म ने.

5) मो and म्वा only in the act., but acc. म ला, etc.

6) मे only in gen. मेरो, मै only in the act. मै ले.

The dir. forms are modifications of the Ap. Pr. nom. sg. हउं (H. C. 4, 375) or हमुं (K. I. 39 in Ls. 451) or हमु (Mđ. अस्मदो हमु मुना सार्द्धं । अस्मद् इत्यधिकारः । हमु भणामि », i. e., *asmad* has *hamu* in the nom. sg.; here the rules on *asmad* commence; *hamu bha-nami I speak*). The Skr. nom. sg. is अहम्, which becomes in Pr. अहं or हं (Vr. 6, 40) or str. form अह्यं (Vr. 6, 40) or \*ह्यं. The latter regularly H. C. 4, 354 changes to हउं in Ap. Pr.<sup>1)</sup>; and this becomes in P. हउं, in Br. हो, in Kn. हो, in Mw. हू, in G. हु. — The Gđ. obl. forms are modifications of the Pr. gen. sg. forms मइ or मह (H. C. 3, 113) or महु (H. C. 4, 379). The form मइ is used in Mh. Pr. for the gen., abl., instr. and loc. sg. (H. C. 3, 113. 111. 109. 115), and in the Ap. Pr. for the instr. loc. and acc. sg. (H. C. 4, 377); that is, it has evidently become a general obl. form. There can be little doubt, that मइ is a curtailment of \*महि (see § 126) and the three forms \*महि, महु and मह are evidently made by means of the Ap. gen. or obl. suff. हि, हु, ह (shortened for हे and हो, see §§ 365, 6. 367, 3). In the Ap. Pr. the corresponding pl. suff. हिं, हुं, हं are sometimes transferred to the sg. (see § 367, 5); accordingly we find in the Ap. Pr. also the alternative forms मइ (for \*महि, cf. § 126), महु and मह (see K. I. 44 in Ls. 451, and H. C. 4, 377. 3, 113)<sup>2)</sup>. Now the Ap. मइ or \*महि is modified in O. to मुहि

1) Ls. 330, explains the form अह्यं as = अह्यं, analogous to Pr. तुमं and तुं or तं (H. C. 3, 90); this seems to be supported by the Ap. form हमु; that form, however, is somewhat doubtful; it might well be a false reading for हउं. It appears to me more probable that अह्यं is the regular strong form of अहं, and equal to \*अह्यं, as shown by the corresponding Mg. अह्ये (Vr. 11, 9) which according to Mg. usage retains the क्; there is also a Mg. form ह्ये or ह्ये (Vr. 11, 9), which represents a Mh. form \*ह्यं and the Ap. हउं; H. C. 4, 354 expressly states that the Pr. strong form termin. अह्यं (अकं) changes to अउं in the Ap. Pr.

2) The Ap. Pr. has मइ according to H. C. 4, 377, but मइ according to Mđ. मइ उट्टामि: । मइ । मयि मया मां वार्य: » again it has महु according to H. C. 4, 379, but महु according to K. I. and Mđ. उट्टिउमं मत्कमहुं महा । त्रयः



or मुह, in B. मुह, in Bs. म्वहि (for \*मुहि, i. e. व for उ, § 71), Br. मुहि (in assimilation to तुह), and contracted in P. to मे or मै, M. मी. The Ap. मइ is in Bs. मइ or मय्, in E. H., W. H., P., N. मै, in M. मी or मय् (for मे, i. e. या for ए, cf. § 71). The Ap. महु is in O. H., B., O., E. H. मो<sup>1)</sup> (for \*मउ, § 126, cf. तउ in Nro. 2) or Bs. म्वा, and the Ap. महुं in E. H., N. मो and in S. मुहुं (in assimilation to तुहुं) or मू. The Ap. Pr. मह occurs in O. H. (e. g., मह सम like me, cf. Kl. 121<sup>2)</sup>), and is shortened in M., G., N. to म, in O. मु, in W. H. म or म्ह; and the Pr. महं is in S. मय्. Lastly in the O. H. and in Br. the obl. suff. हि is pleonastically super-added to the obl. form मो, making it मोहि. — 2) *The second pers. pron. sing.* The circumstances here are precisely analogous to those of the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. pron., with the exception, that of the old Skr. nom. sg. त्वम्, Pr. तं or तुं or त्वं or तुमं (H. C. 3, 90) no trace has survived in Gd. In all Gds. alike, and even in the Ap. Pr., the old gen. sg. or obl. form has taken the place of the dir. form (cf. § 369). Thus as dir. forms are used in B. तुह, in O. तु or तुह or तुहि, E. H. तइ or तय् (Bs.) or तै (Bh.), N. त, W. H. तै or तै or तू (Br.) or तू or तू (Mw.), P. तू, S. तू, M. तू, G. तू; as obl. forms in B. and O. तो, E. H. तो or तो (Bh.) or त्वा or त्वा or त्वहि (Bs.), N. तै or तै<sup>3)</sup>, W. H. तोहि or तो or तू or तै or ते (Br.) or थो or थै or था or थ (Mw.) or तोई or त्थी or त्वे (Gw., Km.)<sup>4)</sup>, P. ते or ते, S. तो or तुहुं<sup>5)</sup>, G. त or तु or ते or

सु: ॥ and in the *Nāgara Ap.* ममेत्यर्थे महुं च स्यात् । महुं धरु सुन्दर । चकारान् मम च ॥ lastly the Ap. has मह according to Md. in the above quotations, and the Mh. Pr. has both मह and महं according to H. C. 3, 113.

1) In the O. H. of Chand मो occurs as a gen., e. g., माय मो नाम चंद *Lord! my name is Chand* (Kl. 121).

2) Or, Chand 25, 28 मह सगपन सा करिहि सु केन ॥ *how will she make my kinship, etc.*

3) तै only in the act. तै ले by thee.

4) ते and था only in the gen. तेरो (Br.), थारो (Mw.), तू and तै only in the act. in Br. तूने or तै ने, but in Mw. generally, e. g., abl. तै सँ or थै सँ, see Kl. 128.

5) तुहुं only in the gen. तुहुं तो.

तू or ता<sup>1</sup>), M. तू or त्वा or तु<sup>2</sup>). All these obl. forms are various modifications of the Pr. gen. sg. forms तइ or तइं, तउ (modified for \*तहि or \*तहिं, \*तहु, cf. महु in Nro. 1), तुह or तुहं, तुहुं<sup>3</sup>), which are derived by means of the gen. or obl. suff. हि, हु, ह or हिं, हुं, हं from the bases त or तु (for Skr. त्व). To complete the series, the form तुहि must be added, which is preserved in the O. H. and Br. तुहि, Bs. त्वहि, O. तुहि or तुइ, B. तुइ, Gw. (lg. f.) तुइन्; and also the form तह<sup>4</sup>) which is preserved in the Br. gen. तेरो, Mw. यारो *thine* for Ap. \*तहारउ, just as Br. मेरो, Mw. नारो or मारो *mine* = Ap. महारउ (H. C. 4, 358) from Ap. gen. मह. The Pr. तइ or \*तहि appears in P. ते or ते or (shortened) G. त, Mw. त or य; and the Ap. Pr. तइ or \*तहिं in Bs. तइ or तय्, Bh., Br., N. ते, Mw. ये, G. ते, N. त. The Ap. Pr. तउ or \*तहु becomes

1) ता only in the gen. तारो, ते and तू only in the act. ते or तुए, त or तु in the acc. तने or तुने.

2) M. तू or त्वा only in the act.

3) The form तइ is used as an obl. form in the Mh. Pr. for the gen., abl., instr., loc. sing. (H. C. 3, 99. 96. 94. 101) and in the form तइं in the Ap. Pr. for the instr., loc. and acc. sg. (H. C. 4, 370) and Mđ. तइं डिहमि: । एमि: सह युष्मदस् तइं स्यात् । तइं । त्वया त्वयि त्वां वा ॥ The form तउ is used in the Ap. Pr. for the gen. and abl. sg. (H. C. 4, 372), and तुह for the gen., abl. and loc. (Mđ. डिउसिउसां तुहतुक्कतम्भतुम्भा: सु: ॥ see also K. I. 44 in Ls. 451) and तुहं for the gen. and abl. (K. I. 44 in Ls. 451); the same form तुह and तुहं are also used for the nom. sg. both in the Mh. (H. C. 3, 90) and Ap. Pr. (K. I. 39 in Ls. 451); the form तुहुं is used in the Ap. Pr. for the nom. sg. (H. C. 4, 368. Mđ. युष्मदस् तुहं । युष्मद इत्यधिकार: । सुनेत्येव । तुहुं सोमसि ॥ i. e., *thou sleepest*. The identity of the nom. forms तुह or तुहं with the gen. forms तुह or तुहं has been already pointed out by Ls. 465, and that the nom. form तुहं is really a gen. is shown by the fact of its still being used in S. for the gen. तुहुं जो (Tr. 191. 193). In तइ, तइं, तउ a medial ह् has been dropped, as is shown by the Mw. obl. ये or य (contr. for \*तहिं, \*तह); and the forms in इ (= \*हिं), हं, हुं are gen. pl., used in a sing. sense, precisely as in the case of मइं, महं, महु (see Nro. 1).

4) तह is given as an obl. form by De Tassy in his Hindi Gramm. (Kl. 121).



in O. H., B., O., E. H., S. तो<sup>1</sup>), and in W. H. तो or थो, Bs. त्वा, and a corresponding Ap. form \*तुहं is preserved in the E. H. तो or त्वा, M. त्वा (cf. § 71). The Ap. तुह becomes in O., M., G. तु and is preserved also in the E. Gd. तोरा *thine* for Ap. तुहारा (cf. H. C. 4, 434). The Ap. तुहं or तुहुं becomes in P., S., G. तू, Mw. तू or तूँ, Br. तू. Lastly, O. H. and Br. form तोहि by pleonastically suppleradding the obl. suff. हि to the obl. form तो; and similarly S. forms the gen. तुहे (तो), abl. तोहँ by pleonastically adding the obl. suff. हँ and वाँ (or हे, हँ). — 3) *The first pers. pron. plur.* The circumstances here are the same as with the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. pron. sing. No trace of the old Skr. nom. pl. वयम् has survived in Gd.; Pr., however, has वञ्चं or वयं (H. C. 3, 106). But Gd. and, generally also Pr., use one of the many obl. forms of the Skr. base अस्म as their direct form. Thus the various dir. forms in Gd. are: B. अस्मि or अस्म (to the latter, as usual, the pl.-aff. रा is added, अस्म-रा), O. अस्मो, E. H. हम्, N. हामी (to which, as usual the pl.-aff. हरु or हेरु is added, हामीहरु or हामीहेरु), M. अस्मही, W. H. हम् (Br.) or म्हे or म्हे (Mw.), G. अस्मे or हमे; and S. and P. अस्मी. The various Gd. obl. forms are: B. अस्मा, O. अस्म्य or अस्मन् (the latter only in the dat. अस्म्यङ्), E. H. हम् (Bh.) or हमह (Bs. see Kl. 127), N. हाँमी, M. अस्माह or अस्माही (only act.) or अस्म (only in the gen. अस्मात्ता), W. H. हम् or हमन् or हमनि or हमौ or हमै (Br.) or माँ or म्हाँ (Mw.) or हमुं (Gw.)<sup>2</sup>, G. अस्म or अस्मे or हमे (only act.) or अस्मा (in the gen. अस्मारो); P. असा or सा or हमा or (only act.) असी, S. असाँ or असाँहे or असाँहूँ. All these forms are modifications respectively of the following Pr. gen. or obl. forms: a) अम्ह or अम्हि or अम्हे, b) अम्हापां, c) अम्हहं, d) अम्हहिं or अम्हहं, which may be spelled also अस्म (H. C. 4, 412). Of these the first set अम्ह, अम्हि, अम्हे are modifications of the vedic

1) In the O. H. of Chand तो occurs as a gen. sg., e. g., सुनिय चात तो तात। *having heard the word, thy father, etc.*

2) हमै only in the dat. and acc. हमै कौ; हमा only in the gen. हमारा *our*.

obl. form अस्मे; and अह्, अहे are used in Pr. for the gen., instr., acc., nom. (H. C. 3, 114. 110. 108. 106) and अहे in the Ap. for the acc. and nom. (H. C. 4, 376)<sup>1</sup>). The Pr. अस्मे or अहे becomes आस्मे in O., अस्मे or हमे in G., and महे in Mw.; and the Pr. अह् becomes अम् in G., हम् in W. H. and E. H., and आम् in M. — The Pr. form अहि or अमि, though clearly a mere modification of the plur. obl. form अहे (or अस्मे), has assumed the sense of the sing. and is used for the nom. and acc. sing. (H. C. 3, 105. 107). It is so employed also in one of the Ap. Pr. (Mḍ. अहम् अयं अमिहुंमयाः । अमि पक्षिदु (?) । एवं हुंमम (?) ). It has only survived in the B. अमि I. As to the second Pr. set अम्हाणं or अम्माणं, it is the regular gen. plur. of the base अह् or अम्म (H. C. 3, 114, see § 365, 4) and has survived in the O. अम्भन् and W. H. हमन् or हमनि. As to the third and fourth Pr. set अम्हं, अम्हं, to which must be added a form \*अम्हं, they are regularly derived with the Ap. gen. or obl. suff. हं, हुं, हिं (see § 365, 7) from the base अह्. The form अम्हिं or (dropping ह्) अम्हं is limited in the Ap. to the nom., acc. and instr. (H. C. 4, 376)<sup>2</sup>), but in Gḍ. it occurs also in the dat. (= old gen.); thus in O. H. हमहिं and contracted in Br. हमै, H. H. हमे, Mw. महे, M. अम्ही or अम्ही, N. हाँमी. The form \*अम्हं is not noticed by the Pr. Gramm., but it appears in Br. as हमौ, H. H. हमौ, Gw. हमु. The Ap. form अम्हं, especially mentioned by H. C. 4, 380 as the gen. plur., survives in Mw. महाँ or माँ or (dropping the *anunāsika*) in B. अमा, M. अम्हा, W. H., P. हम्मा, G. अमा. — The anomalous P. and S. forms with स्

1) H. C. allows both अम्हं and अम्हं to the nom. and acc.; K. I. gives अम्हं to the nom. and अम्हं to the acc. (K. I. 40 in Ls. 451); again Mḍ. allows both अम्मे and अम्हं to the nom., but only अम्हं to the acc., thus अम्हं इति उपप्राप्त्यां । अम्हं अहम् पेक्कल वा । अम्मे च तता । अम्मे भणामु । चकाराद् अम्हं च ॥

2) H. C. has only अम्हं and allows it only to the nom. and acc., but Mḍ. has both अम्हिं and अम्हं and allows them also to the instr., thus अम्हं अम्हि अम्मा अम्माहि अम्मेहिम् इति च भिन्ना । पक्ष स्तुः । अम्हं भणामु । एवमन्यानि ॥



cannot have arisen from the ordinary Pr. or Ap. forms, but must be referred to some peculiar Pr., which changed the conjunct स् of the Skr. base अस्म to स् instead of to म्ह or म्<sup>1</sup>). Otherwise, however, their formation is exactly analogous to those of the other Gd. forms; thus P. and S. असौ is analogous to M. अहो and would presuppose a Pr. form \*अस्सहिं or \*अस्सइ; and the P. असा, S. असा to P. हमा, Mw. म्ह, presupposing Pr. \*अस्सहं. In the S. असाहे and असाहू the obl. suff. हे, हू (for ऐ, ऊ) are pleonastically supperadded. — 4) *The second pers. pron. plur.* The circumstances here are exactly analogous to those of the first pers. pron. plur., substituting only the base तुम्ह or तुम् (= Skr. तुम्) for अम्ह or अम्. A simple enumeration therefore of the various Pr. and Gd. forms will suffice. Pr. and Ap. have: a) तुम्ह or तुम्हे (H. C. 3, 91. 93. 4, 369); b) तुम्हाणं (H. C. 3, 100); c) तुम्हहिं or तुम्हइ (H. C. 4, 369), d) तुम्हहं (H. C. 4, 373) or e) \*तुम्हहुं, all plur., and f) तुम् (H. C. 3, 92. 94. 101) in the sing. (like अस्मि). In Gd. there are, 1) the following dir. forms: B. तुमि (f), O. तुम्मे (a), E. H. (a) तू (Bh., for तूह) or तोह or तोह or (a) तुम्ह (Bs.), W. H. (a) तुम् (Br.) or (a) ये or (c) वै (Mw., for \*तहे or \*तहै, with अ for उ as in G., S. and P.); G. तमे (a), M. तुम्हो (c), N. (f) तिमि (like B. तुमि) or (c) तिमो (with इ for अ or उ, as in Br. तिहारौ yours), S. (c) तम्हो or तवो or तहो or तई or (c) अम्हो or अवो or अहो or अई or अइ, P. (c) तुसो (for Pr. \*तुस्सइ). And 2) the following obl. forms: B. (d) तोमा or (a) तोम (only in the nom. pl. तोम-रा), O. (a) तुम्म or (b) तुम्मन् (only in the dat. तुम्महु), E. H. (a) तोह or तोह (Bh.) or (a) तुम्ह (Bs.), W. H. (a) तुम् or (e) तुम्हो or (c) तुम्है

1) The loc. suff. स्मिन् admits both changes in the pron. of the ordinary or Mh. Pr. (H. C. 4, 59. 60, e. g., सव्वस्मिं or सव्वम्मि or सव्वहिं for \*सव्वम्हिं in all), but only म्मि in subst. (H. C. 3, 11, e. g., देवम्मि in god); on the other hand the Mg. Pr. admits a form \*सि msi or सि si even in subst. (Wb. Bh. 417, as देवंसि or देवसि). This is noteworthy; for the P. and S. phonetic system shows also in other points (see §§ 16. 18. 14) an affinity to that of the Mg. class of Prs. and Gds. The Pāli admits both स्मिन् and म्हि in subst. (St. G. 62).

(only in the dat.) or (d) तुम्हा or तिहा (only in the gen. तुम्हारौ or तिहारौ), all these in Br., or (e) तुम् (Gw.) or (b) तुमन् (Km.) or (d) तम् (Mw., for \*तहाँ, see S.), G. (d) तमा (in the gen. तमारौ) or (a) तम् or (a) तमे (only act.), M. (d) तुम्हा or (c) तुम्ही (only in the act.) or (a) तुम् (only in the gen. तुम् चा), N. (f) तिमि or (c) तिमो, S. (d) तव्हौ or तवौ or तहाँ or ताँ or (d) अव्हौ or अवौ or अहाँ or अौ, P. (d) तुत्ता (for Pr. \*तुत्तहँ) or (d) तुहा or बुधा or (d) तुमा or (c) तुमी (only in the act.). As to the origin of the S. forms; the उ of the Pr. तुम्हइ is changed to अच् (similarly as in Bs. त्वहि to thee for तुहि) and म् is elided, whence S. तव्हौ; next either ह् or व् is dropped, making तवौ or तहौ; finally व् or ह् is elided, making तई; the other S. set अव्हौ, etc. arises in a precisely similar way from the Pr. forms derived from the Pr. base उम्ह (H. C. 3, 99. 95). — 5) *There remain a few peculiar obl. forms:* viz., of the first pers. pron., M. मन् or माके or माक्या (Man. 47. 85), G. मन्, W. H. मन्, H. H. मुक् or मुके, and of the second pers. pron., M. तुन् or तुके or तुक्या, G. तन्, H. H. तुक् or तुके, P. तुध. These obl. forms are modifications of the Pr. gen. मन्क (H. C. 3, 113) or Ap. मन्कु (H. C. 4, 379), Pr. तुन्क (H. C. 3, 99) or Ap. तुन्कु (H. C. 4, 372) or तुध (H. C. 4, 372). The origin of these forms is obscure. In Pr., the forms मन्क and तुन्क are treated as regular bases, just like Pr. अम्ह and तुम्ह, Skr. अस्म and युष्म, and declined as *nouns*. Thus in the gen. sing. the pure base मन्क or अम्ह (H. C. 3, 113) is used after the Ap. Pr. fashion, i. e., dropping the gen. suff. (H. C. 4, 345); loc. sg. मन्कम्मि or अम्हम्मि (H. C. 3, 116), gen. pl. मन्कापाँ or अम्हापाँ (H. C. 3, 114), loc. pl. मन्कलु or अम्हलु (H. C. 4, 117), etc. In Gd. the gen. sg. (or pure base) मन्क, तुन्क become H. H. मुक्, तुक्, M. मन्, तुन् (with न् for क्, § 145, note). And Gd. derives from them even regular obl. st. forms, H. H. मुके, तुके, M. माके or माक्या, तुके or तुक्या (just as H. H. घोरे, M. घोइया of घोडा horse). The corresponding direct st. forms exist only in M. माका m., माकी f., माके n., and तुका, तुकी, तुके. They serve both as the gen. sing. of the personal pron., and as possessive pron. In E. H., also, the possess. pron. are often used in the place of



the pers. pron.; thus abl., E. H. हमरे सो<sup>०</sup> or हमरा सो<sup>०</sup>, just as M. माक्या हन्, loc. E. H. मोरे मे, M. माक्यात्. It appears, probable, therefore, that the bases मक and तुक are really those of possessive pron. and perhaps connected with Skr. मदीय *mine* and त्वदीय *thine* by substituting the Pr. bases मह, तुह for म, त्व (or मद, त्वद); thus महइय = मक = मत्क or तुहइय = तुक = तुह (cf. H. C. 3, 91. nom. pl. तुहे) = तुक. Or they might be referred to the Skr. bases मादृश *like me*, त्वादृश *like thee*, which would easily assume a possessive meaning (see §§ 218. 251), and which might change in Pr. to मदृह = मत्क, तुदृह = तुक. It may be remarked that a somewhat analogous process has taken place in the case of the demonstrative pron.; thus Pr. एहो is both *that* and *such-like* = Skr. ईदृश, and S. has इको = इन्हो = ईदृश (see § 438, 4). This would explain also the P. form तुथ, which would be = तुदह = त्वादृश, and the र in the Ap. Pr. form तुथ might be a reminiscence of the Skr. ऋ of दृष<sup>1</sup>). Ls. connects मक and तुक with the gen. sing. of the pers. pron. \*मस्य and \*त्वस्य, but these change regularly to मह or मदि, तुह or तुहि (see Nros 1. 2); I believe, there is no example of the Skr. conjunct स्य ever changing to स्क् in Pr.

431. Personal pron. are declined precisely like nouns, with the exception that in the gen. they use their corresponding possessive pron. (§ 449). The weak form of the latter is preferred in the nom., and the st. form in the obl. cases: thus मोरू बापू or rarely मोरा बापू *my father*, but मोरे बापू कै *of my father*; हमारू माई or rarely हमरी माई *our mother*, but हमरी माई कै *of our mother*, etc.

432. A sort of pleonastic declension may be made by adding the case-aff. to the obl. form of the gen. in ए; but in

1) Or again, मक might be = मह-न, and तुक = तुह-न and तुथ = तुह-द; न and द being the gen. postpositions which occur in O. H. and O. P., and are still used in M., P. and M. S. They may have existed in Pr. already, just as the modern gen. postpositions चा, का, केरा lit. *done* (see § 377).

§§ 432 a. 432 b.]

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

the *khari bhāshā* this is restricted to the loc., as मो मे or मोरे मे in me, हम मे or हमरे मे in us, etc.

432 a.

1. First personal pron.

a) Simple form : मैं I, हम we.

|                                | Sing.                  | Simple plur.                    | Comp. plur. |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------|
| nom. मैं                       | हम्                    | हमलोग्                          |             |
| a., d. मो के or मो के          | हम् के                 | हमलोग् के or हमलोगन् के         |             |
| i., abl. मो से or मो से        | हम् से                 | हमलोग् से or हमलोगन् से         |             |
| gen. मोर or मोरा, मोरी, मोरे   | हमार or हमरा, ०री, ०रे | हमलोग् कै, के or हमलोगन् कै, के |             |
| loc. मो मे or मो मे or मोरे मे | हम् मे or हमरे मे      | हमलोग् मे or हमलोगन् मे         |             |

b) Emphatic form : मैं ही or मैं हूँ even I.

|                         | Singular.          | Plural.                                    |
|-------------------------|--------------------|--|
| nom. मैं ही             | मैं हूँ            | हम ही                                      |
| a., d. मोही के          | मोहू के            | हम ही के                                   |
| i., abl. मोही से        | मोहू से            | हम ही से                                   |
| gen. मोरै or मोरे ही    | मोरौ or मोरे हूँ   | हमरै or हमरे ही                            |
| loc. मोही मे or मोरै मे | मोहू मे or मोरौ मे | हम हूँ मे or हमरौ मे                       |
|                         | or मोरे ही मे      | or मोरे हू मे or हमरे ही मे or हमरे हूँ मे |

432 b.

2. Second pers. pron.

a) Simple form : तू thou, तू you.

|                                | Sing.                     | Simple plur.                    | Comp. plur. |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------|
| nom. तू                        | तू                        | तूलोग्                          |             |
| a., d. तो के or तो के          | तोहू के                   | तूलोग् के or तूलोगन् के         |             |
| i., abl. तो से or तो से        | तोहू से                   | तूलोग् से or तूलोगन् से         |             |
| gen. तोर or तोरा, तोरी, तोरे   | तोहरा or तोहारा, ०री, ०रे | तूलोग् कै, के or तूलोगन् कै, के |             |
| loc. तो मे or तो मे or तोरे मे | तोहू मे or तोहरे मे       | तूलोग् मे or तूलोगन् मे         |             |

b) Emphatic form : तू ही or तू हूँ even thou.

|                         | Singular.          | Plural.                       |
|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| nom. तू ही              | तू हूँ             | तू ही or तू हूँ               |
| a., d. तोही के          | तोहू के            | तू हूँ के or तू हूँ के        |
| i., abl. तोही से        | तोहू से            | तू हूँ से or तू हूँ से        |
| gen. तोरै or तोरे ही    | तोरौ or तोरे हू    | तोहरै or तोहरे ही             |
| loc. तोही मे or तोरै मे | तोहू मे or तोरौ मे | तू हूँ मे or तोहरै मे         |
|                         | or तोरे ही मे      | or तोहरे हू मे or तोहरे हू मे |



*Note:* *हो* and *हू* may or may not be spelled *ही*, *हूँ*; also *हम* and *तुम्ह* may be spelled *हमँ* and *तुम्हँ* before *ही* and *हूँ* (see § 67); e. g., *हमँ ही* के *to us*, *तुम्हँ हूँ* के *to you*. — The gen. pl. may also be *तोहारै*, *हमारै*, etc.

## 2. THE CORRELATIVE PRONOUNS.

433. By the term „correlative pronoun“ I here designate the demonstrative, the relative, the interrogative and the indefinite. The demonstrative pron. include the near, the far and the general. The forms of the *near dem.* are: dir. sg. or pl. *ई* (also *यह्* or emphatic *ऐहै* or *इहै* or *इहई*), obl. sg. *ए* or *ऐह्* (or emph. *ऐही*), pl. *ऐन्ह* (or emph. *ऐन्हही*); of the *far dem.*: dir. sg. or pl. *उ* (also *वह्* or emph. *ओहै* or *उहै* or *उहई*), obl. sg. *ओ* or *ओह्* (or emph. *ओही*), pl. *ओन्ह* (or emph. *ओन्हही*); of the *general dem.*: dir. sg. or pl. *ते* (or emph. *तेहै* or *तिहई*), obl. sg. *ते* or *तेह्* (or emph. *तेही*), pl. *तेन्ह* (or emph. *तेन्हही*); of the *relative*: dir. sg. or pl. *जे* (or emph. *जेहै* or *तिहई*), obl. sg. *जे* or *जेह्* (or emph. *जेही*), pl. *जेन्ह* (or emph. *जेन्हही*); of the *interrog.*: dir. sg. or pl. *के* (or emph. *केहै* or *किहई*), obl. sg. *के* or *केह्* (or emph. *केही*), pl. *केन्ह* (or emph. *केन्हही*); of the *indef.*: dir. sg. or pl. *के* or *केह्*, obl. sg. or pl. *के* or *केह्*. These forms are alike for the masc. and fem.

434. The interrog. pron. has a peculiar form in the sing.: dir. *का*, obl. *का* or *काहे*, when inanimate objects are spoken of. It is, in fact, practically a *neuter*. The obl. *काहे* is used only, when no subst. is expressed. Thus *का करैलह् what do you do*, *का घरू मे in what house*, *काहे से खइवे with what wilt thou eat it?* In the plur., the ordinary forms are used.

435. The general dem. pron. has an alternative dir. form *स* *he, that* for both, sing. and plur. It is generally used instead of *ते*, but has no emph. forms to express which *तेहै*, *तिहई* are used.

436. All correlative pron., exc. the near and far. dem., have long forms, made by adding the pleonastic suff. *ग्रन्* (see §§ 209. 214). They are treated like adj., i. e., they may be

either weak or strong (§ 381), they are alike in the sing. and plur. (§ 386), and they form a strong fem. in ई (§ 384) and a strong masc. obl. in ए (§ 386). Thus *weak forms*: dir. and obl., sg. and pl., com. gen., तवन् or तउन् or तौन् *he*, जवन् or जउन् or जौन् *which*, कवन् or कउन् or कौन् *who*, कौनो *any one*; *strong forms*: sg. and pl., masc. obl. तउने or तौने, जउने or जौने, कउने or कौने; fem. dir. and obl. तउनी or तौनी, जउनी or जौनी, कउनी or कौनी. The existence of the strong masc. dir. forms \*तउना or तौना, etc. is doubtful.

437. *Affinities*. In the following list, forms of the same origin are designated by the same letter. Thus *a, a* denote forms of the same group, *a, a* or *a, a* forms of the same variety of the same group, etc. It will be noticed, that the various groups have been much intermixed, the dir. form of a declension sometimes belonging to one group or variety, and its obl. form to another.

1) *The near dem. pron.*; dir. sg., B. (a) ए or (c) इनि; O. (a) ए or एहि or (a) इहा; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ई or ऐह or इह or यह or Bs. वा; (W. H.) Br. (a) वह or यह or इह or Mw. (a) यो or ओ (masc.) and वा or आ (fem.); P. (a) इह or एह or अह or (f) इत्; S. (a) ही or हे, (com. gen.) or (a) हीउ or हिउ (masc.) and हीअ or हिअ (fem.) or (a) इहो or ईहो or इओ or ईओ (masc.) and इहा or ईहा or इआ or ईआ (fem.) or (e) इको (masc.) and इका (fem.); G. (a) आ or ए; M. (a) हा (masc.), हो (fem.), हे (neut.); N. (a) यो. Obl. sg., B. (a) ए or (a) इहा or (c) ईहा, O. (a) इहा or एहा or एहाँ; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ए or ऐह or Bs. (a) वा or वहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) इहि or वा or वहि or Mw. (c) इण or ई or (γ) इणी or अणी or H. H. (b) इत् or (β) इसे (in the dat. and acc. only); P. (a) इह or अह or (b) इत् or एत् or ऐत् or (c) इन् or एन् or ऐन् (only act.); S. (c) हिन् or इन् (or इना only abl.); G. (a) आ or ए; M. (a) हा or वा (masc.) and हि or ई (fem.) or हास्, हीस् (only dat.); N. (a) ए or (b) यस् or Km. (a) वे or ए. Dir. plur., B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ई or ऐह or यह or इह or Bs. (a) ए or एन्ह or इन्; W. H. (a) यह or (a) वे or वै or ऐ; P. (a) इह or एह or अह; S. (a) ही or हे or (a) इहे or (e) इके; G. (a) आ or एओ; M. (a) हे (masc.), हा



(fem.), ही (neut.); N. (a) इन् or एन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ऐन् or Bs. यन् or इन् or यन् or इन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) इन् or (c) इन्हौ (or इन्हे dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) याँ or याँ or (c) इयाँ or ययाँ; P. (c) इनाँ or इन्हाँ or एनाँ or (a) यहाँ or (c) इनीँ or इन्हीँ or एन्हीँ or एनीँ (act. only); S. (a) इनि or हिनि or (c) इननि or हिननि or इन्हनि or इन्हिनि or इन्हे; G. (a) एओ or (c) एवन्; N. (a) इन् or इन् or Km. (a) यूँ or (c) इन्ूँ or इनो.

2) *The far dem. pron.; dir. sing.*, B. (a) ओ or (c) उनि; O. *deest*; E. H. (a) उ or ओह् or वह् or उह्; (W. H.) Br. (a) वह् or वह् or बुहि or उहि or (a) ओ or Mw. (a) उ or वू (masc.) and वा (fem.); P. (a) उह् or ओह्; S. (a) हू or उ (com. gen.) or हो or ओ (masc.) and हुअ or उअ (fem.); G. (d) ओलो or पेलो (masc.), ओली or पेली (fem.), ओलुँ or पेलुँ (neut.); M. *deest*; N. (a) उ. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) ओ or (a) उहा or (c) उँहा; O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ओ or ओह् or Bs. (a) वहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) उहि or वा or वाहि or (b) उस् or विस् or (β) उसे or वैसे (dat. acc. only) or Mw. (c) उपा or वीँ or (γ) उपीँ or वपीँ; P. (a) उह् or (b) उस् or (c) उन् or ओन् (only act.) or (f) उत्; S. (c) हुन् or उन् or उनिह् or उन्हिअ or उन्हे (or हुनाँ or उनाँ abl. only); G. (d) ओला or पेला (masc.), etc.; M. *deest*; N. (b) उस् or Gw. (a) वे. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) उ or ओह् or वह् or उह् or Bs. (a) ओ or उन्ह्; W. H. (a) वह् or (a) वे or वे; P. (a) उह् or ओह्; S. (a) हू or हो or (a) हूए or उए or होए or उहे; G. (d) ओला or पेला (masc.), etc.; M. *deest*; N. (c) उन्ह् or उन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ओन्ह or Bs. (a) उन्ह or उन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) उन् or उनि or (c) उन्हौँ or (a) विन् or विनि or (c) विन्हौँ (or उन्हेँ or विन्हेँ dat. acc. only) or Mw. (a) वाँ or व्वाँ or (c) उपाँ or वपाँ; P. उनाँ or उन्हाँ (or उनीँ or उन्हीँ act. only); S. (a) हुनि or उनि or (c) हुननि or उननि or उन्हिनि or उन्हिनि; G. (d) ओलाओ or पेलाओ; M. *deest*; N. (a) उन् or उन् or Km. (a) उँ or (c) उन्ूँ or उनो.

3) *The general dem. pron.; dir. sing.*, B. (a) से or (a) ताहा or (c) तिनि or तेहँ; O. (a) से or सेहि; E. H. (a) ते or से or तेह् or तिहि or (c) तवन् or तउन् or तौन्; W. H. (a) तो; P. (a) तो; S. (a) तो (masc.) and ता (fem.); G. (a) ते; M. (a) तो (masc.), ती (fem.), ते (neut.);

N. (a) त्यो or (c) तुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) ताहा or (c) ताँहा; O. (a) ता or (a) ताहा or ताहाँ or ताहिं; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ते or तेह् or Bs. (a) त्या or त्यहि or (c) तवन् or (γ) तउने or तौने; (W. H.) Br. (a) ता or ताहि or तिहि or तिहु or (b) तासु (*gen. only*) or H. H. (b) तिस् or (β) तिसे (*dat. acc. only*) or Mw. (c) तिपा or तिणी or तणी; P. (a) तिह् or (b) तिस् or (c) तिन् (*act. only*) or (f) तित्; S. (a) तँहिं (or तहाँ *abl. only*); G. (a) ते; M. (a) त्या (*masc.*) and ति (*fem.*); N. (a) त or तो or (b) तस् or (c) तुन् or Km. (a) तइ or तै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. (a) ते or तेह् or तिह् or (c) तवन् or तउन् or तौन्; W. H. (a) सो; P. (a) स; S. (a) से; G. (a) ते or तेओ; M. (a) ते (*masc.*), त्या (*fem.*), ती (neut.); N. (c) तुन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) तेन्ह् or (c) तौन् or (γ) तौने or Bs. (a) त्वन्ह् or त्वन् or तेन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) तित् or तिनि or (c) तिन्हो (or तिन्है *dat. acc. only*), or Mw. (a) त्याँ or ताँ or (c) तिपाँ; P. (c) तिनाँ or तिन्हाँ (or तिन्हौँ or तिनीँ *act. only*); S. (a) तिनि or तनि or (c) तिननि or तिनिनि or तिन्ही or तिन्हिनि; G. (a) तेओ or (c) तेम्; M. (a) त्याँ; N. (a) तिन्ह or तिनह् or Km. (a) त्यूँ or (c) तनू or तनन्.

4) *The relat. pron.; dir. sing.*, B. (a) ये or (a) याहा or (c) यिनि; O. (a) ये or येहु or (c) येडु or येडँ or यौ; E. H. (a) जे or जेह् or जिह् or (c) जवन् or जउन् or जौन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जो or जो or (c) जौन or Mw. (a) ज्यो; P. (a) जो; S. जो (*masc.*) and जा (*fem.*); G. (a) जे; M. (a) जो (*masc.*), जी (*fem.*), जे (neut.); N. (a) जो or (c) जुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) याहा or (c) याँहा; O. (a) या or याहिं or याहा; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जे or जेह् or (c) जौन् or (γ) जौने or Bs. (a) ज्वा or ज्वहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) जा or जाहि or जेहि or H. H. (b) जिस् or (β) जिसे (*dat. acc. only*), or Mw. (c) जिपा or जोँ or जपा or जणी; P. (a) जिह् or (b) जिस् or (c) जिन् (*act. only*) or (f) जित्; S. (a) जँहिं; G. (a) जे or (c) जेवन्; M. (a) ज्वा or जा or जे (*masc.*), जि (*fem.*); N. (a) ज or जो or (b) जस् or (c) जुन् or Gw. (a) जइ or जै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जे or जेह् or जिह् or (c) जवन् or जउन् or जौन् or Bs. (a) तेन्ह्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जो or जो or (c) जौन् or Mw. (a) ज्यो; P. (a) जो; S. (a) जे; G. (a) जे or जेओ; M. (a) जे (*masc.*), ज्वा (*fem.*), जो (neut.); N. (c) जुन् or (a) जिन्ह. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) तेन्ह or Bs. (a) त्वन्ह् or त्वन् or तेन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) तित् or तिनि



or (c) जिन्हों (or जिन्हें dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) ज्यों or जों or (c) जिपाँ or जपाँ; P. (c) जिनों or जिन्हों (or जिनोँ or जिन्होँ act. only); S. (a) जिनि or जनि or (c) जिन्हनि or जिन्हिनि or जिननि or जिनिनि; G. (a) जेओ; M. (a) ज्यत; N. (a) जिन्ह or जुन्ह or Km. (a) ज्यू or (c) जनु or जनन्.

5) *The interrog. pron.; dir. sing.*, B. (a) के (com. gen.) or कि or कोन् (both neut.); O. (a) के or केहु or (c) केहु or केउँ or कौँ (all com. gen.) or (a) कि or (b) किस or (c) कण (all neut.); E. H. (a) के or केह or किह or (c) कवन् or कउन् or कौन् (com. gen.) or (a) का or काह (neut.); (W. H.) Br. (a) को or कौ or (c) कौन् or कौनु or Mw. (c) कोण् or कुण् or कण् (all com. gen.), or Br. (a) का or कहा or क्या or Mw. (a) काई or कई (all neut.); P. (a) किहग or (c) कौण् (com. gen.) or (a) की or किआ (neut.); S. (a) केहो or केयो or (d) केरहो or केहरो or केर or (e) कुतागे (all com. gen.) or (a) हा or कोहु or कुहु (neut.); G. (a) श्री (masc.), श्री (fem.), श्रुँ (neut.) or कयो (masc.), कई (fem.), कयुँ (neut.) or (c) कोण् (com. gen.); M. (c) कोण् (com. gen.) or (a) काय् (neut.); N. (a) को or (c) कुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) काहा (com. gen.) or (a) कि or (b) किसे (both neut.); O. (a) का or (a) काहा or काहिँ (all com. gen.); (E. H.) Bh. (a) के or केह (com. gen.) or (a) का or काहे (neut.) or Bs. (a) क्या or क्याहि (com. gen.); (W. H.) Br. (a) का or काहि or किहि or Mw. (c) कुण् or कण् or कौ or कुणी or कणी or H. H. (b) किस् or (β) किसे (dat. acc. only) com. gen., or काहे (neut.); P. (a) किहगे or किह or (b) किस् or (f) किन् or (c) किन् (act. only) com. gen., or कास् or काह (neut.); S. (a) केहे or (d) केरहे or केहिँ or (e) कुतागे (com. gen.); G. (a) के or (c) कोण् (com. gen.); M. (c) कोणा or कोपया or कोपो (or कापी) instr. only) com. gen., or (b) कसा or कस्या or कसा or कपया (all neut.); N. (a) क or को or (b) कस् or (c) कुन् or Gw. (a) कइ or कै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. and W. H. like sing.; P. (a) किहगे or (c) कौण्; S. (a) केहा or (d) केरहा or केरे or (e) कुतागे (com. gen.); G. (a) कया (masc.), कई (fem.), कयों (neut.); M. and N. like sing. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) केन् or Bs. (a) कयन् or कयन् or केन् or किन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) किन् or किनि or (c) किन्हों (or किहें dat. acc. only); Mw. (c) कुपाँ or कपाँ; P. (c) किनों or

किन्हीं (or किनी or किन्हीं act. only); S. (a) केहनि or (d) केहनि or (a) किनि or कनि or (c) किन्हनि or किन्हनि or किनि or किनिनि; M. (c) कोपा (com. gen.) or (b) कस or कस (neut.); N. (a) कुह or Gw. (a) क्यू or कनू or कनू.

6) *The indefinite pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) केह; O. (a) केहि or (c) कोपासि or कउपासि; (E. H.) Bh. (a) केहू or (c) कौनो or Bs. (a) केउ or कोउ; W. H. (a) कोई or कोउ or (c) कौनो; P. (a) कोई; S. (a) को or कोई (masc.), का or काई (fem.), को (neut.); G. (a) कोइ; M. (c) कोपो or कोपही; N. (a) कोहि. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) काहा; O. (a) काहा; E. H. like *dir.*; (W. H.) Br. (a) काहू or (b) किसू or किसी or (c) कौनो or Mw. (a) को or (c) कुपो or कपो; P. (b) कसे or किसी; S. (a) कौहि or कौहि; G. (a) कोइ; M. (c) कोपा or कोपहा; N. (a) कोहि or (b) कसै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H., W. H., P. like *sing.*; S. (a) के or केई or कई or कई; G. (a) कई; M. (c) कोपो. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. and W. H. like *sing.*; P. (b) कसे or किसी or (c) किन्हीं; S. (c) किने or कने or कनी or कन्हीं; M. (c) कोपहैं.

438. *Derivation.* It will be observed that in the preceding list there are six principal types of forms, which I have severally marked with a, b, c, d, e, f, and the characteristic features of which are the letters ह (occasionally elided), च, न (or ण), ल (or र), क (or ख), त respectively. The derivation of these forms is involved in many difficulties, the explanation of which, however, in most cases (I think) will be found to be the fact, that the forms which are now used as simple pron. were originally those of pron. adj. of quality or quantity.

1) The pron. of quant. are in Skr. इयत् (or Ved. ईयत्), नावत्, वावत्, कियत् (Ved. कौवत्) so large or so much, etc. In Pr. these become एव, तेव, जेव, केव (cf. H. C. 4, 407. 408) or एग, तेग, जेग, केग (K. I. 10. 11. 12 in Ls. 450. 451), or slightly modified इव, तिव, जिव, किव or इग, तिग, जिग, किग (K. I. 10. 11. 12); sometimes they are variously spelled ऐव or ईव, etc. (H. C. 3, 397. 401) or एख or इख, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 418); again they may be shortened to ए, ते, जे, के (see Wb. Bh. 422). Thus the Ap. Pr. uses the first set एव, etc., with the addition of the pleon. suff. उ.



as quant. pron., एवमु, तेवमु, etc. (H. C. 4, 407, 408 and see § 218), and S. and P. similarly use the shortened forms ए, ते, etc. with the pleon. suff. डो or डा; viz. S. एडो, तेडो, etc., P. एडा, तेडा, etc. Again G. uses the set एव, तेव, etc., itself without adding any pleon. suff., as qual. pron., एवो, तेवो, etc. But already in the Ap. Pr. these quant. (or qual.) pron. had come to be commonly used as *simple pron.*; so especially the bases इम *he* or *this* (H. C. 4, 361, 3, 72; it is also so used in Skr. in the obl. cases of इदम्) and किम् *what* (K. I. 13 in Ls. 450); again as *pron. adv.*, viz. एव, तेव *thus*, etc. (H. C. 4, 401; एव or एवम्, an acc. sg., occur even in Skr.), or एवम्ह *so, thus* (H. C. 4, 420, a loc. sg. cf. H. C. 4, 334) and एवम्हि *now* (H. C. 4, 420, also a loc. sg., cf. H. C. 4, 357). Again the shortened bases (क्वि etc.) occur in the Ap. Pr. abl. sg. क्विहे (H. C. 4, 356, with the abl. suff. हे of nouns in इ, cf. H. C. 4, 341), and perhaps in the pron. adv. तिह, त्रिह, क्विह (H. C. 4, 401, lit. abl. sing. with suff. ह, shortened for हे). Again the shortened forms ते (ते?), से are mentioned by Mā. as nom. sg. (जे से एस सुना यत्तदेतदा । एवां सुना सह जे से एस इत्य् एते सुः । ते (?) पुरिसो महिला वणां वा । एवं से एस »). The latter are used in all E. Gds. and in G. as nom. sg.; thus E. H. ए, ते or से, ते, के. By adding the regular obl. sing. suff. ह (shortened for Ap. हो or हु, see § 365, 6) the E. H. obl. forms ऐह, तेह, जेह, केह are derived and by adding the regular obl. plur. suff. न्ह (see §§ 365, 4, 368, 5) the plur. obl. forms ऐन्ह, तेन्ह, etc. The older form in हु is occasionally met with, as तिहु (Kl. 137, e). The corresponding obl. form made with the gen. or obl. suff. हि (shortened for Ap. हे, see §§ 365, 6, 368, 2) is found in Bs. and Br.; thus Br. वाहि (for \*एहि) or इहि, तेहि or तिहि, etc., Bs. यहि (for \*इहि), त्वहि (for \*तिहि), etc. Again (just as with nouns, see § 365, 6) the obl. suff. ह or हि may be dropped in E. H.; thus Bh. ए, ते, etc., Bs. या, त्या (= ए, ते), etc., Br. या, ता, etc. In the obl. pl. of Bs. the suff. न्ह usually drops the ह (as in E. H. and Br. nouns, see § 368, 5); thus Bs. इन्ह or यन्ह or इन् or यन्, etc. In Br. it optionally ends in इ; e. g. Br. इन् or इनि, तिन् or तिनि, etc. (cf. O. H. कविन्ह or कविन्हि, Br.

कविन् or कविनि, obl. pl. of कवि *poet*). In P., also, the short obl. sg. forms in ह् occur; e. g., इह्, तिह्, etc.; and, on the other hand, in S. the short obl. pl. forms in नि; as इनि or हिनि (transposed for \*इन्हि), तिनि or तनि (with अ for इ, see § 26). As regards the S. obl. sg. इन् or हिन्, etc. and the Br. obl. pl. इन्हौ, etc., P. इना or इन्हा, etc., see below Nro. 2. — Just as the forms of the near demonstr. pron. have arisen from the shortened form ए of the old quant. pron., so those of the far dem. pron. have originated from the long form of the quant. pron. Thus the E. H. obl. sg. ओह् is a contraction of \*अवह, shortened (see § 26) from the Ap. Pr. gen. \*एवहु or \*एवहो. The other E. H. obl. form ओ has dropped the final ह्. The dir. sing. ओ or उ is a contraction of the Ap. Pr. nom. sg. \*एव or \*एनु. In G. the latter contracts to आ *that* (abl. आ यी *from that*). There is, also, in H. a fuller obl. form वाहु (Kl. 137, d) for \*ओहु = \*एवहु; and in Br. there is the obl. form वाहि for \*ओहि = Ap. \*एवहि or \*एवहे. And so forth as to the rest of the forms of the far dem. pron. and their derivatives; they are exactly analogous to those of the near dem. pron., as explained above. Here, also, must be mentioned the S. neut. interrog. pron. कोहु or कुहु *what, why* (Tr. 208); it is an obl. form and contracted form \*कवहु for Ap. \*केवहु or \*केवहो.

2) Among the Ap. Pr. quant. pron. एवहु, तेवहु, जेवहु, केवहु (H. C. 4, 407, 408, see Nro 1) the last one is already used in the Ap. as a simple pron. But it shortens एव to अव (cf. § 26 and Nro 1, p. 291) and changes उ to ण (cf. § 106), and thus becomes कवणु (H. C. 4, 367). In E. H. it appears as कवन or कउन or कोन्, in W. H. कौन् or कौन्, P. कोण्, G. and M. कोण, Mw. कुण or कण, N. कुन्. Similarly Ap. तेवहु becomes in G. तेवन्, in E. H. तवन or तउन or तौन्, W. H. तौन्, N. तुन्; and Ap. जेवहु becomes in E. H. तवन or तउन or तौन्, N. तुन्. E. H. makes a regular obl. form कौन् or कौनि, representing the Ap. gen. sg. कवण or कवणहे (H. C. 4, 425) with or without the gen. suff. हे. The Ap. एवहु gives rise to the B. उनि *that*; the intermediate forms G. एवन्, P. ओन् or उन्, Mw. उण् occur only as obl. forms sing.;



Mw. has also the alternative obl. sg. उणी or वणी beside उण्, just like E. H. कौन् and कोने. Mw. possesses also the corresponding plur. obl. forms उणीं or वणीं; and similarly in the other pron., as obl. sg. कुण् or कण् or कुणी or कणी, obl. pl. कुणीं or कणीं. The latter are regularly contracted from the Ap. Pr. gen. pl. कवणह्, etc. These obl. pl. occur, also, in P. उनौ or उन्हौ, Br. उन्हौ (= Ap. gen. \*अवणहुं = एवउहुं), S. उननि or उन्हनि or (with ह् transposed) हुननि. The Br. possesses also as plur. obl. forms उन्है (used only in the sense of the dat. and acc.), in O. H. उनहिं which are made by the Ap. obl. pl. suff. हिं (see § 367, 2). Corresponding to the Ap. quant. pron. एवउ, etc., S. has the shorter forms एउ, तेउ, तेउ, केउ. Just as the Ap. एवउ becomes in B. a simple pron. उनि, so एउ, तेउ, तेउ by changing उ to ण् give rise to the B. simple pron. इनि, तिनि, विनि (read विनि)<sup>1</sup>). This set exists also in P. एन् or इन्, Mw. इण्, S. इन, etc., which, however, occur only as obl. forms sing. There are, also, the fuller obl. sg. forms, Mw. इणी or अणी, S. इनिह (also spelled इन्हिअ or इन्ही) or इन्हे (for \*इनहे), N. इनह or इनहे (in the plur. इनह-ह or इनहे-ह, also spelled इन्ह-ह, इन्हे-ह, retaining the obl. suff. हे or ह, see § 364, 3)<sup>2</sup>). There are, also, the corresponding obl. pl. forms Mw. इणीं or अणीं, Km. इनू or इनो, P. एनौ or एन्हौ or इनौ or इन्हौ, Br. इन्हौ, S. इन्हे or इननि or इन्हनि or हिननि (probably with an anomalously transposed ह्, for इनन्हि, cf. § 368, 5). Moreover, Br. has a dat. इन्है, O. H. इनहिं, and P. an act. एन्हौ or इन्हौ. The obl. forms in न्हौ, न्हौ, न्है contain the Ap. Pr. gen. pl. or obl. suff. हं, हुं, हिं respectively (see § 365, 7, being contractions of \*नहं, \*नहुं, \*नहिं). These remarks apply, *mutatis mutandis*, also to the analogous forms of the relat., interrog., and gen. dem. pron. in Mw., P. and S. — Even the original forms एउ, तेउ, etc. occur in S. as simple pronom. adv.; viz. in

1) It should be noticed that here, again, the far dem. उनि is founded on the longer form एवउ, but the near dem. on the shorter एउ.

2) S., also, has an obl. sg. हिन् which stands for \*इन्ह = इनह.

the obl. form एउ or एउहँ or एउहुँ *hither*, तेउ or तेउहँ or तेउहुँ *thither*, केउ or केउहँ or केउहुँ *whither*<sup>1</sup>). Some of these exist, also, in E. H. (with the usual change of इ to ए), एने *hither*, तेने *thither*, तेने *whither-soever*, केने *whither*.

3) The Ap. Pr. quantit. pron. एव, तेव or तिव or तेम, जेव or जिव or जेम, etc. (see Nro 1) seem to have also produced the following Gd. simple pron.; viz. O. येउ, केउ, G. तेव, तेव (also spelled जेउ, तेउ or जेओ, तेओ) or जेम, तेम which, however, appear to be used only as obl. plur. forms (see E.d. 41. 43); also G. कओ m. (कई f., कउं n.), probably for \*कओ, shortened from the strong form केओ, which occurs in G. as a qualit. pron.; S. has केओ m. (कई f., Tr. 209); the corresponding weak form \*कउ occurs in Br. कौ or को, N. को, and is used alike for masc. and fem., sing. and plur. (just like Ap. एहु, see Nro 6). Similarly N. has त्यो (for \*तिवो) and जो, Mw. ज्यो or जो, Br. तौ, P. जो; M. also has masc. तौ, but makes a regular fem. जो and neut. ते, and obl. sg. ज्यो or जे, obl. pl. ज्यौ, dir. pl. ते, ज्यो, जौ; a fact which points to their origin from the strong forms \*जओ, \*जई, \*जय. To the M. obl. pl. ज्यौ corresponds the Mw. obl. pl. ज्यौ, Gw. ज्यौ. The S. has m. जो, but a rather anomalous f. जा, pl. ते e. g. Exactly analogous are M. sg. तो, ती, ते, pl. ते, त्या, ती; obl. sg. त्या, ति, pl. त्यौ, Mw. त्यौ, Gw. त्यौ. The G. neut. कउ was used already in the Ap. Pr. as pronom. adv. कउ *why* (H. O. 4, 416). Also तउ, जउ are mentioned as Ap. Pr. acc. (= nom.) and gen. sg. forms by Md. in the following two sūtras: वन्नदोर् अमा तउ तउ । अमा सह वन्नदोर् तउ तउ स्यात् । तउ ममसि तउ हेमि । i. e., *yat tad* become *jaū tau* in the acc. sg.; e. g., what thou askest, that I give; and उतिउम्यौ तउ तउ च । वन्नदोर् इत्य एव । चकारात् पत्ते प्राकृतवत् । i. e., *yat tad* become *jaū tau* in the abl. and gen. sg. or they have the regular Pr. forms<sup>2</sup>). I believe, N. is the only Gd., which

1) The forms in हँ, हुँ are, properly, obl. plur., but used as sing.

2) My MS. reads वन्नदो मा तउ पतिउ । अमा सह वन्नदो तउ तउ स्यात् । तउ म तउ तउ; there can be little doubt, that तउ, तउ (or perhaps तउ, तउ) is the true reading as shown by the succeeding sūtra, where the MS. reads तउ,



admits *तो, तो* as obl. forms; viz. in the abl. sg. *तो बाट* or *तो सँग* *from which*, *तो बाट* or *तो सँग* *from him*. — In G., *एम, तेम* *thus*, etc. occur also as pron. adv. (Bs. II, 336, 337); so also in O. H. *केम* or *केम* *how*, etc.<sup>1</sup>). B. adds the pleon. suff. *अन्* (§§ 209, 214); thus *एमन्* or *एमनि* or *एमने*, *तेमन्* or *तेमनि* or *तेमने* *thus*, etc. (see S. Ch. 216).

4) From the Ap. Pr. quantit. pron. *एवडु, तेवडु*, etc. are also derived the G. far dem. pron. *ओलो* or *पेलो* *he, that* and the pronom. adv. *अइले* or *ऐल्हे* *now*, *तइले* or *तैल्हे* *there*, etc. by the change of *इ* to *लृ*. Thus Ap. *एवडो* becomes \**अवडो*, \**अवल्लो* or contr. *ओलो* or *पेलो* (for *वेलो* with an anomalous hardening of *वृ* to *पृ*). The N. *अइले* or *ऐल्हे* (for \**एल्लहे*) is a loc. (or obl. form) sing. made with the obl. suff. *हे* and is = Ap. Pr. *एवउहे* (see § 469). The Pr. loc. sg. *ताला* *there*, *त्राला* *where*, *काला* *where* (H. C. 3, 65) are probably to be explained in a similar manner. Possibly the S. interrog. *केह* *who* may be identified with the short quant. pron. *केडु* by the change of *इ* to *रृ*; but it may be also (as Tr. 206) the curtailment of the Ap. qual. pron. \**केरिडु*, a slight modification of the ordinary Pr. *केरिसो*, Skr. *कीदृषा*. The Ap. strong form \**केरिहो* becomes in S. the simple pron. *केहो* *what* (usually spelled *केहरो* with transposed *इ*). Substituting in *केरिहो* the long Ap. form *केव* for *के*, and the original *दृ* for *रृ*, we obtain *केवदिहो* (cf. Pr. *कीदिसो* Ls. 116); and similarly *एवदिहो* or *एदिहो* for the ordinary Pr. *एरिसो* or \**एदिसो*, Skr. *ईदृषा*. Here the palatal vowel *इ* changes *दृ* to *त्रृ*, and thus in S. the Ap. \**एदिहो* and \**एवदिहो* become the simple pron. *इको* *this* (for \**इत्तिहो*, just as S. *केहो* for *केरिहो*) and *उको* *that* respectively; the one being the near, the other the far dem. pron., corresponding to the short and long तउ. In the original MS., which was in the Opiya characters उ (or उँ) would be hardly distinguishable from इ.

1) E. g., Chand Pr. Rāj 25, 28 *कहे "नरु सो" राजन बर प्रेम । मह समपन या करिहि नु केन* i. e., says the king to the actor, full of affection: how will she make kinship with me? or 1, 82 *त्ररो "ताप उधरो" केन नय ।* i. e., I am hot with fever; how can I remove it, oh Lord?

qual. pronominal forms. Similarly the S. कुत्राडो *what* stands for the Ap. \*केवदिहअउउ (with the pleon. suff. अउउ, see § 217, H. C. 4, 429). In H. there is a pron. adv. कुत्रा *where*. In the Ap. there is a qualif. pron. एत्ताहु *such-like* (K. I. 5, see Ls. 449, 455) = Skr. एतादृशः. In P. there is the qual. pron. अत्रिहा or अत्रेहा *of this sort* (Ld. 19, 56).

5) The pron. of qual. are in Skr. ईदृशः, तादृशः *such-like*, etc. They become in the Ap. Pr. एहु, तेहु, नेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or (in the st. form) एहो, केहो etc. The first of these एहो or एहु or एह was already used in Pr. as a simple pron. *he* or *this* (H. C. 4, 362)<sup>1)</sup>, and it occurs in most Gds. as the dir. form of the near dem.; thus P. एह् or इह्, Br. इहु or यहु or यह्, E. H. इह or ई (for \*इअ dropping ह्) or ऐह्. O. has एहि which appears to be founded on the form \*एहे mentioned by K. I. 8 in Ls. 449, and is Ap. Mg. (see § 46). The S. हो or हे or हिउ (for इह, एह्, इहु) transposes the ह्; and the S. इओ (for इहो) elides it; so does also the N. ओ (for इओ) and Mw. ओ; and the Mw. ओ drops the initial व् of ओ. In M. the initial इ or ए is dropped; thus हा m., हो f., हे n. (for Ap. \*इहउ, \*इहिआ, इहयं, all st. forms) with a regular obl. sg. हा, pl. हाँ, and dir. pl. हे m., हा f., हो n. The Ap. Pr. qual. pron. केहो occurs in S. as the adjectival simple pron. केहो (fem. केहो) or (eliding ह्) केओ *which* (Tr. 209); so also in G., where, however, ए is shortened to अ, thus G. कओ (fem. कई, n. कई). But perhaps these S. and G. forms are rather to

1) H. C. limits all three forms to the nom. and acc. sg., but Md. only एहो and एहु, while he appears to allow एह for all cases; thus नदण चैल सुवा। सुवा सह तदो (दश्चा ते सेअ?) एहः स्वात्। एह तणो वाला तणो वा। चकाराण् त्वाँक्रियम् ॥ i. e., *tad* in declension becomes *cha* or (*ima*) as before mentioned. The reading in brackets is doubtful; perhaps it is to include the pron. अदसु; as in the succeeding rule: एहो एहु च स्वम्भ्यां। स्वम्भ्यां सह तददसोइ एहो एहु च स्वातां। एहो सोहेइ देकख वा। एष प्रोभते। एतं पप्रोति। एवं एहु। चकाराण् त्वाँक्रि च ॥ i. e., in the nom. and acc. sg., *tad* and *adas* become *cho* or *chu* or as before mentioned (*cha*). Md. is correct; for *cha*, being a pure base, may serve as an obl. form, while एहो and एहु are proper nominatives.



be connected with the base केव (see Nro 3). In P. the pleon. suff. ङ is added, thus केवङ *which*, केवङङ *whichever* (fem. ० ङी). — Connected with the Ap. Pr. केहो is also the W. H. (so-called) neut. interrog. pron. कहा or P. किआ *what*, with ए shortened to इ and ञ. They are really obl. forms. The P. किआ stands for \*किहा and is contracted in H. H. to का. S. transposes ह (i. e., किआ *khia*, § 132, note) and changes कि *khi* to छ *chh* by the influence of the palatal इ, thus making छा (Tr. 208). Similarly G. changes \*किहो, \*किहो, \*किहुं into घो, ग्री, गुं (for हो, ही, हुं, see § 11, for \*किघो, \*किई, \*किई). — Here is also to be mentioned the peculiar E. and W. Gd. (exc. G.) general dem. pron. से or सो, O. also सेहि *that*, which I am inclined to derive from the Skr. सदृशः *like*. It would become in the Ap. Pr. \*सेहो or \*नेहु or \*सेह, just as Ap. एहो, एहु, एह for ईदृशः; and it would easily acquire the meaning of *such-like* in correlation with the relat. pron. ते or जो. It is commonly (Bs. II, 314) identified with the Pr. nom. sg. सो (H. C. 3, 3) or the Pr. gen. sg. से (H. C. 3, 81). But the Gd. से is *never* an obl. form; and both the Gd. से and सो are used indifferently in the nom. sg. and plur. Besides the S. सो forms a fem. सा and plur. से; and the O. सेहि seems to be an analogous form to O. एहि. Possibly the E. H. nom. sg. and pl. ते, ते, के may be identified with the Ap. qual. pron. तेहु, तेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or तेह, तेह, केह, by dropping the final ह; for a form तेह, etc. appears in the emphatic forms तेहै, etc.

6) The same Skr. qual. pron. इदृशः, etc. also become अइसो, तइसो, तइसो, कइसो (H. C. 4, 403) or अइसु, तइसु, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 331, 332) in the Ap. Pr. In Gd. अइ is changed to ऐ or ए or इ or ञ; thus strong forms: W. H. ऐसो, तैसो, P. and H. H. ऐसा, तैसा, N. यसो (for \*ऐसो or \*इसो, see §§ 71, 171), तसो, M. असा, तसा, etc. But the weak forms तसु or तसू, तसु or तसू, etc. also occur in Br. (see Bates' Hindi Diet.) and O. H. Thus Chand in Pr. Raj 24, 52 याँन याँन नर उँडै। चंद तस उल्लस पाइय ॥ i. e., *from place to place men fly up* (i. e., *like birds*), *such a simile has Chand devised*. In modern Gd., however, the weak forms have become

simple pron. Thus P. ऐस् or एस् or इस्, तिस्, N. यस्, तस् *he* or *this*, etc. They are found only as obl. forms. The corresponding fuller obl. forms in ए also occur; thus H. H. has हस्ते, तस्ते (as dat. acc. to *him* or *him*) besides इस्, तिस्, etc., (just as E. H. कोन् and कोने, see Nro. 2; contr. for Ap. अइसहि or अइसहे, see § 365, 6). B. has the gen. sg. किसे-रू of *what*, dat. loc. किसे to or in *what* (S. Ch. 122; just as B. देवे-रू of *god*, देवे to or in *god* of देव). M. has not only the sing. obl. कसा or कसा (= Ap. Mg. gen. कइसाह or कइसावाह, Skr. कीदृशस्य or कीदृशकस्य, see § 365, 1), but also the pl. obl. कसाँ or कसाँ (= Ap. Mg. gen. कइसाहँ, etc., § 365, 4) of *whomsoever* (see Man. 54; just like M. obl. sg. देवा, pl. देवाँ of देव *god*). The existence of these fuller obl. forms shows that the shorter ones (तिस्, त्तिस्, etc.) cannot, probably, be identified with the Pr. gen. तस्स, तस्स, Skr. तस्य, यस्य, etc. (as Bs. II, 315).

7) Again the before mentioned (see Nro. 1) Skr. quant. pron. इयत्, तावत्, etc. are changed in the Ap. Pr. to एत्तिउ (H. C. 4, 341), तेत्तिउ, तेत्तिउ, केत्तिउ (cf. H. C. 4, 383) or, in the strong form, to एत्तिओ, तेत्तिओ, etc. (H. C. 4, 395, cf. 2, 157, for \*एत्तिओउ, etc.). The latter become in W. H. इन्नौ, तिन्नौ, etc., H. H. इन्ना, तित्ता, O. एत्ते, तेत्ते, etc. (Bs. II, 332); the former in S. एत्ति°, तेत्ति°, etc., G. एट्ट°, तेट्ट°, etc., W. H. and P. इत्त°, तित्त°, etc., E. H. ऐत्त°, तेत्त°, etc., B. एत्, तेत्, etc. (S. Ch. 85). As a rule, these weak forms add some pleon. suff. (ना or रो or लो); thus P. इत्तना, तित्तना, etc., S. एत्तिरो, तेत्तिरो, etc., G. एट्टलो, etc. (see §§ 452, 453). But the plain weak form is used in P. as a simple pron.; thus इत्, तित् *he* or *that*, तित् *which*, कित् *who* (Ld. 22, 66); it occurs, however, only in the obl. sing. (e. g., gen. तित् दा of *this*). Both these shorter obl. sg. and the corresponding fuller obl. sg. forms are used as pron. adv.; thus Br. इत् or इत्ते *here*, तित् or तित्ते *there*, etc. P. इत्ते, तित्ते, etc., S. इत्ति or इत्ते or इत्ति or इत्ते, तित्ति or तित्ते or तित्ति or तित्ते, etc. The forms इत्ति, इत्ते, etc. are contracted from इत्तिहि or इत्तिहे, तित्तिहि or तित्तिहे, etc. These are loc. sg., made with the Ap. Pr. obl. suff. हे (see § 365, 6), and occur even in the Ap. Pr.



itself, as एन्हे *here*, तेन्हे *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 436)<sup>1</sup>). By the side of the shorter forms एन्नि, केन्नि, etc., Pr. uses also the longer forms एवन्नि, केवन्नि, etc. (see Wb. Bh. 422); and as Pr. एन्नि originates the W. H. near quant. pron. इन्नी, so Pr. \*एवन्नि (shortened \*अवन्नि, \*योन्नि) becomes the far quant. W. H. उन्नी *that much*, H. H. उन्ना. The corresponding weak forms are S. योन्ति, G. ऋत्, W. H. and P. उत्, E. H. योत्, B. अत् (S. Ch. 85, see §§ 452. 453); and the pron. adv. are, Br. उत् or उतै, P. उत्ते, S. उति or उते or उत्ति or उत्ते; and P. uses उत् as a simple pron. in the obl. cases; e. g., उत् हा *of him, of that*.

8) The following Gd. pron. forms appear to be remnants of the old simple pron. The Skr. gen. sg. तस्य, यस्य, etc. become in the Ap. Pr. तस्स, जस्स or तास, ज्ञास or तासु (also तस्सु H. C. 4, 419), ज्ञासु (H. C. 4, 358. 3, 63). In O. H. the following instances of the latter two kinds of forms occur, तास or तासु and ज्ञास or ज्ञासु<sup>2</sup>), in Br. only तासु and ज्ञासु (Kl. 122, a); and P. has कास् as the obl. form of the neut. interrog. pron. (*of what*, Ld. 20, b). But in the Ap. Pr. the gen. or obl. form is also made by adding the ordinary obl. suff. हो or हे, before which the vowel may be either long or short; thus तहे, कहे (H. C. 4, 359) or ताहे, काहे (H. C. 3, 65), एन्हे (H. C. 4, 436) or एन्नाहे (H. C. 3, 82. 2, 134); again ताहो, काहो or ताह, काह, etc.<sup>3</sup>). Some of the forms with ऋ

1) Perhaps the Ap. Pr. forms एत्तु *here*, तेत्तु *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 404) may be similarly explained as contr. from एन्नु, तेन्नु, etc., made with the abl. or obl. suff. हु (H. C. 4, 336, see § 365, 6); and the Ap. Pr. forms जन्नु *where*, तन्नु *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 404) as acc. neut. in उ (H. C. 4, 331) or as containing the abl. suff. ती or तु (= Skr. तस्). Some of these Ap. forms have been received into the literary Pr.; viz. एत्त (for एन्नु = एन्नु) or एन्नाहे or एन्नी, see H. C. 3, 82. 83. Vr. 6, 20. 21, where they are expressly described as being abl. sing.; and जत्त, तत्त, कत्त, see H. C. 2, 161 and Wb. Bh. 422 (कत्त and एत्त = \*एन्नुहे abl. pl., § 365, 7).

2) Thus Chand, Pr. R. 25, 16 तास राज समीपं । एहो नर विद्या उचारं ॥ i. e., *near that king I remain to practise the art of the actor.*

3) Mā. says: दीर्घो ऽस्ते वा उपादेशो । स्वयन्नि उपादेशो एषां (i. e. किंयन्नां) दीर्घो वा सान् । काहो । काह । कान् । काह । काह । एवं यन्नाः ॥ स्ते । कस्स । तस्स ॥

are preserved in Gd.; thus ताहि, तहि, काहि (for \*ताहे, etc.) and ताहु, तहु, काहु (for ताहो, etc.) in Br. (Kl. 122. 226) and, as the obl. form of the so-called neut. interrog., काहे in E. H. and Br., and काह् in P.; in O. H. also ताह् or ता<sup>1</sup>). The Ap. Pr. loc. sg. is तहिं, तहिं, कहिं (H. C. 4, 357); apparently these have become general obl. forms in S. ताहिं, तहिं, कहिं, and with आ in O. ताहिं, तहिं, काहिं, and perhaps serve as neut. interrog. pron. in Mw. काहिं or काई (dropping ह्) and also in the Ap. Pr. काई (H. C. 4, 367) and काई (H. C. 4, 426).

9) The indefinite pron. are made by adding the emphatic particles उ or ई (see § 550) to the interrog. pron. Thus E. H. केहु *any one* = केहु + उ *kehu + u* and कौनो = कौन + उ *kauna + u*, M. कोणो = कोण् + ई *kon + i*, H. H. कोई = को + ई *ko + i*.

439. *Declension.* Correlative pron. are declined regularly like nouns, with the following two exceptions: 1) those of the short form (ई, ऊ, ते, ने, के, § 433) may optionally use in the gen. the aff. कर or करा. This affix is treated precisely like an adj.; i. e., it follows the gender, number and case of the governing noun. Thus कर is the weak form, of com. gen. and incapable of inflexion, but करा is the masc. st. form (§ 381), making a fem. करी (§ 384) and obl. masc. करे (§ 386), fem. करी, both in the

i. e., *ka, ya, ta* may become *ká, yá, tá* before the gen. suff., exc. when the latter is *ssa*. — It will be observed, that हे is a general obl. suff.; for in H. C. 4, 359 (तहे) it is a gen. suff., in H. C. 3, 65 (ताहे) and H. C. 4, 436 (एतहे) and H. C. 2, 134 (एताहे) it is a loc. suff.; in H. C. 3, 82 (एताहे) it is an abl. suff. Moreover, हे may be shortened to हि and ह्, see H. C. 2, 161 (तहि, तह); and ह् or त्य is an abl. suff. in H. C. 3, 82 (एत्य = \*एतह), but a loc. suff. in H. C. 2, 161 (तत्य = \*तेतह).

1) Thus Chand Pr. Rāj 25, 36 न न हंस धीर् न न सुख ताह् = i. e., *neither his soul nor his felicity was firm*; again 25, 16 ता ग्रह सु पात्र घनेक गुन = i. e., *in his house is a daughter of many virtues*. — It may be observed, that the so-called neut. interrog. pron. is, in reality, merely some obl. form of the common interrog. pron.; thus M. has काह् (for \*काहि = \*काई); Bs. has काह् and Bh. का (for काह्) *what*.



sing. and plur. (§ 386); but करे may be used, though anomalously, as a fem. obl. The strong forms are not commonly used in the nom., nor the weak forms in the obl. cases. Practically, therefore, the aff. are; dir. form करू c. g., obl. करे m. or करी f.; just like कै and के. It should be observed also that the latter aff. only (but not करू, करे) can be used with the full pron. obl. forms in इ (viz. ऐह्, ओह्, तेह्, तेह्, केह्) and with the emph. obl. forms in ही (as ऐही, ओही, etc. § 433). Thus dir. form sg. or pl. के करू घर or केह् कै घर or rarely के करा घर *whose house* or *houses*; के करू मेहरू or केह् कै मं or rarely के करी मं *whose wife* or *wives*; obl. sg. के करे घर मे or केह् के घर मे or rarely के करू घर मे *in whose house*; के करी मेहरू से or केह् के मेहरू से or rarely के करू or के करे मं से *from whose wife*; obl. pl. के करे घरान् मे or केह् के घरान् मे *in whose houses*; के करी मेहरान् से or केह् के मं से or rarely के करे मं से *from whose wives*; etc. — 2) There is no acc. proper, identical with the nom., but only the (improper) acc. formed with the dat. aff. के. Thus *whom* is के के or केह् के or कवन् के or कौने के, but not simply के or कवन्.

440. Optionally a sort of pleon. declension may be made, by adding the case-aff. to the ordinary obl. form of the gen. in ए. In the *khari bhāshā*, however, this is not commonly done, exc. in the loc.; e. g., sg. ओ करे मे *in him*, pl. ओह् करे मे *in them*, etc.

441.

1. Short form.

a) Simple form: ई *he, this*.

|              | Sing.  | Simple plur.                       | Comp. plur.      |
|--------------|--|------------------------------------|------------------|
| nom.         | ई  | ई                                  | ई लोग्           |
| acc., dat.   | ए के or ऐह् के                               | ऐह् के                             | ऐह् लोगन् के     |
| instr., abl. | ए से or ऐह् से                               | ऐह् से                             | ऐह् लोगन् से     |
| gen.         | ए के, के or ऐह् के, के<br>or ए करू, करी, करे | ऐह् के, के<br>or ऐह् करू, करी, करे | ऐह् लोगन् के, के |
| loc.         | ए मे or ऐह् मे<br>or ए करे मे                | ऐह् मे<br>or ऐह् करे मे            | ऐह् लोगन् मे     |

b) Emphatic form: इहै or इहो *even he, even this.*

Singular.

|              |   |   |
|--------------|---|---|
| nom.         | इहै or इहई                                | इहो or इहउ                                |
| acc., dat.   | एही के                                    | एहू के                                    |
| instr., abl. | एही से                                    | एहू से                                    |
| gen.         | एही कै or एही करू<br>or ए करै or ए करे ही | एहू कै or एहू करू<br>or ए करै or ए करे हू |
| loc.         | एही मे or ए करै मे<br>or ए करे ही मे      | एहू मे or ए करै मे<br>or ए करे हू मे      |

Plural.

|              |   |  |
|--------------|---|--|
| nom.         | इहै or इहई  | ऐन्ह हूँ   |
| acc., dat.   | ऐन्ह ही के  | ऐन्ह हूँ के  |
| instr., abl. | ऐन्ह ही से  | ऐन्ह हूँ से  |
| gen.         | ऐन्ह ही कै or ऐन्ह ही करू<br>or ऐन्ह करै or ऐन्ह करे ही | ऐन्ह हूँ कै or ऐन्ह हूँ करू<br>or ऐन्ह करै or ऐन्ह करे हूँ |
| loc.         | ऐन्ह ही मे or ऐन्ह करै मे<br>or ऐन्ह करे ही मे          | ऐन्ह हूँ मे or ऐन्ह करै मे<br>or ऐन्ह करे हूँ मे           |

*Note:* Like ई are declined उ *that*, ते *he*, ते *which*, के *who*; only substituting उ, ओ, उ, ओ and ते, ति, ते, etc. for ई, ए, इ, ऐ respectively. — All forms with ऐ or ओ may, optionally, be spelled with इ or उ; e. g., ऐन्ह के or इन्ह के *to these*, and ओन्ह के or उन्ह के *to those*, etc.

442. 2. Long form: तवन् or तउन् or तौन् *he, this.*

Sing. and simple plur.

|              | Com. gen.   | Fem.        |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| nom.         | तवन्        | तउनी        |
| acc., dat.   | तौने के     | तौनी के     |
| instr., abl. | तौने से     | तौनी से     |
| gen.         | तौने कै, के | तौनी कै, के |
| loc.         | तौने मे     | तौनी मे     |

Compound plural.

|            | Com. gen.                  | Fem.                       |
|------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| nom.       | तौनेलोग                    | तौनीलोग                    |
| acc., dat. | तौनेलोग के or तौनेलोगन् के | तौनीलोग के or तौनीलोगन् के |



Com. gen.

Fem.

instr., abl. तौनेलोग् से or तौनेलोगन् से तौनीलोग् से or तौनीलोगन् से  
 gen. तौनेलोग् कै, के or तौनेलोगन् कै, के तौनीलोग् कै, के or तौनीलोगन् कै, के  
 loc. तौनेलोग् मे or तौनेलोगन् मे तौनीलोग् मे or तौनीलोगन् मे

*Note:* Like तवन् are declined तवन् *which* and कवन् *who*; also आपन् *own* (§ 449). — Their forms may, optionally, be spelled with चव or अउ or औ according to § 34; e. g., तउने के or तौने के *to this*.

442a. Short form: क or केहू. Long form: कौनो *any one*.

Sing. and simple plur.

Compound plural.

|                |             |             |   |              |              |
|----------------|-------------|-------------|---|--------------|--------------|
| nom. के        | केहू        | कौनो        | केलोग्                                      | केहू लोग्    | कौनो लोग्    |
| a., d. के के   | केहू के     | कौनो के     | { के लोग् के                                | केहू लोग् के | कौनो लोग् के |
| i., abl. के से | केहू से     | कौनो से     | { or के लोगन् के केहू लोग् के कौनो लोगन् के |              |              |
| gen. के कै, के | केहू कै, के | कौनो कै, के | etc.  | etc.         | etc.         |
| loc. के मे     | केहू मे     | कौनो मे     |   |              |              |

*Note:* Like केहू is declined तेकेहू *whosoever*.

### 3. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN.

443. The reflexive pron. *self* is आप्. It is alike for both genders, and is declined regularly like a subst., but has no plur.; the sing. form being used for both numbers; dat. sg. and pl. आप् के *to himself* and *to themselves*.

444. *Affinities.* W. H. and P. use the same refl. pron. आप्; O. has आपे or आपण, B. आपनि (with obl. आपना), M. आपण्; while in S. it is पाण; H. II. has in the dir. form आप्, but in the obl. आप् or अपने. The M., B. and O. forms आपण and H. II. obl. अपने are properly the corresponding possess. pron. (*own*), see § 449; it is in fact a sort of pleonastic declension, see §§ 440, 432.

445. *Derivation.* The original of the refl. pron. is the Skr. subst. आत्मा (nom. sg. of आत्मन्) *soul* or *self*. In Pr. it becomes अप्पा or अत्ता (H. C. 2, 51. Vr. 3, 48) or अप्पो (H. C. 3, 56) or Ap. Pr. अप्प (or st. f. अप्पउ H. C. 4, 422). In Gd. it is आप्; in O. II. and Br., also, आप्. The Pr. form अत्ता, I believe, has left no trace in Gd. In Pr. the pron. also assumes a long form

अप्पापो (H. C. 2, 51. 3, 56), Ap. Pr. अप्पाप्पु (H. C. 4, 396), which survives in the S. पाण with the loss of the initial अ; O. H., also, has it as m. अपान्, f. अपानि (Kl. 124, 231). Ow. 46 mentions also a Pr. form अत्तापो, which, however, has left no trace in Gd., and is, probably, a false reading.

#### 4. THE HONORIFIC PRONOUN.

446. The hon. pron. is substituted for the pron. of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sg. तै<sup>०</sup> and pl. तू<sup>०</sup>, in respectful address. It is, in the wk. f. राडर or राडर c. g., in the st. f. रडरा or रौरा m., रडरी or रौरा f. It is declined regularly like a subst. (§ 379). But the refl. pron. आप् may also be used as a honorific; and in that case it always forms the comp. plur. आप् लोग् when applied to more than one person.

447. *Affinities and Derivation.* The use of राडर as a hon. pron. seems to be confined to E. H.; but आप् and its cognate forms are used so in all Gds.; thus B. uses आपनि (S. Ch. 114. 115. note, with obl. f. आपना or आपनका), O. आपण (Sn. 18), W. H. आप्, P. आप् (Ld. 20, 58), etc. — The original of राडर I believe to be the Skr. noun राजकुल<sup>०</sup> (or राजकुल) *royal*, Pr. राअडल<sup>०</sup> or राडल<sup>०</sup> (Vr. 4, 1. H. C. 1, 267), see § 78.

#### 5. PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES.

448. By the term. *pron. adjectives*. I designate the possessive pron. (as *mine, thine, own*), the correl. adj. of quantity and quality, and the indefinite pron. *all, whosoever, some*.

##### a) Possessive pronouns.

449. Possess. pron. may be derived from the first and second pers. and from the refl. pron. Those of the first pers. pron. are: wk. form मेर c. g. *mine*, or st. f. मोरा m., मोरी f.; and wk. f. हमर c. g. *our*, or st. f. हमरा m., हमरी f. Those of the second pers. are: wk. f. तोर c. g. *thine*, or st. f. तोरा m., तोरी f.; and wk. f. तोहार c. g. *your*, or st. f. तोहरा m., तोहरी f. Those of the refl. pron. are: wk. f. आपन् c. g. *own*, or st. f.



अपना m., अपनी f. They are declined regularly like adj. of the corresponding form (see § 386). The possess. pron. of the third pers. is identical with the gen. of the near or far dem. pron.; viz., wk. f. एक or ओक c. g. *his* or *her*, or st. f. एका or ओका m., ओ f.; and wk. f. ऐन्हक or ओन्हक c. g. *their*, or st. f. ऐन्हका or ओन्हका m., ओ f.

*Note:* The following bye-forms also occur: हमारा *our*, तोहारा *your*, fem. ओ. — The adj. निज *own* is also frequently used as a refl. pron.

450. *Affinities.* The forms of these pron. do not differ materially in the Gds., exc. in M., S. and, partially, P. They are: of the first pers., B. मो, अमा; O. मो or मोहो, अम; W. H. मेरो, हमारी (Br.) and मारी or म्हारी, मारी or म्हारी (Mw.); G. मारी, अमारी; N. मेरी, हमी; but P. मेरा, असाग or साग; M. माका, अम-चा; S. मू-तो or मुहुँ-तो, अम-तो. Of the second pers., B. तो, तोमा; O. तो, तुम; W. H. तेरो, तुम्हारी or तिहारी (Br.) and वारी (or वाडा), मारी (Mw.); G. तारी, तमारी; N. तेरी, तिमि; but P. तेरा, तुमाग or तुहाग; M. तुका or तुम-चा; S. तो-तो or तुहुँ-तो, तवह-तो or अह-तो. It should be observed, that B. and O. use अमा, अम and तोमा, तुम as sing. *mine*, *thine*, and form new plur., B. अमा-दे, and even मो-दे *our*, तोमा-दे, तो-दे *your*, O. अममानक, तुममानक. Similarly also N. हमीहेह-को, तिमिहेह-को or तिमिहेह-को. B. forms also अमादिगे or अमा-दे or अमा-दिगे and similarly तोमादिगे, etc. — Of the refl. pron.: E. H. आपन or अपना, O. H. आपन or अपना, Br. अपनी or आपनी, M. आपला, P. आपणा, N. आपना, G. आपणी, but also आपन-नी, O. आपणा, but also आपण-र (Sn. 18), S. पाँ-तो or पाँह-तो. — The possess. pron. of the third pers. are made in all Gds. in the same way as in E. H.

451. *Derivation.* It will be observed that these adj. pron. are made by simply adding the gen. aff. (see the list in §§ 374. 377 also §§ 272—280) to their corresponding substat. pron. In some cases the aff. still remains a separate word; thus in S. मू-तो *mine*, M. अम-चा *our*, P. तुमा-ग *your*, S. पाँ-तो *own*, Mw. अम-रो *own*, O. आपण-र *own*. In others it has coalesced with the base into one

word; as E. H. मोर *mine*, हमार *our*, etc. The latter contain two of the ancient gen. aff. कैर and कर; on the derivation of which see § 377. The former appears in the ordinary Pr. possess. pron. of the plur. अम्हकरो *our*, तुम्हकरो *your* (H. C. 2, 147); in the sing., however, the ordinary Skr. forms seem to have been used, thus Pr. मई *mine* = Skr. मदीय (H. C. 2, 147). The aff. कर always elides क्, and coalesces with the base; thus in the Ap. Pr. महारउ (H. C. 4, 358) or महारा (H. C. 4, 434) *mine* (for \*महकरउ or \*महकरा, मह being the gen. of हउं I, cf. H. C. 3, 113), or contracted in the Nāgara Ap. मेरो (Mā. त्वदीये तेर। मदीये मेर॥); so also in Br. मेरौ or in Mw. गारो or म्हारो. The E. H. मोर is founded on a form \*महुकरो (from gen. महु, H. C. 4, 379) or has been assimilated to तोर *thine*. Again Ap. Pr. तुहार (cf. H. C. 4, 434) *thine* stands for \*तुहकर (from gen. तुह, H. C. 3, 99) and is contracted in E. H. to तोर. The Br. तेरौ and Mw. वारो presuppose an original form \*तहकरा (from gen. तह, see § 430, 2) or have been assimilated to मेरो, म्हारो. Again Ap. Pr. अम्हारा (H. C. 4, 434) *our* (= \*अम्हकरा, from gen. or base अम्ह H. C. 3, 113. 114) becomes, by transposition of ह्, H. H. हमारा, W. H. हमारै; or, by elision of ह्, B. अमार, G. अमारो; or, by elision of अ, Mw. म्हारो; or, by shortening अ, O. अमार, E. H. हमरा. Similarly Ap. Pr. तुम्हारा for तुम्हकरा, whence H. H. तुम्हारा, E. H. तोहरा, etc. — The P. form असा-अ (or सा-अ with loss of अ, just as in Mw. म्हारो), तुसा-अ or तुहा-अ are made with the old gen. aff. अ (= M. P. दा, see § 377, 3); as to the सू of असा, तुसा see § 430, 3. 4. It will be observed that in P. and M. the plur. only, but in S. both the plur. and sing. are made by a separate gen. aff. As regards the M. forms साका, तुका see § 430, 5. — As to आपन् or अपना, see §§ 60. 111. The Mw. आपरो contains either the gen. aff. रो, or the र् is a modification of the Pr. ल् of अप्लो (H. C. 2, 163). — The S. पाँह-तो appears to contain the old gen. \*पानह (Ap. अप्पापाहो), contracted to पान्ह = पाँह (see § 132, note).

b) Correl. pron. of quantity and quality.

452. The pron. of quant. are: एता or ऐतना *this much*,



तेता or तेतना *that much*, जेता or जेतना *as much*, केता or केतना *how much*. They are strong forms, and consequently are treated precisely as adj. of a like form; that is, they have a fem. in ई (§ 384, as एती or ऐतनी, etc.), and an obl. form in ए (§ 386, as gen. एते कै or ऐतने कै *of so much*, etc.). Sometimes also the forms ऐतेक् or ऐतिक् or ऐतक् or इतेक् इतिक् or इतक् or अतेक्, etc.; उतेक् or उतिक्, केतेक् or कितेक् or कतेक् or कैतिक् or कितिक् or कितक्, and so forth of जेत°, तेत°, are met with (see Bs. in J. R. A. S. vol. III, 490 and Kl. 141), see § 26. I have also met with the forms तैठा or तौथा *as much*, कौथा *how much*.

453. *Affinities.* Nearly the same forms are used in all Gds.; thus B. एत, अत, तत, यत, कत or एतक्, अतक्, etc. (S. Ch. 84); एत, etc. are sounded *etā*, etc., but एतक् *etak*; hence gen. एत-र, but एतके-र. O. एते, तेते, येते, केते, W. H. (Br.) इत्तो or इतनो, उत्तो or उतनो, तित्तो or तितनो, etc. or (Mw.) इतरो, उतरो, तितरो, etc., P. इतना, उतना, तितना, etc., G. एटलो, अटलो, तेटलो, etc. (Ed. 44), S. एतिरो or हेतिरो, अतिरो or होतिरो, तेतिरो, etc. (Tr. 224), M. इतका or इतकाला, तितका or तितकाला, etc. (Man. 52; also कितो or कितोक? as Tr. 223), N. वति, उति, तति, जति, कति.

454. *Derivation.* The quant. pron. in Pr. are एत्तिओ, तेत्तिओ, जेत्तिओ, केत्तिओ (H. C. 2, 157) or Ap. Pr. एत्तिउ (H. C. 4, 341), केत्तिउ (H. C. 4, 383), etc.; and in the strong form: Pr. एत्तिअओ, etc., Ap. एत्तिअउ, etc. The Mg. Pr. would have wk. f. एत्तिए or एत्तिइ or एत्तिअ (Vr. 11, 11) or st. f. एत्तिअए or एत्तिअके or एत्तिअकए (see § 202), etc. Now Mg. एत्तिअ contracts to O. एते, N. वति, etc.; Mg. एत्तिअए to E. H. एता; Mg. एत्तिअके to E. H. ऐतेक् or ऐतिक् or ऐतक्, B. एतक्; Mg. एत्तिअकए to M. इतका. In Pr. the pleon. suff. लो may be added: एत्तिलो (for एत्तिअलो, see § 58, note) or Ap. Pr. एत्तिलो, etc., whence G. एटलो, etc. (with ट् or ट् for त् or न्, as in Pr. पट्टण for Skr. पत्तन H. C. 2, 29), S. एतिरो, etc., E. H. ऐतना (see §§ 58. 111. 214). In M., the pleon. suff. ला may be super-added to the pleon. suff. का, thus इतकाला, etc. (lit. Ap. \*एत्तिअकअलउ). The Gd. forms उति, उतेक् or उतिक्, अतिरो, etc. are similarly derived from the Pr. एवत्तिअ (see Wb. Bh. 422), as explained in

§ 438, 1. 7. — The Pr. forms एत्तिग्रो, तेत्तिग्रो, etc. are in Skr. इयत्तिकः, तावत्तिकः, etc. — The E. H. forms कोया, जौया or जैठा are perhaps derived from केवत्तिग्र, जेवत्तिग्र with an anomalous aspiration, as in M. केवठा, and cerebralisation, as in G. जेरत्तो.

455. *Cognate quant. forms.* By the side of the forms एत्तुलो, तेत्तुलो, etc. The Ap. Pr. has the forms एवडु, तेवडु, जेवडु, केवडु (H. C. 4, 407. 408), made by adding the pleon. suff. डु to the quant. pron. एव, तेव, जेव, केव, in Ved. Skr. ईवत्, कीवत्. M. has them in the strong form एवठा or (with pleon. ला) एवठाला, तेवठा or तेवठाला, etc. (Man. 52); so also G. एवडो, जेवडो, तेवडो, etc.; S. also has them, but in the shorter form एडो or हेडो, ओडो or होडो, तेडो, etc. (Tr. 224), made by adding the pleon. suff. डो to the short quant. pron. ए, ते, जे, के (see § 438, 1), so also P. wk. f. एड् or ऐड्, तेड् or तैड्, etc., and st. f. एडा, तेडा, etc.; also O. एडे, तेडे, जेडे, केडे (Bs. II, 336). In this form the quant. pron. usually expresses *size*, i. e., *so large, how large*, etc. In S. the diminutive suff. डो may be added, as एडिडो or हेडिडो, ओडिडो or होडिडो, तेडिडो, etc. (Tr. 224), meaning *so small*, etc. — The W. H. has also तै, जै, कै which are derived from the Skr. quant. pron. तत्ति, यत्ति, कत्ति; Pr. तई, जई (H. C. 1, 177), कई (H. C. 1, 180?), Ap. Pr. तइ, जइ, कइ (H. C. 4, 376).

456. The pron. of qual. are: ग्रहसन् or ऐसन् *of this kind*, तइसन् or तैसन् *of that kind*, जइसन् or जैसन् *of which kind*, कईसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*. They are the same in the masc. and fem., and are declined regularly, like any adj. (see § 386). But they may also take the strong obl. forms; viz. in the sing., m. ऐसने, f. ऐसनी, etc., in the plur. m. ऐसनन्हु (or ऐसनेन्हु), f. ऐसनिन्हु, etc.

457. *Affinities.* There is much difference among the various Gds. as regards these pron. There are four main types, the characteristics of which are: 1) स, 2) ह, 3) व or म and 4) ड or र or ल. To the first or स्-type belong: E. H. ऐसन्, तैसन् and in Bs. also ऐस् or अस् or यस्, तैस् or तस्, etc.; W. H. ऐसो, तैसो, जैसो (Br.) or हसो, उसो, तिसो (Mw.), etc.; M. असा or अमला or असलाला, तसा or तमला or तसलाला, etc. (Man. 52); and



N. वसो, उसो, तसो, etc. Of the second or इ-type are: P. एहा or इहा or अत्रिहा or अत्रेहा, तेहा or तिहा, etc., S. इहगे or हिअगे, तिहगे, etc. Of the third or व-type are: G. एवो, आवो, तेवो, etc., B. एमत् or एमन्, तेमत् or तेमन्, etc., O. एमन्त्, तेमन्त्, etc. Of the fourth or ड-type are: Mw. ऐगे or ऐरो, वैगे or वैरो, तैगे or तैरो, etc., Gw. ऐनो or ऐन् or अनू, वनो or वनू, तनो or तनू, etc. (Kl. 141).

458. *Derivation.* The qual. pron. in the Ap. Pr. are either अइसो, तइसो, तइसो, कइसो (H. C. 4, 403) or एहु, तेहु, त्रेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or in the strong form, एहउ or (contr.) एहो, etc., (K. I. 9, in Ls. 449). The former set produces the स-type, the latter the ह-type. M. अत्ता, etc. and E. H. ऐसन्, etc. add the pleon. suff. ल or न, see §§ 111. 214. M. even reduplicates the suff. ल in अत्ताल्ला, etc. The S. इहगे, etc. add the pleon. suff. उ. The P. अत्रिहा preserves the ह-type in a more complete form; for it stands for a Pr. form एहिहो = Skr. ईदृषः (see § 438, 4). — The Skr. qual. pron. are ईदृषः, तादृषः, वादृषः, कीदृषः, which become in Pr. एरिसो, तारिसो, तारिसो, केरिसो (H. C. 1, 142) or एदिसो, तदिसो, etc. (see Ls. 115). As a rule इ (or दृ) is elided (see § 124), whence the Ap. Pr. अइसो, etc. (see § 25, note); and सृ (or प्र) is changed to ह, whence Ap. एहो, तेहो contracted for \*अइहो, \*तइहो, etc. (see Ls. 455). It may be observed, that the P. and S., which alone have the ह-type, similarly change the सृ (or प्र) of Pr. वीसा 20, तीसा 30 (Skr. विप्रति, त्रिप्रत्) into ह, P. वीह, तीह, S. वीह, तीह. — The forms of the व- and उ-types were originally quant. pron. The Skr. इवत् (Ved. ईवत्), तवत्, etc. become in Pr. एव, तेव, etc. or एम, तेम, etc. (cf. Wb. Bh. 422. Ls. 458), whence G. एवो, तेवो, etc. and B. एमन्, तेमन्, etc. (with pleon. suff. अन, see §§ 209. 214); and the O. एमन्त्, B. एमत्, etc., perhaps, are based on the Skr. इवतकः, etc., Pr. \*एवन्तओ, and probably contain the suff. Skr. वत्, मत्, Pr. वन्त, मन्त (see §§ 232. 236). — The Mw. ऐगे or ऐरो, etc. are identical with the S. quant. pron. एगे, P. एडा, etc.; and so also the Gw. ऐनो, where इ has been changed to नृ (see §§ 106. 438, 2) — The forms, Br. वैसो and Gw. वनो

are founded on the Ap. Pr. forms \*एवइसो (= Skr. \*एवादृष्टः) and एवउो respectively.

c) Indefinite pronouns.

459. The indef. pron. *all, every one* is सब् or सम or emph. सबै or समै. It is the same in both genders, and is declined regularly like any other adj. of the weak form. But when plurality is to be emphasised, it has an obl. form समन् or सबहन्; thus gen. सब् or समकै of *all* taken as *a whole*, but समन् or सबहन् कै of *all* taken *severally*.

460. *Affinities.* The forms of this indef. pron. are nearly alike in all Gds. Thus B. सब्, O. सबु, W. H. सब् or सबर्, P. सम, G. सम or सर्व (Ed. 44, 1), S. समु m., सम f., or समुको m., की f., M. सर्व, N. सब्. S. has the emph. forms समोई and मिडुगोई or मिगेई. — E. H. also uses सकर् or सगर् and सार all, whole.

461. *Derivation.* The original is the Skr. सर्वः, which becomes in Pr. सव्वो, in the Ap. Pr. सब्वु (H. C. 4, 366) or \*सबु (cf. H. C. 4, 399, see § 135, note). The former becomes O. सबु, E. H., N., Br. सब्, the latter Br. सबर् (emph. सबरै). The form सम has an anomalous aspirate (see § 131), perhaps analogous to N. आफु *self* for आपु, आधि *before* for आगि, etc. — The S. समुको adds the pleon. suff. को. — The G. and M. सर्व is a semitats. — The strange S. मिडुगोई or मिगेई, I believe, to be merely a curtailment of the emph. समोई or सबोई. The final ई is the emph. particle; the initial व् of the remainder मिगे stands for व (see § 134); the final इडुयो- or इडो is a pleon. suff., the same as in S. पेहेयो or पेहेरो *first* (see §§ 118. 213), योरिडो *very little* (Tr. 79), एडिडो *so small* (§ 455). In S., व् often changes to ह् (see Tr. XXX); hence सब् may have become हव् or हम्, next हव (by suppressing व), next म् (cf. Mw. म्हारो or मारो *our* for Br. हमारो). — The E. H. सगर् is the Skr. सकल (see § 102); and सार is, perhaps, really the past part. of सार्व् *to complete*, the causal of the R. वृ (= Skr. part. सारितः), or it may be the Skr. सार्वः.

462. The indef. pron. *whoever* is जेकेरु which is both masc. and fem.; and जेकिहु *whatever*, which is used with *things* only.



They are compound forms, made of *ने* and *केहू* or *किहु*, and are declined regularly like their component parts; thus gen. sing. *नेकेहू के* of *whomsoever*.

463. *Affinities and Derivation.* This pron. is formed in the same way in all Gds. by compounding the relat. with the indef. pron. Thus S. *नेको* m., *नेका* f., *नेको* n. (Tr. 213); B. *नेकिहु* or *नेकोन्* n. (S. Ch. 127), etc. As to its derivation, see § 438.

464. The indef. pron. *some* is *केतना* or *कई* which is masc. and fem., and *किहु* or *कुहू* or *कुहु* which refers to *things* only. They are declined regularly like adj. Thus *गँ.* *केतने लोगन् के* of *some men*, *कई घोर्न् के* of *some horses*, *किहु बात के* of *some thing*. When *केतना* is used independantly, it forms the obl. *केतनन्*, and to *कई* the pleon. aff. *एक्* (§ 289) is added; thus gen. *केतनन् के* or *कईएक् के* of *some*.

465. *Affinities and Derivation.* The impersonal indef. pron. is in B. *किहु*, O. *किहि*, Br. *कहु*, H. H. *कुहू*, M. *काँही*, Mw. *काँई* or *कई*, S. *की*, P. *कुहू*. I know no satisfactory derivation for *किहु*, perhaps it is Pr. \**किंचिहु* = Skr. *किञ्चित्* *खलु*.

466. Here may be added the E. H. *खान्* or *दूसर* or *घउर* or *पराई* *another*, and *एक् दूसर* *one another*.

*Note:* *खान्* is the Mg. *खन्ने* (cf. H. C. 3, 58), Skr. *खन्यः*; — *घउर* is the Mg. *खवले*, Skr. *खपजः*; — *पराई* seems to be connected with the Skr. *परकीयः*; it also occurs in the Ap. Pr. *पराई* (H. C. 4, 350) or *पराया* (H. C. 4, 376). — On *दूसर* see § 271.

## 6. PRONOMINAL ADVERBS.

467. The E. H. pron. adv. are the following: a) of *place*, *इहाँ* or *इहाँ* or *इहाँ* or *एँ* or *एँ* or *ऐँ* or *ऐँ* or *ऐँ* *here*; *ताँ* or *तहाँ* or *तहाँ* or *तहाँ* or *तेँ* or *तेँ* or *तेँ* *there*; *तहाँ* or *तहाँ* or *तहाँ* or *तहाँ* or *तहाँ* or *तहाँ* *where*; *काँ* or *कहाँ* or *कहाँ* or *कहाँ* or *कहाँ* *where?* The same in emph. form are: *इहाँ* or *ऐँ* or *ऐँ* *even here*; *तहाँ* or *तेँ* or *तेँ* *even there*; *तहाँ* or *तहाँ* or *तहाँ* *even where*; *कहाँ* or *कहाँ* or *कहाँ* *even where?*

b) *of direction*, ऐह् or ऐह्वर् *hither*; ओह् or ओह्वर् *thither*; तेह् or तेह्वर् *thither*; जेह् or जेह्वर् *with*; केह् or केह्वर् *with*?

c) *of time*, अब् *now*, तब् *then*, जब् *when*, कब् *when*? In emph. form: अबही or अबहिये *even now*; तबही or तबहिये *even then*; जबही or जबहिये *even when*; कबही or कबहिये *even when*?

d) *of manner or cause*: यू or एउ or एओ or अइसे or ऐसे *in this manner or for this cause*; तू or तेउ or तेओ or तइसे or तैसे *thus or therefore, also then*; यू or जेउ or जेओ or जइसे or जैसे *in which manner or for which cause, also when*; क्यू or केउ or केओ or कइसे or कैसे *how or why or काहे why, कइ कात् or काहे बदे what fore, काहे why not*?

468. *Affinities*. Forms of the same origin are designated by the same letter. — a) *Adv. of place*; B. (a) एया or हेया, ओया or होया, तया or सेया, यया (i. e. जया), कोया or (h) ए खाने, ओ ख°, से ख°, ये ख°, कोन् ख°, or (d) हेदे *here*, or (y) हेरो *here*. O. (a) एठा, सेठा, येठा, कोठा, or (h) ए-ठा-रे, येउं ठारे, केउं or कों ठारे, etc. Bs. (a) ऐह्या or ऐह्यन्, ओह्या or ओह्यन्, तेह्या or तेह्यन्, etc., or (b) उह or उहाँ or उहवाँ, इह, etc. (as in E. H.); (W. H.) Br. (a) इत् or इतै, उत् or उतै, तित् or तितै, जित् or जितै, कित् or कितै or कन्, or (b) यहाँ or याँ, वहाँ or वाँ, तहाँ or ताँ, जहाँ or जाँ, कहाँ or काँ; Mw. (a) अठै or अठो or ईठै, उठै or उठो or उँठै, जठै or जठो (or जँठै?), कठै or कठो or कैठै or कोठै (also अउं, जउं, etc., Kl. 265); P. (a) इत्ये, उत्त्ये, तित्ये, जित्ये, कित्ये; S. (a) इति or हिति or इतै or हितै or इत्ये, उति or हुति or उतै or हुतै or उत्त्ये, तिति or तति or तित्ये or तितै or तित्ये or ततै, जिति or जित्ये or जति or जितै or जित्ये or जतै (also ज्ञातै or ज्ञात्ये), किति or कित्ये or कति or कितै or कित्ये (Tr. 392. 393); G. (b) हियाँ, याँही, ह्याँ or तहीँ or ताँहाँ, ज्याँ or जहीँ or जाँहाँ, कयाँ or कहीँ or काँहाँ (Ed. 115. Bs. II, 336. 337); M. (a) येये, तेये, जेये or जिये, केये or (a) कोठै (Man. 100); N. (b) याँ or यहाँ or याँहाँ or जाहाँ, वहाँ or वाँहाँ, तहाँ or ताँहाँ, जहाँ or जाँहाँ, कहाँ or काँहाँ.

b) *Adv. of direction*; B. (c) एमने, अमने, कमने; O. (y) एने, कने; E. H. (c) ऐह-र् or ऐह्व-र्, etc.; in some parts also (y) एने or (c) एमह-र् or (y) एनह-र्, etc. (cf. Kl. 266); W. H. इहर्, उहर्, तिहर्,



निधू, किधू; P. unknown; S. (γ) एडे or हेडे or एडहँ or ऐडहँ or एडहुँ or हेडहुँ, ओडे or होडे or ओडहँ etc., तेडे or तेडहँ or तेडहुँ, नेडे etc., केडे etc.; G. (γ) आणी-गम्, तेणी-गम् (cf. Bs. 336. 337); M. (c) इकडे or हिकडे (Man. 127), तिकडे, त्रिकडे, किकडे; N. (b) वॉहिँ, वॉहिँ, तॉहिँ, तॉहिँ, काँहिँ. The adv. of place may also be used in all Gds.; generally with the dat. aff. added; e. g., E. H. तहाँ के, O. सेठा कु *thither*, etc.

c) *Adv. of time*; B. (c) एवे, तवे, यवे, कवे (S. Ch. 207) or (h) ए-खन्, त-खन्, य-खन्, क-खन्; O. (c) एवे, तेवे, येवे, कवे; E. H. (c) अब्, तब्, तब्, कब्; W. H. (c) अबै or अबे, तबै or ती (= तब्), तबै or तौ, कबै, or (d) तद् or तदै or तदा or तद्, तद् or तदै, कद् or कदै or कदा or कद्, or (e) त्रै, त्रै; O. H. (c) ताम, ताम; P. (d) तद्, तद्, कद्; S. (c) तौ, तौ, or (γ) तडिहोँ, तडिहोँ, कडिहोँ; M. (c) एव्हौ, तैव or तेव्हौ, तैव or तेव्हौ, केव्हौ (Man. 100. 125), or (a) आतौ *then* (Man. 100); N. (c) अब्, तब्, तब्, कब्, or (c) अबले or ऐल्हे, तडले or तैल्हे, तडले or तैल्हे, कडले or कैल्हे, or (e) त्रू, त्रू.

d) *Adv. of manner*; B. (γ) हेन्, केन्, or (c) एमन् or एमत् or एमनि or एमने or एमते, अमनि, तेमन् or तेमत् etc., येमन् or येमत् etc., केमन् or केमत् or किमत् etc. (S. Ch. 216. 217. 218); O. (c) (एमन्त, सेमन्त, येमन्त?), केमन्त or कियौ or काहिँ-के or काहा-र; O. H. एम or एमि, तेम or तिमि, तेम or तिमि, केम or किमि; P. (c) एडँ, तडँ, तडँ, कीडँ; S. (c) ईअ or हीअ or ईअ or हिअ or इएँ, उअ or हूअ or उअ or हूअ or उएँ or हुएँ, तीअ or तीअ or तीएँ, तीअ or तीअ or तीएँ, कीअ or किअ or किएँ; G. एम्, आम्, तेम्, तम्, केम्; M. (f) असेँ, तसेँ, तसेँ, कसेँ (Man. 101. 126); N. (f) यसै, तसै, तसै, कसै, or यसै, तसै, तसै, कसै, or (h) यसो-गरि, तसो-गरि, etc., क्वान् *why*.

I may add here, that pron. adv. implying *from* or *up-to* are made in all Gds. by adding abl. or loc. aff. to the above mentioned pron. adv. Thus O. के-ठुँ *whence*, E. H. कहौँ-से or केहर-से *whence*, कब-से *since when*, कब-तक् or कहौँ-तक् *how long*, S. के-सी or का-सी or के-सीअ or के-ताहिँ *how long* (Tr. 394); N. काँहौँ-जार् or काँहौँ-देखि *whence*, etc. But in P., M., Mw., S. and occasionally in the other Gds. they may be made by giving to the adv. of place or direction a different (abl.) inflection; thus P. (a) इत्योँ

hence, उद्यो<sup>॥</sup> *thence*, etc. (Ld. 70. 103); M. (a) एयून् (Man. 126) or इकडून् *hence*, तिकडून् *thence*, etc. (Man. 100, 2. d); Mw. (a) ऋठा सूँ *hence*, कठा सूँ *whence*, etc.; S. (a) इतौ or इताडै or इतहूँ or इताहूँ or (γ) एउतौ or एउाडै or एउहूँ or एउाहूँ *hence*, etc. (Tr. 394. 39P); O. काहुँ *whence*.

469. *Derivation.* The case of the pron. adv. is similar to that of the pron. themselves (see § 438). Here also, there are six different types, marked *a* (or *a*), *b*, *c* (or *γ*), *d*, *e*, *f* respectively; and the adverbs are in reality obl. forms of what were originally qual. or quant. pron. adj. Thus: 1) the Ap. Pr. uses the obl. form (or loc. sg.) in हे of the quant. pron. एत्तिम, etc. as pron. adv. of place (as explained in § 438, 7), एत्तिहे, तेत्तिहे, etc. (H. C. 4, 436); in P. and S. they are contracted to इत्ते (for \*इत्तिहे), तित्ते or (eliding ह्) W. H. इतै, तितै or S. इते, तिते or (shortening the final ए) इति, तिति, etc. The M. येये<sup>॥</sup>, तेये<sup>॥</sup>, etc. are similarly contracted from Ap. Pr. एत्तिहिं, तेत्तिहिं (with the obl. or loc. suff. हिं H. C. 4, 357, see also § 378, 3); and the B. एया, तया (also एयाय्, तयाय्, see S. Ch. 214. 222), etc. from the Pr. एत्तिहे (H. C. 3, 82. 2, 134), etc. There is also a series of by-forms of this *a*-type (marked *a*) which substitute ट् for य्; e. g., Mw. ऋठे, ऋठे (like S. इत्ते), E. H. ऐठे<sup>॥</sup>, तैठे<sup>॥</sup> (like M. येये<sup>॥</sup>), O. एठा, सेठा (like B. एया), etc.; analogously to the change in the pron. adj., G. एत्तलो *so many* for E. H. ऐतना, S. एत्तिरो, etc. It appears, that some confusion originated at an early period between the terminations वा and ठा, ये<sup>॥</sup> and ठे<sup>॥</sup>, ये and ठे and the nouns (loc.) यान् or ठान्, वाई<sup>॥</sup> or ठाई<sup>॥</sup> in a place. The E. H. emph. forms एही-ठाई<sup>॥</sup> or एही-ठे<sup>॥</sup>, etc., and the O. येउं-ठाह्, केउं-ठाह् can hardly be explained on any other theory. Indeed, the real phrases, E. H. ए यान् in this place, ते यान् in that place, etc., B. ए खान्, त खान् (with ख् for य् as in Pr. खाण् for Skr. खाण्; H. C. 2, 7) are not unfrequently used. — Again 2) Ap. Pr. uses the loc. sg. in हिं or इं of the quant. pron. एव्व as a pron. adv. of time and manner: एव्वहिं *now* (H. C. 4, 420) and एव्वइं or एव्वइ thus (H. C. 4, 421. 420). In B. and O. they are contracted to एवे or एवे, and in W. H. shortened to ऋवै *now*,



O. H. इमि *thus* (for \*इमि), S. इहं *thus* (for \*इमे or \*इवे). Similarly the W. H. तच्चै, O. H. तिमि, S. तिरं, etc. postulate an Ap. Pr. तेम्बहिं or तेम्बइ, etc. The Ap. Pr. also uses the plain obl. form (without suff., H. C. 4, 345) एम्ब *thus* (H. C. 4, 420), तेम or तेवं or तिम or तिवं *thus*, etc. (H. C. 4, 401. 397). They become in O. H. and G. एम, तेम, etc., in S. एउं, तउं (changing व *va* to उ) or इअं, तिअं (eliding म् or व्) or ईअं, तीअं, etc. (with ई, perhaps, to compensate for the elision of the conj. म्), in W. H. contracted यौ, त्यौ, etc. or E. H. यू, त्यू (for \*एउं, \*तेउं) *thus*, etc.; but also as adv. of time M. तँव *then*, E. H. and H. H. अब् *now*, तब् *then*, N. अब्, तब्, etc. B. adds the pleon. suff. अन्, thus एमने or एमनि or एमन् *thus*, etc. (= Ap. Pr. \*एम्बउइ); so also W. H. एवन् *thus*, etc. B. also uses these forms as adv. of place or direction, thus एमने *here* or *hither*. N. adds to them the pleon. suff. ल and uses them as adv. of time; thus ऐल्हे (= Ap. Pr. \*एविल्लहे) or अइले (= Ap. \*एविल्लइ), etc. The O. H. and E. H. use the shorter form ए, etc. for एव or एम्ब, etc., and add the pleon. suff. न (= Ap. उ); thus एने *here* or *hither*, etc. (for B. एमने, Ap. Pr. \*एम्बउइ); so also S., which preserves the original इ; thus एउे *hither*, etc. S. also uses the obl. or loc. suff. ई and हुं (H. C. 4, 340, see also § 378, 3) instead of ए; thus एउई or एउहुं *hither*, etc. These last forms are purely Ap. Pr., exc. that in that language they would be loc. *plur.* Similarly the obl. suff. ई is used in the M. एव्हँ *now*, etc. (for \*एव्हँ with transposed ह् for \*एवहँ). In the M. forms इकडे *hither*, etc. (shortened for \*एकडे) both the pleon. suff. क and उ have been added. The simpler forms तिको, तिको (without उ) occur in Mw. (see Kl. 132). This seems to me more probable, than the assumption of a compound इ + कडे *on this side* from the subst. कउ *side* (as Man. 127). S. also uses the obl. or loc. suff. हिं (H. C. 4, 347. 357), probably confused with the emph. aff. ई or ही, in तडिहो *then*, etc. — The Ap. also uses the forms ताम, ताम (for तेम, तेम = Skr. तावन्, यावन्, H. C. 4, 406) as adv. of time. They are in O. H. (Chand) ताम, ताम and in S. तौ, तौ. — The E. H. ऐव *hither*, etc. (lit. ऐव-इ) contain the loc. suff. इ (shortened for ई,

as in O. हत-रे *in the hand*) and the obl. form ऐह (on which see § 438, 1); similarly E. H. ऐहवर (transposed for ऐवहर), ऐमहर or ऐमहर, ऐनहर or ऐनहर *hither*, etc. contain the obl. forms ऐवह or ऐमह or ऐनह of the bases एव or एम or एन. — Again 3) the Ap. Pr. has the pron. adv. तहाँ, जहाँ, कहाँ (H. C. 4, 355). They are stated by H. C. to be abl. forms in the phrases तहाँ होतओ आगदो *he came thence*, etc. That phrase means lit. *he came being there*, i. e., *from there*. In fact, होतओ is the abl. aff. added to the adv. of place तहाँ, just as in O. H. तहाँ हुतो, E. H. तहाँ से (see §§ 376, 1. 468, p. 312). Those Ap. Pr. forms are still used as adv. of place in E. H. and W. H. तहाँ *there*, etc. or, slightly modified, in G. and N. ताँहाँ, etc. They are, I think, derived by means of the obl. suff. ह् (forming gen., abl. and loc. in Ap. Pr., see § 376, 4) from the qual. bases Ap. Pr. एह, तेह, etc., but shortening ए to इ or अ; thus Ap. Pr. एहह, E. H. इहाँ (for \*इहअ), W. H. यहाँ; Ap. Pr. तेहह or तहाँ, E. H. तहाँ (compare Ap. Pr. तुम्हह होतओ आगदो *he came from you*, H. C. 4, 373). Similarly the Ap. Pr. obl. or loc. suff. हिं is contained in the G. तहो *there*, etc. (for Ap. \*तेहहिं) and perhaps in the N. ताँहिं *thither*, etc. — Again 4) the forms M. असे, N. यसे, E. H. ऐसे *thus*, etc. are obl. forms of the Ap. Pr. qual. pron. अइसो, etc. (H. C. 4, 403, the Ap. instr. would be अइसे, loc. अइसइ or अइसे H. C. 4, 342. 334, but see § 367, 2. 4 on such obl. forms). — Again 5) the W. H. forms इधर *hither*, etc. are perhaps contracted for इदह-र and connected with the Pr. qual. pron. एदह, etc. (H. C. 2, 157); the medial अ being suppressed and the loc. aff. र (for रे) added. To this type belong the B. हेदे *here* (S. Ch. 215) for \*एवे or \*एदवे = Pr. loc. sg. एदवे, and the W. H. adv. of time जदै or जदा or जदू or जद *when*, तदै *then*, etc. for \*जदवे (eliding ह्) or Pr. जेदवे, etc. Similarly W. H. has इधर *hither*, etc. by the side of इधर, etc. — Again 6) the Mw. तरै, जरै, N. तर, जर *then, when* are, perhaps, connected with the Skr. तर्हि, जर्हि; or they may be of the same origin as the P. तेजे *whither*, तेजे *thither* (see Nro. 2 changing इ or उ to र); and the B. हेरो *here* (S. Ch. 215) also belongs to this type. — Lastly, the B. एखन् *now*, etc. are com-



pounds of ए *this* and खन् *moment* (Skr. क्षण, Pr. क्षण H. C. 2, 20), and the N. वसो गरि *thus*, etc. of वसो *such* and गरि *having done* (conj. part. of the R. कर्त्तु *to do*, for करि); just like B. ए खान् *here* (see Nro. 1).

## FOURTH SECTION. INFLECTION OF VERBS.

### FIRST CHAPTER. FORMS OF THE VERB.

470. There are two *kinds* of verbs, the transitive and the intransitive; two *degrees*, the simple and the causal, of which the causal is always transitive; two *voices*, the active and the passive, of which the intransitive verb possesses only the active, but the trans. has both; four *moods*, the indicative, conjunctive, imperative, infinitive, to which may be added as a fifth mood the participles.

#### 1. KINDS.

471. A trans. verb is formed from an intrans. by lengthening the radical vowel, viz. अ to आ, इ to ई or ए, उ to ऊ or ओ; and *vice versa* an intrans. from a trans. by shortening the same vowel. Thus from the intr. कट्त्वं *to be cut* comes the trans. काट्त्वं *to cut*; similarly गड्त्वं *to be buried*, गाड्त्वं *to bury*; मर्त्त्वं *to die*, मार्त्त्वं *to kill*; लड्त्वं *to be laden*, लाड्त्वं *to load*; मिल्त्वं *to be mixed*, मेल्त्वं *to mix*; दिख्त्वं *to be seen*, देख्त्वं *to see*; दिसिक्त्वं *to be seen*, दीसिक्त्वं *to see*; लिपिक्त्वं *to be smeared*, लीपिक्त्वं *to smear*; खुलिक्त्वं *to be opened*, खोलिक्त्वं *to open*; हुडिक्त्वं *to be loosed*, होडिक्त्वं *to loose*; गुण्त्वं *to be plaited*, गूण्त्वं *to plait*. Again from the trans. उवाञ्च् *to pluck up* comes the intr. उवञ्च् *to be plucked up*; likewise नहाञ्च् *to bathe*, नहञ्च् *to flow*, etc., see also § 351. Trans. and intr. verbs are conjugated alike, except in the 3. sg. 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. ind., where they have different forms (see § 504); e. g., tr. कर्त्तुम् *he did*, but intr. गच्छत् *he went*.

472. *Affinities.* In all Gds. these sets of trans. and intr. verbs occur; but in M. and S. the trans. root may optionally end in इ; thus M. सुट् to get loose, but सोडि to loose; S. मरु to die, but मारि to kill (see Tr. 48); e. g., M. सुटतो I get loose, but सोडितो I loose or (in Konkani, see Man. 68, note) सोडतो; again सुटला it got loose, but सोडिला he loosed; again सुटतु getting loose, but सोडोतु loosing, etc.; again S. मरणु to die, but मारिणु (or in Lari) मारणु to kill; again मरु die thou, but मारि kill thou; again मरंदो dying, but मारिंदो killing; again S. सुनि or सुनु hear thou, सुनंदो or सुनींदो hearing, etc. But E. H. कुटतो, कुटलो, कुटतु; मरु, मरु, मरुतु; and so also झोडतो, झोडलो, झोडतु; मारु, मारु, मारुतु; सुनु, सुनुतु.

473. *Derivation.* As a rule, the E. H. intrans. and its respective trans. verb correspond to the simple verb and its resp. causal in Skr., where the causal is made by lengthening the radical vowel of the simple verb with *guna* or *vrddhi*. In some cases, however, the E. H. trans. and intr. verbs correspond to the Skr. act. and pass. verbs; see § 351. The originally causal character of such Gd. trans. verbs is shown by their possessing the Skr. causal suff. इ in M. and S.

## 2. DEGREES.

474. The causal is formed from the simple verb by adding the suff. झव् to the root (see §§ 339. 349). To the causal root, thus formed, the infin. suff. झव् or इव् is reattached. If the simple root contains a long vowel it is shortened; viz. घा to घ, ई and ए to इ (or ऐ), उ and ओ to उ (or ओ). Thus S. V. कर्तव् or करिव् to do, S. R. कर्, whence C. R. कर्तव्, inf. कर्ताइव् (eliding व् by § 33) to cause to do; or S. V. मित्तव् to mix, S. R. मित्, whence C. R. मित्ताव्, inf. मित्ताइव् to cause to mix; similarly S. Vs. पीयव् to drink, लेव् to take, घूमव् to turn, बोलव् to speak, whence C. Vs. पियाइव् to cause to drink, लियाइव् or लोयाइव् to cause to take, घुमाइव् to cause to turn, बुलाइव् or बोलाइव् to call, etc.

*Exception.* खाव् or खाइव् to eat, R. खा, forms its causal लियाइव् to cause to eat for \*खयाइव् (cf. § 55).



*Note:* Observe that, according to §§ 25. 33. 34, the suff. चाव् may, in certain positions, undergo various changes, viz. च is elided before इ or ई; चा, when antepenultimate, is shortened to च, and च् vocalised to उ, while च + इ may change to ऐ and च + उ to औ. Thus चल्लाई *he will cause to walk* (for \*चलावी); चलइवो or चलैवो *I shall cause to walk* (for \*चलाविओ); चलउतो or चलौतो *I cause to walk* (for \*चलावतो); but चलावत् *he causes to walk* (not चलउत्).

475. *Affinities.* The causal is formed nearly in the same way in all Gds.; but B., O., H. H. and S. use the caus. suff. चा, as C. R. पठा *teach* of S. R. पठ् *read*; E. H. and G. have चाव्, as पठाव्; W. H. has चाव् or चाउ, as पठाव् or पठाउ; P. and N. have चाउ, as पठाउ; M. has चवि, as पठवि. The shortening of चाव् to चव् (as in M.) also occurs occasionally in Hindi (poëtry), as पुतव् for पुताव् *fill* (see Kl. 207) and पुरव् for पुराव् *fill* (Kl. 228); so also the contraction of चाव् to औ, as रिसौ for रिसाव् *be angry* (Kl. 228); and H. H. optionally contracts चाव् to औ in डुबो or डुबा *immerse* of R. डुब्, and भिगो or भिगा (for भिगाव्) *moisten* of R. भोग; also in P. भिगो (Ld. 67); M. occasionally changes चवि to डव in trans. verbs, as सोडिव or सोडवि *loose* (Man. 78, note. 110), and sometimes retains चाव्, as बोलावि or बोलवि *call* (Man. 109). — Monosyllabic roots, ending in a vowel, form in most Gds. irregular caus.; thus the C. Rs. of R. खा *eat* are in B. खानोवा (S. Ch. 129), O. खुआ (Sn. 37), E. H. खियाव्, W. H. खवाव् (or खवा Kl. 207. 217), P. खुआउ (Ld. 67), M. खाववि (Man. 77), G. खवाउ (Ed. 114), S. खारा (Tr. 257), H. H. खिला. Again of R. दे *give* they are in B. देओवा (S. Ch. 129), O. दिया (Sn. 37), E. H. दियाव् (also Bs. दिवाव्), W. H. दवाव् or दिराव् (Kl. 214), M. देववि or देवि (Man. 118), G. दवाउ, S. डिआर (Tr. 256), H. H. दिला. Exactly analogous are the C. Rs. of the Rs. जा *go* and ले *take*; but H. H. has लिवा *cause to take*, not \*लिला. Similarly formed are the C. Rs. of पी *drink*, सी *sew*, ती *live*; thus S. पिआउ, तिआउ (Tr. 256), G. सीआउ (Ed. 114), H. H. पिला, सिला, तिला; but E. H. regularly पियाव्, सियाव्, तिलाव्. Also of the Rs. चू *leak*, सो *sleep*, रो *weep*,

धो *wash*, ढो *carry*, बो *sow*; thus H. H. चुला, सुला, रुला, धुला, हुला, G. ववाड् (but H. H. बोद्या), S. चुच्चार (Tr. 256). Some roots which end in consonants, form irregular causals in the same manner; thus R. सिख् or सीख् *learn* has in H. H. सिखला, S. सेखार (Tr. 257) *teach*, but regularly in E. H. and W. H. सिखाव्, N. सिखाउ, M. सिखवि (Man. 78), B. and O. (also optionally H. H.) सिखा; again R. देख् *see* in H. H. optionally दिखला or दिखा, P. दिखाल् or दिखलाउ (Ld. 67), S. डेखार (Bs. I, 242) *show*, but regularly E. H. and W. H. दिखाव्, N. देखाउ, etc. Again R. कह् *speak* in H. H. optionally कहला or कहा (*be called*, in pass. sense, see § 354, 2), G. केहेवडा (Bs. I, 243), but regularly in E. H. कहाव्. Again R. बह् or बिह् *sit* (Skr. उपविष्) in H. H. बहला (in the sense of *amuse*, lit. *cause to sit*), P. बहाल् (Ld. 87), S. बिहार (Tr. 256). Again R. बैह् *sit* (Skr. उपविष्ट) in H. H. optionally बिठला or बैठाल् or बैठा; and R. पैह् *enter* (Skr. प्रविष्ट) in H. H. पैठाल् (Kl. 186). Again R. पाह् *see* in M. पाहववि (cf. Man. 75); R. लिह् *write* in M. लिहववि (Man. 77); R. जोह् *regard* in H. जुहार *salute* (lit. *cause to be regarded*); R. उम् *be excited* (cf. H. C. 2, 57) in H. उमार *excite*; R. उय् *rise* in S. उवार (Tr. 257); R. सुम्ह् *sleep* in S. सुम्हार; R. ड़िन् *be afraid* in S. ड़िनार; R. बिह्निन् *bathe* in S. बिहिनार (Tr. 257); R. जम् *eat* in G. जमाउ (Ed. 50); R. बट् *diminish* in G. घटाउ (Bs. I, 243), and others.

476. *Derivation.* Caus. verbs are formed in Skr., as a rule, by adding the suff. चव (or ड्) to the S. R., but exceptionally also by means of the suff. आपय (or आपि), as क्षापयति *he causes to tremble* from S. R. क्षाय्; आपयति *he causes to collect* from S. R. चि, etc. In Pr. these two suff. become ए and आवे resp. (Vr. 7, 26, 27); in later Pr. (by a change of class, see § 347) च and आव, and finally in Gd. च-*quiescent* and आव् (see § 349). Besides, while in Skr. the formation with आपय is exceptional, in Pr. the two modes of formation with ए and आवे are equally common; and finally in Gd. the formation with आव् (or आवउ or आव) is the exclusive one, while the other is only preserved in the trans. verbs (see §§ 471—473). Thus Skr. S. R. मृ *die*, O. R. मारय (or



मारि) *kill*, Pr. मारे or मार, E. H. मारु; again Skr. कृ *do*, C. R. कार्य (or \*करायव), Pr. कारे or कार or करावे or कराव, E. H. कराव; or in the 3. sg. pres. ind. Skr. मार्यति, Pr. मारेइ or मारइ, E. H. मारै; Skr. कार्यति, Pr. कारेइ or कारइ or करावेइ or करावइ, E. H. कारावे. — The Gd. suff. आव् changes व् to उ in N. and P. (cf. § 34) and drops it in B., O., H. H. and S.; it also shortens आ to अ in M. The Pr. suff. आवे becomes in M. अवि or अव (cf. § 472); the former is trans. and forms causals, the latter is intr. and forms potent. pass. (see § 483). — The irregular monosyll. verbs appear to use the double causal (see §§ 477. 478) in the place of the ordinary one; compare e. g., M. खाववि *cause to eat* (for \*खावावि), B. खाद्योवा (for \*खावा with आद्यो for आव्), W. H. खवाव्, O. खुआ (with उ for अच्) with M. नित्रववि or नित्रविव *cause to cause to sleep* (Man. 109); again S. खारा *cause to eat* (contr. for \*खयारा) with S. फेरार *cause to cause to turn* (Tr. 258). The G. खवाइ *cause to eat* is transposed for \*खवडा; the original form is preserved in G. केहेवडा *cause to speak* from R. केह्, and the suff. खवडा or खवाइ belong to the double causal, as may be seen from the M., where roots in ह्, as a rule, take the double caus. suff. खववि (Man. 77); e. g., लिहववि *cause to write* from R. लिह्. Similarly the S. suff. आर or आरा (for \*अवार or \*अवराव्), H. H. आल् or आला are double causal suff. The origin of these strange forms °डा, °रा, °ला which are confined to the W. Gds. (espec. G. and S.) is very obscure. The identification of °ल् with the व् of the Skr. caus. suff. अव (as Bs. I, 241) is hardly correct; for the H. ल् as well as the S. र् are modifications of the G. ड् (or ड्)<sup>1)</sup>, but the Skr. व् could not possibly change into ड्. It should be observed, that there is a remarkable similarity between the Gd. caus. formation and that of Psh. The latter language forms causals by means of the suff. अव or एव्; the former corresponding to the M. अवि, G. आव्, S. आ; the latter to the G. आउ, S. आर;

1) Not *vice versa*; ड् sometimes changes to ल्, see § 105; but never ल् to ड्.

H. H. आत्. See also the remarks in § 354, 2. A few instances of caus. in आत् occur in the Pr.; e. g., भमाडेइ or भमाडइ (besides the regular भामेइ or भमावेइ or भमावइ) of R. भ्रम् *roam* (H. C. 3, 151); also तमाडइ (H. C. 4, 30. see also H. C. 4, 161); धंसाडइ *he looses* (H. C. 4, 91).

477. From the caus. verb an other causal may be formed, precisely in the same way, by adding the suff. आव् to the caus. root, the long आ of which is shortened to अ. Thus S. V. पठ् to *read*, S. R. पठ्, C. R. पठाव् *cause to read* (i. e. *teach*), whence other C. R. पठ्वाव्, inf. पठ्वाइव् to *cause to cause to read* (i. e. to *cause to teach*). This I shall designate the *double causal*. It may, obviously, be formed from the simple verb immediately, by adding to the S. R. the compound or reduplicated suff. अवाव्. These double causals are conjugated in every respect like the ordinary causals.

*Note:* The double caus. of a trans. verb implies that something is done by the intervention of a *third* person; as कर्त्तु means *to do*, कर्त्ताइव् to *cause an other person to do it*, but कर्त्वाइव् to *order an other person to cause a third person to do it*. In the case of an intr. verb, the double caus. has the sense of an ordinary caus., and the ordinary caus. the sense of a trans.; as बनव् to *be made*, बनाइव् to *make*, बनवाइव् to *cause an other person to make it*.

478. *Affinities and Derivation.* The double caus. probably exists in all Gds., and it is formed in the same way by reduplicating the ordinary caus. suff. Thus E. H. has अवाव्, W. H. अवाव् or अवाउ, P. अवाउ, M. अववि or अववि (Man. 109), G. अवाव् (or अववा), S. आरा (Tr. 257), H. H. (and probably B. and O.) अवा. Thus of R. पठ् *read*, double caus. R. in E. H. पठ्वाव्, W. H. पठ्वाव् or पठ्वाउ, P. पठ्वाउ, M. पठ्वावि or पठ्वावि, G. पठ्वाव्, S. पठ्वा, H. H. पठ्वा to *cause to cause to read*. The principle of the formation of the double caus. seems to be analogous to that of the redundant forms of subst. (see § 203). As there the pleon. suff. क्, so here the caus. suff. आवि is reduplicated (i. e. \*अवावि or \*अवापव).



### 3. VOICES.

479. The passive voice is formed by adding to the past part. of the act. verb the auxiliary जाइच्, which is the same as the intrans. verb जाइच् to go and is conjugated in the same manner. The past part. undergoes no change whatever may be the gender or number of the subj. Thus act. खाइच् to eat, pass. खायल् जाइच् to be eaten; or पढेला he reads, pass. पढल् जाला it is read. This I shall call the *compound passive*.

*Exception.* The pass. of the verbs जाइच् to go and होइच् to become is not formed with their ordinary past part. गयल् and भयल् but with the special past part. forms जायल् and होयल् (see § 304).

*Note:* Observe that the comp. pass. is very rarely used in E. H. or, indeed, in any of the Gds. It is commonly paraphrased by means of compound verbs; e. g., to be beaten is मारू खाइच्, lit. to eat a beating, not मारा जाइच्.

480. *Affinities.* All Gds. form this pass. by composition with the verb जाइच्, except S. and optionally Mw., N. and P. In the latter it is made by adding some suffix to the root; viz. S. इन्, Mw. ईन् (see Kl. 214), N. इय्, P. ई. But P., Mw. and, probably, N. also use the comp. pass. The B. and O. do not use their past part. in इल् but that in आ in the formation of the pass. base, after the manner of the W. Gds. The E. H. and M. alone use the part. in चल् (or इल्) for the pass. (see § 303). Thus E. H. पढल् or पढिल् जाय् it may be said, M. पढिला (or पढला) जाय् it was wont to be read (Man. 99); but B. पढा जाय् (S. Ch. 142), O. पढा जाये (Sn. 39), H. H. पढा जाय् (or जाये), W. H. पढि जाय् or पढ्यो or पढ्यो जाय्, P. पढिआ जाय् (Ld. 60), G. पढ्यो जाय्; but S. पढिते (Tr. 259. 331), Mw. पढीते, N. पढिये, P. पढीए<sup>1</sup>). The latter kind of pass. is occasionally preserved in H. and M.; thus

1) Thus in the 3. sg. fut. pass. Mw. पढीतेलो it will be read, N. पढियेला, P. पढीएगा.

in the H. H. respectful imperatives: कीजे (cf. S. कियणु *to be done* Tr. 260), दीजे, पीजे, लीजे, सीजे, मूजे, डूजे lit. *let it be done, given, drunk, taken, sewn, died, been* (cf. Kl. 164, d); also H. H. करिये, पखिये, etc. *let it be done, read, etc.*, W. H. करीजे or करजे, पखीजे or पखजे, etc. (Kl. 212, a); again in the M. पाहिजे *it is wanted* (Man. 90). In O. E. H., O. W. H., O. P. and O. M. they are also often met with; in O. M. sometimes even in an active sense (Man. 139). Thus in O. E. H. (Tulsī Dās) करिय or करिये or करीजे *let it be done* (Kl. 220. 422), करियत *being done* (part. pres., cf. Kl. 220, a), O. P. करीयतु or करीयत; in O. M. करीजे *let it be done*, करीजेतो *it is being done*, करीजेला *it has been done*, करीजेल *it will be done* (Man. 139). Similarly in S. इडिजे *it may be given up*, इडिजेयो *it is being given up* (Tr. 301. 333).

481. *Derivation.* The origin of the modern comp. pass. can be distinctly traced. In Skr. the pass. is made by the suff. व. In Pr. this becomes ईय or इज्ज (Vr. 7, 8. H. C. 3, 160), and in Gd. ह्य or ई or ईज्ज or यज्ज or इज्ज. Thus Skr. पठ्यते *it is read*, Pr. पढीयइ or पढिज्जइ, whence P. पढीए or N. पखिये or Mw. पखीजे or पखजे or S. पढिजे. Again Skr. क्रियते *it is done*, P. कियज्ज (H. C. 1, 97) or करिज्जइ (H. C. 4, 250) or करीयइ, whence H. H. कीजे, S. किये, Mw. करीजे or करजे, O. M. करीजे, P. करीए, N. करिये. In O. H. and M. H. (Bs. or Br.) the pass. forms पठि जाय्, करि जाय् are used. This shows that the old forms पढिजे, करिजे began to be looked upon as compounds of the past part. पठि, करि (= Pr. पठिअ, करिअ, Skr. पठित, कृत, see § 302) and the verb जै (contracted for जाय्, Pr. जाइ, Skr. याति) *it goes*. This misunderstanding, being once established, naturally led to the further step of using the ordinary past part. (in चल and यो or या) in conjunction with the verb ता *to go* to form the pass.; thus पढिजे became पठि जाय्, पखीजे or पखयौ or पखल् जाय्. It is probable, however, that the old Skr. suff. व itself is a curtailment of the R. वा (= Gd. ता) *to go*; so that the language has merely reverted to the point whence it started. It may also be observed, that there is a tendency in Pr. to shorten a final radical या, which would facilitate the con-



fusion of the R. ग ( = गा) with the suff. त्. Thus Pr. has गति *they go* (H. C. 4, 388) for Skr. गन्ति; Pr. उत्थि *he rises* (H. C. 4, 17) from R. उत्था ( = \*उत्थाति); Pr. वधि *he raises* (H. C. 4, 357) = Skr. स्वापवति; Pr. दधि *he gives* (Wb. Spt. 59) from R. दा; etc.

482. Besides the comp. pass., made with गइव् (§ 479), E. H. possesses an other pass., the root of which is made by adding the suff. ञ् to the root of the act. verb. If the latter contains a long vowel, it is shortened, precisely as in the formation of the causal (see § 474). These pass. roots in ञ् are conjugated precisely as any other intrans. roots in ञ्. Thus act. R. पठ् *read*, pass. R. पठ्ना *be read*, inf. पठ्नाइव् *to be read*, just like inf. गइव् *to go* of the intr. R. ग *go*; again act. R. घुम् *turn*, pass. R. घुम्ना *be turned*, inf. घुम्नाइव् *to be turned*, etc. Though this pass. may be used in the same sense as the comp. pass., yet properly and generally it has a peculiar, viz. a potential, signification. Hence I shall call it the *potential passive*. Thus पठ्नाला means *it can be read*, while पठल् जाला means *it is read*.

*Exception.* The R. खा *eat* makes its pot. pass. R. खिवा *be eaten*.

*Note:* As the pot. pass. may have the sense of the ordinary pass., so the comp. pass. may have that of the pot. pass. Thus पठल् जाला may mean *it can be read*, and पठ्नाला *it is read*.

483. *Affinities.* The pot. pass. also exists in M. and G. I think it probable that other Gds. also possess it, but it does not seem to have attracted the attention of grammarians. In M. it is formed by means of the suff. ञ्व or ञ्वव, and in G. by the suff. ञ् or ञ्वा. The longer suff. ञ्वव and ञ्वा are used with monosyllabic roots and roots ending in इ. Thus E. H. होइव् *it can be loosed*, G. होइव्, M. होइवे; again E. H. कहाव् *it can be said*, G. केहेव्, M. केहवे. This pass. is called in the Man. 75 „the potential verb“ and in Ed. 54 „the first potential mood“, in Ed. 107 „the passive verb“ and in Ed. 51, d apparently „the deponent“. It is constructed in E. H. and G. with the instr. case of the agent, but in M. either with the act. (classically) or

the acc. (colloquially), see Man. 75, 128. note, where, however, the case is erroneously called the dative.

484. *Derivation.* A comparison of the suff. of the pot. pass. with those of the causals (§§ 474, 477) will at once show their identity. Thus the E. H. and G. pot. pass. suff. *आ* is identical with the B., O., H. H. and S. caus. suff. *आ*, and the G. pot. pass. suff. *आवा* with the H. H. double caus. suff. *आवा*; again the M. pass. pot. suff. *अव* and *अवव* are the same as the M. caus. suff. *अवि* and double caus. *अववि*, even as regards the shortening of the original *आ* of the suff. *आव* or *आवाव*. Again the pot. pass. suff. and the caus. suff. have precisely the same influence on the root; thus in E. H. the R. *ल* *eat* becomes *लिया* in the pass. and *लियाव्* in the caus. (see §§ 474, exc. 482, exc.). Lastly the longer pass. suff. *आवा* and *अवव* and the double caus. suff. *आवाव्* and *अववि* are used precisely in the same way; viz. they are added principally to monosyllabic roots. So far, then, there can be no question as to the identity of the forms of the pot. pass. and the two causals. But the sense and mode of construction of the pot. pass., also, prove that identity. In fact, it is merely a caus. with a peculiar reflexive sense. Thus E. H. caus. *मै पोकी पढ़लो* might be translated: *I caused (some one) to read the book*, or briefly, *I caused the book to be read*. Similarly the E. H. *पोकी पढ़ायल्* is either *the book caused (some one) to read itself* or *the book caused itself to be read (by some one)*. It will be seen at once that, practically, this is the same as the pass. *the book was read*. It will also be noticed, that the agent who reads (*some one* or *by some one*) may be expressed either by the acc. or the act. case. Accordingly both cases may be used in M., *मत्ता* (acc.) or *माकूयाने* (act.) *पोकी पढ़वली* *by me the book was read*, lit. *the book caused me to read itself* or *the book caused itself to be read by me*. In E. H. and G. the instr. only is employed; thus E. H. *मो से पोकी पढ़ायल्* or G. *मारा वी पोकी पढ़ावी*. This pass. is now commonly used in a potential sense, *by me the book could be read*; but that sense is not really inherent in the peculiar form of the verb,



but only attached to it conventionally. For even the ordinary comp. pass. may take that meaning; thus *मो से पोयी पढ़ल् गयल्* *by me the book could be read*. On the other hand, the pot. pass. may have the ordinary pass. sense; see § 482, note.

#### 4. MOODS.

485. *Infinitive*. The infinitive is made by adding the suff. *अत्* or *इत्*, obl. *अवे* or *इवे* or *ऐ* to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 308—310. Thus *पढ़ल्* *to read* of R. *पढ़्*; *पढ़वे से* or *पढ़ै से* *by reading*; again *खाइल्* or *खावल्* *to eat* of R. *खा*; *खाइवे* or *खावे* or *खावे से* *by eating*, etc.

*Note*: For affinities and derivation, see §§ 313. 314.

486. *Adjective participles*. The pres. part. is made by adding the suff. *अत्* c. g., and the past part. by adding the suff. *अल्* or *इल्* c. g. to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 298. 299. 302. 303. Thus *पढ़ल्* c. g. *reading*, *पढ़ल्* c. g. *read*; *खात्* c. g. *eating*, *खाइल्* or *खावल्* c. g. *eaten*, etc. The fut. part. is identical with the infinitive, see §§ 310. 485.

*Note*: For exceptions see § 304; and for affinities and derivation see §§ 300. 301. 305—307.

487. *Prayogas*. The past and fut. part. are used with a pass. sense in the pass. and the infin. respectively, but with an act. sense in the past and fut. tenses act. Thus E. H. *मै होउल् तालो* *I am loosed*, *मै होउव् बाटो* *I am to be loosed*, but *घोरा के* (or *घोरा*) *मै* *होउलो* *I did loose the horse*, *घोरा के मै* *होउवो* *I shall loose the horse*, or *पोयी के* (or *पोयी*) *मै* *पढ़लो* *I did read the book*, *पे के मै* *पढ़वो* *I shall read the book*. The latter usage (with the part. in the act. voice and the subj. in the nom. case and the obj. in the acc.) is what I have called (§ 371) the *pass-act. construction*, or the *कर्तरि प्रयोग* of the native grammarians. It is peculiar to all E. Gds. Thus the above sentences are in B.: *ग्रामि* (or *मुड*) *होउ तारु*, but *घोरा के* (or *घोरा*) *ग्रामि होउलिताम्* and *घे* के *ग्रामि होउव*; *पोयी के ग्रामि पढ़िताम्* and *घे के ग्रामि पढ़व*; in O. *तुहि होउ तारु*, but *घोरा कु मुहि होउलि* (or *ग्रामे होउलि*) and *घे कु मे होउव*.

(or *व* होडिवा); पोयो कु मुहि पडिलि and *प* कु म<sup>०</sup> पडिबि. On the other hand, the W. and S. Gds. always use these participles in the pass. sense, and, in consequence, where they are employed to express the pret. ind. and pres. conj. (see § 509, 3) tenses act., they take the subj. in the act. case and the obj. in the nom., and agree with the latter in number and gender. This usage I call the *pass. constr.*; and it is the कर्मणि प्रयोग of the nat. gramm. Thus M. मी सोडिला जातो *I am loosed*, but घोडा मी<sup>०</sup> सोडिला *I did loose the horse* (lit. *the horse was loosed by me*) or पोयी मी<sup>०</sup> वाचिली *I did read the book* (lit. *the book was read by me*), घोडा मी<sup>०</sup> सोडावा *I may loose the horse* (lit. *the horse may be loosed by me*), or *प* मी<sup>०</sup> वाचावी *I may read the book* (lit. *the book may be read by me*). The same in W. H. हो<sup>०</sup> होड्यो जातो, but घोडा मै<sup>०</sup> ने होड्यो, पोयी मै<sup>०</sup> ने वाच्यी; or in S. घाँडे हडिओ घाँडियाँ<sup>१</sup>), but घोडा नूँ हडिओ, पोयी मूँ पडिओ; or in H. H. मै<sup>०</sup> होडा जाता हूँ, but घोडा मै<sup>०</sup> ने होडा, पोयी मै<sup>०</sup> ने पडिओ. There are, however, a few verbs in M., which take the E. Gd. *pass-act. constr.*; as पढपो<sup>०</sup> to read, पावपो<sup>०</sup> to obtain, पिपो<sup>०</sup> to drink, बोलपो<sup>०</sup> to speak, लेपो<sup>०</sup> to take and others (see Man. ३२); thus मी पोयी पढलो<sup>०</sup> *I did read the book*, not मी<sup>०</sup> पोयी पढलो. — There is a third kind of constr. which is also confined to the W. and S. Gds. It is likewise a *pass. constr.*, but differs from the ordinary one, by having the obj. in the acc. case, and the part. in the nom. sing. masc. or neut. It is, in fact, a sort of impersonal *pass. constr.*, and is called by nat. gramm. the भावी प्रयोग. Thus in this constr. the above sentences would be: M. घोडा ला मी<sup>०</sup> सोडिले<sup>०</sup> lit. *as to the horse, it was loosed by me*, पोयी ला मी<sup>०</sup> वाचिले<sup>०</sup> lit. *as to the book, it was read by me*; W. H. (Br.) घोडा कौ<sup>०</sup> मै<sup>०</sup> ने होड्यो, पोयी कौ<sup>०</sup> मै<sup>०</sup> ने वाच्यो; S. घोडा ले मूँ हडिओ, पोयिच ले मूँ पडिओ. — Lastly there is a fourth constr., which, I believe to be confined to the N. Gd. (N.). It is *pass-act.*, but differs from

1) Here, the part. हडिओ is in the pass. voice, but in the pres., instead of the fut. tense, see § 313; but S. has also the old pass. घाँडे हडिओ पो, see § 480.



that common in E. Gd. by having the subj. in the act. case, with which, however, the verb (i. e. past part.) agrees in number and gender. Thus the same sentences in N. are: घोड़े मैं ले ढोड़ियो lit. *as to me, I loosed the horse*, पोथी मैं ले पढ़ियो lit. *as to me, I read the book*; or with a fem. subj. घोड़ी स्त्री ले ढोड़ी lit. *as to the woman, she loosed the horse*.

488. *Adverbial participle.* This part. is the same as the obl. of the strong form of the adj. part., and ends, according to the tense (see § 486), in *घते*, *घले* (or *इले*), *घजे* (or *इजे*). The pres. adv. part. commonly takes the emphatic particle *ई*, which coalesces with its termination to *घते*. In order to distinguish more clearly the resp. time, some noun or case-affix is often added; thus *समै* time after *घते*, *से* from after *घले*, *के* to or *बटे* for after *घजे*. Thus *पढ़ते* or *पढ़तै* or *पढ़ते समै* *on reading* or *during the time of reading*; *पढ़ले* or *पढ़ले से* *after reading* or *on condition of reading*; *पढ़जे* or *पढ़जे के* or *पढ़जे बटे* *for reading* or *for the purpose of reading* or *on the point of reading*.

*Note:* The pres. adv. part., as a rule, expresses coincidence; the past, *precedence* or *condition*; the fut., *imminence* or *object*. The distinction between the pres. and past, however, is not very strictly observed. — The past adv. part. and the conj. part. may be interchanged, as *पोथी पढ़ि आयलू* or *पोथी पढ़ले से आयलू* *he came, having read* or *from reading the book*. — Instead of *होते* *on being* *सते* is sometimes used.

489. *Affinities.* These adv. part., as a rule, exist in all Gds., and are used in the same manner, as in E. H. Their termin. are: in B. *इते*, *इले* (S. Ch. 148. 184. 185), O. *घते*, *इले* (Sn. 28), M. *घतौ* (or emph. *घतौना*, Man. 63. 64), H. H. *घते* (emph. *घते हो*), ए, *घने* (Kl. 311, 2. 3. 309, d. e), P. *घदे*, ए (Ld. 79, 146. 78. 139), S. *घदे*, ए (Tr. 485. 487). See S. Ch., Kl. and Tr. for syntactical observations and examples. They apply equally to E. H.

490. *Conjunctive participle.* This part. is made by adding the suff. *हे* or *इ* to the root of the verb. It is, however, usually changed to *व*, after a vowel, and dropped after a con-

sonant. In order to emphasise the part. the aff. के is commonly superadded. Thus पढ़े or पठि or पढ़ or पढ़े के or पठि के or पढ़ के *having read* from R. पढ़; खाइ or खाय् or खाइ के or खाय् के *having eaten*; होय् के etc. *having been* from Rs. खा, हो. The simple conj. part. without के is especially used in the formation of compound verbs (see § 537), as कहै देख् or कहू देख् *to inform*, खाय् लेख् *to eat up*, आय् जाइख् *to come on*, etc.

491. *Affinities and Derivation.* The suff. of the conj. part. in Skr. are य or त्वा. The former is used for comp., the latter for simple roots; but in the Ved. Skr. य may be used for either kind. In Pr. (both in Sr. and Mg., H. C. 4, 271. 302) they become इय and उय respectively. Both are preserved in Gd.; so, however, that इय is common to the E., W. and N. Gd., while उय is confined to S. Gd. and, optionally, E. R. Thus B. has इया (S. Ch. 148), O. इ (Sn. 28), E. H. ऐ or इ or *quiescent*, W. H. इ or *quiescent* (Kl. 202, 378. 209, 394), P. इ or *quiescent* (Ld. 79), G. ई (Ed. 113), S. ई or ए (Tr. 280. 281), N. ई; but M. उन्, E. R. उने (Kl. 209, 394). Thus Skr. कृत्वा (or कर्त्य) *having done*, Pr. Sr. करिच (H. C. 4, 272), E. H. करे or करि or कर, N. गरै, etc., or Pr. करिउण, M. करन्, E. R. कर्त्तने. Or Skr. प्राप्य *having obtained*, Pr. पाविम, E. H. पाइ or पाय्, N. पाई, etc., or Pr. पाविउण, M. पावून्, E. R. पावूने. I know no satisfactory explanation of the final ए of the E. R. form उने. Similar are the O. M. forms सोनि or सोनियौ (also उनि or उनियौ, see Man. 138. 139, as करोनियौ or करोनि *having done*), and the Mg. Pr. form दापि (Vr. 11, 16, as करिदापि; also Md. 12, 17)<sup>1</sup>). Analogous to the latter, there might have been a Pr. form \*दूपि, from which rather than from the Mg. दापि the modern M. and E. R. forms appear to be derived. Both Pr. forms दापि and दूण (or उण) are modifications of the Ved. Skr. and Pāli त्वान्, a by-form of the ordinary Skr. त्वा (see Wb. Bh. 435), which occurs in the

1) Md's sūtra seems to be, कुो दापिअ स्यात्। पुश्चिदापि। पसे पुश्चिअ ॥ i. e., *having asked*; but both H. C. 4, 272. 302 and T. V. 3, 2. 10. 27 omit दापि and replace it by दूण.



Pr. of the Bh. as *ज्ञात*, just as Skr. *त्वा* becomes in Pr. *ज्ञा* (Wb. Bh. 435) or *दुश्च* (H. C. 4, 272). If *त्वानम्* be (with Ls. 289) the acc. sg. of a base *त्वान* (or *त्वन*), the Pr. *दाणि* or Gd. *ओनि*, *ऊने* might be a loc. sg. for \**ज्ञाणे* or \**तूणे* (cf. H. C. 3, 56); and the Gd. *ओनिवाँ* might be an emphatic form of the same<sup>1</sup>). — Of the Pr. form *दुश्च* (as in *कदुश्च* *having done*, *गदुश्च* *having gone*, H. C. 4, 271) no traces, I believe, have survived in Gd. — The aff. *के* is itself a contraction of the E. H. conj. part. *कम्* *having done* of R. *कर*. It also occurs in P. *के* (Ld. 24, 79), in Br. *के* or *कै* or *कर* or *करि* (Kl. 202); in E. R. it is curtailed to *र* (for *कर*); e. g., *मार-र* *having beaten* for *मार-कर*; *खार-र* *having eaten* for *खार-कर* (Kl. 209, 394). Mw. has the aff. *ने* for *के*; e. g., *कर-ने* *having done* = Br. *कर-के* (Kl. 209, 394). The two aff. are related to each other precisely as the G. gen. aff. *नो* is to the W. H. *को* or *कौ* (see § 377). In H. H. the aff. is reduplicated, *कर-के*; e. g., *मार-कर-के* *having beaten*; similarly E. R. reduplicates *कने* (Kl. 209, 394) and N. *कन्* (shortened for *के-ने*); e. g., N. *गरीकन्* *having done*, *खार्-कन्* *having eaten*, *बसी-कन्* *having sat*, etc.

492. *Nouns of agency.* This is made by adding the suff. *घनिहार* c. g. to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 315. 316. 318. Thus *पठनिहार* *a reader* from R. *पठ*; *खानिहार* *eater* from R. *खा*, etc. According to circumstances, these nouns may have the sense of a pres. part. or a fut. part.; thus *पठनिहार* may mean *one who is reading* or *one who is going to read*.

*Note 1:* The masc. strong form in *घनिहार* is also used occasionally; likewise the W. H. suff. *घनेवारा* (for *घनेवाला*), fem. *री*; but the fem. strong form in *घनिहारी* only forms nouns, expressing an act; thus *पठनेवारा* *a (male) reader*, but *पठनेहारी* the act. of *reading* (not *female reader*), see § 319.

*Note 2:* For affinities and derivation see §§ 320. 321.

1) Ls. 400 supposes *दाणि* to have lost a final *anuwāra* (for \**दाणि*) and to have changed the *ञ* of \**दाण* = *ज्ञाण* to *र*.

## SECOND CHAPTER. TENSES.

493. There are three tenses, the present, past and future, each of which may be either simple or periphrastic (see § 510). The indicative mood possesses all three; the conjunctive has only two, the pres. and past; the imperative has only one, the present. Every tense possesses two numbers, sing. and plur.; and three persons, first, second and third; and also, though with the exception of the pres. conj. and imper., two genders, masc. and fem.

494. Some of the tenses are formed from the root of the verb, others from the participles. From the root are formed the three pres. tenses of the ind., conj. and imp.; from the part., the past and future tenses, viz. the first and second preterite ind., the past conj. and the fut. ind. Tenses made from the root will be called *radical*; those made from the part., *participial*. A third class, made by adding an auxiliary verb to a participle, I shall call *periphrastic*.

### 1. RADICAL TENSES.

495. *Present conjunctive and imperative.* These are identical in every respect, and are made by adding to the root the subjoined suff., according to the number and person (but not gender) of the subj. In the 2. sing. the suff. may optionally be omitted. After roots in अ the forms of the suff. are slightly modified by coalescence with that letter.

|          | Sing.           | Plur.    |                   | Sing.   | Plur.    |
|----------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|---------|----------|
| 1. pers. | अ॑              | इ॑       | after Rs.<br>in अ | आ॑      | आइ॑      |
| 2. pers. | उ॑ or quiesc. अ | अह् or अ |                   | ओ॑ or आ | आह् or आ |
| 3. pers. | ए॑              | ऐ॑       |                   | आ॑      | आय॑      |

*Note 1:* The pres. conj. is occasionally used in the sense of the fut. indic.

*Note 2:* The 2. pl. ends throughout the conjugation either in अह् *ah* or अ *a*. The latter (अ), being the resultant of the drop-



ping of the final *र* of *खड़*, is always *sounded* (see § 24, exc.). It is important to observe this circumstance, as, in the future tense, it forms the only difference between the 1. pl. and the 2. pl., and affects the vowel combination. Thus *पढ्य* *parhab* we shall read, but *पढ्य* *parhaba* you will read; *खाय* *khāb* we shall eat, but *खाय* *khāba* you will eat, or *खाइय* *khāib* we shall eat, but *खाइय* *khaiba* or *खैय* *khaiba* you will eat (see § 508). So *पठ* *parha* read you, but *पठ* *parh* read thou. Again *पढैल* *parhaila* you read, not *पढैल* *parhail* (see § 500). — In Kellogg's Hindi Grammar (p. 201. 233—241) the forms of the 2. pl. are given, by mistake, as forms of the 2. sg. Colloquially the plur. is commonly used in the place of the sing. This practice, probably, has been the cause of the misapprehension.

496. *Affinities.* The E. H., I believe, is the only Gd. language, in which the pres. of the conj. and of the imper. are completely identical. In W. Gd. the two tenses are also alike, with the exception of the 2. sg. But in S. Gd., N. Gd. and E. Gd. (exc. E. H.) the differences are more numerous; viz. 2. and 3. sg. differ in B., 2. and 3. sg. and pl. in N., and 1., 2. and 3. sg. and 2. and 3. pl. in M. — The tense, which is *now* the pres. conj. in E. H., exists in all Gds., but in some of them it has slightly modified its original meaning. It was originally the same as the Skr. and Pr. pres. indic.; and this sense it has preserved in M., though it is now used only in a special case, viz. as a *historical present* or what practically amounts to a *habitual past* (see Man. 59, 3, e. g., *तो बहैरु निघे* *he sallies forth* = *he used to sally forth*); but in O. M. it is employed for the ordinary pres. indic. (Man. 138). Again in B., O. and G. it is both a pres. indic. and a pres. conj. (see S. Ch. 136. 142. Sn. 27. 32. Ed. 54). On the other hand, in E. H., W. H., P., S. and N. it is only a pres. conj. (see Tr. 284—287. Ld. 23, 74. 53)<sup>1</sup>). As a natural

1) Even in these languages it may still be heard occasionally as a pres. ind., e. g., E. H. *गुरु तोड़ के बोलावे* *the teacher calls you*; see also Tr. 287, note and Kl. 206. 212, 402. a; and in O. H. it is still the ordinary

consequence the W. and N. Gd. and E. H. form a new pres. indic. by adding to the old pres. some auxiliary verb (see §§ 500. 501). On the other hand, M. employs, for the purpose of expressing the pres. conj., the part. fut. (called *supine* in Man. 62, see §§ 313. 509, 3), ending in the sing. in *आवा m.*, *आवी f.*, *आवे n.*, in the pl. *आवे m.*, *आवा f.*, *आवी n.* G. may do the same; there the termin. are *अवी m.*, *अवी f.*, *अवु n.* (called *second pres. of the second pot.* in Ed. 54, see § 509, 3)<sup>1</sup>). — In all W. Gds. the pres. conj. (i. e., the old pres. ind.) may be used as a future. Such was the case in O. M. also (Man. 59, 3. note); but it is not so in modern M. In O. M. it was also used in the sense of the *habitual past* (Man. 59, 3. note), as it is in modern M. (see above); but of this usage there are traces even in Pr.; see Wb. Spt. 63; e. g., तद्वा पा रमसि *thou wast not wont to enjoy* (Spt. 91), or तद्वा पा पोसि *thou wast not wont to direct* (Spt. A, 38). — The following table shows the various Gd. termin. of this tense:

Present conjunctive or old pres. indic.

|    | M.                   | N.                  | B.               | O.                 | E. H.              | H. H.          | Br.            | Mw.               | P.             | G.             | S.                |
|----|----------------------|---------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| 1. | ए <sup>5</sup>       | उ, ए                | इ                | इ, अइ <sup>1</sup> | ओ <sup>2</sup>     | ऊ              | ओ <sup>3</sup> | ऊ, उ <sup>4</sup> | ओ <sup>4</sup> | उ <sup>5</sup> | ओ <sup>6</sup>    |
| 2. | अस, एस् <sup>1</sup> | इस्, ए <sup>1</sup> | इस् <sup>1</sup> | उ <sup>1</sup>     | उ, अउ <sup>1</sup> | ए <sup>1</sup> | ऐ <sup>1</sup> | ए <sup>1</sup>    | ऐ <sup>1</sup> | ए <sup>1</sup> | ऐ, ई <sup>2</sup> |
| 3. | ए <sup>4</sup>       | ए <sup>10</sup>     | ए <sup>7</sup>   | अइ, ए <sup>7</sup> | ऐ                  | ए              | ऐ              | ए                 | ए              | ए              | ए                 |
| 4. | ऊ                    | ओ, ए                | इ                | उ, इ               | ई                  | ऐ              | ऐ              | ओ                 | ये             | ये             | ऊ                 |
| 5. | ओ <sup>5</sup>       | ओ, ए                | अ                | अ                  | अउ, अ              | ओ              | ओ              | ओ                 | ओ              | ओ              | ओ                 |
| 6. | अत <sup>6</sup>      | अन्, ए <sup>8</sup> | एन् <sup>8</sup> | अति <sup>9</sup>   | ऐ                  | ऐ              | ऐ              | ऐ                 | अपा            | ए              | अनि               |

In the pres. imper.: 1) अ quiesc.; 2) इ or उ; 3) ऊ; 4) ओ or उ; 5) आ; 6) ओत् or उत्; 7) उ (or B. उक); 8) उन्; 9) अत् or उत्; 10) ओस्.

pres. ind. (Kl. 221, 224). — In the various Gd. grammars this tense is called by a great variety of names; thus *second potential* or *optative* by Ed. 54, *potential* by Tr. 284, *indefinite future* of the pot. mood by Ld. 53, *contingent future* by Kl. 158. 163, *prospective conditional* by Eth. 73; but *pres. subjunctive* by S. Ch. 136. Sn. 32.

1) With trans. verbs the *karmani prayoga* must be used (see § 487), because this part. is properly pass.; but with intrans. verbs the *kartari prayoga*; in the latter case, M. adds in the 2. pers. the suff. ए eg. and त pl., but the first and third pers. are alike. Thus M. तू सुदावास *thou*



497. *Derivation.* 1) The Gd. pres. conj. and pres. imp. are the same as the Skr. pres. indic. and pres. imp. respectively. But in the same measure as the Skr. pres. indic. assumed a conj. sense in Gd., it also became capable of doing duty for the pres. imp. and was, consequently, confounded with it; but so, that, as a rule, the pres. conj. superseded the pres. imper., while in the 2. pers. the imp. took the place of the conj. It will be observed that M., in which the pres. indic. has fully preserved its original indic. sense, possesses both tenses (pres. ind. and pres. imp.) in a complete form, and in B. and O., where its indic. sense is predominant, the greater part of the two senses is preserved; while in W. Gd. and E. H., where its sense is almost exclusively conj., the amalgamation of the two tenses is more or less complete. This amalgamation had already begun in Pr.<sup>1</sup>). Thus in the Ap. Pr. the suff. of the 1. sg. उं, 2. sg. हि and, possibly, 2. pl. हु. of the imper. are optionally, though commonly, substituted for the suff. मि of the 1. sg., सि 2. sg. and ह 2. pl. pres. indic. (H. C. 4, 383. 384. 385; e. g., Ap. कटुं or कटुमि *I cut* = Skr. कर्तव्यामि, E. H. काटोँ or कटोँ; Ap. रुग्रहि or रुग्रसि *thou weapest* = ved. Skr. रुदसि; Ap. इच्छु or इच्छह *you wish* = Skr. इच्छ्य). On the other hand, even in the Mh. Pr. the suff. मो and ह of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. pres. ind. are also used for the imper. and conj. (H. C. 3, 176; e. g., M. हसह *you laugh* or *you may laugh* = Skr. हस्य or हसत or हसेत; Mh. हसामो *we laugh* or *we may laugh* = Skr. हसामः or हसाम or हसेम). — 2) *Pres. conj.* (= old pres. ind.): a) The termin. of the 1. sg. is in Skr. अमि, Pr. अमि or अमि (H. C. 3, 141. 154. Vr. 7, 3. 30), Ap. Pr. अमि or अउं (H. C. 4, 385).

*mayest get loose*, but त्वीं घोडा सोडावा *thou mayest loose the horse* (lit. *by thee the horse may be loosed*); again मी or तो सुटावा *I or he may get loose*.

1) Analogous is the occasional use in Pr. of the pres. ind. as a (pret.) conj., of which Wb. Spt. 62. 82 gives a few examples; thus Spt. 326 नह पा होति *if they were not* (= Skr. यदि न भवति). The Gds. do not use the old pres. ind. in this manner, but express the pret. conj. by means of the part. pres. (see §§ 506. 507); thus E. H. जो न होते.

The former is preserved in the O. *अहं*, M. *हं*, B. *इ*; e. g., Skr. पठामि *I read*, Pr. पठामि or पठमि, O. पठहं, M. पठे, B. and O. पठि. The latter becomes in O. H. अउ, Br. औ, E. H. ओ, H. H. उ, Mw. उ or उ, G. उ, N. उ; thus Ap. Pr. पठजे *I read*, O. H. पठउ, Br. पठो, E. H. पठो, H. H. and Mw. पठू, G. पठू, N. पठु. The S. and P. अौ, as पठाौ, must be a modification either of अउ = ओ or अइ = हं. The Psh. and Pers. have *अम्*. — b) The term. of the 2. sg. is in Skr. असि, Pr. असि (H. C. 3, 140. Vr. 7, 2), Ap. Pr. असि or अहि (H. C. 4, 384). The former is preserved in the O. H. असि or (by transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, see § 148, note) ऐच्, M. अस् or एच्, B. and N. (by shortening of ऐ) इस्; thus Skr. पठसि *thou readest*, Pr. पठसि, O. H. पठसि or पठेस्, Psh. पठस् or पठेस्, B. and N. पठिस्. The latter becomes in O. H. अहि (still used in Br., see Kl. 202, 380) or अइ, W. H. ऐ, H. H. and G. ए; also P. हं and S. हं or हँ, but with an anomalous anunasika; thus Ap. Pr. पठहि, O. H. पठहि or पठइ, W. H. पठै, H. H. and G. पठे, P. पठे, S. पठे or पठो. The Psh. has ए and Pers. ई. As to the E. H. and O. उ, O. H. उ or चु (Kl. 218, e. f), see Nro. 3, h. — c) The term. of the 3. sg. is in Skr. अति, Pr. अइ (H. C. 3, 139. Vr. 7, 1), which is preserved in the O. H. अइ (also अहि with anomalous ह्), O. अइ, but generally contracted to ऐ in E. H. and W. H. or ए in the rest; thus Skr. पठति *he reads*, Pr. पठइ, O. H. पठइ, O. पठइ or पठे, E. H. and W. H. पठै, B., M., N., H. H., G., P., S. पठे. The Psh. has ई and the Pers. *अह*. — d) The term. of the 1. pl. is in Skr. अमः, in Pr. अमो or अमु or आम or अमो or अमु or अम (H. C. 3, 144. 155. Vr. 7, 4. 31) or इमो or इमु or इम (H. C. 3, 155. Vr. 7, 31), Ap. Pr. इमु etc. or अहुं (H. C. 4, 386). The form अहुं, probably, contains an euph. ह् for अउ for Pr. अमु (see § 127, note), perhaps to distinguish it from the 1. sg. अउ (for Pr. 1. sg. imper. अमु, see Nro. 3, g) and to assimilate it to the 1. pl. अहि<sup>1</sup>). It becomes in N. औ, M. and

1) Compare also the O. H. 3. sg. अहि beside अइ (Nro. 2, c). — Cw. XXIX and Ls. 335 give optional 1. pl. termin. अमहो, अमह (e. g., हसमहो, हसमह *we laugh*). These, if correct, would account for the ह् in the Ap. अहुं; but I know no authority for them; H. C. 3, 147. Vr. 7, 7 give only म्यो,



S. ड, O. ड or ड; thus Skr. पठामः *we read*, Pr. पठामो or पठामु or पठमु, Ap. Pr. पठहुं, N. पठौ, M. and S. पठूँ, O. पठुँ or पठु. The Pr. form इमु or इम् contracts in E. H. to ईँ (see § 127), B. and O. (shortened) इ; thus Pr. पठिमु or पठिम्, E. H. पठौँ. The intermediate form would be \*इञ्, which may either contract to ईँ (like M. पाणीँ *water*, for Pr. पाणिञ्, § 83, ex.c.) or drop final ञ (like E. H. करिँ *having done*, for Pr. करिञ्, § 491); hence E. H. पठौँ, O. पठि. But apparently at an early period, it also became transposed to ञइँ and modified to ञहिँ, in assimilation, probably, to the 3. pl. ञहिँ. Both ञइँ and ञहिँ occur in O. Pl. and are contracted to ऐँ in Br. and ऐँ in H. H.; thus O. H. ञइँ or पठहिँ, Br. पठैँ, H. H. पठैँ. In the strange G. and S. form ये, there seems to be a reminiscence of the original intermediate form \*इञ्; thus G. and S. पठये, perhaps for \*पठिञ् or \*पठिञइँ. The Mw. ञौ is a modification of the N. ञौ or the Br. ऐँ, similarly as in the case of the P. and S. 1. sg. ञौ (see Nro. 3, a). The Psh. has ड, the Pers. ईम्. — e) The term. of the 2. pl. is in Skr. ञय, in Pr. ञह (H. C. 3, 143. Vr. 7, 4) or ञहं (with euph. anusvāra, see H. C. 1, 27. Ls. 336), in Ap. Pr. ञह or ञहु (H. C. 4, 384). The former is only preserved in E. H. ञह or ञ, B. and O. ञ, and M. ञौ (for ञह); thus Skr. पठय *you read*, Pr. पठह or पठहं, E. H. पठह, B. and O. पठ, M. पठौँ. The latter, I am inclined to explain as identical with the Skr. ञयः of the 2. dual; it would regularly become in Pr. \*ञहो or ञहु<sup>1</sup>). In O. H. it becomes ञहु or ञउ, in Br. and N. ञौ, in the rest ञौ; thus Ap. Pr. पठहु, O. H. पठहु or पठउ, Br. and N. पठौ, E. H., H. H., Mw., P., G., S. पठौ. The Psh. has ञइँ, the Pers. ईद्; the latter is represented by the Pr. इत्य (H. C. 3, 143 as इस्तिय *you laugh*) which, however, has left no trace in Gd. — f) The term. of the 3. pl. is in Skr. ञन्ति, in Pr. ञन्ति (H. C. 3, 142. Vr. 7, 4), in Ap. Pr. ञन्ति or ञन्ति (H. C.

ह for the Skr. स्मः *we are*, where ह is perfectly regular for स् by H. C. 2, 74. Vr. 3, 32.

1) Just as 1. pl. Pr. ञामो or ञामु for Skr. ञामः; see also Nro. 3, 1; Ls. 468 identifies it with the Skr. त्वम् of the ātman. 2. pl. imper., but this would have changed to Pr. ह, as felt by himself, p. 386.

4, 382). The former is only preserved in O. संति and M. सन् (see § 146, note); thus Skr. पठन्ति *they read*, Pr. पठन्ति, O. पठन्ति, M. पठन्. The latter becomes in O. H. अहिँ or अइँ, E. H. and Br. ऐँ, H. H. एँ, also Mw. ऐ and G. ए with loss of *anunásika*; thus Ap. Pr. पठहिँ, O. H. पठहिँ or पठइँ, E. H. and Br. पठेँ, H. H. पठेँ, Mw. पठे, G. पठे. The origin of the Ap. form अहिँ is disclosed by the O. H. termin. अन्हि or एन्हि (for \*इअन्हि) of the pret. tense (see § 503). It appears that संति was changed to अन्ति, then to अन्ति and finally to अन्हि (see § 161). The O. H. अन्हि is preserved in the S. अन्ति, B. एन् (with transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, § 148, note), P. अण्, N. अन्. Thus S. पठन्ति, B. पठेन्, P. पठण्, N. पठन्. The Psh. has ई and the Pers. अन्द (softened for अन्). — 3) *Pres. imper.*: g) The term. of the 1. sg. is in Skr. अन्ति, which, however, is a peculiar suff. and does not exist in Pr. The latter has the regular suff. अन्तु or अन्तु (H. C. 3, 173. Vr. 7, 18); in the Ap. Pr. it becomes अउँ (see § 127)<sup>1</sup>) and becomes a suff. of the pres. conj. (or indic., H. C. 4, 385, see § 497, 2, a). In M. it contracts to उँ, but remains a suff. of the 1. sg. imper.; while in E. H. it contracts to ओँ and passes to the pres. conj., and so in all W. Gds. and in N. Gd. On the other hand, B. and O. have lost it, and use the suff. इ of the pres. conj. instead. Thus (Skr. पठान्ति), Pr. पठान्तु or पठन्तु *let me read*, Ap. Pr. पठउँ *I may read or I read*, M. पठूँ *let me read*, E. H. पठोँ *I may read or I read*, etc. — h) The term. of the 2. sg. is in Skr. अहि (suff. हि) or अ; Pr. has preserved the regular termin. अन्तु besides अहि and अ (H. C. 3, 173. 174. 175. Vr. 7, 18), and the Ap. Pr. has, besides अहि, also ए or इ or उ (H. C. 4, 387. K. I. 62 in Ls. 453). The term. अन्तु must have existed in the Ap. Pr.; for it is still found occasionally in O. H., both in the sense of the imper. and the pres. conj. (see Kl. 218, f. 220, 1). Similarly the term. अहि is used also for the pres. indic. in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 383) and for the pres. conj. in W. Gd. (see

1) I prefer this explanation of the origin of the Ap. term. अउँ to that previously given in § 123, note.



§ 497, 2, b), but in the O. H. is still occurs both for the imper. and the pres. conj. (Kl. 204). The Ap. termin. *ꣳ* is a contraction of *अग* (of the X<sup>th</sup> class or causal imper.) and represents the Skr. and Pr. term. *अ*, while the Ap. term. *इ* is a curtailment of *ꣳ*, and the term. *उ* perhaps a corruption of the *अ*. This is clearly shown by the S., which has preserved both *इ* and *उ*, and uses the former for trans. verbs (which correspond to the old caus. and X<sup>th</sup> class verbs, see §§ 472. 473), while it adds the latter to intrans. verbs (Tr. 251). The term. *उ* is preserved also in O. H. (see Kl. 218, e. 220, 1), E. H. and O., but has assumed also the sense of the pres. conj.; while throughout Gd. (exc. S. and optionally O. H. and E. H.) it becomes *quiescent* (i. e. *अ qu.*) when used in its proper sense of the imper. Thus Pr. *पठसु read thou*, but O. H. *पठसु read thou* or *thou mayest read*; or Pr. *पठहि read thou*, Ap. Pr. *पठहि read thou* or *thou readest*, O. H. *पठहि read thou* or *thou mayest read* or *thou readest*; or Skr. *पठ read thou*, Pr. *पठ*, Ap. *पठु*, O. H. and E. H. *पठु read thou* and *thou mayest read*, O. *पठु thou mayest read*, E. H. *पठु read thou* or *thou mayest read*, all other Gds. (exc. S.) *पठ read thou*. Again Pr. *पठे* (cf. H. C. 3, 158) *read thou*, Ap. *पठे* or *पठि*, S. *पठि*. — i) The term. of the 3. sg. is in Skr. *अतु*, in Pr. *अउ* (H. C. 3, 173. Vr. 7, 18) and becomes in M. *ओ* or *उ*, O. *उ*, B. *उ-क्*, N. *ओ-स्* (or after vowels *उ-स्*). The additions, *क्* in B. and *स्* in N., are pleon. suff. of obscure meaning and origin; perhaps they are enclitic pronouns, viz. indef. *के* or 3. pers. *से* (see § 503). Thus *पठतु let him read*, Pr. *पठउ*, M. *पठो* or *पठु*, O. *पठु*, B. *पठुक्*, N. *पठोस्* (or *तावस् let him go*). — k) The termin. of the 1. pl. is in Skr. *आम*; but Pr. substitutes the termin. *आमो* or *अमो* (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20) or *अमु* and Ap. Pr. *अमुं* (K. I. 64, in Ls. 453) of the pres. indic. The same is also done in all Gds.; thus (Skr. *पठाम*), Pr. *पठमो* or *पठमु let us read*, Ap. *पठमुं*, N. *पठौ*, M. *पठू*, etc., see § 497, 2, d. — l) The termin. of the 2. pl. is in Skr. *अत*; but Pr. substitutes the termin. *अह* (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20) of the pres. indic. The Ap. Pr. has *अउ* (K. I. 63, in Ls. 453) which is

the same as *ग्रह्* of the pres. indic. (see § 497, 2, e), but has dropped *ह*<sup>1</sup>). It occurs also in all W. Gds., and after vowels in N.; while the Pr. *ह* is preserved in the E. Gds. and M., and also, after consonants, in N. Thus (Skr. पठत), Pr. पठह *read you*, E. H. पठह or पठ (*parha*), B., O. and N. पठ, M. पठा (for \*पठञ् = पठह); but Ap. पठउ, Br. पठो, Mw., G., P., S. पठो, in fact identical with the 2. pl. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2, e). — m) The term. of the 3. pl. is in Skr. *घन्तु*, Pr. *घन्तु* (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20), it is preserved in the O. *घन्तु* or *उन्तु* (by transfer of *उ* into the preceding syllable, § 148, note), M. *घोन्तु* or *उन्तु*, B. and N. *उन्तु*. Thus Skr. पठन्तु *let them read*, Pr. पठन्तु, O. पठन्तु or पठन्तु, M. पठोन्तु or पठन्तु, B. and N. पठन्तु. The change of *उन्तु* to *उन्तु* is analogous to that of *घन्तु* to *घन्तु* (see § 497, 2, f). The other Gds. substitute the 3. pl. of the pres. conj. — 4) As regards the contracted E. H. terminations, they will be understood from the following examples: Skr. खादति *he eats*, Pr. खादइ or खाइ (H. C. 4, 228), E. H. खाइ; Skr. खादामि *I eat*, Pr. खादमि or खामि, Ap. Pr. खाउं, E. H. खावँ, etc.

*Note:* It may be observed, that B. uses the termin. of the 3. pl. for the 2. pl. in respectful address: thus pres. B. पठेन् *you read* (lit. *they read*), pret. पठित्वेन् *you read* or पठित्वेन् *you have read*, पठित्वेन् *you had read*, fut. पठिष्वेन् *you will read*, etc. In M. this is always done in the 2. pl. of the pres. conj. (see § 509, 3), the termin. of which *आवेत्* m., *आव्यात्* f., *आवेति* n. really belong to the 3. pl. See also § 501, footnote on p. 342.

498. The pres. imper. may optionally add the following suff. in the 2. person.; viz., sing. इहे and plur. इह; e. g., पठिहे *read thou*, पठिह *read you*. This is a respectful form of the imper., implying request or prayer rather than command, and may be called a *precativ*. Sometimes it is used in the sense of a simple future.

499. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the corresponding suff. of the old Skr. and Pr. futuro. The use of the fut. to express the imper. is easily intelligible.

1) La. reads *उ*, which is probably a false reading for *उ* or *ह*.



The corresponding Skr. termin. are: sg. इव्यसि, pl. इव्य, in the Ap. Pr. sg. इहहि and pl. इहह or इहहु, in E. H. sg. इहे (for \*इहइ = इहह), pl. इह (for \*इहह); in O. S., and occasionally M. S., pl. इहो (for \*इहउ); e. g., कल्लिहो *seize ye* (Tr. 266). — The corresponding suff. in W. H. are: sg. इये and pl. इयो; that is, the medial ह् is elided, and the hiatus filled up by the connecting semivowel य्. P. has sg. ई, pl. ईओ (Ld. 44); B. has pl. इओ (S. Ch. 147); and S. has sg. इत्ति or एत्ति or इत्ता or इत्ताइ, pl. इत्तो or एत्तो or इत्ताउ or इत्ताह (Tr. 266. 267); G. sg. अत्ते, pl. अत्तो; Mw. sg. अत्ते or ईत्ते or अत्ते, pl. अत्तो or ईत्तो or अत्तो (Kl. 211. 212); Br. sg. इयै or इयै or इयै or इत्ते or इत्ते, pl. इयो or इयो or इयो or इत्तो or इत्तो (Kl. 204). I am inclined to think, that the W. Gd. forms are really passive, but used actively. Thus (Skr. पठ्यसे), Ap. Pr. पठोअहि or पठिअहि or पठिअहि (H. C. 3, 175), Br. पठोयै or पठियै, P. पठो, or Mw. पठोत्ते, S. पठित्ते or पठित्ते, G. पठित्ते; plur. (Skr. पठ्यथे), A. Pr. पठोअहु or पठिअहु, Br. पठोयो, P. पठोयो, Mw. पठोत्तो, S. पठित्तो or पठित्तो. The increment इत्त or इत्ता or एत्त or एत्ता is found also in Pr. All verbs in Pr. may use it in the 2. pers. of the imper. (H. C. 3, 175), while the verb हो (Skr. भू) *to be* and others ending in a vowel (H. C. 3, 178. K. I. 315, in Ls. 357) may adopt it in any tense. This shows, I think, that these forms cannot well be identified with the single Skr. precative (or benedictive) tense (as Ls. 357)<sup>1</sup>), but constitute a regularly conjugated passive verb which, however, has assumed an active sense (see § 348). Thus *pres. tense*, Pr. होइ or होत्ताइ *he is* (H. C. 3, 178) = Skr. भवति or (pass.) भूयते. There is also a longer form होत्ताइ, where the tendency of the pass. suff. य् to revert to its original radical state त् (which is fully developped in the Gd. pass., see § 481) already shows itself; for Pr. होत्ताइ is, as it were, a compound of भू + गति lit. *he is going to be*; compare the real H. H. compound हो त्ताइ *he becomes*, E. H. होय जाय. Again in the *imper.*, Pr. होउ or होत्ताउ *let him be* = Skr. भवतु or

1) It is probable, however, that the Skr. pass. and prec. are formed on the same principle, by compounding the auxil. verb ग् to go with the root; e. g., 3. sg. भूयान् *may he be* = R. भू and 2<sup>nd</sup> aorist गतु.

(pass.) भूयताँ (lit. \*भूयतु, for the Pr. prefers the parasm. suff., see Ls. 333); also Pr. होज्ञाउ (H. C. 3, 178) = \*भू + गतु. Again in the fut., Pr. होहिंसि or होज्ञहिंसि *thou wilt be* = Skr. भविष्यसि or (pass.) भविष्यसे (lit. \*भूयस्यसे, for Pr. incorporates the pass. suff. य, see § 346); also Pr. होज्ञाहिंसि (H. C. 3, 178) = \*भू + वास्यसि. Again in the imper., Pr. हससु or हसेज्ञसु *laugh thou* (H. C. 3, 175) = Skr. हस or (pass.) हस्यस्व; also Pr. हसेज्ञहि or contr. हसेज्ञे (H. C. 3, 175), whence S. हसेज्ञि or हसिज्ञि. S. has also a longer form हसेज्ञाइ or हसिज्ञाइ lit. = \*हस् + वाहि. Similarly S. pl. हसेज्ञो or हसिज्ञो *laugh ye* presuppose a Ap. Pr. (not mentioned by H. C.) हसेज्ञहु. In Pr. all the personal suff. may be dropped, and that, in all tenses alike; thus leaving the mere increment इज्ञ or एज्ञ as a universal termination; and this curtailed form may be used with all roots, whether ending in a vowel\* or consonant; thus Pr. होज्ञ or होज्ञा may mean: *he is* or *he may be* or *let him be* or *he was* or *he has been* or *he will be*, etc.; similarly पढेज्ञ or पढेज्ञा may mean: *he reads*, *he will read*, or *let him read*, etc. (H. C. 3, 177). Of this usage, however, I believe, there is no trace in Gd.

500. *Present indicative.* This tense is made by adding the following suff. to the root of the verb according to the gender, number and person of the subj.

| Sing. Masc.             | Fem.        | Plur. Masc.          | Fem.         |
|-------------------------|-------------|----------------------|--------------|
| 1. ऐलौ (or ऐल्यो) ऐल्यू | ऐला         | ऐल                   | ऐला          |
| 2. ऐले or ऐलेस्         | ऐली or ऐलिस | ऐल or ऐलइ (or ऐल्यइ) | ऐल्यू        |
| 3. ऐला                  | ऐले         | ऐलै or ऐलेन्         | ऐली or ऐलिन् |

Optionally the initial ऐ may be changed to अ (§ 26); thus masc. अलौ, fem. अल्यू, etc.; but 1. pl. only ईला. After roots in आ or ए and the R. हो, the initial ऐ or अ (but not ई) is dropped. Thus 1. sg. masc. लौ, fem. ल्यू, etc.; but 1. pl. always ईला.

501. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) It has been stated in §§ 496. 497 that the old pres. indic. has been changed into the pres. conj. in E. H., N. and the W. Gds. Accordingly these languages (exc. P. see Nro. 2, p. 343) form a new pres. indic. by adding to the old tense some auxil. verb, viz. in Bh. लो, Mth.



ही, N. हूँ, Br. होँ or हूँ (Kl. 206, a), Mw. हूँ or हूँ (Kl. 212, 402), G. हूँ (Ed. 54), S. वो (Tr. 293). The Mth., N., Br., Mw. and G. forms ही, हूँ or हूँ, हूँ or होँ are those of the pres. tense of the auxil. verb *to be* (see § 514, 4. 5); but while Br., Mw. and G. simply add them to the unchanged termin. of the pres. conj., Mth. and N. first reduce the latter to the uniform type ऐ and अ respectively. Thus Br. करौँ होँ or करँ हूँ, Mw. करँ हूँ or करँ हूँ, G. करँ हूँ, but Mth. करै ही, N. गर हूँ or गर हूँ *I do*; Br. करै है, Mw. करै है or करै है, G. करे है, Mth. करै है, N. गर हस *thou doest*, etc. The S. form वो is the past part. of the auxil. verb विष्णु *to be* (contr. for विष्णो, Tr. 305, see § 514, 6), and is simply added to the pers. termin. of the pres. conj., but agrees in gender and number with the subj.; thus S. masc. करिषाँ वो *I do*, fem. करिषाँ वो, pl. masc. करिषाँ वा *we do*, fem. करिषाँ विह, etc. The E. H. form लो is the 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. of the auxil. verb आव् *to come*, curtailed from ऐलो (see § 509, 4). It is conjugated regularly (see § 504), with the exception of the 3. sg. and 1. pl., where it has ला for \*ल and \*ली (i. e., 3. sg. ऐल् or आवल्, 1. pl. ऐली); and the pers. termin. of the pres. conj., to which it is added, are not the ordinary ones but a uniform type in ऐ (as in Mth.) or in अ (as in N.), with the exception of the 1. pl. which preserves its regular term. ई<sup>1</sup>). It may be observed, that in Gw. the forms, sg. लो, pl. अ, are used as an auxil. verb, in the sense of *he is, they are*, etc.; by the side of the ordinary W. H. है, है, ह, etc. (Kl. 198, 200); e. g., Gw. कोई लो or कोई ह or कोई है or कोई है

1) The uniform ऐ-type can easily be explained. In Pr. the 2. and 3. sg. pres. conj. ends in ऐ, the 1. pl. in ऐ. In O., the 1. sg. ends in अई which would easily contract to ऐ. Lastly in Br. the 3. pl. ऐन् is also used in the 2. pl. (see S. Ch. 142 and § 497, note; e. g., कोन् *they do* and *you do*); this is sometimes also done in Bs. (e. g., अऐ or अऐन् *they are* or *you are*; but the proper 2. pl. अह् or अह or अहो is also used); similarly the E. H. 3. pl. ऐ would intrude into the 2. pl. Final anunasika is dropped. According to these analogies every person of the E. H. pres. conj. might end in ऐ. The अ-type of the N. is but a shorter form of the ऐ-type (see § 26).

is there any one? In E. H. the forms of the pres. indic. are sometimes used in the sense of a future indic.; e. g., E. H. माई आवैले तव खाईला i. e. *when mother comes, then we shall eat*. Now it will be shown in § 509, 4, that the fut. indic. is made precisely in the same way (by adding the auxil. part. ल come to the pres. conj.) in Mw., M. and N.; and it may be observed, that in the Br. and P. their fut. indic., which is made in an analogous way by adding the auxil. part. ग gone to the pres. conj. (§ 509, 5), is also used as a pres. indic. in the case of the substant. verb *to be*; thus compare Br. and P. है or हैगा (हैगी) masc. *he is*, fem. है or हैगी with Br. होयगी, H. H. होगा, P. होवेगा masc., ०गी fem. *he or she will be*; again Br. हैं or हैंगे masc. *we are*, fem. हैं or हैंगी, P. masc. हों or होंगे, fem. हों or होंगी with Br. होयंगे, H. H. होंगे, P. होवोंगे masc. *we shall be*, fem. Br. ०गी, H. H. ०गी, P. ०गी, etc. Again the presence of a long vowel in the antepenultimate, as E. H. सूतैलो *I sleep* (of R. सूत), proves the composite character of the forms of the pres. indic. (viz. सूतै + लो); for otherwise, if they were single words, such a vowel would be shortened by the rule of § 25. Lastly these composite forms naturally yield the sense of a pres. indic. Thus सूतैलो which means lit. *I have come (that) I may sleep* or *I have come to sleep*, may easily pass into *I am sleeping* or *I sleep*. Literally these forms express, that the action is the present result of preceding events; e. g., „I have come to be happy“ is equal to „I am happy“ now. — 2) The H. H. and P. and, optionally, the Bs., Br. are peculiar in adding the auxil. verb हूँ, हों, घहेउँ, होँ resp., not to the old pres. tense, but to the pres. part. in ना, दा, त, तु resp. Thus sing. Bs. कर्तु घहेउँ masc., ०ति घ० fem. (Kl. 241), Br. कर्तु हूँ or ०ती होँ m., ०ति or ०ती हूँ or होँ f. (Kl. 202, a. 204, 283), P. कर्दा हों m., ०ती हों f. (Ld. 29, 37, 46), H. H. कर्ता हूँ m., ०ती हूँ f. *I do*; plur. Bs. कर्तु घही m., ०ति घही f., Br. कर्तु हैं or ०ते हैं m., ०ति or ०ती हैं f., P. कर्दे हों m., ०ती हों f., H. H. कर्ते हैं m., ०ती हैं f. *we do*, etc. Sometimes the auxil. verb is omitted; but in that case, the forms are properly those of



the pret. conj. — 3) In M. the old pres. indic. has assumed the sense of a *habitual past* (§ 496). Hence it forms a new pres. indic. by suffixing the ordinary personal termin. to the pres. part. in अन् (Man. 69. 72), in the same way as in the E. H. pret. conj. (§ 506). Thus M. करितो<sup>m</sup>, करित्वे<sup>f</sup>, करिते<sup>n</sup>. *I do*; करितोस्<sup>m</sup>, करितोस्<sup>f</sup>, करितेस्<sup>n</sup>. *thou doest*, etc. — 4) In B., O. and optionally in G., the old pres. indic. having retained its original indic. sense (§ 496), is still used as such (S. Ch. 142. Sn. 27. Ed. 54). Thus B. करि, O. करि, G. कर I *do*; B. करिस्, O. कर, G. करो *thou doest*, etc. — 5) I add a comparative table of the terminations:

Singular.

|    | B.         | O.   | E. H.  | Mth.      | Br.                   | Mw.            | G.         |
|----|------------|------|--------|-----------|-----------------------|----------------|------------|
| 1. | इ          | अइ   | ऐ लो   | ऐ हो      | ओ हौ                  | उँ हूँ, उँ हूँ | उँ, उँ हूँ |
| 2. | इस्        | उ    | ऐ लेस् | ऐ हे      | ऐ हे                  | ऐ हे, ऐ हे     | ए, ए हे    |
| 3. | ए          | अइ   | ऐ ला   | ऐ अहि     | ऐ है                  | ऐ है, ऐ है     | ए, ए हे    |
|    | N.         | S.   | M.     | Bs.       | Br.                   | H. H.          | P.         |
| 1. | अहुँ, अहुँ | ओ थो | अतो    | अत् अहेउं | अत् हुँ <sup>1)</sup> | अता हूँ        | अदा हौ     |
| 2. | अ हुस्     | ऐ थो | अतोस्  | अत् अहेस् | अत् है                | अता है         | अदा है     |
| 3. | अ इ        | ए थो | अतो    | अत् अहै   | अत् है                | अता है         | अदा है     |

Plural.

|    | B.                  | O.     | E. H.  | Mth.                    | Br.    | Mw.        | G.          |
|----|---------------------|--------|--------|-------------------------|--------|------------|-------------|
| 1. | इ                   | उं     | ई ला   | ऐ हो                    | ऐ है   | ओ हौ, ओ हौ | ये, ये ह्ये |
| 2. | अ                   | अ      | ऐ लह्  | ऐ हो                    | ओ हौ   | ओ हो, ओ हो | ओ, ओ हो     |
| 3. | एन्                 | अंति   | ऐ लेन् | ऐ अयि                   | ऐ है   | ऐ है, ऐ है | ए, ए हे     |
|    | N.                  | S.     | M.     | Bs.                     | Br.    | H. H.      | P.          |
| 1. | अ हूँ <sup>2)</sup> | उं था  | अतो    | अत् अही                 | अत् है | अते है     | अदे हौ      |
| 2. | अ हौ                | ओ था   | अता    | अत् अहह <sup>3)</sup>   | अत् हौ | अते हो     | अदे हो      |
| 3. | अ हुन्              | अनि था | अतात्  | अत् अहेन् <sup>3)</sup> | अत् है | अते है     | अदे हुन्    |

In the fem., S. changes थो and था to थी and थिउं, Br. अत् to अति, H. H. अता and अते to अती, P. अदा and अदे to अदी and अदीअो; M. sg. 1. अये<sup>1)</sup> or अते, 2. अत्येस् or अतेस् or अतीस्, 3. अती

1) Or, masc. अती हौ, fem. अती हौ, etc.

2) Or, अ हूँ.

3) Or, 2. अत् अहौ, 3. अत् अहे.

or अत्ये or अते; pl. fem. like masc. — In the neut., M. has sg. 1. अते, 2. अतेस्, 3. अते; pl. neut. like masc.

## 2. PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

502. *First preterite indicative.* A past tense indic., which I shall call the *first preterite* to distinguish it from the other form of the past indic. (§ 504), is made by modifying the termination of the past part. in इच्च or इ (see § 302) in the following manner according to the number and person (but not the gender) of the subj.

Sing. 1. यो, 2. इच्, 3. इच्. Plur. 1. आ, 2. यो, 3. इन्.

There is no difference in meaning between the first and second preterites; they only differ in usage; the first pret. is said to be confined to the language of towns (*nāgarī bhāṣā*).

*Exception.* As to some verbs which use an irregular past part. see § 304. E. g., कर्त्तु to do uses the forms किय (for किइच्च) in the 1. sg. and 1. 2. pl., and किहि in the 2. 3. sg. and 3. pl.; thus sing. 1. कियौ, 2. किहिस्, 3. किहिस्; plur. 1. किया, 2. कियो, 3. किहिन्. Like कर्त्तु are conjugated धर्त्तु to place, देव् to give, लेव् to take.

503. *Affinities and Derivation.* This tense exists in all Gds., exc. M.; but it is formed in a variety of ways. — 1) In O. H., E. H. and N. it is made by adding the suff. of the pres. conj. to the weak past participial form in इच्च or इ (§ 302). These suff. (after subtracting the initial च of the terminations, see § 497) are: 1. sg. उ or ई (as in O. H. कर्त्तु, O. कर्त्तु I do); 2. sg. सि or हि or उ (as in O. H. कर्त्तु or कर्त्तु or E. H. कर्त्तु thou doest); 3. sg. इ or (with anomalous ह्) हि (as in O. H. कर्त्तु or कर्त्तु he does); 1. pl. उ (as in N. कर्त्तु we do for \*कर्त्तु or N. कर्त्तु we go); 2. pl. हु (as in O. H. कर्त्तु you do); 3. pl. न्हि or नि (as in S. कर्त्तु or कर्त्तु they do, Tr. 287). The part. termin. इच्च is generally contracted to ऐ and, sometimes, to च in O. H. — a) The 1. sg. suff. उ occurs in O. H. and E. H.; thus पठिच्च + उ = O. H. and Bs. पठेउ or पठेउ, Bh. पठुयो I read; the 1. sg. ई in N.; e. g., पठिच्च + ई = N. पठे I read or विच्च + ई = N. व्ये or विवे I was. —



Again b) the 2. sg. हि or उ occur in O. H.; thus पठिष्य + हि = O. H. पठेहि or पठिष्य + उ = O. H. पठेउ or पठउ *thou readst*; the 2. sg. सि in O. H. and Bs., thus पठिष्य + सि = O. H. पठेसि, Bs. पठिसि; in E. H., N. and, optionally, in Bs. it is shortened to स्, Bs. पठेस्, Bh. and N. पठिस्, or विष्य + सि = N. ख्येस् or खियेस् *thou wast*. — Again c) the 3. sg. suff. हि occurs in O. H.; thus पठिष्य + हि = O. H. पठेहि *he read*. The 3. sg. इ does not exist in this tense. The E. H. adds the aff. स्, which in the longer form सि, occurs also in O. H. and Bs.; thus पठिष्य + aff. सि = O. H. पठेसि, Bs. पठिसि or पठेस्, Bh. पठिस् *he read*. Though these 3. sg. forms outwardly resemble those of the 2. pers., they can scarcely have the same origin<sup>1</sup>). The same 3. sg. aff. स् exists also in P.; e. g., पठिष्योस् *he read*, क्रीतोस् *he did* (Ld. 69); and also in N., though not in the pret. but the imper. (see § 497, 3. i, p. 338); e. g., पठोस् *let him read*. It is possibly a shortened form of the 3. pers. pron. से, enclitically attached in a manner similar to the more general S. practice of affixing curtailed pron. forms to the verb (see Tr. 345 ff.); thus S. पठित-सि *he read*, विरित-सि *he turned round* (Tr. 368). The N. adds in the 3. sg. no suff. at all, but uses the strong instead of the weak part. form; thus N. masc. पठ्यो or पठियो *he read*, fem. पठो *she read*, or masc. ख्यो or खियो *he was*, fem. खिई *she was*. — Again d) the 1. pl. उँ occurs in N.; thus पठिष्य + उँ = N. पठ्युँ or पठ्युँ *we read*, or विष्य + उँ = N. विउँ or ख्युँ *we were*. The O. H. and Bs. use (just as in the pres. conj.) the suff. of the 3. pl. न्हि or नि, thus पठिष्य + न्हि (for नि) = O. H. पठेन्हि, Bs. पठिनि or पठेन्. The E. H. (Bh.) 1. pl. termin. षा is, perhaps, a modification for \*वाँ, containing the same 1. pl. termin. षाँ as the 1. pl. of the Mw. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2. d, p. 336); thus E. H. पठा *we read* for \*पठ्याँ = पठिष्य + षाँ. — Again e) the 2. pl. तु occurs in O. H., E. H. and N.; thus पठिष्य + तु =

1) O. H. has, in the 3. sg., forms in षउ or षैउ resembling those of the 2. pers., e. g., पठेउ or पठउ *he read*, but here उ is, probably, not a conjugational, but a pleon. suff. = Ap. Pr. पठिषउ, Pr. पठिष्यो, Skr. पठितकः, corresponding to the S. 3. sg. पठिषो, N. पठ्यो.

O. H. पढेहु, N. पढिउ or पढ्यौ, Bh. पढ्यौ, Bs. पढिउ *you read*, or N. चिन् + हु = चियउ or च्यो *you were*. — Again f) the 3. pl. ण्हि occurs in O. H., as पढेन्हि *they read*, and णि in Bs. पढिणि and न् in E. H. and N. पढेन्, Bh. पढिन्. The N., however, has more usually a suff. ए, which is perhaps a modification of \*वे or \*वे, containing the same 3. pl. suff. ए or ऐ as the 3. pl. of the G. and H. H. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2. f, p. 337); e. g., N. पढे *they read* for \*पढ्ये or \*पढ्ये = पढिन् + ऐ, or N. च्ये or ये *they were*. Sometimes N. omits the suff. altogether, and uses only the strong form of the past part.; thus N. पढ्या *they read*, चिया or च्या *they were*. — It will be observed, that this mode of forming the pret. indic. practically amounts to treating the past part. as a denominative verbal root. The treatment, generally, of past part. as denominative roots is not uncommon in E. H. (see § 352), and existed even in Pr. (see Wb. Bh. 429). In this particular case, no doubt, the practice originated from the similarity, in Pr., of participles, used denominatively, to participles accompanied by the auxil. verb अस् *to be*. Thus compare the denom. form, 1. sg. Pr. पढिग्रमि, Ap. Pr. पढिग्रउं (= Skr. \*पढितामि) *I read* with the common compound form, Pr. पढिग्रमिहि (H. C. 3, 147) = Skr. पढितोऽसि. — 2) In B. and O. this tense is made by adding the pres. tense of the auxil. verb आहि or अहि *I am* to the past part. in इअ or इ resp.; thus 1. sg. B. पढियाहि *I read* for पढिअ or पढि + आहि, O. पढिअहि = पढि + अहि; 2. sg. B. पढियाहि, O. पढिअहु *thou readst*, etc. — 3) S. combines these two methods in the formation of this tense; viz., in the 1. sg. and pl. it adds (like the B. and O.) the auxil. verb सि *I am* and सो *we are* (for हि and हो, § 11); e. g., 1. sg. S. हलिउ-सि masc., हलिअ-सि fem., or (in poetry) हलिओ-सि m., हलिआ-सि f. *I went* (= O. चलिअहि), pl. masc. हलिआ-सो, fem. हलिउ-सो *we went* (हलिउ being the masc. and हलिअ the fem. nom. sing. of the weak and हलिओ, हलिआ of the strong form of the past part.). In the 2. sg. and pl. it adds (like the E. H.) the person. term. of the pres. conj., sg. ऐ and pl. उ; thus 2. sg. हलिऐ masc. (i. e., base हलिअ + suff. हि), हलिऐ or हलिअो



fem. *thou wentest*; pl. masc. हल्यउ (= E. H. चलो), fem. हलिउं *you went*. In the 3. sg. and pl. it adds (like the N.) no suff. at all, but uses the strong instead of the weak participial form; thus 3. sg. हलिओ masc., हली fem. *he or she went* (= N. चलियो, चली); pl. masc. हलिआ, fem. हलिउं *they went* (= N. चल्या, चली). These remarks, however, apply only to intrans. verbs. In the case of trans. verbs, S. never adds any suff. or auxil. verbs, but uses only the strong past part. form; that is, in effect, trans. verbs have in S. only a 3. pers. sg. and pl. (but no 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons)<sup>1</sup>). It is a circumstance in which all W. Gds. agree with S., and which explains the peculiarity, that for the 1. and 2. pers. they can only employ the *Bhāvi prayoga* or impers. pass. construction (see § 487); e. g., *the disciple left me* is in Br. चेला ने मी कौं छोड़्यो, S. चेले मूँ ले इडिओ lit. *by the disciple in regard to me it was left*, „me“ being either masc. or fem.; but not the *Karmani prayoga* or personal pass. contr. चेला ने हौं छोड़्यो masc. or हौं छोड़ी fem., S. चेले चाँउ इडिओ masc. or चाँउ इडी fem., lit. *by the disciple I was left*. On the other hand, for the 3. pers., both the *Bhāvi* and *Karmani prayoga* may be used; thus *the disciple left that book* may be in Br. चेला ने ओइ पोयी कौं छोड़्यो, S. चेले हुन् पोयी ले इडिओ lit. *by the disciple, in regard to the book, it was left* (*Bhāvi*) or Br. चेला ने उ पोयी छोड़ी, S. चेले हू पोयी इडी lit. *by the disciple that book was left* (*Karmani*). — 4) With regard to intrans. verbs, the W. H., P. and G. use (like S.) the past part. in the *Kartari prayoga*, but (unlike S.) they do not add any suff. or auxil. verb; thus *I walked* is in W. H. हौ चलो m., हौ चली f., G. हुँ चलो m. or चली f., but S. चाँउ हलिउसि m. or हलिअसी f. — 5) I add a comparative table of the terminations:

1) It should be recollected that, in W. Gd., trans. verbs admit only of the pass. constr., which converts what, with us, is subj. into the obj. Thus our 1. pers. sing. „I left him“ becomes, in W. Gd., 3. pers. sg. „by me he was left“. Accordingly, in W. Gd., there could be a first person only we should have the accus. of the 1. pers. pron. as obj.; e. g., our 3. pers. „he left me“ ought to become, in W. Gd., 1. pers. „by him I was left“. But even here W. Gd. has no first pers., but employs the impersonal constr. „by him in regard to me it was left“.

PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

Singular.

|    | B.                  | O.          | O. H.       | E. H.       | N.          | S.                 |
|----|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|
|    | intr. & tr.         | intr. & tr. | intr. & tr. | intr. & tr. | intr. & tr. | intr. tr.          |
| 1. | इयाहि <sup>1)</sup> | इअहि        | ऐउं         | यो          | एँ          | इअसि <sup>2)</sup> |
| 2. | इयाहे               | इअकु        | ऐसि         | इन्         | इन्         | इएँ                |
| 3. | इयाहे               | इअकइ        | ऐ-सि        | इ-न्        | यो          | इअो • इअो          |

  

|    | P.    | G.  | W. H. | H. H. |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|
|    | intr. | tr. | intr. | tr.   |
| 1. | इअा   | यो  | यो    | अा    |
| 2. | इअा   | यो  | यो    | अा    |
| 3. | इअा   | इअा | यो    | अा अा |

Plural.

|    | B.          | O.          | O. H.       | E. H.       | N.               | S.        |
|----|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|-----------|
|    | intr. & tr. | intr. & tr. | intr. & tr. | intr. & tr. | intr. & tr.      | intr. tr. |
| 1. | इयाहि       | इअहुँ       | ऐन्हि       | अा          | यूँ              | इअासो     |
| 2. | इयाह        | इअह         | ऐहु         | यो          | यो               | वउ        |
| 3. | इयाहेन्     | इअहंति      | ऐन्हि       | इन्         | वा <sup>3)</sup> | इअा इअा   |

  

|    | P.    | G.  | W. H. | H. H. |
|----|-------|-----|-------|-------|
|    | intr. | tr. | intr. | tr.   |
| 1. | ए     | या  | ए     | ए     |
| 2. | ए     | या  | ए     | ए     |
| 3. | ए     | ए   | या    | ए ए   |

1) These B. term. are, ordinarily, pronounced ऐहि, ऐहे, etc.; thus करियाहि is pronounced करेहि *karechhi*, not *kariyáchhi*. In fact, the old way of spelling has been retained, though the pronunciation has changed; just as in English we still write „night“, but pronounce „nite“. The old past part. करिअ is contracted to करे (just as in E. H. the conj. past करिअ becomes करे, see § 491); and अहि curtailed into हि. The older forms इयाहि, etc. may occasionally be heard in solemn addresses (sermons, etc.). The cons. ह *chh* is always pronounced *ts*, or even *s* (as in M. and Mw., see § 11); e. g., करियाहि (or rather करेहि) is pronounced *karetsi* or even *karesi*. — Similarly the B. term. of the conj. part. इया is ordinarily contracted into ए; e. g., करिया *having done* is pronounced करे.

2) Or इअोसि m., इअासि f.

3) Or ऐन् or ए com. gen.



In the fem. sg., N. वो, S. इवो, P. इवा, G. वो, W. H. वो and H. H. वा are changed to ई; and S. has 1. इमसि, 2. इहं or इमां; fem. pl., N. वा, P. ए, G. वा, W. H. and H. H. ए are changed to ई; and S. has 1. इमसो, 2. and 3. इउ.

*Note:* The plusperf. is a periphrastic tense in E. H. (see § 510, 7), exc. in Mth. which, like the B. and O., forms it by adding the past tense of the auxil. verb, Mth. इलो, B. आदिलाम्, O. येति *I was*, etc. (see § 514, 6) to the past part. in इय or इ. The part. termin. इय is contracted in Mth. to ऐ. Thus 1. sg. Mth. पड़ेइलो, B. पडियादिलाम्, O. पढियेलि *I had read*, etc. The resp. termin. are: 2. sg. Mth. ऐइले, B. आदिलि, O. इयेलु; 3. sg. Mth. ऐइल्, B. आदिलि, O. इयेल्; 1. pl. Mth. ऐइलो, B. आदिलाम्, O. इयेलु; 2. pl. Mth. ऐइलो, B. आदिले, O. इयेल्; 3. pl. Mth. ऐइलाह्, B. आदिलेन्, O. इयेले.

504. *Second preterite indicative.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the past part. in अल् or इल् (§ 302) in the following manner according to the gender, number and person of the subj.

| Sing. Masc.                   | Sing. Fem.                 |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. अलो (or अलो)               | अल्यु                      |
| 2. अलेस् (intr.) or अले       | अलिस् or अली               |
| 3. अल् (intr.) or अलेस् (tr.) | अल् (intr.) or अलेस् (tr.) |
| Plur. Masc.                   | Plur. Fem.                 |
| 1. अली                        | अली                        |
| 2. अलह् or अल (or अलह्)       | अल्यु                      |
| 3. अलेन् or अले               | अलिन् or अली               |

In the 3. sg., trans. verbs take the suff. अलेस्, while the intrans. take अल्. Again in the 2. sg. masc. the suff. अलेस् is confined to intrans. verbs. The other suff. are common to both.

*Note:* In the eastern parts of the E. H. area the termin. are pronounced with इ, as इलो, इल्यु, etc. — The forms enclosed in brackets are less usual.

505. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) This tense exists only in E. and S. Gd. It is made, like the first pret. indic., by

adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (see § 503) to the weak form of the past part. in *अल्* or *इल्*, except in M., which adds them to the strong form in *अत्ता*. It should be remarked, however, that B. and O. omit the suff. in the 3. sg. of all verbs, and E. H. in the 3. sg. of intrans. verbs. Again M. omits the suff. in the 3. sg. and pl. of intrans. verbs and in all persons, sg. and pl., of trans. verbs<sup>1</sup>). E. g., *he read the book* is in E. H. उ पायी पढलेस्, B. ओ पोयी पढिल्, O. से पोयी पढिला, M. त्वा ने पोयी वाचिल्लो (Man. 65, 2, or exceptionally तो पोयी पढला Man. 81, 133). On the whole the pers. suff. are added quite regularly. Thus a) 1. sg. उँ in E. H. and M.; e. g., wk. form, masc. पढल् + उँ = E. H. पढलो *I read*, fem. पढलि + उँ = E. H. पढल्यँ; here the final उँ is anomalous; it is possibly founded on the strong form पढलो = पढलिच् + उँ. Again strong form, masc. पढला + उँ = M. पढलो; but in the fem. M. adds the 1. sg. suff. ई; this may be clearly seen in the pres. indic.; e. g., पढतो = पढलिच् (Skr. पठन्तिका) + ई = M. पढत्वे or पढते *I read*; similarly पढलो = पढलिच् + ई = पढले *I read*. In the neut., M. uses either उँ or ई; thus पढलो or पढले. O. shows the same 1. sg. termin. इ (a shortened form of अई), as in its pres. indic.; thus पढलि *I read*, just as अइँ or अहि *I am*. The B. has the 1. sg. termin. अम्, which appears to have preserved the original pres. indic. termin. अमि (see § 497, 2); thus पढिलाम् (= Mg. \*पढिदामि denom.). — Again b) the 2. sg. suff. सि or, shortened, स् occurs in E. H. and M.; thus wk. f. masc. रहल् + सि = E. H. रहलेस् with transfer of इ into the preceding syllable; fem. रहलि + स् = E. H. रहलिस् *thou remainedst*; or st. f. masc. पढला + स् = M. पढलास्, fem. पढलो + स् = M. पढलोस्, neut. पढले + स् = M. पढलेस् with an anomalous *anunásika*; for the suff. स् is anomalously added to the nom. sg. neut. पढले instead of to the neut. base पढले

1) M. which constructs transitive verbs passively, like the W. Gds. (see § 487), not actively, like the E. Gds., follows the usage of the former languages (see § 503, 3, p. 348) in adding no suff. to the past part. of such verbs.



(= \*पठलय = Mg. पठिद्य = Skr. पठितक). The 2. sg. हि is found in E. H. and B.; thus wk. f. masc. पठल + हि = E. H. पठले or (shortened) B. पठलि; fem. पठलि + हि = E. H. पठली *thou readst*. The 2. sg. उ is peculiar to O.; thus पठलु, just as in the O. pres. indic. पठु (see § 497, pp. 335. 336). — Again c) the 3. sg. सि occurs in the E. H. पठलेस्. But there is no suff. in M., B., O. or in intrans. verbs of E. H.; thus M. पठला m., पठली f., पठले<sup>n</sup> n. *he read*, गेला m., गेली f., गेले<sup>n</sup> n. *he went*, O. पठिला, गला c. g., B. पठिल्, गेल् c. g., E. H. गयल् c. g., but पठलेस्. — Again d) the 1. pl. उँ is found in M. and O.; thus M. पठलो<sup>n</sup> c. g. or (shortened) O. पठलुँ c. g. *we read*. The E. H. shows the same 1. pl. termin. ई (but without anunásika) as in its pres. conj. (§ 497, 2, d, p. 336); thus E. H. पठली c. g. *we read* just as पठी<sup>n</sup> *we read*. And the B. has preserved the original pres. indic. termin. ग्राम्; thus पठिलाम् (= Mg. \*पठिदाम denom., or \*पठिदाम्). — Again e) the 2. pl. हु is preserved in the E. H. fem., thus पठलि + हु or, perhaps, st. f. पठलिञ्च + हु = E. H. पठल्यू *you read*. Otherwise the 2. pl. ह् or हँ is used; thus wk. f. masc. पठल + ह् = E. H. पठलह् or (dropping ह्; § 32) पठल *parhala*, O. पठिल c. g.; the B. पठिले c. g. apparently contracts final अह् *aha* to ए or stands for पठले<sup>n</sup>, properly a 3. pl. form (see § 497, footnote and O. 3. pl. पठिले). Or st. f. पठला + हँ = M. पठलौ<sup>n</sup> c. g. — Again f) the 3. pl. नि or, shortened, न् is preserved in E. H. and B.; thus wk. f. masc. पठल + नि = E. H. पठलेन्, B. पठिलेन् with transfer of final इ into the preceding syllable; fem. पठलि + न् = E. H. पठलिन्. The E. H. also shows the other 3. pl. termin. ऐ<sup>n</sup> in the masc. पठलै<sup>n</sup> *they read* and, slightly modified, in the fem. पठली<sup>n</sup>, just as in the E. H. pres. conj. पठे<sup>n</sup> *they read*. O. omits the anunásika, पठिले for \*पठिले<sup>n</sup>. M. uses the strong form, but without any suff., पठले. — 2) As regards the E. H. optional forms, 1. sg. ग्रत्यो<sup>n</sup> and 2. pl. ग्रत्यह्, they contain probably the strong part. termin. ग्रत्य, with euph. य् for ग्रत्यञ्च; thus Skr. denom. \*पठितकामि (= पठितकोऽस्मि), Mg. \*पठिद्ग्रमि or \*पठिद्ग्रमि, Ap. \*पठिद्ग्रड, E. H. पठिल्यो<sup>n</sup> or पठल्यो<sup>n</sup>. — 3) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

Singular.

|    | B.    | O.  | E. H.                  | M.                            |
|----|-------|-----|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. | इलाम् | इलि | अलो m., अल्यू f.       | अलो m., अले f., अलो or अले n. |
| 2. | इलि   | इलु | अलेस् m., अलिस् f.     | अलास् m., अलीस् f., अलेस् n.  |
| 3. | इल्   | इला | अलेस् c. g., अल् c. g. | अला m., अली f., अले n.        |

Plural.

|    |       |     |                    |                          |
|----|-------|-----|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | इलाम् | इलू | अली c. g.          | अलो c. g.                |
| 2. | इले   | इल  | अलह् m., अल्यू f.  | अला c. g.                |
| 3. | इलेन् | इले | अलेन् m., अलिन् f. | अले m., अल्या f., अलो n. |

Note: The B. and O. forms are of common gender.

506. *Preterite conjunctive*. This tense is made by modifying the termination of the pres. part. in अत् (§§ 298. 486) in the following manner, according to the gender, number and person of the subject.

Plural.

|    | Singular.          |              |                            |              |
|----|--------------------|--------------|----------------------------|--------------|
|    | Masc.              | Fem.         | Masc.                      | Fem.         |
| 1. | अतो (or अतो) अत्यू |              | अतो or इत्                 | अतो or इत्   |
| 2. | अतेस् or अते       | अतिस् or अतो | अतह् or अत (or अतह्) अत्यू |              |
| 3. | अत् or अतै         | अत् or अतै   | अतेन् or अतै               | अतिन् or अतै |

Note: The forms enclosed in brackets are more usual in Bs., than in Bh. — Occasionally this tense is used as a pres. indic.

507. *Affinities and Derivation*. 1) This tense exists in all Gds., with the exception, apparently, of S. But while W. Gd. uses the strong form of the pres. part. without addition, to express the pret. conj., the E. and S. Gds. make it by joining to the same part. the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. These composite forms are made exactly on the same model as those of the second pret. indic., see § 505, where the matter has been fully explained. The E. Gds. use the weak, but M. the strong form of the part. Thus 1. sg. masc. O. H. पठतेड or पठतेड, E. H. पठत्यो or पठतो (if) I read, B. पठिताम् (S. Ch. 147), O. पठन्ति (Sn. 32), M. पठतो (Man. 60, 4. 73); but W. H. पठतो or पठतो, H. H. पठता (Kl. 167, a), P. पठता (Ld. 37. 46, etc.), G. पठतो (Ed. 54); fem. O. H. पठतिड or पठतेड, E. H. पठत्यू, B. and O. like masc.,





M. पठते<sup>१</sup>, but W. H., H. H., G. पठती, P. पठदी; neut. M. पठतो<sup>२</sup>, but G. पठन्, etc.; see the table of termin. below. The optional E. H. termin. इत् of the 1. pl. is, evidently, an intrusion from the B., where the pres. part. ends in इत्, instead of in अत् (see § 300). — It will be observed, that the M. termin. of the pret. conj. are nearly identical with those of its pres. indic.; the only difference being in the 3. sg. and plur. (e. g., 3. sg. masc. conj. अता, but indic. अतो; 3. pl. masc. conj. अते, but indic. अतात्) and in the 2. sg. masc. (viz. conj. अतास्, but indic. अतोस्). The indic. has more nearly preserved the old Pr. forms; and moreover, probably, uses the weak form of the part. Thus the M. 2. sg. indic. पठतोस् *thou readest* is the same as the Pr. पठतोसि; while the M. 2. sg. conj. पठतास् (*if thou readst*) is rather a denom. formation पठता + सि = Pr. \*पठतअ-सि; see the remarks in § 503, 1, p. 347. — In the other Gds. the pret. conj. itself may be occasionally used as a sort of indefinite pres. indic.<sup>1)</sup> Examples of this usage, of expressing the pret. conj. by means of the part. pres. with or without the auxil. verb अस् *to be*, are already found in Pr. (see Wb. Spt. 62. 63). Thus Spt. 26 तद् ज्ञापन्तोसि वा कुपन्तो *if thou knewest, thou wouldst not do*. This would be in M. तद् ज्ञानतास् न कर्तास्, E. H. तो ज्ञानतेस् न कर्तेस्. Of the two Pr. methods, that which dispenses with the auxil. verb appears to have given rise to the W. Gd. form of the pret. conj., while the other which uses that verb apparently led to the S. and E. Gd. denom. forms of the same tense. The fact that the Gd. pret. conj., and the analogously-formed tenses of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. and fut. indic., have different forms for the several genders, is thus explained by the Pr. For the part. with or without the auxil. verb, must, of course, agree with the subj. in regard to gender. — 2) S., apparently possesses no special pret. conj., but uses instead of it the ordinary pres. indic. (see Tr. 501). — 3) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

1) Called *indefinite imperfect* by Kl. 167, 323, *frequentative* by S. Ch. 147, *first present subjunctive* by Ed. 54.

Singular.

|    | B.    | O.   | E. H.                                      | M.  |
|----|-------|------|--|---|
| 1. | इताम् | अंति | अतो <sup>०</sup> m., अत्यु <sup>०</sup> f. | अतो <sup>०</sup> m., अते <sup>०</sup> f., अतो <sup>०</sup> n. |
| 2. | इतिम् | अंतु | अतेस् m., अतिस् f.                         | अतास् m., अतीस् f., अतेस् n.                                  |
| 3. | इत्   | अंता | अत् c. g.                                  | अता m., अती f., अते n.  |

|    | G.                     | W. H.          | H. H.          | P.             |
|----|------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1. | अतो m., अती f., अतु n. | अतो m., अती f. | अता m., अती f. | अदा m., अदी f. |
| 2. | dto                    | dto            | dto            | dto            |
| 3. | dto                    | dto            | dto            | dto            |

Plural.

|    | B.    | O.   | E. H.                          | M.                                    |
|----|-------|------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. | इताम् | अंतु | अती or इत् c. g.               | अतो <sup>०</sup> c. g.                |
| 2. | इत    | अंत  | अतस् m., अत्यु <sup>०</sup> f. | अतो <sup>०</sup> c. g.                |
| 3. | इतेन् | अंते | अतेन् m., अतिन् f.             | अते m., अत्या f., अतो <sup>०</sup> n. |

|    | G.                     | W. H.          | H. H.          | P.               |
|----|------------------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| 1. | अता m., अती f., अतो n. | अते m., अती f. | अते m., अती f. | अदे m., अदीया f. |
| 2. | dto                    | dto            | dto            | dto              |
| 3. | dto                    | dto            | dto            | dto              |

508. *Future indicative.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the fut. part. in अन् or इन् (§§ 308.486) in the following manner, according to the gender, number and person of the subject.

Singular.

Plural.

|    | Masc.            | Fem.               | Masc.      | Fem.        |
|----|------------------|--------------------|------------|-------------|
| 1. | अवो <sup>०</sup> | अव्यु <sup>०</sup> | अवै or अव  | अवै or अव   |
| 2. | अवेस् or अवै     | अविस् or अवी       | अवद् or अव | अव्यु or अव |
| 3. | ई                | ई                  | ईहै        | ईहै         |

With the part. termin. इन् precisely similar suff. are formed; thus इवो<sup>०</sup> m., इव्यु<sup>०</sup> f., etc. As to the manner of adding them to the root, see § 308.

*Note:* Optionally the masc. termin. may be used with a fem. subj. — Occasionally this tense is used in the sense of the imperative.



509. *Affinities and Derivation.* The fut. is formed in six different ways in Gd., the distinguishing marks of which are the following consonants: 1) ह्, 2) स् or ण्, 3) ब् or व् or म्, 4) ल् or न्, 5) ग्, 6) द्. — 1) The first two types are derived from the old Skr. and Pr. fut. In Skr. the fut. is formed by the suff. इष्य (i. e., स्व with the connecting vowel इ), which changes in Pr. either to इस्स (Mg. इस्स) or to इहि or इह (Vr. 7, 12—15. H. C. 3, 166—169, see also Wb. Bh. 431. Ls. 349—353). The Pr. इहि or इह becomes in Gd. इहि or इह or षह, and the fut. of this इ-type is preserved in O. H., W. H., and the 3. sg. and pl. of the E. H. Thus 3. sg. Skr. पठिष्यति *he will read*, Pr. (a) पठिहिइ or (b) \*पठिहइ, whence O. H. (b) पठिहइ or पठिहिहि (with euph. ह् §§ 69. 503, 1, p. 345), Br. पठिहै, Mw. (a) पठहो, E. H. पठो (contracted for \*पठिहै for \*पठिहो); 3. pl. Skr. पठिष्यन्ति *they will read*, Pr. (a) पठिहिन्ति or (b) \*पठिहन्ति, whence O. H. (b) पठिहिहिं, Br. and E. H. पठिहै, Mw. (a) पठहो (for \*पठहो). The forms of the 2. sg. and pl. of this type also occur in E. H., but only in the sense of the precativ (§ 498). — 2) The Pr. इस्स becomes in Gd. ईस् or षस् (or ईष् or षष्), and the fut. of this स-type is preserved in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gth. CXXVI), Mw. and G. Thus 1. sg. Skr. पठिष्यामि, Pr. (a) पठिस्सामि (H. C. 3, 167) or (b) पठिस्सं (H. C. 3, 169) *I shall read*, O. P. (a) पठसा, Mw. पठिस्सू (= Ap. Pr. \*पठिस्सउं), G. (b) पठोण्; again 3. sg. Skr. पठिष्यति *he will read*, Pr. पठिस्सइ, O. P. पठसी, Mw. पठसी, G. पठो. — The remaining four types of the fut. are purely Gd. formations; thus 3) the fut. of the ब्-type is confined to the E. Gds. and is made by adding to the fut. part. the personal suff. of the old pres. ind. (§ 503), exactly on the same model as in the case of the second preterite (see § 505). In O. the ब् or व् may be changed to म् (see § 134, note). Thus 1. sg. masc. E. H. पठमो *I shall read*, B. पठिम (S. Ch. 146), O. पठिवि or पठिमि (Sn. 28); fem. E. H. पठमू, B. and O. like masc. In B. and O. the 3. sg. and pl. also are of the ब्-type, while in E. H. they are of the इ-type (see Nro. 1); thus 3. pl. B. पठिवेन्, O. पठिवे or पठिमे, but E. H.

परिहरे. A tense of the वृ-type also exists in M. and G.; but it is used as a pres. conj., not as a fut. indic. Moreover it is constructed passively (see § 496, p. 333). Thus M. मयाँ सोडावा (Man. 73), G. मारे होडवो (Ed. 54) *I may loose* (lit. *by me he may be loosed*) = E. H. मै होडवो *I shall loose*. There is apparently in Pr. an instance of a fut. (or imper.) of this type, mentioned by Ls. 422, देव you will give or, give ye; the same in E. H. would be देव देबा. — 4) The fut. of the लृ-type exists only in M., Mw. and N. (incl. Gw. and Km.) and 5) that of the नृ-type only in Br. (incl. Kn.), H. H. and P. Both types are formed on the same principle, viz. by respectively adding the past part. ऐल (wk. f.) or ऐलो (st. f.) *come* and गयो (or गया) *gone* to the old pres. indic. (= habit. past in M., and pres. conj. in the others, see § 496) and, for this purpose, curtailing ऐल् and ऐलो to इल् or ल् and लो respectively and contracting गयो to गो (or गया to ग). M. uses the weak form इल् or ल्, Mw. the strong form लो, and N. either of the two. Moreover, N. sometimes adds the personal suff. of the old pres. (§ 503) or the auxil. verb हूँ *I am* (e. g., पढ़ेनेहूँ *we shall read*); on the other hand M. omits the part. ल in the 1. pl. (e. g., पढ़े *we shall read*). Lastly in both M. and N. the characteristic लृ is sometimes changed to नृ. A tense of the लृ-type exists also in E. H., but it expresses the pres. indic. (see § 500). Similarly the auxil. verb हूँ *I am* forms in Br., Kn. and P. a tense of the नृ-type with the sense of the pres. indic. (Kl. 200. 197, 367). Thus 3. sg. masc. पढ़े-ल् or -लो = M. पढ़ेल्, Mw. पढ़ेलो, N. पढ़ला (with पढ़ for पढ़े, cf. § 501, 1, footnote, p. 342) *he will read*, but E. H. पढ़ेला *he reads*; fem. M. पढ़ेल्, Mw. पढ़ेली, N. पढ़ली *she will read*, but E. H. पढ़ेले *she reads*; or 3. pl. masc. M. पढ़ति + इल् = पढ़तील्, Mw. पढ़ेला, N. पढ़लान् (st. f.) or पढ़लान् (wk. f.) or पढ़नान् (= पढ़ + ल or ला + न) *they will read*; fem. M. पढ़तील्, Mw. पढ़ेली, N. पढ़लीन् (st. f.) or पढ़लान् or पढ़नान् (wk. f.). Again 3. sg. masc. पढ़े + गो = Br. पढ़ेगो, H. H. and P. पढ़ेगा *he will read*; fem. Br. पढ़ेगी, H. H. and P. पढ़ेगी; or 3. pl. masc. Br. पढ़ेगे, H. H. पढ़ेगे, P. पढ़पागे *they will read*; fem. Br. पढ़ेगी, H. H. पढ़ेगी, P. पढ़पागी, etc. But 3. sg. Kn. हेगो, P.



हेगा *he is*, 3. pl. Kn. हैगे, P. हनगे *they are*; fem. sg. Kn. and P. हैगी, pl. Kn. हैगी, P. हनगी; P. has optionally है *he is*, हन *they are*; H. H. has है, है, etc.; but fut. H. H. होगा m., होगी f. *he (she) will be*, pl. होंगे m., होंगी f. *they will be*, Kn. होएंगे, होएंगी m., ी f.; P. होवेगा, होवोगी m., ी, ी f., etc. Literally, these futures mean: पढेगो *he is gone (that) he may read*, पढेल् or पढेलो *he is come (that) he may read*, etc., compare the English: *he is going (or coming) to read*. — 6) The fut. of the *द*-type is confined to S., and is formed by adding to the pres. part. in अद् or ईद् the same termin., as are used for the first pret. indic. (see § 503, 3. 5). Thus 1. sg. masc. हलंदु + सि = S. हलंदुसि, fem. हलंदिसि *I shall go*; 2. sg. masc. हलंदे, fem. हलंदि or हलंदि; 3. sg. masc. हलंदो, fem. हलंदी. This fut. lit. means: *I may be reading*, etc. — 7) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

Singular.

|    | G.   | Mw.        | Br.  | E. H.          | B.            | O.     |
|----|------|------------|------|----------------|---------------|--------|
| 1. | ईप्  | असू or अहू | इहो  | अबो or इबो     | इअ            | इवि    |
| 2. | अप्  | असी or अही | इहै  | अबेस् or इबेस् | इबि           | इवु    |
| 3. | अप्  | असी or अही | इहै  | ई              | इबे           | इव्    |
|    | Br.  | H. H.      | P.   | M.             | N.            | S.     |
| 1. | अोगी | उगा        | अोगा | एन्            | उला or अनेहु  | अंदुसि |
| 2. | ऐगी  | एगा        | ऐगा  | असील्          | अलास् or अनस् | अंदे   |
| 3. | ऐगी  | एगा        | एगा  | एल्            | अला or अनेह   | अंदो   |

Plural.

|    | G.  | Mw.        | Br. | E. H.        | B.           | O.     |
|----|-----|------------|-----|--------------|--------------|--------|
| 1. | ईप् | असू or अहो | इहै | अबे or इबे   | इअ           | इवा    |
| 2. | अप् | असी or अही | इहो | अबह् or इबह् | इबा          | इव     |
| 3. | अप् | असी or अही | इहै | इहै          | इबेन्        | इवे    |
|    | Br. | H. H.      | P.  | M.           | N.           | S.     |
| 1. | ऐगे | एगे        | अगे | उ            | उला or अनेहु | अंदारी |
| 2. | अगे | अगे        | अगे | अल्          | अलउ or अनेही | अंदउ   |
| 3. | ऐगे | एगे        | अगो | अलील्        | अलान or अनन् | अंदा   |

In the fem. sing., Br., H. H., P., N. final ओ or आ changes to ई, as Br. अोगी, P. अोगी, etc.; plur. Br., H. H., N. ए or आ



changes to ई, and P. ए to ईयाँ, as Br. ऐंगी, N. उली, P. चाँगोचाँ, etc. For the E. H. fem. form see § 508. S. has fem. sg. 1. चंदिचलि, 2. चंदिहँ or चंदिचाँ, 3. चंदी; pl. 1. चंदिउसी, 2. and 3. चंदिऊ. In the rest, the forms are com. gen.

### 3. PERIPHRASTIC TENSES.

510. Ten additional tenses are made in E. H., by adding the pres. indic. or conj., or the pret. indic. or conj., or the fut. indic. of an auxil. verb to the pres. part. in खत् (§ 298) or to the past part. in खल् (§ 302). These tenses are the following:

1) The *definite* or *durative present indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pres. indic. to the pres. part.; as पखत् खादै or पखत् होवै *he is reading*.

2) The *future conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pres. conj. to the pres. part.; as पखत् होय् (*if*) *he be reading*.

3) The *definite preterite* or the *perfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pres. indic. to the past part.; as पखले खादै or पखले होवै *he has read*.

4) The *future exact conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pres. conj. to the past part.; as पखले होय् (*if*) *he have read*.

5) The *durative* or *habitual preterite* or the *imperfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pret. indic. to the pres. part.; as पखत् रहल् *he was reading*.

6) The *durative present conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pret. conj. to the pres. part.; as पखत् होतै (*if*) *he were reading*.

7) The *pluperfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pret. indic. to the past part.; as पखले रहल् *he had read*.

8) The *preterite conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pret. conj. to the past part.; as पखले होतै (*if*) *he had read*.

9) The *durative future indicative* or *present dubitative*, made by adding the auxil. fut. indic. to the pres. part.; as पखत् होई *he will be reading*.



10) The *future exact indicative* or *preterite dubitative*, made by adding the auxil. fut. indic. to the past part.; as पढ़ले होई *he will have read*.

*Note:* For the purpose of expressing the *present conditional* the pret. conj. (§ 506) is used. Thus पढ़ले (if) *he read*. This completes the series of tenses of the condit. mood, which is merely a special application of the conj.

511. If the verb is a trans. one, the termin. of the past part. assumes the form पढ़ले, instead of पढ़ल्, in the formation of the additional tenses; but if the verb is intrans. the termin. is पढ़ल्, as usual; e. g., trans. पढ़ले बाढो "I have read, but intr. रहल बाढो "I have remained. The termin. of the part. never suffers any change; but that of the auxil. verb changes in agreement with the number, person and (where possible) gender of the subj.; thus 1. sg. masc. पढ़ल् बाढो, fem. पढ़ल् बाढूँ "I am reading; 3. pl. masc. पढ़ले होवै, fem. पढ़ले हई "they have read.

*Note:* The form in पढ़ले is really the adv. part. (see § 488), i. e., the loc. or obl. form of the past part. Thus पढ़ले बाढो means lit., *on having read I am*. Similarly B. uses the adv. pres. part.; e. g., B. पढ़ले हि lit. *on reading I am*, i. e., *I am reading*; B. पढ़ले हिलाम् lit. *on reading I was*, i. e., *I was reading*.

512. *Affinities.* Periphrastic tenses exist in all Gds. and are made in the same way as in E. H. But while B., O. and, in the case of the past part. of trans. verbs, E. H. add the auxil. verb to the adv. part. (S. Ch. 135. 194. Sn. 30. 31, see § 511, note), N. and, generally, E. H. add it to the weak, H. H., P., G., S. to the strong, and W. H. to either form of the adj. part. (see Id. 37 etc. Ed. 54 etc. Tr. 316 etc. Kl. 167 etc.). Again M. adds it to the weak or strong form of the adj. part. or to one of the ordinary tenses (Man. 92—96), somewhat analogous to the formation of the pres. indic. in E. H. and the W. Gds. (see § 501, 1). They also vary as to the particular auxil. verb which they employ (see §§ 513. 514). Thus 3. sg. masc. pres. definite: O. पढ़ु अइइ *he is reading*, B. पढ़ले हे or पढ़े अइइ; but E. H.

पठ्न् बाटे or होवै, N. पठ्दू इ, Gw. पठ्दू or पठ्दो इ, Br. पठ्त्तु or पठ्त्तौ है, Mw. पठ्त्तो है, H. H. पठ्ता है, P. पठ्दा है, S. पठ्दो आहे, G. पठ्त्तो होयके; again M. पठ्त्त आहे or पठ्त्तो आहे or पठ्त्तु असतो (Man. 93, 1. 2. 3); fem. O., B., E. H., N. like masc.; Gw. पठ्दू or पठ्दो इ, Br. पठ्त्ति or पठ्त्ती है, H. H. पठ्त्ती है, P. पठ्दो है, S. पठ्दो आहे, G. पठ्त्ती होयके, M. पठ्त्त आहे or पठ्त्ती आहे or पठ्त्तु असतो.

513. The auxil. verbs which are employed to form the periphrastic tenses are the following: 1) बाटे or बाटे *he is*, 2) रहल् *he was* and 3) होवै *he is*. The verb बाटे is defective; there exists only the pres. indic. The verb रहल् is the ordinary second pret. indic. of the regular verb रहव् *to remain*; but it is used as the past tense of the defective बाटे. The verb होवै is a regular verb with a complete conjugation, from which the remainder of the defective tenses of the verb बाटे are supplied. Examples see in § 510.

*Note 1:* When the past tense रहल् is used as an auxil. verb, it expresses past action generally, „he was“, precisely like था in H. H. But according to circumstances, it may retain its ordinary meaning „he remained“, as the past tense of रहव् *to remain*, and express past action as enduring, precisely like रहा in H. H. Thus E. H. कहल् रहल् *he had said* = H. H. कहा था, or *he remained saying, he kept saying* = H. H. कहा रहा.

*Note 2:* The past tense भइल् or भयल् of the verb होव् *to be* is never used as a mere auxil. verb, but always has its full meaning „he became“, and expresses the commencement and continuation of an action (§ 538, g). Thus E. H. कहन् भयल् *he began saying*, but कहन् रहल् *he was saying*. The corresponding Gd. forms are: W. H. भवौ (auxil. वी), M. काला (aux. होता or बसे), G. हवो (aux. हतो).

514. *Affinities and Derivation.* The various verbs which are used as auxiliaries in Gd. are the following: 1) The verb बाटे. It occurs as a defective auxil. in E. H. and B.; in both only in the pres. indic.; but in M. and S. it is a *principal* verb with a complete conjugation, and is used to form compound verbs; viz.,



M. वटपो<sup>०</sup> to appear (Man. 92; in W. H. in the denom. form वतानौ<sup>०</sup>), S. वतणु to continue (Tr. 344). It is derived from the Skr. R. वृत्, Pr. वत् or वट्. The B. pres. indic. (sg. 1. वटि, 2. वटिस्, 3. वटे; pl. 1. वटि, 2. वट, 3. वटेन्) is, as usual, identical with the old Pr. pres. indic. (see § 501, 4). Thus 3. sg. Skr. वर्तते, Pr. वट्, B. वटे. From the other Pr. form वत्तद् comes the E. H. वाय् (for वाइ) or वा by the elision of त् (§ 153). As regards the other E. H. forms वाटे, वाटा<sup>०</sup>, etc. which are different for the two genders, it is more probable that they are denominatives, made by adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (§ 503, 1, p. 345) to the part. Skr. वृत्, P. वट् (H. C. 2, 29) existing (of R. वृत्). Thus 1. sg. masc. Skr. वृत्तोऽस्मि, Pr. वट् स्मि, Ap. Pr. \*वट्ठं, E. H. वाटो<sup>०</sup> I am; fem. Skr. (st. f.) वृत्तिकास्मि, Pr. वट्ठिकास्मि, Ap. Pr. \*वट्ठिकास्मि or \*वट्ठिकां, E. H. वायू<sup>०</sup>, etc. — 2) The verb रह् is used only in E. H. as an auxil., and only in the 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. indic. Otherwise it is in E. H. as well as in all other Gds. a regular principal verb, „to remain“. It is commonly (in E. H., W. H., P., S.) used to make a kind of (continuative) compound verb (see § 538, b). — 3) The verb होइव् to be occurs in E. H. as well as in all other Gds., both as an auxiliary and as a principal, with a complete conjugation. It is derived from the Skr. R. भू; thus 3. sg. pres. conj. E. H. होय्, Pr. होइ or हवइ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति. As an auxil., however, it has in E. H. a special pres. indic., which is made by adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (§ 503, 1) to the part. Skr. भूत्, Pr. ह्विस् (§ 307, 7) being or been. Thus 1. sg. masc. Skr. भूतोऽस्मि, Pr. ह्विस्मि, Ap. Pr. \*ह्विस्ठं, E. H. हउमो<sup>०</sup> or हौमो<sup>०</sup> or हौवो<sup>०</sup> (§§ 122. 69. 28); fem. Skr. भूतास्मि, Pr. ह्विस्मास्मि, Ap. Pr. \*ह्विस्मां, E. H. हउं or हयू<sup>०</sup> (§ 123) I am, etc. On the other hand, as a principal verb, it has a regular pres. indic. होलो<sup>०</sup> I am, etc. (see § 500). There is in E. H. a peculiar pleonastic form of this verb, which may be used optionally for its simple form, both when it is an auxil. and when it is a principal. It is made by adding the increment ख to the root हो; and the pleon. R. होख, thus made, is conjugated regularly.

Thus infin. होखे *to be*; pres. indic. 2. sg. masc. होखैलेस् or °ले, fem. होखैलिस् or °ली; 2. pl. masc. होखैलह् or °ल, fem. °ल्यू, etc. (see § 517). There is also a peculiar negative form of this verb, which exists, however, only in the pres. tense and is the same for all three moods. It also shows the peculiar increment ख; thus 3. sg. masc. नैखे *he is not*, fem. नैखे or नैखी *she is not*, etc. (see § 518)<sup>1</sup>. The origin of these forms is obscure. Perhaps they are derived from the Skr. R. भू by means of the inchoative suff. त्त or स्क. Just as the R. भस् *to be* forms in Pr. an inchoative भक्ख (= भक्त = भस्क), so the R. भू or Pr. हुज् or हज् or हो (cf. H. C. 4, 60) might form in Pr. an inchoative \*हुक्ख or \*हक्ख or \*होक्ख (= भुक्त or भुस्क), in E. H. होख. The negative form नैख appears to have arisen by incorporating the negative particle न *not*. There are similar negative verbal forms in M., see Nro. 4. — 4) The verb अहै or अहे or है *he is*. It occurs in the S. Gd., N. Gd. and W. Gd. (exc. G.), but not in the E. Gd. (exc. Bs.); and it exists only in the pres. indic. (see Man. 88. Tr. 300. Kl. 201. Ld. 25), as shown in the following table:

Singular.

|    | O. H.                 | Bs.          | M.    | S.            | Br. | Mw. | P.  | N.   | H. H. |
|----|-----------------------|--------------|-------|---------------|-----|-----|-----|------|-------|
| 1. | अहउं or हो            | अहेउं or हो  | अहे   | अहियाँ        | हो  | हूँ | हाँ | हुँ  | हूँ   |
| 2. | अहसि or अहहि<br>or है | अहेस् or अहे | अहिस् | अहे<br>or अही | हे  | है  | है  | हस्? | है    |
| 3. | अहउ or अहे or<br>अहि  | अहे          | अहे   | अहे           | हे  | है  | है  | ह?   | है    |

Plural.

|    |                         |                       |       |                   |    |     |                |      |    |
|----|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------|-------------------|----|-----|----------------|------|----|
| 1. | अहहिँ or हहिँ           | अही                   | अहीँ  | अहियूँ            | है | हाँ | हाँ            | हूँ? | है |
| 2. | अहहु or हहु             | अहह् or अहो<br>or अहे | अहाँ  | अहियो             | हो | हो  | हो             | हो   | हो |
| 3. | अहहिँ or हहिँ<br>or अहै | अहेन् or अहै          | अहेन् | अहिनि<br>or अहीनि | है | है  | हन्<br>or हेन् | हुन् | है |

1) Beames in J. R. A. S. III, 495 mentions a negative form नाखे *he is not* and an affirmative खे *he is*, and Kl. 199, 373 follows him. But my authorities deny the existence of either form.



The origin of this auxil. verb is uncertain. It is commonly identified with the Skr. R. *अस्* to be (e. g., Tr. 300. 304). This view must assume a change of स् to ह्, and also a change of class; for the Skr. R. *अस्* is of the II. cl., while the Gd. verb is of the VI. cl.; e. g., 1. sg. O. H. *अहंते* represents a Skr. form \**असामि*, Pr. \**अहमि*, Ap. \**अहंते* (see H. C. 4, 385); or Gd. *अहै* = Skr. \**असति*, Pr. \**अहह*. None of the Pr. gramm., however, as for as I am aware, notice any such change in the R. *अस्*. There would be also a difficulty in accounting for the initial अ in M. and S. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to identify this Gd. auxil. verb with the pres. indic. of the R. *भू* to be. This root may become in Pr. *हव* (H. C. 4, 60) and in Gd. *हु*; thus 3. sg. Skr. *भवति*, Pr. *हवइ*, Mw. *हुँ* (Kl. 232). The form *हुँ* would easily become *है*. On the other hand, instead of suppressing व, it (or rather ह्, see § 132) may be transposed; thus the Pr. R. *हव* might become in Gd. *अहु* and thence *आह*, with आ as compensation for the elided व्; e. g., 3. sg. Pr. *हवइ* = \**अहुइ* = Bs. *आहै* or M. *आहे*, etc. It may be observed, that the Skr. 3. pl. *भवन्ति* is even in Ap. Pr. contracted to *भन्ति* or *हन्ति* (H. C. 4, 406. 416), which would regularly become *है* in W. H. (see § 497, 2. f, p. 337). The M. possesses a negative form of this verb. It is defective, occurring only in the pres. ind.; viz., sing. 1. *नाही*, 2. *नाहीस्*, 3. *नाही*; plur. 1. *नाही*, 2. *नाही*, 3. *नाहीत्*. There is an other defective negative verb in M., which occurs only in the pres. and pret. indic.; viz., pres. sing. 1. *नवहे*, 2. *नवहेस्* or *नवहस्*, 3. *नवहे*; plur. 1. *नवहो* or *नवहे*, 2. *नवहाँ* or *नवहेत्*, 3. *नवहेत्* or *नवहत*; pret. sing. masc. 1. *नवहतो*, 2. *नवहतास्*, 3. *नवहता*; plur. 1. *नवहतो*, 2. *नवहतो*, 3. *नवहते*. See Man. 88. 89. This negative form, however, really belongs to the verb *होइव* (M. *होपो*), see Nro. 3. Besides M. has a complete negative form of the verb *असपो* (see Nro. 5), which is made by changing the initial अ to न; e. g., inf. *नसपो*; 1. sg. pres. ind. *नसतो* "I am not", from *असतो* "I am", etc. See Man. 89. — 5) The verb *अहइ* or *अहे* or *हे* *he is*. It occurs in the S. Gd. and N. Gd., in all W. Gds. (exc. Br.), and in all E. Gds. (exc. Bh.

and Bs.). In M. it has a complete conjugation (Man. 84—86), even in a negative form, see Nro. 4; in B., Mth., Mw., P., Km. it exists in the pres. and pret. tenses; and the rest have it only in the pres. tense. In S. even the pres. is fragmentary. In M., P. and S., *क्ष* is changed to *स्* (see § 11). In B., though *इ* is written, *स्* is commonly pronounced, see footnote on p. 349. The following comparative table shows the various forms of this auxil. verb:

| <i>Present. Singular.</i>   |         |      |      |     |     |    |     |          |   |
|-----------------------------|---------|------|------|-----|-----|----|-----|----------|---|
| O.                          | B.      | Mth. | N.   | Km. | Mw. | G. | P.  | S.       | M.  |
| 1. अङ्                      | आङि     | हो   | हुँ  | हो  | हो  | हो | वाँ | ति       | असे   |
| 2. अङ्                      | आङिस्   | हो   | हस्  | हो  | हो  | हो | ती  | —        | असस्  |
| 3. अङ्                      | आङि     | हो   | ह    | हो  | हो  | हो | तो  | —        | असे   |
| <i>Plural.</i>              |         |      |      |     |     |    |     |          |   |
| 1. अङ्                      | आङि     | हो   | हो   | हो  | हो  | हो | वाँ | सो or वू | असूँ  |
| 2. अङ्                      | आङ्     | हो   | हो   | हो  | हो  | हो | तो  | —        | अवाँ  |
| 3. अङ्ति                    | आङेन्   | हो   | हन्  | हन् | हन् | हो | वण् | —        | असन्  |
| <i>Preterite. Singular.</i> |         |      |      |     |     |    |     |          |   |
| 1. अङ्                      | आङिलाम् | हलो  | ह्यो | हो  | हो  | हो | सा  | tunsap   | असलो <sup>०</sup> m.,<br>लो <sup>०</sup> n.                   |
| 2. अङ्                      | आङिले   | हले  | ह्यो | हो  | हो  | हो | सा  | —        | असलास् <sup>०</sup> m.,<br>ले <sup>०</sup> स् <sup>०</sup> n. |
| 3. अङ्                      | आङिल्   | हल्  | ह्यो | हो  | हो  | हो | सा  | —        | असला m.,<br>ले <sup>०</sup> n.                                |
| <i>Plural.</i>              |         |      |      |     |     |    |     |          |   |
| 1. अङ्                      | आङिलाम् | हलो  | ह्या | हो  | हो  | हो | से  | desunt   | असलो <sup>०</sup> c. g.                                       |
| 2. अङ्                      | आङिलेन् | हलो  | ह्या | हो  | हो  | हो | से  | —        | असलो <sup>०</sup> c. g.                                       |
| 3. अङ्                      | आङिलेन् | हलो  | ह्या | हो  | हो  | हो | से  | —        | असले m.,<br>ली <sup>०</sup> n.                                |



The forms of the pres. have assumed in M. and P. the sense of the (habit.) past (see § 496); thus M. असे, P. साँ *I was* (Man. 84. Ld. 25). The forms of the pret. sg. Km. झिग, Mw. झो, P. सा are masc. and change in the fem. to झी and सी; they are really past part.; those of B. and Mth. are of com. gen. and made according to the 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. ind. (see § 505). In M. the pres. ind. (also used as pres. conj.) is असतो, etc. (conjug. regularly, see § 501, 3. 5); the pres. conj. असावा, etc. (see § 496); the imper. असू, etc. (see § 496); the fut. असेन्, etc. (see § 509, 4. 7). I have observed in N. the 2. sg. fut. हैनस् = M. अससोल् (see § 509, 4. 7). The infin. is in M. असू or असणो (see § 313. 314); the pres. part. असत् (see § 486); the adv. part. असतो, which I have also found in N. as ह्दा *on being* (see § 489). — This verb also exists in Pr. (H. C. 4, 215. Ls. 346); e. g., 3. sg. अह् *he is*, etc. The R. अह् (= अल or अस्क) is probably an inchoative form of the R. अस् *to be* or (according to some MSS. of H. C.) आस् *to dwell, exist*. — The only remnant of the original R. अस् which has survived in Gd. is the S. 3. sg. and pl. अय = Pr. अत्ति, Skr. अस्ति. It is, however, used only in conjunction with pronom. suff. (Tr. 349), as अयमि *it is* or *they are to me*. Even in Pr., अत्ति is used for both numbers and all three persons (H. C. 3, 148); e. g., अत्ति अहं *I am*, अत्ति अहे *we are*, etc. — 6) The verb वात् or विट् *he is*. It occurs only in the W. Gd. and O. In G. and S. it has a complete conj. (see Ed. 72—81. Tr. 305—312). In the others it exists only in the pret. indic. tense (or past part., see Sn. 26. Ld. 25. Kl. 200), as shown in the following comparative table:

*Preterite. Singular.*

|    | O.           | Naip.                   | S.                     | Kn.          |
|----|--------------|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| 1. | वेत्ति c. g. | यिये" or ये" c. g.      | विउसे m., यिअसे f.     | यो m., यो f. |
| 2. | येत्तु c. g. | यियेस् or यिस् c. g.    | यिट् m., यिअत् f.      | यो m., यो f. |
| 3. | येत्ता c. g. | यियो or य्यो m., यिई f. | यिअो m., यो f.         | यो m., यो f. |
|    | H. H.        | P.                      | G.                     |              |
| 1. | याम., यो f.  | याम., यो f.             | ययो m., ययो f., ययु n. |              |
| 2. | याम., यो f.  | याम., यो f.             | ययो m., ययो f., ययु n. |              |
| 3. | याम., यो f.  | याम., यो f.             | ययो m., ययो f., ययु n. |              |

*Preterite. Plural.*

|    | O.         | Naip.            | S.                  | Kn.          |
|----|------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| 1. | थेलु c. g. | यिउं or थू c. g. | यिअसी m., यिउंसी f. | थे m., थो f. |
| 2. | थेल c. g.  | थियो or थो c. g. | यिअउ m., यिउं f.    | थे m., थो f. |
| 3. | थेले c. g. | थिये or थे c. g. | यिअ m., यिउं f.     | थे m., थो f. |

  

|    | H. H.        | P.             | G.                      |
|----|--------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | थे m., थो f. | थे m., थोअँ f. | थया m., थयो f., थयाँ n. |
| 2. | थे m., थो f. | थे m., थोअँ f. | थया m., थयो f., थयाँ n. |
| 3. | थे m., थो f. | थे m., थोअँ f. | थया m., थयो f., थयाँ n. |

The pres. conj. is: 1. sg. G. थाउं, S. थिअँ; 2. sg. G. थाय्, S. थिर् or थो; 3. sg. G. थाय्, S. थिर्; 1. pl. G. थये or थैये, S. थिउं; 2. pl. G. थाओ, S. थिओ; 3. pl. G. थाय, S. थिअन् or थोन्. The pres. indic. is in G. थाउं हूँ, etc., S. थिअँ थो, etc. (see § 501, 1. 5); the fut. indic. in G. थैअ्, etc., S. थोँदुते, etc. (see § 509, 2. 6. 7); the imper. G. था or थाते, etc., S. थोउ or थोते, etc. (see §§ 497. 499); the infin. in G. थवुं, S. थिअणु; the part. pres. in G. थतो, S. थोदो; the adv. part. in G. थते or थताँ, S. थोदे. — The original of this verb appears to be the Skr. R. स्था *stand, exist*, which in Pr. becomes ठा or था (H. C. 4, 16); e. g., 3. sg. Pr. ठाद् (H. C. 4, 436) or थाद्, G. थाय्; 3. pl. Pr. वन्ति (H. C. 4, 395) or \*वाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), G. थाय्. The S. थिअणु *to be* is derived from the R. स्था, just as S. थिअणु *to drink*, from R. पा, S. उअणु *to give*, from R. दा; i. e., it is founded on a reduplicated radical form \*स्थित (for the ordinary Skr. तिष्ठ), analogous to पिब, दद.

*THIRD CHAPTER. CONJUGATION.*

1. THE DEFECTIVE AUXILIARY VERB.

515. There is only a pres. tense; the pret. is supplied from the verb रह् to remain and the rest from the complete auxil. verb होय् *to be* (see §§ 513. 516).



a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

| Sing. Masc.           | Fem.               | Plur. Masc.  | Fem. |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------|------|
| 1. बाटो <sup>1)</sup> | बायू               | बाटो         | बाटी |
| 2. बाटेस् or बाटे     | बाटिस् or बाटी     | बाटह् or बाट | बायू |
| 3. बाटै or बाय् or बा | बाटै or बाय् or बा | बाटै         | बाटी |

b) Preterite tense: *I was*, etc.

| Sing. Masc.       | Fem.           | Plur. Masc.    | Fem.           |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1. रहलो           | रहल्यू         | रहलो           | रहली           |
| 2. रहलेस् or रहले | रहलिस् or रहली | रहलह् or रहल   | रहल्यू         |
| 3. रहल्           | रहल्           | रहलेन् or रहलै | रहलिन् or रहली |

2. THE WEAK COMPLETE AUXILIARY VERB.

516. This verb is complete with the exception of the pret., which is supplied from the verb रहब् to remain, to dwell; see § 513, note 2.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

| Sing. Masc.           | Fem.       | Plur. Masc.  | Fem. |
|-----------------------|------------|--------------|------|
| 1. होबो <sup>2)</sup> | हयू        | हई           | हई   |
| 2. होवे               | होवी       | होवह् or होव | हयू  |
| 3. होवै or हो         | होवै or हो | होवै         | हई   |

b) Preterite tense: *I was*, etc.

This is the same as the pret. of the def. auxil. verb; see § 515, b.

c) Future tense: *I shall be*, etc.

| Sing. Masc. and Fem.                                | Plur. Masc. and Fem.           |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 1. होबो <sup>3)</sup> or होइबो                      | होवै or होइवै or होव् or होइव् |
| 2. होबेस् or होइबेस् or होवे or होइवे <sup>4)</sup> | होवह् or होइवह् or होव or होइव |
| 3. होई  | होइहै                          |

1) Throughout, the initial consonant may optionally be व् or ब्, and in the low forms of E. H. the medial cons. may be ह् or र् (§ 145).

2) The masc. form may throughout be used also as fem.

3) Fem. also: होबिस् or होवी or होइबिस् or होइवी.

Conjunctive mood.

d) Present tense: *I be*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.

Plur. Masc. and Fem.

- |                      |                 |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| 1. हो <sup>हुं</sup> | हो <sup>ई</sup> |
| 2. हो                | होह or हो       |
| 3. होय               | हो <sup>य</sup> |

e) Preterite tense: *I were*, etc.

Sing. Masc.

Fem.

Plur. Masc.

Fem.

- |   |                   |                |                |
|---|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1. होते <sup>हुं</sup> or होतो <sup>हुं</sup> | होतू <sup>ई</sup> | होइत्          | होइत्          |
| 2. होतेस् or होते                             | होतिस् or होती    | होतह् or होत   | होत्यू         |
| 3. होत् or होतै                               | होत् or होतै      | होतेन् or होतै | होतिन् or होती |

Imperative mood.

f) Present tense: *let me be*, etc.; the same as pres. conj.

3. THE STRONG COMPLETE AUXILIARY VERB.

517. This verb is conjugated regularly throughout; see § 514, 3.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

Sing. Masc.

Fem.

Plur. Masc.

Fem.

- |                                |                             |                           |                       |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. होखैलौ <sup>हुं</sup>       | होखैल्युं                   | होखीला                    | होखीला                |
| 2. होखैलेस् or <sup>०</sup> ले | होखैलिस् or <sup>०</sup> ली | होखैलह् or <sup>०</sup> ल | होखैल्यू              |
| 3. होखैला                      | होखैले                      | होखैलै <sup>हुं</sup>     | होखैली <sup>हुं</sup> |

b) First preterite: *I was*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.

Plur. Masc. and Fem.

- |                        |        |
|------------------------|--------|
| 1. होखी <sup>हुं</sup> | होखा   |
| 2. होखिस्              | होख्यू |
| 3. होखिन्              | होखिन् |

Or: Second preterite.

Sing. Masc.

Fem.

Plur. Masc.

Fem.

- |                               |                            |                          |                      |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. होखलो <sup>हुं</sup>       | होखल्युं                   | होखली                    | होखली                |
| 2. होखलेस् or <sup>०</sup> ले | होखलिस् or <sup>०</sup> ली | होखलह् or <sup>०</sup> ल | होखल्यू              |
| 3. होखल्                      | होखल्                      | होखलै <sup>हुं</sup>     | होखली <sup>हुं</sup> |



c) Future tense: *I shall be*, etc.

| Sing. Masc.            | Fem.           | Plur. Masc.  | Fem.         |
|------------------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1. होखबो <sup>1)</sup> | होखब्यौ        | होखबू or ०बै | होखबू or ०बै |
| 2. होखबेस् or ०बे      | होखबिस् or ०बी | होखबहू or ०ब | होखब्यु      |
| 3. होखी                | होखी           | होखिहै       | होखिहै       |

Conjunctive mood.

d) Present tense: *I be*, etc.

| Sing. Masc. and Fem.  | Plur. Masc. and Fem. |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. होखो <sup>2)</sup> | होखी <sup>2)</sup>   |
| 2. होखु               | होखहू or होख         |
| 3. होखे               | होखै <sup>2)</sup>   |

e) Preterite tense: *I were*, etc.

| Sing. Masc.                     | Fem.           | Plur. Masc.         | Fem.                |
|---------------------------------|----------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. होखतो <sup>2)</sup> or ०त्यो | होखत्यौ        | होखती or ०खित्      | होखती or ०खित्      |
| 2. होखतेस् or ०ते               | होखतिस् or ०ती | होखतहू or ०त        | होखत्यू             |
| 3. होखतै or ०त्                 | होखतै or ०त्   | होखतै <sup>2)</sup> | होखती <sup>2)</sup> |

Imperative mood.

f) Present: *let me be*, etc. Like the pres. conj.

Precative forms: 2. sg. होखिहे, 2. pl. होखिह or होखी.

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are formed like those of the regular active verb पढ़ to read, see § 521; e. g., मैं होखतू बाटौ *I am being*, etc.

Participles.

Adjectival: pres. होखतू *being*, past होखलू *been*.

Conjunctive: होखे के *having been*.

Adverbial: pres. होखते or होखतै *on being*, past होखले *on having been*.

Infinitives.

Nom. होखबू *to be*, acc. होखे के or होखवे के, etc.

#### 4. THE DEFECTIVE NEGATIVE AUXILIARY VERB.

518. This verb exists only in the present tense of the three moods; see § 514, 3.

1) Or: होखिबो<sup>2)</sup>, होखिबेस्, etc.

a) Present indicative: *I am not*, etc.

| Sing. Masc.                  | Fem.                | Plur. Masc.  | Fem.                |
|------------------------------|---------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| 1. नैखो <sup>१</sup> or नैखू | नैख्यु <sup>१</sup> | नैखी         | नैखी                |
| 2. नैखेस् or नैखे            | नैखिस् or नैखी      | नैखह् or नैख | नैख्यु <sup>१</sup> |
| 3. नैखे                      | नैखी <sup>१</sup>   | नैखै         | नैखी <sup>१</sup>   |

b) Pres. conj. and imp. like the pres. indic.

## 5. THE REGULAR ACTIVE VERB.

519. There is only one conjugation. With the exception of a very few irregular verbs (see §§ 525—527), all verbs, whether ending in a consonant or a vowel, are conjugated precisely alike. One example, therefore, of an active verb, fully conjugated, is sufficient. For the sake of convenience, however, a list of the first persons sing. and plur. of a few typical verbs will be added; the remainder to be supplied by the student. It may be noted, as a practical rule, that an euphonic semicons. may be added to any verb which ends with a vowel; viz. *व्* to verbs in ई, and *त्* to verbs in ऊ or ओ. Thus every verb may be made to have a consonantal termination; and after the required verbal form has been made, the euph. cons. may be again omitted; and the resultant form will be that of the verb as ending in a vowel.

520. The elements.

पठ्ठ् to read; root पठ्; bases पठत्, पठल्.

The radical and participial tenses.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I read*, etc.

| Sing. Masc.                               | Fem.                 | Plur. Masc.            | Fem.                        |
|---|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. पठैलो <sup>१</sup> or ०लो <sup>१</sup> | पठैल्यु <sup>१</sup> | पठैला                  | पठैला                       |
| 2. पठैलेस् or ०ले                         | पठैलिस् or ०ली       | पठैलह् or ०ल or ०ल्यह् | पठैल्यु                     |
| 3. पठैला <sup>१</sup>                     | पठैले                | पठैलेन् or पठैलै       | पठैलिन् or ०ली <sup>१</sup> |

1) Or like masc.

2) Or पठैलो, पठैलेस्, पठैला, and so on throughout.



b) First preterite: *I read*, etc.

| Sing. Masc. and Fem. | Plur. Masc. and Fem. |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. पढ़्यो            | पढ़ा                 |
| 2. पढ़िस्            | पढ़्यौ               |
| 3. पढ़िस्            | पढ़िन्               |

Or second preterite: *I read*, etc.

| Sing. Masc.      | Fem.          | Plur. Masc.          | Fem.          |
|------------------|---------------|----------------------|---------------|
| 1. पढ़लो or ल्यो | पढ़ल्यौ       | पढ़लो                | पढ़ली         |
| 2. पढ़ले         | पढ़लिस् or ली | पढ़लह् or ल or ल्यह् | पढ़ल्यु       |
| 3. पढ़लेस्       | पढ़लेस्       | पढ़लेन् or लै        | पढ़लिन् or ली |

c) Future: *I shall read*, etc.

| Sing. Masc.             | Fem. <sup>1)</sup> | Plur. Masc.  | Fem.        |
|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------|
| 1. पढ़्यो <sup>2)</sup> | पढ़्यौ             | पढ़्य or ै   | पढ़्य or ै  |
| 2. पढ़्येस् or े        | पढ़्यिस् or ी      | पढ़्यह् or े | पढ़्यु or ी |
| 3. पढ़ी                 | पढ़ी               | पढ़िहै       | पढ़िहै      |

Conjunctive mood.

d) Present: *I read*, etc.

| Sing. Masc. and Fem. | Plur. Masc. and Fem. |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. पढ़ो              | पढ़ो                 |
| 2. पढ़ु or पढ़       | पढ़ह् or पढ़         |
| 3. पढ़े              | पढ़ै                 |

e) Preterite: *I read*, etc.

| Sing. Masc.      | Fem.          | Plur. Masc.          | Fem.            |
|------------------|---------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 1. पढ़तो or ल्यो | पढ़्यौ        | पढ़तो or पढ़िन्      | पढ़ती or पढ़िन् |
| 2. पढ़तोस् or ते | पढ़तिस् or ती | पढ़तह् or त or त्यह् | पढ़त्यु         |
| 3. पढ़त् or तै   | पढ़त् or तै   | पढ़तेन् or तै        | पढ़तिन् or ती   |

Imperative mood.

f) Present: *let me read*, etc. Like pres. conj.

Precativ forms: 2. sing. पढ़िहे, 2. plur. पढ़िह.

1) Throughout the masc. forms may be used for the fem.

2) Or पढ़िओ, पढ़िओस्, and so on throughout.

521.

The periphrastic tenses.

Indicative mood.

g) Durative or definitive present: *I am reading*, etc.

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.<sup>1)</sup>

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. पठ्त् बाटो <sup>०</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> होवो <sup>०</sup> | पठ्त् बायू <sup>०</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> हयू <sup>०</sup> |
| 2. पठ्त् बाटेस् or बाटे or होवे                                | पठ्त् बाटिस् or बाटी or होवी                               |
| 3. पठ्त् बाटै or बाय् or बा or होवै or हो                      | पठ्त् बाटै or होवै etc.                                    |

Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. पठ्त् बाटो or प <sup>०</sup> हई              | पठ्त् बाटी or प <sup>०</sup> हई            |
| 2. पठ्त् बाटह् or बाट or होवह् or होव           | पठ्त् बायू or हयू                          |
| 3. पठ्त् बाटै <sup>०</sup> or होवै <sup>०</sup> | पठ्त् बाटी <sup>०</sup> or हई <sup>०</sup> |

h) Durative pret. or imperfect: *I was reading*, etc.

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.

- |                                    |                                 |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. पठ्त् रहलो <sup>०</sup>         | पठ्त् रहल्यू <sup>०</sup>       |
| 2. पठ्त् रहलेस् or <sup>०</sup> ले | पठ्त् रहलिस् or <sup>०</sup> ली |
| 3. पठ्त् रहल्                      | पठ्त् रहल्                      |

Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. पठ्त् रहलो                                   | पठ्त् रहली                                   |
| 2. पठ्त् रहलह् or <sup>०</sup> ल                | पठ्त् रहल्यू                                 |
| 3. पठ्त् रहलेन् or <sup>०</sup> लै <sup>०</sup> | पठ्त् रहलिन् or <sup>०</sup> ली <sup>०</sup> |

i) Durative future: *I shall be reading*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.

Plur. Masc. and Fem.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. पठ्त् होवो <sup>०</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> होखवो <sup>०</sup> <sup>2)</sup> | पठ्त् होवै or प <sup>०</sup> होखवै                             |
| 2. पठ्त् होवैस् or प <sup>०</sup> होखवैस्                                     | पठ्त् होवह् or प <sup>०</sup> होखवह्                           |
| 3. पठ्त् होई or प <sup>०</sup> होली   | पठ्त् होइहै <sup>०</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> होखिहै <sup>०</sup> |

k) Definite pret. or perfect: *I have read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.<sup>1)</sup>

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. पठले बाटो <sup>०</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> होवो <sup>०</sup> | पठले बायू <sup>०</sup> or हयू <sup>०</sup> |
| 2. पठले बाटेस् or बाटे or होवे                                | पठले बाटिस् or बाटी or होवी                |
| 3. पठले बाटै or बाय् or बा or होवै or हो                      | पठले बाटै or होवै etc.                     |

1) Optionally the masc. forms may be used for the fem.

2) Or प<sup>०</sup> होइवो<sup>०</sup> or प<sup>०</sup> होखिवो<sup>०</sup>, etc.; in fact any of the forms given in §§ 516, c. 517, c may be used.



Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

- |                                     |                                 |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. पढ़ले बाटी or प <sup>०</sup> हई  | पढ़ले बाटी or प <sup>०</sup> हई |
| 2. पढ़ले बाटह or बाट or होवह or होव | पढ़ले बायू or हयू               |
| 3. पढ़ले बाटै or होवै               | पढ़ले बाटी or हई                |

1) Pluperfect: *I had read, etc.*

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.

- |                        |                       |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. पढ़ले रहलौ          | पढ़ले रहल्यू          |
| 2. पढ़ले रहलैस् or ०ले | पढ़ले रहलित्स् or ०ली |
| 3. पढ़ले रहल्          | पढ़ले रहल्            |

Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

- |                        |                       |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. पढ़ले रहली          | पढ़ले रहली            |
| 2. पढ़ले रहलह or ०ल    | पढ़ले रहल्यू          |
| 3. पढ़ले रहलेन् or ०लै | पढ़ले रहलित्न् or ०ली |

m) Future exact: *I shall have read, etc.*

Sing. Masc. and Fem.

Plur. Masc. and Fem.

- |   |                                      |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. पढ़ले होवो or प <sup>०</sup> होखवो     | पढ़ले होवै or प <sup>०</sup> होखवै   |
| 2. पढ़ले होवैस् or प <sup>०</sup> होखवैस् | पढ़ले होवह or प <sup>०</sup> होखवह   |
| 3. पढ़ले होई or प <sup>०</sup> होखी       | पढ़ले होइहै or प <sup>०</sup> होखिहै |

Conjunctive mood.

n) Future conditional: *(if) I be reading, etc.*

Sing. Masc. and Fem.

Plur. Masc. and Fem.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. पढ़त् होहु or प <sup>०</sup> होखु | पढ़त् होई or प <sup>०</sup> होखी              |
| 2. पढ़त् हो or प <sup>०</sup> होखु   | पढ़त् होह or हो or प <sup>०</sup> होखह or होख |
| 3. पढ़त् होय or प <sup>०</sup> होखै  | पढ़त् होय or प <sup>०</sup> होखै              |

o) Durative pres. condit.: *(if) I were reading, etc.*

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.

- |  |                                       |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1. पढ़त् होतै                          | पढ़त् होत्यू                          |
| 2. पढ़त् होतैस् or प <sup>०</sup> होतै | पढ़त् होतित्स् or प <sup>०</sup> होती |
| 3. पढ़त् होत् or प <sup>०</sup> होतै   | पढ़त् होत् or प <sup>०</sup> होतै     |

Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

- |  |                                       |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1. पढ़त् होइत्                         | पढ़त् होइत्                           |
| 2. पढ़त् होतह or प <sup>०</sup> होत    | पढ़त् होत्यू                          |
| 3. पढ़त् होतेन् or प <sup>०</sup> होतै | पढ़त् होतित्न् or प <sup>०</sup> होती |

p) Fut. exact condit.: (if) *I have read*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.

Plur. Masc. and Fem.

1. पढ़ले हो<sup>हुँ</sup> or प<sup>०</sup> होखी<sup>ँ</sup>

पढ़ले होई<sup>ँ</sup> or प<sup>०</sup> होखी<sup>ँ</sup>

2. पढ़ले हो or प<sup>०</sup> होखु

पढ़ले होइ or प<sup>०</sup> होखहु etc.

3. पढ़ले होय् or प<sup>०</sup> होखै

पढ़ले होय् or प<sup>०</sup> होखै

q) Preterite condit.: (if) *I had read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.

1. पढ़ले होतो<sup>ँ</sup>

पढ़ले होत्य्

2. पढ़ले होतेस् or प<sup>०</sup> होते

पढ़ले होतिस् or होती

3. पढ़ले होत् or प<sup>०</sup> होतै

पढ़ले होत् or होतै

Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

1. पढ़ले होइत्

पढ़ले होइत्

2. पढ़ले होतह् or प<sup>०</sup> होत

पढ़ले होत्य्

3. पढ़ले होतेन् or प<sup>०</sup> होतै

पढ़ले होतिन् or प<sup>०</sup> होती

५२२.

Participles.

a) Adjectival: pres. पढ़त् *reading*, past पढ़ल् *having read* or *read*.

b) Conjunctive: पढ़ के or पढ़े के *having read*.

c) Adverbial: pres. पढ़ते or पढ़तै *on reading*, past पढ़ले *on having read*.

Infinitives.

Nom. पढ़् *to read*, acc. पढ़बे के or पढ़ै के *for to read* or *for reading*, instr. पढ़बे से or पढ़ै से, etc.

Noun of agency.

Masc. or fem. पढ़निहार *reader*, or fem. पढ़निहारी.

## 6. LIST OF TYPICAL REGULAR ACTIVE VERBS.

५२३.

Elements.

a) रहब्  *dwell*, root रह्, bases रहत्, रहल्

b) पीयब्  *drink*, " पी or पीय्, " पीयत्, पीयल्

c) चूसब्  *drip*, " चू, " चूयत्, चूयल्

or चूवब्, " (चूव्), " चूवत्, चूवल्

d) रोयब्  *weep*, " रो, " रोयत्, रोयल्

or रोवब्, " (रोव्), " रोवत्, रोवल्



a) Present indicative.

|                | Masc.     | Fem.   |       | Masc.    | Fem.     |
|----------------|-----------|--------|-------|----------|----------|
| 3. pers. sing. | a) रहैला  | रहैले  | plur. | रहैलेन्  | रहैलिन्  |
|                | b) पीयैला | पीयैले |       | पीयैलेन् | पीयैलिन् |
|                | c) चूरेला | चूरेले |       | चूरेलेन् | चूरेलिन् |
|                | d) रोरेला | रोरेले |       | रोरेलेन् | रोरेलिन् |

b) First preterite.

|                | Masc. and Fem. |       | Masc. and Fem. |
|----------------|----------------|-------|----------------|
| 3. pers. sing. | a) रहिस्       | plur. | रहिन्          |
|                | b) पीयिस्      |       | पीयिन्         |
|                | c) चूइस्       |       | चूइन्          |
|                | d) रोइस्       |       | रोइन्          |

Second preterite.

|                | Masc.      | Fem.    |       | Masc.   | Fem.    |
|----------------|------------|---------|-------|---------|---------|
| 3. pers. sing. | a) रहल्    | रहल्    | plur. | रहलेन्  | रहलिन्  |
|                | b) पियलेस् | पियलेस् |       | पीयलेन् | पीयलिन् |
|                | c) चूअल्   | चूअल्   |       | चूअलेन् | चूअलिन् |
|                | d) रोअल्   | रोअल्   |       | रोअलेन् | रोअलिन् |

c) Future indicative <sup>1)</sup>.

|                | Masc. and Fem. |       | Masc. and Fem. |
|----------------|----------------|-------|----------------|
| 3. pers. sing. | a) रही         | plur. | रहिहै          |
|                | b) पी or पीई   |       | पीहै           |
|                | c) चूई         |       | चूइहै          |
|                | d) रोई         |       | रोइहै          |

d) Pres. conj. or f) Pres. imper.

|                | Masc. and Fem. |       | Masc. and Fem. |
|----------------|----------------|-------|----------------|
| 3. pers. sing. | a) रहै         | plur. | रहै            |
|                | b) पीये        |       | पीये           |
|                | c) चूऐ         |       | चूऐ            |
|                | d) रोऐ         |       | रोऐ            |

1) 1. pers. sing. masc. रहबो" or रहियो"; पियबो" or पीबो"; चुअबो" or चुइबो"; रोअबो" or रोइबो".

e) Preterite conjunctive.

|                | Masc. and Fem.    | Masc.   | Fem.    |
|----------------|-------------------|---|---------|
| 3. pers. sing. | a) रहत् or रहतै   | plur. { रहतेन्<br>पीयतेन्<br>चूयतेन्<br>रोयतेन् | रहतिन्  |
|                | b) पीयत् or पीयतै |   | पीयतिन् |
|                | c) चूयत् or चूयतै |   | चूयतिन् |
|                | d) रोयत् or रोयतै |   | रोयतिन् |

f) Precative forms.

|                | Masc. and Fem. | Masc. and Fem.                      |
|----------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| 2. pers. sing. | a) रहिहे       | plur. { रहिह<br>पीह<br>चूइह<br>रोइह |
|                | b) पीहे        |                                     |
|                | c) चूइहे       |                                     |
|                | d) रोइहे       |                                     |

g) Durative or definite present.

|                | Masc. and Fem.            | Masc.   | Fem.           |
|----------------|---------------------------|---|----------------|
| 3. pers. sing. | a) रहत् बाटे or रं होवै   | plur. { रहत् बाटे or होवै<br>पीयत् बाटे or होवै<br>चूयत् बाटे or होवै<br>रोयत् बाटे or होवै | रं बाटी or हई  |
|                | b) पीयत् बाटे or पं होवै  |   | पे बाटी or हई  |
|                | c) चूयत् बाटे or चूं होवै |   | चूं बाटी or हई |
|                | d) रोयत् बाटे or रों होवै |   | रों बाटी or हई |

1) Pluperfect indicative.

|                | Masc. and Fem. | Masc.   | Fem.         |
|----------------|----------------|---|--------------|
| 3. pers. sing. | a) रहल् रहल्   | plur. { रहल् रहलेन्<br>पीयले रहलेन्<br>चूयल् रहलेन्<br>रोयल् रहलेन् | रहल् रहलिन्  |
|                | b) पीयले रहल्  |   | पीयले रहलिन् |
|                | c) चूयल् रहल्  |   | चूयल् रहलिन् |
|                | d) रोयल् रहल्  |   | रोयल् रहलिन् |

The remaining periphrastic tenses are made after the analogy of Nro. g and l.

524.

Participles.

|    | Adjectival. | Conjunctive.        | Adverbial.  |
|----|-------------|---------------------|-------------|
| a) | रहत् रहल्   | रह के <sup>1)</sup> | रहते रहले   |
| b) | पीयत् पीयल् | पी के               | पीयते पीयले |
| c) | चूयत् चूयल् | चू के               | चूयते चूयले |
| d) | रोयत् रोयल् | रो के               | रोयते रोयले |

1) Or: रहे के, पीए के, etc.



Infinitives.

|          |                        |
|----------|------------------------|
| a) रह्ब  | Acc. रहै के or रहबे के |
| b) पीयब् | „ पीयै के or पीबे के   |
| c) चूम्ब | „ चूरे के or चूम्बे के |
| d) रोम्ब | „ रोरे के or रोम्बे के |

Noun of agency.

- a) रहनिहार, b) पीयनिहार, c) चूम्बनिहार, d) रोम्बनिहार; fem. °री.

7. IRREGULAR ACTIVE VERBS.

525. There are three kinds of irregularities. *Firstly*; some verbs add the suffixes ल्, त् and ब् instead of ऐल् or अल् (of the pres. indic.), अत् (of the pres. part.) and अच् or इच् (of the future). This is done by all verbal roots in आ and ए and by the root हो be. But the roots in आ and the R. हो may optionally take इच्.

*Secondly*; some verbs have a special form of the past participle (and of all tenses derived from it), of the conjunctive part., and of the first preterite tense. These are the verbal roots: कर do, धर put, आव come, पाव find, जा go, दे give, ले take, हो be.

*Thirdly*; the two verbal roots दे give and ले take add no suffix in the 2. and 3. pers. sing. pres. conj. and imper.

Note also, that आव or अच्, आय or अय, जाइ or अइ are often contracted into औ or ऐ respectively (see § 34).

The following verbs will serve as types: खाब् to eat, जाब् to go, देब् to give, होब् to be, करब् to do, आवब् to come. All other verbs in आ are conjugated like खाब्; लेब् to take is conjugated like देब्, धरब् to put like करब्, पावब् to find like आवब्.

526.

a) Present indicative.

| 1. sing. | 3. sing. | 1. plur. | 3. plur. |
|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| a) जालो  | जाला     | जाईला    | जालेन्   |
| b) देलो  | देला     | देईला    | देलेन्   |
| c) होलो  | होला     | होईला    | होलेन्   |

b) First preterite.

|                      | 1. sing. | 3. sing. | 1. plur. | 3. plur. |
|----------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| a) गयो <sup>०</sup>  | गयिस्    | गया      | गयिन्    |          |
| b) दियो <sup>०</sup> | दिहिस्   | दिया     | दिहिन्   |          |
| c) भयो <sup>०</sup>  | भयिस्    | भया      | भयिन्    |          |
| d) कियो <sup>०</sup> | किहिस्   | क्रिया   | किहिन्   |          |
| e) आयो <sup>०</sup>  | आइस्     | आया      | आइन्     |          |
| f) खायो <sup>०</sup> | खाइस्    | खाया     | खाइन्    |          |

Second preterite.

|                         |                      |                    |                       |
|-------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| a) गइलो <sup>० 1)</sup> | गयल् <sup>१)</sup>   | गइली <sup>१)</sup> | गइलेन् <sup>१)</sup>  |
| b) दिहलो <sup>०</sup>   | दिहलेस्              | दिहली              | दिहलेन् <sup>१)</sup> |
| c) भइलो <sup>० १)</sup> | भयल् <sup>१)</sup>   | भइली <sup>१)</sup> | भइलेन् <sup>१)</sup>  |
| d) कइलो <sup>० १)</sup> | कइलेस् <sup>१)</sup> | कइली <sup>१)</sup> | कइलेन् <sup>१)</sup>  |
| e) अइलो <sup>० १)</sup> | आयल् <sup>१)</sup>   | अइली <sup>१)</sup> | अइलेन् <sup>१)</sup>  |
| f) खइलो <sup>० १)</sup> | खइलेस् <sup>१)</sup> | खइली <sup>१)</sup> | खइलेन् <sup>१)</sup>  |

c) Future.

|                         |     |                            |                     |
|-------------------------|-----|----------------------------|---------------------|
| a) जावो <sup>० २)</sup> | जाई | जाव् or जावै <sup>२)</sup> | जाइहै <sup>२)</sup> |
| b) देवो <sup>०</sup>    | देई | देव् or देवै               | देइहै               |
| c) होवो <sup>० ३)</sup> | होई | होव् or होवै               | होइहै               |

d) Pres. conj. and f) Pres. imper.

|                       | 1. sg. | 2. sg. <sup>४)</sup> | 3. sg. | 1. pl. | 2. pl. <sup>५)</sup> | 3. pl. |
|-----------------------|--------|----------------------|--------|--------|----------------------|--------|
| a) जाव्               | जा     | जाय                  | जाई    | जाव्   | जावै                 | जावै   |
| b) देव्               | दे     | दे                   | देई    | देव्   | देवै                 | देवै   |
| c) होव् <sup>६)</sup> | हो     | होव्                 | होई    | होव्   | होवै                 | होवै   |

1) Or: गैलो<sup>०</sup>, गइल्, गैली, गैलेन्, ऐलो<sup>०</sup>, आइल्, etc.

2) Or: जाइवो<sup>०</sup> or जैवो<sup>०</sup>, जाइव् or जावै or जैवै, जैहै<sup>०</sup>.

3) Or: होइवो<sup>०</sup> or होखवो<sup>०</sup> or होखिबो<sup>०</sup>, etc. The verb आव् come formes regularly अइवो<sup>०</sup> or ऐवो<sup>०</sup> or अउवो<sup>०</sup> or औवो<sup>०</sup>, आई, आइव् or आवव् or आउव्, अइहै<sup>०</sup> or ऐहै<sup>०</sup>, etc.

4) Or: जो; but not देउ.

5) Or: जा; यव् or य; हो.

6) Or: होव् or होवो<sup>०</sup>, as in §§ 516, d. 517, d.



e) Preterite conjunctive.

|                        | 1. sg.              | 3. sg. masc.        | 1. pl.              | 3. pl. masc.          |
|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| a) ज्ञातो <sup>१</sup> | ज्ञात् <sup>१</sup> | ज्ञात् <sup>१</sup> | ज्ञात् <sup>२</sup> | ज्ञातेन् <sup>३</sup> |
| b) देतो <sup>२</sup>   | देत्                | देत्                | देइत्               | देतेन्                |
| c) होतो <sup>३</sup>   | होत्                | होत्                | होइत्               | होतेन्                |

f) Precative forms:

|                      | 2. sing.          | 2. plur.          |
|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| a) ज्ञाइहे or ज्ञैहे | ज्ञाइहे or ज्ञैहे | ज्ञाइहे or ज्ञैहे |
| b) देइहे             | देइहे             | देइहे             |
| c) होइहे             | होइहे             | होइहे             |

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are made regularly by means of the pres. and past part. and the auxiliary verb; provided only, that trans. verbs use the past part. in ले, and intrans. verbs that in ल्. Thus, 3. sg. pluperf. गयल् रहल् *he had gone*, but दिहले रहल् *he had given*.

527.

Participles.

| Adjectival.                  | Conjunctive.           | Adverbial.                |
|------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| a) ज्ञात्, गयल् <sup>४</sup> | ज्ञाय् के <sup>५</sup> | ज्ञाते, गैले <sup>४</sup> |
| b) देत्, दिहल्               | दे के                  | देतै, दिहले               |
| c) होत्, भयल् <sup>४</sup>   | होते के                | होतै, भैले <sup>४</sup>   |
| d) कर्त्, कयल् <sup>४</sup>  | कय् के                 | कर्तै, कैले <sup>४</sup>  |
| e) आवत्, आयल् <sup>४</sup>   | आय् के                 | आतै, ऐले <sup>४</sup>     |
| f) खात्, खायल् <sup>४</sup>  | खाय् के                | खातै, खैले <sup>४</sup>   |

Infinitives.

Nouns of agency.

|   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| a) ज्ञाव् <sup>६</sup> , ज्ञाये के or ज्ञावे के | ज्ञानिहार, fem. ०री |
| b) देव्, देऐ के or देवे के                      | देनिहार, " ०री      |
| c) होव्, होऐ के or होवे के                      | होनिहार, " ०री      |

1) Or: ज्ञातै, देतै, होतै.

2) Or: ज्ञाती, देती, होती.

3) Or: ज्ञातै, देतै, होतै.

4) Or: गइल्, गइले; भइल्, भइले, etc.

5) Or contr. जै के, दै के, कै के, etc.

6) Or: ज्ञाइव्, ज्ञाइवे or ज्ञावे के; होइव्, होइवे के; आवइव्, आवइवे or ऐवे के, etc.

## 8. THE REGULAR COMPOUND PASSIVE VERB.

528. The forms of the pass. verb are composed of the past part. in ग्ल् of the principal (i. e. active) verb and the tenses of the verb गच्छ् to go (§ 479). The formation of the past part. is explained in §§ 302—307; and the conjugation of the verb गच्छ् is given in §§ 525—527. The form of the past part. never changes, but the forms of the verb गच्छ् vary, as usual, according to the person, number and gender of the subject.

Present indicative.

| Sing. Masc.               | Sing. Fem.             |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. पठल् गालो              | पठल् गाल्यै            |
| 2. पठल् गालेस् or पं गाले | पठल् गालिस् or पं गाली |
| 3. पठल् गाला              | पठल् गाले              |
| Plur. Masc.               | Plur. Fem.             |
| 1. पठल् गाईला             | पठल् गाईला             |
| 2. पठल् गालह् or पं गाल   | पठल् गाल्य्            |
| 3. पठल् गालेन् or पं गालै | पठल् गालिन् or पं गाली |

The rest of the tenses may be formed after the above manner.

Participles.

| Adjectival.                         | Conjunctive.           | Adverbial.        |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| पठल् गाल्, पं गयल्                  | पठल् गाय् के           | पठल् गालै पं गाले |
| Infinitives.                        | Nouns of agency.       |                   |
| पठल् गाय्, पं गाये के or पं गाये के | पठल् गानिहार; fem. ०री |                   |

## 9. IRREGULAR COMPOUND PASSIVE VERBS.

529. There are only two irregular verbs; viz. गच्छ् to go and होय् to be (§ 479, exc.). The former uses the participial form गायल्, instead of गयल् in the formation of the compound pass., the latter the part. form होयल् or, optionally, भयल्. All other active verbs, which form an irregular past part. (see §§ 527. 304), use the same also in the compound pass. Thus, कयल् गाला it is done; दिहल् गाला it is given; but गायल् गाला it can go (lit. it is gone); होयल् गाला it can be, see § 530.



530. The pass. voice of intrans. verbs is only used in an impersonal and potential sense. Thus, मो से बइठल् नाहीं जाला lit. *by me it cannot be sat*, i. e., *I cannot sit*; or मो से खरा नाहीं होयल् (or भयल्) जाल् चाटे *I cannot stand up*.

*Note:* The compound pass. verbs should be carefully distinguished from the compound intensive verbs; see § 538, a.

## 10. THE POTENTIAL PASSIVE VERB.

531. The potent. pass. verb, as to the formation of which see § 482, is conjugated precisely like any other (active) verb in आ, e. g., like खाब् *to eat*, the conjugation of which is given in §§ 525—527.

a) Present: *I can be read*, etc.

|                          | Sg. Masc.             | Fem.                  | Pl. Masc.             | Fem.                  |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. पढालो                 | पढाल्यू               | पढाईला                | पढाईला                | पढाईला                |
| 2. पढालेस् <sup>1)</sup> | पढालिस् <sup>1)</sup> | पढाल्ह <sup>1)</sup>  | पढाल्यू               | पढाल्यू               |
| 3. पढाला                 | पढाले                 | पढालेन् <sup>1)</sup> | पढालिन् <sup>1)</sup> | पढालिन् <sup>1)</sup> |

b) Preterite: *I could be read*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढइलो or पढैलो; 3. sg. पढायल् or पढाइल्, etc.  
There is no first preterite form of the potent. pass.

c) Future: *I shall be able to be read*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढइबो or पढैबो or पढाबो, 3. sg. पढाइ; pl. पढइहै or पढैहै, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may be able to be read*, etc.

|                |                |          |
|----------------|----------------|----------|
| Sing. 1. पढावू | 2. पढा or पढो  | 3. पढाय  |
| Plur. 1. पढाई  | 2. पढाह or पढा | 3. पढावू |

e) Pret. conj.: *I would be able to be read*, etc.

1. sing. masc. पढालो; plur. पढाली or पढाइत्, etc.

Periphrastic tenses.

g) Dur. pres. 1. sg. masc. पढात् चाटो or प<sup>०</sup> होवो, etc.

h) Dur. pret. " " पढात् रहलो, etc.

i) Dur. fut. " " पढात् होवो or प<sup>०</sup> होखवो, etc.

1) Or: 2. sg. m. पढाले, f. पढाली; pl. m. पढाल; 3. pl. m. पढाले, f. पढाली.

k) Perfect 1. sg. masc. पढायल् खाटो<sup>०</sup> or प<sup>०</sup> होखो<sup>०</sup> or पढाइल् ख<sup>०</sup> or प<sup>०</sup> ह<sup>०</sup>, etc.

l) Pluperfect " " पढायल् रहलो<sup>०</sup> or पढाइल् र<sup>०</sup>, etc.

Participles.

Adjectival.

Conjunctive.

Adverbial.

पढात्, पढायल् or पढाइल्

पढाय् के

पढाते, पढाइले or पढैले

Infinitives.

Nouns of agency.

पढाव् or पढाइव्, पढाये के or पढैये के

पढानिहार, fem. ०री

11. IRREGULAR POTENTIAL PASSIVE VERBS.

532. There is only one anomalous case; viz. the verb खाव् to eat. It forms its potent. pass. root irregularly, viz. खिया; but the root, thus formed, is conjugated quite regularly. Observe also, that the verbs देव् to give and लेव् to take make their potent. pass. roots दिया and लिया (§ 482). The verbs आव् to come, जाव् to go and होव् to be possess no potent. passive.

12. THE SIMPLE CAUSAL VERB.

533. The simple causal verb, as to the formation of which see § 474, is conjugated regularly like any other (active) verb in व्; provided that ०आवी<sup>०</sup> becomes आई (§ 33) and antepenultimate ०आव<sup>०</sup>, ०आय<sup>०</sup> become अउ or औ, अइ or ऐ (§ 34).

a) Present: *I cause to read or I teach*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढावैलो<sup>०</sup> or पढावलो<sup>०</sup>; pl. पढाईला, etc.

b) First pret.: *I caused to read or I taught*, etc.

Sg. 1. पढायो<sup>०</sup>, 2. and 3. पढाइस्; pl. 1. पढावा, 2. पढायौ, 3. पढाइन्.

Second preterite.

1. sg. पढउलो<sup>०</sup> or पढौलो<sup>०</sup>; pl. पढउली or पढौली, etc.

c) Future: *I shall cause to read or I shall teach*, etc.

Sg. 1. पढइवो<sup>०</sup> or पढैवो<sup>०</sup> or पढउवो<sup>०</sup> or पढौवो<sup>०</sup>, 3. पढाई, etc.

Pl. 1. पढाइव् or पढाउव्, 3. पढइहै<sup>०</sup> or पढैहै<sup>०</sup>, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may cause to read*, etc.

Sg. 1. पढावो<sup>०</sup>, 2. पढाव् or पढावु or पढाउ, 3. पढावै.

Pl. 1. पढाई<sup>०</sup>, 2. पढावह् or पढाव, 3. पढावै<sup>०</sup>.



e) Pret. conj.: *I would cause to read, etc.*

1. sg. masc. पढतो or पढीतो, 3. पढावतु or पढीतै; pl. 1. पढाइतु, etc.

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are made regularly by means of the pres. and past part.; provided only, that causal verbs, being trans., use the past part. in ले. Thus 3. sg. masc. imperf. पढावतु रहलु he was causing to read or he was teaching; again 3. sg. masc. perf. पढीले बाटे he has caused to read or he has taught, etc.

Participles.

Adjectival.

Conjunctive.

Adverbial.

पढावतु पढावलु

पढायु के

पढीतै पढीले

Infinitives.

Nouns of agency.

पढाइवु or पढाववु, पढावै के or पढेवै के

पढीनिहार; fem. ०री

### 13. THE DOUBLE CAUSAL VERB.

534. The double caus. verb, as to the formation of which see § 477, is conjugated precisely like the simple causal verb (§ 533).

a) Present: *I cause to teach, etc.*

1. sg. masc. पढावौलो or पढावली; pl. पढाईला, etc.

b) First. pret.: *I caused to teach, etc.*

1. sg. पढावौ, 2. and 3. पढावइसु; pl. 1. पढावाया, 3. पढावइतु, etc.

Second preterite.

1. sg. masc. पढवउलो or पढवौलो, 3. पढवउलेसु or पढवौलेसु, etc.

c) Future: *I shall cause to teach, etc.*

1. sg. masc. पढवइवौ or पढवैवौ or पढवउवौ or पढवौवौ, 3. पढवाई, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may cause to teach, etc.*

1. sg. पढावौ, 2. पढाववु or पढावावु or पढावउ; 1. pl. पढवाई, etc.

e) Pret. conj.: *I would cause to teach, etc.*

1. sg. m. पढवउतो or पढवौतो, 3. पढाववतु or पढवौतै; 1. pl. पढावइतु, etc.

Participles.

Infinitive.

पढाववतु पढाववलु

पढावइवु or पढावववु



## 14. THE PASSIVE OF THE SIMPLE AND DOUBLE CAUSAL VERBS.

535. Causal verbs cannot form the potent., but only the compound passive. The latter is formed and conjugated precisely like that of any other (active) verb. Thus, simple caus. pass. infin. पढ़ावल् नाच् to be caused to read or to be taught; and double caus. pass. inf. पढ़ावावल् नाच् to be caused to teach, and so forth.

## 15. IRREGULAR CAUSAL VERBS.

536. 1) The verb खाच् to eat forms its simple causal लियावल् to cause to eat or to feed, and its double causal लियावावल् to cause to feed. Similarly the verbs लेच् to take and देच् to give form लियावल्, लियावावल् and दियावल्, दियावावल् respectively (§ 474, exc.).

2) The verbs आवच् to come and जाच् to go possess no causals. Instead of them, the intensitive compound verbs लेआवच् to bring (= to cause to come) and लेजावच् to remove (= to cause to go) are used (see § 538, a). These two compound verbs are conjugated precisely like the two simple verbs आवच् and जाच्. Thus their infin. pass. are लेआयल् नाच् to be brought and लेजायल् नाच् to be removed.

3) Of the verb होच् to be there is no causal in use, whether simple or double, active or passive.

## FOURTH CHAPTER. COMPOUND VERBS.

537. Compound verbs are made by adding to the principal verb, which takes the form of the conj. part. (§ 490) or the oblique infin. (§ 485) or the adj. part. (§ 486), certain auxiliary verbs. In conjugating, the latter only are inflected, while the former remains unchanged.

538. The verbs most commonly used as auxiliaries to form such comp. verbs are:





a) For making *intensitives*; देब् to give (implying intensity), उलब् to throw (violence); आइब् to come and जाइब् to go (completion); पड़ब् (or W. H. पड<sup>०</sup>) to fall (chance); उठब् to rise (suddenness); लेब् to take (reflexiveness). In such intensitive comp. verbs the auxil. verb has no significance of its own, but merely serves to modify the meaning of the principal verb. The latter takes the form of the conj. part. Thus, फेंकब् to throw, but फेंक देब् to throw away; तोड़ उलब् to break into pieces, from तोड़ब् to break; बन आइब् or बन जाइब् to be made up, completed, from बनब् to be made; खाय् जाइब् to eat up, from खाइब् to eat; आय् पड़ब् to come accidentally, to turn up, from आइब् to come; बोल् उठब् to speak suddenly, from बोलब् to speak; काट् लेब् to cut for oneself, from काटब् to cut; रख् लेब् to place for oneself, to lay by, from रखब् to place.

b) For making *continuatives*; रहब् to remain and जाइब् to go. In composition with रहब्, the principal verb may take the form either of the conj. or the adj. pres. part.; in conjunction with जाइब्, it may have only the form of the latter participle. Thus, बइह रहब् or बइठ रहब् to continue sitting; again पठ् जाइब् to continue reading.

c) For making *frequentatives*; करब् to do. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. infin. Thus, पढ़ै करब् or पढ़वे क<sup>०</sup> to read often; आवै करब् or आवे क<sup>०</sup> or ऐवे क<sup>०</sup> to be in the habit of coming.

d) For making *potentials*; सकब् to be able, जानब् to know. The principal verb takes the form of the conj. part. or, less usually, of the obl. infin. Thus, पढ़ सकब् or पढ़ै स<sup>०</sup> or पढ़वे स<sup>०</sup> to be able to read; खइवे जानब् or खैवे ज<sup>०</sup> to be able to eat.

e) For making *completives*; चुकब् to finish. The principal verb takes the form of the conj. part. Thus पढ़ चुकब् to finish reading, खाय् चुकब् to finish eating.

f) For making *desideratives*; चाहब् (or चाहब्) to wish. The principal verb takes the form of the adj. past part. or the obl. infin. Thus, पढ़ल् चाहब् or पढ़ै ह<sup>०</sup> or पढ़वे ह<sup>०</sup> to wish to read.

Very often these derivatives are idiomatically used to express merely immediate futurity, as घड़ी बजलुं झाहलुं बाटे the clock is about to strike; बेरु बिसबे झाहैला the time is about to pass.

g) For making *inchoatives*; लगबु to be applied and होइबु to become. The latter occurs only in the past tense भयलु he became, and, in composition with it, the principal verb takes the form of the adj. pres. part., as पढ़लु भयलु he began to read. With लगबु it takes the form of the obl. inf., as पढ़ै लगबु or पढ़बे लु to begin to read.

h) For making *permissives*; देबु to give. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. inf. Thus, पढ़ै देबु or पढ़बे देबु to allow to read; आवै देबु or आवे द<sup>०</sup> or ऐबे द<sup>०</sup> to allow to come.

i) For making *acquisitives*; पाइबु to obtain. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. inf. Thus, पढ़ै पाइबु or पढ़बे प<sup>०</sup> to be allowed to read.

539. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) The form of the principal verb in intens., contin., potent. and complet. compound verbs is not, as sometimes said (see Kl. 188—191. Eth. 102. 103. Ld. 70), the root of the verb, but the conj. part. This can be clearly seen in E. H., especially in the case of verbs with vocal roots, where the root and the conj. part. have different forms; e. g., to eat up is खाय (conj. part.) जाइबु, not खा (root) जाइबु; but also in others; e. g., फेंके देबु or फेंक द<sup>०</sup> to throw away. In fact, these compounds literally mean to come after having eaten; to give after having thrown. Thus, लेआवै lit. means to come after having taken, i. e., to bring; पढ़ै चुकबु or पढ़ लु to give up after having read, i. e., to have done with reading. The H. H., too, has preserved the full conj. part. form in its causals, where it optionally adds व् to roots in आ (see Kl. 188. 192); e. g., बताव् देना or बता द<sup>०</sup> to show. Again O. H. always uses the conj. part. in its original form in इ; as पढ़ि चुकन् to have done reading. Finally M. uses in these compounds the conj. part. in उन्; e. g., टाकन् देणे to cast away, घेउन् देणे to bring, lit. having taken (from घेणे to take) to come (see Man. 92); and likewise B. uses the conj.



part. in *इया*, G. in *ई*, S. in *ई* or *ए*, O. in *इ*; e. g., B. खाइया *चूकन्* to have done eating (S. C. 193); G. नाखी देवुं to throw away (Ed. 113); S. वही वजणु to take off, करे चुकणु to have done doing (Tr. 339. 342), O. करि बाडै I am in the habit of doing (Sn. 42). In the ordinary P., as in H. H., the form of the conj. part. does not differ from that of the root; e. g., बाचू सकणा to be able to read, खा हटणा to finish eating (Ld. 70, d). — 2) As regards those compounds in which the principal verb takes the form of the obl. infin., the latter is the acc. case of the infin. governed by the auxil. verb. Thus पढे करबू to read often is lit. to do reading, मरबू द्वाइबू to be about to die is lit. to desire dying. This is clearly seen from the O., which actually adds the acc. affix कु to the obl. inf. मरिबा कु चाहि I desire to die, करिबा कु लागि I begin to do (Sn. 41. 12). The termination of the obl. inf. is वा in G., इया in P., ण in S.; e. g., G. ज्ञोवा लगयो he began to see (Ed. 51), P. पढिआ करदा he is in the habit of reading (Ld. 70, e), S. हुयण लगणु to begin to cry (Tr. 344, 4). The B. alone forms an exception, in using the obl. form of the pres. part. in हते (or the adverbial part.) in the place of the obl. inf.; e. g., B. मरिते चाहि I desire to die, करिते पारि I am able to do (S. Ch. 192, 4. 5). Kellogg's conjecture (p. 192), that the H. H. form in या (as पढा करना to be in the habit of reading) is not the masc. sing. of the past part. but a „gerund“ (i. e., obl. infin.) and identical with the B. obl. inf. in या (S. C. 149), is quite true. — 3) In those compounds, where the principal verb is in the form of an adj. part., the latter really stands in the position of a predicate to the subject or object of the (auxil.) verb. Thus उपरन्तु जातु बाढै he continues reading is lit. he is going as a reader, or उ मरतु चाहतु बाढै he wishes to die is lit. he wishes (himself) as dead. It appears, therefore, that, strictly speaking, none of these so-called compound verbs are really compounds, but in every case the part. or infin. of the principal verb is in ordinary grammatical construction of some sort with the (so-called) auxil. verb. — 4) These various comp. verbs occur in all Gd. languages, and are generally

formed in the same way, though sometimes a different auxil. verb is used. Thus B. and O. use पारु *cross* for सक् in potent. (S. Ch. 192, 4. Sn. 41, 2), B. वाक्, O. वा *stand* for र्ह् in contin. and for करु in frequent. (S. Ch. 191, 1. 192, 3. Sn. 42); P. has रह् *with draw*, S. वह् *take*, beside चुक्, in complet. (Tr. 342, c. Ld. 70, d); S. वञ् *go* for जा in intens. (Tr. 339, a). One exception has been already mentioned in Nro. 2. — 5) Traces of these comp. verbs already occur in Prākrit. Thus there are desideratives in the *Bhagavati*, made by constructing the R. इच्छ *wish* with the past part. pass. in इय; e. g., इच्छामि सयम् एव मुंडावियं सयम् एव सिक्खावियं सयम् एव धम्मम् आइक्खियं, i. e., *I wish myself to shave, myself to instruct, myself to teach the law*, E. H. इहो आपही मूडल् आपही सिखावल् आपही धाम् कै आयस् दिहल्. See Wb. Bh. 275. 433<sup>1</sup>).

## FIFTH SECTION. INDECLINABLES.

540. There are four kinds of indeclinables or words incapable of inflexion: 1) adverbs, 2) postpositions, 3) conjunctions, 4) interjections.

### 1. ADVERBS.

541. Adverbs may be either nominal, pronominal, numeral, verbal or original, according as they are derived from nouns, pronouns, numbers, verbs or from none of these. Again each of these classes may be divided into adv. of time, place and manner. Most adv. are native Hindi, but there are a very few of foreign

1) आइक्खियं may be derived from R. आ-दीन् (or आ-दिन्, for Skr. आ-दिष्, cf. Pr. देव्ल = दृन्, for Skr. दृष्) „to instruct, to initiate“. — The E. H. root इह् or चाह् may be better derived from the noun इच्छा, by the loss of initial इ and the transfer of the aspiration of छ् (§ 182). Thus Skr. \*इच्छायति, Pr. इच्छायइ, Gd. इहो or चाहै or इहै. Accordingly § 178 should be corrected.



origin, whose native equivalents are obsolete. Again most adv. consist of only one word; but there are some that consist of a phrase or of a repetition of the original word. The following list of adv. lays no claim to completeness. The Sanskrit or foreign source of each is added in brackets.

542. *Nominal adverbs of time.* 1) नर्सौ° four days ago or four days hence (for चर्सौ°? Skr. चतुर-ग्रस्); तर्सौ° three days ago or three days hence (Skr. त्रि-ग्रस्); परसौ° the day before yesterday or the day after to-morrow (Skr. पर-ग्रस्); काल् or काल्ह or काल्हि yesterday or to-morrow (Skr. कल्); विहान् to-morrow, at daybreak (Skr. विभात); अतू or अतवा to-day (Skr. अद्य); अतौ° hitherto (Skr. अद्यापि); परवार the past year (Skr. पर-काल or पर-वार, cf. §§ 69. 30); तर्के or भिनुसार at daybreak, at down (W. H. तडके, Skr. तटक, भिनु-वासर); नित always (Skr. नित्य); अगू or अगे before (§§ 77, exc. 78, exc.); पाहू or पाहे or पाहे° afterwards (§§ 77, exc. 78, exc.); पुन् or कुन् or फिन् (§§ 61. 131) or बहुरि again (Skr. पुनर्, बहु); निदान् lastly (Skr. dto). — 2) Adverbial phrases; ओ दिन् or पर के दिन् yesterday (lit. that day or day of before); लोहिया लागत् (lit. becoming red) or आँधसुधारे (lit. on clearing off of darkness) at down, early; दिन् चरू के (lit. the day having risen) late in the morning; सब् दिन् always (lit. every day); बहुत बेर frequently; एक बेर once (etc., see § 409); अतू काल् or एन्हन् दिन् now-a-days. — 3) Repetitions; दिन् दिन् every day; कबही° कबही° or कब्बो° कब्बो° sometimes; बार बार frequently. — 4) Foreign; आखिर lastly (arabic آخر).

543. *Nominal adverbs of place.* 1) अगारी or अगार before (§§ 210. 77, exc. 78, exc.); प्हारी or प्हार or प्हारे or पिह° behind (§§ 210. 77, exc. 78, exc.); उपरिया above (Skr. उपरि); नीचू or निचइया below (Skr. नीच, of नि-अंचू); समूह or सामूह in front (Skr. सम्मुख); बहिरि or बहिर without (see § 217, p. 110); बीच or बीचू amidst (Skr. वृत्, of वृ surround, cf. § 374, p. 223, or from नि-अंचू surround); नगीचू or नगीचै (see § 545) or नियरे or नेरे or नियर near (Skr. निकट, cf. § 104); कौह or लामे far (see §§ 172. 144); सबत्र every where (Ap. Pr. सबत्र, Skr. सर्वत्र). — 2) Phrases; काले कोस् far (lit. some

*miles* = W. H. कित्ते कोस्, Skr. कियत्-क्रोश, Pr. काला, H. C. 3, 65, cf. §§ 438, 4. 464).

544. *Nominal adverbs of manner.* 1) अचानक् (Skr. अचेतनक?) or संतोग (Skr. संयोग) *accidentally, suddenly*; अलग्ग *separately* (Skr. अलग्न); बहुत् *much* (Skr. बहुत्र); हाली or हलदे or तुरन्त *quickly* (see § 545); तावर्तोर् *very quickly*; साँचे *truly* (Skr. सत्य); अकार्य् (§ 545) or बियो (Skr. वृथा) *in vain*; नीमन् (Skr. नियमन्?) or नीके (persian نیکی) *well*; निर्कुल् or केवल् *merely* (Skr. दतो); बर् *very* (§ 145, exc. 2); सभिहै or सम्मै *altogether* (Skr. सर्व). — 2) Phrases; काम् से *accidentally* (lit. *by fate*); आपुस् से *mutually*; similarly, by adding रीति से or भाँति से or तरह (arab. طرہ) *in ... manner*, adverbs may be formed from any adj., as भली रीति से *in a good manner, well*. — 3) Repetitions; अलग्ग अलग्ग *severally*; रसे रसे or गवै गवै or धीरे धीरे or कले कले *slowly, by and by*; साचो साचा *truly*; लग्ग भग्ग *almost*; कूढ़ बूढ़ *falsely*; सचे मुच् *surely*. — 4) Foreign; जरूर *necessarily* (arab. ضرور); जल्दी *quickly* (pers. خلدی); कम् *a little* (pers. کم); खाली *only* (pers. خالی); अदब दै के *especially* (lit. *giving respect*; arab. ادب); आस्ते आस्ते or बस्ते बस्ते *slowly* (pers. آهسته).

545. *Derivation.* Adverbs in ए or ऐ or ई are modifications of the Ap. Pr. loc. sing. in अहिं, as explained in §§ 77, exc. 378. — Adverbs in उ are modifications of the Ap. Pr. abl. or loc. sing. in अहुं, see §§ 78, exc. 376. 378. — Adv. in इ are modifications of the Ap. Pr. loc. sing. in ए or इ, see §§ 45. 378; e. g., Skr. कल्ये, Pr. कल्ले, Ap. कल्ले or कल्लि, E. H. कालि or कालिह. — Adv. in a quiescent are modif. of the Ap. Pr. acc. sg. or loc. sg.; see §§ 41. 45; e. g., Skr. कल्यं, Pr. कल्लं, E. H. काल्; the latter, however, might have arisen by the quiescence of the final इ in the Ap. Pr. कल्लि or E. H. कालि. — The element 'सौ' (in परसौ, etc.) appears to be the contraction of an Ap. Pr. abl. or loc. सहं (see § 376), of सो (Skr. श्रुः), formed irregularly after the analogy of nouns (e. g., abl. दिवसहुं, of दिवसो *day*). — E. H. बन्नवा is derived with the pleon. suff. अन्ना from बान्, and बन्नवा is contr. to बान्, see § 199. — E. H. भिनुसार् contains an anomalous meta-



thesis of *ब्र*, if it is correctly derived from Skr. *भिन्नावसार* „broken day“, „day-break“; whence Pr. \**भिन्नवसार* or \**भिन्नोसार*, E. H. *भिनुसार*. — In *फिन्* and *फुन्* the *फ* and *इ* are, perhaps, assimilations to *फिर्* (§ 547); S. has regularly *विसि* or *पुसि* or *पुणु* (Tr. 410). — E. H. *बहुरि* is formed by the addition of the pleon. suff. *र* to Skr. *बहु*, just as in E. H. *बाहिरि*, see §§ 543. 217. — E. H. *मगार*, *पहार*, etc. contain the pleon. suff. *अग्रउग्र* (i. e., *क + उ + क*), as explained in §§ 210. 217. — E. H. *उपरिया* and *निचइया* contain the pleon. suff. *इया*, see § 199. — E. H. *नगीच्* is, probably, a corruption of the persian *نزدیک*, which may be heard in Hindi as *नगीक्* (see § 21, 2), and whence by transposition (see § 133) would arise *नगीन्*; the *क्* being now medial, is regularly softened to *ग्*, see § 102. — E. H. *हाली* and *हलदे* are really W. Gd. adverbs; the former is the conj. part., the latter the obl. form of the pres. part. of the verbal root *हाल्* (M.), *हल्* (P.), *हल्* (S.), *हिल्* or *हल्* (H.) *move, go*. Thus conj. part. S. *हली* (Tr. 313), pres. part. *हलन्दे* (Tr. 313), P. *हलदे*. — E. H. *तुरन्त* is the pres. part. of the verbal root *त्वर* or *तुर* *be quick*. — E. H. *अकार्य* is regularly derived from the Skr. *अकृतार्थ* *having one's object not done, unsuccessful*, Pr. *अकृत्य* or Ap. Pr. *अकृत्यर्थ*, whence contr. E. H. *अकार्य* or *अकार्य* (see §§ 137. 138).

546. The *pronominal* and *numeral adverbs* have been already enumerated in §§ 467—469 and in §§ 402. 417. 419 respectively.

547. *Verbal adverbs*. Many conjunctive participles may be used as adverbs; e. g., *फिर्* or *फिर् के* *again* (Skr. *परि-इ* *go round*), *मिलि* or *मिल् के* *together*, *ज्ञान के* *knowingly*, *हाली* *quickly* (§ 545), etc. By the addition of the conj. part. *क्य के* or *कै के* *having done* to nouns, adjectives and numerals adverbial phrases may be formed; e. g., *खुसी क्य के* *gladly* (lit. *having made joy*); *एक् एक् कै के* *singly* (lit. *having made one by one*), etc.

548. *Particles of affirmation and negation*. The former are *तौ* or *तौ तौ* or *तो* or *हौ* or *हाँ* *yes*, *काह्* or *काहे* lit. *why not*. The latter are *न* or *नाह्* or *नाहि* or *नाहि* or *नाहिन्* *no, not*.

The prohibitive particle is *नित्* *do not*, used with the imper. only. Thus *ऐसन् नित् करह्* *do not act thus*, but *ऐं न* or *नाहोँ कं* *you do not act thus*.

549. *Affinities and Derivation.* *तौ* is a contr. of the Pr. *ताव* (Vr. 4, 6), Skr. *तावत्*. — E. H. *तौ*, S. *तौड* (Tr. 419) is the Skr. *तौव*, used (like Skr. *आत्मा*, E. H. *आप्*) as a term. of respect and, hence, of assent; cf. the English „sir“. — The other affirm. and negat. particles were originally various forms of the auxiliary verb „to be“. Thus E. H. *हाँ* and *हौं*, S. *हउ* or *हाँ* (Tr. 418), B. *हाँ* or *हुँ* (S. Ch. 218) are the 1. sing. pres.; see § 514, 4. The 3. sing. pres. occurs in S. *आहै* (Tr. 418) and M. *होय्* (Man. 101). B. also uses the 3. sing. pres. *बटे* of the other auxil. verb, see § 514, 1. The particles *नाह* or *नाहि* are compounds of the negative particle *न* and the 3. sing. pres. *आहि* *he is* (§ 514, 4); similarly *नाहोँ* and *नाहिन्* are compounds of *न* and the 3. plur. pres. *आहोँ* and *अहिन्*; *नाहिं* occurs in Pr. (H. C. 4, 419). As to the *anunásika* preceding *ह्*, see § 67. All these particles, however, are now used without respect to the person and number originally expressed by their form. — Instead of the E. H. *जिन्*, W. H. uses *मत्* or *मति*, S. *म* (Tr. 415), G. *मा* (Ed. 115); in Pr. *मा* or *मं* or *म* (H. C. 4, 418), Skr. *मा*.

550. *Particles of emphasis.* These are *ई* or *ही* *only*, *very* and *उ* or *हूँ* *also*. They are always used enclitically and often coalesce with the final *ञ* of the principal word to *ऐ* or *औ*. E. g., *क बाबू एह् पारी खाती राबै बनवैय की मूरौ* : i. e., *what, father! shall you, this time, make only syrup or also molasses*; here *राबै* = *राख ई*, and *मूरौ* (or *मूँ*) = *मूर उ*.

551. *Affinities and Derivation.* *ई* is, perhaps, connected with the Skr. *एव*, Pr. *वेञ* or *विञ* (Vr. 9, 3); but as the true Pr. form is *चेञ*, *चिञ* (H. C. 2, 184), the derivation is doubtful. O. has *उ* or *हिँ* or *हे* (Sn. 48), M. *ही* (Man. 101), H. H. *ही*. — E. H. *उ*, B. *ओ* (S. Ch. 237) are modifications of the Pr. *वि*, Skr. *अपि* (or *एपि*); Pr. has also *पि* (H. C. 2, 218); S. preserves both *वि* and *पि* (Tr. 410), and even aspirates *पि* or *पी* (Tr. 410); so also H. H. *पी*.



552. *Particles of interrogation.* क *what*; e. g., क जाबू! का कौल। i. e., *what, father! what are you doing?*

553. *Affinities and Derivation.* S. uses कि or की (Tr. 418), B. कि (S. Ch. 218), W. H. कि, क्य़. They are all connected with the interrogative pronom. base, see §§ 437, 5. 467, d.

## 2. POSTPOSITIONS AND AFFIXES.

554. Postpositions supply in E. H. (and Gd. generally) the place of *what*, in other languages, are prepositions. They are placed after the noun or pronoun which they govern; and the noun or pronoun takes the oblique form with or without the genitive affix के or कै. Postpositions constructed without a gen. aff. are *affixes* (§ 374, p. 222).

555. The following postpositions are commonly constructed without a gen. aff.; तरे *beneath* (Skr. तल *bottom*); पाहीँ (§§ 77, exc. 116. 375) or कने (§ 375) *at, near*; माँ or माँहीँ or माँक् *in, within* (§ 378); ले (conj. part. of R. लभ् *take*) or तक् (dto of R. तक् *see*) *till*; संगे or संग् *with* (Skr. सङ्ग); काहीँ *towards* (§§ 375. 116).

556. The following postpositions are commonly constructed with a gen. aff.; लगि *near, at* (§ 374); साथे *with* (Skr. संख्य); सन्ती (often spelled सन्ती, cf. § 6, note) or पलटे *instead of* (§ 557); बाटे or बारे or बरे or बदे *for, by reason of* (§ 374); ओर (Skr. अवर्) or मुहेँ (Skr. मुख) *towards*; नाईँ *like* (§ 557); besides many of the adverbs, enumerated in §§ 541—544. Also खातिर *for, by reason of* (arab. *خاطر*).

557. *Affinities and Derivation.* Most of these have mentioned in §§ 374 ff. — The origin of बाटे is obscure; it is probably derived from the Skr. वर्त्त *being*; cf. the Pashtu *vatah*; or perhaps it may be a corruption of the Urdú वास्ते (arab. *واسطی*), see § 143; it is peculiar to E. H.; the W. H. has लिये. — E. H. बदे is sometimes used like the arabic *بدل* *in exchange for*. — E. H. सन्ती lit. *sacrifice, substitute*, see § 18, p. 23. — E. H. पलटे is Skr. पर्यस्ते *in return for*, see § 143. — नाईँ is probably connected with the root ज्ञा *know*; the Pr. has नाइ or नावइ (H. C. 4, 444).

### 3. CONJUNCTIONS.

558. *Copulative conjunctions*; चउ or चोर or चर (§§ 5, b. 26) or चो *and*; पुन or पुनि or फुनि or फिन् *moreover*; का — का *as well — as*.

559. *Affinities and Derivation*. E. H. चोर, चर, Bs. चोर or चोर is the Pr. चवरं or Ap. चवर, Skr. चपरं; B. has चार (S. Ch. 237), Br. चर, H. H. चोर, P. चर (Ld. 71), N. र. The latter rejects the initial च (of चर) and is used enclitically; e. g., उन् ले जाने — र भन्वा *he knew and said*, or उठ — र माँक मा उमि *get up and stand in the middle!* — E. H. चउ or चो, B. चो, also compounded चारचो or चारो (S. Ch. 237), O. चाउ or चो (Sn. 46), M. च (Man. 103), Br. चो, S. चउ (Tr. 410), are, probably, the Pr. चवि (H. C. 1, 41), Skr. चवि or चपिच. — S. has also चइ or रँ (Tr. 410), P. चति or ति, O. H. (Chand) ति = Pr. चइ or ति, Skr. चति. — M. has also चाणि or चाणकी (Man. 103), G. चने or ने (Ed. 117); they are probably the Pr. चल or चल, Skr. चत्यत् or चत्यच्च lit. *another*. — E. H. पुनि, etc. (§§ 61. 131), O. पुणि (Sn. 46), S. पुणि or पिणि or पुणु (Tr. 410), are the Pr. पुणो or पुणु (Spt. 276. H. C. 4, 426), Skr. पुनर. — W. H. has क्या — क्या *as well — as*, S. तिच्च — तिच्च (Tr. 410).

560. *Adversative conjunctions*; चरकि or बाकि or बरक (§ 561), लेकिन (arab. لیکن), पर पे, वरन् *but*.

561. *Affinities and Derivation*. चरकि etc. are corruptions of the Persian بلك, see § 143; W. H. बलकि, बाकि, बलुक (Kl. 276), P. बलक (Ld. 71). — E. H. पर is the Skr. परम्, Pr. परं; also W. H., P., S. पर; on E. H., W. H. पे see § 124; P. has also चपर or ऐपर (Ld. 71) = Skr. चपरम्. — E. H. वरन्, W. H. वरण, P. वरं is Skr. वरम् or वरणम्. — W. H. has also मगर, P. मागवाँ or मगो (Ld. 71), S. मगरि (Tr. 412) = Pers. مگر. — O. has पुणि (Sn. 46), M. पण (Man. 103), G. पण (Ed. 117), S. पण (Tr. 412) = Pr. पुणु, Skr. पुनर. — N. has तर, also M. तर (Man. II. 26), probably a corruption of Skr. तर्हि (or of तरम् *beyond, across*). — S. has also खिमि (Tr. 412), a corruption of the arab. بخير; also हवाँ or हयो (Tr. 413), apparently connected with Skr. हस्त. — H. H., H. B., etc. use the Skr. परन्तु, किन्तु, etc.



562. *Disjunctive conjunctions*; ओ or की or, either-or; e. g., का ई लेबह की उ will you take this or that; बहेरा ओ बहेरी a colt or a filly; न — न or न तो — न neither-nor; e. g., न तो ई लेबो न उ I shall take neither this nor that; चाहै — चाहै or की — की whether-or; e. g., चाहै ई ले चाहै उ take either this or that (2. sg. imp.) or whether he take this or that (3. sg. pres. conj.).

563. *Affinities and Derivation*. E. H. ओ is the Pr. वा or वा (H. C. 1, 67), Skr. वा; H. H., H. B., H. O., etc. have वा, also ग्रवा; the latter is preserved in O. ग्रवा, contr. form Pr. ग्रवा (H. C. 1, 67), Skr. ग्रवा. — E. H. की, B. कि (S. Ch. 240), O. कि or कि ग्रवा (Sn. 46), M. की (Man. 103), W. H. कि, P. के or के (Ld. 71), S. कि or की (Tr. 412), N. कि are probably the Pr. कि, Skr. किम् what. — E. H. चाहै is the 3. sg. pres. conj. of the verb चाह् to desire. — B. also uses ह्य-न्य either-or (S. Ch. 240), S. तोडे-न त or तोपो-न त or तौ-तौ (Tr. 412); B. ना-ना or न्य-न्य neither-nor (S. Ch. 240), P. ना-ना (Ld. 81). — S. has तौ or (Tr. 412). — W. H. and P. also use वा, arabic لا (Kl. 275. Ld. 71).

564. *Conditional and concessive conjunctions*; तौ or तै if, तो then; तौ although, तबो yet, nevertheless.

565. *Affinities*. 1) Condit.; B. तदि — तबे or तो (S. Ch. 238), O. तेबे — तेबे (Sn. 46), M. त्र — त्र (Man. II, 17), W. H. तौ or तो — तौ or तो, P. ते or ते कर — तौ (Ld. 71), G. ते or तो — तो (Ed. 117), S. ते or ते कर — त or तौ (Tr. 417), N. भया — ता. — 2) Concess.; B. तदिओ — तबेओ or तबुओ or त्र (S. Ch. 240), O. तेबे — तेबे or तेबेहे (Sn. 46), M. त्रौ or त्रौ — त्रौ or त्रौ (Man. II, 17), W. H. (Br.) तौ हूँ — तौ हूँ (Kl. 275), P. भावे — तौ (Ld. 71), S. तोड or तोपो or ते or ते तोडे or ते तोपो — त or तौ or त बि or तडेही बि (Tr. 411), N. ता — त्र.

566. *Derivation*. 1) Condit.; a) Skr. यदि (or यदा), Pr. त्र (Vr. 1, 11), E. H. तै, P., S. ते. — b) Skr. तर्हि (Pr. तर्हि?), M. त्र; similarly Skr. तर्हि (Pr. तर्हि?), M. and N. त्र. — c) Skr. यावत्, Pr. ताव (H. C. 1, 11) or ताम् (H. C. 4, 395) or तम् (H. C. 4, 401), E. H. and W. H. तौ, G. तो or S. तौ (see § 563) or O. तेबे (§ 468, c); similarly Skr. तावत्, Pr. ताव or ताम् or तम्, E. H., W. H. तौ, B., W. H., G. तो or P. तौ, S. तौ or (shortened) त,

N. ता or O. तेवे, B. (shortening ए) तवे. — d) The N. भन्या is the conj. part. of the verb भननु to say (Skr. भणित्वा), and is always placed at the end of the conditional sentence; thus, वाँहाँ कल्याण को पुत्र ह भन्या, ता तिमिहेह को कल्याण उस् मायि रहला है; न भन्या, ता फर कि याउला, i. e., if (lit. having said that) a son of peace be there, then your peace will remain upon him; if not, then it will again come. — 2) The concessive conj. are made by adding to the condit. conj. some emphatic particle (see § 550); thus a) ओ or उ in B. तद्विओ, Ap. Pr. तद्वि, Skr. यद्यपि; B. तवेओ = Pr. तेम्बर वि, Skr. तावत्तपि (loc. sg.); B. तबु, E. H. तब्बो for तब्ब + उ. — b) हूँ in W. H. जौ हूँ, तो हूँ. — c) ई or हो in M. तरो or तरो for तर्हि-ई, तरो or तरो for तर्हि-ई. — d) बि or भी in S. त बि, P. त भी, H. H. तो भी. — e) The emph. particle is reduplicated in O. तेवेहे for ते-वे-हे, S. तेहेहो बि for तेहे-हो-बि. — f) The P. भावे is the Skr. भावेन indeed, truly; similarly N. uses ता, E. H., W. H. etc. तो or तो; e. g., N. म ता परमेश्वर देवि उराडि न, तर म दिडिला, i. e., I indeed am not afraid of god, yet I shall give.

567. Causal and final conjunctions; a) जौ or जेह से since, तो therefore. — b) जेह से or तेह से therefore. — c) काहे की because, for. — d) जेह से in order that, so that. — e) का जाने lest. — f) नाही तो else, otherwise (lit., if not, then).

568. Affinities and Derivation. a) B. जाइ — ताइ or ताइ ते (S. Ch. 239), O. जेणु — तेणु (Sn. 46), W. H. जिस् ते — तो, P. तौ — तौ, S. जो — सो or जेलौ — तेलौ, etc. (see Tr. 414. 415); not uncommonly paraphrased, e. g., B. and O. जे हेतु — ते हेतु, M. ज्वापत्ती — त्यापत्ती, N. वस् कारण — तस् कारण, etc. — b) B. एमत् से or एमन् से, O. एणु, एनिमन्ते, M. त्यास् or ह्यणुन्, W. H. जिस् ते or तिस् ते, P. तौ, S. सो (Tr. 415); or paraphrased, e. g., B. ए ज्ञये, ए निमिजे (S. Ch. 239), O. जे हेतु (Sn. 46), N. वस् कारण, etc. — c) B. केतना, M. काँकी, W. H. क्यौ कि or क्यो कि, H. H. क्यूँकि, N. क्यान्; or paraphrased, e. g., B. कारण कि, M. कारण की, etc. — d) B. एमत् से, एमन् से (S. Ch. 238), W. H. जिस् ते, P. तौ. — e) B. कि जानि, O. कि जाणि, H. H. क्या जाने, lit. what do I or does he know; or B. पाहे, lit. afterwards (S. Ch. 240); H. H. न हो कि, S. म ह्यो or म ह्यु, lit. may



*it not be that* (Tr. 415). — f) B. नयू तो or न तु वा or नहि ले or ने ले (S. Ch. 240), O. न तु, न तु वा, नोहि ला (Sn. 46. 125), M. नाहोत्तू (Man. 103), W. H. नाही तो, S. मतौ (Tr. 415). — Most of these conj. have a pronom. origin which has been explained in §§ 437. 469.

#### 4. INTERJECTIONS.

569. The following are some of the most usual interjections; हे or हो or ओ or अरे or रे in addressing; राम् राम् in greeting; झी झी *fie!* for *shame*, in remonstrance; घुरी घुरी (or घुनी घ<sup>०</sup>) or घू घू *fit to be spitted on*, धिक्कार *fit to be cursed or abused*, in disgust or abhorrence; हा हा or अह ह or बापरे *ah! alas!*, in surprise or grief; बाह् बाह् in admiration; हॉय् हॉय् in sorrow; भला or अझा *well!* in consent; दुत् or दुर् हो *be off!*; ले *lo!*

570. *Affinities and Derivation.* These interj. are common to all Gds. — Some occur in Pr.; e. g., छि छि and धिग् धिक् (H. C. 2, 174); घू घू (H. C. 2, 200), which, by adding the pleon. suff. री or जी, becomes घुरी घुरी; हा हा, अहह (H. C. 2, 217); अरे, रे (H. C. 2, 201); हे, हो (H. C. 2, 217?); हॉय् हॉय् is probably the Pr. and Skr. हा (H. C. 2, 192). — बापरे is probably बाप् रे *oh father!*

### SIXTH SECTION. SPECIMENS OF EAST HINDI.

#### 1. VOCABLES AND PHRASES.

571. The following nouns, current in E. H., are, I believe, not mentioned in any Hindi dictionary.

|                     |   |                                  |
|---------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| अदहहा <i>weak</i>   | इन्हन् <sup>1)</sup> <i>fuel (of grass,</i> | उत्तर <sup>1)</sup> <i>white</i> |
| अहिवाती <i>wife</i> | etc.)                                       | ओछद् <i>wet</i>                  |
| इनार <i>a well</i>  | उत्तर <sup>1)</sup> or उत्तबक् <i>rude</i>  | ओट् <i>soft</i>                  |

1) Bate in his Hindi dictionary gives: इन्हन्, उत्तल, उत्तल.

|                             |                                    |                            |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| कचलीह् unripe               | जेवाय् husband                     | बीय् wolf (tiger?)         |
| करवात् sweepings            | कूय् dry                           | भइन् sister                |
| करिया black                 | ठडर <sup>1)</sup> place            | भकुआ simpleton             |
| कुनह <sup>1)</sup> enemy    | ठंई coldness                       | भयो younger brother's      |
| कोहडगी sweet pumpkin        | उरपो <sup>3)</sup> cowardly        | wife                       |
| खनहन् good                  | उहर or डाँडी footpath              | भयने sister's son or hus-  |
| खबोर or खब्बू glutton       | धूमीस् dirty                       | band's sister's son        |
| खरबुद् sweepings            | निउरा or नेमोरा finished           | भिद्दा alms                |
| खरपात् dried leaves         | निचाट् solitary                    | भीखार beggar               |
| गउदा or गबदा fool           | नेबर bad                           | भुखइ hungry                |
| गउही cavity                 | पादंडी <sup>1)</sup> footpath      | भुलकइ negligent            |
| गदहाबसंत <sup>2)</sup> fool | पताई dried leaves                  | मंडवी company              |
| गर heavy                    | परसिया neighbouring                | मटमडल् dirty               |
| गबई village                 | पाकर clever                        | मनई man                    |
| गोईठा fuel of cowdung       | पराय की बात <sup>4)</sup> nonsense | मनसेट्ट man                |
| गोहार calling               | पाली tree (branch?)                | मिरकुटहा weak              |
| गटिहा worthless             | पीयल् yellow                       | रचिक् little               |
| गमोच् fool                  | पूरा village                       | लउर long, heavy stick      |
| चउआ <sup>1)</sup> quadruped | पेटास् glutton                     | ललतहा weak                 |
| चिपरा or ०री fuel of        | पोका wet                           | लेनुर or ०री cord, string  |
| cowdung                     | पोच् bad                           | संघत् friendship           |
| चिरई bird                   | फोट् hard                          | संघती friend               |
| चोमर hard                   | बतोलिया buffoon                    | सधुअई honesty              |
| चोक् excellent              | बरधा ox, bullock                   | सुकाव् sight               |
| इरिपोई family, race         | बाबू or बापू father                | सुवोता or ०भीता convenient |
| जावत् all                   | बिगात् individual                  | सूखल् dry                  |
| जावत् जगत् every body       | बिपत् मरुआ <sup>5)</sup> miserable | सेवर unripe                |
| जूगस् or जूगी coldness      | बिरई or बीरो small plant           | हरीयर <sup>1)</sup> green  |

1) Bate in his H. dict.: कुनह, चौवा, ठौर, पादंडी, हरियर.

2) Lit., sitting on an ass.

3) Lit., wet with fear.

4) Lit., word of irrelevancy.

5) Lit., stricken with misfortune.



## 2. DIALOGUES<sup>1</sup>).

### a) Between two friends.

1. Q. कह भाई! कहाँ से आबत बाट? A. परसिया गाँव से आईला. —
2. Q. उहाँ से कय चलल? A. भिनुसारे कै चलल हई. — 3. Q. काहे बदे उहाँ गयल रहल? A. उहाँ एक हमारु खेत बाय, ओके देखै के. —
4. Q. ओमे का बोलले बाट? A. खाली<sup>1</sup> रहल बोलल बाय. — 5. Q. कह, भैया, येह पारी के खेतो कै रहल! A. येह पारी के खेतो कै रहल का पूछत बाट? देख के बरसले<sup>2</sup> बिना बग हरन<sup>3</sup> भयल. — 6. Q. आब काल तोहरे भाई नाही देखैलै<sup>4</sup> है<sup>4</sup>. A. हमरे भाई आब काल किला<sup>5</sup> मे नोकरी<sup>6</sup> बाटे; एहर बहुत कम<sup>7</sup> आवैलै. — 7. Q. तोहरे बउकी गैया कै का खबर<sup>8</sup> बाय? A. बउकी गैया आब काल गामिन् बाय; कोय न मिललै<sup>2</sup> से दूर गइल बाय. — 8. Q. गामिन् भैले<sup>2</sup> कै महीना<sup>9</sup> भयल? A. भयल तो आठ महीना, बाकि पेह कुछ उभरल नाही देख परत. — 9. Q. कोराबत बाय की माही? A. हँ कुछ कुछ जान परैला. — 10. Q. ई कौथा बियान हौ ओ केतना दूध देले? A. ई अठवाँ बियान होई; दूध एकबेर दुई अठई सेर देले. — 11. Q. हम के एक बकरी खरीदै<sup>11</sup> के बाय, से तोहरे गाँव पर मिल सकी? A. हमरे गाँव पर तो बकरी बाटी, लेकिन<sup>10</sup> दाम बड़ तेर<sup>12</sup> बाय. — 12. Q. तोहार बकरिया काँ भइल? A. हम चर के बदे ओके गाँव पर छोडले रहीला. — 13. Q. कुछ दूध देले? A. लगिकन के पीवे भर के मिल जाला. — 14. Q. अबकी उख बोलले बाट की नाही? A. उख तो बोलले बाटी, बरकि ओ मे कुछ फाइदा<sup>13</sup> नैबै. — 15. Q. तोहरे इहाँ से नार मीठ मँगनी मिल सकी? A. काहे<sup>14</sup>? भराई होय जाय, तब ले ल<sup>14</sup>. — 16. Q. तोहरे इहाँ कै पुरख चलैला? A. तीन पुरख नधले बाटी. — 17. Q. तोहरे आम के बरिया मे कुछ फर होला की नाही? A. अबकी तो बदरी से पेड़ मे लाली लग गइल; लाली तो बहुत होय रहल. — 18. Q. थोड़ा आम हमर के अचार नावै के देत? A. जय तोहार मन होय, तब आय के तोडवाय<sup>15</sup> लय. — 19. Q. तोहार लगिकन कुछ पडैला की नाही? A. हँ, गुर किहीं<sup>16</sup> जाला; अचकार<sup>17</sup> तो चीन्ह गयल बाय; आब काल पहाड पडल बाय. — 20. Q. पाठसाले मे नाही बैठाय देत? A. कुछ पढ़

1) The following specimens of village-conversations were given to me by Pandit Gopal Bhatta of Benares. The spelling is his, excepting the *virāmas* and inter-punctuations which I have added.

ले, तब बँटाय देई<sup>18</sup>. — 21. Q. हमहूँ अपने बेटों<sup>19</sup> के पाठसाले में बैठायल् चाहिला. A. अच्छा! हमरे लड़िका के संगे छोड़ के बैठाय दीहा.

Notes: 1) pers. خالی. 2) adverb. past part. 3) arab. ج. 4) 3. pl. pres. ind. of the potent. pass. 5) arab. قلعه. 6) pers. نوکر. 7) pers. کم. 8) arab. خبر. 9) pers. صہینا. 10) arab. لیکن. 11) pers. خرید, treated as a denom. root. 12) pers. تیز. 13) arab. فایده. 14) 2. pl. imperative; or ले लह् or ले ल्यह. 15) conj. part. of the double caus. 16) contr. for के इहाँ. 17) anomalous plur. of अच्छर, apparently made after Urdu (arabic) analogy, as हुकाम orders, pl. of हुकम्. 18) 1. pl. pres. conj., used as future. 19) redundant form of बेटा.

b) Between master and servant.

1. Q. काल लोहिया लागत् खेत् पर जाये के होई. A. काहे के बदे? का, खेत् निरावै के? — 2. Q. हाँ, खेती निरावै के अउर बढके खेतवा में हरी चलावै के. A. कै मजूर<sup>1</sup> के काम बाय? — 3. Q. जैठे से सपरै, तेठे लगाय दीहे. A. धान के खेतवा भरहू के न होई. — 4. Q. कै दिन में भरल जाई? A. दुइ दिन के काम बाय. — 5. Q. लवहू के दिन तो बाय गयल्. A. अच्छा, तब ले चार पाँच मेहरान के ठहराय रक्खीला. — 6. Q. गैयन् के कोयल दिहले, की नाही? A. बाबू तो नाय दिहले रहली. — 7. Q. भूसी लेआय के सानी चलाय दे; साँक भइल्. A. घेर बिसवले, हम घरे<sup>2</sup> रोटी खाये जाब. — 8. Q. अच्छा, अब बाय के ऐहे, तब मोहन के कोसारी में बाँध दीहे. A. तोहरे बदे ई बेरा का खाये के होई? — 9. Q. माई से कहे<sup>3</sup> दीहे की रोटी पोय रखिहै. A. लाली<sup>1</sup> रोठियै खैब? — 10. Q. अउर का? दूध के संगे बाय लेब. A. दाल न होखी? — 11. Q. राति के हम के दाल नाही पचत्. A. जलदी खाये जैह! नाही तो रोटी जुगाय<sup>4</sup> जाई. — 12. Q. जालेवा, तै<sup>5</sup> तो जलदी<sup>6</sup> बाय बाबू; बिना तोरे ऐले हम न जावै. A. हम तो जातै बाटी; बाय के हालियै आइब. — 13. Q. भला, बीया के बदे कोठिला में कुछ जव बाय की नाही? A. न होई, तो वोरे भर के मोल बाय जाई. — 14. Q. केतना बाही बोवै के? A. एक छ पसेरी में होय जाई. — 15. Q. काँको न चाही बोवै के? A. काँक तो चाहै तोहरे बखार में होय. — 16. Q. ई घरी हँव जो चार बुन्दी कर दैतै, तो अउर अच्छा होय. A. देख! मोलै<sup>7</sup>वाँ के मरती<sup>8</sup> होई, तो बरबू जैह. — 17. Q. घरे! हाँ, काल फार के बदे थोरा लोहा लरिहै के बाय. A. केतना लोहा चाही?



तोहरे घर मे नैलै? — 18. Q. मतारी से पुछिहे तो. A. घाम तो पियरायल्ल खातै मे; बाँक् भइल चाहैले. — 19. Q. हो! देख! माई आवत् बाय. A. एह बेरा आवै के कौन काम रहल? — 20. Q. ले! बेर बिसवै चाहैला; तै तलदी तो! A. अच्छा, ले! तुहउ जा! दिसा जंगल से निपट आव.

Notes: 1) pers. مزور. 2) old loc. 3) conj. part. 4) conj. part. of potent. pass. 5) pers. جلدی. 6) arab. مرضی.

c) Between two sisters.

1. Q. कह, बहिनी! एहवर कहाँ गइल रहल्यू? A. रहिला कै सागु खोटे. — 2. Q. एह पारी तोहरे खेतवा मे खाली रहिलै बोवल बाय? A. नाही, मटर रहिला अउर बरै, तीन चीन्, बोवल बाय. — 3. Q. तोहार दुलहा आन् काल कहौ बाहर गयल बाटे? A. नाही, घरही तो बाटे, लेकिन खेत पर बहुत रहैले. — 4. Q. तू रसोइया कय करैल्यू? A. दुपहर के करीला; अब नाय के, तय करव. — 5. Q. तोहार बियववा तो नीके बाय? A. हँ, बाय अच्छीतरह. — 6. Q. तोहार गैववा कुइ दूध देले की नाही? A. का कहौ बहिनी? पहिले बियान मे तो कुइ नाही दिहलेस; अबकी बियान मे देखो कुइ देले की नाही. — 7. Q. केतना दिन बिबैले भयल? A. अबही तो आन् पँचवाँ दिन हो; अबही ओकर बहरा अच्छी तरह चल नाही सकत. — 8. Q. खरी काराई पखेव अच्छी तरह पाई, तो दूध देई. A. देवै कै तो बिचार बाय. — 9. Q. ओहे घरवा मे तुहई अकेल रहल्यू की ओरो केह रहैला? A. नाही, हमही अकेल रहीला, लेकिन चाहीला की ओर केह रहे जात, तो मनसायन होत. — 10. Q. एको कोठरी हमरे रहे लाइक होय, तो हम के य. A. बाय, लेकिन छोट बाय, तोहार निवाह ओ मे न होई. — 11. Q. भला! कबबहू तोहरे परोस मे होई, तो हम के बतेह. A. काहे? जौने घरवा मे तू रहैल्यू, तौने मे कौनो दिकदारी बाय? — 12. Q. दिकदारी कय बाय? भारा बहुत लगैला. A. अच्छा! तो आव, हमरे ही घर मे रह; कौनो तरह से निवाह होय जाई. — 13. Q. भला बहिन्! बड़ किरपा कैल्यू; हम बहुत दिकदार रहली ओहे घर से. A. अच्छा! तो कय से रहै के अइब? — 14. Q. अब तो खर्चास बितले बाद अच्छी साइत देखवाय के आइव. A. जरूर आवै कै बिचार रहिह; हम अपने मनसेधू से कहे के घर सफा करवाय रखव. — 15. Q. न जानी, खर्चास केतने दिन रही! A. रह! हमरे परोस मे एक पंडित रहैले; ओन्ध से पूछ के, तब तोह से कहव.

Notes: 1) pers. جلدی. 2) arab. حُر. 3) redundant form of

माई. 4) adverb. past part. of potent. pass. 5) shorter form of 2. pl. pres. ind. fem., for रहैल्यु. 6) arab. لايف. 7) arab. دق دارير. 8) arab. بعد. 9) arab. ضرور. 10) arab. صفا.

d) Between parents and son.

1. Q. (Father speaks): बेटा! सबेर ही उठ के उल्लू कै खेत देखे के जेह! A. अब तो तोरहू कै दिनु बायल. — 2. Q. हाँ, लेकिन कोलहू कै जाहू दूह गइल बाय; से खरीदे के होई. A. केतने दाम पर मिली? — 3. Q. ओ करू जैसन काहू होय, तैसन दाम लगै. A. कतरी बाय, की उही खरीदल जाई? — 4. Q. कतरियो तो नाही बाय, लेकिन ओ करे भू के काहू घर मे होई; बरहई बलबाय के बनबाय लिहल जाई. A. क बाबू? येह पारी खाली राबै बनबाय की गुरी? — 5. Q. नाही, दूनौ बनबाय. A. अब हम खाव जातु बाटी. — 6. Q. (Mother speaks): आव, बेटा, जलदी खाये के! A. आतू का रसोई कैले बाटिस? — 7. Q. आतू रसोई मे दाल रोटी अउर कोहउरी भइल बाय. A. दूध बाय की नाही? — 8. Q. बोर एक होई बाय; पूत बाट के खाव लीहा! A. अच्छा! गोठ धोवै के पानी भेजवाय दे! — 9. Q. हे! इहाँ लोटा मे पानी एकलल बाय; गोठ धोव! A. बउकी थरिया मे हम के परोसिहे! — 10. Q. अपने बापों के बलाय लय! A. अच्छा! बलाय लेआईला; आव बाबू खाये! — 11. Q. (Father speaks): बेटा! तू खाव लय, तब हम पीछे से खाव. A. काहे? — 12. Q. अबही अच्छी तरह से हम के भूल नैले. A. नाही! माई बलावत बाय. — 13. Q. अच्छा ले! आवतु बाटी. A. हे! गोठ धोवै के पानी धवल बाय. — 14. Q. अच्छा! परोसवाव! A. माई! रसोइयाँ आतू कौन करत हौ? — 15. Q. (Mother speaks): तोहार मेहर. A. ओ के रोटी फुलावै नाही आवत. — 16. Q. नाही आवत; तब्यो कबो नाही रहत. A. पीछा धे दे! — 17. Q. तू आव, तो सहे! पीछा तो ईहई एकलल बाय. A. ले! बाबुओ ऐलै, हमहूँ ऐली; जलदी परोसे के कह. — 18. Q. परोस् दे रे! A. दुइ थरिया, छोटी बड़ी परोस्!

e) Between mother and boy.

1. Q. माई! खाये के दे! A. का कइवे? — 2. Q. का बाय खाये के? A. रोटी बाय; काहे से खइवे? — 3. Q. दूध बाय की नाही? A. दूध तो फसा बाय, लेकिन नैनु बाय; कह, तो देई; ओही से खाव ले! — 4. Q. नैनु दूध कै ही की दही कै? A. नाही! आतू सबेरे दही महे के निकलले



रहली. — 5. Q. लेखाव्. A. खाली नैनुवै, की ओ मे कौनो सीठा मिलैवे? — 6. Q. कौन् सीठा बाटे? A. राबू लेखाई की गुर? — 7. Q. नाही! राबू लेखाव्! गुर हम् के नाही भावत्. A. अच्छा! ले! तै बैठु! हम् लेखाईला. — 8. Q. बलदी लेखाव्; नाही तो उ लरिकवा आय् जाई. A. तै गोइ तो धोउ! हम् लेखाईला. — 9. Q. दुइयै रोटी ले ऐहे! A. ई काहे? पेट भर खाव् ले! रसोइयाँ के अबही अबेर होई. — 10. Q. अच्छा! तीन दे! A. ले! खो!

f) Between two boys.

1. Q. का भाई चलव खेलै के? A. अबही हम् खेली नाही; खाव् लेई, तब चलौ. — 2. Q. कब खेलै? A. माई आवैले, तब खाईला. — 3. Q. तोहार माई कहाँ गइल बाय्? A. गोरुन के कोयर देखै के. — 4. Q. तब ले चल; खेल आई. A. कौन् खेल खेलव? — 5. Q. लटू तोहरे पास बाय् की नाही? A. लटू तो बाय्; लत्ती नैखै. — 6. Q. आव! लत्ती बनाई. A. कपडा कहाँ बाय्? — 7. Q. कपडा बहुत मिली. A. ल्य! माइयो आइल; अब खाव् लेई; तब सुचिन् से खेलौ. — 8. Q. तब से हमहू घर से होय आईला. A. तू काहे बदे धर जात बाट? — 9. Q. वोइ एक दूध धयल बाय्; से हमहू पी आई. A. तोहरे दूध होला? — 10. Q. हाँ, बाकेन् गैया के दूध हो. A. अच्छा! जा! बलदी ऐह! — 11. Q. हम् तो गेली की ऐली. A. जा बलदी!

Notes: 1) 1. pl. pres. ind., for fut. ind. 2) old loc.; elliptic, for तोहरे पास. 3) pers. بلكه.

3. FOLKLORE.

a) The treasure in the field.

एक बग आदिमी<sup>1</sup> अंगूर<sup>2</sup> के बारी ओ खेत बोवलेस; ओके चार बेटवा रहलै; अब उ मरै लगल, तब बेटवन् से कहलेस; ए बेटा मोरे पास बवन धन रहल, तौने के मे अंगूर के खेतवा मे गाइ दिहले बाटो; से तूँलोग खनव, तो पइवइ; अब उ आदिमी मरि गयल, तब ओकर सब बेटावा मिल के खेत के चारो ओर से खनै लगलै; लेकिन धन के खोन् न मिलल; बाकी<sup>4</sup> खेत अच्छी तरह से खोदल गयल; ओ से अंगूर के पेरू बूझ<sup>5</sup> पनफलै; और बूझ अंगूर के फल उपजलै; तब तो सब बेटा मिल के ओके बेचलै, और बहुत एक धन पौलै; बग खुस<sup>6</sup> भइलै; एसे हमलोगन के ई बात सीख के चाही, की बग लोग जौन घात कहै तौने के जराद मार के चाही, टार के न चाही; एही मे हमरे लोगन के कल्यान् होई; ई सजिकन के सीख के बदे कहनी होवै.

Notes: 1) arab. آدمی. 2) pers. انکور. 3) shorter form for लगलै, 3. pl. 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. ind.; see § 26. 4) pers. بلكه. 5) pers. خوب. 6) pers. خوش.

b) The two wise Bráhmans.

कौनो एक ब्राह्मन् रहल; ओके दुइ बेटा रहलै; उ ब्राह्मन् कौनो जग्य कौ लगल; ओ मे एक महरौ के काम परल; तब उ दूनो बेटौवन से कहलेस, की बेटा! तू दूनो जने समुद्र के तीर पर जाय के एक महरौ लेआवह; तब पिता के आया पाय के दूनो समुद्र के तीर पर गैलेन; और उहाँ के मल्लाह से कहलेन, की हम के एक महरौ के काम बाय, से तै पकड़ दे; तब मल्लाह एक महरौ बकाय के दुनहुन के आगे लेआय के धै दिहलेस; तब ओन्ह मे से एक दुसरे के कहलेस की तै काहे नाहि उठाय ले चलतेस; तब उ बोलल की मै भोजनचतुर बाटो; मो के ए कर गंध आवैले; तब उ बोलल की मैह सयनचतुर होओ; ऐसे न उठैवो; ऐसीही उन्ह दुनहुन मे कगरा होवै लगल; आखिर के दूनो लरत लरत राजा के पास गैल और राजा के आपन समाचार कहलै; तब राजा कहलेस, की तू दूनो जने हम के परिच्छा रह; तब हम तोहर बिया जानी; उ दूनो खग भइलै परिच्छा देवै के; तब पहिले राजा भोजनचतुर के परिच्छा लेवै बदे अच्छी रसोई वा बनवौलै; ओ मे अच्छी से अच्छी तरकारी, अच्छे से अच्छे चाउर के भात, अच्छा से अच्छा पकवान रिधवौलेन; और भोजनचतुर के बलवाय के खाय के बैठौलेन; तब उ जैसे ही भात के कवर उठौलेस, तैसेही ओ के ओ मे मुरदा के गंध आयल; से उ गरिया कोर के उठ गयल; तब राजा ओ के पुछलै, की तै काहे नाहि खैले और उठ गैले? उ कहलेस की भात मे मुरदा के गंध आवैले; तब राजा किसान के बलाय के पुछलेस की चाउर कैसन रहल और कहा से लेआय के तै मो के दिहल? किसान बोलल की आपन खेत से; तब राजा पुछलेस की उ खेत केकर हो? तब किसान कहलेस की ज़मीनदार से हम मोल लिहले रहलौ; तब राजा ज़मीनदार के बलाय के पुछलेस, की ई भूई कैसन रहल? तब ज़मीनदार बोलल, की ई भूई मुरदघरा पहिले रहल; तब राजा भोजनचतुर के कहलेस, की तै ठीक भोजनचतुर होवे; फेर सयनचतुर के बोलाय के राजा एक अच्छी बिक्रवनादार खरिया बिक्रवाय दिहलेस, और ओ के सूत के कहलेस; उ सूतल; लेकिन ओ के राति भर नोद नाहि आइल; एह कर वट से ओह कर वट, ओकर वट से एह कर वट करत रहल; सवरे राजा ओ के बलौलेस, और कहलेस की तै राति भर सुख से सुतले? उ बोलल की महाराज समस्त राति ओके नोद नाहि परल; राजा पुछलै काहे? उ बोलल कि बिक्रवना के परत



मे एक बार बाटै से मोरे देह<sup>7</sup> मे गड्ढ रहल; तब राजा अपने नोकर से बिहावन उठवाय के देखलेस तो ओ मे एक बार देखायल<sup>8</sup>; तब राजा खुसी<sup>9</sup> होयके ओके कहलेस कि तै ठीक सयनचतुर होवे; ए करे बाद राजा उन दुनहुन के बहुती तरह से खातिरदारी के के बिदा कैलै ॥

Notes: 1) हूँ and हीँ are emphatic. 2) arab. آخر. 3) lit. standing, here ready. 4) shorter form for बोलवाय; see § 26. 5) pers. مرده. 6) pers. زمیندار. 7) for देह, see § 67. 8) 3. sg. 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. ind. of potent. pass. 9) pers. خوشی joy; here used adjectively, through confusion with adj., formed like सुखी; see § 253.

### c) The unfortunate Brāhman.

कौनो एक ब्राह्मन् सोमशर्मा कुसुमपुर गाँव मे रहत रहल; उ आपन बियाह देवस्वामी केहू अपने परोसिया ब्राह्मन् को बिटिया से कैलेस; से एक दिन की बात ही कि दूनों परानी घटारी पर सूतल रहलै; एतने मे एक कौनो बियाधर ओही ओर से बकास मे बिमान पर चढल चल जात रहल; से ओकर ओह मेहरारू पर पर गडल; उ, ओकरे सुन्दरता से मोहित होय, नीचे उतर, ओके उठाय लेगयल; सबेरा भयल, तब सोमशर्मा अपने बिहौना के सून देख अपने स्त्री के चारो ओर हेरै लगलै, लेकिन पता न पौलै; तब तो बौरहा के तरह एहर ओहर धूमै लगलै ओर भुलै<sup>1</sup>; तब केहू गिरस्थ<sup>2</sup> के घर जाय कहलै कि हम के कुछ खाय के वदे य; उ अपने स्त्री से कहलेस कि ब्राह्मन् भुलायल बाय, एके कुछ दे; उ रसोई<sup>3</sup> मे जाय, एक दोना भर खीर ले आय के, ब्राह्मन् के दिहलेस; ब्राह्मन् उ खीर ले के एक नदी के तीर पर जाय, कौनो पेड़ के तड़ पर खीर के दोना धै के, हाय मुँह धोए के वदे नदी मे गयल; तब ले एहर ओह पेड़ पर से एक करइत साँप उतर के, उ खीर थोरैके<sup>4</sup> खैलेस, ओर ओ मे अपने मुह से तड़<sup>4</sup> उगिल् के, फेर ओही पेड़ पर चढ गयल; तब ले उ बेचारा ब्राह्मन् भुलायल तलदी से आय के ओह दोना के सब खीर खाय गयल ओर थोरी बेर मे तड़ से बियाकुल होय के मुह<sup>5</sup> गयल ॥

अब एह कथा मे ई बिचारल चाही कि ओ करे मुखले के हारा के के भइल, ओह गिरस्थ के, कि ओकरे मेहरारू के, कि ओह साँप के ॥

Notes: 1) 3. pl. 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. ind. of potent. pass. 2) for गिरस्थ. 3) or थोरैके, see § 291. 4) pers. چر. 5) irregular conj. part. of the verb मरब to die.

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## ERRATA.

- p. II. 1. 20. extends *for* extents.  
 p. III. 1. 22. Kachchh *for* Kachh.  
 p. III. 1. 23. Kachchhi *for* Kachhi.  
 p. IV. 1. 29. however *for* howerer.  
 p. VI. 1. 2. eighthly *for* eightly.  
 p. VIII. 1. 14. XXXVII *for* XXXV.  
 p. IX. 1. 29. and the short *for* and of the short.  
 p. XVII. 1. 32. válakko *for* valakko.  
 p. XXIV. 1. 17. what *for* what.  
 p. XXV. 1. 33. Práchyá *for* Práchá.  
 p. XXV. 1. 34. Práchyá *for* Gaudí.  
 p. XXXVII. 1. 11. comes *for* come.  
 p. XXXVII. 1. 20. Prakás *for* Prakas.  
 p. 17. 1. 28. difficulty *for* difficully.  
 p. 56. 1. 27. give thou *for* take thou.  
 p. 57. 1. 5. समरू *for* समलू.  
 p. 61. 1. 33. मोटलू *for* मोटलू.  
 p. 64. 1. 31. बर्हई or बरहई *for* बर्हई or बरहई.  
 p. 65. 1. 29. § 77 *for* § 74.  
 p. 70. 1. 7. add: E. H. बइलू or बैलू.  
 p. 70. 1. 10. दीनू *for* दीनू.  
 p. 104. 1. 34. बाउरू *for* बउरू.  
 p. 107. 1. 6. पाद्विलू *for* पद्विलू.  
 p. 110. 1. 24. चमोटो *for* चमोटो.  
 p. 110. 1. 26. हिरनोटो *for* हिरणोटो.  
 p. 112. 1. 23. गहूघाई *for* गहूघाई.  
 p. 123. 1. 34. चोलो *for* चोलो.  
 p. 124. 1. 10. बेटा son *for* बेटी son.  
 p. 141. 1. 6. चलिय or चलिव *for* चलियू or चलिवू.





## ADDENDA.

- p. 67. rule 119, 2. W. H. होटा *three and a half* for Pr. चंदोटो°, see § 416.
- p. 88. rule 160. न्त् becomes न्दु in S., P., Mw. चंदो for चंतो suffix of pres. part., see § 301. Also P., S. पंन *five* for Pr. पंच, Skr. पञ्च, see p. 256.
- p. 90. rule 172. W. H. होटा for \*अहोटा *three and a half*, see § 416.
- p. 90. add rule 172<sup>a</sup>. इ is elided; rarely; E. H. चाहै or चाहै *he desires*, Pr. इच्छामइ, Skr. \*इच्छायति, see p. 389, footnote.
- p. 113. rule 227. The forms त्र and तन are preserved in the O. H. of Chand; e. g. वृडत्त *old age* Pr. R. 28, 38; प्रीततन *friendship* Pr. R. 28, 56; कुसलतन *prosperity* Pr. R. 28, 38; वृडतन *old age* Pr. R. 28, 38.
- p. 117. rule 239. In O. H. the suff. is एत; e. g. रगतेत *bloody* Chand Pr. R. 28, 39.



CSL