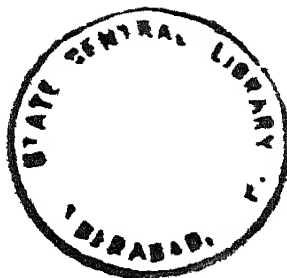


LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

VOL. XI

GIPSY LANGUAGES



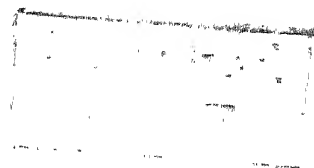
VOLUMES OF
THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

- VOL. I. PART I INTRODUCTORY.
PART II COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY.
- VOL. II. MŌN-KHMĒR & SIAMESE-CHINESE FAMILIES (INCLUDING
KHAŚSĪ & TAI).
- VOL. III. TIBETO-BURMAN FAMILY
PART I GENERAL INTRODUCTION, TIBETAN DIALECTS,
HIMALAYAN DIALECTS, & NORTH ASSAM GROUPS.
PART II BODO-NĀGĀ & KACHIN GROUPS.
PART III KUKI-CHIN & BURMA GROUPS.
- VOL. IV. MUṄḌĀ & DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES.
- VOL. V. INDO-ARYAN FAMILY, (EASTERN GROUP).
PART I BENGALI & ASSAMESE.
PART II BIHĀRĪ & ORĪYĀ.
- VOL. VI. INDO-ARYAN FAMILY, MEDIATE GROUP (EASTERN HINDĪ).
- VOL. VII. INDO-ARYAN FAMILY, SOUTHERN GROUP (MARĀṬHĪ).
- VOL. VIII. INDO-ARYAN FAMILY, NORTH-WESTERN GROUP.
PART I SINDHĪ & LAHNDĀ.
PART II DARDIC OR PIŚĀCHA LANGUAGES (INCLUDING
KĀSHMĪRĪ).
- VOL. IX. INDO-ARYAN FAMILY, CENTRAL GROUP.
PART I WESTERN HINDI & PANJĀBI.
PART II RĀJASTHĀNĪ & GUJARĀTĪ.
PART III BHĪL LANGUAGES INCLUDING KHĀNDEŚĪ, BANJĀRĪ
OR LABHĀNĪ, BAHRUPIA ETC.
PART IV PAHĀRĪ LANGUAGES & GUJURĪ.
- VOL. X. ERANIAN FAMILY.
- VOL. XI. "GIPSY" LANGUAGES.
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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA



VOL. XI

GIPSY LANGUAGES

COMPILED AND EDITED BY

G. A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S.



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राष्ट्रपति भवन, नई दिल्ली-4.

RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN,

NEW DELHI-4.

October 20, 1966.

Dear Sri Sundarlal,

Thank you very much for undertaking the task of republication of Grierson's LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA. It is a pleasure to know that you were able to complete the republication of the 50 volumes of Max Muller's 'Sacred Books of the East' within 3 years. Your work, I may assure you, is of the greatest value to the intellectuals of the world.

With the best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

(S. Radhakrishnan)

Sri Sundarlal,
Motilal Banarsidass,
Post Box 1586,
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Delhi-7

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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION ADOPTED.

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

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

Visarga (:) is represented by *h*, thus क्रमशः *kramaśah*. Anuswāra (◌̣) is represented by *m*, thus सिंह *simh*, वंश *vaṁś*. In Bengali and some other languages it is pronounced *ng*, and is then written *ng*; thus बंग *bangśa*. Anunāsika or Chandra-bindu is represented by the sign ~ over the letter nasalized, thus में *mẹ̄*.

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

ا a, etc.	ح j	د d	ر r	س s	ع 'e
ب b	ح ch	ڍ ḍ	ز z	ش sh	غ gh
پ p	ح h	ذ z	ز z	ص s	ف f
ت t	ح kh		ژ zh	ض z	ق q
ث t				ط t	ك k
ث s				ظ z	گ g
					ل l
					م m
					ن n
					و when representing <i>anunāsika</i> in Dēva-nāgarī, by ~ over nasalized vowel.
					و w or v
					ه h
					ی y, etc.

Tanwin is represented by *n*, thus فَاوْرَان *fauran*. Alif-e maqṣūra is represented by *ā*;—thus دَاوْرِي *da'wā*.

In the Arabic character, a final silent *h* is not transliterated,—thus بَنْدَا *banda*. When pronounced, it is written,—thus گُنَاہ *gunāh*.

Vowels when not pronounced at the end of a word, are not written in transliteration. Thus बन् *ban*, not *banā*. When not pronounced in the middle of a word or only slightly pronounced in the middle or at the end of a word, they are written in small characters above the line. Thus (Hindī) देखता *dēkh'tā*, pronounced *dēkhtā*; (Kāshmirī) च्ह *chh*; तह *ta'h*; कर् *kar*, pronounced *kor*; (Bihāri) देखथि *dēkhatthi*.

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

- (a) The *ts* sound found in Marāṭhī (च), Paṣṭō (چ), Kāshmirī (च्, च), Tibetan (ཚ), and elsewhere, is represented by *ts*. So, the aspirate of that sound is represented by *tsʰ*.
- (b) The *dz* sound found in Marāṭhī (ज), Paṣṭō (ج), and Tibetan (ཚ) is represented by *dz*, and its aspirate by *dzʰ*.
- (c) Kāshmirī च (च) is represented by *ñ*.
- (d) Sindhī چ, Western Pañjābī (and elsewhere on the N.-W. Frontier) چ, and Paṣṭō چ or چ are represented by *n*.
- (e) The following are letters peculiar to Paṣṭō :—
 ت *t*; چ *ts* or *dz*, according to pronunciation; د *d*; ر *r*; ز *zh* or *g*, according to pronunciation; بن *sh* or *kh*, according to pronunciation; ن or ن *n*.
- (f) The following are letters peculiar to Sindhī :—
 پ *bb*; ب *bh*; ت *th*; ٹ *t*; ٹ *th*; ف *ph*; ج *jj*; چ *jh*; چ *chh*;
 چ *ñ*; ڈ *dh*; د *d*; ڈ *dd*; د *dh*; ک *k*; ک *kh*; گ *gg*; گ *gh*;
 گ *n*; ن *n*.

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

<i>á</i> ,	represents the sound of the <i>a</i> in <i>all</i> .
<i>ă</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>a</i> in <i>hat</i> .
<i>ě</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>e</i> in <i>met</i> .
<i>ö</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>o</i> in <i>hot</i> .
<i>e</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>é</i> in the French <i>était</i> .
<i>o</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>o</i> in the first <i>o</i> in <i>promote</i> .
<i>ö</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>ö</i> in the German <i>schön</i> .
<i>ü</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>ü</i> in the „ <i>mühe</i> .
<i>th</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>th</i> in <i>think</i> .
<i>dh</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>th</i> in <i>this</i> .

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

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

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

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

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

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.



GIPSY LANGUAGES.

INTRODUCTION.

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

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

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

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Korava and Yerukala	55,116
Kaikāḍī	8,289
Burganḍī	265
Gōlari	3,614
Kurumba	10,399
Vaḍari	27,099
TOTAL	104,782

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

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Bāori	43,000
Banjāri	158,500
Chāraṇi	1,200
Habūṛā	950
Pār'dhi or Ṭakaṅkāri	8,648
Siyālgiri	120
Tārimūki or Ghisāḍi (Vol. IX, Part ii)	1,669
TOTAL	214,087

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

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Bēldāri	5,140
Bhamṭi	14
Ḍom	13,500
Gārōḍi	?
Gulguliā	853
Kanjari (including Kuchbandhi)	7,085
Kolhāṭi	2,367
Lāḍi	500
Machariā	30
Malār	2,309
Myānwālē or Lhāri	?
Nāṭi	11,534
Ōḍki	2,814
Peṅḍhāri	1,250
Qaṣāi	2,700
Sāsi	51,550
Sikalgāri	25
TOTAL	101,671

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

AUTHORITIES—

- MUHAMMAD ABDUL GHAFÚR.—*A Complete Dictionary of the Terms used by the Criminal Tribes in the Punjab; together with a short history of each tribe, and the names and places of residence of individual members.* For the use of the police and jail officers serving in the Punjab. Lahore: Printed at the Central Jail Press, 1879. Contains Slang terms of Gamblers, pp. 29-30; Pilferers or Utháigiras, pp. 32-38; Khallait, Uchakká and Tagú, pp. 38-40; Sansis, pp. 40-51; Doomnas, pp. 51-54; Gandhílas, pp. 54-56; Sweepers of Delhi District, p. 57; Sweepers of Punjab, pp. 57-59; Harnis, pp. 59-60; Báurias, pp. 60-61; Minas, p. 62; Meos, pp. 62-63; Ahirs and Goojars, p. 64; Thugs, p. 65; Pachhádás, pp. 65-66.
- LEITNER, G. W., LL.D.—*A Detailed Analysis of Abdul Ghafúr's Dictionary of the Terms used by Criminal Tribes in the Punjab.* Lahore: Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1880. This "Analysis" contains all, and corrects almost all, the words and sentences in Abdul Ghafúr's so-called Dictionary.
- LEITNER, G. W., LL.D.—*A Sketch of the Changars and of their Dialect.* Lahore: Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1880.
- LEITNER, G. W., LL.D.—*Selection from the Records of the Punjab Government. Section I of Linguistic Fragments discovered in 1870, 1872 and 1879, relating to the dialect of the Magaddas and other Wandering Tribes, the Argots of Thieves, the Secret Trade-dialects and Systems of native Cryptography in Kabul, Kashmir and the Punjab, followed by an Account of Shawl-weaving and of the Signs for the Numbers and Colours used in the Manufacture of Shawls as well as by an Analysis of a Shawl-pattern, and by four Pages of Shawl-writing, illustrated by Drawings of Shawls and by Specimens of Colours chiefly in use in the Punjab and Kashmir.* Lahore: Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1882.
- LEITNER, G. W., LL.D.—*Appendix to "Changars" and Linguistic Fragments. Words and Phrases illustrating the dialects of the Samé and Mé as also of Dancers, Mirásis and Dóms.* Lahore: Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1882.
- TEMPLE, [SIR] R. C.,—*An Examination of the Trade Dialect of the Naqqásh or Painters on Papier-mache in the Punjab and Kashmir.* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. liii, Part i, 1884, pp. 1 and ff.
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- BAILEY, REV. T. GRAHAME, D.D.—*Notes on Punjabi Dialects.* Contains I. Notes on the Sāsī Dialect, pp. 3 and ff.; II. The Secret Words of the Qaşāis, pp. 9 and f.; III. The Argot of Pañjābī Gamblers, pp. 11 and f.; IV. The Dialect of the Cūhrās, pp. 13 and ff. Privately printed. No date or place of publication.
- (KENNEDY, M.,)—*Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency with Appendices regarding some Foreign Criminals who occasionally visit the Presidency including Hints on the Detection of Counterfeit Coin.* Bombay, 1908.

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

Ajmer-Merwara	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	209
Bombay	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	8,362
Central Provinces and Berar	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,274
Panjab	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5,640
United Provinces	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,673
Baroda State	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	536
Bombay States	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,326
Central India Agency	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,097
Hyderabad State	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4,566
Panjab States	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	474
Rajputana Agency	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	456
Other Provinces	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	681
								TOTAL	<u>28,294</u>

The Gipsy dialects considered in the ensuing pages can be divided into two groups, ordinary dialects and argots. The former group comprises *Classification.* Bēldārī, Bhamṭī, Lādī, Ōdkī and Peṇḍhārī, the latter Dōm, Gārōḍī, Gulguliā, Kanjarī, Kōlhātī, Malār, Myānwālē, Naṭī, Qaṣāī, Sāsī and Sikalgārī. The former group is of the same character as the Gipsy languages described under the head of Bhilī in Vol. IX, Part iii, the latter can be compared with argots such as those used by the Panjab gamblers, the Chūhrās, etc. See Authorities, above.

Within the first of our two groups the Peṇḍhārīs in some respects occupy a position apart, being composed of various elements without any common race or religion. Their dialect shows that they have lived for some time in Eastern Rajputana, and history corroborates this inference. Both the Peṇḍhārīs and some of the Bhamṭās speak dialects which can be described as a mixture of Dakṣiṇī Hindōstānī and Jaipurī. Most Bhamṭās, however, speak Telugu. Lādī is in all essentials a form of Jaipurī. The Ōḍs are probably related to the Vādars, who speak a dialect of Telugu, and they are probably originally Dravidians. Their dialect, however, points towards Malwa or perhaps farther west. The Bēldārs are described as a Dravidian caste. They usually state that they are Rājput̄s, and Dr. Crooke thinks that they are related to the Ōḍs. The traditions and dialects of all these tribes point to the conclusion that they belong to the same stock as the Banjārās, Habūrās, and other tribes who now use a form of Bhilī. The traditions of both Banjārās and Habūrās point towards Rajputana. Ethnologists are, however, agreed that all these tribes are originally Dravidian, *i.e.* belong to the so-called Dravidian race. Their original home has perhaps been situated farther south. They have, however, become Aryanized at a comparatively early date, and philological considerations point to the conclusion that this occurred somewhere in Rajputana. Dr. Crooke is of opinion that these tribes are branches of one great nomadic race, which also comprises tribes such as the Sāsīs, Kanjars, Naṭs, and so on, *i.e.* such Indian Gipsies as possess an argot. Also here we find traditions which point towards Rajputana. Thus the Sāsīs were, according to one tradition, originally bards with the Chauhān Rājput̄s. Their first ancestor was, they say, Sās Māl, and his brother Mallanūr was again the ancestor of the Kōlhātīs, who seem to be very closely connected with the Sāsīs. They are also related to the Kanjars, whose traditions only point towards the jungle, and the Naṭs, who sometimes, likewise, maintain that they have come from Rajputana. The Saigalgars of Benares assert that they were originally Rājput̄s from Marwar. The Dōms are, according to their traditions, Nishādas, and their first ancestor is said to have sprung from the thigh of King Vēna. Now Bēnbans is the name of a modern Rājput̄ sept, which, according to Dr. Crooke, is of obvious Kherwar origin, and the country of the Nishādas is stated in the Mahābhārata (iii, 10538) to begin where the Sarasvatī disappears in the sands. The Nishādas were, according to the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa, forest robbers, and Mahīdhara identifies them with the Bhillas. In the Agnipurāṇa they are mentioned together with "other dwellers in the Vindhya." It will be seen that these traditions point towards Rajputana or Central India. It will now be of interest to see how far an examination of the dialects spoken by these tribes, *i.e.* of the dialects on which their argots are based, corroborates these indications. We cannot of course expect to find anything more than indications. The tribes in question are migratory, and, if they spend a long time in any district, they are likely to adopt its current vernacular.

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

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

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

¹ Pahāri is closely related to Rājasthānī. See Vol. IX, Pt. iv, pp. 2ff., 103ff.

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

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

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

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

In India there have probably been argots from the most ancient times. It is possible that they have to some extent their origin in Indian Argots. sacrificial rites. It would often be necessary to veil the actual meaning of a ceremony in order to prevent rivals and enemies from perverting it by means of sorcery and counter-rites. The curious words *ayavan*, dark fortnight; *yavan*, bright fortnight; *śabda*, day; *sagarā*, night; *yavya*, month; *sumēka*, year (*Śatapathā-brāhmaṇa* i. 7.2.25ff.) seem to belong to such a sacrificial argot. The transmutations and changes of words which are sometimes prescribed in the old Sūtras, are perhaps of a similar kind, though the desire to avoid unlucky words also plays a rôle. The Indians, with their predilection for word-play and enigmatic language, must always have been especially qualified for devising means for disguising the meaning of their speech. An old example is found in the Mahābhārata (I. 5754ff.), where Vidura is represented as warning Yudhishtīra, in the presence of a number of people, of impending treachery, in a jargon which only the speaker and his hearer could understand.²

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

¹ *Linguistic Fragments*, p. (xxv).

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

in different argots. Thus the word *lug*, to die, is used in Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Kanjarī, Dōm, Naṭī, Gārōḍī, Myānwālē, Gulguliā, and Sikalgārī; *dūt*, eat, occurs in the specimens of Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Kanjarī, Naṭī, Myānwālē, and Sikalgārī; *khum*, mouth, in Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Naṭī, and Gārōḍī; *khaul*, *khaulā*, house, in Sāsī, Dōm, Naṭī, and Sikalgārī, and so forth. Such instances add strength to the conclusion arrived at above that there is a common base in many of these forms of speech. Even if we were able to trace each of these words back to its source, this would not prove anything in regard to the nature of this base. We have seen above how the peculiar words of European argots have been collected from the most different sources. The same is most certainly the case in India. We cannot therefore infer that the Kanjars of Belgaum or the Qaşāis are of Arabic descent, because they use some Arabic numerals, or that the Sāsīs have anything to do with the Tibetans even if *bārmī*, wife, could be proved to be identical with Sherpa *permi*, or *chaṭ*, water, with Tibetan *chhu*. The great number of Hebrew words in Rotwaelsch warns us to be cautious in such matters. Still, considering the fact that ethnologists describe the most important Gipsy tribes as Dravidian, it is perhaps of some significance that several of the peculiar argot words seem to have a Dravidian origin. Thus we might compare Kanjarī *tu-khulē*, belly, with Kurukh *kūl*; Sāsī *lōnā*, to beat, with Kurukh *lau'ā*; Myānwālē *gēlō*, boy, son, with Yerukala *gōvālyū*; Kanjarī and Sikalgārī *pādō*, bull, with Tamil *māḍu*; Dōm *ṭignā*, eat, with Tamil *timnu*; Sāsī *pīngī*, fire, with Kanarese *beṅki*; Dōm *kīchwā*, fire, with Kurukh *chich*; Kanjarī *til*, *tiūr*, give, with Tamil *tara*, Savara *tiñ*; Kanjarī *kīdō*, give, with Yerukala *kūḍ*; Myānwālē *hiṭwād* (compare Girīpārī Sirmaurī *hōt*), go, and *barwād*, come, with Kanarese *hō*, go, Tamil *vara*, come, respectively; Sāsī *baunnā*, Kōlhāṭī *bōnā*, Naṭī *būnā*, Myānwālē *bōnō*, gold, with Tamil *pon*; Sāsī *kūdrā*, horse, with Tamil *kudirei*; Sāsī *khaulā*, Naṭī *khōllā*, Sikalgārī *khōl*, Malār *khaul*, house, with Gōlarī *khōlī*, room, Malayālam *kuḍi*, house; compare Malār *khulsā*, husband, and Yerukala *khulisi*, wife, the last syllable of which latter word should be compared with *śi* in *taṅśī*, sister; Sāsī *tūṇḍā*, Kōlhāṭī *tanḍe*, Naṭī *tunḍā*, pig, with Tamil *panri*; Sāsī *binknā*, run, with Kurukh *boṅgā*; Kanjarī, Sikalgārī *khēḍō*, Qaşāi *khēḍā*, Kōlhāṭī *rhēḍā*, house, with Kanarese *khēḍā*; Kōlhāṭī *hēṭṭī*, wife, with Kanarese *heṇḍati*, and so forth. I feel no doubt that we should be able to compare many more words, if we had a fuller knowledge of the argots. In face of the fact that comparatively many of these parallels have been taken from Kurukh, it is perhaps worth while recalling the Kurukh tradition that they have come from the Karnatic and proceeded eastwards along the Narbada, *i.e.* past the Vindhya. It may also be of interest in this place to make a note of some few details which will be mentioned below when dealing with the individual argots, such as the interchange between hard and soft sounds in Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Naṭī, etc., the disaspiration of aspirates and aspiration of unaspirated sounds in several argots; the frequent use of relative participles, of a negative verb, of certain pronouns and suffixes, and so on, in Kanjarī; the employment of *karkē*, having done, or similar forms with the meaning of Tamil *enru*, Yerukala *aṇḍa*, Sanskrit *iti*, etc., after a direct quotation, and so forth, though many of these features are also found in Pahārī and elsewhere.

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

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

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

If we take a general view of all the facts, we will
 Conclusions. see that :—

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

INTRODUCTION.

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

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

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

PENḌHĀRĪ.

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

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

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

They were distributed as follows :—

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

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

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

[No. I.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

PENDHARI.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT DHARWAR.

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

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

Uṭh-kē āpnē bāp-kanē āyā. Chhēto unē abī rastā lhai
Arisen-having own father-near came. But for-him still way much
 dūr chhī-tō us-kā bāp usē dēkh-kē mehar lakā-kē
far was-then his father him seen-having mercy applied-having

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

unan khuṣī kar-nē lāgē.
they merry to-make began.

[No. 2.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

PEN̄DHĀRĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Dhūp kāl-nē ēk kōlā bahut pyās lāg-kē jāngal-nē phir-kē
Heat time-at one fox much thirst felt-being wood-in rambling
 pāṇī dhunḍā, lēkin kā-bī naī milā. Pichhē-sī ḍōngī
water searched, but anywhere not it-was-found. At-last deep
 thaddē-nē thōḍā pāṇī khād-rākē dēkh-kē agāḍī-kā dhyān naī
pit-in a-little- water standing seen-having future-of thought no
 kar-kē us-kē bich-nē kudā. Whā khūb pāṇī
made-having it-of the-midst-in he-jumped. There much water
 pī-kē phir-kē uppar āṇē-kū wāstē chintā karā.
drunk-having again up coming-for for-the-sake thinking was-made.
 Usē rastā-ch naī chhī, ō-sabab whā-ch taṭṭ-kē
To-that way not was, (for-)that-reason there-indeed being-in-a-fix
 khād-rā-kē lhai phikīr karā. Ottē-nē-ch ēk ṭagar wō-ch
standing much anxiety was-made. That-much-in one goat that-very
 rāstē-sī pyās lāg-kē ā-kē khaddē-nē kōlē-kū dēkhā. Tab
road-from thirst felt-being coming pit-in fox it-was-seen. Then
 ō ṭagar, 'hō kōlā bā, tū lai śānā, haman sab pyās
that goat, 'O fox father, thou much clever, we all thirst
 lāg-kē maran; kisē naī mālum kar-kē tū ēkla-ch
felt-being die; to-anybody not known made-having thou alone-quite
 ā-kē pāṇī pīnū; achchhā, rhan-dē, maī bī tallē utarūnu;
coming water drinkest; well, be-let, I too down descend;
 pāṇī kaī chhē?' kar-kē pūchhā. Usē kōlā, 'dōs, kettā
water how is?' saying asked. To-that fox, 'friend, how-much
 miṭṭā kar-kē bōlū? Ē pāṇī agāḍī amīr sarkā chhē.
sweet saying may-I-say? This water quite nectar like is.
 Tū āyā, bahut chakōṭ huwā; jaldi ā-kē pāṇī pī, bhī
Thou camest, much good became; quickly coming water drink, and
 kōṇ-tō-bī āy-tō tujē milnē-kē naī,' kar-kē bōlā. Ē
anyone-else comes-if to-thee getting-of not,' saying said. This
 phasānē-kī bāt suṇ-kē wō diwānā ṭagar tallē kudī-mār-kē
cunning-of word heard-having that silly goat down jumped-having

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

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

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

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

BHĀMṬĪ.

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

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

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¹ See above, Vol. IV, pp. 607ff.

[No. 3.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

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

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

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

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

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GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

Koi-ēk ādmī-kū dō pōryā chhē. Us-mā-kā nānā pōryā
A-certain man-to two sons were. Them-in-of the-younger son
 bābā-kū kahā-chhu, ‘ us-mē-kā mē-kō mērā hissā dē.’ Phēr us-nē
the-father-to said, ‘ that-in-of me-to my share give.’ Then him-by
 us-kō daulat-kā hissā bāt-diyā-chhē. Phēr thōḍē dīn hōyē-chhē
him-to the-property-of share was-divided. Then a-few days passed-had
 nānā pōryā sab jamā lē-kē dūr dēs gayā-chhē. Aur
the-younger son all estate taken-having far country went. And
 wahā jā-kē bēakkal-sē paisā khōyā-chhē. Phēr sab
there gone-having indiscriminately money he-squandered. And all
 kharch-nē-kē bād us dēs-mē baḍā kāl paḍā-chhē. Ibē
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 us-kō bipat paḍī-chhē. Ibē ō kāi us dēs-kō. bhalē ādmī-kē
him-to want befell. Then he some that country-of a-good man-of
 jaurē rahā-chhē. Us-nē us-kō apnā khēt-mē ḍukar charānē-kō
near remained. Him-by him-to his-own field-in swine feeding-for
 lagāyā-chhē. Ibē ḍukar-kā bhusā khā-kē pēṭ bharan-kō
it-was-employed. Then the-swine-of husks eaten-having belly filling-of
 bichār kiyā-chhē. Kōi-nē us-kō kāi-nā diyā-chhē.
thought made-was. Any-body-by him-to anything-not given-was.

[No. 4.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTĪ.

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 One Birbal-of son was, one king-of son was. Them-of great
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 friendship existed. Both-of mind one was. Them-by it-was-said that,
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 'whose marriage first will-be him-by his-own wife other's house
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 marriage-procession great pomp-with came. Then him-to one bed-upon
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 kahi-chhē kē, 'pahilē tū Birbal-kē yahā jā-kē āw ; mērā
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 all ornaments taking-off-they-were. Her-by it-was-said that, 'thou my
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 ornaments why art-taking-off ? Me-to Birbal's here-from let-go-and-come ;
 phir mērā sab ḍāginā utār-lē.' Chōr-nē kahyā, 'yā bī
 then my all ornaments take-off.' The-thieves-by it-was-said, 'she too
 bēs kai-chhē.' Yēk chōr wahā buiṭhā. Tin chōr gayē chōri
 well said.' One thief there sat. Three thieves went theft
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 she-was-seen. A-bed-on she-was-made-to-sit. Seated-having his-own the-mind-in
 sōch karā kē, 'badśāhā sāhnē-bī uttēhī chhē aur gawār-bī
 consideration was-made that, 'the-king wise-also that-much is and a-fool-also

uttēhī chhē, kē apnī séj-kī bāykō mērē yahā pathāi-chhē.
that-much is, because his-own bed-of wife my here sent-is.'

Us-kō kahā, 'itnē din ō mērā bhāi rahā, ibbē tū
Her-to it-was-said, 'so-many days he my brother was, therefore thou

bhān hūi-chhē. Wō mērā bahinōi huwā.' Wajir-nē
sister become-art. He my brother-in-law became.' The-minister-by

us-kō lugdā āngī pahērā-chhē, aur achchhē bhāri pāch dāginē
her-to a-veil a-bodice was-put-on, and best valuable five ornaments

diyē-chhē, kahā, 'bāi, tū jā.' Bāi rastē-sū chalī.
were-given, it-was-said, 'lady, thou go.' The-lady the-street-by went.

Ēk chōr rastā-mā bathā rahē. Us-kō bāi-nē kahī, 'mērē
One thief on-the-road seated was. Him-to the-lady-by it-was-said, 'my

sab dāginē utār-lē. Mē-kō pāch dāginē jāsti milē-chhē.'
all ornaments take-off. Me-to five ornaments more have-been-obtained.'

Utti bāt-chit hō-rahī-chhē tō tīn chōr āyē-chhē. Un-kō
That-much conversation going-on-was then the-three thieves came. Them-to

aisī chōri mili-chhē kō sāt pidhī khāyē tō
such a-theft was-obtained that seven generations if-they-eat then

sarē-nā. Chōr-nē kahā kē, 'terā pāyraw
it-would-be-exhausted-not. The-thieves-by it-was-said that, 'thy footfall

bēs lagā. Ham-kū chōri khub mili-chhē Tō ham-sū
good has-been-proved. Us-to theft great obtained-was. Therefore us-from

pāch dāginē lē-lē.' Chōr-nē pāch dāginē diyē-chhē. Phir
five ornaments take.' The-thieves-by five ornaments given-were. Then

bādsāhā-kē jōrē āi-chhē. Bādsāhā-nē dil-mē sōsā kē, 'dil
the-king-of near she-came. The-king-by mind-in it-was-thought that, 'the-heart

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

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

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

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

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

BĒLDĀRĪ.

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

Bengal	9,294
Bihar and Orissa	88,912
Bombay	12,398
Central Provinces and Berar	25,616
United Provinces	39,035
Central India Agency	26,378
Elsewhere	3,787
TOTAL	205,420

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

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

Rajputana, Jaisalmir State	100
Berar—	
Amraoti	800
Ellichpur	500
Buldana	585
	1,885
Bombay Presidency—	
Thana	2,560
Satara	350
Satara Agency, State Aundh	15
" " State Phaltan	40
Kolhapur State	50
Southern Maratha Jaghirs	200
	3,155
TOTAL	5,140

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

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

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

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

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

[No. 5.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDĀRĪ.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

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

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

[No. 6.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDĀRĪ.

DISTRICT BULDANA.

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

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

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

[No. 7.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BĒLDĀRĪ.

STATE JAISALMIR.

SPECIMEN I.

Kālōri kalhyān umattī, ālā mhi, bharlē nādē nādiyē bharlē
Black clouds overhanging, came rain, filled tanks small-tanks filled

Bhīm talāw.

Bhīm tank.

Sātā sēliā-chē jhūlrē gēli pānī talāw; sāt sahiā pūthi
Seven female-friends-of in-company went water tank; seven friends back

bharti gēli, hēkalrī rēli talāw.

having-filled went, alone remained (at-)the-tank.

Pachchham dishā-sū ōṭhī ālā.

Western direction-from camel-rider came.

‘Bījō sahiā rē kājal ṭibhiā, tudē kā bringē
 ‘Other to-friends O collyrium forehead-ornaments, thy why dirty

bēsh?’

dress?’

‘Bijā-jē sāhabē gharē basi, mājō basē pardēs.’

‘Others-of husbands in-house dwell, mine dwells abroad.’

‘Gharā patak-dē tālā-mā, ā māchi lārē.’

‘Pots throw tank-in, come of-me with.’

‘Bālā-jālā tudī jabān, māē nākhā sēmri lūn.’

‘I-may-burn thy tongue, in-it I-may-put Sambhar salt.’

‘Hak ōṭhī manā kahē, māri sāsū-jī ō-lō, “ā-jā māchi

‘One camel-rider me-to said, my mother-in-law O, “come of-me

lār.”’ ‘Kē sarikā phūtrā, kē-chē unīār?’

with.”’ ‘What like beautiful, whose features?’

‘Māchē dēwar sarikā phūtrā, māchī nandal-chē unīār.’

‘My brother-in-law like beautiful, my husband’s-sister-of features.’

‘Bālā-jālā tudī jibrī, tudā parnō-rā bhartār.’

‘I-may-burn thy tongue, thy married husband.’

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

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

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

(She replied—)

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

(Then he said—)

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

(She replied—)

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

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

‘A camel *sōwār* said to me, O mother-in-law, “come along with me.”’

(The mother-in-law asked—)

‘How did he look and what were his features like ?’

(She replied—)

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

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

‘I shall burn yo ur tongue, he was thy own husband.’

[No. 8.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BĒLDĀRĪ.

STATE JAISALMIR.

SPECIMEN II.

Har uṭh milti-kē Bharat bhāū, Har ālā
Hari having-arisen having-embraced Bharata brother, Hari came
 uṭh milti-kē.
having-arisen having-embraced.

Bāh pasārti millē dun bhāū, nēnā-mā nīr ralakti
Arms having-extended embraced both brothers, eyes-in water rolling
 ālā.
came.

‘ Kē nī rē bhāū baṅ-khaṇḍa-chyā bātā, kēri kēri bipat
 ‘ *Sayst not O brother woods-of tales, what what mishap*
 bhugattī ālā.’
having-suffered camest.’

‘ Ban phal khāēlā pān bichhāēlā, ēri ēri bipat
 ‘ *Forest fruits were-eaten leaves were-spread, such such mishap*
 bhugattī ālā.’
having-suffered came.’

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

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

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

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

[No. 9.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BĒLDĀRĪ.

STATE RAMDURG.

Ekē bā-nē dōn bēṭē hilall. Vē-chī nēnkē bēṭē-nē bā-nē
One father-to two sons were. Them-of younger son-by father-to
 kēlē, 'jingānī-ma mana bāṭṇī da.' Dō-janī bēṭēyān bāṭṇī
it-was-said, 'property-in me-to share give.' Two-persons sons-to shares
 kartī dili. Kai-ēk danāt nēnkā-nē saḡḡi jindgī hililī
making were-given. Some days-in younger-one-by all property was
 gīṭī lambē mulkān gēlā. Uḡa jāṭī manān wāṭal jō-pār
having-taken far country-to went. There going mind-to appeared as-far
 dain kēlī. Uḡa jāṭī kāḡ padlā. Vēn kharchan nahī,
wasting was-done. There going famine fell. Him-to to-spend was-not,
 mōṭ chintam padlā. Vē mulkā-mē ēkē māṅsān jāṭī vē māṅsāē
great anxiety fell. That country-in one man-to going that man-by
 yēn māḡkī gīṭī vē māṅsā-nē ḡukrē rākhṇē-nā mēllā. Vē
him appointing taking that man-by swine keeping-for was-sent. That
 baktān vēn ḡukar khānyā-chō jinnas-jōku dēkhun milal nahī.
time-at him-to swine eaten husks even was-got not.

ŌDKI.

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

Madras	550,109
Panjab	32,246
United Provinces	9,071
Rajputana Agency	7,839
Elsewhere	10,897
TOTAL	610,162

The root meaning of the word *ōd* is uncertain. In the South it takes the form *ōḍḍa*, and the Rev. F. Kittel compares Telugu *ōḍḍe*, drudgery, *ōḍḍevāṇḍlu*, tank diggers. As most Ōds belong to the South, it is very probable that the word is originally Dravidian, and connected with the name of the Vaḍaras.

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

Panjab	514
Muzaffargarh	514
Bombay Presidency	2,300
Cutch	250
Panch Mahals	50
Hyderabad	1,500
Thar and Parkar	500
TOTAL	2,814

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

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

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

Ahmedabad	1,266
Broach	715
Kaira	805
Panch Mahals	461
Surat	53
Cambay	200
Cutch	188
Kathiawar	959
Mahikantha	106
Palanpur	491
Rewa Kantha	385
Karachi	201
Hyderabad	1,549
Shikarpur	1,338
Thar and Parkar	1,449
Upper Sind Frontier	127
Khairpur	278
TOTAL	10,571

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

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

¹ No similar return is available for 1911.

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

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

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

[No. 10.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ŌDKĪ.

DISTRICT PANCH MAHALS.

Ēk guchī-nē dōn chhōyḍē salē. Nē dhāyḍē chhōyḍē bāp-nē
One man-to two sons were. And the-younger-by son-by father-to
 kēlē kē, 'bāpē, puñjiyā bhāg amō-nē dē.' Nē ōnē
it-was-said that, 'father, property-of share me-to give.' And by-him
 puñji wahēctī dēli. Nē thōḍēk dan pachhī dhāyḍā
property having-divided was-given. And few days after the-younger
 chhōyḍā badhē gētīnē dūr dēhā-mā̃ gēlā nē paḍē
son all having-collected a-far country-into went and there
 raṅg-bhōg kartīnē pōtāchī puñji udadṭī dēli.
pleasure-and-enjoyment having-made his-own property having-wasted was-given.
 Nē ōnē badhē kharactī nākhlē tyār-pachhī ō dēhā-mē
And by-him all having-expended was-thrown then-after that country-in
 mōṭē dukāl paḍlā nē ōnē baḍī taṅksāl paḍwā lāgli. Nē ō
great famine fell and him-to great want to-fall began. And he
 jātinē ō dēhā-chē wartanī-mā̃-chē ēkā-chē paḍē rēhlā.
having-gone that country-of inhabitants-in-of one-of near remained.
 Nē ōnē pōtā-chē khētrā̃-mē bhunḍōnē chārlē-sāru ōnē mōkallā. Nē
And by-him his-own fields-in swine grazing-for him was-sent. And
 jō sīngā bhunḍā khātīgē ō-mā̃-thī pōtā-chē pēṭ bharlē-sāru ōnī
which husks swine were-eating that-in-from his-own belly filling-for his
 ichchhā salī. Nē kēṇī ōnē dēlē nahī. Nē ō sāvchit
wish was. And by-anyone him-to was-given not. And he in-sense
 halā tyārē ōnē kēlē kē, 'māchē bā-chē katnē majurō-nē
became then by-him it-was-said that, 'my father-of how-many servants-to
 pushkal baḍā chhē ; paṅ hē-tō bhakhē marē-chhē ; hē-tō uṭṭīnē
plenty bread is ; but I-indeed hunger-by dying-am ; I having-arisen
 māchē bā-chē paḍē jāi, nē ōnē kahī kē, " hē bā,
my father-of near will-go, and him-to will-say that, " O father,
 mē akāsā-mē nē tadhi āgaḷ pāp karlē chhē ; nē hē-mē tam-chā
by-me heaven-in and of-thee before sin done is ; and this-in your
 chhōyḍā kēlē lāg hē nī-thā ; ma-nē tum-chē majurō-mā̃-chē ēkā-chē
son to-be-called fit I not-am ; me your servants-in-of one-of
 jāṣā gaṅ." ' Nē ō uṭṭīnē pōtā-chē bā-chē paḍē gēlā. Nē ō
like count." ' And he having-arisen his-own father-of near went. And he

tō ghaṇē dūr salā tyārē ō-chē bā-ē ōnē dēkhlā nē ō-nē
yet very far was then his father-by him-to was-seen and him-to
 diyā āli. Nē ō dōḍṭinē ō-chī kōṭi waḷagti paḍlā, nē
compassion came. And he having-run his on-neck clinging fell, and
 ō-nē bachī karlī. Nē chhōyḍē-nē ō-nē kēlē kē, ‘ bā,
him-to kiss was-done. And the-son-by him-to it-was-said that, ‘ father,
 mē akāsā-mē nē tadhī āgaḷ pāp karlē chhē ; nē hē-mē tam-chā
by-me heaven-in and of-thee before sin done is ; and this-in your
 chhōyḍā kēlē lāg hē nī-thā.’ Paṇ bā-ē pōtā-chē
son to-be-called fit I not-am.’ But the-father-by his-own
 dāsā-nē kēlē kē, ‘ awaḷ ōyṇā gēti āwā nē
servants-to it-was-said that, ‘ good clothes having-taken come and
 ō-nē andhāwā, nē ō-chē hāthē vīṭi ghālā, nē pagā-mē
him-to put-on, and his on-hand a-ring put, and feet-on
 jōḍē andhāwā. Nē āpu khātinē anand karjē ;
shoes put. And we having-eaten merriment may-make ;
 kāy-kē, ā mā-chā chhōyḍā martī gēlā, nē sō phartī jīvtā
because, this my son having-died went, and he again alive
 halā chhē ; nē gamāti gēlālā, nē ō jaḍlā chhē.’ Nē ō
become is ; and lost had-gone, and he found is.’ And they
 anand karu lāglē.
merriment to-do began.

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

tadhī	chākri	karē	chhē,	nē	tadhī	āgnā	mē	kadī
<i>thy</i>	<i>service</i>	<i>doing</i>	<i>am,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>commandment</i>	<i>by-me</i>	<i>ever</i>
ōlaṅgli	na-thī,	tō-pan	mā-chē	mitrawā-sāthē	khuśi	karlē		
<i>transgressed</i>	<i>not-was,</i>	<i>still</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>friends-with</i>	<i>pleasure</i>	<i>making</i>		
wāstē	tē	ma-nē	bākrē	pan	kadī	dēlē	nī-thē.	Pan
<i>for</i>	<i>by-thee</i>	<i>me-to</i>	<i>a-kid</i>	<i>even</i>	<i>ever</i>	<i>given</i>	<i>not-was.</i>	<i>But</i>
ā	tadhā	chhōydā	ōṅi	tadhī	puñji	kasabēṅo-che	hāthī	
<i>this</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>by-him</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>harlots-of</i>	<i>with</i>	
gamātī	nākhli	ōnā	āwtā	tē	ō-chī-sāru	awaḷ		
<i>squandering</i>	<i>was-thrown-away</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>coming</i>	<i>by-thee</i>	<i>him-for</i>	<i>good</i>		
gyāfat	karli.'	Nē	ōṅi	kēlē	kē,	' chhōydā,		
<i>a-feast</i>	<i>was-done.'</i>	<i>And</i>	<i>by-him</i>	<i>it-was-said</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>' son,</i>		
tū	māchī-sāthē	nity	chhē ;	nē	māchē	saghlē	tadhē	
<i>thou</i>	<i>me-of-with.</i>	<i>always</i>	<i>art ;</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>thine</i>	
chhē.	Āplē-tō	khuś	aṅē	nālje	tathā	harakh		
<i>is.</i>	<i>Our-indeed</i>	<i>pleased</i>	<i>to-become</i>	<i>is-proper</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>merriment</i>		
karnā	nālje.	Kāy-kē	ā	tadhā	bhāu	martī		
<i>to-make</i>	<i>is-proper.</i>	<i>Because</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>brother</i>	<i>having-died</i>		
gēlālā,	nē	pharati	jīwtā	halā	chhē ;	nē	gamātī	
<i>was-gone,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>again</i>	<i>alive</i>	<i>become</i>	<i>is ;</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>lost</i>	
gēlālā,	nē	ō	jadlā	chhē.'				
<i>was-gone,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>found</i>	<i>is.'</i>				

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

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

¹ Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, I. 111ff.

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ŌDKI.

DISTRICT AHMEDABAD.

Sadrāō Jēsaṅgē Jāhmā-nē asē kēlē kē, 'ēk danā-māy talē
Siddhrāō Jaisiṅgh-by Jāsmā-to so it-was-said that, 'one day-in tank
 khaṅtinē paṅiyā-thi rāt-kī-rāti-māy talē bhar-dē.' Jāhmāē asē kēlē
having-dug water-with one-night-in tank fill-give.' Jāsmā-by so it-was-said
 kē, 'tījē dan bhar dañ.' Pachhē Jāhmā Kūwārki pāhāṅ
that, 'on-third day fill will-give.' Afterwards Jāsmā Virgin near
 gēli, hāth jōḍtinē kargarli kē, 'bāi, hāy atni kastī tū
went, hands having-joined besought that, 'lady, this so-great misery thou
 ma-nē khōwād.' Kūwārkiē kēlē kē, 'hī āvī, paṅ
me cause-to-loose.' Virgin-by it-was-said that, 'I shall-come, but
 puṭhē waṭtinē dēkhiō nahī.' Kūwārkiē dan ugtā talē
backwards having-turned please-look not.' Virgin-by day opening tank
 bhar dēlē. Pachhē Sadrāō Jāhmā pāhāṅ ālā nē Jāhmā
filling was-given. Afterwards Siddhrāō Jāsmā near came and to-Jāsmā
 bhēgā halā. Jāhmāē anū kēlē kē, 'tū tadhā māp-sar
joined became. Jāsmā-by thus it-was-said that, 'thou thy measure-following
 puṭbā waṭ.' Sadrāwē asē kēlē kē, 'hī tadhā kēḍā mēlnār
back turn.' Siddhrāō-by thus it-was-said that, 'I thy way leaver
 nītā.' Tārē bāiē dharti mātā-nē asē kēlē kē, 'hē
not-am.' Then the-woman-by Earth Mother-to thus it-was-said that, 'O
 mā, hī satī hōy, tō tū bhēgī maṭ jā.' Dharti bhēgī
mother, I chaste am, then thou together joined go.' Earth together
 hali. Tō Sadrāō rāḍ khēchū māḍlā. Pachhē Sadrāō bōllā
became. Then Siddhrāō cry to-raise began. Afterwards Siddhrāō said
 kē, 'tū māchhī bāṅ chhē.' Jāhmā bōllī kē, 'tadhā ganā māf
that, 'thou my sister is.' Jāsmā said that, 'thy sin forgiven
 chhē; paṅ tadhā wāsvēlā nai rē.' Pachhē Jāhmā
is; but thy offspring not remains.' Afterwards Jāsmā
 Khalikhōlwādē āwtinē badhē ōdā-nē mallī. Pachhē ō
to-Khalikhōlwādē having-come all Ōds-to was-joined. Afterwards that
 bāi huraj-nē hāth jōḍtinē asē bōllī kē, 'mē tō māchē
woman sun-to hands having-joined so said that, 'by-me for-my-part mine
 narvēdlē, paṅ māchī ṭachli āgaliē jētnē rūp kōi ōḍā-chī dhūvē-nē
is-done-with, but my last on-finger as-much beauty any Ōḍ-of girl-to
 nā diō.
not give.'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

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

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

[No. 12.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ŌPKĪ.

CUTCH STATE.

‘Āwā, bēsā, Rām-Rām. Tamē̃ kaṭhē-thī āwā sawā?’
 ‘Come, sit, Rām-Rām. You where-from come are?’

‘Hē̃ Chaprēri-ti āvē̃ sē.’
 ‘I Chaprēri-from coming am.’

‘Warsāti-mē̃ tamī̃ ghaṇē hērān halē̃ sawā. Tamā̃ sārū
 ‘Rain-in you much troubled become are. You for
 sigri karū? Thōri wār tāphā tō tamō-nē
 fire shall-I-make? Little time you-will-warm-yourself then you-to
 sukh havi. Tamā̃ sārū kāi rasōi karāvē̃?’
 comfort will-be. You for what meal may-I-cause-to-be-made?’

‘Mācchē ī ṭāṇē̃ kāi khāwō naitē.’
 ‘Me-of this time anything to-eat not-is(-wanted).’

‘Sāw kāi khālē vigar chālē? Thōrē ghaṇē jū
 ‘Entirely anything eaten without can-it-do? Little much what
 bhāvē sū khāwā.’
 may-please that eat.’

‘I-mā̃ tō ma-nē̃ tras lāgli sē. Pāñī piwū
 ‘This-in indeed me-to thirst joined is. Water to-drink
 dēwā.’
 give.’

‘Tam-chē̃ lūgrē̃ thōrik wār tirkē sūkwū mēlē?’
 ‘Your clothes a-little time in-the-sun to-dry may-I-put?’

‘Bhalē, mēlā.’
 ‘Well, put.’

‘Tamā̃ sārū kāi rasōi karāvē̃?’
 ‘You for what meal may-I-cause-to-be-made?’

‘Mē̃ tamā-nē̃ kēlē sē kē bhūkh nāi lāgli.’
 ‘By-me you-to said is that hunger not is-got.’

‘Thōrik khichri nē̃ bār khāti ghēwā.’
 ‘Little khichri and bread eating take.’

‘Tam-chī marji sē ta bhalē, karāwā.’
 ‘You-of wish is then well, let-it-be-prepared.’

‘Tam-chē̃ gharē̃ badhē-y rāji-khusi sī?’
 ‘Your in-house all happy-glad are?’

‘Badhē-y ṭhik sī, paṇ māchī dādi parinā
 ‘All well are, but my grandmother the-day-before-yesterday
 marti gēli.’
 dying went.’

‘Tē-nē kāi halēlē?’

‘Her-to what had-happened?’

‘Chār dī tāw ālā.’

‘Four days fever came.’

‘Tam-chē khētrā-mā mōl kisēk halē sī?’

‘Your field-in crops how become are?’

‘Ōṇ warsād jhājhā halā naitā, tē-thī jhājhē halē naitē.’
 ‘This-year rain much became not, that-from much became not.’

‘Tā dhagā-chē kitrē nāṇē dilē?’

‘These bullocks-of how-much money was-given?’

‘Ma-nē sārē chār sō kōriā bēslīā.’

‘Me-to with-a-half four hundred kōris were-expended.’

‘Tē dhagē tamī vēchā?’

‘These bullocks you will-sell?’

‘Pūrē nāṇē dēwā tō vēchīnē.’

‘Enough money will-give then I-shall-sell.’

‘Tamā-nē hē tin sō kōriā dīē.’

‘You-to I three hundred kōris may-give.’

‘Tin sō kōriā-mā kāi vēchāy?’

‘Three hundred kōris-in what can-they-be-sold?’

‘Hē jāṇē sē kē dhagē mōṭē sī.

‘I knowing am that bullocks old are. Sū itri kīmat
 That so-much price

ghanī sē.’

much is.’

‘Tam-chī dhūi-chā viwā kiē mainē-mē karā?’

‘Your daughter-of marriage which month-in will-you-do?’

‘Māchī dādi-chī warsī wartī raigē tē wāsē
 ‘My grandmother’s anniversary over will-be that after

karī?’

I-shall-do?’

‘Āj-chī rāt am-chē gharē nujti rēwā.’

‘Today-of night our in-house sleeping remain.’

‘Nā, māchē sāji Dhraṅ pōchnē sē.’

‘No, mine to-night Dharang coming is.’

‘Pachhē-wari kē dī am-chē gharē āwjā.’

‘Again some day our to-house come.’

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

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

‘Come and take a seat. Welcome. Whence are you coming?’

‘I am coming from Chapreri.’

‘You must have been much troubled by the rain. Shall I make a fire for you? If you will warm yourself for a time, you will feel comfortable. What food may I order for you?’

‘I do not now want any food.’

‘It won’t do that you should not take any food. Take only as much as you like.’

‘Just now I am thirsty. Give me water to drink.’

‘Shall I put your clothes a little while in the sun to dry?’

‘Yes, if you please.’

‘What food shall I order to be prepared for you?’

‘I have told you that I am not hungry.’

‘Just take a little *khichrī* and bread.’

‘If that be your wish, get it prepared.’

‘Are all well in your house?’

‘All are well, only my grandmother died the day before yesterday.’

‘What was the matter with her?’

‘She had fever for four days.’

‘How are the crops in your field?’

‘There was not much rain this year, and so I have not got much.’

‘What did you pay for these bullocks?’

‘I paid four hundred and fifty *kōrīs*.’

‘Will you sell these bullocks?’

‘I will if you give a good price.’

‘I will pay three hundred *kōrīs*.’

‘How can they be sold for three hundred *kōrīs*?’

‘I think the bullocks are old, and so it is a good price.’

‘In what month are you going to have your daughter married?’

‘I shall do so after the ceremony of the first anniversary of my grandmother’s death is over.’

‘Rest in our house to-night.’

‘No, I have to reach Dharang by sunset.’

‘Come to our house some other day.’

‘Very well. Adieu. I am off now.’

‘Give my compliments to all in your house.’

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

[No. 13.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ÒPKÍ.

DISTRICT HYDERABAD.

Mai sákhē pari kahē. Mājō nā chhē Hashū. Mājē bā-jā
I oath on state. My name is Hashū. My father-of
 nā Thadā. Mai Hindū-dharam chhē, luhānā chhē. Mājā pōrihiā
name Thadā. I Hindū am, lohānā am. My profession
 ghōr-karaṇu chhē. Mājī umuri chālisi baras chhē. Mai Haidrābādi
hawking is. My age forty years is. I Hyderabad
 gāū Haidrābādi taulkē Haidrābādi jillē bihilē. Mājā firyādu
town Hyderabad in-ta'lūqa Hyderabad in-district live. My complaint
 chhē Wasanmalā-par. Subhānē hēkē bajē rāti-jō
is Wasanmal-on. Yesterday one when-struck night-of
 tikānē-mā jāelā. Gharē bātē ūpari dōdi-haṭu chhilē.
abode(-of-a-faqīr)-in went. Home way on curds-seller-shop was.
 Ū-kaddhū dūdhū ghelē. Ūthē jawābudār ālā; ālē siri māji
That-from curds were-taken. There accused came; come on my
 sāji khurī-nū ṭhudā mārā. Maī u-nū kahilē, 'kē-nū
right heel-to stumbling was-struck. By-me him-to it-was-said, 'why
 ādhā hulā-hē?' Jakā-māthē ma-nū lugāi aī dhū-pari galī
blind become-art?' This-after me-to wife and daughter-on abuses
 dihiliā, thāshā olār-tē larnē-kū ālā. Maī darlā, nastī-patā
were-given, blow having-threatened fight-to came. I feared, far-off
 hulā. Hōtū Nārū Rījhū vichhū achhī-parlē. Tadhī jawābdāra
became. Hōtū Nārū Rījhā between came. Then accused-by
 basi-kārli; na-ta ma-nū mārē-hā. Jawābdārā-sū āgē
stop-was-made; otherwise me would-have-struck. Accused-with formerly
 māji dushmanī kōnī.
my enmity not.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

Specimens of Ōḍkī have also been received from Muzaffargarh, and a short popular tale from that district is printed below. It will be seen that in the main it agrees with the Ōḍkī illustrated in the preceding pages. The cerebralisation of *d* in *ḍō*, two, etc., and forms such as *mahā-kan*, from me, point in the direction of Sindhī. There are also some Pañjābī reminiscences such as *raṇḍē-nū*, to the wife; *bā-dā*, of a father. On the whole, however, the Ōḍkī of Muzaffargarh is of the same kind as in the Gujarātī districts,—a mixture of Marāṭhī and Gujarātī-Rājasthānī. The form *huttā*, was, which does not occur in other specimens, is comparable to Marāṭhī *hōtā*.

[No. 14.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ŌDKI.

DISTRICT MUZAFFARGARH.

Hēk bādshāh huttā. Ō-chē gharē olād kāi na huttī. Ō
One King was. His in-house offspring any not was. He
 apnī bādshāhī ohhōr-litī ō hēk rōz mārgā ūpar nītī bēlā. Fakīr
own kingdom having-left he one day way on going sat. Faqīr
 jurti-kē dhūā ghāltī bēlā. Hēk rōz jhuṇḍ fakīrā-chā ālā.
having-turned smoke making sat. One day group faqīrs-of came.
 Ō-nē kehlē, 'tū ēṭhē mārgā-par kahā bēlā?' Bādshāh
That-by it-was-said, 'thou this way-on why sittest?' By-the-King
 kehlē, 'tamī mahā-kan kahī na pūchha.' Fakīrē
it-was-said, 'you me-from anything not ask.' The-faqīrs-by
 kehlē, 'amī pūchhū.' Bādshāh kehlē jō, 'māchē gharē
it-was-said, 'we ask.' By-the-King it-was-said that, 'my in-house
 olād kāi nahī?' Fakīrē kehlē, 'dō tapāsē chhit.
offspring any not-is?' The-faqīrs-by it-was-said, 'two sweets break.
 Hēk āp khā, hēk apnē raṇḍē-nū khullā. Vi-nū hēk pūt paidā
One self eat, one own wife-to cause-to-eat. Her-to one son borne
 hōwē; māthē-par chād hōwē, chichī-par tārā hōwē.
will-be; forehead-on moon will-be, little-fingers-on star will-be.'
 Bādshāh-chē gharē pūt jālā. Ō-chē gharē dō raṇḍā hutayā;
King-of in-house son was-borne. His in-house two wives were;
 jissē mōṭī huttī, vi-chē gharē pūt jamū-palā. Jissī dhārī raṇḍ
which elder was, her in-house son birth-got. Which younger wife
 huttī, vi-nē biṭhārī-nū kehlē, 'ē bār gūṭī dē.'
was, her-by midwife-to it-was-said, 'this child killing give.'
 Biṭhārī chhāj kōlā-chē bhartī-kē vi-chē gōdhū mēhiltī gēlī. Bār
Midwife basket coal-of having-filled her-of near having-put went. Child
 chattī-kē rūri-par nāk-tī ālī. Bādshāh-nū
having-carried manure-heap-on having-thrown returned. King-to
 kehlē, 'tudhyā raṇḍē kōlē jālē.' Kuttī bhilī
it-was-said, 'thy wife-by coals were-brought-forth.' Bitch standing
 bādshāh-chī huttī; bārā-nū chattī challī apnē bhāwarē-mē
king-of was; child having-carried went own pit-in
 nittī nāklē. Hēk dō sāl guzrē. Ū bār rū lāglē.
going was-thrown. One two years passed. That child to-cry began.

Bādshāhzādi-nũ pattā lāglā. ' Ē bārā-nũ marātī nākhā.' Kuttī
Queen-to news was-got. ' This child killing throw.' Bitch

bhillī sunlē. Bār-kũ chattī-kē khūnī ghōrē-cnē āgũ āntī
standing heard. Child having-carried bloody horse-of before bringing

nāklē. Ō jawān huttā. Bādshāh-nũ pattā lāglā. Ō
was-thrown. He youth became. King-to news was-got. He

gharē gēti gallā, ghanē khushī karlē, waḍā dān-pun
in-house taking was-put, much rejoicing was-made, great alms

karlā.
were-made.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

LĀDĪ.

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

Bombay	11,781
Central Provinces and Berar	5,363
Baroda State	8,500
Hyderabad State	8,776
Elsewhere	1,132
TOTAL .	35,572

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

[No. 15.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

LĀDĪ.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Kōnī ēk mānus-ka dui pōrgā hōtā. U-kī mandhun lahān pōrgō
Some one man-to two sons were. Them-of midst-from small son
 āplē bāp-kha kahyō, 'bāpā, jindgī-kō jō mārō wāṭō āwsī, wō
own father-to said, 'father, property-of which my share will-come, that
 dē.' Mag unē un-kha paisō hissō karī ṭākyō. Mag
give.' Then by-him them-to money share having-made was-thrown. Then
 thōḍē diwas-na lahān pōrgō saglō paisō jamā karī dūr dēs-ka
few days-in small son all money together having-made far country-to
 gayō; ānī āplē dhatpaṇā-na rahīsan saglō paisō kharāb karī ṭākyō.
went; and own impudence-in living all money spoilt doing was-wasted.
 Mag saglō paisō kharch karyā-war unē mulukh-mē kāḷ padyō. Unē
Then all money spent made-after that country-in famine fell. That
 muḷē u-kha phār adchan paḍī. Mag wō unē mulukh-mē ēk mānus-pās
for him-to much difficulty fell. Then he that country-in one man-near
 rahan-kō gayō; un u-kha ḍukar charāwan-kha wāwar-mē paṭhāyō. Mag
living-for went; by-him him swine feeding-for field-in was-sent. Then
 ḍukar jē phōtar khātō hōtō, u-kē-war u-kō pōṭ bharan-kha u-kha
swine which husks eating was, that-on his belly filling-for him-to
 wāṭyō, mag u-kha kōnī kāhī diyō nahī. Mag hōs-mē
it-appeared, then him-to by-anybody anything was-given not. Then sense-in
 āyīsan kahyō, 'mārē bāp-kha kitī naukar-kha pōṭ bharīsan
having-come said, 'my father-to how-many servants-to belly having-filled
 rōṭī bhēṭa-chhē, ānī mī upāsī marū-chhē.'
bread being-got-is, and I hungering dying-am.'

SĀSĪ.

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

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

Panjab	26,990
Delhi Division	3,357
Jullundur Division	1,893
Lahore Division	14,574
Rawalpindi Division	2,090
Multan Division	1,993
Native States	3,083
Other Provinces	5,491
TOTAL	<u>32,481</u>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Vowels are pronounced as in Pañjābī. Short vowels are sometimes so shortened as to be almost slurred. I have indicated this short pronunciation by means of the sign [˘]; thus, *bappā-gṽ*, to the father. A short vowel before an old double consonant in monosyllabic words becomes half long, but usually remains short if new syllables are added; thus, *ékkh*, eye; *kānn*, ear; *bápp*, father, but *bappā-gā*, of a father. I have marked this semi-length by adding an accent above the vowel. The same accent is used with the sign of lengthening in forms such as *ātā*, coming; *chugāṇē*, to graze; *chātā*, wishing. In that case it denotes a peculiar lengthening of a long vowel, which has no parallel in Pañjābī. A similar lengthening of an *i* or *ū* occurs in forms such as *kīyyā*, done; *dīyyā*, given; *hūwā*, become, when the vowel is followed by a double *y* or *w*, respectively. The pronunciation of consonants is said to agree with Pañjābī. The principal point in which the two differ from Hindōstānī refers to aspirated letters in the beginning of syllables, the aspiration of such words being very guttural, almost like the Arabic 'ain. This rule applies to *h*, *gh*, *jh*, *ḍh*, *dh*, *bh*, *nh* and *mh*. Thus, *hūwā*, become, is almost *hūwā*; *ghōṛā*, horse, is almost *g'ōṛā*, and so forth.

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

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

	Singular.			Plural.		
Nominative	<i>bápp</i>	<i>kūtā</i>	<i>dhīā</i>	<i>bápp</i>	<i>kūtē</i>	<i>dhīā</i>
Genitive	<i>bappā-gā</i>	<i>kūtē-gā</i>	<i>dhīā-gā</i>	<i>bappē-gā</i>	<i>kūtē-gā</i>	<i>dhīē-gā</i>
Agent	<i>bappē</i>	<i>kūtē</i>	<i>dhīē</i>	<i>bappē-ōṇō</i>	<i>kūtē-ōṇō</i>	<i>dhīē-ōṇō</i>

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

Pronouns.

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

	I.	We.	Thou.	You.
Nominative	<i>haū</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>taū</i>	<i>tam</i>
Agent	<i>maī</i>	<i>hamō</i>	<i>taī</i>	<i>tamō</i>
Dat.-Accusative	<i>manū</i>	<i>ham-kō</i>	<i>tanū</i>	<i>tum-kō</i>
Ablative	<i>mēsthē</i>	<i>ham-thō</i>	<i>tēsthē</i>	<i>tam-thō</i>
Genitive	<i>mērā</i>	<i>mharā</i>	<i>tērā</i>	<i>tuhārā</i>

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

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

Verbs.

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

The past tense is singular masc. *thīyyā*, fem. *thīyyī*; plural masc. *thīyyē*, fem. *thīyyīā*; or *sīyyā*, fem. *sīyyī*; plural masc. *sīyyē*, fem. *sīyyīā*.

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

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

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

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

Singular	1. <i>māraṅgā</i>	Plural	1. <i>māraṅgē</i>
	2. <i>māraṅgā</i>		2. <i>māragē</i>
	3. <i>māragā</i>		3. <i>māraṅgē</i>

and *māraṅg*, indeclinable for singular and plural.

Similar forms are found in Maṇḍeālī, Sukētī and Bilaspūrī. Compare Maṇḍeālī *māraṅg* or *mārghā*, I shall beat; Bilaspūrī *māraṅgā*, I shall beat.

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

Infinitive and Participles.—The suffix of the infinitive is *ñā*; thus, *mārñā*, to beat. Compare Pañjābī *ñā*, *nā*, Hindōstānī *nā*, Sindhī *nu*. The present participle ends in *tā* as in Hindōstānī; thus, *mārtā*, beating. The past participle is generally formed as in Pañjābī; thus, *māriā*, beaten; *kahiā*, said; though Hindōstānī forms, such as *gayā*, gone, also occur. The conjunctive participle ends in *ī*, *ī-kē*; thus, *jāī*, having gone; *māri-kē*, having beaten. As in the suffix of the genitive the *k* is often softened to *g*; thus, *āī-gē*, having come; *dēhki-gē*, having seen.

Passive Voice.—Passive forms agree with Pañjābī and Hindōstānī; thus, *haũ māriā jattā haĩ*, I am beaten; *haũ māriā jattā thyyā* (*syyā*), I was beaten; *haũ māriā jāṅgā*, I shall be beaten.

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

[No. 16.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

SPECIMEN I.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

NORTHERN PANJAB.

Ékki bandē-gē dō pūt thīyyē. Uṇ bichchā nīkē
One man-of two sons were. Them among by-the-little

bappā-gū kahiā, ‘bápp, mālkīyā-gā jihṛā hissa ma-nū
father-to it-was-said, ‘father, property-of whatever part me-to

ātā hai, ma-nū dē.’ Uṇ apnā sārā māl uṇ-kō baṭī
coming is, me-to give.’ By-him own all property them-to dividing

diyyā. Thōṛē dinē-gē pichhō nīkē mūṇḍē sārā kujjh
was-given. Few days-of after by-the-little boy all whatever

kaṭṭhā kiyyā tē dūrā-gē dēsā bichch jāi rihā. Ōṭhē
together was-made and distance-of country in going stayed. There

sārā māl bhaiṛē kammē bichch urāi dinā. Jad
all property evil works in causing-to-fly was-given. When

sārā kharch karī linā, us mulkhā bichch baṛā kāl pariā,
all spent making was-taken, that country in great famine fell,

tē ōh saurā paṛnē laggā. Tad us mulkhā-gē ékki ādmīā-gē
and he narrow to-fall began. Then that country-of one man-of

pās jāi apriā. Uṇ apniē pailiē bichch sūr chugāṇē ghalliā,
near going arrived. By-him own fields in pigs to-graze was-sent,

tē ōh chhillū jihṛiā sūr khattē thīyyē apnā pēt bharnē-gū chātā
and he husks which pigs eating were own belly fill-to wishing

thīyyā, par kōi nahī dētā thīyyā. Tad hōshā bichch āigē
was, but anyone not giving was. Then sense in having-come

kahnē laggā, ‘mērē bappā pās kinnē majūrē-gū bahut tūk
to-say began, ‘my father near how-many hired-labourers-to much food

hai, tē haū bhūkhā martā haī. Haū uṭhigē apnē bappā pās
is, and I hungry dying am. I having-arisen own father near

jānṛā tē us-kō kahṅṛā, “hē bápp, māi shamānā-gā tē tērā gunāh
will-go and him-to will-say, “O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin

kiyyā, iw is jōgā nahī ki bhī tērā pūt akhwāwē,
was-done, now this worthy not that again thy son may-call-myself,

ma-nū apṇē majurē bichchā ékkī- jidā banā.”” Tad uṭhigē
me-to own hired-labourers among one like make.”” Then having-arisen
 apṇē bappā pās ṭuriā; tē ōh ajē dūr hi thīyyā ki us-kō
own father near went; and he yet far indeed was that him
 dēkhigē us-kē bappā-gū tars āyā, tē daurīgē gaḷ lāyā tē
having-seen his father-to pity came, and having-run neck pressed and
 barā chumiā. Pūtē us-kō kahiā ki, ‘hē bāpp, maī
much kissed. By-son him-to it-was-said that, ‘O father, by-me
 shamānā-gā tē tērā gunāh kiyyā tē iw haū is jōgā nahī ki
heaven-of and thy sin was-done and now I this worthy not that
 bhī tērā pūt akhwāwē.’ Bappē apṇē naukarē-gū kahiā ki,
again thy son may-be-called.’ By-father own servants-to it-was-said that,
 ‘changīā thō changī pushāk kadhī lē-āō tē is-kō lāō, tē
‘fine than fine raiment having-taken-out bring and him-to put-on, and
 is-kē haththā bichch chhāp tē pairē bichch juttī, tē palē hūwwē
him-of hand on ring and feet on shoes, and reared been
 wachchhē-gū lē-āigē halāl karō, ki khāhā tē khushī
calf having-brought killed make, that we-may-eat and merry
 manāwā; kyū, mērā ēā pūt mari gayā thīyyā, iw jīwiā
we-may-make; why, my this son having-died gone was, now come-to-life
 hai; gawān gayā thīyyā, iw labhī pariā.’ Tad ōh khushī karṇē
is; lost gone was, now finding fell.’ Then they merry to-make
 laggē.
began.

Us-kā barā pūt paliā bichch thīyyā; jad gharā-gē nērē āyā,
Him-of big son field in was; when house-of in-vicinity came,
 gaṇṇē tē nachṇē-gā wāj suniā, tē ékkī naukarā thō pūchhiā ki,
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard, and one servant from asked that,
 ‘ēā kyā hai?’ Uṇ us-kō kahiā ki, ‘tērā bhāī āyā, tē
‘this what is?’ By-him him-to it-was-said that, ‘thy brother came, and
 tērē bappē paliā hūwwā wachchhā halāl kiyyā hūwwā hai, is
by-thy father reared been calf killed made been is; this
 wāstē ki rāzi-bāzī labbhā.’ Uṇ gussē hōigē
on-account-of that safe-and-sound was-found.’ By-him angry having-become
 na chāhiā ki andar barē. Tad us-kē bappē bāhr
not was-wished that inside may-go. Then him-of by-father outside
 āigē us-kō manāyā. Uṇ bappā-gū jawāb dīnā,
having-come him-to it-was-persuaded. By-him father-to answer was-given,
 ‘dēkh innē warhē-gī haū tērī ṭahl kartā haī, tē kadhī tērē
‘lo so-many years-of I thy service doing am, and ever thy

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

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

[No. 18.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSIYĀ.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

DISTRICT KHERI.

Jānē-mē	katyā	bachyā	pārē	thē.	Das	rupiā	
<i>Winter-in</i>	<i>cows</i>	<i>calves</i>	<i>tending</i>	<i>were.</i>	<i>Ten</i>	<i>rupees</i>	
chapwārē-nē	māgē	thē.	Ham-par	nikrē	nāhī.	Ham-kō	
<i>sub-inspector-by</i>	<i>demanded</i>	<i>were.</i>	<i>Us-on</i>	<i>were-found</i>	<i>not.</i>	<i>Us</i>	
pakar-kaṛ	Mīraṭ	pahōchā	diyē.	Wahā	kaid		
<i>having-seized</i>	<i>Meerut</i>	<i>having-caused-to-reach</i>	<i>were-given.</i>	<i>There</i>	<i>imprisoned</i>		
kar	diyē.	Bari	hō	gaē.	Phir	Sūrtāpur-kō	
<i>making</i>	<i>were-given.</i>	<i>Acquitted.</i>	<i>becoming</i>	<i>went.</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>Sultanpur-to</i>	
bhēj	diyē.	Sūrtāpur-mē	chār	baras	rahē.	Sūrtāpur-mē	
<i>sending</i>	<i>were-given.</i>	<i>Sultanpur-in</i>	<i>four</i>	<i>years</i>	<i>remained.</i>	<i>Sultanpur-in</i>	
muñj	aur	rāmbans	kutti	thē.	Ham-nē	munsi-sē	yeh
<i>muñja</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>aloe-fibres</i>	<i>hammering</i>	<i>were.</i>	<i>Us-by</i>	<i>Munshi-to</i>	<i>this</i>
kahā	ki,	'ham-kō	ēk.	arjī,	yahā-sē	likh	dō
<i>was-said</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>'us-to</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>petition,</i>	<i>here-from</i>	<i>writing</i>	<i>give</i>
ki	ham	yā-sē	aur	jagah	basāē.	jāē.'	Lāraṭ-nē
<i>that</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>here-from</i>	<i>other</i>	<i>place</i>	<i>settled</i>	<i>may-go.'</i>	<i>Lord-by</i>
yeh	hukum	diyā	ki,	'yā-sē	nikar-kē	baṇ-mē	
<i>this</i>	<i>order</i>	<i>was-given</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>'here-from</i>	<i>having-gone-out</i>	<i>forest-in</i>	
basāē	jāē.'	Ham	baṇ-mē	āē	aur	baṇ-sē	ēk
<i>settled</i>	<i>may-go.'</i>	<i>We</i>	<i>forest-in</i>	<i>came</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>forest-from</i>	<i>one</i>
mahinē-ki	chhuṭṭi	lē-kaṛ	apnē	bēṭē-ko	milnē-ko	gaē.	
<i>month-of</i>	<i>leave</i>	<i>having-taken</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>son-to</i>	<i>meeting-for</i>	<i>went.</i>	

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

beginning with consonants ; thus, *khatin*, three ; *khadand*, tooth ; *khadās*, ten ; *khanāk*, nose ; *khanāũ*, nine ; *khapair*, foot ; *khamaĩ*, by me ; *kharājū*, Pañjābī *rājī*, pleased. The additional syllable *kha* then often supersedes the initial syllable of the word ; thus, *khuntā*, an iron and wood instrument for digging, cf. Hindōstānī *gaintā* ; *khas=das*, ten ; *khaũ=nau*, nine ; *khákk=nákk*, nose ; *khigaḷnā=nikalnā*, to come out ; *khīs=bīs*, twenty ; *khũh=mũh*, mouth ; *khikhṇā=likhnā*, to write ; *khōth=hāth*, hand.

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

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

chh is quite common ; thus, *chhakān=kānn*, ear ; *chhapair=pair*, foot ; *chhabārmī=bārmī*, woman ; *chhabāptā* and *bāptā*, father ; *chhabhautā* and *bhautā*, brother ; *chhabhaiṇ* and *bhāṇ*, sister. This *chh* often replaces the initial consonant ; thus, *chhūt*, *chhapūt* and *pūt*, son ; *chhauht=bahut*, much ; *chhattū=bhattū*, a Sāsī man ; *chhāhar=bāhar*, outside ; *chhaḷak=baḷak*, tomorrow ; *chhūhā=būhā*, door ; *chhaiḥṛā=waiḥṛā*, calf. In all these instances the original word begins with a labial, and Dr. Bailey restricts the change to such words as begin with *b*, and that is no doubt usually the case. In the materials received from Gurdaspur and Sialkot, however, we also find forms such as *chhakānn*, ear ; *chhangāh=gunāh*, sin ; *chhaghar*, house ; *chhaurat*, woman ; *chhakaun*, who ? *chhakayā*, what ? *chhagadhā*, ass, and so forth.

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

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

n is a common substitute for various sounds ; thus, *nālī=chālī*, forty ; *nōrī=chōrī*, theft ; *niriyā=chiriyā*, bird ; *neōklā=chhōkrā*, boy ; *nikaṭ=ṭikaṭ*, ticket ; *nōmbū=ṭōmbū*, a house-breaking instrument ; *naukhṇā=dēkhṇā*, see ; *nañj=pañj*, five ; *naṛhnā=paṛhnā*, read ; *nūchhṇa=pūchhṇā*, ask ; *nair=pair*, foot ; *nāgg=pāgg*, turban ; *nēṭ=pēṭ*, belly ; *nōhaḷ=bōhaḷ*, heap of grain ; *nāllī=lāllī*, night ; *nadhūk=ṣandūq*, box ; *nāhb=sāhb*, ṣāhib ; *naihr=shahr*, city ; *nūraj* or *nhūraj=sūraj*, sun ; *nāth=sāth*, with.

nh is often substituted for aspirated letters and for *s* ; thus, *nhē=chhē*, six ; *nhōḍṇā=chhōḍṇā*, leave ; *nhōllē=chhōllē*, gram ; *nhik=ṭhik*, right ; *nhānā=thānā*, police station ; *nhālī=thālī*, brass vessel ; *nhitṭā=phitṭā*, abuse ; *nhat=sat*, seven ; *nhir=sir*, head ; *nhikṇā=sikhṇā*, learn ; *nhīs=sīs*, head, and so forth.

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

b is often prefixed to words beginning with vowels, thus, *bēā*=*ēā*, this ; *ṡiv*=*iv*, now ; *bōṡṡhē*=*ōṡṡhē*, there ; *baur*=*aur*, and ; *bēk*=*ēk*, one. Before consonants we find *ba* ; thus, *bagōllē*, gram ; *balūā*, rupee. In *barlāṡhī*, stick, we have a double prefix *bar*. In other cases *b* replaces an initial consonant ; thus, *bōrā*=*chhōrā*, boy ; *bāḍī*=*chāḍī*, silver ; *bēndrā*=*jandrā*, lock ; *bīwar*=*jhiūr*, water-carrier ; *bēṡḍhā*=*sanḍhā*, male buffalo ; *banh*=*sanh*, house-breaking ; *baunā*=*sōnā*, gold ; *bunyārā*=*sunyārā*, goldsmith ; *bindū*, Hindu, etc.

r and *rh*, finally, are often substituted for *k*, *kh*, respectively ; thus, *rāṡhī*=*kāṡhī*, saddle ; *rēṡṡā*=*kāṡṡā*, cut ; *rāl*=*kāl*, famine ; *ruṡṡjī*=*kuṡṡjī*, key ; *rudāh* or *rhadhāi*=*khudā*, God ; *rhaphā*=*khaṡā*, angry ; *rhijmat*=*khidmat*, service ; *rhēt*=*khēt*, field ; *rhāṡ*=*khāṡ*, bed. and so forth.

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

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

k in *chulkṡā*, to speak ; cf. *chōlī*=*bōlī*, speech. A *kh* has apparently been inserted in the middle of a word in *mikhltā*=*miltā*, is being met with.

g is common after *r* in several pronominal forms ; thus, *mērgā*, my ; *tērgā*, thy ; *kēhrgā*, which. It is further added after verbs such as *kauhgnā*=*kahnā*, tell ; *rauḡgnā*=*rahnā*, remain ; *gaugṡā*, to go ; *gaugā*,¹ went, cf. *gayā*, went. It also occurs in several stray instances such as *kadgī*, ever ; *kōggī*, *kōī*, anyone ; *chaug*=*chār*, four ; *duhāngī*=*duhāī*, appeal ; *hukamgā-kō*, the command, and so forth.

ṡh is added in *naūṡhā*=*nāṡ*, name ; *dūrṡhā*=*dūr*, far ; *naīṡhī*=*nāī*, barber.

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

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

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

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

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

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

mautī, mother. In other instances an *a*-sound is changed to *ē*; thus, *chēnguā*=*changā*, good; *bēndhā*=*sandhā*, male buffalo; *lēgbā*=*lagā*, began; *rēkhwānā*=*rakhnā*, place; *rēṭnā*=*kāṭnā*, cut. *I* and *u* are sometimes interchanged; thus, *bīṇḍī*=*bundā*, eardrop; *gupāhī*=*sipāhī*, soldier; *kharājū*=*rājī*, pleased. An *ē* or *ai* may be changed to *u* or *au*; thus, *khuntā*=*gaintā*, pickaxe; *naukhnā*=*dēkhnā*, see; *ō* is occasionally replaced by *au* or *eō*; thus, *baunā*=*sōnā*, gold; *neōklā*=*chhōkrā*, boy. Other instances of interchange are *baleā*=*billā*, cat; *leōkrī*=*lakrī*, wood; *gāddar*=*gīdar*, jackal, and so forth. All such changes are apparently quite arbitrary. Note also double changes in words such as *khadēpaṅgrā*=*dēṅgrā*, will give; *khanitṭh*=*pitṭh*, back; *chulknā*=*bōlnā*, to speak; *chhangāh*=*gunāh*, sin; *ḍhamkīr*=Kashmir; *dhumalmān*=Musalmān; *ṭhūb*=*ūṭh*, camel, and so forth.

None of these changes affects the grammar of the dialect. The inflexional forms remain the same. The individual words alone are changed. Thus many of the pronouns appear in a new shape; compare *khamañ* and *mañ*, by me; *khamērā*, *khamērgā*, *mērgā* and *mērā*, my, and so on. The present tense of the verb substantive is *hōpē*, *hōpē*, *hōpē*, and so forth, or *hōpē* throughout; "I went" is *gauhgā* or *jasriā* and so forth.

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

[No. 19.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES

SĀSĪ.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN I.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

Békkī	kōdmīā-gē	dhōr	bōrē	thīyyē.	Buṇ	bichchā	khīkē		
<i>One</i>	<i>man-of</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>boys</i>	<i>were.</i>	<i>Them</i>	<i>among</i>	<i>by-the-little</i>		
bāptē-gū	kauhgiā	ki,	‘hē	bāptē,	ḍhamālā-gā	jihrgā	khissa	mērgā.	
<i>father-to</i>	<i>it-was-said</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>‘O</i>	<i>father,</i>	<i>property-of</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>share</i>	<i>mine</i>	
asrta	hōpē,	manū	dēpī	nōḍ.’	Buṇ	bun-kō	khapṇā	nhārgā	
<i>coming</i>	<i>is,</i>	<i>me-to</i>	<i>giving</i>	<i>leave.’</i>	<i>By-him</i>	<i>them-to</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>all</i>	
ḍhamāl	khabaṭī	nodīā.	Nhōrē	khrojē	nichhē	khīkē	bōrē	nhārgā	
<i>property</i>	<i>dividing</i>	<i>was-left.</i>	<i>Few</i>	<i>days</i>	<i>after</i>	<i>by-little</i>	<i>boy</i>	<i>all</i>	
māl	naṭṭhā	kūligē	khadūr	ḍhamulkā	bichch	jasrigē	rauhgiā,		
<i>property</i>	<i>together</i>	<i>having-made</i>	<i>distant</i>	<i>country</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>having-gone</i>	<i>stayed,</i>		
tē	bōṭhē	nhārgē	naisē	nhairē	nammē	bichch	khalāi	noḍīā.	
<i>and</i>	<i>there</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>pice</i>	<i>evil</i>	<i>works</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>expending</i>	<i>left.</i>	
Jad	nhārgā	nharch	kūlī	linā,	bus	ḍhamulkā	bichch	jadā	
<i>When</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>spent</i>	<i>doing</i>	<i>was-taken,</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>country</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>great</i>	
ḍhakāl	ṭawiā.	Bōh	chhauht	naurā	ṭawiā.	Tad	bus	ḍhamulkā-gē	
<i>famine</i>	<i>fell.</i>	<i>He</i>	<i>very</i>	<i>narrow</i>	<i>fell.</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>country-of</i>	
békkī	kōdmīā-gē	nās	gaugā,	bun	bus-kō	khapṇīē	naīlīē	bichch	ṭūṇḍē.
<i>one</i>	<i>man-of</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>went,</i>	<i>by-him</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>fields</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>pigs</i>
nhugānē	ghēlwiā,	tē	bus-kī	kharjī	thī	bun	ṭaphlē-gū	jihrgē.	
<i>to-graze</i>	<i>he-was-sent,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>him-of</i>	<i>wish</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>those</i>	<i>fodders</i>	<i>which</i>	
ṭūṇḍē	dīmtē	thīyyē	khapṇā	nēṭ	nharē;	bus-kō	kōi	nahī	dēptā.
<i>pigs</i>	<i>eating</i>	<i>were</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>belly</i>	<i>may-fill;</i>	<i>him-to</i>	<i>anyone</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>giving</i>
thīyyā.	Bhī	nōshā	bichch	asrigē	kauhgnē	laggā,	‘mērgē		
<i>was.</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>sense</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>having-come</i>	<i>to-say</i>	<i>began,</i>	<i>‘my</i>		
bāptē-gē	nās	jadē	khajūrē-gū	chhauht	ṭīmī	hōpē,	tē	haū	
<i>father-of</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>many</i>	<i>hired-labourers-to</i>	<i>much</i>	<i>food</i>	<i>is,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>I</i>	
chhūkhā	lugtā	hōpē.	Haū	khapṇē	bāptē	nās	jasraṅgrā	tē	
<i>hungry</i>	<i>dying</i>	<i>am.</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>will-go</i>	<i>and</i>	
kauhgaṅgrā	ki,	“hē	bāptē,	maī	namānā-gā	tē	tērgā	jadā	nasūr
<i>will-say</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>“O</i>	<i>father,</i>	<i>by-me</i>	<i>heaven-of</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>great</i>	<i>sin</i>

kūliā hōpē, biwkē haū his khajōgā nahī hōpē ki kōdmī manū tērgā
done is, now I this worthy not am that men me thy
 bōrā kauhḡē; ḡhamanū khajūrē jidā rēkhwi nōd.”” Bhī
boy may-say; me hired-labourers like placing leave.”” Then
 buthigē khapnē bāptē nās gaugā, tē bōh khajē khadūr thiyyā,
having-arisen own father near went, and he yet far was,
 ki bus-kō naukhigē bus-kē bāptē-gū ḡhrahm asriā, tē binḡigē
that him having-seen him-of father-to compassion came, and having-run
 bus-kō ḡhagal layā tē chhauht khachumiā. Bōrē bus-kō
him-to neck was-pressed and much it-was-kissed. By-boy him-to
 kauhgiā ki, ‘ hē bāptē, maī ḡhamānā-gā tē tērgā nasūr
it-was-said that, ‘ O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin
 kūliā, biwkē bis khajōgā nahī hōpē ki bhī tērgā bōrā
was-made, now this worthy not am that again thy boy
 rauhgē.’ Bāptē khapnē khaukarē-gū kauhgiā ki, ‘ nhārē
may-remain.’ By-father own servants-to it-was-said that, ‘ all
 satthā chēnguē riḡhrē lē-asrō tē bis-kō ḡhālāō, tē bis-kē khōthā-gū
than fine clothes bring and this-of put-on, and this-of hand-to
 nhāp tē nhairē-gū paupī, tē tōmē kāngalā-gū lē-asrigē balāl
ring and feet-to shoes, and fat calf having-brought killed
 kūlō, ki dīmā tē nushī kūlā. Mērgā bēā bōrā
make, that we-may-eat and merry may-make. My this boy
 lugī gaugā thiyyā, biwkē khajīwī ṭawīā; gawāṇ gaugā thiyyā,
having-died gone was, now living fell; lost gone was,
 biw khalabhī ṭawīā.’ Bhī bōh nushī kūlnē laggē.
now having-found fell.’ Then they merry to-make began.

Buskā jadā bōrā nailiā bichch thiyyā. Jad khaulē asriā,
Him-of big boy field in was. When house-to came,
 ḡhagaunē tē khanachnē-gā khawāj nḡuṇiā. Tad bēkki
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard. Then one
 khanaukarā-gū chulāigē nūchhiā ki, ‘ bēā kyā hōpē?’ Bun
servant-to having-called it-was-asked that, ‘ this what is?’ By-him
 bus-kō kauhgiā, ‘ tērgā bhautā asriā hōpē, tērgē bāptē tōmā
him-to it-was-said, ‘ thy brother come is, by-thy by-father fat
 kāngal balāl kūliā, khis nāstē ki bōh chēnguā
calf killed was-made, this on-account-of that he well
 khalabhī ṭawīā.’ Bōh kharinj hōpiā tē bus-kī kharjī kundar
having-found fell.’ He angry became and him-of wish inside
 jasrṇē-gī nahī thī. Bhī bus-kā bāptā chhār asrigē bus-kō
going-of not was. Then him-of father outside having-come him

kharājū kūḷṇē laggā. Buṇ bāptē-gū khwāb dēpiā, 'naukhī
pleased to-make began. By-him father-to answer was-given, 'seeing
 lēp, khitnē narsē-gī tērgī khatahl kultā hōpē, tē kadhi tērgā khākhā
take, so-many years-of thy service doing am, and ever thy saying
 nahī nōriā; tē taī kadhi bēk chhābrī nahī dēpi, ki
not was-broken; and by-thee ever one goat not was-given, that
 khaṇṇē khōstē nāthth nushī kūḷē; jad tērgā bēā bōrā asriā
own friends with merry may-make; when thy this boy came
 jīṇ tērgā dhamāl bēnjriē bihch lāyā, taī bus-kē
by-whom thy property harlots among was-spent, by-thee him-of
 liyyē tōmā kāṅgal balāl kūḷiā.' Buṇ bus-kō kauhgiā,
for-the-sake fat calf killed was-made.' *By-him him-to it-was-said,*
 'taū nadā mērgē nās hōpē; jihrgā mērgā hōpē, tērgā hōpē. Par
'thou always my side art; what mine is, thine is. But
 naujā kūḷṇiā tē nush hōpṇā chāhītā thīyyā; kyū, tērgā bēā
merriments to-make and happy to-be proper was; why, thy this
 bhautā lugi gaugā thīyyā, biwkē jiwī ṭawiā; gawāṇ gaugā
brother having-died gone was, now living fell; lost gone
 hīyyā, biwkē khalabhī ṭawiā.'
was, now finding fell.'

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSI.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN II.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

Mhārgē	dhōr	pīr	nurē	jasartē	thīyyē.	Békkī	nádd		
<i>Our</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>saints</i>	<i>going-along</i>	<i>going</i>	<i>were.</i>	<i>One</i>	<i>village</i>		
chhēngnē	gaugē.	Békkī	khētiā	nāsā	khadúddh	chhēngiā.			
<i>to-beg</i>	<i>went.</i>	<i>One</i>	<i>female-Jaṭṭ</i>	<i>from</i>	<i>milk</i>	<i>was-asked.</i>			
Buṇ	nahī	dēpiā.	Buh	nurī	gaugē,	bus-kā	khadúddh		
<i>By-her</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>was-given.</i>	<i>They</i>	<i>going-away</i>	<i>went,</i>	<i>her-of</i>	<i>milk</i>		
khalahū	hōpī	gaugā.	Buṇ	khētiā	nōkhiā	bhai	khadúddh		
<i>blood</i>	<i>becoming</i>	<i>went.</i>	<i>By-that</i>	<i>female-Jaṭṭ</i>	<i>it-was-seen</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>milk</i>		
khalahū	hōpī	gaugā,	buh	bhī	nīchhē	biṅkī.	Buṇō	kauhgiā,	
<i>blood</i>	<i>becoming</i>	<i>went,</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>then</i>	<i>after</i>	<i>ran.</i>	<i>By-them</i>	<i>it-was-said,</i>	
'bōrī,	jasar,	tērgā	khadúddh	busī	narah	hōpī	jasagrā.'	Buh	khaulē
<i>'girl,</i>	<i>go,</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>milk</i>	<i>that-very</i>	<i>way</i>	<i>becoming</i>	<i>will-go.'</i>	<i>She</i>	<i>home</i>
asari	tē	nōkhiā,	tē	khadúddh	busī	narah	hōpī	gaugā	thīyyā.
<i>went</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>it-was-seen,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>milk</i>	<i>that-very</i>	<i>way</i>	<i>becoming</i>	<i>gone</i>	<i>was.</i>
Buṇī	dhōr	pīrē	ōṇō	békk	karāmāt	kūḷi.	Békkī		
<i>Those-very</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>by-saints</i>	<i>by-them</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>miracle</i>	<i>was-done.</i>	<i>By-one</i>		
arkā	náthth	dōph	nuṭṭi.	Bhī	bus-kō	khriddigē			
<i>elbow</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>iguana</i>	<i>was-dug-up.</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>having-cooked</i>			
dīmiā.	Bhī	buṇ	nūsre-gō	kauhgiā	bhai,	'maī	nuṭṭi,		
<i>it-was-eaten.</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>by-him</i>	<i>other-to</i>	<i>it-was-said</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>'by-me</i>	<i>was-dug-up,</i>		
taū	bis-kō	bhī	narājīt	kūḷ.'	Bhī	buṇ	kōḍḍiā	naṭṭhiā	
<i>thou</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>again</i>	<i>alive</i>	<i>make.'</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>by-him</i>	<i>bones</i>	<i>together</i>	
kūḷiā,	tē	kóthth	nhērigē	kauhgnē	laggā,	'jasar	khachcha,		
<i>were-made,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>hand</i>	<i>having-waved</i>	<i>to-say</i>	<i>began,</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>little-one,</i>		
biṅkī	jasar.'	Bhī	buh	biṅkī	gaugī	tē	narājīt	hōpī	
<i>running</i>	<i>go.'</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>running</i>	<i>went</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>alive</i>	<i>becoming</i>	
gaugī.	Tē	buṇ	dhōrē	pīrē-gē	naūṭhē	Bhalād	Bhagat	tē	
<i>went.</i>	<i>And</i>	<i>those</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>saints-of</i>	<i>names</i>	<i>Bhalād</i>	<i>Bhagat</i>	<i>and</i>	
Malang	thīyyē,	tē	Bhalād	Bhagat	Malangā-gā	ḍhamāmā	thīyyā. ¹		
<i>Malang</i>	<i>were,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>Bhalād</i>	<i>Bhagat</i>	<i>Malang-of</i>	<i>mother's-brother</i>	<i>was.</i>		

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

[No. 21.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT GURDASPUR.

Bēki mānkhē-tē dhōr chhabōhrē thē. Khikē-nē bappā-thiā
One man-to two sons were. Younger-by father-to
 kaugiā paī, ' ē bappā, jō mērgiā dhagliā asartā hai chhaīdvī
it-was-said that, ' O father, which my share coming is' dividing
 dē.' Jō kuchh thiā chhaīdvī dīnā. Thōrī dīhā picchūā
give.' What ever was dividing was-given. Few days after
 khikē chhabōhrē-nē nabh kuchh lēpī-kē dūr dhamulkhā-kō
younger son-by all whatever having-taken distant country-to
 chilpiā gōgā. Bōthī jasrī jāi raugiā ; jērḥā dhamāl
walked went. There having-gone having-gone stayed ; what property
 thiā, bō bōthī dīmī linā. Jad nabh kuchh rharch kūlī
was, that there eating was-taken. When all whatever spent making
 dēpiā, bus dhamulkhā wicheh chhaut rāl ṭaui gaugā, hōr
was-given, that country in great famine falling went, and
 chhūkhā lūgnē lēgbā, ta bēkī rārū khaulē jasrī raugiā.
hungry to-die began, and one citizen in-house having-gone stayed.
 Bus-kō ṭūdhē nageō-nē nhējiā. Bus-kā biyāhī matbal thiā paī
Him-to swine to-graze it-was-sent. Him-of this desire was that
 ' jō nhikkar ṭūdhē dīmtē bōi nhikkar dīmī-kē nhēt nhar
' which husks swine eat those husks having-eaten belly fill
 lēpūgā,' paī bus-kō kōi dēptā nāhī thiā. Nhēr bus-nū nhurt
may-take,' because him-to anyone giving not was. Then him-to sense
 asrī gaugi baur kaugnē lēbgā ki, ' mērgē bappā-kē khabauht khīti
coming went and to-say began that, ' my father-of much bread
 mikhtī thī, haū chhūkhā lūgtā haī. Haū kūthī-kē āpnē
being-got was, I hungry dying am. I having-arisen own
 bāptē-kē nhās jasrūgā baur bus-kō kaugūgrā paī, " ē bāptē, māī
father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that, " O father, by-me
 tērgā baur rhadhāi-kā chhangāh kūliā, baur bis khalāiki-kā nāhpi
thy and God-of sin was-done, and this woriiness-of not

ki mungō tērgā chhabōhrā mānkhē kaugā. Mungō kuāpnē rāmā
that me thy son men may-call. Me own servants
 khawichcha bēk khamjūr chhanēwi lepp." ' Ib kuāpnē bappā
among one hired-labourer engaging take." ' Then own father
 nhās khaturī chilpiā. Ōh ajē dūrthē thīā, khabappā-kō khadēkhī-kē
near walking went. He yet far-off was, father-to having-seen
 kharaihm asriā, baur durkhi-kē chhaglā-kē nhāth lēwi lēpiā baur
compassion came, and having-run neck-of with applying took and
 khachummiā. Bōhrē-nē bus-kō kaugiā, ' rē bāp, maī tērgā
kissed. Son-by him-to it-was-said, ' O father, by-me thy
 ar rhadhāi-kā dhagnāh kūliā. Is khalāiki-kā khanāhī khaabhī
and God-of sin was-done. This worthiness-of not now
 tērgā bōhrā dhamannū kaugē.' Dhabappē kuāpnē khanaukrē-kō
thy son me they-may-call.' By-the-father own servants-to
 kaugiā paī, ' koachchhi dahniā lēpi asar baur bis-kē dāwō,
it-was-said that, ' good clothes taking come and this-on put-round,
 baur khōthā wichch nhāp chaugaī kharākai dāwi dēpō, baur ham
and hand on ring on-feet shoes putting give, and we
 khadimīe ar rhusī kūlā, paī khamērā chhabōhrā lūgi
eating and merry let-make, that my son having-died
 gaugiā, khajiwī ṭawiā; guāchgī gaugā siā, khabib libhwī ṭawiā.' Bib
went, alive fell; lost gone was, now found fell.' Now
 bōh rhusī kūlnē lēgbē.
they merry to-make began.

Jadā chhabōhrā rhētā wichch thīā. Jad khaulē nhās asriā
Big boy field in was. When house near came
 roāchnē-kī khanāchnē-kī dhawāj nhunī Khatad khanaukrā-kō
singing-of dancing-of sound was-heard. Then servants-to
 chalēwi-kē nūchhiā, ' hīa chhiā hōpi raugiā ?' Bus-nē
having-called it-was-asked, ' this what becoming is ?' Him-by
 kaugiā, ' tērgā bhātā asriā, baur tērgē bappā-nē khīti dhamaī paī
it-was-said, ' thy brother came, and thy father-by feast was-given that
 kharājū-khabājū mikhlī ṭawiā.' Bus-nē rhapā hōpi-kē khanāhī
safe-and-sound being-met fell.' Him-by angry becoming not
 khachāhiā paī, ' kūndar jāsā.' Bus-kē bappā-nē chhāhar asrikē
wished that, ' inside I-may-go.' His father-by outside having-come
 bus-kō chhamanāyā. Bus-nē bappā-kō khajawāb dēpi. dinā,
him-to was-entreated. Him-by father-to answer having-given was-given,
 ' khadēkh, bitnē nhālē tērgī rhijmat kūtā ribā, baur khatērgī
' see, so-many years thy service doing remain, and thy

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

KŌLHĀṬĪ.

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

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

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

Number.

Bombay Presidency—

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

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, xii, 123f.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, xx, 18f

³ *Criminal Tribes*, p. 46ff

KŌLHĀṬĪ.

Bombay Presidency—*contd.*

Brought forward	2,510	
Akalkot	85	
Bhor	7	
Satara Agency	19	
Belgaum	409	
Bijapur	148	
Dharwar	380	
Kanara	15	
Kolaba	306	
Ratnagiri	2	
Kolhapur	270	
Southern Maratha Country	473	
Sawantwadi	57	
		4,681
TOTAL BOMBAY PRESIDENCY		
Berar—		
Amraoti	88	
Akola	638	
Ellichpur	164	
Buldana	281	
Wun	97	
Basim	57	
		1,325
TOTAL BERAR		
Hyderabad—		
Gulbargah	1,649	
Naldurg	3,022	
Hyderabad	67	
Nander	88	
Sirpur Tandur	491	
Parbhani	75	
Bhir	229	
Aurangabad	385	
Indur	1	
		6,007
TOTAL HYDERABAD		
		12,013
GRAND TOTAL		

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

Bombay Presidency—

Ahmednagar	700	
Poona	350	
Satara	150	
		1,200 . 1,200
Berar—		
Amraoti	127	
Akola	640	
Ellichpur	200	
Buldana	150	
		1,117 . 1,117

Central Provinces—

Chanda	50	50
	TOTAL	<u>2,367</u>

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

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

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

Dialect. Bhatoo is identical with the Sāsī word *bhattū*, a Sāsī man.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[No. 22.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KŌLHĀṬĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Yakkī mankhā-ku dō chhōrē huvē. Dōnō-mē-kā nhannā bappā-ku
One man-to two sons were. Both-in-of younger father-to
 balyā, ‘bappa, jē jingī-kā battā hai, sē mērē-ku dē.’ Majē
said, ‘father, which property-of share is, that me-to give.’ Then
 un-nē jingī battī dī. Majē thōdē dinā-sē nhannā
him-by property dividing was-given. Then few days-after younger
 chhōrā sagal gōlā karī mulkhā-war gayā. Aplē jingī
son all together having-made country-to went. Own property
 mastiyē-sī udāi dīi, kharsī sarī gai. Us mulkhā-mē
debauchery-in wasting was-given, spent all went. That country-in
 badā kāl padyā, u-saṭṭi us-ku aḍchan paḍi. Us waktā-kō us
big famine fell, that-for him-to distress fell. That time-at that
 mulkā-sī yakkī mankhā thānē jāi rahyā; unē āpnē
country-of one man near having-gone stayed; him-by own
 khētā-mē taṇḍē charāwnē bhējī diyā. Ō tāṇḍē kōṇḍā
fields-in pigs to-tend having-sent he-was-given. Those swine husks
 khātē thiyē, ō khāi pēṭ bharnō aisā us-ku
eating were, those having-eaten belly should-be-filled thus him-to
 bātyā; us-ku kinē kāi diyā nai. Majē ō
it-appeared; him-to by-anyone anything was-given not. Then he
 sudī-mē āisanē balyā, ‘mērē bappā-kē gharā-ku mankhā-ku ruṭṭi pēṭ
sense-in having-come said, ‘my father-of house-at men-to bread belly
 bharī milṭi; mī bhukkā martā. Mī uṭṭhī mērē bappā-kōnē
filling is-got; I starving die. I having-arisen my father-near
 jānēga, us-ku ballēgā, “ē happā, bindē-kē irud an tērē
will-go, him-to will-say, “O father, heaven-of against and of-thee
 āga mi-nī pāp karyā. Abthunā-sī mī tērā bēṭā kaynē-kē lāik
before me-by sin was-done. Now-from I thy son saying-of worthy
 nai. Aplē chākriyē-kē gaḍiyē-wānī mērē-ku rakkha.”’ Majē uṭyā,
not. Own service-of labourer-like me keep.”’ Then arose,
 uṭṭi bappā-kunē gayā.
having-arisen father-near went.

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

[No. 23.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KŌLHĀṬĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHANDA.

Ēkka ādmiya-ku dō nhanē laḍkē thiya, ēk chhōrā an ēk chhōrī.
One man-to two small children were, one boy and one girl.

Chhōrā thiya, wō muwā-mē baḍā bāṅglā thiya, chhōrī aisī-ch thiya.
Boy was, he face-in very handsome was, girl common was.

Ēkka din wō dō-jhanē chhōrē ainē-kē najik kheltē thiya. Chhōrā
One day those two-people children glass-of near playing were. Boy

chhōriya-ku hōltā, 'aya, yē ainē-mē dikka bhalā nikkī kōn disti
girl-to says, 'O, this glass-in see well good who is-appearing
ki.' Chhōriya-ku wō nikkā nahī lagā. Us-kō samjhā
what.' Girl-to that good not appeared. Her-to it-was-thought

kī is-nē yē āplyā-ku hināwnē-ku bōlā. Pichhē unē
that this-by this herself lowering-for was-said. Afterwards her-by

bappā-kē najik bhayya-kē gārhanē bōllē. Wō bōlī, 'bappā,
father-of near brother-of complaints were-said. She said, 'father,

kōynē-mē khum dikhī khushī pānā, yē bāykā-kā kām; us-mē
glass-in face seeing satisfaction to-get, this women-of work; that-in

ādmiya-nē man ghālnā nahī.' Bappā-ne dō-jhanē-kō pēṭā-sī pākāḍī
man-by mind to-be-put not.' Father-by both breast-to clasping

us-kō khushī kiyā. Wō bōlā, 'chhōrēnō, tum laḍhu na-kō.
her-to satisfaction was-made. He said, 'children, you fight not-should.

Ajā-sī tum dō-jhanē-bhī dinā-ma ainē-mē dekhtē jā.
To-day-from you both-even day-in glass-in seeing go.'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

Argot.

The specimens received from Akola show that the Kūlhāṭīs know the use of an artificial language of the same kind. There are in the first place some peculiar words such as *kājji*, woman; *khōggā*, house; *khum*, mouth, face; *chēnī*, water; *ṭummī*, head; *ṭaunā*, fall; *ṭhāy*, beat; *ṭiwā*, rupee; *ṭhōknā*, sit; *dutta*, eat; *dhēḍ*, a Mahār (lit. a huge, burly, person); *bhatānī*, wife; *hēṭṭī*, women, and so on. Common words are moreover disguised in various ways, as in other argots.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[No. 24.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

CRIMINAL KŌLHĀṬĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT AKOLA.

Kōi bēk kōdmī-kō dhōr bōrē hōchche. Bus-mē-kā nhannā
Some one man-to two sons were. Them-in-of younger
 bōrā bappā-ku kahēngdā, 'bappā, yō mērā thamālā-kā nāṭṭā mu-ku
son father-to said, 'father, this my property-of share me-to
 āsartā, wō mō-ku dēppō.' Jabō bus-nē bñh-kō nhampat nāṭī
comes, that me-to give.' Then him-by them-to property dividing
 dēppi. Jabō nhōḍē dinā-sī nhansā bōrā sab namā
was-given. Then few days-from small son all together
 kariknāi dūr nēsā-mē gōghā, ani wōṭhē khudadēpanā-sī
having-made far country-in went, and there riotousness-with
 lyā ani khāplī nhampat khudāi dēppi. Jabō bus-nē
was-taken and own property having-wasted was-given. Then him-by
 sab rharchē-par bus mulkhā-mē chaḍā rāy ṭawyā, bus-muyē
all spent-after that country-in big famine fell, that-on-account-of
 bus-ku khadchan ṭavi. Jad ō bus nēsā-mē-kā bēkkā rarasthā-kē
him-to difficulty fell. Then he that country-in-of one man-of
 khanajik jāik rōghyā. Bun-nē bus-ku khāplē nhētā-mē nhūr
near having-gone stayed. Him-by him own field-in swine
 narāwnē naṭhāyā. Jad sūr jō narphal khātā thiyā bus-par
to-feed was-sent. Then swine which husks eating were those-on
 khāplā pēṭ bharnā ēsā bus-kē nilā-mē āyā ; ākhin
own belly should-be-filled thus his heart-in came ; and
 kin-nē bus-ku kāhī dippā nāhī. Jad ō nhudī-par
anybody-by him-to anything was-given not. Then he sense-on
 āiknāhī kahēngdā, 'mērē bappā-kē ēṭhē ritēk nhāldārā-ku
having-come said, 'my father-of with how-many servants-to
 nhar-pūr rōṭṭī miltī, ākhin hū bhukkā-sī thamartā.'
belly-full bread is-got, and I hunger-from am-dying.'
 Uṭṭhī khāplē bappā-kē baṅg jāṅgdā wa bus-kē kēhē, 'nō
Having-arisen own father-of near went and him-to said, 'O
 bāptē, mē-nē nēwā-kē khirdi wa tērē nhāmnē nāp karyā
father, me-by God-of against and of-thee before sin done

hē. Ap-sī tērā chhōrā kēhēnē-kē hū lāyak nāhī.
is. Now-from thy son saying-of I worthy not.'

Narantu bappā-nē khāplē nakrā-ku kahyā, 'śābut rapdā
But father-by own servants-to it-was-said, 'good cloth

lāi bus-ku rhallō; ākhin bus-kē kōhōtā-mē khāngōṭi wō
having-taken him-to put; and his hand-on ring and

gōtē-mē jōḍvē rhallō. Jab āpun khāi nēn karaṅg.
foot-on shoes put. Then we having-eaten merry shall-make.

Kāran yō mērā chhōrā mari gayā thiyā, ō phiriknāi
Because this my son having-died gone was, he again

jiwṭā huwā; wō jattā rhiyā thiyā, ō milyā.' Jab
living became; he lost remaining was, he was-found.' Then

ō harikh karhi rihē.
they merriment making were.

[No. 25.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

CRIMINAL KŌLHĀṬĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT AKOLA.

Jānu walad Hari, nāt Kōlhāṭī, khumbar baras tis, bastī
Jānu son-of Hari, caste Kōlhāṭī, age years thirty, residence

Kāndī, nēwā-kī ān lii kēhētā kē ājmās pandhrā din huē
Kāndī, God-of oath having-taken I-say that nearly fifteen days become

hōngē, rōj śukarwār dīn rātī hū wō bhatānī ān dhōr chhōrē
may-be, day Friday day at-night I and wife and two children

ittē khōggē-mē suktē thiē. Jab dhōr pēhērā-kē rātī-kē
so-many house-in sleeping were. Then two watch-of night-of

sumbārā-mē mērē bhatāniyā-nē mu-ku jāgī karyā ākhin kihī
approximation-in my wife-by me awakening was-made and saying

rihī kē, 'khōggē-mē bhāṇḍē bajī rihīpē, ākhin kōdmi-kā chāhāy
she-was that, 'house-in pots sounding are, and man-of noise

āwtā hē, jab uṭh.' Bus-par-sē hū uṭhyā ākhin bhītī-kē baṅg
coming is, then rise.' That-on-from I rose and wall-of near

dēkhyā. Jabī bhōk mu-ku dikhyā. Bus-par-sē mu-ku khās
it-was-seen. Then hole me-to was-seen. That-on-from me-to certainly

wātyā kē kōi-tō-bī khōggā phōḍī māhāy ghusyā hē.
it-appeared that somebody house having-broken inside entered is.

Khōggā-mē diwā nāhī thiyā. Mērē bichhāwnā-tanhē āngār-pēṭī thī.
House-in lamp not was. My bed-under match-box was.

Mē-nē lagēch gāddhi bus-kō pētāi. Ittē-mē yō ārōpī
Me-by at-once having-taken-out it was-lighted. This-much-in this accused

bhītī-kē pādēl bhōkā-ṭhōk jāi-riyā. Bus-par mēri najar gayē-barōbar
wall-of made hole-near going-was. That-on my sight gone-immediately

mē-nē bus-ku pakadyā, ākhin bus-kā kōhōt pakadyā. Bus-kō kēhēngdā
me-by him-to was-seized, and him-of hand was-seized. Him-to I-said

kē, 'arē nōrā, kaṭṭhē chalyā?' Bus-par-sī bus-kī ān mēri
that, 'O thief, where moved?' That-on-from him-of and of-me

jhōmbājhōmbī khub huī, wō mē-nē khōggō-mē-sī kalhā karyā.
struggling much became, and me-by, house-in-from noise was-made.

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

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

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

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

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

lagēch paṭēlā-kē baṅg lii gayē, wō hui hakikat paṭēlā-kō
at-once Paṭēl-of near having-taken went, and happened account Paṭēl-to

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

ārōpi-ku diyā, ākhin sabērē-kē pēhēr pōlis ṭhēsān Bārsī-Ṭākliyā-ku
the-accused-to was-given, and morning-of time police station Barsi-Takli-to

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

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

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

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

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

āwnā āwtā. Kachērīō-mē huwā khidā jis khidē-sē bhitī-ku bhōk
to-come comes. Court-in become nail which nail-by wall-to hole

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

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

GĀRŌḌĪ.

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

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

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

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

Like other Gipsy tribes the Gārōḍis try to make their speech unintelligible by using strange words or else by disguising ordinary words in various ways. Some of the unusual words found in the specimens are *aldī*, whip; *bēt*, eat; *bōngā*, gold; *chisam*, good; *chōnō*, name; *ḍhamuklō*, belly; *ḍhikmō*, slave; *dharālī*, iron; *dhāyṭī*, property; *ḍghalwāṭnī*, harlot; *ḍghāmī*, midnight; *ḍghangī*, a bulbous root; *gōnō*, hand; *gōnālī*, foot; *ḡhuruḱnā*, swine; *jachan*, diagnose; *kājā*, man; *kanēchī*, eye (cf. Tamil *kaṇa*); *khōmḍā*, mouth; *kāwsō*, bull; *kāyḷī*, ailment; *lug*, die; *lugā*, beat; *mallā*, garden; *nimal*, run, loose; *nānd*, house, village; *nāṭhyā*, wife; *nārmā*, water; *panēchī*, back (cf.

¹ Vol. xxi, pp. 224 & f.

Kanarese *bennu*); *tabēt*, health; *ṭap*, fall; *ṭōk*, say; *ṭōlchō*, head (cf. Kanarese *tale*); *ṭhig*, sit; *walā*, give, and so on.

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

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

Ch is, as in many similar argots, used instead of *b* in words such as *chulāwu*, to call; *chōḷṇī*, word, state. Note *chirwānd*, bind. In *jilātī*, cat, *j* has been used in a similar way, cf. *bilādī*. *Dzh* is a more common substitute; compare *ḍzhichādī*, behind; *ḍzhukāyit*=*bhūkh*, hunger; *ḍzhāil-kanā*, having gone; *ḍzhapplī*, shoe, sandal; *ḍzhupār*, afternoon (cf. *dō pahār*), and so on. A *t* has been substituted for a *p* in *ṭikad*, seize. The initial *ḍh* in *ḍhamuklō*, belly; *ḍhikmō*, slave, is probably of the same kind. The syllable *tur* in *turwālē*, hair, is apparently also an addition made in order to disguise the word, or else it may be a disguised *sir*, head. Other consonants used in a similar way are *n* in *nētyā-kū*, to the fields; *l* in *lipadā*, cloths; and, cockney way, *h* in *hāyil*, come; *hunṭ*, camel.

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

k in *bhēkdā*, brother; and *g* in *bōngā*, gold; compare, however, Kanarese *baṅgāra*;

ch in *kanēchī*, eye; *kānēchī*, ear; *chandīchī*, moon; *bhanichī*, sister; *nhanchō*, small, etc.;

ṭ in *ghōrtō*, horse; *ḍ* in *khagādī*, before; *khōmḍā*, mouth; *dāḍwā*, tooth; *bhēkdā*, brother, etc.;

t in *ḍzhukāyit*, hunger;

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

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

l in *karēlyō*, did; *karmel*, do; *ghalel*, put; *ghāyilē*, went; *chalēlē*, went; *jagāyilyō*, waked; *ḍzhāyil*, go; *baṭal-kā*, dividing; *rakellē*, keep; *sunel-hāyilyō*, hearing came, was heard; *sunnel-kā*, having heard; *hāyilyō*, came; *dulmū*, two, and so forth. Similarly we find *l* in words such as *nachlan*, dancing; *mōklō*, relief.

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

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

[No. 26.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

GĀRŌDĪ.

SPEOIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

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

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

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

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

[No. 27.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

GĀRŌDĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ajar *Indigestion* dzhāyilnē-kē *going-of* bhōlō *simple* upāw. *remedy.* Ekmū *One* nānd-ma *town-in* ekmū *one* ḍabō *big*
 kājā *man* chhō. *was.* Ō *He* har-gaḍī *every-time* bharkum *much* bēt-kanā *having-eaten* ṭhigyāsō *sitting* jāgā-pa *place-in* ṭhigyō *sitting*
 chhō. *was.* Kōusē-ch *Any-even* tarā-sī *kind-of* kaishṭ *labour* karel *doing* chha-nā. *was-not.* Ō-kī *That-of* wāstē *for-the-sake* ō-kē *his*
 aṅg-ma *body-in* kabī-tō *sometimes* bī *also* sustī *indisposition* hāyil-chhī. *coming-was.* Ekmū *One* din *day* ō *that* kājā *man*
 āplyō *own* dōs-kē *friend-of* nānd-kū *house-to* bētnē-kū *eating-for* ghailyō *gone* chhō. *was.* Uṅgā *There* bharkum *much* bēt-
 kanā *eaten* dzhāmī-tak *midnight-till* jagāyilyō. *waked.* Ō-kī *That-of* wāstē *on-account* sakāl *next-morning* ō-kū *him-to*
 bharkum *great* ajar *indigestion* hō-gailī. *became.* Ō *That* bakhat-kū *time-at* ō *he* tabēt *health* charch-kanā *having-examined* hāyil *come*
 kar-kā *having-said* gāḍī-kē *carriage-of* khūpar *upon* chaḍ-kan *having-mounted* khōyid-kē *doctor-of* nānd-kū *village-to* ghailyō. *went.*
 Khōyid-nā *Doctor-by* ō-kē *his* gōnō *hand* charch-kanā *having-examined* kāyli-kī *disease-of* jaehan *examination* karel-kanā *having-made*
 ṭōkyō, *said,* 'bāwā, *'Sir,* iṅgā-sī *here-from* dulmū *two* kōs-pa *kōs-in* ekmū *one* mallē-ma *garden-in* yā *this* kāyli-kū *disease-for*
 walānē-kī *giving-of* dzhangi *bulb* hapelā. *is.* Khuśī-sē *Kindly* uṅgā-tak *there-to* hāyiltō *come-if* ō *that* khupaḍ-kan *having-rooted-up*
 walañ. *I-may-give.* Ō-kī *That-of* wāstē *on-account* dzhūpār-kē *afternoon-of* mhayī *in* tērē *thy* kāyli *disease* dzhāyil-kē *having-gone*
 mōklō *relief* hapēlaṅgō.' *will-become.'* Itmū *This-much* sunmel-kā *having-heard* kājā-nā *man-by* ṭōkyō, *it-was-said,* 'mērō *'my*
 gāḍī *carriage* tayār *ready* hōyil-kā *having-become* rhapeli. *stands.* Hāyil, *Come,* uṅgā-tak *there-to* dzhāyil-kanā *having-gone*
 hāyilānā.' *let-us-come.'* Itmū *This-much* ṭōk-kanā, *having-said,* ō *he* wā *that* khōyid-kē *doctor-of* barābar *with* gāḍī-ma *carriage-on*

chad-kan chalēlē. Nānd-kanā-si dulmū kōs dzhāyil-kanā khōyid-nā
having-mounted went. House-near-from two kōs having-gone doctor-by
 gōnē-mā-ki aldī hōnūkar-kā tanā nakhil diyō.
hand-in-of whip intentionally down throwing was-given.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A simple remedy for indigestion.

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

MYĀNWĀLE OR LHĀRĪ.

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

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

“ I ” is *mē* as in Bundēlī. and “ we ” is *hamē*, cf. Gujarātī *amē*.

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

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

Myānwālē is, to judge from the specimens, an artificial argot built up on this base. There are some peculiar words such as *barawād*, come ; *bēt*, take ; *chhēgē*, preparation ; *chhuman*, see ; *chigīt*, run ; *chāyī*, water ; *chundadī*, ring ; *damōlō*, man ; *dāmī*, woman ; *dut*, eat ; *gēlō*, *gelpō*, boy ; *jukēlā*, dog ; *kīchī*, fire ; *khīch*, give ; *khōk*, house ; *lugānā*, to break ; *lugīt*, die ; *lōt*, strike ; *nānd*, village ; *nīrō*, good ; *nōkadō*, name ; *rhāklō*, brother. Some of these such as the base *bara*, to come ; *nānd*, village (Kanarese *nādu*), seem to be Dravidian. Others are comparable with similar words in other argots.

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

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

Kh has been prefixed in words such as *khādmī*, man; *khagādī*, before; *khāpṇō*, own; *khutnē-mē*, in the meantime; *khēk*, one; *khidēw*, god; *khiraṇḍ*, harlot. In *khulke*, having said, it has replaced an old *b*, and so on.

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

As in similar argots *ch* and *chh* are often substituted for labials. Compare *chaddō* = *baṛā*, big; *chōnd* = *bāndh*, tying; *chhil* = *bhar*, filling; *chhuk* = *bhūkh*, hunger; *chhurgā* = *murghā*, cock.

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

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

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

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

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

Thus a *k* is added in *rhōkē*, art; *niskō*, head; and a *kn* in *nhōknō* = *chhōṭā*, small. If *rhāklō*, brother, is derived from *bhāzī*, a *kl* has been added.

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

An addition *īṭ* is used in some intransitive verbs; thus, *chigīṭ*, run; *nukīṭō*, lost; *barīṭō*, came; *iugīṭō*, dead. A *ḍ* is added in *khagādī*, before. I may here add the suffixes *ōḍ* and *wāḍ* in verbal forms such as *natōḍ*, dividing; *rakhōḍ*, keeping; *ghalōḍ*, put; *barawāḍī*, she came; *rhōkwāḍō*, stayed; *hiṭwāḍyā*, they passed.

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

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

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

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

[No. 28.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYĀN WALĒ OR LHĀRĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

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

“māwutō, mē Khidēw-kā nāp māwutē-kā nāp chōnd bētō. Mē tērō
 “father, I God-of sin father-of sin tying took. I thy
 gelpō kar-kō kēṇē bētaṇē-kū lāyakh naī. Ma-kū khēk nākari sarik
 son saying saying taking-for worthy not. Me one servant like
 tērō pēsō rakhōd bēt.” ’ Yātrī khul-ke whā-sī khuṭ-ke
 of-thee near keeping take.” ’ So having-said there-from having-arisen
 khāpnō māwutē-kō pēsō baratē-kō māwutē wā-kū dūg-sē chhuman-ke
 own father-of near coming-on father him far-from having-seen
 mayā bar-ke chigīṭ-hiṭ-ke chithī lōtke chummā bētwādō.
 pity having-come run-gone-having embrace having-struck kiss took.
 Tab gelpō māwutē-kū chhōlō, ‘māwutē, mē tērō khagādī Khidēw-kā
 Then son father-to said, ‘father, I of-thee before God-of
 khagādī nūk kōlwādī. Ma-kū tērō gelpō kar-kū chulāvē
 before sin did. Me thy servant having-said should-be-called
 jin.’ Wā-sē māwutō khāpnō nākari-kū khulwādyō, ‘nirō gipadā
 not.’ That-to father own servants-to said, ‘good dress
 bēt-ke mērō gelpē-kū nirāw; khānglī-mē chundadī ghalōd, gōṇē-mē
 having-taken my son-to put-on; finger-on ring put, feet-on
 jōdakhā ghalōd; dūtnē-kū chhēgē kōlō. Hamē dūt-ke nuśāl
 shoes put; eating-for preparation make. We having-eaten merry
 hōbraṅgē; kā-chōlē-tō yē mērō gelpō lugīṭō-tō, nirku jik barō;
 shall-become; why-say-then this my son dead-was, again life came;
 nukīṭō-hiṭyāsō, dhimlō.’ Yē nhunke nablē nuśī hōbrē.
 lost-gone, was-found.’ This having-heard all glad became.

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

itnē naras tallakh tērō nākri kōl-ke kabī tērō rhāyadī
so-many years up-to thy service having-done ever thy word
 lugai naĩ. Nir-ke mē mērō nōs-kū dhimalā-lē-kē dūtan kōḷṇē-kē
broke not. But I my friends having-gathered feast making-of
 khāw-sē tū ma-kū khēk dhilyā bī kabī naĩ khichō. Nir-tū
reason-from thou me-to one kid even ever not gavest. But
 khirāṇḍ-kā naṅgāt-mē naḍ-ke tērō jingānī nab niṅgāḷ-bētēsō
harlots-of company-in having-fallen thy property all devoured-having
 yē tērō gelpō khōk-kū barē narābar tū wā-kē khāw-sē dūtan
this thy son house-to coming as-soon-as thou his sake-for feast
 kōḷ bētētō.' Māwutō gelpō-kū chhōlwāḍō, 'tū nabalē din
making given-hast.' Father son-to said, 'thou all days
 mērō hyā rhōkē. Mērō pēsō hōbrēsō nab tērō-ch. Lugiṭōsō tērō
of-me near art. Me-of near being all thine. Dead-being thy
 rhākḷō, nirkū jik barīṭō; nukīṭō hityāsō, dhimlō. Yēsō hamē nuśī
brother, again life came; lost gone, was-found. So we merry
 hōbarkū narābar hōbrē.'
to-become proper is.'

[No. 29.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYĀNWĀLĒ OR LHĀRĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Khêk nānd-mē dōg chōngnē chhōt nōs hōbrō. Khêk din
One village-in two beggars much friends were. One day
 dōgū dhimal-kē nar-dēs-kū hiṭ-kē khāw-sē niehār
both having-come-together other-country-to going-of sake-for thinking
 kōl-ke khāpnī pēsō hōbrēsō thōkō lōkō khêk khiswāsūk
having-made self near being little money one honest
 chhudīkī-kō nābē-mē khich-ke, 'hamē dōgū dhimal-ke
old-woman-of possession-in having-given, 'we both having-come-together
 chōngkū barē-tō yē ham-kū khichawād,' yēsē chōl-ke nimaḷ hiṭē.
asking-for come-if this us-to give,' so having-said away went.
 Khagāḍī thōkō din-kē khūpar wā-mē-sē khēklā nir-ke wā
Then few days-of upon them-in-of one having-returnd that
 ehhudīkī-kō pēsō hiṭ-ke, 'māwutī, mērō nōs rāṭ-mel lugīṭō;
old-woman-of near having-gone, 'mother, my friend road-on died;
 wā-kī khāw-sē hamārō lōkō khichawād,' yēsō khulwādyō. Ī chhōt
that-of sake-for our money give,' so said. She many
 nabab khulwāḍī, lēkin ū buṅkō naī. Nhēwaṭī i wā lōkō
excuses said, but he heard not. At-last she that money
 wā-kū khichō. Thōkō din-kē khūpar dukarō wā chhudīkī pēsō
him-to gave. Few days-of upon the-second that old-woman near
 bar-ke nēṭ chōngwāḍī. Tab wā chhudīkī, 'rhāklō, thōkō
having-come purse demanded. Then that old-woman, 'brother, few
 din-kā ripchē tērō nōs bar-ke, tū lugīṭō, yēsō chōl-ke
days-of behind thy friend having-come, thou diedst, so having-said
 lōkō chōngwāḍē. Wā-sē, "tum dōgū dhimal-ke barawād,"
money demanded. Him-to, "you both having-come-together come,"
 yēsō chhōt chōlwāḍō. Ū mērō rhāyaḍī naī buṅ-ke nulum-sē
so much said. He my word not having-heard force-with
 nab lōkō bētēṭō.' Wā-sē ū narkār-kō pēsō nirādē
all money took-away.' That-from he government-of near complainant

hiṭō. Tab narkār wā chhudikī-kū chulā-kū. bēt-kū nabaḷī
went. Then government that old-woman summoning-for having-given all
 nakhikat nuchō.
facts asked.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

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

KANJARĪ.

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

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

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

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

Number.

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- KIRKPATRICK, W.,—*Folk-songs and Folk-lore of the Gehara (Kanjars). ibidem, pp. 437ff.* Other papers by the same author are found *ibidem, pp. 669ff.* (Exogamous Septs of the Gehara Section of Kuchbandia Kanjars), and pp. 753ff. (Oaths and Ordeals of the Geharas (Kanjars) of the Delhi District). They do not deal with the language.

We are very insufficiently informed about the language of the Kanjars, and it is possible that in most districts they use the dialect of their surroundings. During the preliminary operations of this

Survey a dialect Kanjarī was returned from the following districts :—

United Provinces	6,735
Aligarh	800
Farrukhabad	435
Sitapur	3,000
Kheri	2,500
Central India	350
Gwalior	350
TOTAL . . .	7,085
	7,085

These figures are only loose estimates. Thus the number of Kanjars in Sitapur, where the estimated number of speakers was 3,000, was only 814 at the Census of 1901. On the other hand specimens of Kanjarī have been forwarded from Etawah and Belgaum, where no such dialect was reported to exist. The state of affairs is similar to that which we find in the case of other vagrant tribes. The Kanjars largely adopt the dialect of their neighbours. If they want to avoid being understood, however, they, or at least some of them, avail themselves of an artificial argot, in which there is a certain number of peculiar words and where, in addition to these, ordinary words are used, but often in an altered shape, so as to become unintelligible to outsiders. So far as we can judge from the specimens, however, Kanjarī differs from other Gipsy argots such as Naṭī in having a more uniform base. The prevailing language in Aligarh, Farrukhabad and Etawah is Western Hindī and in Sitapur and Kheri Eastern Hindī, while Kanarese and Marāṭhī predominate in Belgaum. The specimens received from all these districts, however, agree in so many particulars that we are almost justified in talking of a separate dialect. This dialect is, however, not a clearly defined form of speech, but a mixture of various languages, just as we should expect in the case of a vagrant tribe. But the mixture seems to be old and to have acquired a certain degree of constancy. The specimen received from Kheri, it is true, is written in Western Hindī, and only forms such as *dilāmē*, in the heart ; *basindā*, an inhabitant, show that the Kanjars from whose lips the specimen was taken down were not quite imbued with the grammar of that language. It seems likely that the Kheri specimen represents an attempt at talking Hindōstānī and not Kanjarī, and we can safely leave it out of consideration when trying to define the position of the latter. Also the Farrukhabad specimen is strongly influenced by Hindōstānī.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Often the syllable *wār* or *bār* is added; compare Myānwālē *wāḍ*, Dōm *uar*. Thus, *baḷ-wār*, dividing; *jībār-ō*, came to life (Sitapur); *sun-wār-ko*, having heard; *kar-wār-ō*, hast made (Belgaum); *baḷ-bār*, having divided; *lī-bbār-kē*, having taken; *ra-bbār-ō*, wast (Aligarh), and so forth. In the Belgaum specimens we sometimes find *wāḍ* instead of *wār*; thus, *mil-wāḍ-ō hē*, *mil-wāḍ-dō*, and *mil-wār-ō*, he is found; *tud-wāḍ-ō*, broke; *paḍ-wāḍ-ko*, having fallen, and so forth. It seems probable that we should compare the Mārwarī termination *ṛō*, which is so frequently added pleonastically. We may also compare the causal terminations Mārwarī *wāw*, Jaipurī *āḍ*, Gujarātī *āw*, *āḍ*. Forms such as *Khanēṭō karwārō hai*, thou hast made a feast; *charwārdō*, grazing; *bandwār līnō*, I have taken having caused it to be attached to me, I have committed, in the Belgaum specimen, are perhaps actually causals. In most cases, however, the addition of *wār* does not seem to affect the meaning.

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

In the future we find *s* forms in Aligarh and Sitapur and *g* forms in Farrukhabad and Belgaum. Compare *kahsū*, I will say; *karugasā*, we will do (Aligarh); *lakhāwsū*, I will say; *lugaoghasī*, thou wilt beat, he will beat (Sitapur); *huggā*, it will be; *jāwāgā*, I shall go (Farrukhabad); *hōwungā*, I shall be; *kuṭungō*, I shall beat (Belgaum). Similar forms are found in Mārwarī, but more properly belong to Eastern Rājasthānī. In Etawah we find forms such as *jānḍ*, I shall go; *kahnḍ*, I shall say. They may be compared with the Jaipurī forms ending in *lō*. Compare also Naipālī.

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

¹ The termination *rō* may also be a contraction of *rahō* and *rs* of *rahēs*, both meaning 'was,' and the latter being the Awadhī form. In many dialects, especially in Western Pahārī, this is added to the conjunctive participle to form a past tense. Thus *ārō* may be for *ā-rahō*, and so for the others. According to native grammarians, *rahnē* is the 'sister' of *konē*.—G. A. G.

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

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

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

Kanjarĩ contains some peculiar words of the same kind as similar forms of speech. Such are *lug*, die ; *lugai*, beat (Sitapur) ; *chũbõkõ*, son (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *tipũ*, bread (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *jhũkil*, dog (Sitapur) ; *dũt*, eat (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *thũr*, eat (Belgaum) ; *jhuraĩ*, fire (Sitapur) ; *gunḍãlẽ*, foot (Belgaum) ; *gurãrõ*, foot (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *tiũr*, give (Sitapur) ; *kĩdõ*, give (Belgaum) ; *riõ*, house (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *nandõ*, house (Belgaum) ; *kãjarõ*, man (Etawah) ; *kãjarõ*, man (Belgaum) ; *najaũ*, man (Sitapur) ; *tig*, see (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *nĩmãni*, water (Sitapur) ; *nivãni*, water (Belgaum), and so forth. Some of the words in use among Kanjars have a Dravidian look. Compare *pãḍõ*, bull ; *awarõ*, comes ; *kĩdõ*, give, in the Belgaum specimens, with Tamil *mãḍu*, bull ; *vãra*, come ; *koḍu*, give, respectively, and *tiũr*, give (Sitapur), with Tamil *tãra*, give. Mr. Kirkpatrick mentions several more such words, such as *dhimrĩ*, bread ; *ghamẽlã*, sun ; *khainch*, thief ; *khuth*,

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

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

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

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

Cerebrals are used as disguising letters in words such as *ṭakhnī*, eye; *ḍharib*, poor; *ḍhilāp*, against (Urdū *khilāf*); *ḍhusī*, merry (Sitapur); *ḍharrō*, big (Aligarh).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

An element *eṭō* or *ēṭhō* is comparatively often added. Thus, *papēṭō*, sin ; *malēṭhō*, property (Aligarh) ; *hattēṭō*, hand ; *khanēṭō*, food (Belgaum).

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

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

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

[No. 30.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

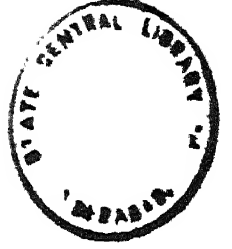
KANJIARĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT SITAPUR.

Bēk najau dubelū chūbhā raughasā. Bithi-mā^ñ chhutārō bap-hēlā-sē
One man(-of) two sons were. Them-in small-one father-to
 lakhāmdō, 'bap-hēlū, merō hiselū jō khujārā-sē niphre, sō tiūr.'
said, 'father, my share which property-from comes, that give.'
 Bihi baṭwār tiūris. Thurārā din-hēlā chhutārō chūbkō
He having-divided gave. Few days-in small son
 ramā-kar-kē rūlak chailō gaughirō, baur apnō malhēlō
together-having-made country(-to) moved went, and own property
 khurāo dīnhis. Jab sab khurāo tiūris, birō rōlkō barō khakkāl
wasted gave. When all wasted gave, that in-country big famine
 parghirō, baur dharib hō-gaō. Tab us rōlkō-mā^ñ bēk
fell, and poor becoming-went. Then that country-in one
 ralakh khādmī tīr raughan lagirō. Birō apnō nētū ghurghur
wealthy man near to-live began. He own field swine
 charāwnē pathāis. Birō chaughirō bhus-hēlī jō ghurghur dūtā-dāī
to-feed sent. He wished husks which swine eating-were
 dūt-kē piṭ-hēlō bharighis. Nak-hēlū kōī na tiūris. Tab
having-eaten belly may-fill. But anybody not gave. Then
 khōsō ān-kē lakhāis, 'mērē bap-hēlā tīr ranjūrā-kū ṭipūī bahut
in-senses having-come said, 'my father near servants-to bread much
 rach-raughirī, baur maī chhūkā-sē lugdaū. Maī khunar-kē
saved-remained, and I hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen
 bap-hēlā tīr jaughisō, baur birō-sē lakhāwsū, " aī bap-hēlā, maī-nē
father near will-go, and him-to will-say, " O father, me-by
 kasmānō-kē dīhilāp baur tērē khāgēlē papēlō karōghis; maī tērō
heaven-of against and of-thee before sin done-was; I thy
 chūbkō lakhāibāwālō nahī. Mōh-kū ranjūrā-kī nāī ranāi." " Tab
son one-to-be-called not. Me servants-of like make." " Then
 bihi apnō bap-hēlā tīr gaughirō. Abhaī woh durhēlū, birō-kē
ne own father near went. Yet he far-was, his
 bap-hēlā tik-kē ramta kīnhis, baur rapaṭ-kē urō-kō dhalē
father having-seen pity did, and having-run him-to on-neck
 lagāi liūghis, baur rahut chumhēlō. Chūbkō kaughis, ' bap-hēlā,
attaching took, and much kissed. Son said, ' father,

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



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

**"Forwarded with the specimens from the
Ministry of Education, Government of India."**

[No. 31.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT KHERI.

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

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

[No. 32.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT ALIGARH

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

bahut chummī lis. Bāpō-sē baṭrā-nē kairsan ki, 'ē bāpū, tērē
many kisses took. Father-to son-by said-was that, 'O father, of-thee
 āgē Bhagwānō-kō papēṭō kērō; maī tērō chūbkō kahwā lāk na
before God-of sin was-done; I thy son to-say worthy not
 rahrō.' Tab bāpō-nē naukar-chākṛā-sē lakhārs ki, 'khachchā-mē
remained.' Then father-by servants-to said that, 'good-in
 khachchā ṭūpkā likārō aur irā-kū pēḍāwō; aur irā-kē khatēlā-mē
good clothes bring and him-to put-on; and him-of hand-on
 chhapēlī pēḍā til aur irā-kā guṛārā-mē guṛārīā dār til. Chalō,
ring putting give and him-of foot-on shoes putting give. Come,
 khusī karugasā, kit-kū-ki mērō ji baṭrō mar-gōgirō, phēr jī
merry we-shall-make, because my this son dead-gone-is, again alive
 parigurō; ji jaugadō rairō thō, phēr ā-gōgirō.' Aur sab khusī
fell; he lost remaining was, again came.' And all merry
 karnū lagirō.
to-make began.

Urō ghaṛiyē urō-kō baṛō baṭrō nētā-mē thō. Urō augirō aur jab
That at-time him-of big son fields-in was. He came and when
 ribō-kē ṭhaurē pahūchigirō, urō-nē gāwā-kō aur nāchwā-kō khabās
house-of near came, him-by singing-of and dancing-of sound
 sunigulis. Aur urō-nē ēkō nukreṭhā bulārs aur lakhārs ki, 'ji
was-heard. And him-by one servant called and said that, 'this
 kā hubbāi rairi?' Aur urō-nē urō-sē ji lakhārs ki, 'tērō chhōṭō
what going-on is?' And him-by him-to this said that, 'thy small
 bhaiyarā bagadi augirō. Tērā bāpō-nē khātari karī-gursē, kit-kū-ki urō
brother returning came. Thy father-by feast done-was, because he
 achchhō nīkō ā-gōgirō.' Tab urō-kū ris ā-gōgiri; bithi-sē urō-kō bapēṭō
good well came.' Then him-to anger came; therefore him-of father
 ribō-sē likari-kē augadō rairō urō-kō manālō. Urō-nē bapēṭā-kū
house-from having-come-out come was him entreated. Him-by father-to
 ūtar dīs, 'tū bāp tigi, itnā barsā-sē maī-nē tērī khēbari
answer was-given, 'thou father see, so-many years-from me-by thy service
 kērī; kabhai tērī batēli ḍiraurī nā; tau-bī tē-nē ēk rakriā-kō
was-done; ever thy word was-broken not; still thee-by one goat-of
 rachchā mō-kū na tillō ki apnā khyārā-kē saṅg rauj urādō;
young-one me-to not was-given that own friends-of with merry might-make;
 pari jaisē ji tērō chūbkō ārō, irō-nē hurikiāpēchō-mē malēṭhō sab
but when this thy son came, him-by adultery-in property all
 urā dīs, tē-nē urō-kē linē paṭēlī dīni.' Urō-nē
squandering gave, thee-by him-of for-the-sake feast was-given.' Him-by

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

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

[No. 33.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARĪ.

SPECIMEN IV.

DISTRICT ETAWAH.

Kisi k̄ājarō-kē dō baṭrā thē. Ōchhō baṭrā-nē dā-sē kahī
Some man-of two sons were. Small son-by father-to it-was-said

ki, 'arē dā, bihārō-mē jō mērō rīkā hai, mērō dē-dē.'
that, 'O father, property-in which my share is, mine give.'

Tab us-nē un-kō apnī bihārō b̄aṭṭ dīnā. Bahut din
Then him-by them-to own property having-divided was-given. Many days

[na] hōgā kī ōchhō baṭrā sab kuchh ikatṭhā kar-kē dūsre
[not] became that small son all whatever together having-made other

mulk-kō gawā aur apnī bihārō urāwā. Tab wā mulk-mē
country-to went and own wealth was-squandered. Then that country-in

barō akāl pairō aur wah kaṅgāl hō gawā. Aur wā
big famine fell and he destitute becoming went. And that

mulk-kē rahandō-mē-sē ēk-kī yahā rahan lagō, jis-nē usē apnē
country-of inhabitants-in-from one-of with to-live began, whom-by him own

khētō-mē suar charān jādō. Aur un chhimiyo-sē jinhē suar
fields-in swine to-tend was-sent. And those husks-from which swine

khātē thē apnō udrō bhar linhis, aur kōi na dēnē tō. Tab
eating were own belly filling took, and anybody not to-give was. Then

usē chētany huē, tab wā-nē kahī ki, 'mērē dā-kē
to-him senses came, then him-by it-was-said that, 'my father-of

kitnē majūrō-kō jāfat-sē barh rōṭī hōṭī hai, aur maī
how-many servants-to food-from more bread becoming is, and I

bhūkhō maddō hū. Maī uṭh-kē apnē dā ḍhīg jānō aur
with-hunger dying am. I having-arisen own father near will-go and

wā-sē kahnō ki, "hē dā, maī-nē baikunṭh-kē ultē āp-kē sūdhē
him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by heaven-of against you-of before

pāp karō hai. Maī phir āp-kā baṭrā kahānē kām-kā nahī.
sin done is. I again your-Honour-of son to-be-called worthy not.

Mujhē apnē majūrō-mē-sē ēk-kē barabbar karwā."'
Me own servants-in-from one-of like make."'

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

[No. 34.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARÍ.

SPECIMEN V.

DISTRICT FARRUKHABAD.

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

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

[No. 35.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARĪ.

SPECIMEN, VI.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekkaṇ	kājarō-ku	jaudō	baidā	handā.	Unā-mā	nunkō	baidō	
<i>One</i>	<i>man-to</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>sons</i>	<i>were.</i>	<i>Them-among</i>	<i>younger</i>	<i>son</i>	
apaṇē	bāpō-ku	sidārō,	‘bāpō,	tērō	jindgī-mā	mērō	ēwākō	hissō
<i>own</i>	<i>father-to</i>	<i>said,</i>	<i>‘father,</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>property-in</i>	<i>mine</i>	<i>coming</i>	<i>share</i>
mau-ku	kidō.’	Bāpō-nē	unā-mā	apaṇi	jindgī	baṭwārrō.	Nunkō	
<i>me-to</i>	<i>give.’</i>	<i>Father-by</i>	<i>them-among</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>divided.</i>	<i>Younger</i>	
baidō	apaṇi	hissō	lēwar-ko	dūr	gaū-kō	nikhar-ko	bahut	din
<i>son</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>share</i>	<i>taking</i>	<i>far</i>	<i>village-to</i>	<i>having-gone</i>	<i>many</i>	<i>days</i>
hōrā-nā	ittā-mā	ē	dundī	hōwār-ko	apaṇi	jindgī	sab	
<i>became-not</i>	<i>this-much-in</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>riotous</i>	<i>having-become</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>all</i>	
luṭwārrō.	Ē	aisō	karwār-ko	khūpar	wō	mulkō-mā	chibaddō	dukāl
<i>wasted.</i>	<i>He</i>	<i>thus</i>	<i>having-done</i>	<i>after</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>country-in</i>	<i>big</i>	<i>famine</i>
girwār-ko	urū-kī	garībī	awarri.	Ē	wō	mulkō-mā	ekkaṇ	
<i>having-fallen</i>	<i>him-of</i>	<i>poverty</i>	<i>came.</i>	<i>He</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>country-in</i>	<i>one</i>	
kājarā-kē	pās	naukrī	rhairō.	Wō	kājarō	urō-ku	ḍukrē	charāwā-ku
<i>man-of</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>in-service</i>	<i>stayed.</i>	<i>That</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>swine</i>	<i>feeding-for</i>
apaṇi	khētō-ku	lagā-dīnū.	Whā	bhūkō-dē	talmal-ko	ḍukrē		
<i>own</i>	<i>field-to</i>	<i>employing-gave.</i>	<i>There</i>	<i>hunger-from</i>	<i>having-suffered</i>	<i>swine</i>		
khāndāsō	bhussō-bī	thūr-ko	pētō	bharwār-lēndō,	phir-tu	urū-ku		
<i>eaten</i>	<i>husks-even</i>	<i>having-eaten</i>	<i>belly</i>	<i>filling-took,</i>	<i>but</i>	<i>him-to</i>		
kirō-kē	pās-dē	kā-bī	milwārō-nā.	Aisō-ch	thōḍā	din		
<i>anybody-of</i>	<i>near-from</i>	<i>anything-even</i>	<i>was-got-not.</i>	<i>Thus</i>	<i>few</i>	<i>days</i>		
hurā,	apaṇi	pichawāḍkē	batēli	yād	hōwār-ko	ē	apaṇi	
<i>became,</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>former</i>	<i>state</i>	<i>remembrance</i>	<i>having-become</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>own</i>	
jī-mā	dusārō,	‘mērō	bāpō-kē	hyā	aisā	bahutdē	naukrā-ku	pētō
<i>mind-in</i>	<i>said,</i>	<i>‘my</i>	<i>father-of</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>many</i>	<i>servants-to</i>	<i>belly</i>
bharwār-ko	jāsti	hōwār-ittō	khanētō	milwāḍḍō;	phir-tu	hyā		
<i>having-filled</i>	<i>excess</i>	<i>becoming-so-much</i>	<i>food</i>	<i>is-got;</i>	<i>but</i>	<i>here</i>		
maī-tō	bhukā-dē	mardū.	Maī	khuṭ-ko	mērō	bāpō-kē		
<i>I-on-my-side</i>	<i>hunger-from</i>	<i>dying-am.</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>having-arisen</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>father-of</i>		
hyā	nikhar-ko	dusārō,	“bāpō,	maī	mahābūb-kō	pāp	awar	
<i>there</i>	<i>having-gone</i>	<i>say,</i>	<i>“O-father,</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>God-of</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>and</i>	

bāpō-kō pāp bandwār linō. Maĩ tērō baidō kar-ko bōl-lēwā-ku
father-of sin attaching took. I thy son saying to-be-called
 byādīk-mā; mau-ku ekkaṇ naukrō-kē sarikō tērō najīk rakhwār-tē.””
worthy-not; me one servant-of like of-thee near keeping-take.””
 Ē whā-dē khut-ko apanī bāpō-kē pās awardō, bāpō-nē urō-ku
He there-from having-arisen own father-of near coming, father-by him-to
 dūrū-dē dikhwār-ko mayā awar-ko bhagwār-nikhar-ko chaukaḍ-
far-from having-seen pity having-come running-going embrace-
 lē-ko chummā dīnō. Tabi baidō bāpō-ku dusārō, ‘bāpō,
having-taken kiss was-given. Then son father-to said, ‘father,
 maĩ mahābūb-kā sambūr tērō sambūr takhśīr karō-hū. Mau-ku
I God-of before of-thee before sin done-have. Me
 tērō baidō kar-ko dusār-nō-nā.’ Use bāpō-nē apanē naukrē-ku
thy son having-said to-be-said-not.’ That father-by own servants-to
 sidārō, ‘uñchō libās lawar-ko mērō baidā-ku pināw; uñgalya-mā
was-said, ‘high dress having-brought my son-to put-on; finger-on
 aṅgōtī ḍalwārō, guṇḍālē-mā jūtā ḍalwārō; khanētā-kī tayārī
ring put, feet-on shoes put; dinner-of preparation
 karwār. Hamē thur-kō khuśāl hōwuṅgā. Kaikutu yō mērō
make. We having-eaten merry shall-become. Because this my
 baidō mar-gōdō, phir jān awarri; gawānde-gaudō, millō-hē.’ Yē
son died, again life came; lost-gone, found-is.’ This
 sunwār-ko sārā khuśāl hurā.
having-heard all merry became.

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

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

[No. 36.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARĪ.

SPECIMEN VII.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Baidō, maĩ kōn? mērō nām kā? urō-ku mālum hē kā? Maĩ
Boy, I who? my name what? you-to known is what? I
 agarib-dē āndū, awar maĩ ārō barōbar din nigarō. Yō uṭawā-ko
east-from come, and I come immediately day comes. You arising
 bakhat hurrō-to maĩ mērō sunnā-kē sarikō hattētō tērō khiḍkī-mā-dē
time comes-then I my gold-of like hand your window-in-from
 lambō karwār-ko yurō-ku uṭhāndū. Yō bichhānā-pō paḍwāḍ rhaiko
stretched having-made you awaken. You bed-on falling remaining
 wāsdē maĩ āndū-nā. Yō uṭwār-ko nhawā-ku wāsdē kitāb paḍwā-ke
for I come-not. You having-risen to-bathe for books to-read
 wāsdē sāli-ku nikharwā-ke wāsdē maĩ āndū. Maĩ nirō chalwārnēwālō hū.
for school-to to-go for I come. I good walker am.
 Maĩ rastō chalwār-ko asmān-mā phir-ko awarwā-ku ekkaṇ din
I road having-walked sky-in returning coming-for one day
 hōnū. Maĩ kabī thagadū-nā, rahāt-bī-nā. Mērō śir-pō jhalak
becomes. I ever get-tired-not, halt-also-not. My head-on shining
 sunnā-ki tāj hē. Us-kī chamakdē maĩ chau-taraph phēkadū-hē.
gold-of crown is. That-of light I four-directions throwing-am.
 Niwānī-pō nandā-pō dzhādā-pō mērō jhāl phailāndū. Mērō chamakdē girrōsō,
Water-on houses-on trees-on my rays spread. My light fallen,
 sab chijē khapsūrat awar rōśānī najar āndī. Maĩ yurō-ku ujālō dēndū,
all things beautiful and shining sight go. I you-to light give,
 awar dhūp bī maĩ-ch dēndū. Maĩ phalāri awar anāj pakāndū. Maĩ
and sunshine also I-alone give. I fruit and corn ripen. I
 asmānō-mā bahut khuñchō hū. Sabī dzhādān-dē dōngarān-dē abar-dē
sky-in much high am. All trees-than mountains-than clouds-than
 maĩ khuñchō hū.
I high am.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

KUCHBANDHĪ.

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

[No. 37.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

KUCHBANDHĪ DIALECT.

DISTRICT BAHRAICH.

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

NAṬĪ.

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

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

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

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

Bengal	4,584
Bhagalpur	4,584
United Provinces	6,950
Aligarh	250
Mainpuri	2,000
Etawah	400
Bijnor	1,000
Rampur	300
Kheri	2,500
Bahraich	500
	TOTAL . 11,534

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

Naṭ Argot.

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

As in the case of *Sāsī* the argot of the Naṭṣ contains several peculiar words such as *bōrā*, boy; *būnā*, *chhaṭī*, water; *chhumkar*, day; *chilapnā*, go; *dimnā*, *dūtnā*, eat; *gēm*, *gaim*, thief; *kājā*, cultivator, squire; *khollā*, house; *khum*, mouth; *lagnā*, die; *lōd*, *nāḍ*, bull; *nāl*, night; *tiyārgā*, that (person or thing) concerned; *ṭōgnā*, drink; *ṭunḍā*, pig, and so forth. Most of such words are known from other argots and dialects such as *Sāsī* and cannot yet be explained etymologically. Some such terms taken down from the mouth of some Tasmabāz residents of Cawnpore have been printed on pp. 314-316 of the *Selections from the Government Records North Western Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. i. 1862.

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

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

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

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

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

Of dental substitutes we may note *thāmnē* = *sāmnē*, before (Rampur), and the frequent use of *n*, *nh*; thus, *nēt* = *khēt*, field; *nātti* = *chhātī*, breast; *nautāj* = *mohtāj*, wanting; *namā* = *samā*, together (Mainpuri); *nīchhē* = *pīchhē*, after; *nanmēśwar* = *parmēśwar*, God; *nāth* = *sāt*, seven; *nū* = *tū*, thou; *nē* = *thē*, were; *nhē* = *chhē*, six (Rampur), and so forth.

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

Of other substitutes we may note *l* in *lilpā* = *chalā*, went; *lalchālī* = *badchālī*, bad conduct (Mainpuri); *r* in *rān* = *kān*, ear; *rahat* = *khēt*, field (Rampur); *rōṭka* = *chhōṭā*, small; *rabthō* = *sab*, all (Bhagalpur), and so on. *R* is also used instead of *g* in the List of Words and Sentences from Rampur printed below on pp. 180ff., in the word *tiyārgī rāē*, cow, where *rāē* corresponds to Hindōstānī *gāē*, while *tiyārgī* is a pronoun meaning 'that thing just mentioned.'

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

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

[No. 38.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BAISIYĀ).

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Bēg rajēttē-kē dhōr batrā hoichchē. Uthī-mē-thi khōtē batrā-nē
One man-of two sons were. Them-in-from small son-by
 chhūarā-thi kaugā ki, 'ēyō chhūarā, khimālai-kā khissā khimōrā
father-to it-was-said that, 'O father, property-of share mine
 hoichchā hai thō khujhē deppi deppō.' Tō tabī uthī-nē khimālai-kī
becoming is that me having-given give.' And then him-by property-of
 kāt kulli deppā. Thōrē khinō-kē khād khōtē batrē-nē sabī
shares having-made was-given. Few days-of after small son-by all
 kuchh namā kull-kē bēg dūr-kī khulk-kō līpā. Wahā khapnā
whatever together having-made one distant country-to went. There own
 khimālai kuchāli khurāē deppā. Aur jabī sabī
property in-bad-conduct having-wasted was-given. And when all
 hoichchī gaugā uthī khulk-mē jharā khakāl hoichchā, aur wah
having-ceased went that country-in big famine became, and he
 nautāj hoichchī gaugā. Tabī uthī khulk-kā bēg rajēttō chindā
in-want having-become went. Then that country of one man rich
 hoichchō, jithī-kē wah ligpi jālurā. Aur uthī-nē uthī-kō khapnē
was, whom-of he employed went. And him-by him own
 nētō-mē taundā dimānē-kō khutāi deppā. Aur wah lugtā
fields-in swine feeding-for having-sent was-given. And he dying
 hoichchā ki uthī chhilkō-thē jō taundā dimmatā hoichchā, khapnā
became that those husks-from which pig eating was, own
 khētāi jharī leppē, kī kōi uthē deppatā khatī hoichchā.
belly having-filled may-take, as anyone him giving not was.
 Jabī khōs-mē ālurā, kaugā, 'khimērē chhūarā-kē khitnē kōdmī
When sense-in came, it-was-said, 'my father-of so-many men(-to)
 tāwali hoichchatī hai; māi chhūkal lugtā hū. Māi khutā-kē khapnē
bread becoming is; I by-hunger dying am. I having-arisen own
 chhūarā pās līpūgā aur uthī-thē kaugūgā ki, "ēyō chhūarā, māi-nē
father near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by
 khagās-kā aur tērā jhurā kullā; abī ithī nāik khatī rahyō hoichchū
heaven-of and of-thee sin was-done; now this fit not remained at

ki tērā batrā kaugī deppī jālurō. Khujhē khapnē
that thy son having-said having-given I-may-go. Me own

kōdmī-mē-thē bēg-kī nāfik khanāi leppō.”” Tabī khuth-kē khapnē
men-in-from one-of like having-taken take.”” Then having-arisen own

chhūarā pās lilpā. Aur wah abī dūr hoichchā ki uthī-kō naukhtē
father near went. And he yet far was that him seeing

khī uthī-kē chhūarā-kō miār ālurā, aur lilp-kē uthī-kō nātti-thē
immediately him-of father-to love came, and having-gone him breast-to

ligpāi leppā aur uthī-kē khitnē khīṭā leppī leppā.
having-clasped was-taken and him-of so-many kisses having-taken were-taken.

Batrē-nē uthī-thī kaugā ki, ‘ēyō chhūarā, māī-nē khagās-kā aur
Son-by him-to it-was-said that, ‘O father, me-by heaven-of and

tērā jhurā kullā, aur khatī ki phir tērā batrā kōi kaugē.’
of-thee sin was-done, and it-is-not that again thy son anyone may-call.’

Chhūarā-nē khapnē kōdmīyō-thī kaugī deppā ki, ‘chindā chindā
Father-by own men-to having-said it-was-given that, ‘good good

tūpkē leppī ālurō, aur uthī deppī deppō; aur uthī-kī
clothes having-taken come, and to-him having-given give; and him-of

khaṅguri-mē khaṅgūṭhī aur uthī-kē pāw-mē rēwriyā khaināi deppō; aur
finger-on ring and him-of feet-on shoes having-put-on give; and

hamī dimmē aur nusī khanāē ki yah. mērā batrā lugi jālurā
we may-eat and merry may-make as this my son having-died gone

hoichchē, thō chindā ālurā; hurā bī khatī hoichchē jānē kiyā
was, he alive come; anywhere even not is to-know where

gaugī rā, abī ālurā hoichchē.’ Tabī nusī kullnē raugā.
having-gone stayed, now come is.’ Then merry to-make began.

Aur uthī-kā jharā batrā nētō-mē hoichchā. Jabī khakān-kē-tē ālurā
And him-of big son fields-in was. When house-of-near came

aur khinch-kī khawāj namjā, tabī bēg kōdmī-kō kaugā ki, ‘yē
and dancing-of sound was-heard, then one man-to it-was-said that, ‘this

kyā hoichchā hai?’ Aur uthī-nē bithē kaugā ki, ‘tērā jhaiyā
what become is?’ And him-by to-him it-was-said that, ‘thy brother

ālurā hoichchē, aur tērē chhūarā-nē jharī chindī dimmnā-kō kullā hai ki
come is, and thy father-by very good feasting-for made is as

bithē chindā ālurā naukhā.’ Uthī-nē kiṭhā hoichchī gaugā ki
him well come was-seen.’ Him-bu angry having-become went that

bith khakān-kē khandar khatī jālurē. Tabī uthī-kē chhūarā-nē biyā-thē
that house-of inside not will-go. Then him-of father-by there-from

ālur-kē uthī namjāyā. Uthī-nē chhūarā-thī cheotō-mē kauga,
having-come him it-was-entreated. Him-by father-to answer-in it-was-said,

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

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

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ (BAISIYĀ).

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Khēk	makassē	dōs	mētēbē	thē.	Un-mā-sē	mōṭāchhē-nē	
<i>One</i>	<i>man-to</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>sons</i>	<i>were.</i>	<i>Them-in-from</i>	<i>younger-by</i>	
mahā,	'māpbē,	khimāl-kā	khissā	khimērā	mujhē	dē.'	Tab
<i>it-was-said,</i>	<i>'father,</i>	<i>property-of</i>	<i>share</i>	<i>mine</i>	<i>to-me</i>	<i>give.'</i>	<i>Then</i>
us-nē	khimāl	unhē	māṭī	diyā.	Thōrai	din-kē	māt
<i>him-by</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>to-them</i>	<i>dividing</i>	<i>was-given.</i>	<i>Few</i>	<i>days-of</i>	<i>after</i>
mōṭochhē	mētēbē	sab-kō	mahāj	kar-kē	khēk	dūr-kī	chhulak-kō
<i>younger</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>together</i>	<i>having-done</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>distant</i>	<i>country-to</i>
mupērsē	kiyā.	Wahā	apnā	māl	ladchālī	khurpāyā.	
<i>journey</i>	<i>was-made.</i>	<i>There</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>in-bad-conduct</i>	<i>was-squandered.</i>	
Jab	sab	mir-chukā-kir-chukā	us	chhulak-mē	barā	khakāl	parā.
<i>When</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>had-been-wasted-away</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>country-in</i>	<i>big</i>	<i>famine</i>	<i>fell.</i>
Khus	chhulak-mē	khēk	khirais-kē	yahā	khajā	lagā.	
<i>That</i>	<i>country-in</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>squire-of</i>	<i>place</i>	<i>having-gone</i>	<i>was-employed.</i>	
Khus-nē	khusē	khapnē	mētkhē	muarsē	charāban	gōchū.	Wah
<i>Him-by</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>in-fields</i>	<i>swine</i>	<i>to-feed</i>	<i>it-was-sent.</i>	<i>He</i>
māhtā	thā	khi	khun	mirkāchhē	jō	muarsē	matēkhē,
<i>wishing</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>those</i>	<i>husks</i>	<i>which</i>	<i>swine</i>	<i>eat,</i>
maīṭayai	bharē,	khi	kōī	khusē	na	dētā	thā.
<i>belly</i>	<i>may-fill,</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>anyone</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>giving</i>	<i>was.</i>
hōsh-mē	bhayō-chhā,	mahā	ki,	'merē	māpbē-kē	mājūrā-kō	
<i>sense-in</i>	<i>become-had,</i>	<i>it-was-said</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>'my</i>	<i>father-of</i>	<i>servants-to</i>	
bahut	kharōṭī	haī.	Khimaī	bhūkhō	martā	hū.	Khimaī
<i>much</i>	<i>bread</i>	<i>are.</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>with-hunger</i>	<i>dying</i>	<i>am.</i>	<i>I</i>
khuth-kē	apnē	māpbē-kē	pās	jāūgā	aur	khusē	kahūgā,
<i>having-arisen</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>father-of</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>will-go</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>to-him</i>	<i>will-say,</i>
māpbē,	khāsmān-kā	khaur	mērātē	munāgai	kiyā ;	ab	is
<i>father,</i>	<i>heaven-of</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>of-thee</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>was-done ;</i>	<i>now</i>	<i>this</i>
lāik	naithū	rōchhū	khi	tērā	mētābē	kahlāyū ;	mujhē
<i>fit</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>may-be-called ;</i>	<i>mē</i>
mājūrā-mē	khēk-sā	banā." "	Tabkhī	khuth-kē	apnē	māpbē-kē	
<i>servants-in</i>	<i>one-like</i>	<i>make." "</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>having-arisen</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>father-of</i>	

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

Tū-nē	kabhi	khaik	makarbī-kā	bachchā	na	diyā	ki		
<i>Thee-by</i>	<i>ever</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>goat-of</i>	<i>young-one</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>was-given</i>	<i>that</i>		
apnē	mōstdē-kē	māsthē	musikhē	manāyũ.	Jab	yah	mētābē		
<i>own</i>	<i>friends-of</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>merry</i>	<i>might-make.</i>	<i>When</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>son</i>		
tērā	āyō	jā-nē	tērā	māl	mēshyāē-mē	urāyō,	tū-nē		
<i>thy</i>	<i>came</i>	<i>whom-by</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>harlots-among</i>	<i>was-wasted,</i>	<i>thee-by</i>		
khus-kē	liyē	barī	māftaj	karpī.'	Khus-nē	khus-sē			
<i>him-of</i>	<i>sake-for</i>	<i>big</i>	<i>feast</i>	<i>was-made.'</i>	<i>Him-by</i>	<i>him-to</i>			
lōpī,	'ai	mētēbē,	tū	sadā	mērē	māsyai	hai,	aur	
<i>it-was-said,</i>	<i>'O</i>	<i>son,</i>	<i>thou</i>	<i>always</i>	<i>of-me</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>art,</i>	<i>and</i>	
jō-kuchh	mērā	hai	sō	khitērā	hai.	Khimusikhē	manānā		
<i>whatever</i>	<i>mine</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>thine</i>	<i>is.</i>	<i>Merry</i>	<i>to-make</i>		
khisuskhē	hōnā	marūrjē	thā,	myũ-ki	tērā	yah	mabhāi	marluk	
<i>happy</i>	<i>to-be</i>	<i>necessary</i>	<i>was,</i>	<i>because</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>brother</i>	<i>dead</i>	
gayō,	sō	mijiyāō ;	aur	mukhāē	gayō	thō,	sō	ab	milyō
<i>went,</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>revived ;</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>lost</i>	<i>gone</i>	<i>was,</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>now</i>	<i>found</i>
hai.'									
is.'									

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

[No. 40.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

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

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

[No. 41.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ (BĒRIYĀ).

SPECIMEN IV.

DISTRICT ETAWAH.

Kēhū tēhā-kē khadōē bōhrā thē. Uhi-mā-sē lahurā-nē
Some man-of two sons were. Them-in-from younger-by
 khabāptā-sē kahā, 'arē khabāptā, pūjī-māhī-sē jō hamārā
father-to it-was-said, 'O father, property-in-from which my
 nāṭṭīlī hōē uh ham-kā bāṭhē.' Tab uh-nē uh-kō apnī māyā
share may-be that me-to divide.' Then him-by him-to own wealth
 nāṭṭīlī kar dī. Bōhit dīn nāhī kaṭē ki lahurā
shares having-made was-given. Many days not passed that younger
 bōhrā sārī pūjī ikṭhī kar anthā chhāē
son all property together having-made another-country having-gone
 rahyō.
stayed.

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

[No. 42.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (PAHĀRĪ BHĀBAR).

SPECIMEN V.

STATE RAMPUR.

Bik	kudmī-kē	dhōr	nīklē	rahlē.	Khalōhrā-nē	bāpsā-sē		
One	man-of	two	sons	were.	Younger-by	father-to		
kūkā	ke,	'bāpsā,	khaṭum-kā	jaṭup	mōhē	dīp-dēō.'	Bōr	
it-was-said	that,	'father,	property-of	share	me-to	give.'	And	
bappā-nē	dīp-diyā.	Nihōrgā	khadin	nīchhē	khalōhrā	nīklē-nē	chhōd	
father-by	was-given.	Few	days	after	younger	son-by	much	
bīkhtā	kōrlā	bōr	khadūr-kē	nīdhwā-kū	gōghā	bōr	khaṭum	
together	was-made	and	distance-of	country-to	went	and	substance	
bināli-nē	raharch	hupī	gōkī.	Phin	ōh	nīdhwā-kē	bīk	
riotousness-in	spent	becoming	went.	Then	that	country-of	one	
khamir-kē	rōhlē	gōghā.	Ōh-nē	rahtō-nē	ṭuṇḍā	nukānē	rahlā	
rich-man-of	house	went.	Him-by	fields-in	pigs	to-graze	was-sent.	
Bōr	ōhē	khapiā	rahlī	ke	ōh	kōbō-sē	jō	ṭuṇḍā
And	his	desire	was	that	those	husks-from	which	pigs
haī	āpan	khanēt	thēklē.	Phin	ōh-nē	kūkā	ke,	'mōhrē
are	own	belly	may-fill.	Then	him-by	it-was-said	that,	'my
chhīntē	haī;	uhaī	ṭāōli	haī;	bōr	mēh	chhukā	lugtā
servants	are;	to-them	bread	are;	and	I	hungry	dying
Mēh	āpan	bāpsā-kē	ḍhigē	chilpūngā	bōr	ōh-sē	kukūngā	ke,
I	own	father-of	near	will-go	and	him-to	will-say	that,
"bāpsā,	mēh-nē	ākās	bōr	tōhrē	thāmnē	rasōr	kēli;	
"father,	me-by	heaven	and	of-thee	before	sin	was-made;	
ab	mōhē	āpnē	chhīntē	sāhī	karbō."	Ōh	bāpsā-kē	
now	me	own	servant	like	make."	He	father-of	
ḍhigē	chilpā.	Bōr	ōh	khadūr	rahlā	ke	ōhē	nūkh-kar
near	went.	And	he	far	was	that	him	seen-having
ōh-nē	bāpsā-kū	mōh	āyā,	bōr	khaṭēng-kē	ōhē	rīchhā	
his	father-to	affection	came,	and	having-run	his	neck	
lagē-liyā	bōr	chhōd	rīchhā	kīli.	Bōr	bāpsā	āpan	
was-clasped	and	much	caressing	was-made.	And	father	own	
chhīntō-sē	kūkā	ke,	'kuchhē	kuchhē	rīprē	lēp-āō	bōr	
servants-to	it-was-said	that,	'good	good	clothes	bring	and	

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

Bōr ōh-kā jaṛā nīklā rahat-nē rahā. Jab rōhlē-kē dhigē
And him-of big son field-in was. When house-of near
 āyā bōr khēchnē-kī chur nōhnī. Bik chhintē-nu
came and dancing-of sound was-heard. One servant-to
 kūkā ke, 'ē hūp hai?' Ōh-nē ōh-sē kūkā, 'tōhrā
it-was-said that, 'this what is?' Him-by him-to it-was-said, 'thy
 bhaotā āyā hai, bōr tōhrē bāpsā-nē jaṛi dutnā kēli.' Ōh-nē
brother come is, and thy father-by big feast was-made.' Him-by
 rūse hupī gōghā khapiyānā ke rōhlē na chilpē. Ōh-kē
angry becoming went it-was-wished that house not may-go. Him-of
 bāpsā-nē khabāhar chilap-kar khamnāyā. Ōh-nē bāpsā-sē
father-by outside having-gone it-was-remonstrated. Him-by father-to
 kūkā, 'nūkh, chhōd khadin hupī gaē ke tōhri khamēti
it-was-said, 'see, many days having-become went that thy service
 kōli rahā; bōr tōhrē kūknē-sē na chilpā. Tōh-nē bik
doing remained; and thy word-from not went. Thee-by one
 rēhibrī-kā bachchā bhī mōhē na dīnī ke khyārō-kē hāth
goat-of young-one even to-me not was-given that friends-of with
 rusī rahpō. Bōr jō tēhrā ēh nīklā āyā jē tōhrā
merry might-be. And when thy this son came by-whom thy
 khaṭum paṭniyō-nē raharch hupī gōki, tōh-nē ōh-kē liē
property harlots-to spent becoming went, thee-by him-of for-the-sake
 chhōd dūtnī kinī.' Ōh-nē kūkā ke, 'nīklē, tū sadā
big feast was-made.' Him-by it-was-said that, 'son, thou always
 mōhrē dhigē hai, bōr jō mēhrā hai, sō tōhrā hai.
of-me near art, and what mine is, that thine is.
 Phin rusī rōhōpnā bōr rusī hōnā rahlā, ke tōhrā
But merry to-make and merry to-be was, that thy
 bhaotā lōgā rahlā, phin khajimān hai; bōr khajātā rahlā,
brother dead was, again alive is; and lost was,
 khamlā hai.'
found ee.

[No. 43.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ (PAHĀRĪ BHĀBAR).

SPECIMEN VI.

STATE RAMPUR.

Thēr mahīnā-sē chhōd khadin bhaē ki kōdhī nāl-kū māhrē
Three months-from many days were that half night-at my
rōhlē būlaṭ bhai. Mēh rōhlē-sē khabāhar nīppar-nē nūj
in-house dacoity was. I house-from outside shed-in sleeping
rahā thā. Mēhri chhahan rōhlē-nē nūj rahī thī. Bik
staying was. My sister house-in sleeping staying was. One
kudmī māhrē rāhaṭ-kī ḍhigē chilagtā huā nukhā. Khōṭīṭhōgā,
man my bed-of near going become was-seen. I-rose,
ō-sē nūchhā, tō kūkā ke, 'būki hū.' Mēh
him-from it-was-asked, then it-was-said that, 'chaukīdār am.' By-me
kūkā ke, 'ōh bōr kudmī hai.' Phin ōh chilap-gayā.
it-was-said that, 'he another man is.' Then he going-went.
Khadōrgā rihaprē nēhrē huē rēhlā. Phin nachīs khatīs bōl
White clothes put-on become was. Then twenty-five thirty burglars
āē bōr kūkā ke, 'ham bulṭu hai.' Khandērī nāl rēhlī.
came and it-was-said that, 'we burglars are.' Dark night was.
Namañchā bōr tikhnī leuṭhīā nandūkē sab khatiyār ōh-kē ḍhigē rahlē.
Pistol and sword sticks guns all weapons them-of near were.
Kōṭ chul nandūkō-kē bhaē. Mēh gōghāi parā. Bik nōhri
Eight fires guns-of became. I going fled. One knife
thīs-nē lugārī bōr leuṭhīā lugārī. Mēh nisht hupī gayā ke
head-on struck and sticks struck. I quiet becoming went that
lōth dārēgē. Phin bīk kudmī tikhnī liyē mēhrē ḍhigē reharā
killing may-throw. Then one man sword taken of-me near standing
rahā, bōr narwajjē-kā ruṇḍ nōrnē lagē. Nīdhwē-kē dāmbhē chhōd
was, and door-of bolt to-break began. Village-of people many
bīkhaṭṭē hupī gaē. Tō mēhrē ḍhigē-sē bōl chilpē gaē.
together becoming went. Then of-me near-from burglars going went.
Phin meh khīṇṭī-kē chilpā gayā, bōr nīdhwē-nē billātā phirā
Then I having-run moved went, and village-in shouting went-about
ke, 'mēhrē rōhlē-nē bōl ālrē, rīgh chilpō.' Nēhblūanē
that, 'my house-in dacoits have-entered, quickly come.' All-sides-from

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

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

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

[No. 44.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES,

NATĪ.

SPECIMEN VII.

DISTRICT BIJNOR.

Kisī	kōdmi-kē	dō	nōhḍē	thē.	Chhōṭē	nōbdē-nē	bābā-sū
<i>Some</i>	<i>man-of</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>sons</i>	<i>were.</i>	<i>Small</i>	<i>son-by</i>	<i>father-to</i>
kahī	ki,	‘ hamārā	bāṭā	bāṭi	dē.’	Us-nē	apnē
<i>it-was-said</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>‘ our</i>	<i>share</i>	<i>having-divided</i>	<i>give.’</i>	<i>Him-by</i>	<i>own</i>
jiūdē-jī	bāṭā	diyā.	Ghanē	dinā	nahī	huē,	chhōṭā
<i>living-of</i>	<i>share</i>	<i>was-given.</i>	<i>Many</i>	<i>days</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>were,</i>	<i>small</i>
sab	khūbnā	lē	dūsre	dēsā	nasi	gayā,	aur
<i>all</i>	<i>goods</i>	<i>having-taken</i>	<i>another</i>	<i>country</i>	<i>going</i>	<i>went,</i>	<i>and</i>
sahrā	khūbnā	khurmasti	lagādnē-mē	barābād	kar	diyā.	Aur
<i>all</i>	<i>goods</i>	<i>riotousness</i>	<i>applying-in</i>	<i>wasted</i>	<i>making</i>	<i>was-given.</i>	<i>And</i>
sab	nāngā	kar	chukā,	sō	ūṭhē	mulkā-mē	ghanā
<i>all</i>	<i>spent</i>	<i>making</i>	<i>ceased,</i>	<i>then</i>	<i>there</i>	<i>country-in</i>	<i>mighty</i>
hō	gayā.	Jab	lāchār	khōkhā	hōnē	lagā,	tab
<i>having-become</i>	<i>went.</i>	<i>When</i>	<i>helpless</i>	<i>poor</i>	<i>to-be</i>	<i>began,</i>	<i>then</i>
dēsā-kē	kisī	kōdmi-sē	jā	bhēṭā.	Tab	us-nē	usē
<i>country-of</i>	<i>some</i>	<i>man-with</i>	<i>going</i>	<i>was-joined.</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>him-by</i>	<i>him</i>
chugānē	bhējī	diyā.	Tab	hōshā-mē	ākē	kōghā,	
<i>to-graze</i>	<i>having-sent</i>	<i>it-was-given.</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>senses-in</i>	<i>having-come</i>	<i>it-was-said,</i>	
‘ mērē	bāpā-kē	utnē	mihantī-kō	bahutā	ōṭī	haī,	maī
<i>‘ my</i>	<i>father-of</i>	<i>so-many</i>	<i>servants-to</i>	<i>much</i>	<i>bread</i>	<i>are,</i>	<i>I</i>
mar	chalpā.	Maī	ūṭhi-kē	bāpā-kē	pās	jāgrā	aur
<i>dying</i>	<i>went.</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>having-risen</i>	<i>father-of</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>will-go</i>	<i>and</i>
kōguṅgā	ki,	“ bāpā,	hamī-nē	āsmānē-kā	tērē	hazūr	taksirā
<i>will-say</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>“ father,</i>	<i>me-by</i>	<i>heaven-of</i>	<i>of-thee</i>	<i>presence</i>	<i>fault</i>
karā	hai.”						
<i>done</i>	<i>is.”</i>						

[No. 45.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ.

SPECIMEN VIII.

DISTRICT BIJNOR.

Ēk khunaddī baḍī napā thi. Uh-kē ḍhāngā-pā ēk-hī khabaktā
One river very clear was. That-of bank-to one-only at-time
 khabhēḍiā ō khabhēḍā-kā khabachchā dōnō khapānī pinē āsrā.
wolf and sheep-of young-one both water to-drink came.
 Garmiā khabautā ṭuī rōgī. Khadōnō-kō khapyās lagī
Heat much having-fallen was. Both-to thirst having-become-attached
 rōgī thi. Khabhēḍiā uṭhē khadā khapānī tōgī rahā thā,
being was. Wolf there standing water drinking remaining was,
 uṭhē-sē thōḍī dūrā-par khabāō-kī tarfā khabhēḍā-kā khabachchā
there-from little distance-at current-of in-direction sheep-of young-one
 khapānī tōgī lagā. Khabhēḍiā-kē khumā khuluhū lagā huā
water drinking began. Wolf-of in-mouth blood smeared become
 thā, uh-kē khēdartē-hī khumā-mē khachchī ṭahuk āyā ; us-kē
was, him-of on-seeing-even mouth-in water filled came ; him-of
 dūtnē-kē liyē khajhagrā khūbā kiyā. ‘ Ō bē-adbā,
eating-of for-the-sake quarrel much was-made. ‘ O disrespectful-one,
 tujhē ehī kulnā chāhiyē ki pāō-sē hilāi hilāi khapānī-kō gādlā
for-thee this to-do is-wanted that feet-by moving moving water dirty
 kultā hai, jī-kī wajah-sē ham pānī na tōg-sāi, khapyās-kē
making art, which-of cause-from I water not drinking-am, thirst-of
 khamārē marī chalpaī.’ Khubichārē khubachchē-nē jawābā
on-the-account dying may-go.’ Poor young-one-by answer
 diyā, ‘ khabḍē, kyā hukmā khadērtē hō ? Khapānī-kā khabāō
was-given, ‘ Sir, what order giving are ? Water-of current
 āpā-kī tarfā-sē mēri tarfā hai. Mēri labā-sē
self-of direction-from my in-direction is. My direction-from
 tēri labā-kō nahī jāē saktā.’ Tab khabhēḍiē-nē kaugā,
thy direction-to not go can.’ Then wolf-by it-was-said,
 ‘ nuhī-sahī, tū baḍō khumgrā hai ; khachchē mōs huē tan-nē
‘ never-mind, thou great scoundrel art ; six months become thee-by
 mujh-kō bariā gāriā dīpī thī.’ Khubachchē-nē kaugā, ‘ khabḍā,
me-to gr at abuses given were.’ Young-one-by it-was-said, ‘ Sir,

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

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

[No. 46.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ (BRIJBĀSĪ).

SPECIMEN IX.

DISTRICT BARRAICH.

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

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

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

[No. 47.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ.

SPECIMEN X.

DISTRICT BHAGALPUR.

Jhēkē	kudmī-kē	dhūr	rawāil	rahē.	Rōṭkā	rawāil	apnē			
<i>One</i>	<i>man-of</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>sons</i>	<i>were.</i>	<i>Small</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>own</i>			
ḍugwā-sē	kutāis	jē,	‘sab	tihā	masil	mērā	jhakhrā			
<i>father-to</i>	<i>said</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>‘all</i>	<i>wealth</i>	<i>money</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>share</i>			
batkhlālapā.’	Ḍugwā	sab	tihā	masil	dhūrō.	rawāil-kē	jhāṭ			
<i>divide.’</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>wealth</i>	<i>money</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>sons-of</i>	<i>shares</i>			
dihis.	Thōrācha	jhād	rōṭkā	rawāil	apnā	sab	masil	gaṅg		
<i>gave.</i>	<i>Short</i>	<i>after</i>	<i>small</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>money</i>	<i>pice</i>		
lē-kē	jhārī	dūr	ralī	gapāil.	Wahā	sab	masil	gaṅg	rahūli-mē.	
<i>having-taken</i>	<i>very</i>	<i>far</i>	<i>going</i>	<i>went.</i>	<i>There</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>money</i>	<i>pice</i>	<i>harlots-in</i>	
dharāb-kar	dihis.	Jab	us-kā	rabṭhō	marchā	hō	geā,	tab		
<i>spent-making</i>	<i>gave.</i>	<i>When</i>	<i>him-of</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>spent</i>	<i>becoming</i>	<i>went,</i>	<i>then</i>		
us	dēs-mē	jhārī	jhakāl	parpāil,	ō	ū	bayitē-mē	dharīb	hō	
<i>that</i>	<i>country-in</i>	<i>great</i>	<i>famine</i>	<i>fell,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>food-in</i>	<i>poor</i>	<i>becoming</i>	
gañl.	Tab	wah	jhēkē	kājā	raṅgh	rahēkē	gañl.	Kājā		
<i>went.</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>gentleman</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>to-remain</i>	<i>went.</i>	<i>Gentleman</i>		
us-kō	apnē	nēthā-mē	rūkar	charānē-kō	bhējis.	Naslāē	rūkar-kē	bētnī		
<i>him</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>field-in</i>	<i>swine</i>	<i>feeding-for</i>	<i>sent.</i>	<i>Husks</i>	<i>pigs-of</i>	<i>food</i>		
bhī	milpāit,	tō	ū	apan	chuṭkāi	chīdhā	bhai-kē			
<i>even</i>	<i>would-have-got,</i>	<i>then</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>belly</i>	<i>glad</i>	<i>having-become</i>			
laurit.	Jab	wah	apnē	kihā	dharpā,	apnē	man-mē	chhōkē		
<i>would-have-filled.</i>	<i>When</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>sense</i>	<i>held,</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>mind-in</i>	<i>to-say</i>		
lagā	jē,	‘hamarē	ḍugwā-kē	kitnē	khēoṭahā-kē	etnā	ḍōmkā	hai		
<i>began</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>‘my</i>	<i>father-of</i>	<i>how-many</i>	<i>servants-of</i>	<i>so-much</i>	<i>bread</i>	<i>is</i>		
ke	wah	apnē	bayitē	hañ	ō	dūsar-kē	bayitātē	hañ,	ō	ham
<i>that</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>self</i>	<i>eating</i>	<i>are</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>others-of</i>	<i>feeding</i>	<i>are,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>I</i>
bhūkan	ḍhimī	jāilā.	Ham	apnē	ḍugwā	raṅgh	jāisi	ō	kutāisi	
<i>by-hunger</i>	<i>eating</i>	<i>go.</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>will-go</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>will-say</i>	
jē,	“ē	ḍugwā,	ham	tērā	khahut	bējāē	kiyā,	ō	ham	tērā
<i>that,</i>	<i>“O</i>	<i>father,</i>	<i>by-me</i>	<i>of-thee</i>	<i>many</i>	<i>faults</i>	<i>were-done,</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>thy</i>
rahūlā	chhōkāē	jōkar	naipī	hapāil;	apnē	nāhar-mē	khēoṭā	rakhpā.”		
<i>son</i>	<i>to-be-called</i>	<i>fit</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>became;</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>presence-in</i>	<i>servant</i>	<i>keep.”</i>		

DŌM.

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

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

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

Assam	30,412
Bengal	173,991
Bihar and Orissa	241,903
Central Provinces and Berar	9,344
Panjab	79,916
United Provinces	333,781
Kashmir State	52,099
Elsewhere	4,374
TOTAL	925,820

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

Central Provinces and Berar	52,947
United Provinces	23,095
Baroda State	9
Central India Agency	52,465
TOTAL	128,516

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

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

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

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

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

AUTHORITIES—

MUHAMMAD ABDŪL GHAFŪR,—*A Complete Dictionary of the Terms used by Criminal Tribes in the Panjab ; together with a short History of each Tribe and the Names and Places of Residence of individual Members.* Lahore, 1879. Central Jail Press, pp. 21f., 51ff.

LEITNER, G. W.,—*A Detailed Analysis of Abdul Ghafur's Dictionary of the terms used by Criminal Tribes in the Panjab.* Lahore, 1880. Civil Secretariat Press, pp. xviii and ff.

LEITNER, G. W.,—*Words and Phrases illustrating the Dialects of the Samē and Mé as also of Dancers, Mirāsīs and Dōms.* Appendix to "Changars" and Linguistic Fragments. Lahore, 1882. Civil Secretariat Press, pp. v and ff.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ See A. F. Pott, *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*, Vol. i. Halle, 1844, p. 42 ; Chr. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. i, Second edition, p. 460, note 1 ; Franz Miklosich, *Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas*, viii, p. 57=Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Classe, Vol. xvii. Vienna, 1810.

² *Academy*, Vol. vii, 1875, p. 637.

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

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

stray verbal forms such as *kihwas-nā*, to say ; *tikunē-sē*, from eating ; *kahā*, said ; *lagā*, began, etc. Of Rājasthānī reminiscences we may note the termination *ā* in the oblique singular and in the plural of strong masculine bases ; thus, *kājwā-kē du chētā*, two sons of a man. Most verbal forms and, generally speaking, the whole grammatical system, however, are Bhōjpurī. Compare forms such as *khurē*, am ; *karulī*, I did ; *kahlak*, said ; *kahab*, shall say ; *biruarb*, we shall become ; *ṭiguarihē*, they will see, and the common base *bar*, *bār*, to be.

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

The palatals *ch* and *chh* are most frequently substituted for labials ; thus, *chap-khaiā*=*pāp*, sin ; *chagrī*, *pagrī* ; *chētā*=*lētā*, son ; *chaikunṭh*=*baikunṭh*, heaven ; *chāchhrī*=*machhlī*, fish ; *chibantu*=*ban*, forest ; *chhiruarkē*=*phir*, again, etc. Sometimes, however, *ch* is also used before or instead of other sounds ; compare *chabhī*=*kabhī*, ever ; *chayā*=*dayā*, compassion ; *chōkarkhaiā*=*naukar*, servant ; *chirōṭī*=*rōṭī*, bread. *ḍh* is used as a substitute in words such as *ḍhanarphul*=*karanphul*, eardrop ; *ḍhasailī*=*kasailī*, betel nut ; *ḍhasbin*=*kasbin*, harlot ; *ḍhēm*=*gēm*, thief ; *ḍhasī*=*khaṣī*, goat.

n is used in several words such as *rōṭ*, coat ; *nētkhaiā*=*khēt*, fields ; *nuiṭhā*=*gōṭhā*, cowdung ; *nutā*=*jutā*, shoe ; *narī*=*darī*, carpet ; *nēwānī*=*pānī*, water ; *nahar*=*shahr*, town, etc.

Finally we find *r* in words such as *rōpī*=*ṭōpī*, hat ; *rēlī*=*tēlī*, oilman, and so forth.

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

A common addition is also *tū* ; thus, *gōrtu*, foot ; *jaḍatu*, cold, winter ; *nīraktu*=*chirāgh*, lamp ; *jawabtu*, an answer ; *dhantu*, property ; *chichartu*=*bichār*, deliberation ; *baptu*=*bāp*, father ; *nalēhatu*=*salāh*, counsel. Compare Sāsī *tā*.

Other common additions are *khaiā*, *khaihē*, *khailā* in the Saran specimen, and *hilā*, *hilē* in the Champaran texts. Thus, *nētkhaiā*=*khēt*, field ; *chumkhaiā*=*chumā*, kissed ; *chapkhaiā*=*pāp*, sin ; *bhāikhaiā*, brother ; *saṅghaiā*, with ; *samānkhaihē*=*sāmne*,

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

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

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

A very common addition is *uar*; thus, *char-uar-ē*, to graze; *kah-uar-ē*, to say; *dēkh-uar-kē*, having seen, *chat-uar* (*disu*), dividing (gave); *rah-uar-ā*, remained; *ho-wr-ē*, it may be; *mar-nar-thī*, I am dying; *kir-uar-tē*, I did; *di-suar-tahā*, gave; *chah-uar-tarhū*, he was wishing; *rah-uar-ṭwā*, *rah-uar-toāel*, stayed; *rah-uar-al*, was; *bach-uar-al*, was saved; *lag-uar-alē*, began; *tar-uar-lī*, I transgressed; *rah-uar-alhā*, was; *chuchh-uar-alak*, asked; *mar-uar-alas*, has beaten, and so forth; compare Kanjarī *wār*, *bār*, etc.

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

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

[No. 48.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MAGAHİYĀ DŌM.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT SABAN-

Khēk kājwā-kē du chētā baruaral. Khōkrē-mē-sē chōchikā-nē
One man-of two sons were. Them-among-from younger-by
 bapkhailā-sē kihuēsā, ' hē bapkhailā, darbkhaiā jē hamrē chakrā
father-to said, ' O father, goods which my share
 hōwrē, sē hamē disu.' Tab u khōkrē khāpan darbkhaiā
will-be, that to-me give.' Ther he to-him own goods
 chaṭuar disu. Bahut din nā chitaur ke chōchikā chētā sab
dividing gave. Many days not passed that younger son all
 chijkhaiā khēkthā kar-kē chari chahrē chalāṭwā, khaur khuhā
things together having-made far country went, and there
 chadmāsi din chitartwā, khāpan darbkhaiā khurā disuwas. Jab
in-riotousness days spent, own goods wasted gave. When
 wah sab kuchh khurā disuwē, tab us chahrē-mē charā khakāl
he all whatever wasted had-given, then that country-in big famine
 partawān, khaur wah ḍhaṅgāl hōṭwā, khaur khuhā tawākē
fell, and he destitute became, and there having-gone
 us chahrē khādmī-mē khēk ādmī rahuarṭawā, jēkrē khōkrē
that country men-in one man to-live-went, who him
 khapnē nētkhaiā bhūbhur charuarē bhējuar-disuwē. Khaur khōkrē
own fields swine to-graze sent. And those
 nēdhiō-sē jinhē bhūbhur tigon-ghuararē khapnā chēt bharuarē
husks-with which swine eating-were own belly to-fill
 chahuarṭarhā, khaur kaunō nā us-kō kuchh disuarṭahā. Tab
wishing-was, and anybody not him-to anything giving-was. Then
 khōkrē chētkhailā hōṭwā, khaur khunē kahuarṭē, ' khamrē bapkhailā-kē
to-him sense became, and he said, ' my father-of
 chahūt majurā tigonār-sē chahut pōpī hōkhuarṭē khaur ham
many servants eating-from much bread remained and I
 bhukhēhē maruarthi. Mañ khuṭ-kē khapnē bapkhailā pās chalāṭwā
with-hunger dying-am. I having-arisen own father near go
 khaur khōkrē kihuatē, " hē bapkhailā, kham-nē chaikunṭh khulṭā khaur
and to-him will-say, " O father, me-by Heaven against and
 khōkrē samun-khaihē chapkhaiā kiruarṭē; mañ chhīruarke tōhār chētā
thee before sin did; I again thy son

kihūē lāek nai-khurē. Khamrē-kē khapnē majurā-mē-sē khēk
to-say worthy not-am. Me own servants-in-from one
 charābar kiru." Tab wah khuṭkē khapnē bapkhailā chalāṭwā
like make." Then he having-arisen own father went.
 Chahū pawrā nā, khōkrē bapkhailā dēkhuar-kē chayā kiruwasē, khaur
Far came not, his father seen-having mercy made, and
 naruwar-kē us-kē garkhaiā thiru-lisuwēs chumkhaiā. Chētā-nē khōkrē-sē
run-having him-of neck kept-took kissed. Son-by him-to
 kahā, 'hē bapkhailā, khamrē-kē chaikunṭh khultā khaur khapnē
it-was-said, 'O father, I (sic) heaven against and yourself
 samankhaihē chap-khailā kiruwatē, khaur chhīruarkē tōhār chētā kahuarē
before sin did, and again thy son to-say
 lāek nai-khōrē.' Chāki bapkhailā-nē khapnē chōkar-sē kihuwēs, 'sab-sē
worthy not-am.' But father-by own servants-to said, 'all-than
 khachhā tēpar khikuar-kē chahrā-disuwēs, khōkrē kōhath aṅguṭhī khaur
good robe having-brought put-on-him, his hand ring and
 pair-mē nutā pahināō, aur ham tikunarkē khaur nusī biruarb,
feet-on shoes put-on, and we eating and merry let-become,
 kihuat-biruaral hamār chētā ruarē-barābar rahuārā, phir jiwartwā;
because my son dead-like was, again alive-went;
 chulāṭwā, phir chiluartwā.' Tab wē khānand kiruwar liguwārē.
lost-went, again met-went.' Then they merriment to-make began.

Khōkar charkā chētā nētkhailā-mē biruaral. Khaur chalā-khasuātē
His big son fields-in was. And going-coming
 niarkhaihē khasuān, tab jakhaiā khaur nachard khawāj sunārat. Khaur
near came, then music and dancing sound heard. And
 khu khapnē chōkarkhaiā-mē-sē khēk-kō chaskhaē chōlāwat chuchhuartē khi,
he own servants-in-from one-to near calling asked that,
 'kā hawāral?' Khu khōkrē-sē kihuas, 'khapnē bhaikhaiā asuānē,
'what becoming-is?' He him-to said, 'yourself-of brother came,
 khaur tohār bapkhailā niman tiginār wrēsā khēkhōjkhaiā-sē ki usē
and thy father good dinner has-given because that him
 khachhā chauarēsā.' Chāki khōkrē nisān biruaral khaur chitar nā tāwō.
well got.' But he angry became and inside not came.
 Khēkrē khōkar bapkhailā chahri asuā-kē chanānē lagā.
Therefore his father outside having-come to-remonstrate began.
 Khōkrē bapkhailā-kē jawabtu dēghluarsē kē, 'dēkhuarē, maī bahut
He father-to answer gave that, 'see, I many
 charisō-sē khōkrī sēvkhaiā kiruartē, khaur chab-hī khō-kā hukumkhaiā
years-from thy service did, and ever thy order

nā taruarli. Khaur khōkrē hamrē kabikhaiā khēk nakrī na
not transgressed. And thou to-me ever one goat not
 disuwēs kē khapnē chit saṅkhaiā khānand kiruat biruaral. Chāki
gavest that own friends with merriment making might-be. But
 khāpan ē chētā jēs wā khapnē sab-khaihē darbkhaiā tigun-ṭawān jaisē
own this son who your-own all-whatever goods eating-went when
 kḥasuān tyō-hī khap-nē khōkrē khachhā tikunār kiruaisai.
came then-indeed yourself-by for-him good dinner have-made.'
 Bapkhailā khōkrē-sē kihuwēs, 'hē chētā, tu sab din hamrē saṅkhaiā,
Father him-to said, 'O son, thou all days me with,
 khaur kichhu khamār hai, sē sab tōr hawwaral. Chāki khānand
and anything mine is, that all thine is But joy
 kiruwē khaur nōsī hōṭwā khachhā thā kākē-ki yah tōr bhāikhaiā
to-make and merry to-be good was because this thy brother
 rubarlē barābar rahuarā, phir jiwartwā; chulāṭwā, phir miluwartwā.
dead like was; again alive-went; lost-went, again met-went.'

[No. 49.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DŌMRĀ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHAMPARAN.

Khēk ādmī-kē dukēm-gō chēṭā rahuarē. Chhōṭkā chēṭā kahlak
One man-of two sons were. Younger son said
 khapnā bapṭu-sē, 'hē bapṭu, ōban chubi hamār chakhrā disu-disu.'
own father-to, 'O father, rupees pice our share give.'
 Tab chaṭuar disu. Chahu din nā bituaral ki khapnā chakhrā chubi
Then dividing gave. Many days not passed that own share pice
 lisu-kē dūr destu chalṭōāel ō khapnā raṇḍatu-sē sab khurā disu.
taking distant country went and own misconduct-by all squandered gave.
 Tab u destu-mē khakaltu paruar-ṭōāel, u nāklif-mē hō-ṭōāel.
Then that country-in famine fell, he difficulty-in becoming-fell.
 Khēhu destu-mē khēgō ādmī-kē hiā rahuar-ṭōāel, bhumbhur charuarē
That country-in one man-of with living-became, swine for-tending
 lisuṭōāel-narāel. Kō jī bhumbhur tikunē khēhu raṇḍwā tikunē
was-deputed. Husks which swine ate that rascal to-eat
 chahuarē; khōkrākē kēu nā disuē kichhuē. Khōkrā khakil bhauaral,
wished; him-to anybody not gave anything. To-him sense came,
 u kahuaral, 'hamarā bapṭu kihā chijurā-kē tikunē-sē bahit nōṭi
he said, 'my father with servants-of eating-than much bread
 bachuaral, ham bhukhalē rugtā-nī. Khapnā bapṭu-kē niar ṭōāeb
is-saved, I with-hunger dying-am. Own father-of near will-go
 khunkā-sē kahab kī, "ham Bhagwantu-kē samanahilē ō bapṭu-kē
him-to will-say that, "I God-of before and father-of
 samanahilē papṭu karūli; ham tōhār chēṭā kahāwē lāek na barūli;
before sin did; I thy son to-be-called fit not became;
 hamrā-kē chijurā māfil januarī." ' Khuṭuar-kē apnā bapṭu-kē niar
me servant like consider." ' Arisen-having own father-of near
 ṭōāilin. Chēṭā-kē ṭhiguar-kē bapṭu-kē chāyā laguvaral, daruar-kē
went. Son seen-having father-to compassion was-applied, run-having
 garahilā thiru-kē chumahilā lisualak. Chēṭā-nē kahulak, 'hē bapṭu,
neck embraced-having kisses took. Son-by said, 'O father,
 Bhagwantu-kē samanahilē ō tōhrā samanahilē papṭu kirūli; chēṭā kihūē
God-of before and of-thee before sin did; son to-say

læk nā birualī.' Baptu apnā nōkarhilā-sē kihualak kī, 'chadhiā tēpar
fit not am. *Father own servants-to said that,* 'good clothes
 nikalwā-kē chētā-kē chenhāō, ō kōhāth-mē khōngūthī au gōrtu-mē nōtahilā
taking-out son-to put-on, and hand-on ring and feet-on shoes
 chenhāō; ō ham tikunī khushahilā karuarī; hamār chētā lugail
put-on; and we shall-eat merry shall-make; my son dead
 rahuaralhā, jītuar-ṭōael; nulā ṭōael rahualhā, ab miluar-ṭōael.' U-lōg
was, living-became; lost gone was, now found-became. *They*
 khushahilā hō-ṭōael.
merry became.

Khō-kar nētkā chētā khētu-mē rahuaral. Khētu-mē-sē apnā ḍaulē
His big son field-in was. Field-in-from own house
 chalsoāel, nachtu howarail chājā chējuarail sunahilā. Aur nōkarhilā-sē
went, dancing going-on music beating heard. And servant-from
 chōlā-kē chēchuaralak, 'kā hōwaralē?' Khun-kā-sē kehulē kī,
called-having asked, 'what is-going-on?' *Him-to said that,*
 'khapnē-kē bhahilā suāel baruaralē; khapnē-kē baptu chadhiā tikunē-kē
'self-of brother arrived has-become; self-of father big eating-for
 karuaralē, khun-kā-kē chinuman paruaralē-bārē.' Tab u nisiā
made-has, because safe-and-sound found-has.' *Then he angry*
 hō-ṭōael ō ḍaul-mē nā ṭōael. Baptu ḍaul-sē khikāsuāel
becoming-went and house-in not went. Father house-from going-out-came
 khō-krā-kē chināwē laguaralē. Tab u baptu-kē jababtu disualan, 'ham
him-to to-entreat began. Then he father-to answer gave, 'I
 khapnē-kē katā dintu-sē sēwahilā kirualī. Kabhī khapnē-kē chachan
self-of how-many days-from service did. Ever self-of word
 nā khuṭaralī. Mudā khamrā-kē khēgō chēthrū nā disu kē khapnā
not transgressed. Ever me-to one kid not gave that own
 dōstu-kē saṅghilā musī kartī. Bākī ḍhasbin-kē saṅghilā
friends-of in-company merry might-make. But karlots-of in-company
 rāur ī chētā sab dhantu khurā disu, to-ī tab-hī suāel, tab-hī
your-Honour's this son all wealth spent gave, he then came, then
 nīmat chadhiā mōṭikā chanā-kē tihunē-kē disualin.' Baptu
good big feast having-prepared eating-for you-gave.' *The-father*
 khō-krā-sē kihulak kī, 'chētā, hamār sāth tu khamēsē baruala, sē
him-to said that, 'son, me with thou always art, what
 barualē hamār, sē tōhrē biruaralē. Bākī khushahilā kirūkē chahuaral,
is mine, that thine is. But merry to-make it-was-wanted,
 khuarē-kē tōr bhahilā rōguar ṭōael, phēr jīuar ṭōael; nulā ṭōael rahuaral,
because thy brother dead went, again alive went; lost gone was,
 phēr milual ṭōael.'
again found went.'

[No. 50.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DŌMRĀ.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT CHAMPARAN.

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

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

MALĀR.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kh is added in the front of some words; thus, *khaṅgur*, finger; *khōīkh*=*aīkh*, eye; *khamrē*=*hamrē*, we; *khimsār*=*mās*, flesh; *khirāṛī*=*rāṇḍ*, widow.

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

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

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

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

R is substituted for a *p* in *rāñchlū*=*pāch*, five; *rīth*=*pīth*, back; *rōtkai*=*pēt*, belly; and *l* has been used instead of *n* in *lāmbhmī*=*nābh*, navel.

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

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

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

chū is a very common addition; thus, *gālchū*=*gāl*, cheek; *jāngchū*=*jāng*, thigh; *jībchū*=*jīb*, tongue; *bāpchū*=*bāp*, father, and so forth.

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

durā has been suffixed in *kanḍurā*, ear.

mā, *mī*, occurs in *khaparmā*=*khaprā*, tiles; *thēhunmā*=*thēwnī*, knee; *bhau mā*=*bhau*, brow; *pakhurmā*=*pakhaurā*, shoulder; *barāṛmī*=*rīṛh*, backbone; *ēr mī*=*ērī*, heel; *lāmbhmī*=*nābh*, navel, etc.

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

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

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

Numerals.

One	<i>bēk</i> (<i>bēknōṭ</i> = <i>ēk-tō</i>)	Eight	<i>khāṭlū</i>
Two	<i>dōl</i> , <i>dōlnōṭ</i>	Nine	<i>naulū</i>
Three	<i>tīnlū</i>	Ten	<i>daslū</i>
Four	<i>chairlū</i>	Eleven	<i>gārmō</i>
Five	<i>rāñchlū</i>	Nineteen	<i>onāischū</i>
Six	<i>chaulū</i>	Twenty	<i>bīschū</i> , <i>bēk kōrmī</i>
Seven	<i>sātlū</i>	Forty	<i>dōl kōrmī</i>

Pronouns.

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

Human beings.

Man	<i>nōhkā</i>	Father	<i>bāpchū</i>
Woman	<i>nōhkin</i>	Mother	<i>maichū</i>
Old man	<i>durḡā</i>	Son	<i>chhētā</i>
Old woman	<i>durḡi</i>	Daughter	<i>chhētī</i>
Boy	<i>chōrmā</i>	Brother	<i>chibhāi</i>
Girl	<i>chōrmī</i>	Sister	<i>chahin-bahin</i>
Husband	<i>khulsā</i>	Widower	<i>khirārū</i>
Wife	<i>nōhkin</i>	Widow	<i>khirāī</i>

Parts of the body.

Head	<i>kurmur</i>	Thumb	<i>tēpā khaṅgur</i>
Hair	<i>chēwās</i>	Mid finger	<i>māj khaṅgur</i>
Forehead	<i>ḡhaparchū</i>	Little finger	<i>kanī khaṅgur</i>
Temples	<i>kandpathnī, tutkā</i>	Chest	<i>chhātmī</i>
Eye	<i>khōīkh</i>	Breast	<i>nōph</i>
Pupil	<i>rajmā</i>	Back	<i>riṭh</i>
Eyebrow	<i>bhaumā</i>	Side	<i>ḡārkharī</i>
Eyelid	<i>pipinmī</i>	Stomach	<i>ladarmī; rōṭkai</i>
Eyelashes	<i>pipinmī chēwīs</i>	Navel	<i>lāmbhmī</i>
Cheek	<i>gālchū</i>	Skin	<i>chōrmā</i>
Ear	<i>kāṇḍurā</i>	Tendon	<i>sirchū</i>
Nose	<i>nākurā</i>	Flesh	<i>khimsār</i>
Mouth	<i>khumhār</i>	Liver	<i>ḡharjmā</i>
Lip	<i>ōṭ</i>	Lungs	<i>pokosmā</i>
Tooth	<i>dāntkhulā</i>	Heart	<i>kamalchū</i>
Tongue	<i>jībchū</i>	Bile	<i>pitchū</i>
Palate	<i>tarmū</i>	Bowels	<i>nanchū pōṭmanā</i>
Jaw-bone	<i>chauhmuā</i>	Blood	<i>nētrai</i>
Beard	<i>dārhi</i>	Bone	<i>kōhōr</i>
Moustache	<i>mīsī</i>	Ribs	<i>rañjermā</i>
Neck	<i>ṭōṭmā</i>	Backbone	<i>barārmī</i>
Shoulder	<i>pakhurmā</i>	Thigh	<i>jāṅchū</i>
Upper arm	<i>baīchhū</i>	Knee	<i>ṭhēhunmā</i>
Fore-arm	<i>kōhāt</i>	Ankle	<i>ghuṭnī</i>
Wrist	<i>luluha</i>	Foot	<i>supulmī</i>
Palm of hand	<i>tarhāt</i>	Sole of foot	<i>tarpuā</i>
Finger	<i>khaṅgur</i>		

House and furniture.

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

Verbs.

to extinguish	<i>nīhuarēk</i>	Thou goest	<i>ṭuāṭhis</i>
to light a fire	<i>ḡoruarek</i>	He goes.	<i>ṭuatakulis</i>
to sweep	<i>cheurhaek</i>	We go	<i>ṭuātī</i>
to warm oneself	<i>tapuarek</i>	You go	<i>ṭuātā</i>
to whitewash	<i>lipuarek</i>	They go	<i>ṭuāṭhai</i>
I go	<i>ṭuāṭhō</i>		

QASĀI.

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

Ajmer	• • • • • • • • • •	66
Andamans	• • • • • • • • • •	5
Assam	• • • • • • • • • •	23
Baluchistan	• • • • • • • • • •	255
Bengal	• • • • • • • • • •	11,093
Berar	• • • • • • • • • •	218
Bombay	• • • • • • • • • •	24,086
Central Provinces	• • • • • • • • • •	206
Panjab	• • • • • • • • • •	125,644
United Provinces	• • • • • • • • • •	184,150
Baroda	• • • • • • • • • •	851
Central India	• • • • • • • • • •	918
Hyderabad	• • • • • • • • • •	2
Kashmir	• • • • • • • • • •	824
Rajputana	• • • • • • • • • •	20,292
		<hr/>
	TOTAL	369,533

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

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

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Specimens of Qasāi have been received from Karnal and also from the Belgaum District. The Qasāis of Karnal, who numbered 5,794 at the 1901 Census, are all Muhammadans. The dialect illustrated by the specimens is of the same kind as the Qasāi described by Dr. Bailey. The materials received from Belgaum are stated to illustrate the language of the cow-killing Qasāis. It agrees with the dialect of the Karnal Qasāis in so many points that the two can safely be described as one and the same form of speech, which is an argot based on Hindōstānī. In Karnal we also find Panjābī forms such as *mazdūrā-mē*, amongst the servants. In the Belgaum specimens the dialect is much mixed with

¹ No Qasāis were recorded under that name in 1911.

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

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

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

Numerous other peculiar words occur in the specimens and in Dr. Bailey's List. Such are *aḍāl*, put; *akēl*, one (Hindōstānī *akēlā*, alone); *buṭ*, father, or, according to Dr. Bailey, a Jāt; *baṭlā*, rupee; *bhakkār*, cow; *bigarṇā* or *bigharṇā*, to die (cf. Hindōstānī *bigarṇā*?); *chilkṇī*, ring (cf. Hindōstānī *chilakṇā*, to glitter); *chishmī*, application; *chuskā*, interest; *chabīne*, tooth; *chhanakā*, boy; *dusarṇū*, to say (Belgaum, compare the Kanjarī dialect of the district); *gaunā*, to get; *gaunā*, foot (in Belgaum *guḍāle*; in the Karnal specimens *gaunā* is also used with the meaning of 'hand'); *ghārṇā*, *ghāḍṇā*, to beat, to loose; *gaimb*, thief (Bailey); *hakūk*, swine (Karnal); *hajīb*, bad (Belgaum); *hap-kē-hap* (for *sab-ke-sab*), all together; *hiḍap*, take; *kachēlā* (Belgaum), *kadrā* (Karnal), son (compare *bachchā*?); *kanēlī*, bread (Bailey *khadēlī*, *khanēlī*); *kajilī*, afternoon; *kahilā* (Karnal), *kailā* (Belgaum), rupee; *kasnā*, to pay (perhaps English 'cash'); *kīḍ*, give (Belgaum, compare Tamil *koḍu*); *khastā*, property; *khilas* (Karnal), *khilsī* (Belgaum), belly; *khēḍā*, village (Belgaum, Kanarese *khēḍā*); *khū*, go; *khūm*, word, noise; *khunsā*, starving; *lāgwārē* (Karnal), hundred; *mēknī*, goat; *minjālī*, tongue; *nakāt*, young, destitute, lost, angry (according to Dr. Bailey the meaning of this word is 'bad,' 'worthless'; it is used in different senses in the first specimen); *nakātī*, sin; *nand* (Karnal), *nann* (Belgaum), house; *naṇḍ*, water (Bailey); *nhāṭ*, run; *nirgā*, water (Belgaum); *pāḍā*, bull; *phēkaṇī*, nose; *sihām*, share; *śēbīt*, good; *subak*, younger brother (Belgaum); *subūkdā*, man (Belgaum); *suwālā*, good (Belgaum); *sūḍ*, eat; *thaikṇā*, to become, to gather; *thārtā*, being; *thūr*, eat; *thōkanā*, hundred (Belgaum); *tip*, see; *ṭuluk*, sleep; *uks*, go away, and so forth.

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

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

Of final additions I have found *k* in *bulkā*, said; *t* in *hatōṭā*, hand; *kannōṭyā*, ear; *ṅ* in *akōṅyā*, eye; *l* in *bandāl*, bind; *war* in *āwar*, come; *dīwar*, give, etc.; *wāḍ* in *batwāḍ*, sit; *bōlwāḍ*, call; *sunwāḍ*, hear, and so forth.

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



[No. 51.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT KARNAL.

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

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

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

Us-nē us-kō khumyāyā, 'ai kadrē, tū sadā mērē pās hai, aur Him-by him-to it-was-said, 'O son, thou atways of-me near art, and

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

[No. 52.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT KARNAL.

Binjhaul mād sudhtā thā. Jaṭaul-kē birādar aur ham
Binjhaul village being-sold was. Jaṭaul-of brothers and we
 hap-kē-hap akēl jagah thaikē. Binjhaul-mē udhar-sē wuh āwarē,
all one place became. Binjhaul-in that-side-from they came,
 aur idhar-sē ham khis-āē. Āpas-mē khūm kari ki
and this-side-from we again-went. Selves-among word was-made that
 mād lēwarṇā chāhiyē. Jaṭaulwālā-nē khumā karā ki, 'mīh
village to-take is-wanted. Jaṭaul-people-by word was-made that, 'twenty
 bisvē-kē kabilē jitnē hō rabāē sāl-kī hakāyat-sē tum dēwar-dō,
biswā-of rupees as-many-as are four years-of promise-on you giving-give,
 nur hamārī taraf-kē bhī baṭlē tum kas-dō. Un-kā chuskā aur
and our side-of also rupees you pay. Them-of interest and
 kahilē rabāē sāl-mē dēwar-dēgē. Thiswē mahīnē chuskā kas-diyā
rupees four years-in giving-shall-give. Six months interest paid
 karēgē.' Hap-kē-hap-nē akēl jagah thaik-kar khūm kari.
shall-make.' All-by one place having-gathered word was-made.
 Ham nand-sē khammas lāgwārē baṭlē lēkar rabāēwē din
We home-from five hundred rupees having-taken one-fourth day
 sāi-kē baṭlē kas-nē āē. Manījar sāhib-kē yahā
earnest-money-of money to-pay came. Manager Sahib-of in-presence
 sāi-kē baṭlē kas diyē. Hakāyat kari ki, 'āsar
earnest-money-of money paid was-given. Promise was-made that, 'ten
 aglē mīh din-mē āwar-kar bēwrā lēwar liyō. Sārḥē
and twenty days-in having-come information taking take. With-one-half
 mīh hazār baṭlē-mē tum-kō mād dēwar-dēgē.' Manījar-nē
twenty thousand rupees-for you-to village giving-shall-give.' Manager-by
 khumā karā, 'hamārā jēdlā vilāyat-mē thaikā hai. Mād-kē sōdh
word was-made, 'our master Europe-in seated is. Village-of sale
 dēnē-kā āsar aglē mīh din mē khabar lēwar-liyō.' Mīh
giving-of ten and twenty days in information taking-take.' Twenty
 aglē āsar dip-mē Bēri-kē ilāqē-kē kādū-nē purē akēl mīh
and ten days-in Beri-of district-of banyā-by full one twenty

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

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

² The word *kāḍū*, here translated 'Banyā,' usually means 'grain-parcher.'

[No. 53.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀĪ.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekkan <i>One</i>	khēdē-me <i>village-in</i>	Rāmāyā <i>Rāmāyā</i>	kaṇē-kā <i>called</i>	ekkan <i>one</i>	patēl <i>patēl</i>	thārtā-thā. <i>was.</i>	Une <i>He</i>	
ekkan <i>one</i>	rōjū <i>day</i>	bajār-ku <i>bazar-to</i>	khū-huwā-thā, <i>went,</i>	taw <i>then</i>	whā <i>there</i>	suwālā <i>good</i>	khammīs <i>five</i>	
Gōvē-kā <i>Goa-of</i>	āmb <i>mangoes</i>	mōl-ku-hidap-kō <i>having-bought</i>	nann-ku <i>house-to</i>	awaryā. <i>came.</i>	Us-ku <i>Him-to</i>			
arabā-jaṇ <i>four-persons</i>	kachēlē <i>sons</i>	thārtē-the. <i>were.</i>	Un-kā <i>Them-of</i>	nau <i>names</i>	Sank <i>Sank</i>	Bāla <i>Bāla</i>		
Bhīma <i>Bhīma</i>	Haṇama. <i>Haṇama.</i>	Patēl <i>Patēl</i>	apaṇi <i>own</i>	arabā <i>four</i>	jaṇ <i>persons</i>	kachēlē-kū <i>sons</i>	bōlwād-ko <i>having-called</i>	
dusāryā, <i>said,</i>	'kachēlē, <i>'sons,</i>	hidap, <i>lo,</i>	maī <i>by-me</i>	bajār-mē-si <i>bazar-in-from</i>	yō <i>these</i>	khammīs <i>five</i>		
āmb <i>mangoes</i>	lewaryā-hai. <i>taken-are.</i>	Tume <i>You</i>	arabā <i>four</i>	jaṇ <i>persons</i>	arabā <i>four</i>	hidap-ke <i>having-taken</i>		
khammīs-kā <i>fifth</i>	āmb <i>mango</i>	tumāre <i>your</i>	ammā-ku <i>mother-to</i>	kīd. <i>give.'</i>	È <i>These</i>	banat <i>words</i>		
sunwād-ke <i>having-heard</i>	ō <i>those</i>	kachēlē-ku <i>sons-to</i>	khuś <i>pleasure</i>	huwādā. <i>became.</i>	Uno <i>By-them</i>	aīsā <i>such</i>		
suwālā <i>nice</i>	āmb-phal <i>mango-fruits</i>	kab-bī <i>ever-even</i>	ṭipyā-ch-natte. <i>seen-not-were.</i>	Uno <i>By-them</i>	yō <i>these</i>	phal <i>fruits</i>		
hidap-ke <i>having-taken</i>	khū-hō-ke <i>having-gone</i>	dusārē-wāīsā <i>said-as</i>	baṭwād-karwād-ke <i>divided-made-having</i>	śūdē. <i>were-eaten.</i>				
Kajili-ku <i>Evening-at</i>	ṭuluk-te <i>sleeping</i>	wakht-me <i>time-in</i>	Rāmāyā <i>Rāmāyā</i>	kachēlē-ku <i>sons</i>	bōlwād-ke <i>having-called</i>			
dusāryā, <i>said,</i>	'pyār <i>'dear</i>	kachēlē, <i>sons,</i>	tāwach <i>them-only</i>	kīdyātā <i>given</i>	āmb <i>mangoes</i>	kēsa <i>how</i>	thārtā-the ? <i>were ?'</i>	
Use <i>To-that</i>	Sank <i>Sank</i>	kaṇē-kā <i>called</i>	tuwānā <i>eldest</i>	kachēlā <i>son</i>	uttar <i>answer</i>	kīdyā, <i>gave,</i>	'bābā, o <i>'father, that</i>	
phal <i>fruit</i>	mije <i>to-me</i>	bahut <i>much</i>	śēbīt <i>good</i>	diswādya. <i>appeared.</i>	Ō <i>That</i>	bahut <i>very</i>	śēbīt <i>good</i>	phal <i>fruit</i>

<u>thārtai.</u>	Maī	us-ki	binjya	jatan	karwād-ke	<u>tharā-liyā-hai.</u>
is.	<i>By-me</i>	<i>that-of</i>	<i>stone</i>	<i>care</i>	<i>having-made</i>	<i>kept-taken-is.</i>
Use	nirgā-ke	rōjū	śuru	hōwād-ke	wakt-me	pērwādtaū.'
<i>That</i>	<i>rain-of</i>	<i>days</i>	<i>beginning</i>	<i>having-become</i>	<i>time-in</i>	<i>am-sowing.'</i>

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

SIKALGĀRĪ.

The caste known as *saiqalgars*, *siqligars*, *sikligars*, etc., are armourers and polishers of metal. The name is a Persian word, *ṣaiqal-gar*, a cleaner, polisher, derived from the Arabic base *ṣaqal*, to polish.

Name.

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

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

Number.

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

We do not possess any information to the effect that the Sikligars, as a whole, possess a language of their own. A separate dialect called Sikalgārī was, however, during the preliminary operations of this Survey returned from the Belgaum District of Bombay, where it was said to be spoken by 25 individuals in the Sampgaon *talūqa* in the south of the district. Two specimens and the Standard List of Words and Sentences in Sikalgārī have been forwarded from that place.

Language.

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

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

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

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

Connexion with Siyālgirī.

¹ See Vol. II, Part iii, p. 7.

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

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

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

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

An *n* has been substituted for an initial *p* in *nāpchi*, sin.

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

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

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

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

A *ch* has been suffixed in words such as *nā₁chī*, sin; *mhēchvī-lē*, putting take; compare Gujarātī *mēlwā*.

Other additions are *t*, *d* and *p*; thus, *dēvṭā-nū*, of God; *jīvṭō*, alive; *nākōḍū*, nose; *mhōḍū*, mouth; *anpū*, food.

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

[No. 54.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGĀRĪ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

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

pāp yabā-nū pāp chhāndi lidyō. Mi tārā dikarō karinē
sin father-of sin having-tied was-taken. I thy son having-said
 chōllāwā jōgō naī. Ma-nē ēk tsākri dākal tārā-kan
to-be-called worthy not. Me one servant like of-thee-near
 mhēchvī-lē." Im kainē tyā-tō tō khubō-thārinē āpnā
keep." So having-said there-from he up-having-arisen own
 yabā-kan jākantō-tō. Pachē yabō dūr-tō ti-nē dēkhinē mayā
father-near going-was. Then father far-from him having-seen pity
 āvinē niktinē jākninē dhag-linē maṭṭi gāryō.
having-come having-run having-gone having-embraced kiss was-given.
 Pachē dikar yabā-nē kadyō, 'yabā, mī dēwṭā-nū khāmō tārā
Then son father-to said, 'father, by-me God-of before of-thee
 khāmō nāpchī kagōtyō. Ma-nē tārā dikarō karinē chōlāwu
before sin was-done. Me thy son having-said to-call
 nakō.' I-nē yabō āpnō tsākarwālā-nē kadyō, 'chōkō chingā
is-not-fit.' This-to father own servants-to said, 'good dress
 lāvine mārā dikarā-nē ghāgōtō; nāpchā-mā khāngōṭi ghāgōtō,
having-brought my son-to put-on; finger-on ring put,
 pagō-mā jōdwā ghāgōtō; dutwān-nō tayāri kagōtō; ham dūtti-nē
feet-on shoes put; dinner-of preparation make; we having-eaten
 santōs thauṅgā, sakarwā-kai-tō, yē mārō dikarō nikaryō-tō, phaglinē
merry shall-become, because, this my son dead-was, again
 jiwṭō āyō; niktinē gaknyō-tō, khāpdyō.' Ē khaikinē khārā
alive came; lost gone-was, was-found.' This having-heard all
 santōs thayā.
merry became.

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

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

[No. 55.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGĀRĪ.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ijāpur-mā ēk khyāpāryō kāpukh-nō ghanō khyāpār kagōttō-tō. Ēk
Bijapur-in one merchant cotton-of large trade doing-was. One

din tē gām-mā-tū kāyī nikḍiyā malinē wakat sādinē
day that village-in-from some thieves having-gathered time having-sought

tē khyāpāryā-nō khōl-mā-nū ghan kāpukh-nā gaṭṭā nikḍi karinē
that merchant-of house-in-of many cotton-of bales stealing having-made

li-gayā. Pachē to khyāpāryō bādsahā-kan jākninē āpnō khōl-mā
took-away. Then that merchant king-near having-gone own house-in

nikḍi-thēl wāt kadyō. 'Im nikḍi thawānī ghanī sarmundī
theft-committed story told. 'So theft to-become very disgraceful

wāt chhē; āj-nō din dharinē chār din-mā tū tē nikḍiyā-nē
matter is; today-of day including four days-in thou those thieves

naī dhaglyō-tō tārū mātū nikāruṅgā,' im ti-nē hukum kagōtyō. Yē
not caught-hast thy head will-cut-off; so him-to order made. This

wāt khaikinē kotwāl nikḍiyā-nē patiyō kādwānē walē gphantōl
word having-heard kotwāl thieves-of way tracing for much

khaṭpaṭ kagōtyō, pan tē khāpdyā naī.
labour did, but they were-found not.

Kheklā-mā bādsahā-nō gāral chār din kharinē pāchmō din
This-much-in king-of given four days having-expired fifth day

ākhtyō. 'Kotwāl-nō mātū nikāruṅgā,' karinē gām-mā daṅgōrō
came. 'Kotwāl-of head will-cut-off; having-said village-in drum

khojādyō. Yē khaikinē khārā kōyrā taḷmaḷyā; sakarwākaitō
was-beaten. This having-heard all people were-grieved; because

kotwāl khārā-nē chōkō hotō. Yē khabar khaikinē tē gām-mā-nō
kotwāl all-to dear was. This news having-heard that village-in-of

ēk śyānō manekh bādsahā-kan jākninē hatō jōḍinē māgī
one clever man king-near having-gone hands having-joined begging

lidyō.
was-taken.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

GULGULIĀ.

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

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

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

Kōrāet	liōr	ṭebigō;	jhīn-gō	nāchh	ṭebigō,	kheāch-gō	nēmru
<i>Last-night</i>	<i>a-tempest</i>	<i>fell;</i>	<i>three</i>	<i>trees</i>	<i>fell,</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>bullocks</i>

lugigō.
died.

Jhātu-sēti	nōpi	kutāchhi,	nāhkat	kōnāgi	nōpi	chhakhālō.
<i>Yesterday-from</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>eaten-have,</i>	<i>house-in</i>	<i>food (?)</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>is.</i>
Hamar	pānhīr	khīāh	bhēkhaligō,	jamāē	nāhkat	chhakhālō.
<i>My</i>	<i>daughter's</i>	<i>wedding</i>	<i>became,</i>	<i>son-in-law</i>	<i>house-in</i>	<i>is.</i>

**STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE GIPSY
LANGUAGES.**

STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES

English.	Oḍkī (Cutch).	Sēsi (Ordinary).	Sēsi (Criminal).
1. One	Ēk	Ēk	Bēk
2. Two	Dōn	Dō	Dhōr
3. Three	Tin	Tin	Thēr
4. Four	Chār	Chār	Chang
5. Five	Pāch	Pañj	Nāch
6. Six	Chha	Chē	Nhē
7. Seven	Sāt	Sat	Nhat
8. Eight	Āṭh	Aṭh	Kōṭh
9. Nine	Nau	Nau	Khañ
10. Ten	Das	Das	Khas
11. Twenty	Vīs	Wi	Khis
12. Fifty	Pachās	Pañjah	Nañjah
13. Hundred	Sō	Sau	Nhan
14. I	Hē	Hañ	Hañ
15. Of me	Māchā	Mērē	Mērgā
16. Mine	Māchā	Mērā	Mērgā
17. We	Amī	Ham	Ham
18. Of us	Am-chā	Mhārē	Mhārgā
19. Our	Am-chā	Mhārā	Mhārgā
20. Thou	Tū	Tañ	Tañ
21. Of thee	Tidhā	Tērā	Tērgā
22. Thine	Tidhā	Tērā	Tērgā
23. You	Tamī	Tam	Tam
24. Of you	Tam-chā	Tuhārē	Tuhārgā
25. Your	Tam-chā	Tuhārā	Tuhārgā

Kōlhāṭī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Bēk	Ekmū	Khēk
Dhōr	Dulmū	Dōg
Thēr	Tinmū	Tēg
Nyār	Chyārmū	Chōg
Nāch	Pāchmū	Nāch
Chhē	Chhēmū	Chhēlū
Sātta	Sātmū	Nhatēlā
Woṭha	Ātmū	Khōṭ
Naw	Naumū	Navēlū
Dāhā	Dasmū	Dasēlū
Bis	Bismū	Nis
Nannās	Chālis-dasmū	Nachās
Sō	Saumū	Nhō
Hū	Mi	Mē
Mērā	Mērō	Mērō
Mērā	Mērō	Mērō
Ham	Ham	Hamē
Hamārā	Hamārō	Hamārō
Hamārā	Hamārō	Hamārō
Tū	Tū	Tū
Tērā	Tērō	Tērō
Tērā	Tērō	Tērō
Tam	Tum	Tumē
Tumārā	Tumārō	Tumārō
Tumārā	Tumārō	Tumārō

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Natī (State Rampur).
Bēk; khakēlā	Ekkan	Bēk
Dubēlū	Jauḍ	Dhōr
Tibēlū	Dhallā	Phēr
Chabēlū	Arabā	Chan̄k
Pachēlū	Khammis	Nāch
Chhabēlū	This	Nhē
Satēlū	Khammis-jauḍ	Nāth
Khatēlū	Khammis-dhallā	Kōt
Namēlū	Oṇe-āsir	Khanau
Dasēlū	Āsir	Khas
Bisēlū	Mi	Khis
Rachās	Khāḍo-ṭhōkanō	Machās
Sawēlū	Ṭhōkanō	Khanū
Maī	Maī	Hū
Mērō	Mērō	Mērō
Mērō	Mērō	Mērō
Ham; maī	Hamē	Kham
Mērō	Hamārō	Khamārā
Mērō	Hamārō	Khamārā
Taī; tū	Yō	Nū
Tērō	Yurōkō	Tērā
Tērō	Yurōkō	Tērā
Taī; tū	Tumē	Num
Tērō	Tumārō	Numhārā
Tērō	Tumārō	Numhārā

IN THE GIPSY LANGUAGES

Qasî.	Sikalgîrî (Belgaum).	English.
Ekkan	Ek	1. One.
Jauḍ	Bē	2. Two.
Dhallā	Tan	3. Three.
Arbā	Chār	4. Four.
Khammis	Pāch	5. Five.
This	Chhē	6. Six.
Khammi-jauḍ	Khāt	7. Seven.
Khammi-dhallā	Āṭ	8. Eight.
Oppā-āsir	Ṇan	9. Nine.
Āsir	Dakhalū	10. Ten.
Mi	Īkh	11. Twenty.
Pachyās	Bē-ikh-dakh	12. Fifty.
Thōkanā	Khō	13. Hundred.
Maī	Mi	14. I.
Mērā	Mārā	15. Of me.
Mērā	Mārū	16. Mine.
Hām	Ham	17. We.
Hamārā	Hamārū	18. Of us.
Hamārā	Hamārū	19. Our.
Tū	Tū	20. Thou.
Tērā	Tārū	21. Of thee.
Tērā	Tārā	22. Thine.
Tumē	Tumē	23. You.
Tumārā	Tumārū	24. Of you.
Tumārā	Tumārū	25. Your.

English.	Ōḍki (Cutch).	S̄kai (Ordinary).	S̄kai (Criminal).
26. He	Sū	Uh	Buh
27. Of him	Tē-chā	Uakā	Buskā
28. His	Tē-chā	Uakā	Buskā
29. They	Sū, (awā)	Uh	Buh
30. Of them	Tē-chā, (awā-chā)	Uṅkā	Buṅkā
31. Their	Tē-chā, (awā-chā)	Uṅkā	Buṅkā
32. Hand	Hāth	Hāth	Khōth
33. Foot	Pag	Pair	Nair
34. Nose	Nāk	Nākk	Khakk
35. Eye	Ākh	Ākkh	Kukkhī
36. Mouth	Mō	Mūh	Khōh
37. Tooth	Ḍāt	Dand	Khadand
38. Ear	Kān	Kānn	Kānn
39. Hair	Wār	Bāl	Bāl
40. Head	Ṭhōr	Sir	Nhis
41. Tongue	Jibh	Jibh	Jibh
42. Belly	Pēt	Pētṭ	Netṭ
43. Back	Pāṭh	Pitṭh	Nitṭh
44. Iron	Lōḍhe	Lohā	Lohā
45. Gold	Sōnē	Saunnā	Baunnā
46. Silver	Rūpē	Chāndī	Chāndī
47. Father	Bā	Bāpp	Bāptā
48. Mother	Āī	Mā	Mautī
49. Brother	Bhāu	Bhāī	Bhautā
50. Sister	Bāp	Bāp	Dhabāp
51. Man	Māpas	Banda	Kōdmī
52. Woman	Bāyri	Janāni	Bārmi

Kōlhāṭī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Ō	Wō	Ū
Us-kē	Wō-kē	Wakō
Us-kā	Wō-kā	Wakō
Ō	Yē	Vē
Un-kē	Yē-kē	Wākōyi
Un-kē	Yē-kē	Wākōyi
Hōtta; kōhōt	Gōnō	Gōt
Pāw; gōnā	Gōnālī	Gōpō
Khanākka; nākka	Nakēchi	Khinak
Kōkka	Kanēchi	Gīḍi
Khumma	Khōmḍā	Chhōpḍō
Nātta	Dēḍwā	Koḍ
Rānna	Kēnēchi	Rikan
Nay	Turwālē	Raj
Ṭamma	Ṭolchō	Niakō
Nib	Jibēchi	Jib
Nēṭ	Ḍhamuklō	Rēpaṭ
Niṭṭh	Panēchi	Niṭ
Lokhaṇḍ	Dharālī	Lhō
Bōnnā	Bōngā	Bōnō
Nāri	Gandilō	Nāndī
Bēptā	Bhāwutō	Māwutō
Bhāwtī	Māwutī	Māwutī
Bhāwtā	Bhākḍē	Rhākḷō
Bānchi	Bhanīchi	Rhākḷī
Kōdmi	Khadmi, or kējā	Khēdmi
Kājī; hōṭṭī	Kēji	Dāmi

Kaujarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Nāṭī (State Rampur).
Bihī; wō; hirō; ūr . . .	Ē	Wuh
Birō-kō; urū-kē . . .	Urōkō	Nus-kā
Birō-kō; urū-kē . . .	Urōkō	Nus-kā
Bihī; wō; hirō; ūr . . .	Ō	Wē
Birō-kō; urū-kē . . .	Unākō	Nun-kā
Birō-kō; urū-kē . . .	Unākō	Nun-kā
Kōhat	Hattēto	Hōt
Gurārā, gurārā . . .	Gurādāle	Nāḍ
Nak-hālī	Nakōṭā	Nākṭā
Ṭakhat	Khakālē	Ūkh
Khōsar	Mōndā	Khun
Dat-hālū	Datēle	Khudāt
Kan-hālā	Kanālē	Rān
Bar-hālā	Bālē	Khabāl
Mur-hālā	Śirō	Nōhas
Jim-hālī	Jibālī	Khajib
Pit-hālō	Pēṭō	Nēṭ
Pithālī	Pitālī	Niṭh
Lohālō	Lhawō	Khalōyā
Rōnō	Sunnō	Būnā
Rādi	Chāndī	Khanādi
Bap-hālō	Bāpō	Khabāp; nāp
Mahtārī	Māiyā	Khamā
Chibhāt	Bhai	Bhaoṭā
Rahin	Bhayan	Chhēn
Najāū; khādmi . . .	Kājarō	Kādmi
Najai	Kājari	Khēr

Qasāi.	Sikalgāri (Belgaum).	English.
Une	Tō	26. He.
Us-kā	Tinū	27. Of him.
Us-kā	Tinū	28. His.
Uno	Tō	29. They.
Un-kā	Tinā	30. Of them.
Un-kā	Tinā	31. Their.
Hatōṭā	Hatō	32. Hand.
Guḍāle	Pagō	33. Foot.
Phēkani	Nākōḍū	34. Nose.
Akōṇyā	Kāngī	35. Eye.
Mū	Mhōḍū	36. Mouth.
Chabīne	Dātō	37. Tooth.
Kannōṭyā	Kānōḍā	38. Ear.
Bālā	Bālo	39. Hair.
Śir	Mātū	40. Head.
Minjāli	Jīb	41. Tongue.
Khilsi	Dhōtriṇō	42. Belly.
Piṭ	Piṭōḍā	43. Back.
Lawhā	Lhōḍū	44. Iron.
Sūnā	Khōnū	45. Gold.
Khurā	Chāndī	46. Silver.
Bābā	Yabō	47. Father.
~ Āmmā	Yāyī	48. Mother.
Tuwānā-bhai (<i>elder</i>), subak-bhai (<i>younger</i>).	Bhāyī	49. Brother.
Bū (<i>elder</i>), bhān (<i>younger</i>)	Bhān	50. Sister.
Subūḱḱā	Manekh	51. Man.
Subūḱḱī	Bāyko	52. Woman.

English.	Ōḍkī (Cutch).	Sāsi (Ordinary).	Sāsi (Criminal).
53. Wife	Wau	Rann	Bārmī
54. Child	Chhōyrā	Mūṇḍā, mūṇḍi	Bōrā, bōri
55. Son	Pāt	Pāt	Bōrō
56. Daughter	Dhū	Dhī	Bōri
57. Slave	Golām	Ghulām	Ghulām
58. Cultivator	Khērū	Kajjā	Khētā
59. Shepherd	Bharuār	Ājri, ajārī	Ājri, ajārī
60. God	Bhagwān	Khudā	Rudāh
61. Devil	Dait	Shaitān	Shaitān
62. Sun	Sūraj	Sūraj	Nūraj
63. Moon	Chandar	Chann	Chaun
64. Star	Tārā	Tārā	Tārā
65. Fire	Tāqḥā	Āgg	Pīngī, kōgg
66. Water	Pāṇi	Pāṇi	Chāñ
67. House	Ghar	Ghar	Khaulā
68. Horse	Gōrā	Ghōrā	Kūdrā
69. Cow	Gāy	Gā	Lāisi
70. Dog	Kutā	Kūtā	Bhūkal
71. Cat	Minā	Baliā	Koniā, dhēbrā
72. Cock	Kukrā	Kūkar	Kūkar
73. Duck	Badak	Batak	Batak
74. Ass	Gārō	Khōtā	Ganpā
75. Camel	Ūṭh	Ūṭh	Ṭhāb
76. Bird	Pakhi	(Little) Chīriyā, pañchhi	Nīriyā
77. Go	Jā	Jāpā	Jaurpā
78. Eat	Khā	Khāpā	Dāṭpā
79. Sit	Bās	Baispā	Ṭhāṭkṇā

Kōlhātī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālā.
Bhatānī	Nāthyē	Bair
Kajētā	Lāwḍē	Gelpē
Chhorā	Lāwḍō	Gelpō
Chhorī	Lāwḍī	Gelpī
Lōḍā	Dhikmō	Nāngadī
Nēhatkari	Ret	Dhunabi
Bannagar	Dhanētyē	Dhangar
Nēw	Dēmā	Khidēw
Chbut	Bhutmā	Nhūt
Nhuriyā	Suriyā	Nhuriyā
Nān	Chandichī	Chānd
Nārā	Tārāī	Tārō
Kōgga	<u>Dzhūlaṅgi</u>	Kichī
Chēnī	Nirmā	Chāyī
Khōggā	Nānd	Khōk
Rhōḍā	Ghōṛṭō	Ghōḍchō
Rāy	Kāwsō	Gāyī
Dhōkkal	<u>Dzhaglā</u>	Jukelā
Kuḍki	Jilāṭī	Nilayī
Kukḍā	Paklā	Chhurgā
Nadak	Badak	Nadak
Rāddhu	Khārsā	Napērā
Khūt	Huṅṭ	Khūt
Nanāwar	Chīḍī	Chāglā
Jāssī	<u>Dzhāyil</u>	Hiṭwāḍ
Dutta	Bēt	Dutwāḍ
Bēs	Thīg	Tōswāḍ

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naṭī (State Rampur).
Mehrarū	Jō	Chbū
.....	Bachchā	Khabālak
Chūbkō	Baiḍō	Bōrā
Chūbki	Baiḍī	Bōri
Gulambhō	Pālakḍō	Gulām
Khit-hēlo	Rait	Rasān
Dharariā	Dhangar	Raṇḍariyā
Rām	Mahābūb	Nanmēswar
Bhut-hēlo	Saitāne	Khabhūt
Suraj-hēlo	Surāj	Nūraj
Chand-hēlo	Chānd	Khanād
Tar-hēlā	Tārō	Khatārā
Jhurai	Angārō	Ōg
Nimāni	Niwāni	Chhañ
Rib	Nandō	Lōhallā
Ghurārō	Ghōḍō	Rōharchā
Nādli	Gāyō	Tiyārgi rās
Jhūkil	Kuttō	Jhumkar
Bilaiā	Billi	Khablāt
Murgā	Muragā	Khamurg
Radak	Batkē	Tiyārgi nadak
Gādha	Gaddō	Rōhā
Uṭ-hēlo	Hūṭ	Hūṭ
Chiraiē	Parinde	Narand
Jaogh	Nikhar	Jāsūrō
Dūt	Thūr	Doti lēo
Raiṭh	Chaiṭ	Ṭhōki jāo

Qasī.	Sikalgāri (Belgaum).	English.
Jōrū	Ranban	53. Wife.
Bachchā	Pottū	54. Child.
Kachēlā	Dikarō	55. Son.
Kachēlī	Dikari	56. Daughter.
Hājibādā	Lōkṭō	57. Slave.
Rait	Rhait	58. Cultivator.
Dhangar	Dhangar	59. Shepherd.
Allā	Dēwṭō	60. God.
Śaitān	Bhutaḍū	61. Devil.
Surij	Din	62. Sun.
Chānd	Chānd	63. Moon.
Tārā	Chāndri	64. Star.
Āngār	Āg	65. Fire.
Nirgā	Pāni	66. Water.
Nann	Khōl	67. House.
Ghōḍā	Chhimnō	68. Horse.
Bhakkar	Gāyḍi	69. Cow.
Kuttā	Kutrō	70. Dog.
Billi	Billāḍi	71. Cat.
Muragā	Kukḍō	72. Cock.
Badak muragi	Badak	73. Duck.
Gadaḍā	Gadaḍū	74. Ass.
Hūt	Hūt	75. Camel.
Parindā	Pākhrā	76. Bird.
Khu	Jakan	77. Go.
Śuḍ	Dut	78. Eat.
Baṭwāḍ	Bukhal	79. Sit.

English.	Ōḍki (Cutch).	S̄s̄i (Ordinary).	S̄s̄i (Criminal).
80. Come	Āw	Auṇā	Asṇā
81. Beat	Mār	Mārṇā	Lōṇā
82. Stand	Ūbh	Khloṇā	Khloṇā; khalā or ralā hōṇā
83. Die	Mar	Marṇā	Lugṇā
84. Give	Dē	Dēṇā	Dēṇā
85. Run	Dhōṛ	Nasṇā, dauṇṇā	Biṇṇā
86. Up	Māthē	Ufarā	Khūpar
87. Near	Paṛkhē-mā	Nērē	Dhanērē
88. Down	Nichē	Talā	Talā
89. Far	Parē	Dūr	Khadūr
90. Before	Mōrē	Aggē	Kuggē
91. Behind	Wāsē	Pichhē	Nichhē
92. Who	Kōṇ	Kaṇ	Kaṇ
93. What	Kāy	Kyā	Kyā
94. Why	Kulāy	Kyū	Kyū
95. And	Anē	Tē	Tē
96. But	Paṇ	Par	Par
97. If	Jō	Jēkar, jē	Jēkar jē
98. Yes	Hā	Āhō	Āūē
99. No	Nā	Na	Na
100. Alas	Arē	Hsē	Hsē
101. A father	Bā	Bāpp	Bāptā
102. Of a father	Bā-chā	Bāppā-gā (-gē, -gī, -giā)	Bāptē-gā
103. To a father	Bā-nē	Bāppā-gū	Bāptē-gū
104. From a father	Bā-tī	Bāppā-thō	Bāptē-thō
105. Two fathers	Dōn bā	Dō bāpp	Dhōr bāptē
106. Fathers	Bā	Bāpp	Bāptē

Kōlhātī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālī.
Nyākuṣ	Hāyil	Barwāḍ
Ṭhāy	Lugā	Lōt
Ubā rahō	Khūt-kō khub-rā	Khub-rōk
Luki jā	Lug	Lugit
Dēppa	Walā	Khichwāḍ
Nhas	Nimal	Chigawāḍ
Uprō	Khūpar	Khūpar
Najik	Kan	Khurē
Tanhē	Tan	Talkē
Dur	Dār	Dāg
Sāmē	Khagāḍī	Khagāḍī
Pichohhē	<u>D</u> shichāḍī	Ripchē
Kōp ; yō	Kon	Kun
Kyā	Kē	Kā
Kyō	Kaikē	Kaykā
An	Haur	Or
Par ; narantu	Lēkin	Lēkin
Jab	To	To
Hāw	Hōy	Hā
Nāhāpi	Hapenā	Nāī
Arērō	Arō	Ayyō
Bāptā	Ek-mū bhāwutō	Khēk māwutō
Bāptē-kā	Ek-mū bhāwutō-kō	Khēk māwutō-kō
Bāptē-ku	Ek-mū bhāwutō-kū	Khēk māwutō-kū
Bāppā-ṭhō-sī	Ek-mū bhāwutō-sī	Khēk māwutō-sī
Dhōr bāptē	Dul-mū bhāwutō	Dōg māwutō
Bāpō	Bhāwutō	Māwutō

English.	Ōḍkī (Cutch).	Sāsi (Ordinary).	Sāsi (Criminal).
107. Of fathers . . .	Bāwā-chā . . .	Bappē-gā . . .	Bāptē-gā . . .
108. To fathers . . .	Bāwā-nē . . .	Bappē-gū . . .	Bāptē-gū . . .
109. From fathers . . .	Bāwā-ti . . .	Bappē-thō . . .	Bāptē-thō . . .
110. A daughter . . .	Dhū . . .	Dhī . . .	Bōri . . .
111. Of a daughter . . .	Dhū-chā; dhūi-chā, etc. . .	Dhīā-gā . . .	Bōriā-gā . . .
112. To a daughter . . .	Dhū-nē . . .	Dhīā-gū . . .	Bōriā-gū . . .
113. From a daughter . . .	Dhū-ti . . .	Dhīā-thō . . .	Bōriā-thō . . .
114. Two daughters . . .	Dōn dhuā . . .	Dō dhīā . . .	Dhōr bōriā . . .
115. Daughters . . .	Dhuā . . .	Dhīā . . .	Bōriā . . .
116. Of daughters . . .	Dhuā-chā . . .	Dhīē-gā . . .	Bōriē-gā . . .
117. To daughters . . .	Dhuā-nē . . .	Dhīē-gū . . .	Bōriē-gū . . .
118. From daughters . . .	Dhuā-ti . . .	Dhīē-thō . . .	Bōriē-thō . . .
119. A good man . . .	Sārā māpas . . .	Chāngā (or nek) ādmi (or banda). . .	Chēngūā kōdmi . . .
120. Of a good man . . .	Sārē māpsū-chā . . .	Chāngē ādmiā-gā (or bandē-gā). . .	Chēngūē kōdmiā-gā . . .
121. To a good man . . .	Sārē māpsū-nē . . .	Chāngē ādmiā-gū . . .	Chēngūē kōdmiā-gū . . .
122. From a good man . . .	Sārē māpsū-ti . . .	Chāngē ādmiā-thō . . .	Chēngūē kōdmiā-thō . . .
123. Two good men . . .	Dōn sārē māpsē . . .	Dō chāngē ādmi . . .	Dhōr chēngūē kōdmi . . .
124. Good men . . .	Sārē māpsē . . .	Chāngē ādmi (or bandē) . . .	Chēngūē kōdmi . . .
125. Of good men . . .	Sārē māpsū-chā . . .	Chāngē ādmiē-gā . . .	Chēngūē kōdmiē-gā . . .
126. To good men . . .	Sārē māpsū-nē . . .	Chāngē ādmiē-gū . . .	Chēngūē kōdmiē-gū . . .
127. From good men . . .	Sārē māpsū-ti . . .	Chāngē ādmiē-thō . . .	Chēngūē kōdmiē-thō . . .
128. A good woman . . .	Sārī bāyri . . .	Chāngī janāni . . .	Chēngui bāirmi . . .
129. A bad boy . . .	Nikām chhōyri . . .	Bhāiri mūpā . . .	Nhāirē (or nharāb) bōrā . . .
130. Good women . . .	Sārīā bāyriā . . .	Chāngīā janāniā . . .	Chēnguiā bāirmiā . . .
131. A bad girl . . .	Nikām chhōyri . . .	Bhāiri mūpā . . .	Nhāiri (or nharāb) bōri . . .
132. Good . . .	Sārā . . .	Chāngā . . .	Chēngūā . . .
133. Better . . .	Wadhārē sārā . . .	[Is thō or is satthā] chāngā . . .	[Bis thō or bis satthā] chēngūā . . .

Kölläti (Akola).	Gärođi.	Myänwäle.
Bäptē-kā	Bhāwutē-kō	Māwutē-kō
Bäptē-ṭhō	Bhāwutē-kū	Māwutē-kū
Bäptē-ṭhō-si	Bhāwutē-si	Māwutē-si
Chhōri	Ek-mū lāwđi	Khēk gelpi
Chhōri-kā	Ek-mū lāwđi-kō	Khēk gelpi-kō
Chhōri-ku	Ek-mū lāwđi-kū	Khēk gelpi-kū
Chhōri-ṭhō-si	Ek-mū lāwđi-sē	Khēk gelpi-sē
Dhōr chhōriyā	Dul-mū lāwđi	Dōg gelpi
Chhōriyā	Lāwđi	Gelpi
Chhōriyā-kā	Lāwđi-kō	Gelpi-kō
Chhōriyā-ku	Lāwđi-kū	Gelpi-kū
Chhōriyā-ṭhō-si	Lāwđi-sē	Gelpi-sē
Kōchchhā kōdmi	Ek-mū chisam khadmi	Khēk khāchō khādmi
Kōchchhā kōdmiyā-kā	Ek-mū chisam khadmi-kō	Khēk khāchō khādmi-kō
Kōchchhā kōdmiyā-ku	Ek-mū chisam khadmi-kū	Khēk khāchō khādmi-kū
Kōchchhā kōdmiyā-ṭhō-si	Ek-mū chisam khadmi-sē	Khēk khāchō khādmi-sē
Dhōr bhalē kōdmi	Dul-mū chisam khadmi	Dōg khāchō khādmi
Bhalē kōdmi	Chisam khadmi	Khāchō khādmi
Bhalē kōdmiyā-kā	Chisam khadmi-kō	Khāchō khādmi-kō
Bhalē kōdmiyā-ku	Chisam khadmi-kū	Khāchō khādmi-kū
Bhalē kōdmiyā-ṭhō-si	Chisam khadmi-sē	Khāchō khādmi-sē
Hēṭṭi kōsal	Ek-mū chisam kāji	Khēk niri dāmi
Burā chhōrā	Ek-mū bilēđ lāwđō	Khēk sugāpō gelō
Kōsal hēṭṭiyā	Chisam kāji	Niri dāmi
Būri kajēti	Ek-mū bilēđ lāwđi	Khēk sugāpi gēli
Kōsal; achchhā	Chisam	Khāchō
Achchhā	Isti chisam	Wā-sē-bi khāchō

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naṭī (State Rampur).
Bap-hēlā-kā	Bāpaū-kā	Khabāpō-rā
Bap-hēlā-kū	Bāpaū-ku	Khabāpō-rō
Bap-hēlā-sē	Bāpaū-se	Khabāpō-rē
Chūbki	Ekkaṇ baiḍi	Bēk bōri
Chūbki-kā	Ekkaṇ baiḍi-kā	Bēk bōri-rā
Chūbki-kū	Ekkaṇ baiḍi-ku	Bēk bōri-rō
Chūbki-sē	Ekkaṇ baiḍi-se	Bēk bōri-rē
Dubēlū chūbki	Jauḍ baiḍē	Dhōr bōriyā
Chūbki	Baiḍē	Chhūt bōriyā
Chūbki-kā	Baiḍē-kā	Bōriyō-rā
Chūbki-kū	Baiḍē-ku	Bōriyō-rō
Chūbki-sē	Baiḍē-se	Bōriyō-rē
Khachchhō najaū	Ekkaṇ nīrō kājarō	Bēk kuchchhā kūdmi
Khachchhō najaū-kā	Ekkaṇ nīrō kājarō-kā	Bēk kuchchhā kūdmi-rā
Khachchhō najaū-kū	Ekkaṇ nīrō kājarō-ku	Bēk kuchchhā kūdmi-rō
Khachchhō najaū-sē	Ekkaṇ nīrō kājarō-se	Bēk kuchchhā kūdmi-rē
Dubēlū khachchhō najaū	Jauḍō nīrō kājarā	Dhōr kuchchhā kūdmi
Khachchhō najaū	Nīrō kājarā	Chhūt kuchchhā kūdmi
Khachchhō najaū-kā	Nīrō kājarā-kā	Kuchchhā kūdmiyō-rā
Khachchhō najaū-kū	Nīrō kājarā-ku	Kuchchhā kūdmiyō-rō
Khachchhō najaū-sē	Nīrō kājarā-se	Kuchchhā kūdmiyō-rē
Khachchhi najai	Ekkaṇ nīri kājari	Bēk kuchchhā khēr
Dharāb chūbkō	Ekkaṇ kargāl baiḍō	Bēk rarāb bōrā
Khachchhi najai	Nīri kājarē	Kuchchhā khōriyā
Dharāb chūbki	Ekkaṇ kargāl baiḍi	Bēk rarāb bōri
Khachchh	Nīrō	Kuchchhā
.....	Us-dē nīrō	Chhūt kuchchhā

Qa-ñi.	Sikalgñri (Belgaum).	English.
Bābā-kā	Yabā-nō	107. Of fathers.
Bābā-kñ	Yabā-nē	108. To fathers.
Bābā-se	Yabā-tō	109. From fathers.
Ekkañ kachēli	Ēk dikari	110. A daughter.
Ekkañ kachēli-kā	Ēk dikari-nō	111. Of a daughter.
Ekkañ kachēli-kñ	Ēk dikari-nē	112. To a daughter.
Ekkañ kachēli-se	Ēk dikari-tō	113. From a daughter.
Jañđ kachēlyā	Bē dikariyā	114. Two daughters.
Kachēlyā	Dikariyā	115. Daughters.
Kachēlyā-kā	Dikariyā-nō	116. Of daughters.
Kachēlyā-kñ	Dikariyā-nē	117. To daughters.
Kachēlyā-se	Dikariyā-tō	118. From daughters.
Ekkañ sēbit subūkdā	Ēk chōkñ manekh	119. A good man.
Ekkañ sēbit subūkdā-kā	Ēk chōkñ manekh-nō	120. Of a good man.
Ekkañ sēbit subūkdā-kñ	Ēk chōkñ manekh-nē	121. To a good man.
Ekkañ sēbit subūkdā-se	Ēk chōkñ manekh-tō	122. From a good man.
Jañđo sēbit subūkdē	Bē chōkā mankhō	123. Two good men.
Śēbit subūkdē	Chōkā mankhō	124. Good men.
Śēbit subūkdē-kā	Chōkā mankhō-nō	125. Of good men.
Śēbit subūkdē-kñ	Chōkā mankhō-nē	126. To good men.
Śēbit subūkdē-se	Chōkā mankhō-tō	127. From good men.
Ekkañ sēbit subūkdī	Ēk chōki bāykō	128. A good woman.
Ekkañ hajīb chhōrā or chhanakā	Ēk khattar chhōknō	129. A bad boy.
Śēbit subūkdīyā	Chōkiyō bākdīyō	130. Good women.
Ekkañ hajīb chhōri or chhanaki	Ēk khattar chhōknī	131. A bad girl.
Śēbit	Chōkō	132. Good.
Istī sēbit	Istī chōkō	133. Better.

English.	Ódki (Cutch).	S̄si (Ordinary).	S̄si (Criminal).
134. Best	Badhã-ti sãrã	[Sabhnẽ satthã] changũ	[Sabhnẽ satthã] chẽngũã
135. High	Ūchã	Uchchã	Khuchchã
136. Higher	Wadhãrẽ ũchã	[Is thõ] uchchã	[Bis thõ] khuchchã
137. Highest	Badhã-thi ũchã	[Sabhnẽ satthã] uchchã	[Sabhnẽ satthã] khuchchã
138. A horse	Gõrã, (hisnã)	Ghõrã	Kũdrã
139. A mare	Gõri, (hisni)	Ghõri	Kũdri
140. Horses	Gõrẽ	Ghõrẽ	Kũdrẽ
141. Mares	Gõriã	Ghõriã	Kũdriã
142. A bull	Godhã, dhagã	Dhaggã	Kãngal
143. A cow	Gãy	Gã	Lãlsi
144. Bulls	Godhẽ, dhagẽ	Dhaggẽ	Kãngal
145. Cows	Gãiã	Gãĩ	Lãlsiã
146. A dog	Kutã	Kũtã	Bhũkal
147. A bitch	Kuti	Kutti	Bhũkli
148. Dogs	Kutẽ	Kũtẽ	Bhũkal
149. Bitches	Kutiã	Kuttiã	Bhũkliã
150. A he goat	Bakrã	Bakrã	Chhãbrã
151. A female goat	Bakri	Bakri	Chhãbri
152. Goats	Bakrẽ	Bakrẽ	Chhãbrẽ
153. A male deer	Hẽp	Harn	Harn
154. A female deer	Hẽpi	Harni	Harni
155. Deer	Hẽp	Harn	Harn
156. I am	Hẽ sẽ	Haũ haĩ	Haũ hõpẽ
157. Thou art	Tũ ai	Taũ haĩ	Taũ hõpẽ
158. He is	Sũ sũ	Uh hai	Buh hõpẽ
159. We are	Amĩ sũ	Ham hã	Ham hõpẽ
160. You are	Tamĩ sawã	Tam hõ	Tam hõpẽ

Kolhāṭī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālī.
Achchhā	Dabi chisam	Nabajē-sī khāchō
Khuchchā	Khuchchō	Khunchō
.....	Isti khuchchō	Wā-sē-bī khunchō
.....	Ḍabi khuchchō	Nabalē-sī khunchō
Rhōḍā	Ek-mū ghōṛṭō	Khāk ghōḍchō
Rhōḍī	Ek-mū ghōṛṭī	Khāk ghōḍchī
Rhōḍē	Ghōṛṭē	Ghōḍchō
Rhōḍiyā	Ghōṛṭī	Ghōḍchī
Bēl	Ek-mū kāwsō	Khāk nēl
Rāy	Ek-mū kāwsi	Khāk gāyī
Bēl	Kāwsō	Nēl
Rāyī	Kāwsi	Gāyī
Ḍhōkkaḷ	Ek-mū ḍzhuglā	Khāk jukēlā
Ruttī	Ek-mū ḍzhuglī	Khāk jukēlī
Ḍhōkkaḷ	Ḍzhuglā	Jukēlā
Ruttīyā	Ḍzhuglī	Jukēlī
Nōkkaḍ	Ek-mū rēmṇā	Khāk nōkaḍā
Nōkkaḍī	Ek-mū rēmṇī	Khāk ruchaḷī
Nōkkaḍ	Rēmṇā	Nōkaḍē
Raṭṭ : khōran	Nar harṭī	Khāk dhālviṭ kharan
Khōrani	Mādi harṭī	Khāk nādi kharan
Khōran	Harṭī	Kharan
Hū hē	Mī hapelū	Mē hū
Tū hē	Tū hapelū	Tū hū
Ō ne	Wō hapelū	Ū hū
Ham hē	Ham hapelū	Hamē hū
Tam hē	Tam hapelū	Tamē hū

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum)	Naṭī (State Rampur).
.....	Byādik nīrō	Rab-rē kuchchhā
Khūchō	Khuñchō	Khōchā
.....	Us-dē khuñchō	Chhūt khōchā
.....	Byādik khuñchō	Rab-rē khōchā
Ghurārō	Ekkaṇ ghōḍō	Bēk ruhaṛchā
Ghurārī	Ekkaṇ ghōḍī	Bēk ruhaṛchī
Rahut ghurārō	Ghōḍā	Ruhaṛchē
Rahut ghurārī	Ghōḍē	Ruhaṛchiyā
Sāṛ-hālō	Ekkaṇ pādō	Bēk lōd
Nādhī	Ekkaṇ gāyō	Bēk tiyārgī rāō
.....	Pādā	Nāḍ
.....	Gāyē	Tiyārgī rāē
Jhūkil	Ekkan kuttō	Bēk chhumkar
Jhūkīlī	Ekkaṇ kuttī	Bēk chhumkarī
.....	Kuttā	Chhūt chhumkar
.....	Kuttē	Chhūt chhumkariyā
Rakrā	Ekkaṇ bakarō	Bēk chakrā
Rakrī	Ekkaṇ bakarī	Bēk chakrī
Rakrā	Bakarā	Chakriyā
Khirin	Ekkaṇ harn	Kharan
Khiri	Ekkaṇ harnī	Kharnī
Khirin	Harnē	Chhūt kharan
Maī hughū	Maī hē	Khō rō
Taī hughē	Yō hē	Khanū hōchō
Wō haughē	Ē hō	Woh hōchō
Ham haughē ; maī hughū	Hamē hē	Kham hōchē
Taī hughē	Tumē hē	Nam hōchō

Qasā.	Sikalgārī (Belgaum).	English.
Sab-se sēbit	Ghanō chōkō	134. Best.
Uncha	Uchchō	135. High.
Isti unchā	Isti uchchō	136. Higher.
Sab-se unchā	Ghanō uchchō	137. Highest.
Ekkan ghōḍā	Ēk chhīmṇō	138. A horse.
Ekkan ghōḍī	Ēk chhīmṇī	139. A mare.
Ghōḍē	Chhīmṇā	140. Horses.
Ghōḍyā	Chhīmṇiyō	141. Mares.
Ekkan pādā	Ēk pādō	142. A bull.
Ekkan bhakkar	Ēk gāyḍī	143. A cow.
Pādē	Pādā	144. Bulls.
Bhakkarā	Gāyḍiyō	145. Cows.
Ekkan kuttā	Ēk kutrō	146. A dog.
Ekkan kuttī	Ēk kutrī	147. A bitch.
Kuttē	Kutrā	148. Dogs.
Kuttyā	Kutriyō	149. Bitches.
Ekkan bakarā	Ēk bakrō	150. A he goat.
Ekkan chhēli	Ēk bakri	151. A female goat.
Bakarō	Bakrā	152. Goats.
Ekkan nar haraṇ	Ēk harṇō	153. A male deer.
Ekkan mādi haraṇ	Ēk harṇī	154. A female deer.
Haraṇā	Haraṇā	155. Deer.
Mañ thārtañ	Mī chhē	156. I am.
Tū thārtañ	Tū chhē	157. Thou art.
Uñe thārtañ	Tō chhē	158. He is.
Ham thārte	Ham chhē	159. We are.
Tume thārte	Tum chhē	160. You are.

English.	Ōḍki (Cutch).	Sāsi (Ordinary).	Sāsi (Criminal).
161. They are	Sū si	Uh haĩ	Buh hōpē
162. I was	Hē silā	Haũ thiyyā (or siyyā, etc.)	Haũ thiyyā (or siyyā, etc.)
163. Thou wast	Tũ silā	Taũ thiyyā	Taũ thiyyā
164. He was	Sū silā	Uh thiyyā	Buh thiyyā
165. We were	Amĩ silē	Ham thiyyē	Ham thiyyē
166. You were	Tamĩ silē	Tam thiyyē	Tam thiyyē
167. They were	Sū silē	Uh thiyyē	Buh thiyyē
168. Be	Hō	Hō (<i>sing.</i>), hōwō (<i>plur.</i>)	Hōp, hōpō
169. To be	Hōpē	Hōpā	Hōpā
170. Being	Hōtā	Hōtā	Hōptā
171. Having been	Hōtinē	Hōikē	Hōpi kē
172. I may be	Hē hawē	Haũ hōwē	Haũ hōpē
173. I shall be	Hē havĩ; hē havīnē	Haũ hōngrā	Hōpāngrā
174. I should be	Machē halē khapē	Haũ hōtā	Hōptā
175. Beat	Mār	Mār, mārō	Lō, lōō
176. To beat	Māypē	Mārā	Lōpā
177. Beating	Mārti	Mārtā	Lōtā
178. Having beaten	Mārtinē	Mārikē	Lōikē
179. I beat	Hē mārē sē	Haũ mārta haĩ	Haũ lōtā hōpē
180. Thou beatest	Tũ māri si	Taũ mārta haĩ	Taũ lōtā hōpē
181. He beats	Sū mārē sē	Uh mārta hai	Buh lōtā hōpē
182. We beat	Amĩ mārā sū	Ham mārte hā	Ham lōtē hōpē
183. You beat	Tamĩ mārā sawē	Tam mārte hō	Tam lōtē hōpē
184. They beat	Sū māri si	Uh mārte haĩ	Buh lōtē hōpē
185. I beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Mē mārīē	Māĩ mārīā	Māĩ lōyā
186. Thou beatest (<i>Past Tense</i>).	Tē mārīā	Tāĩ mārīā	Tāĩ lōyā
187. He beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Tēpē mārīā	Uḡ mārīā	Buḡ lōyā

Kóiháŋi (Akola).	Gáróŋi.	Myánwǎŋ.
Vé hě	Yé hapelá	Vé hǎ
Hǎ thiyá	Mi chhó	Mé hi
Tú thiyá	Tá chhó	Tú hi
Ó thiyá	Wó chhó	Ú hi
Ham thiyé	Ham chhó	Hamé hi
Tam thiyé	Tum chhó	Tumé hi
Vé thiyé	Yé chhó	Vé hi
Hó	Rhapel	Rhá
Hóná	Rhapel-né-kó	Rhépékú
Hótá	Rhapel-tó	Rhétá
Huwá hě	Rhapelésó	Rhókó
Hǎ hóná	Mi rhapelungá	Mé rhanágá
Hǎ hónágé	Mi rhapelungó	Mé rhanágó
Hǎ hóná	Mi rhapelungóch	Mé rhépékú hǎŋ
Már	Lugá	Lót
Máréná	Lugaukú	Lótpékú
Mártá	Lugáté	Lótté
Máryá hě	Lugáko	Lot-kó
Hǎ mártá	Mi lugaú	Mé lotú
Tú mártá	Tá lugaú	Tú lotú
Ó mártá	Wó lugaú	Ú lotú
Ham márté	Ham lugaú	Hamé lotú
Tam márté	Tum lugaú	Tumé lotú
Vé márté	Yé lugaú	Vé lotú
Me-né máryá	Mi lugáyó	Mé lotó
Té-né máryá	Tá lugáyó	Tú lotó
Un-né máryá	Wó lugáyó	Ú lotó

Kanjari (Sitapur).	Kanjari (Belgaum).	Natī (State Rampur).
Wō haughō	Ō hō	Wē hōchē
Maĩ hūdo	Maĩ handō	Khō nō
Taĩ hūdo	Yō handō	Khanū hōchā
Wō hūdo	Ē handō	Woh hōchā
.....	Hamē handā	Kham nō
.....	Tumē handā	Num nē
.....	Ō handā	Wē nē
.....	Huyingō	Hō
.....	Hōwāku	Hōpnā
.....	Hōndo	Hōtē huē
.....	Hōwar-kō	Hōkar
Maĩ hūghasō	Maĩ hōwungō	Hōgō ke khō rō
Maĩ hūghasō	Maĩ hōwungō	Khō rōgā
.....	Maĩ hōnōch	Mij-kō hōpnā chāhiyē
Lugai	Kuṭwār	Lōthō
Lugaodirō	Kuṭwārku	Lōthnā
Lugaōdō	Kuṭwārde	Lōhtē huē
Lugao-kō	Kuṭwār-ko	Lōth-kar
Maĩ lugairō	Maĩ kuṭwārō	Khū lōhtā rō
Taĩ lugairō	Yō kuṭwārō	Tā lōhtā hai
Wō lugairō	Ē kuṭwārō	Woh lōhtā hai
.....	Hamē kuṭwārē	Kham lōhtē hōchē
.....	Tumē kuṭwārē	Num lōhtē hō
.....	Ō kuṭwārē	Wē lōhtē hōchē
Maĩ lugaōdō	Maĩ kuṭrō	Khū-nē lōthā
Taĩ lugaoghīs	Yō kuṭrō	Num-nē lōthā
Wō lugaoghīs, lugais	Ē kuṭrō	Us nē lōthā

Qasā.	Sikalgāri (Belgaum).	English.
Uno thāte	Tē chē	161. They are.
Maī thārtā-thē	Mī hotō	162. I was.
Tū thārtā-thā	Tū hotō	163. Thou wast.
Une thārtā-thā	Tō hotō	164. He was.
Ham thārtā-the	Ham hotō	165. We were.
Tume thārtā-the	Tum hotō	166. You were.
Uno thārtā-the	Tē hatā	167. They were.
Thak	Thai	168. Be.
Thakēkyā	Thaiwānē	169. To be.
Thak-tā	Thaitōtō	170. Being.
Thakōko	Thainē	171. Having been.
Maī thakunḡā	Mī thanḡā	172. I may be.
Maī thakunḡā	Mī thanḡō	173. I shall be.
Maī thak-nā	Mī thanch	174. I should be.
Ghāḡ	Nikār	175. Beat.
Ghāḡ-ku	Nikārwānē	176. To beat.
Ghāḡ-tā	Nikārtō	177. Beating.
Ghāḡ-ko	Nikārinē	178. Having beaten.
Maī ghāḡtaū	Mī nikārū	179. I beat.
Tū ghāḡtaū	Tū nikār	180. Thou beatest.
Une ghāḡtaū	Tō nikār	181. He beats.
Ham ghāḡte	Ham nikārū	182. We beat.
Tume ghāḡte	Tum nikār	183. You beat.
Uno ghāḡte	Tē nikār	184. They beat.
Maī ghāḡyā	Mī nikāryō	185. I beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Tū ghāḡyā	Tū nikāryō	186. Thou beatest (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Une ghāḡyā	Tō nikāryō	187. He beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).

English.	Ōḍki (Cutch).	Sēsi (Ordinary).	Sēsi (Criminal).
188. We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).	Amī mārlā	Hamō māriā	Hamō lōyā
189. You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Tamī mārlā	Tamō māriā	Tamō lōyā
190. They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>)	Taiyē mārlā	Unī unō māriā	Bunī unō lōyā
191. I am beating	Hē mārē sē	Haū piā mārtā haī, <i>or</i> haū māri rihā haī.	Haū lotā hōpē, haū lōi rihā hōpē.
192. I was beating	Hē mārē silā	Haū mārta thiyyā (<i>or</i> siyyā)	Haū lotā thiyyā
193. I had beaten	Mē mārle silē	Maī māriā thiyya (<i>or</i> siyyā)	Maī lōyā thiyyā
194. I may beat	Hē mārē	Haū mārē	Haū lōē
195. I shall beat	Hē māri	Haū māraṅgrā	Haū lōṅgrā
196. Thou wilt beat	Tū māri	Taū māraṅgrā	Taū lōṅgrā
197. He will beat	Sū māri	Uh māraṅgrā	Buh lōṅgrā
198. We shall beat	Amī mārū	Ham māraṅgrē	Ham lōṅgrē
199. You will beat	Tamī mārā	Tam māraṅgrē	Tam lōṅgrē
200. They will beat	Sū māri	Uh māraṅgrē	Buh lōṅgrē
201. I should beat	Māchē mārle khapē	Haū mārta	Haū lotā
202. I am beaten	Hē marālā sē	Haū māriā jattā haī	Haū lōyā jasrtā hōpē
203. I was beaten	Hē marālā silā	Haū māriā jattā thiyyā (<i>or</i> siyyā).	Haū lōyā jasrtā. thiyyā (<i>or</i> siyyā).
204. I shall be beaten	Hē marāē	Haū māriā jāṅgrā	Haū lōyā jasraṅgrā
205. I go	Hē jāē sē	Haū jattā haī	Haū jasrtā hōpē
206. Thou goest	Tū jāi si	Taū jattā haī	Taū jasrtā hōpē
207. He goes	Sū jāi sē	Uh jattā hai	Buh jasrtā hōpē
208. We go	Amī jāū sū	Ham jattē hā	Ham jasrtē hōpē
209. You go	Tamī jāwā sawā	Tam jattē hō	Tam jasrtē hōpē
210. They go	Sū jāi si	Uh jattē haī	Buh jasrtē hōpē
211. I went	Hē gēlā	Haū gayā (<i>pronounced</i> gēā)	Haū gaugā (<i>or</i> jasriā)
212. Thou wentest	Tū gēlā	Taū gayā	Taū gaugā (<i>or</i> jasriā)
213. He went	Ō gēlā	Uh gayā	Buh gaugā (<i>or</i> jasriā)
214. We went	Amī gēlē	Ham gaē	Ham gaugē (<i>jasrē</i>)

Kōhshī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Ham-nē māryā . . .	Ham lugāyō . . .	Hamē lōtō . . .
Tum nē māryā . . .	Tum lugāyō . . .	Tumē lōtō . . .
Unh-nē māryā . . .	Yē lugāyō . . .	Vē lōtō . . .
Hū mārṭā hē . . .	Mi lugātō hapelū . . .	Mē lōtū hē . . .
Hū mārṭā thiyā . . .	Mi lugātō chhō . . .	Mē lōtū hi . . .
Mē-nē māryā thiyā . . .	Mi lugā chhō . . .	Mē lōtōtō . . .
Mē-nē mārṇā . . .	Mi lugāwuṅgā . . .	Mē lōtūngā . . .
Hū mārāṅ . . .	Mi lugāwuṅgō . . .	Mē lōtūngō . . .
Tu mārāṅ . . .	Tā lugāwuṅgō . . .	Tā lōtūngō . . .
Wō mārāṅ . . .	Wō lugāwuṅgō . . .	Ū lōtūngō . . .
Ham mārāṅ . . .	Ham lugāwuṅgō . . .	Hamē lōtūngō . . .
Tam mārāṅ . . .	Tam lugāwuṅgō . . .	Tumē lōtūngō . . .
Vē mārāṅ . . .	Yē lugāwuṅgō . . .	Vē lōtūngō . . .
Mē-nē mārṇā . . .	Mi lugānēkūch . . .	Mē lōtūnēkū hōpū . . .
Mu-ku māryā . . .	Mi lugād bētē-hapelū . . .	Mē lōt dnti hē . . .
Mu-ku māryā thiyā . . .	Mi lugād bētē-chhō . . .	Mē lōt dnti hi . . .
Mu-ku mārāṅ . . .	Mi lugād bētūngō . . .	Mē lōt dntūngō . . .
Hū jāṭā . . .	Mi dzhāyilū . . .	Mē hiṭā . . .
Tu jāṭā . . .	Tā dzhāyilū . . .	Tā hiṭā . . .
Ō jāṭā . . .	Wō dzhāyilū . . .	Ū hiṭā . . .
Ham jāṭē . . .	Ham dzhāyilū . . .	Hamē hiṭō . . .
Tam jāṭē . . .	Tam dzhāyilū . . .	Tumē hiṭō . . .
Vē jāṭē . . .	Yē dzhāyilū . . .	Vē hiṭā . . .
Hū gayā . . .	Mi ghayilyō . . .	Mē hiṭō . . .
Tū gayā . . .	Tā ghayilyō . . .	Tā hiṭō . . .
Ō gayā . . .	Wō ghayilyō . . .	Ū hiṭō . . .
Ham gayō . . .	Ham ghayilyō . . .	Hamē hiṭō . . .

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naṭī (State Rampur).
.....	Hamē kuṭṛā	Kham-nē lōthā
.....	Tumē kuṭṛā	Num-nē lōthā
.....	Ō kuṭṛā	Unhō-nē lōthā
Maĩ lūgairō	Maĩ kuḍḍū hē	Khū lōhtā rō
Maĩ lūgaḍḍō	Maĩ kuḍḍē handō	Khū lōth rahā thā
Maĩ lūgaighirō ; maĩ lūgairō	Maĩ kuṭṛōdō	Khū-nē lōthā thā
.....	Maĩ kuṭṛungō	Hōgō ke khū lōthō
Maĩ lūgaosū ; maĩ lūgaoghasī.	Maĩ kuṭṛungō	Khū lōthōgā
Taĩ lūgaoghasī	Yō kuṭṛungō	Khanū lōthērā
Birō lūgaoghasī	Ē kuṭṛungō	Woh lōthērā
.....	Hamē kuṭṛingā	Kham lōthērē
.....	Tumē kuṭṛingā	Num lōthērē
.....	Ō kuṭṛingā	Wē lōthērē
Maĩ lūgaoghasū	Maĩ kuṭṛwār-wā-ku hōnū	Mujh-kō lōthnā chāhiyē
Maĩ lūgairō gaoghirō	Maĩ kuṭṛwār-linō	Khū lōthā gayā rō
Maĩ lūgairō gaoghirō thō	Maĩ kuṭṛwār-gau	Khū lōthā gayā thā
Maĩ lūgairo gaoghasū	Maĩ kuṭṛwār-lēwungō	Khū lōthā jāūgā
Maĩ jaoghadō	Maĩ nikharungō	Khū jāsuratā
Taĩ jaoghasī	Yō nikharungō	Nū jāsuratā hai
Wō jaoghasī	Ē nikharungō	Woh jāsuratā hai
.....	Hamē nikhardaĩ	Kham jāsuratē hōchē
.....	Tumē nikhardaĩ	Num jāsuratē hō
.....	Ō nikhardaĩ	Wē jāsuratē hōchē
Maĩ jaoghirō	Maĩ gawō	Khū gayā
Taĩ jaoghirō	Yō gawō	Nū gayā
Wō jaoghirō	Ē gawō	Woh gayā
.....	Hamē gawā	Kham gayō

Qasii.	Sikalgari (Belganno).	English.
Ham ghadya	Ham nikaryo	186. We beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Tume ghadya	Tum nikaryo	189. You beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Uno ghadya	Te nikaryo	190. They beat (<i>Past Tense</i>).
Mañ ghadta-hai	Mi nikartañ	191. I am beating.
Mañ ghadta-hatta	Mi nikartoto	192. I was beating.
Mañ ghadyata	Mi nikaryoto	193. I had beaten.
Mañ ghadenga	Mi nikarunga	194. I may beat.
Mañ ghadunga	Mi nikarungo	195. I shall beat.
Tu ghadunga	Tu nikarungo	196. Thou wilt beat.
Une ghadunga	To nikarungo	197. He will beat.
Ham ghadunga	Ham nikarungo	198. We shall beat.
Tume ghadunga	Tum nikarungo	199. You will beat.
Uno ghadunga	Te nikarungo	200. They will beat.
Mañ ghadna	Mi nikarunch	201. I should beat.
Mañ ghad khañ	Mi nikar-dutyo-chho	202. I am beaten.
Mañ ghad khaya	Mi nikar-dutyoto	203. I was beaten.
Mañ ghad khaunga	Mi nikar-dutyunga	204. I shall be beaten.
Mañ khuwatañ	Mi jakan	205. I go.
Tu khuwatañ	Tu jakan	206. Thou goest.
Une khuwatañ	To jakan	207. He goes.
Ham khuwate	Ham jakan	208. We go.
Tume khuwate	Tum jakan	209. You go.
Uno khuwate	Te jakan	210. They go.
Mañ khuhwa	Mi gaknyo	211. I went.
Tu khuhwa	Tu gaknyo	212. Thou wentest.
Une khuhwa	To gaknyo	213. He went.
Ham khuhwa	Ham gaknyo	214. We went.

English.	Ōḍki (Cutch).	Sāsi (Ordinary).	Sāsi (Criminal).
215. You went . . .	Tamī gēlē . . .	Tam gaē . . .	Tam gangē (jasrē) . . .
216. They went . . .	Sū gēlē . . .	Uh gaē . . .	Buh gangē (jasrē) . . .
217. Go . . .	Jā . . .	Jā, jāo . . .	Jasr, jasrō . . .
218. Going . . .	Jātā . . .	Jattā . . .	Jasrtā . . .
219. Gone . . .	Gēlā . . .	Gayā . . .	Gaugā, jasriā . . .
220. What is your name ? .	Tam-chē nām kāy ? .	Tuhārā nā kyā hai ? .	Tuhārgā nauṭhā kyā hōpē ?
221. How old is this horse ?	Hā gōrā kawṛak sē ? .	Is ghōrē-gī kyā 'umr hai ?	Bis kūdrō-gī kyā khumr hōpē ?
222. How far is it from here to Kashmir ?	Kashmir aṭhē-ti kitrik chhēṭe sē ?	Ēthō Kashmirā tāi kinni dūr hai ?	Bethō Nāshmirā tāi kitni khadūr hōpē ?
223. How many sons are there in your father's house ?	Tam-chē bā-chē gharā-mā kētrāk pūt ai ?	Tuhārē bappā-gē gharā bich kitnē pūt hai ?	Tuhārgē bāptē-gē khaulē kitnē bōrē hōpē ?
224. I have walked a long way to-day.	Āj mē lāmbā path karlā sē	Ājj haū baṛi dūr turīā .	Kōjj baū jaḍi khadūr nurīā.
225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.	Māchē kākē-chā pūt tō-chē bāṇi-nē pēplā sē.	Mērē kākē-gā pūt uskiā bānā sāth biāhiā hūā hai.	Mērgē kākē-gā bōrā buskiā (or khapniā) dhabānā nāth chhiāhiā hōpiā hōpē.
226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.	Gharā-mā dhōrē gōrē-chā kāṭhā sē.	Baggē ghōrē-gī kāṭhi gharā bich hai.	Dhabaggē kūdrō-gī nāṭhi khaulē bich hōpē.
227. Put the saddle upon his back.	Tē-chi puṭhā māthē kāṭhā māḍā.	Kāṭhi uskiā piṭṭhā par bāhō	Nāṭhi buskiā niṭṭhā khūpar ḍāwō.
228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.	Mē tē-chē pūtā-nē ghaṇē phaṭkē mārē sī.	Maī uskē pūtā-gū baṛē kōṭlē (baint or sōṭē) mārē.	Maī buskē bōrē-gū jaḍē nōṭlē (nhōṭē) lōē.
229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.	Sū ḍūgrā māthē chōpē charāvē sē.	Uh pahārā-giā chōtiā uppar ḍangar chugātā hai.	Buh nahārā-giā nōṭiā khūpar khadāngar nugātā hōpē.
230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.	Sū ō jhārā nichē gōrē māthē bēslā sē.	Uh us rukkhā-gē taḷ ghōrē-gē uppar baiṭhā hai.	Buh bus khrukkā-gē taḷ kūdrē khūpar (baūkiā) hōpē.
231. His brother is taller than his sister.	Ē-chi bāṇi-kartā ē-chā bhān ūchā sē.	Uskā bhāi uskiā bānā satthā lammā hai.	Buskā bhautā buskiā (or khapniā) dhabānā natthā khalammā hōpē.
232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.	Ē-chi kimat aḍhi rūpiē sē .	Iskā mōll dhāi rupayyē hai	Biskā chīmūl nhāi balusē (or ruknā or lābē) hōpē.
233. My father lives in that small house.	Māchā bā ō dhārē gharā-mā rē-sē.	Mērā bāpp usnikē gharā bich rahtā hai.	Mērgā bāptā bus khikē khaulē bich raugtā hōpē.
234. Give this rupee to him	Hā rūpiā tē-nē ḍēwā .	Uskō ēā rupayyā ḍē . . .	Buskō bēā ruknā (baluā, lābā) ḍēp.
235. Take those rupees from him.	Iē rūpiē tō pāsē-thi ghēwā .	Uskē pāsā uh rupayyē lēi lē	Buskē nāsā buh ruknē lēpi lēp.
236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes.	Ē-nē khūb mārā anē rāḍhvē-ti bādhā.	Uskō achchhiā tarā mārō tē rassē sāthth baddhō.	Buskō chēngniā narā lōē tē khassē natth chhēdwō.
237. Draw water from the well.	Kuwē-māy-ti pāṇi kāḍhā .	Us khūā bichchā pāṇi kāḍhō.	Bus nūā khabichchā chaī kēḍhwō.
238. Walk before me . . .	Mā agiā chāl . . .	Mērē aggē turō . . .	Mērgē kuggē nurō . . .
239. Whose boy comes behind you ?	Tamā wāsē kē-chā pūt āwē sē ?	Tuhārē picchhō kiskā pūt ātā hai ?	Tuhārgē nichhē kiskā bōrā astā hōpē ?
240. From whom did you buy that ?	Tamī hāw kē pāsē-ti vēchātī ghēlē ?	Tamō kis-thō uh mōllē liyyā ?	Tamō kis-thō buh khamōllē lēpiā ?
241. From a shopkeeper of the village.	Gāmā-chē ek hāṭawārē pāsē-ti.	Gāwā-gē ēkki dukandārā pāsā.	Dhāmē-(or nādā)-gē bēkki kūṭiā-wālō nāsā.

Kölbhāṭi (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālī.
Tam gayē	Tum ghayilyō	Tumē hiṭo
Vē gayē	Yē ghayilyō	Vē hiṭo
Jā	Dghāyil	Hiṭrād
Chalyā	Dghāltē	Hiṭtē
Gayā	Ghailōso	Hiṭiso
Tērā nāwchhā kyā hē ?	Tērō chyōnō kē ?	Tērō nōkādō kā ?
Is rhōḍē-ki humbar rētti hāchchē ?	Ē ghōṛṭē-kū kitmū bars ?	Hē ghōḍchē-kū kitanē naras ?
Bēthē-si Kāsmir rētti dūr hē ?	Ingā-si Kāsmir kitmū dūr ?	Hyā-sē Kāsmir kitanē dūg ?
Tērē bāppā-kē khōggē kēttē chhōrē hē ?	Tērē bhāwutē-kē nānd-ma kitmū lāwḍō ?	Tērō mēwutē-kō khōk-mē kitanē gelpē ?
Aj bahōttā durā-si phiri āyā.	Mi āj bharkum bāt chāl-kō hāyilyō.	Mē khāj chhōt dūg rāj nālē.
Mērē kākē-kē chhōrē-kā us-kē bāhānā-si bihā lagyē.	Wōkē bhanichi mēro kākē-kē lāwḍē-kū walaili.	Wāki rhākli mēro dhākā-kū gelpō-kū khichwādī.
Us khōggē-mē dhōthē rhōḍē-kā khōgir hē.	Wā nānd-ma khujlō ghōr-kā khōgirtī rhapel.	Wā khōk-mē dhōko ghōḍ-chō nhōgir hōbrō.
Us-kē nittī-par khōgir dhar.	Wōkē panēchi-pa khōgirtī ghalel.	Wāki nit-kē khūpar nhōgir nakōḍ.
Us-kē chhōrē-ku hū jōhōt pbatkē thāyē.	Mi wōkē lāwḍē-kū bharkum lugāyō.	Mē wākē gelpō-kū chhōt lōtō.
Ō us nēkrē-par dhōr charāi rhiyā.	Wō wā tēkdī-pa kāwsē charāyillā hē.	Ō nēkādī-kē khūpar n nēl narā rōkē hōbrō.
Us nhādā-kē tanē rhōḍē-par thōktā hōchōhē.	Wō wā dghād-kē-tan ghōr-kā-pa thigyā hē.	Nhād-kē talkē ū ghōḍchō khūpar tōs-rōkō.
Us-kā bhāwtā us-kē bāhānā-si khuchchā hē.	Wōkē bhanichi-si okē bhēk-dā khuchchō hapelā.	Wākē hākō wāki rhākli-sē khunchō hōbrō.
Bus-kā mōl kōḍhāi tivhē hē.	Ōki kimmat khādē gandilō	Wāki dhimmat khādai dhōkiyā.
Mērā bāptā bus nanchhā khōggē-mē rōkhtā hōch-chō.	Mērō bhāwutō nanchō nānd-ma rhapelā.	Mērō māwutō wā nhōknō khōk-mē rōkē.
Yō tiwā bus-kō dēppō .	Ō-kū yē gandilā walā .	Wā-kū yō dhōkiyā khich-wād.
Bus-kē najikā-sē nē tivhē lyēp.	Ē gandilē wōkan-sē lhāyil .	Wā-pēsē yē dhōkiyā chōng-bēt.
Bus-ku rhup tāy ān bus-ku nēkdīyā-si nāddhi lā.	Ōkū chisam lugā-kā jawḍi-si chirwānd.	Wā-kū khāchō lōt-kar jōkādī-sē chōnd.
Ruyē-mē-si chēni kaḍḍ .	Thādḍī-mā-sē nirmā ghaichmel.	Rāwādī-mē-sē chāyī tōng-bēt.
Mērē nhāmē nal	Mērē khagāḍī chāl	Mērō khagāḍī nalwād
Tērē nichchhō ris-kā borā asartā ?	Tērē dghichādī-sē kōn-kā lāwḍō hāylā ?	Tērō ripchō kup-kō gēlō barawādē ?
Byē ritthō-si mōlē lyēpyā ?	Tū yē kōn-kan-si mōl lhailyō ?	Tū yē kup-pēsō dimal bētō ?
Bus rhōḍē-kē nukāndārā-thōsi.	Wā nānd-kē ek-mū rawānyā-kan-si.	Wā nhōḍē-kā nukānwālē-pēsō.

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naṭī (State Rampur).
... ..	Tumē gawā	Num gayē
.....	Ō gawā	Wē gayē
Jaogh	Nikhar	Jāo
Jaughado	Nikhardō	Jāsurtē huē
Raūch gaughirō	Nikhar-gangri	Jāsurtā huā
Tērō kā nao-hēlō ?	Tērō nām kā ?	Numhārā kyā nām hai ?
Ih ghuṛāro kittō ruḥō hai ?	Ē ghōḍō-ki kittī umar ?	Is ruhaṛchō-ki kyā khumar hai ?
Ihā-sē Kashmir kittī durhēlō hūghē ?	Hyāndē Kāsmīr kitanē dūr hē ?	Ēthō-sē Kashmir kitnī dūr hai ?
Tērē bap-hēlā-ki ribō-mā kai chūbkā hūghē ?	Tērō bāpō-ke nandō-mā kittā baiḍā hē ?	Numhārē khabāp-kō rōhallā-mē kitnē lōhrē hōchē ?
Maī āj dur-hēlō gaughirō .	Maī āj bahut dūr rastō challō hē.	Hū āj chhūt khadōr chalā rō.
Mērō kākā-kā chūbkō burō-ki rahin bihāis.	Urū-ki bhayan mērō kākā-kō baiḍā-ku dinā-hē.	Mērē kākē-kā lōhrā us-ki chhēn-sē byāhā gayā.
Ribō-mā rapēd ghuṛārō-kā jin-hēli hai.	Ō nandō-mā ujalē ghōḍō-ki jina hē.	Rōhallā-mē us ruhaṛchō-kā gaddā hai.
Birō-ki piṭhēli-par jin-hēli ṭhikē.	Urō-ki piṭhēli-po jina ḍalwār	Us-kō pēṭhā-par gaddā dharō.
Maī birō-kē chūbkā-kū rahut chabuk lugairō.	Maī urō-ki baiḍā-ku bahut ghaḍwādō-hē.	Mē us-kō lōhrē-kō chhūt lōthā.
Birō ruhārā-ki ruṭiā par gahēli charghadi.	Yō ṭēkō-po janāwarē charwādō hē.	Woh pahārā-ki gōth par nōhō charā rahā hai.
Birō pērhēlā tar ghuṛārā par chhaiṭhō hai.	Ē dzhādō-ke jiminī ghōḍō-kē khōpar chēṭrō-hē.	Woh us pēr-ki khatar bēk ruhaṛchī-par ṭhōkā hai.
Birō-kō chibhāi burā-ki rahinā-sē lambō hai.	Urō-kō bhai urō-ki bhayan-dē khuñchi hē.	Us-kā bhaotā us-ki chhannī-sē chhūt khālambā hai.
Birō-kā dam-hēlā kharail goil hai.	Us-ki kimmat jawāḍis kailā.	Us-ki rimat khāi khambā hai.
Mērō bap-hēlō birō chhuṭārō ribō-mē hē.	Mērō bāpōne wō nunke nandō-mā rahēndō.	Mērā nāp us nanuhē rōhallā-mē rōhtā hai.
Jē goil birō tiūr	Yō kailā urō-ku kidō	Yah khambā us-kō dēpi dē
Wō goil birō-sē lē-lingh	Urō-ke pās-de wō kailā chauṅga-lē.	Woh khambā us-sē lēpi lō
Birō-kō khūb lugai baur jiberhēli-sē chaūdh.	Urō-ku nīrō ghaḍwād-ko rasēli-de bandwār.	Usō khūb lōthō aur jōriyō-sē bādhō dō.
Dhuā-sē nimāni nikār	Bawaḍi-mā-de niwāpi khich-wār.	Rūī-sē chhai ṭēki lō
Mērē khāgēlō chalugh	Mērō sambōr chalwār	Mērē gōgē chalō
Tērē nichhē kinō-kō chūbkō aughadō ?	Tērō pichwād-de kirt-ko baiḍō awardō ?	Numhārē nichhē kis-ka bōhrā āsurtā hai ?
Kinō-sē taī mulah lē linghirō ?	Yō kīrō-ke pās-de kimatīne lino ?	Num-nō woh nich kis-sē lēpi li ?
Gaohēlā-kō bēk baniō-sē	Ō khēḍō-ke ekkan ḍukāu-wālā ke pās-de.	Nandwā-kō bēk bāniyā-re

Qassā.	Sikalgāri (Belgaum).	English.
Tume khūhuwā	Tum gaknyō	215. You went.
Uno khūhuwā	Tō gaknyō	216. They went.
Khū	Jākan	217. Go.
Khūwatā	Jākantā	218. Going.
Khūwāsā	Gaknal	219. Gone.
Tōrē nan kyā ?	Tārū nam sū ?	220. What is your name ?
Ē ghōḍō-ku kette sāl ?	Yē chhimnā-nō kekhalā warāk ?	221. How old is this horse ?
Hyāsi Kāsmir kette dūr ?	Hyā-tō Kāsmir kekhalā dūr ?	222. How far is it from here to Kashmir ?
Tērā bābā-kā nann-me kettā kachēle ?	Tārū yabā-nā khōl-mā kekhalā dikarā chhē ?	223. How many sons are there in your father's house ?
Mañ āj bahut dūr bat chāl-wāḍku awaryā	Mi āj ghanā dūr wāt chālyō	224. I have walked a long way to-day.
Use bhāp mōrā chichchō-kā kachēlā-ku kidyātāi	Tini bhēp mārū kākā-nā dikarā-nō gāryōch	225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.
Ō nann-me ujale ghōḍō-ke khōgir thag-tīye	Tinā khōl-mā dhōḍ chhimnā-nō khōgir chhē	226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.
Uski piṭ-kū uppar khōgir aḍal	Tinā piṭḍā-par khōgir ghāgal	227. Put the saddle upon his back.
Mañ uskā kachēlā-ku bahut ghāḍyā-haū	Mi tinā chhōknāne ghantōl nikāryō	228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.
Une ō ḍōngar-ke uppar gōrpe charwāḍtā hai	Tō tēkaḍā-par dhōrō charwāḷāgyō	229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.
Une ō ḍzhāḍ-ke talle ghōḍō-ke uppar batwāḍe	Tō ḍzhāḍō khētō chhimnā-par bukhyō	230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.
Uskā bhai uskā bhāp-se unchā thartaū	Tini bhēp-ti tinō bhāyi uchchō chhē	231. His brother is taller than his sister.
Uski kimmat jawanis kailā	Tini kimmat khaḍi sabādā	232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.
Mōrā bābā ō subak nann-me thagtaū	Mārō yabō tē nhānchōn khōl-mā rhakhan	233. My father lives in that small house.
Usku ō kailā ki	Tinō yē sabādā gār	234. Give this rupee to him.
Ō kaile uske pās-te māngālle	Ti-kantā yō sabādā chigārilē	235. Take those rupees from him.
Use sōbit tarā-se ghāḍko rāsī-se bandāl	Tinē ghantōl nikāri-nō doḍḍā-tō chhānd	236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes.
Bāwāḍi-mē-si nurgā khaichāl	Īr-mā-tū pāni kīgōṭ	237. Draw water from the well.
Mōrā sāmpnē chāl-wāḍ	Mū khāmō chāgal	238. Walk before me.
Tōrā pichēsi kis-kā chhankā awartaū ?	Tārā pāchō kinō chhōknō ākhtyō ?	239. Whose boy comes behind you ?
Kis-ke pās-te tume ō maul-ku hiḍapyā ?	Tū tē ki-kantō khikkātō-lōkhtyō ?	240. From whom did you buy that ?
Khōḍō-kā ekkan-dukānwālā pāste	Khēḍā-nā wālyā-kantū	241. From a shopkeeper of the village.

VOLUME XI.

Page 3.—Add at end:—

‘ Since the above was written, Dr. Grahame Bailey has published on p. 265 of his *Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas* (Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. XVII, London, 1920) an account of the argot employed by the Qalandars, a nomadic tribe the members of which make their living by conjuring and by showing performing bears, monkeys, and goats. In the general principles of its formation, this argot closely resembles the others described in this volume.’

Page 8.—At the end of the second complete paragraph on this page, after the words ‘ his hearer could understand ’, add the following:—

‘ Mutations and transpositions play a considerable part in the Śaiva *Āgamas*, where they are used with the object of making certain texts unintelligible to those who are not initiated. The *mlēchchhitaka-vikalpāḥ*, i.e., the different kinds of *mlēchchhitaka*, or transpositions or mutations of letters so as to make one’s speech unintelligible, form one of the sixty-four *kalās*, or arts with which an Indian gentleman or lady should be acquainted. A list of these arts,—which already appears in Vātsyāyana’s *Kāma-sūtra* (pp. 32ff. in the Nirṇaya Sāgara edition, Bombay, 1891),—is given in Śrīdhara’s commentary to the *Bhāgavata Purāna* (X, xlv, 36), and is there stated to have been taken from the *Śaiva-tantra*. Its inclusion in the *Kāma-sūtra* is in accordance with the tradition that that work was revealed to mankind by Nandin, the attendant of Śiva. In his commentary to the *Kāma-sūtra*, Yaśōdhara gives the names of some of these argots,—such as “ Kautāliya ”, “ Mūladēvīya ”, and so on,—and quotes verses from other writers in explanation of their peculiarities.’

Page 71, line 8.—Add after ‘ Gipsy tribe ’. ‘ Mr. Sedgwick informs me that the caste usually calls itself “ Dōmbār ” when it goes in for acrobatic work, and “ Kōlhāṭī ” when it follows other callings ’.

Page 89.—The meaning ‘ scabbard-maker ’ attributed to *Myānwālē* is doubtful. In a private letter Mr. Sedgwick suggests that these people may have originally come from Sind. In that Province the Kalhōra chiefs are known as ‘ Miān ’, and their followers are known as ‘ Miānwāls ’. The Kalhōras are believed to have been originally disciples of a Kurdish *Murshid*. In Sind, ‘ Lōhār ’ is generally pronounced short as ‘ Lhār ’.

Page 144.—Add to the list of Authorities on Dōms the following:—

CAPE, REV. C. PHILLIPS.—*Some Words and Sentences Illustrating the Argot of the Doms*. Edited by Sten Konow in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1924, pp. 240ff.

