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**GRAMMAR OF THE EASTERN HINDI,**  
 GRAMMAR OF EASTERN HINDUSTAN AND WESTERN BENGAL,  
 COMMONLY CALLED "GANWARI."

*Compared with the Modern Bengali, High Hindi, and Marathi, and its derivation from ancient Prakrit and Sanskrit.*

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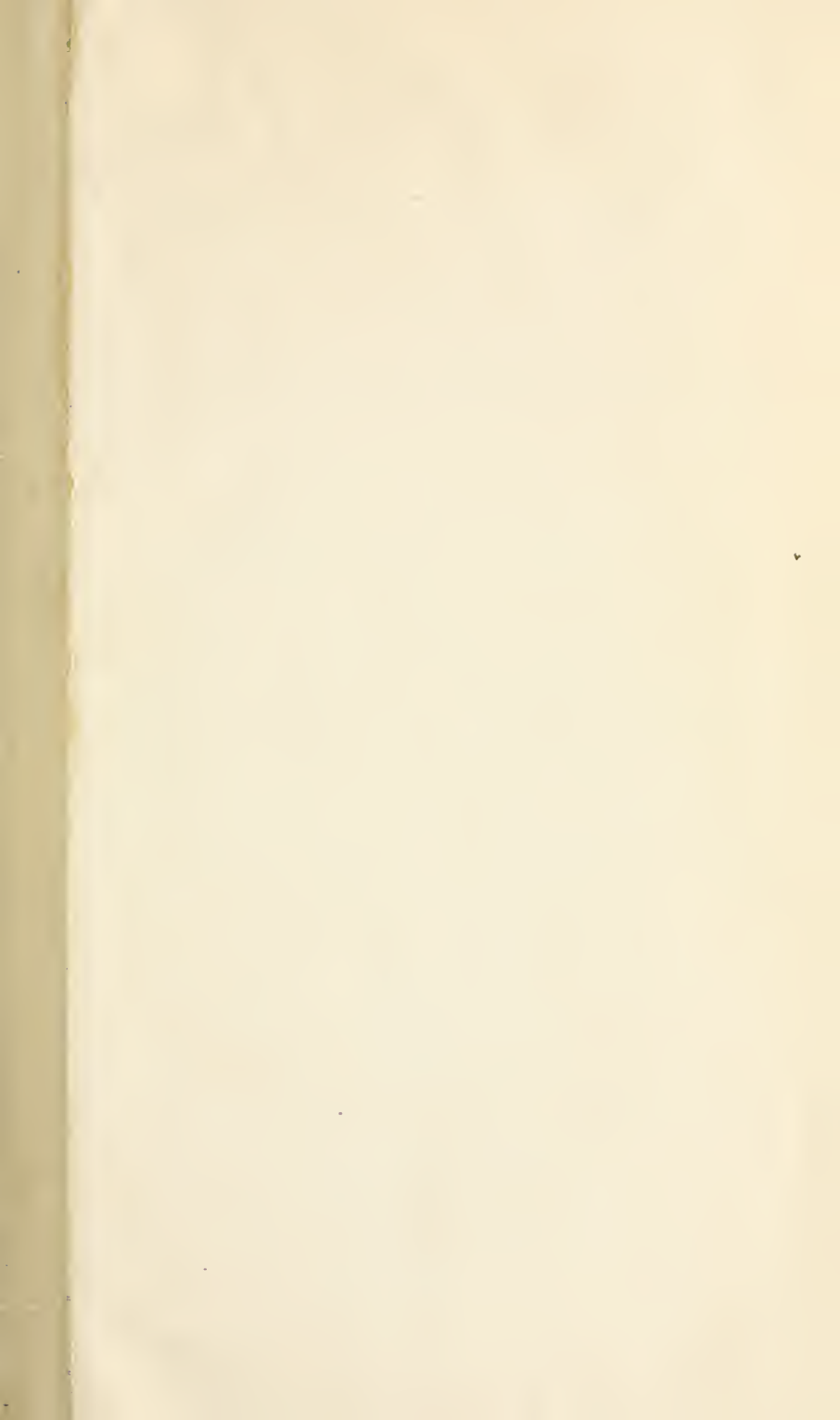
ar of that Hindi which is generally spoken in the eastern half of Hindustan a  
 though of the same type in the whole of that area, differs slightly in different di  
 ally of that dialect which is current in the Benares district; and which appear  
 of dialects. There is another group of Hindi dialects which is current in the w  
 Eastern Punjab, and of which the Braj Bhāshā is the most distinct type. As thi  
 modern Hindi of literature, so that other type of Hindi of which this grammar tr  
 fications is the source of the modern literary Bangali. This is shown by the fa  
 t, by which it is distinguished from the literary or Western Hindi, are also those  
 well-known fact that the oldest Bangali bears a close likeness to the present I  
 in Eastern Hindi is this, that it has preserved, in its system of conjugation esp  
 nic, indeed, and nearer to Prakrit than even those of the Marathi; it is, there  
 logical purposes. A Grammar of the Eastern Hindi, therefore, it is hoped, wi  
 ce; as that dialect throws light on the origin of Bangali and Hindi, and by i  
 generally. It may be mentioned that throughout the grammar the derivation c  
 Prakrit and Sanskrit has been discussed, as well as its affinities with the corres  
 languages, especially Bangali, Marathi, and Western Hindi. It is hoped, besid  
 In of science, but also to civil officers and missionaries. For, though the High  
 ll known in all towns, it is only with difficulty understood by the rural populat  
 his Eastern Hindi dialect is, at present, next to unintelligible to a European  
 ficable to augment the number of the languages of India by the literary cultiv  
 t add to the usefulness of those who labour for the good of the people of that  
 the dialect which is spoken by them. Very little attention has been paid as  
 on. Several grammars of the western and literary Hindi dialects have been pub  
 following is a rough summary of the contents of the grammar:—  
 etic Permutation in Inflection—ditto in Derivation—ditto of Vowel—ditto of Cons  
 rimary—ditto Secondary—Roots—On the Noun and Pronoun—Substantive—Its  
 tpositions—Paradigms of Declension—Adjective—Its Forms—Terminations—Ge  
 nder—Declension—Pronominal Adverbs—On the Verb—Its Tenses—Moods—Ge  
 merals—Cardinals—Ordinals—Others—On Adverbs—Specimens of Eastern H

TRÜBNER & CO., 57 AND 59, LUDGATE HILL.

TURY.

E,  
 to the Colloquial  
 Notes.

GE.





A  
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR  
OF THE  
GAUDIAN LANGUAGES

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE  
EASTERN HINDI

ACCOMPANIED BY

*A LANGUAGE-MAP AND A TABLE OF ALPHABETS*

BY  
A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE



LONDON  
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1880

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PN 511  
76

TO  
*KARL STEFFENSEN*  
*PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN BASEL*  
IN  
*GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE*  
*OF THE*  
*YEARS OF STUDY PASSED UNDER HIS GUIDANCE*

**This Volume**  
*IS*  
*DEDICATED.*

CALCUTTA, Spring 1880.

M518193





## P R E F A C E.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

R. H.

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

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

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

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

---

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

*A. Mg.* = *Ardha Mâgadhî Prâkṛit*.

*Ap.* or *Ap. Pr.* = *Apabhraṃṣa Prâkṛit*.

*Ap. Mg.* = *Apabhraṃṣa Mâgadhî Prâkṛit*.

*Ap. Śr.* = *Apabhraṃṣa Śaurasenî Prâkṛit*.

*B.* = *Bengâlî*.

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

*Bh.* = *Bhojpurî*.

*Bhag.* or *Bh.* = *Bhagavatî*.

*Br.* = *Braj*.

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

*Bs.* or *Bw.* = *Baiswârî*.

*Cw.* = *Cowell's edition of Vararuchi's Prâkṛita Prakâṣa*.

*Dk.* = *Dakṣhiṇâtya Prâkṛit*.

*Dl.* = *Delius' Radices Pracriticae*.

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

*Eth.* = *Etherington's Hindî Grammar*.

*G.* = *Gujarâtî*.

*Gḍ.* = *Gauḍian*.

*Gh.* or *Gw.* = *Garhwâlî*.

*Gl.* = *Sg. Goldschmidt*.

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

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

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

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

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

*Kf.* = *Kafirî*.

*Kl.* = *Kellogg's Hindî Grammar*.

*Km.* = *Kumaonî*.

*Kn.* = *Kanaujî*.

*Ksh.* = *Kashmirî*.

*Kth.* = *Kaithî*.

*Ld.* = *Panjâbî Grammar printed in Loodiana*.

*L. Dh.* = *Lakshmî Dhara's Shaḍbhâshâ chandrikâ*.

*Ls.* = *Lassen's Institutiones Linguae Pracriticae*.

*M.* = *Marâthî*; or, in conjunction



- with other initials, = Modern; as  
*M. Gd.* = Modern Gauḍian, *M.*  
*M.* = Modern Marāṭhī.  
*M. M.* = Max Müller's Sanskrit  
 Grammar.  
*M. W.* = Moniers William's Sans-  
 krit-English Dictionary.  
*Man.* = Student's Mannal of Ma-  
 rāṭhī Grammar.  
*Mech.* = Mṛcchhakaṭikā (ed. Stenz-  
 ler).  
*Md.* = Mārkaṇḍeya's Prākṛit Gram-  
 mar.  
*Mg.* = Māgadhi Prākṛit.  
*Mh.* = Māhārāshṭrī Prākṛit.  
*Mh. Śr.* = Māhārāshṭrī-Śauraseni  
 Prākṛit.  
*Mr.* or *Mw.* = Māṇwārī.  
*Ms.* = Mason's Pāli Grammar.  
*Mth.* = Maithilī.  
  
*N.* = Naipālī.  
*N. Gd.* = Northern Gauḍian.  
  
*O.* = Oṛiyā; or, in conjunction with  
 other initials, = Old; as *O. H.* =  
 Old Hindī, *O. W. H.* = Old We-  
 stern Hindī, *O. P.* = Old Panjābī;  
*O. S.* = Old Sindhī, *O. Gd.* =  
 Old Gauḍian.  
  
*P.* = Panjābī.  
*Pl.* = Pischel's Dissertatio Inaugu-  
 ralis.  
*Pr.* = Prākṛit.  
*Pr.* or *Pers.* = Persian.  
*Pr. R.* = Prithirāj Rasau by Chand  
 Bardāi.  
*Ps.* = Paiśāchī Prākṛit.  
*Psh.* = Pashtú.  
  
*Rj.* = Rājputānī.  
*R. T.* = Rāma Tarkavajīśas Prākṛit  
 Grammar.  
  
*S.* = Sindhī.  
*S. C.* = Śubha Chandra's Prākṛit  
 Grammar.  
*S. Ch.* = Shama Charan's Bangālī  
 Grammar.  
*S. D.* = Sahitya Darpana.  
*S. Gd.* = Southern Gauḍian.  
*S. Gdt.* = Sg. Goldschmidt.  
*S. L.* = St. Luke translated into  
 Naipālī.  
*S. R.* = Siṃha Rājā's Prākṛit Gram-  
 mar.  
*Sk.* = Saṃskrit.  
*Sn.* = Sutton's Oṛiyā Grammar.  
*Spt.* = Sapta Śataka (ed. Weber).  
*Sr.* = Sauraseni Prākṛit.  
*St. G.* = Stanislas Guyard's Gram-  
 maire Palie.  
  
*T. D.* or *T. Das.* = Tulsī Dās' Ra-  
 māyan.  
*T. V.* = Trivikrama's Prākṛit Gramm.  
*Tr.* = Trumpp's Sindhī Grammar.  
  
*Ved.* = Vedic.  
*Vr.* = Vararuchi's Prākṛit Gram-  
 mar (ed. Cowell).  
  
*W.*, in conjunction with other ini-  
 tials, = Western; as *W. Gd.* =  
 Western Gauḍian, *W. H.* = We-  
 stern Hindī, *W. Rj.* = Western  
 Rājputānī.  
*Wb.* = Weber's edition of the Sapta  
 Śataka (*Spt.*) and of the Bhaga-  
 vatī (*Bh.*).

## GRAMMATICAL TERMS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

voc. = vocative.

wk. f. = weak form.

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



## INTRODUCTION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ganges, the Kumaoní between the Ganges and Gogarí, the Naipálí between the Gogarí and Sankhassí. In the following pages these three dialects will be designated by the collective name of *Northern Gauḍian*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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1) „It was formerly a place of great importance, as the head-quarters of the large and powerful clan of Rajpoots whose head is the present Maharaja of Doomraon and who rallied round the standard of the grand old chief Kuṅwar Singh in the mutiny of 1857. Readers of the entertaining »Sair-ul Mutakherin« will remember how often the Mahomedan Soubas of Azimabad (Patna) found it necessary to chastise the turbulent Zemindars of Bhojpur, and how little the latter seemed to profit by the lesson. It is remarkable that throughout the area of the Bhojpuri language a spirit of bigoted devotion to the old Hindu faith still exists, and that the proportion of Mahomedans to Hindus is very small. Rajpoots everywhere predominate, together with a caste called Bábhans (ब्राह्मण) or Bhuinhárs (भूईंहार = landlute) who appear to be a sort of bastard Brahmins, and concerning whose origin many curious legends are told.“  
Beames J. R. A. S. vol. III, p. 464 (new series).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1) E. II. *bhalá* good, W. H. *bhalau* or *bhalo*; E. II. *je* which, W. H. *jau* or *jó*.

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

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

4) e. g., E. H. *ram'vá* or *ramau* Rám, W. H. *ramayá* or *ramai*.

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

6) e. g., E. H. *ú kail's* he did, W. H. *vá ne kiyau*.

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

8) e. g., E. H. *holá* he becomes, W. H. *haigá* or *hwaichhai* or *hwaichhai*.

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

10) e. g., E. H. *karaboñ* I shall do, W. H. *karihauñ* or *karasuñ* (or *karauñgau*).

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

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

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

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

1) e. g., E. H. *karab* doing, W. H. *karabaum* or *karanaum*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

There are two conclusions which are obviously suggested by that agreement. In the first place; E. H. has evidently a much closer resemblance to B. and O., than to W. H.; and on the other hand, W. H. is much more nearly allied to P., G. and S., than to E. H. Whence it follows, that since B. and O. are accounted separate languages from E. H., and P., G. and S. from W. H., a fortiori E. H. and W. H. must be considered as distinct languages, and not merely as dialects of one and the same. Indeed, the only two points of any importance, in which E. H. agrees with W. H. rather than with B. and O. are; 1) the oblique form singular in *e* of strong masculine adjectives in *á* (see § 386), which adjectives the latter do not possess at all; and 2) the first preterite tense made with the past participle in *ya* or *ia* (see 502. 503), which they form a little differently<sup>1)</sup>, but which, strictly, belongs not so much to E. H., as to the intermediate dialect, the Baiswáří.

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

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

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

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

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

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1) e. g., gen. *ghođyá chá* of *ghođá* horse; *vichvá chá* of *vichú* scorpion; *pányá chá* of *pányi* water.

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

On the other hand, M. agrees with W. Gđ. in the following points: 1) the pronunciation generally (see §§ 11. 16. 18); 2) the termination of the short pronouns (see § 437, 3. 4); 3) the absence of the pronouns of a long form in *na*; exc. the interrog. pron. *kon* who; 4) the strong form, generally, of masculine nouns of the *a*-base (see § 205); 5) the long form in *ayá* of the same nouns (see § 202); 6) the active case formed with *ne* (see § 371); 7) an infinitive made with the suffix *an* (see § 320); and lastly 8) the passive construction of the past tense (see § 487). It will be observed that of those six characteristics which have been noted as being the most important points of difference between the E. Gđ. and W. Gđ., M. agrees with the former in *four*, and with the latter only in *two*. Having regard to this circumstance, M. must be considered to rank with the E. Gđ. rather than with the W. Gđ. group. Moreover, of the two points in which M. agrees with W. Gđ., one is syntactical, while all four points which it has in common with E. Gđ., are morphological. This shows still more clearly the E. Gđ. character of M.; for languages are classified according to their morphological characteristics<sup>1)</sup>.

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

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

2) e. g., M. *májhú* mine, but E. Gđ. *mor*, W. Gđ. *merau* or *máro*.

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

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

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

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1) e. g., *ghará* of *ghar* house; *kaví* of *kaví* poet; *gurí* of *guru* teacher; *ghoḍyá* of *ghoḍá* horse; *vichvá* of *vichú* scorpion; *pányá* of *páni* water.

2) e. g., often *n* for *l*; short *ě* and *ř*.

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

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

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

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

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1) Apparently only when there was originally a double consonant; e. g., N. *áphu* self, for H. *áp*, Pr. *appá*; N. *ághi* before, for H. *áge*, Pr. *agge*; N. *bálakh* child, for H. *bálak*, Pr. *valakko*; N. *májhad* for H. *májat*, Pr. *majjanto*, etc.; see S. Luke 1, 17. 24. 41. 11, 39.

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

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

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

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

1) e. g., by Lakshmīdhara in his *Shabdabhāshā Chandrikā*, see Ls. 13.

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

1) e. g., Lakshmídhara in the Shaḍbháshá Chandriká says: piśácha-deśás tu vṛddhair uktáḥ, paṇḍya kekaya váhlika sahya nepála kuntaláḥ, sudesha bhota gándhára haiva kanojanás tathá. Ls. 13.

2) None of the Gauḍians show any trace of the Paiśáchí change of sonants into surds though some have the *n* and *l*; nor is any specimen of Paiśáchí found in the Pr. plays (Ls. 388); the ancient Bṛhatkathá of Guṇádhya is supposed to have been written in a Paiśáchí dialect (see Pischel Diss. inaug. 32. 33). Pais. clearly died out at a very early period.

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

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

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

3) Paiś. or Pál. or Anc. Ap. *kathito*, Ap. Pr. *kadhido* or *kahido*, W. Gḍ. *kahio* or *kahyo said*; Pṣ. *rutito*. Anc. Ap. *rudito*, Ap. *roido*, W. Gḍ. *roio* or *royo wept*; Pál. *gamito*, Ap. Mg. *gamide* or Ap. Śr. *gamido*, E. Gḍ. *gail* or *glá* or W. Gḍ. *gáio* or *gayo*.



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

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

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

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

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

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

2) Thus K. I. or rather his commentator: „the Prákrit of the Maháráshṭra country is the principal Prákrit“ (*prákṛtam maháráshṭradeśiyāṇ prakṛṣṭābháshṭam*); in Ls. 17.

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

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

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

1) Thus Viṣvanātha Kavirāja in the Sahityadarpana says: „noble and educated women, speaking in prose, are to use Śr., but Mh. in speaking in verse“ (see Ls. 35).

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

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

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

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

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

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

The most important members of this group are the Máháráshtrí, Śaurasení, Âvantí, Práchyá, and Sakkí. The Máháráshtrí and Śaurasení together represent W. Hindí; but as the future in *ih* is peculiar to Mh., and the fut. in *is* to Śr. (see Ls. 353, 4.), and on the other hand the Br. and Kn. have the fut. in *ih*, but Mw. the fut. in *as* (or *is*), it appears that Mh. corresponds to Br. and Kn., to which may be added Eastern Panjábí, while Śr. corresponds to Mw., and also to G. as having the same future in *as* (or *is*)<sup>1</sup>. Âvantí is the speech of Ujjain and Eastern Rájputáná. Práchyá, as its name indicates, is the most eastern member of the group and, probably, corresponds to Baiswári<sup>2</sup>). Sakkí is, probably, the speech of Sindh and the Western Panjáb<sup>3</sup>). Thus it appears that the Mh.-Śr. group consists of what we now call Western Hindí, Gujarátí, Panjábí and Sindhí. To these, for reasons previously stated, Naipálí must be added. In other words, the Mh.-Śr. group represents the Western and Northern Gaudian speeches; and accordingly I have called the two combined the *Śaurasení Prákrít tongue*.

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

2) Práchyá is explained in the S. D. as being equivalent to Gaudí (*práchyá gaudíyá*, see Ls. 36) or, apparently, Bangálí. But, on the other hand, Mđ. makes Práchyá to be an offshoot of Śaurasení (*práchyásiddhiḥ śauraseniyáḥ* 10<sup>th</sup> páda, fol. 47); while, according to Dandí (see Ls. 33), the Gaudí follows the Mg. type. Besides, in another place, in a list of Apabhraṃśas, both Mđ. and R. T. (see Ls. Exc. 7) distinguish the Práchá from the Gaudí. If, then, the Gaudí is of the Śr. type, it can hardly be anything else than the Baiswári, the intermediate dialect between E. Gđ. and W. Gđ.

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

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

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

1) With Mḍ. this chief Ap. is called Nāgarāpabhraṃṣa; he expressly connects it with the Mh.-Śr., *the* Pr. of the western division (*nāgarāṃ tu mahārāshṭrisaurasenyoḥ pratishṭhitaṃ*); e. g., respecting conjugation: *atra cha karē dhareḥ ityadau tasya svarāṣeshatvaṃ mahārāshṭryāśrayeṇa kareḍi dhareḍi ity ādau datvaṃ śaurasenyaśrayeṇa mantavyam* (17<sup>th</sup> pāda, fol. 53. 55); its identity with W. Gḍ. is shown by the fact, that Mḍ. gives the characteristic W. Gḍ. possess. pronouns *merā, terā*, to the Nāg. Ap. (*tvadiye teraṃ, madiye merāṃ* 17<sup>th</sup> pāda, fol. 56).

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

2) e. g., B. *káchhe* „near“, „at“, E. H. *káhi* (Skr. *kakshē*); or B. *máchhi*, M. *máši*, E. H. *mákhi* (or *máchhi*) „fly“ (Skr. *makshikā*); or B. *dachhin*, M. *dašin*, E. H. *dakhin* (or *dachhin*) „south“ or *dáhin* „right“ (Skr. *dakshināḥ*).

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

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

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1) Still the general character of the *Āvantí* or E. R. is *Śauraséní*; thus Mḍ. calls it expressly „a mixture of Mh. and Śr.“ (*āvanti syán mahá-ráshṭrisauraseniyos tu saṅkarát, anaych saṅkarád ávanti bháshá siddhá syát* 11<sup>th</sup> páda fol. 47<sup>b</sup>); and afterwards he says that *Báhlíkí* is allied to it (*ávantyám eva váhlíkí* ibid. fol. 48<sup>a</sup>); see also Ls. 435. 436.

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

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

in all Gḍ. languages of North-India alike (see § 474)<sup>1</sup>). Even in those cases where the outward shape or grammatical use of a particular form widely diverged, the original unity can be traced by easy and natural steps. Thus as to outward shape, the E. Gḍ. future in *ab* or *ib* can be traced back (see § 314) to the ancient participle future passive in *tavya* (or *itavya*), and the E. and S. Gḍ. past tense in *al* or *il* to the ancient past participle passive in *ta* (or *ita*), which, in an other direction, has given rise to the N. and W. Gḍ. participle in *ia*. These two instances are also examples of a change in grammatical use. For in E. Gḍ. the two participles, which had originally a passive sense and indeed have it still in S. and W. Gḍ., are used to form active tenses, viz. the participle future passive in *itavya* to form the future active in *ab* or *ib*, and the participle past passive in *ita* to make the past active in *al* or *il*. Here the intransitive<sup>2</sup> verbs, the „passive“ of which naturally becomes a „middle voice“, afford the connecting link (see §§ 303, note. 309. 371. 487).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1) e. g., weak form Psh. *kṛal* = E. H. *kayal*, B. *karil* = Ap. Mg. \**karīde*, Skr. *kṛtaḥ*; and strong form Psh. *kaṛalai* = M. *kelú* (for *kailá* = *karilá*) = Ap. Mg. \**karīdae*, Skr. *kṛtakaḥ*. — The other, i. e. the Śr., form of the past part. also occurs in Psh. It ends in a *quiescent* (weak form) or in *ai* (strong form), precisely as in W. and N. Gđ.; e. g., weak form Psh. *kaṛ* or *kṛah* „done“, O. H. *kar* or *kari* = Ap. Pr. *kariū*, Mh. Pr. \**kario*, Skr. *kṛtaḥ*; strong form Psh. *kaṛai* = Bs. *kará* or Br. *karau* or *karyau* = Ap. Pr. *kariaū*, Mh. Pr. \**kariao*, Skr. *kṛtakaḥ*. But it should be remembered that the E. Gđ., too, has both part., to make the first and second preterites, see §§ 503. 505.

2) e. g., Kf. 3. sg. *balāde* „he will say“ = M. *boṭel*, E. H. *bolailá*.

3) e. g., Kf. *śá* „he is“ = M. *ase*, O. *chhe* or *achhe*, E. *chhe* or *áchhe*.

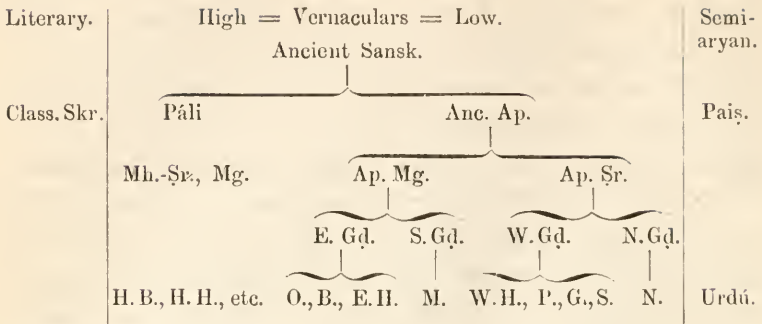
divisions of the Śr. and Mg. in occupation of North India. The earliest Gḍ. literature exhibits the third period already existing; for in the Western Gauḍian poēt Chand (end of 12<sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.) W. H., P. and G. are indistinguishable; in the Southern Gauḍian poēts Námdeva and Dnándeva (end of 13<sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.) M. is seemingly separate; in the Eastern Gauḍian poēt Bidyápati (middle of 14<sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.<sup>1</sup>) B. and E. H. are as yet one language. The later Gḍ. writers of the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> cent. (as the W. Hindí Kabír, the E. Hindí Tulsí Dás, the Bangálí Kabi Kankan, the Oṛiya Upendro Bhanj, the Maráthí Tukarám, the Gujarátí Narsingh Mehta; see Bs. I, 82—96) show the modern division of the Gḍ. languages already existing.

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

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

Table of Affinities.



## EASTERN HINDI LITERATURE.

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



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

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

## THE TERMS TATSAMA, TADBHAVA, etc.

The term *tatsama* means lit. „the same as it“ or *Sanskritic*. It denotes properly those Gauḍian words which have retained exactly the same form as they wore in Sanskrit; e. g., E.H. *bhrátá* „brother“, *rájá* „king“. But practically it includes all words which have been reintroduced into the Gḍ. directly from the Skr., though in the process they have undergone slight phonetic changes, analogous to, but not so thorough as those which have been suffered by the tadbhava words (see §§ 40 ff.); e. g., E. H. *chhamá* „forgiveness“, for Skr. *kṣhamá*; E. H. *ágyá* „command“, for Skr. *ájñá*; E. H. *bisnu* „Vishṇu“, for Skr. *vishṇuḥ*; E. H. *kripá* „mercy“, for Skr. *kṛpá*; E. H. *karam* „work“, for Skr. *karma*; E. H. *putar* „son“, for Skr. *putraḥ*. These might be called *semítatsamas*.

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

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

words are generally obtained from the A. Mg.; but sometimes from the Śr. Thus compare the following prakritic words with the above list of sanskritic ones: E. H. *bhūi* „brother“ for A. Mg. *bhūie*; E. H. *váy* „king“ for A. Mg. *láyá* or *lái*; E. H. *khet* „field“ for A. Mg. *khettaṃ* (Skr. *kshetram*); E. H. *dāhin* „right“ for Pr. *dāhiṇaṃ* (Cw. 100. Skr. *dākṣiṇam*); E. H. *án* „order“ for Mg. *aññá* (H. C. 4, 293); E. H. *kánh* „krishṇa“ for A. Mg. *kaṇhe* (Skr. *krishṇaḥ*); E. H. *kisán* „husbandman“ for A. Mg. *kisáne* (Skr. *krsháṇaḥ*); E. H. *kám* „work“ for A. Mg. *kamme*; E. H. *pút* „son“ for A. Mg. *putte*; etc. It should be remembered that the Gḍs. are not descended from the high or literary (Mh.-Śr. and Mg.) Pr., but from the low vernacular or Ap. (Śr. and Mg.) Pr. This fact explains, why some Gḍ. tadbhava words show a higher state of preservation than that observed in the corresponding words of the High-Pr.; for, in some instances, the latter had suffered a greater amount of decay than those of the Low-Pr. Generally speaking, the Low-Pr. is more tenacious of medial consonants than High-Pr. (see Ls. 396. 457). Thus E. H. *ráti* „night“, Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *latti* (cf. H. C. 4, 330), but High-Mh. Pr. *rái* (Vr. 3, 58, but also *ratti*); E. H. *kháil* „eaten“, Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *kháida*, but Mh. Pr. *kháio*. Sometimes the more and the less perfect forms exist side by side; as E. H. *gaīs* (= *gāi* + *s* „thou wentest“), for Ap. (Śr.) Pr. *gāin si* or *gāido si* or *gamido si* (Páli *gamito si*, High-Mh. Pr. *gao si* or *gudo si*) and E. H. *gaitēs* or *gaitēs* „thou wentest“, for Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *gāida si* or *gamide si*. Hence, in some cases, it will always be doubtful whether a particular form must be considered as prakritic or sanskritic. Thus E. H. has both *nair* (or *nayar*) and *nagar* „town“; the former is clearly a tadbhava for A. Mg. *ṇayalam* or *ṇaalam*; but the latter may be either a tatsama for Skr. *nagaram* or a tadbhava for Ap. Mg. *ṇayalam*.

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

1) Thus S. R. (fol. 1<sup>a</sup>) *iha prakṛtaśabdās trīdhā, saṃskṛtasamās saṃskṛtabhavaḥ deśyāś cheti*; i. e. „there are three kinds of Prakrit words, viz. the same as Skr., of like nature as Skr., and provincial (or country born).“

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

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

## FIRST SECTION. ON LETTERS AND SOUNDS.

## 1. CHAPTER. THE ALPHABET.

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

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

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

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

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

### 1. VOWELS.

3. The E. H. possesses fifteen vowels; a *neutral* and fourteen distinct ones. The latter consist of seven pairs, each containing a short and a long one. They are ॠ; ॡ, á; ॢ, í; ॣ, ú; ।, é; ॥, ó; ०, áí; ॠ, aú. Five of these, the neutral vowel and the short ॢ, ॥, ॠ, ॠ are, according to the usual view, unknown to the Sanskrit phonetic system, and therefore have no place in the native grammatical scheme of sounds and characters. But in order to avoid the inconvenience of two different sounds being denoted by the same sign, I have ventured to introduce into the E. H. alphabet, used in this treatise, five new characters. For the short ॢ, ॥, ॠ, ॠ I shall adopt the Gurmukhí or Bangálí forms of the ordinary Nágari signs, which differ from the latter merely in having a serpentine form ( ̣ and ̤ ) instead of a slightly curved one ( ̂ and ̃ ). For the neutral vowel I shall adopt a dot ( · ) placed after the consonant in the same manner as a stroke ( ı ) is placed after it to denote the long á; in transliterating I shall use the *apostrophe*. Accordingly the signs of the fifteen E. H. vowels are as follows:

*Initial:* — अ ॡ आ ॢ इ ॣ ई । उ ॥ ॠ ॠ ॡ ॠ ॠ ॠ ॠ ॠ ॠ ॠ ॠ  
*Noninit.:* ˆ — ऀ ॠ ॠ ॠ ॠ ॠ ॠ ॠ ॠ ॠ ॠ ॠ ॠ ॠ ॠ

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

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

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

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

b) the short *ě*, *ǒ*, *ā*, *ā* occur 1) always in the antepenultimate; e. g., *बेटिया* *bēṭiyá* daughter; *पड़ोसिया* *paṛōsiyá* neighbouring; *लोटा-वा* *lōṭ'vá* vessel; *बोलावत* *bōlávāt* calling; 2) optionally in the genitive affixes *के* *kě* and *कै* *kāi* as *घर के* *ghar kě* of the house (see § 372); 3) in the short pronominal forms in *हू* (see § 433), as *जेहू करू* *jēh kar* of which (but *जे करू* *jé kar*); 4) in the conjugational suffixes *ऐस्* *ēs*, *ऐन्* *ēn* and *ऐँ* *āi* (see §§ 504. 506); as *कर-तेस्* *kar'tēs* (if) thou didst; *पढ़-लेस्* *paṛ'h'lēs* he read; *रह-लेस्* *rah'lēs* thou remainedst; *कर-तेन्* *kar'tēn* (if) they did; *पढ़-लेन्* *paṛ'h'lēn* they read; *कर-तेँ* *kar'tāi* (if) they did; *पढ़-लेँ* *paṛ'h'lāi* they read; 5) in the suffix *ए* *ē* of the conjunctive participle (§ 490), as *कहे के* *kahē kě* having said; 6) in some frequently used words, as *और* *aur* or *औँ* *āi* and (see § 26).

6. *Affinities*. The short vowels (they are not diphthongs) *ě* and *ǒ* must have existed in Pr. already; thus before conjuncts, as in *पोदा* (or *पिदा* for *निदा* Vr. 1, 12), *पोट्टु* (for *नीउं* Vr. 1, 19), *सेच्चं* (for *शैत्यं* Vr. 1, 35), *सेज्जा* (for *शब्दा* Vr. 1, 5), *सेव्वा*, *रेक्कं* (for *सेवा*, *एकं* Vr. 3, 58), etc.; and *मोत्ता* (for *मुक्ता* Vr. 1, 20), *तोव्वणं* (for *यौवनं* Vr. 1, 41), *तेल्लोक्कं* (for *त्रैलोक्यं* Vr. 3, 58), etc.



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

*Note:* The elision of a medial neutral vowel produces a conjunct consonant. Consequently in H. H. and in M. a conj. cons. is sometimes written, as H. H. बिनती *bin'tí* for बिनन्ती *bin'tí petition*, H. H. दुल्हा *dul'há* for दुल्हन्हा *dul'há bridegroom*, M. राम्या *rám'yá* for रामन्या *rám'yá Rám*, or घोड्या *ghoḍ'yá* for घोडन्या *ghoḍ'yá of a horse* (obl. form). It would be well, if this system of phonetic spelling were carried out uniformly.

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

8. *Nasalization*. In E. H. a vowel is pronounced in many words with a nasal tone, precisely as *n* or *m* in such French words, as *compensation*. This tone is indicated by the symbol (\*), called the *arddhachandra* (*halfmoon*); the tone itself is called *anunásika* (*co-nasal*); see § 23. I shall transliterate it by a *circumflex*. It generally occurs with a long vowel, rarely with a short one or with the semivowels वृ and वृ; e. g., रहतो *rah'tō*, लेई *le'í*, कोई *ko'í*, होई *hō'ih*, नीदू *ní'd*, or चलल *chalalā*, कुअर *kuár*, कुअरी *kuári*, जाय *já'y*, जाव *já'v*.

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

## 2. CONSONANTS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1) The old (Vedic) Skr. still preserves the old Aryan cerebral ढ. Cp. vedic नृड *gracious* with Skr. नृदु *gentle*; also R. नृड् or नृड् with नृद; नद् with नृत्; नड् with नर्द्, etc.

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

13. The nasal ण *n̄*, I believe, never occurs in E. H., except in conjunction with a following consonant of its own class, as अङ्गिया *aṅgiyá bodice*. The others may occur by themselves. The ञ *n̄* and ण *n*, both initial and medial, are occasionally heard in the more vulgar (*theth*) forms of E. H.; thus जाही<sup>०</sup> *náhi<sup>०</sup> no*, अग्निजा *agniá fire*, णरसिंघ *narsingh manlion*, णारैण *nárain Náráyan*, पाणी *páni water*. But in the higher forms of E. H. they are always changed to न *n*, as नाही<sup>०</sup> *náhi<sup>०</sup>*, नरसिंघ *narsingh*, etc.; even in tatsama words with an original ण *n*, as कारण *káran cause* for Skr. कारण *karana*. Hence the Kaithí alphabet has no special signs for ञ *n̄* and ण *n*; and following its practise, I also shall limit myself in this work to the use of न *n*. When any of the five

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

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

14. *Affinities*. The two nasals ङ् and ञ् (as non-conjuncts) had already been lost in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (T. V. 1, 1. 1. H. C. 1, 1). The latter (ञ्), however, is expressly mentioned by Pr. Grammarians (Vr. 10, 9. 10. T. V. 3, 2. 37. 3, 4. 61. H. C. 4, 293, 294. 392), as occurring in Mg. Pr. (and also in Ap. and Ps. Pr.), where the Skr. conjuncts न्य् *ny* and एय् *ny* change to ञ् *ññ*. Agreeably with this, ञ् occurs in E. Gḍ. (especially in the respective *theth bhāshās*) before or after the palatal vowel (इ) or semivowel (य); thus E. H. अग्निजा *fire* for अग्निन्या, Mg. Pr. अग्निपिण् (see Ls. 244 अग्निणी), Skr. अग्निः; आही° *not* for न्याही° = ने + आही° (ने for न or ना, as in B., see S. Ch. 331); B. अग्निजा *order* (see S. Ch. 10) for (O. H.) अग्निना (Skr. अग्ना). So also in N. वाजि *at, by* S. Lk. 10, 29. 40 (H. वे°) for Ap. Pr. वाणि or वाणे, Skr. वाने; लिजा *taken* (S. Lk. 19, 8) for W. H. लीना (= लिना)<sup>1</sup>). S. which generally follows E. Gḍ. phonological practices (cf. §§ 16. 18) keeps even more closely to the Mg. precedents; thus S. पुत्र *virtue*, Mg. Pr. पुत्रं, Skr. पुष्यं; S. वज्र *woman's milk*, Mg. Pr. वज्रं, Skr. स्तन्यं; S. वजे *goes*, Mg. Pr. वज्रइ (H. 4, 294), Skr. वज्यते (§ 18); S. मजे *heeds*, Mg. Pr. मजइ, Skr. मज्यते, etc. In these instances the E. H. follows the old Ardhamāgadhī which has न् *nn*<sup>2</sup>) (see Wb. Bh. 402. 403); thus E. H. पुन् *virtue*, A. Mg. Pr. पुन्; E. H. वने *is nude*, A. Mg. Pr. वनइ; E. H. माने *heeds*, A. Mg. Pr. मनइ. It is noticeable, that S. has also preserved the guttural nasal ङ् (Tr. XVI. XVIII), as ङ्ङु

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

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

*aiu* body, मडणु *maiaṇu* ask (E. H. नाँगत्र); and apparently O. too (see Sn. 18), as केडु *keṇu* who, येडु *jeṇu* which. This would seem to indicate, that perhaps ॡ also was not quite extinct in Mg. Pr., though I believe that it is not mentioned as present by any Pr. Gramm. I do not know of any instance of its occurrence in E. H. and B. As regards ण् and न्, every ण् changes to न् in Ps. Pr. (Vr. 10, 5. H. C. 4, 306); vice versa, every medial न् and optionally every initial न् become ण् in all other Prs. (H. C. 1, 228. 229. T. V. 1, 3. 52. 53). Agreeably to this, ण् is found as a medial in all Gḍ. languages, and as an initial occasionally in the Hindí. It is, however, now confined more or less to the theṭh or low forms of the Gḍs. In Urdu, H. H., H. P. and H. B., especially, ण् (even when originally existing in Skr.) has uniformly given way to न्<sup>1</sup>). Thus E. H., etc. वाणी, M. वाणी<sup>०</sup> *water*, Pr. वाणिञ्चं (Vr. 1, 18), Skr. वानीवन्, but H. H., etc. वानी; E. H. पारैण् or नारैन् *Nárāyaṇ*, Mg. Pr. पारायणे or नारायणे, Skr. नारायणः, H. H. नारैन् or नारायन्. As regards न्, it is uniformly preserved in the earlier Pr.; in later Pr. it is in a few cases elided, nasalizing the following vowel, as जडणा *Janna* for<sup>६</sup> Skr. यमुना (H. C. 1, 178. T. V. 1, 3. 11). In the Gḍs. this practice is rather common, see §§ 23. 127.

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

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



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

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

1) The Skr. ञ is, perhaps, not a full cerebral, but a semicerebral,  
 like the English so-called dentals; only in so far, can the modern full ce-  
 rebral ञ be called a new sound.

2) It existed, however, already in the A. Mg. of the Bhagavatí (see  
 Wb. Bh. 393). It may be noted, that while the Mg., treated of by H. C.,  
 has ल् for ञ (H. C. 4, 288), द् for त् (H. C. 4, 260. 302), and ध् or ह् for घ्  
 (H. C. 4, 267. 302), the Mg. of the Bhag. has, precisely like E. Gd., ञ for  
 ल्, elides ह्, and uses only ह् (cf. Wb. Bh. 410. 428. 429), e. g., in H. C.  
 कलेदि, in Bhg. करेइ, in E. H. करे *he does*; in H. C. वाणध or नाणह, in Bhg.

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

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

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

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

1) Mḍ. पाश्चात्या रेफव्यत्ययेन (18<sup>th</sup> páda, fol. 56); and R. T. पाश्चात्यना त्याद् रल्पर्ययेण (Ls. Ap. 5).

2) Their ण् is always *d*, not *r*; and their *r* is equivalent to ण् *r*; whence, e. g., W. H. ब्रहेला *wild hog*, probably written for ब्रहेला = ब्रहेला from Skr. ब्रह् + pleon. ला; W. H. मंत्राण् or मंत्राण् for Skr. मन्त्रारः.

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

17. In E. H. the semi-vowels  $\ddot{v}$  and  $\ddot{v}$  are never *organic*, but always *euphonic*, i. e., either simply inserted, or produced by sandhi in order to prevent a hiatus. Thus जीवै *he lives* for जी + ऐ (Pr. जीवइ); खायल् *eaten* for खाइल् (Pr. खाइदे); जाय् के *having gone* for जाइ के; जायै *they may go* for जा + ऐ; again लेवै *to take* for लेऐ; रोयल् *he wept* for रो + म्ल; घोडवा *horse* for घोडवा; जायै *I may go* for जायै, etc. It follows that they can never occur at the beginning of a word. It should be remembered, however, that in Kaithí,  $\ddot{v}$  is always written for  $\ddot{v}$ , and  $\ddot{v}$  not uncommonly for  $\ddot{v}$ . Whenever such apparently organic  $\ddot{v}$  or  $\ddot{v}$  occur initially, they must be pronounced  $\ddot{v}$  or  $\ddot{v}$  respectively; as योग् or जोग् *jog worthy*; संयुत or संजुत् *sanjút joined*; वात् or वात् *bát word*; वाटै or वाटै *bátai he is*; संबत् or संबत् *sambat year*. This applies even to tatsamas as यात्रा *játrá pilgrimage*, आचार्य *ácháraj preceptor*. The sound of  $\ddot{v}$  is very peculiar; it is neither distinctly *b* nor *v*; of the two it is nearer to *b*; but in many cases it is difficult to say which it is. This is especially the case in the *theth bháshá*; in the *khari bháshá*, it is, as a rule, distinctly *b*. The same remarks apply to B. and O. — Nor does an *organic*  $\ddot{v}$  or  $\ddot{v}$  ever occur in the middle of a word; it is always vocalized and commonly combined with the adjacent vowels, as नारैन्

or नारायण *Nārāyan* (Pr. नारायणे); देवोदारू *pine* (Pr. देवदारू). This applies also to tatsamas, as देवता *deota* (देवोता) *idol*. In tatsamas it is the usual, though not the universal practice to write वृ and वृ; but the Pr. Grammarians' practice of phonetic spelling would be greatly preferable; and for clearness' sake I shall observe it in this work.

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

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

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

2) Thus K. I. 1, 45. कुचिद्यत्वं वा ॥ गम्रणं गयणं वा ॥ 46. कुचिद् वत्वं वा । सुह्रो सुह्रो वा ॥ i. e. sometimes (when a consonant is elided) an euphonic  $y$  or  $v$  is inserted, as *gayanam* for *gaanam* (Skr. *gaganam*), *suhavo* for *suhao* (Skr. *subhagah*). Again H. C. 1, 180. अर्षो यञ्जतिः; and T. V. 1, 3. 10 यञ्जतिः । नयरे ॥ in the place of an elided consonant between the vowels  $\bar{a}$  or  $\acute{a}$  an euphonic  $y$  is pronounced; as *nayaram* (Skr. *nagaram*), etc. Mḍ. 2, 2. has अनादाव् अदितो वषो पठित्यौ । यकारवदिति पाठश्चित्ता ॥ (MS. fol. 8<sup>a</sup>). — See also Wb. Bh. 399.

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

which according to the Pr. Gramm. is sometimes *substituted* for a single medial Skr.  $\text{प}$  or  $\text{ब}$ , but as a rule *elided*, both in Mh.-Sr. and in Mg. Pr.<sup>1</sup>). They give no rule as to the substitution of the semicons.  $\text{व्}$  for an initial or a conjunct Skr.  $\text{व}$ ; whence it may be concluded, that in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. the latter remained unchanged. This conclusion, indeed, is indirectly supported by the fact that the Skr. conj.  $\text{म्ब}$  *mb* does not change in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. into  $\text{म्म}$  *mm*, as it would do according to Vr. 3, 8, if it were pronounced in Pr.  $\text{म्ब}$  *mv* with the semicons.  $\text{व्}$ <sup>2</sup>). Thus Skr.  $\text{त्रम्बु}^\circ$ , Pr.  $\text{त्रम्बु}^\circ$  or  $\text{त्रंभु}^\circ$  (Spt. 192); Skr.  $\text{निम्ब}^\circ$ , Pr.  $\text{णिम्ब}^\circ$  or  $\text{णिंभ}^\circ$  (Spt. 252); Skr.  $\text{अम्बु}^\circ$ , Pr.  $\text{अम्बु}$  or  $\text{अंभु}$  (Spt. A. 32); Skr.  $\text{त्रिम्बं}$ , Pr.  $\text{त्रिम्बं}$  or  $\text{त्रिंभं}$  (Spt. 208); also Pr.  $\text{अम्बं}$  or  $\text{अंभं}$  (Vr. 3, 53, for Skr.  $\text{अम्}$ );

occurs, as a rule, in declension and conjugation, and it will be observed, that the  $\text{व्}$  and  $\text{व}$  thus treated are always the euphonic semivowels; thus Skr.  $\text{त्रयति}$  of  $\text{त्रि} + \text{अति}$  is Pr.  $\text{त्रेदि}$ , Skr.  $\text{भवति}$  of  $\text{भू} + \text{अति}$  is Pr.  $\text{होदि}$ , Skr.  $\text{तन्वो}$  of  $\text{तनु} + \text{ई}$  is Pr.  $\text{तणुई}$ , etc.; on the other hand, the organic semiconsonants  $\text{व्}$  and  $\text{व}$  are not vocalized, but as a rule elided; thus Skr.  $\text{नयनं}$  is Pr.  $\text{पाअणं}$  (T. V. 1, 3. 8); Skr.  $\text{लावपयं}$  is Pr.  $\text{लाअणं}$  (T. V. 1, 3. 8). In short, the euph. semivowels  $\text{व्}$  and  $\text{व}$  are treated like vowels; but the semiconsonants  $\text{व्}$  and  $\text{व}$  like consonants. Again note the change of Skr.  $\text{झाया}$  to Pr.  $\text{झाहा}$  (Vr. 2, 18).

1) Vr. 2, 15  $\text{पो वः}$  *v* takes the place of *p*; H. C. 1, 237. T. V. 1, 3. 61  $\text{त्रो वः}$  *v* takes the place of *b*; Vr. 2, 2  $\text{पवत्रां प्रायो लोपः}$ ; Mḍ. 2, 2  $\text{प्रायः पवत्रवां लोपः}$  (MS. fol. 8<sup>a</sup>) „as a rule *v* etc. are elided”. These rules are given on Mh., but they apply to Sr. and Mg. too (by H. C. 3, 302. 286). It is noticeable, that they do not apply to the Ap. Pr., which possesses the full consonant  $\text{व}$ ; thus H. C. 4, 396  $\text{अनादौ स्त्राद्दत्तवृक्कानां कवतयपतां गवद्वत्रभाः}$  „medial single *p*, *ph* etc. become *b*, *bh* etc.”.

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

Skr. चुम्बति *he kisses*, Pr. चुम्बद् or चुंबद् (H. C. 4, 239). On the other hand, it is very probable, that both the initial and the conjunct Skr. च् were pronounced in the Mg. Pr. as the semiconsonant च्. For the following reasons: *firstly*, while the W. and -S. Gḍ., the descendants of the Mh.-Sr. Pr., show, like the latter, the cons. च् in the place of the Skr. conjunct च्, the E. Gḍ., the descendant of the Mg. Pr. (and S. which generally follows E. Gḍ. practices, cf. § 16), shows च् which postulates in Mg. a conjunct च्<sup>1</sup>) and hence the pronunciation च् for Skr. च्; thus Skr. जम्बुः, Mh.-Sr. जम्बू, M. जाँच्, G. जाँच्, but E. H., B., O. जाम्, S. जाम्, Mg. \*जम्; Skr. निम्बः, Mh.-Sr. फिम्बो, W. H., M., G. नीँच्, but E. H., B., O. नीम्, Mg. \*निम्मे; Skr. निम्बूकः, Mh.-Sr. फिम्बूओ, W. H., M., G. निम्बू, but E. H., B., O. नीम्, S. निम् or लिम्, Mg. \*निम्भू; Skr. लम्बः, Mh.-Sr. लम्बो, W. H. लम्बा, but E. H. लाम्, Mg. \*लम्मे; Skr. अम्बन्, Mh.-Sr. अम्बं, W. H., P. अम्ब, M. अम्बा, G. अँबो, but E. H., B., O. अम्, S. अमो-(also अम्बु), Mg. \*अम्मं; Skr. ताम्बन्, Mh.-Sr. तम्बं, W. H., P. ताँबा, M. ताँबे<sup>२</sup>, G. ताँबू, but E. H., B., O. ताम् or तामा, S. टामो, Mg. \*तम्नं (cf. Ls. 246); in Skr. कम्बलः *blanket*, Mg. \*कम्बले, E. H. कम्बल् (cf. § 143 exc.) the original Mg. \*चम् is preserved; Skr. सम्बुधते, Mg. \*सम्बुक्द्, E. H. सम्बुके<sup>२</sup>). *Secondly*, while E. Gḍ. (and Br.) possesses the initial semiconsonant च्, the other Gḍ. languages have either the semivowel च् or the consonant च् (see Bs. I, 252. Kl. 11. 13) at the beginning of words. *Thirdly*, while the Gurmukhí (i. e. Panjábí) and Gujarátí alphabets possess two separate signs for *v* and *b*, the Kaithí (incl. Devanágari), Bangálí and Oriya have only one, namely च्, to denote both sounds *v* and *b*, and hence, for distinction's sake, they place a dot *under* (E. H. च्) or *over* (O. चँ) it when it has the sound of *v*; as E. H. राचन् *Rávan*,

1) The Mg. semicons. च् seems to have a tendency to change to च्, e. g., Mg. माहण for वाहण (Skr. ब्राह्मण); Mg. वेसगण for वेसवण (Skr. वैश्रवण); see Wb. Bh. 414. 415; also see § 134.

2) In the last instance सम्बु<sup>०</sup> the assimilation च् appears to be common to all Gḍs.: cf. Bs. II, 108. II. समकौती, G. समजुती, M. समजूत्.



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

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

2) Thus Vr. 11, 4 जो वः *y* takes the place of *j*; II. C. 4, 292. T. V. 3, 2. 39 णवयां वः *y* takes the place of *j*, *dy* and *y*.

3) Thus H. C. 4, 293. T. V. 3, 2. 37 न्पयञ्चानां उञः *nñ* takes the place of *nj* etc.; as मञ्जली for Skr. मञ्जली, धणउञ्ज for Skr. धनञ्जयः, पञ्जले for Skr. प्राञ्जलः *straight*; none of these words, I believe, have survived in the modern Gds.; nor do I happen to know any other instance in B. or O.; in S., perhaps, there is मिञ्ज *marrow* for Skr. \*माञ्ज<sup>o</sup> (see Tr. XXVII).

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

1) This shows again that the semicons.  $\underline{y}$  was in Mg. Pr. more like *j* than *y*. — It is noticeable that Bhámaha in his Comm. on Vr. 11, 4 does not use the term *स्याने* (he says जकारस्य वकारो भवति), which he employs in all other sūtras where an actual phonetic change is enjoined; thus on Vr. 11, 3 he says वकारसकारयोः स्याने प्रकारो भवति; and so even on Vr. 11, 7 र्वकारसकारयोः स्याने खो भवति i. e. *yy* for *rj* and *ry*. Now in the Bhagavatí *rj* and *ry*, as a rule, change into *yy*, but *j* does not change (Wb. Bh. 394. 389). This curious coincidence would seem to show, that the difference in Bhámaha's terminology, if it was intentional, was meant to indicate, that in the case of *j* the change was one in *writing* only, but in the case of *rj* and *ry* it was one both in *writing* and *pronunciation*. In other words: in Bhám.' time the semicons.  $\underline{y}$  had already hardened into the full cons.  $\underline{y}$ , though it was still written  $\underline{y}$  (as in modern B. and O.), but the double  $\underline{yy}$  was still both written and pronounced as semicons. The latter would naturally hold out longer. In modern E. Gd., however, it too has hardened to  $\underline{yy}$ .

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

by and elucidates the treatment of the Skr. conjunct ञ् *jñ* in Pr. and Gḍ. According to the Pr. Gramm. ञ् changes to ण् *ṇ* in Mh.-Sr.<sup>1)</sup> (H. C. 2, 42. T. V. 1, 4. 37. Vr. 3, 44), to उञ् *ñ* in Mg. (H. C. 4, 293. T. V. 3, 2. 37) and to न् *nn* in the A. Mg. (Wb. Bh. 402. 403). The Gḍs. show no trace of the form उञ् *ñ*, but have always न् *n* or ण् *ṇ*; as Skr. राज्ञी *queen*, Pr. रणी or रणी, E. H. रानी or राणी, N. रानी, M. G. P. S. राणी; Skr. यज्ञोपवीतं *sacrificial thread*, Pr. \*ज्ञोवित्रं or ज्ञोवित्रं (cf. Vr. 4, 1), G. ज्ञोइ, E. H. ज्ञउ (for ज्ञोउ see § 26. 122), M. ज्ञवे, S. ज्ञयो, W. H. ज्ञेउ; Skr. आज्ञा *order*, Pr. आणा (Vr. 3, 55) or आना, H. आन्; Skr. संज्ञा, Pr. सणा or सना, H. सान् *sign*; Skr. विज्ञापिका, Pr. विषन्त्रिआ or विन्त्रिआ, H. विन्ती *respectful information, petition*; Skr. संज्ञापिका, Pr. सणन्त्रिआ or सन्त्रिआ, H. सन्ती *instead* (lit. *killing*)<sup>2)</sup>. If ञ् was pronounced as a semicons. (य्), it would easily be assimilated to the succeeding nasal. Besides from the form न् *nn* it appears, that this palatal semicons. य् had a tendency to pass into the dental class. There are, however, traces in Pr. of another modification of ञ्, beside that into ण् or न्. The Skr. base राज् *king* becomes in Ps. Pr. राचिन् (Vr. 10, 12) and in the later Mh. Pr. राङ्ण (H. C. 3, 50—55. K. I. 237. 238. Cw. 45. Ls. 315). The latter presupposes a Sr. form \*रात्रिण or \*रात्रिन् or Mg. \*राविञ्. Here, evidently the conjunct ञ् has been dissolved into त्रिण or त्रिन्, which the Ps., as usual, changes to चिन्. On the same principle the E. H. word सङ्ग् or सैन् *hint* (also S., see Tr. XXXIV) is formed from the Pr. \*सङ्गा or \*सन्त्रिणा, Skr. संज्ञा<sup>3)</sup>. Instead, however,

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

2) Also देवान् or देवाना *mad*, 1'r. दृवणू (H. C. 2, 83) or \*द्वैवन्, Skr. द्वैवन्तः (lit. *inspired*); and त्रीन् or त्रीना *seeing*, Pr. \*त्रिष् or \*विन्न्, Skr. विन्नः (lit. *knowing*); these two words, however, are probably introduced from the Persian, which accounts for their metaphorical meaning.

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

of ञ being elided, it generally appears in the modern Gḍ. either as ञ *g* (E. and W. Gḍ.) or ञ *ḍ* (S. Gḍ.). This can be naturally explained, if the original ञ be supposed to have been at first pronounced as the semicons. ञ. The latter, as already stated, has a tendency to pass into the dental class, but it passes even more easily into the guttural; i. e., original त्रिन becomes गिन or दिन. Next the nasal was suppressed and the two hiatus-vowels of निञ्च contracted to ञ. This is still the common practice to the present day in regard to tatsamas in P. and H.; e. g., P. निञ्चान्, H. ग्वान् *knowledge* for Skr. ज्ञानं; P. अत्रिञ्च, H. अत्रिञ्च *order* for Skr. अत्रिञ्च; but it must have existed already in the Ap. Pr., as evidenced by the modern H. त्रिञ्च or त्रिञ्च *sacrifice*, which presupposes an Ap. Pr. form त्रिञ्च in which the conjunct ञ्च *gy* has become subject to the ordinary Gḍ. laws on the treatment of conjuncts (see § 144. 147. 150); so also the S. सर्वत्रिञ्च *omniscient* for \*सर्वत्रिञ्च (Tr. XXXII). — In G. tatsamas °गिञ्च° is changed to ग्य *gnya*; and M. has द्य *dnya* for °दिञ्च°; e. g., Skr. ज्ञान is in G. *gnyán*, in M. *dnyán*. It is usual, however, to retain in writing the Skr. conjunct ञ्च *jñ* in the place of the modern awkward triple nexus. — It has been already noted, that traces of the insertion of the euphonic semivowels ञ and ञ are already found in Pr. The practice is far more general in Gḍ.; in E. H., especially, these euph. letters are regularly employed in the formation of the *long* form of nouns (see § 203).

19. E. H. does not possess the two sibilants ञ *s* and ञ *sh* of the Skr. phonetic system. Even in tatsama words they are always pronounced as स *s*, as शिव *siu* (सिउ) *Śiva*. Already in the A. Mg. Pr., the original of E. H., they had uniformly given way to the latter (see Wb. Bh. 393. 415. Ls. 411). In writing the symbols ञ and ञ are commonly used; but they are always pronounced *s* and *kh* respectively (as ञ्च *khús happy*, pers. خوش), and, in fact, are the E. H. (Kaithí) signs of those two sounds. To avoid misunderstanding, however, I shall employ in this work the usual Devanágari characters स *s* and ख *kh*.

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

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

1) The semigutturals (arabic)  $\text{ق q}$ ,  $\text{خ kh}$ ,  $\text{غ gh}$  and  $\text{ح or ه h}$  become respectively the pure gutturals  $\text{कृ}$ ,  $\text{खृ}$ ,  $\text{गृ}$  and  $\text{हृ}$ ; as  $\text{कौल}$  for  $\text{قول}$  *agreement*,  $\text{खाली}$   $\text{خالی}$  *only or empty*;  $\text{गरीब}$   $\text{غریب}$  *poor*;  $\text{हाल}$   $\text{حال}$  *state*;  $\text{हर}$   $\text{هر}$  *every*.

2) The semipalatals (arabic)  $\text{ذ z}$ ,  $\text{ز z}$ ,  $\text{ص ṣ}$ ,  $\text{ظ ṭ}$  become pure palatal  $\text{जृ}$ ; as  $\text{कागद}$  (O. H.  $\text{कागद}$ )  $\text{کاغذ}$  *paper*;  $\text{नामो}$   $\text{نامی}$  *more* (see Bs. II, 54);  $\text{जिमिदार}$   $\text{زمیندار}$  *landholder*;  $\text{नामिन्}$   $\text{ضامن}$  *surety*;  $\text{नाहिर}$   $\text{ظاهر}$  *manifest*.

3) The semicerebrals (english)  $\text{t}$  and  $\text{d}$  become pure cerebral  $\text{टृ}$  and  $\text{डृ}$  respectively; as  $\text{कलकटर}$  *collector*,  $\text{लाडु}$  *lord*.

4) The semidentals  $\text{ط t}$  and (sibilants)  $\text{ث ṭ}$ ,  $\text{ص ṣ}$  and  $\text{ش sh}$  become pure dental  $\text{तृ}$  and  $\text{सृ}$  respectively; as  $\text{तेयार}$   $\text{طیار}$  *ready*;  $\text{साहित}$   $\text{ثابت}$  *proved*;  $\text{साहित्}$   $\text{صاحب}$  *master, sir*;  $\text{खूत्}$   $\text{خوش}$  *kappy*.

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

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

### 3. THE VISARGA AND ANUSVÁRA.

22. The E. H. does not possess the *Visarga* (:) or unmodified sibilant (see M. M. 4) of the Skr. phonetic system. Already in Skr. the visarga had ceased to be pronounced in certain cases and was assimilated either to the preceding vowel or to the following consonant. In Pr. this became the universal practice (cf. Ls. 142. 229. 230). It follows that none of the Gds. can possess the visarga; on the contrary, they further subject the assimilated vowel or consonant of the Pr. to the disintegrating action of their own laws. Thus compare the following examples: Skr. अन्योऽपि *also another*, A. Mg. Pr. अने वि, E. H. अनउ or अनौ; Skr. यशोवान् *glorious*, A. Mg. Pr. जसोवन्ते or जसवन्ते, E. H. जसवंत्; Skr. दुर्बलः *weak*, Mg. दुब्ले, E. H. दूब्रू; Skr. निश्चिन्तः *thoughtless*, Mg. निच्चिते, E. H. निचीत्; Skr. निस्तापयति *he pours off*, Mg. नित्यालड्, E. H. निवारै; Skr. निष्फलं *fruitless*, Mg. निष्फलं, E. H. नीफल; Skr. अग्निः *fire*, Mg. अग्गो, E. H. अग्नि; Skr. दुःखं *pain*, Mg. दुक्खं, E. H. दुख्; Skr. अन्तःकरणं *conscience*, Mg. अंतक्कलणं, E. H. अंतकर्न्; Skr. निकालयति *expels*, Mg. निक्कालड्, E. H. निकालै; Skr. निष्प्राणः *breath*, A. Mg. निस्तापे, E. H. निसास्. It will be seen from this, that the spelling with a visarga, (as दुःख्, अन्तःकरण्), affected by Hindi purists (especially foreign lexicographers), is indefensible. A sound, which had disappeared in Pr. already, could not have survived in Gd. As a matter of fact, no Hindú pronounces or writes<sup>1)</sup> it, even in tatsamas; they say *dukh* not *duhkh*, and *antakaran* not *antahakaran*. The latter is even

1) I have seen a native writer use the visarga to indicate a sonant final *a*, as कर्त्रः *karaba* (*you will do*); the practice, however, is not to be commended; as little as the use of the anusvára to indicate *nasalization* (§§ 23.8); both are abuses of the Skr. symbols.

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

23. The E. H. does not possess the *Anusvára* (·) or unmodified nasal (M. M. 4) of the Skr. phonetic system. The *anusvára* should be carefully distinguished from the *anunásika* (◌). The former is a separate sound (like the visarga or like any vowel or consonant), while the latter is merely the nasalization of a sound. If the breath is emitted wholly through the mouth, the *pure* sounds, whether vowels or consonants<sup>1)</sup>, are produced; if a part only be thus emitted, while the rest is allowed to escape simultaneously through the nose, a nasalized sound, whether vowel or consonant<sup>1)</sup>, is produced; if the breath is expelled wholly through the nose, the mouth being shut, a pure nasal sound (unmodified by any organ of speech in the mouth) is the result. The latter is the *anusvára*, which, therefore, is called by native Grammarians *násikya*, because pronounced in the nose only. The second group, the nasalized sounds, are called by them *anunásika* or *co-nasals*, because they are pronounced through both mouth and nose *at the same time*. The pure nasal, monopolising as it 'does the whole of the breath, cannot be pronounced *together with*, but only *after* an other sound. Hence it is called by the native Gramm. *anusvára*, i. e. *after-sound*. — Now any sound, whether vowel or consonant, may be nasalized, except  $\check{r}$  *r*,  $\check{s}$  *s* and  $\check{h}$  *h*<sup>2)</sup>; but only five of these, when thus nasalized, are written with separate letters; viz. the nasal consonants or, briefly, the *class-nasals*,  $\check{z}$  *ñ*,  $\check{c}$  *ṇ*,  $\check{ṣ}$  *ṇ*,  $\check{n}$  *n*,  $\check{m}$  *m*. The nasalization of the rest (i. e.  $\check{t}$ ,  $\check{l}$ ,  $\check{v}$  and the vowels, which I shall call, briefly, the *anunásika*) is indicated by the sign (◌), called *ariddhachandru* (halfmoon); thus  $\check{t}$  *ṭ*,  $\check{y}$  *ṡ*,  $\check{v}$  *ṣ*,  $\check{a}$  *á*,  $\check{i}$  *í*,  $\check{u}$  *ú*, etc. (§ 8). The pure nasal (or *anusvára*) is denoted by the sign (·), called *bindu* (dot);

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

2) In Skr. also  $\check{s}$  *ṣ* and  $\check{h}$  *ḥ*; and in Gd. also  $\check{r}$  *r*.

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

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

2) Occasionally न् before vowels is changed to anusvára or anunásika in Pr.; as Skr. गृहाणि *houses*, Pr. घराइं or घराइँ (H. C. 3, 26. T. V. 2, 2. 31), M. घरे<sup>०</sup>.



and vowels it is often changed to *anunásika*, in which case the hiatus-vowels are generally contracted. Compare the following examples: *ad a. b)* Skr. हंसः *goose*. A. Mg. हंसे, E. H. हाँस् or हन्स्; Skr. सिंहः *lion*. A. Mg. सिंहे or सिङ्गे (or सिंघे), E. H. सोँह or सोँघ or सिङ्ग (or सिंघ § 13); Skr. पङ्कः *mud*, Mg. पंके or पङ्गे, E. H. पाँक् or पङ्क (or पंक् § 13); Skr. अञ्जनम् *eyesalve*, Sr. अंजणं or अञ्जणं, E. H. अँजन् or अञ्जन्; Skr. कण्टकः *thorn*, Mg. कंटर् or कण्टर्, E. H. काँटा or कण्टा; Skr. चन्द्रः *moon*, Mg. चंदे or चन्दे, E. H. चाँदू or चन्दू; Skr. कम्पति *he trembles*, Mg. कंपद् or कम्पद्, E. H. काँपै or कम्पै; *ad c)* Skr. पुण्यम् *virtue*, A. Mg. पुण्यं or पुन्यं, E. H. पुन्; Skr. गन्वते *he heeds*, Mg. गन्नद्, E. H. गानै; Skr. गम्यते *it passes*, Mg. गम्मद्, E. H. गमै; Skr. रम्युलः *roseapple*, Mg. रम्युले or \*रम्मुले (§ 18), E. H. रामुन्; Skr. अम्रम् *mango*, Mg. अम्वं or \*अम्मं (§ 18), E. H. अम्व्; Skr. जन्मयते *is born* (Den. R.), Mg. जम्मद् (H. C. 4, 136), E. H. जामै or जमै; Skr. भ्रमरकः *bee*, Ap. भवँरड, E. H. भौँरा; Skr. कमलम् *lotus*, Ap. कवलं, E. H. कवल्व्; Skr. कुमाजः *prince*, Mg. कुमाले or कुमले (H. C. 4, 302. 1, 67), E. H. कुमँर or कुम्वर; Skr. स्थाने *at* (a place), Mg. थापे or (Ap.) थापि, E. H. थेँ; Skr. पञ्चत्रिंशत् *thirty five*, Mg. पषतीसा or पणतीसा (cf. H. C. 2, 174. 43), E. H. पैँतीस् (for पयँतीस्). There are a few exceptions; 1) in Pr.: *a)* occasionally the *anusvára* is optionally dropped, in which case the preceding vowel is generally lengthened (Vr. 1, 17. 4, 16. H. C. 1, 28. 29. T. V. 1, 1. 46. 48); *β)* occasionally an *anusvára* is substituted for a consonant proper forming the first part of a conjunct (Vr. 4, 15. H. C. 1, 26. T. V. 1, 1. 42); *γ)* the nasal preceding a consonant proper which is not *ásanna* (T. V. 1, 1. 47), i. e., between which and itself another consonant has been dropped, *must* be *anusvára* (H. C. 1, 25. T. V. 1, 1. 41); *δ)* a nasal, preceding ह् by transposition, remains, as a rule, unchanged; very rarely it is elided and the preceding vowel lengthened (Vr. 3, 8. 32. 33. H. C. 2, 74. 75. T. V. 1, 4. 67—70. H. C. 2, 73. T. V. 1, 4. 64). 2) In Gd.: *a* and *β)* the Pr. practice is retained and extended, only substituting *anunásika* for *anusvára*; *γ)* in this case also *anunásika* is substituted for *anusvára*; *δ)* either ह् is elided and the preceding

vowel lengthened or the conjunct is dissolved. Compare the following examples: ad a) Skr. विंशतिः *twenty*, Pr. वीशा, E. H. वीन्; Skr. सिंहः *lion*, Pr. सीहो or सिहो, E. H. नीह or सीह्, etc. (see above); Skr. मांसम् *flesh*, Pr. मासं or मंसं, E. H. मास or मांस or मन्स्; Skr. संहरति *he collects*, Pr. संहरइ or नहरइ (T. V. 3, 1. 133), E. H. सहरै; Skr. सम्मुखे *before*, Pr. मंखे or सखे, H. नामहे or सखे or सोही; Skr. पठन् *reading*. Mg. पढंते, E. H. पखन्; Skr. संस्यः *together with*, Mg. संये or सत्ये, E. H. नाय्; ad β) Skr. वक्रम्, Pr. वकं, E. H. वाँक; Skr. अश्रुकम् *tear*, Pr. अंसुअं, E. H. आँसू; Skr. सत्यम् *true*, Pr. सच्चं, E. H. साँच्; Skr. निद्रा *sleep*, Pr. णिद्रा, E. H. नीदू, etc. (see § 149); ad γ) Skr. पङ्क्तिः *row*, Pr. पंतो, E. H. पाँति; ad δ) Skr. चिह्नम् *sign*, Pr. चिणहं (H. C. 2, 50), E. H. चीन् or चिनहा; Skr. ब्राह्मणः *Bráhmaṇ*, Mg. बग्हणे, E. H. बागन् or बगहन्; Skr. कृष्णः *krishna*, Mg. कणहे, E. H. कान् or कनह् (as in कानपुर *Cawnpur* and कन्हैया लाल *Kanhaiyá Lal*); Skr. अग्ने, A. Mg. अग्ह, E. H. हम् *we*; Skr. कुष्माण्डः, Mg. कोहले, E. H. कोहर; Skr. तुष्णं, Pr. तुग्हं, E. H. तोहरा *your*. *Secondly*; as regards the nasal न् *at the end of a word*: 1) in Skr. a) before consonants it *may* become anusvára or the respective class-nasal; b) before vowels it remains न् (M. M. 29). 2) In Pr. a) before consonants it *must* become anusvára; b) before vowels it generally becomes anusvára or remains unchanged; but it may occasionally become anunásika or be elided (Vr. 4, 12. 13. H. C. 1, 23. 24. T. V. 1, 1. 39. 40. ङ. C. 1, 1. 39. 40. H. C. 3, 25. T. V. 2, 2. 30). 3) In old Gd. it becomes anunásika if preceded by a long vowel, and is elided if preceded by a short one; this is on the whole preserved by M., G. and S.; in the other modern Gds., as in H., B., etc., it is always elided. Compare the following examples: Skr. फलं तोटयति or फलन्तोटयति *he breaks fruit*, Pr. फलं तोडेइ, E. H. फर तोडे; Skr. फलं लभते or फलल्लभते *he takes fruit*, Pr. फलं लहइ or लेइ, E. H. फर ले; Skr. फलमग्रहति *he gathers fruit*, Mg. फलं अग्रहलइ or फलमग्रहलइ, E. H. फर (ग्रहरै); Skr. दधि *curds*, Pr. दहिं or दिहं or दहि; Skr. दधिकम्, Pr. दहिअं, M. दहोँ, E. H. दहो. This induction clearly proves two things. *Firstly*; that in the main a gradual attenuation of the nasal has taken place. The nasal

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

## 2. CHAPTER. EUPHONIC PERMUTATION OF LETTERS.

### 1) IN PRONUNCIATION AND INFLECTION.

#### VOWELS.

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

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

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

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

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

25. An antepenultimate *अ* *á* is always made *अ* *ã* which with a following *इ* *ĩ* or *उ* *ũ* optionally, yet generally, combines to *ए* *ai* and *ओ* *au*. Antepenultimate *ई* *í*, *उ* *ú*, *ए* *e*, *ओ* *õ* are shortened whenever followed by a consonant (excl. *euphonic* *घ्* and *व्*). Thus *राम्-वा* *ram'vá* long form of *राम्* *rám* *Ráma*; *गिध्-वा* *gidh'vá* of *गिध्* *gidh* vulture; *घोर-वा* *ghor'vá* of *घोरा* *ghorá* horse; *बेट-वा* *beṭ'vá* of *बेटा* *beṭá* son; *मिट्-का* *miṭ'ká* of *मीटा* *mítá* sweet; *नाव* *naāvá* or *नौआ* *nauá* of *नाउ* *náu* barber; *भइया* *bhaiyá* or *भैया* *bhaiyá* of *भाई* *bháí* brother; *बतिया* *batiyá* of *बात्* *bāt* word; *सुत-लो* *sut'lo* 1<sup>st</sup> pr. sg. pret. of *सूतव्* *sútav* to sleep; *खाइवो* *khaiṭõ* or *खैवो* *khaiṭõ* 1<sup>st</sup> pr. sg. fut. of *खाइव्* *khaiṭv* to eat; *करउतो* *karáūtõ* or *करौतो* *karautõ* 1<sup>st</sup> pr. sg. pret. conj. of *कराउव्* *karáuv* to cause to do (for *कराव-तो* *karávitõ*, see § 34); but *पीवतो* (if) *I drank*; *हूयलो* or *हूवलो* *I touched* (see § 65).

*Exception.* The long vowel of a transitive (or causal) root is never shortened; e. g., *मार-लो* *már'lo* *I killed* of *मारव्*, caus. of *मरव्* to die.

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

26. The short *ऐ* *ě* and *औ* *aĩ* are sometimes reduced to *इ* *ĩ*, and short *ओ* *õ* and *औ* *aũ* to *उ* *ũ*; or, more often, all four to *अ* *ã*. Thus: *बेटिया* *beṭiyá* or *बिटिया* *biṭiyá* daughter; *कहे* *kahě* or *कहि* *kahi* having said; *गैलेन्* *gailēn* or *गैलन्* *gailan* they went; *गैलै* *gailāi* or *गैलँ* *gailā* they went; *लोटिया* *lōṭiyá* or *लुटिया* *luṭiyá* brass vessel; *परोसिया* *parōsiyá* or *परसिया* *parasiyá* neighbouring; *जनउ* *janõu* or *जनउ* *januũ* brahmanical thread; *औ* *aũ* or *अ* *a* and; *और* *aũr* or *अर* *ar* and; *गुमाबी* or *मौमाखी* honey-bee; *चवालिस* or *चौवालिस* forty four, etc.

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

27. A final *anunásika* is often omitted; thus तूँ *tú* or तु *tú* *you*; तैँ *taĩ* or तै *tai* *thou*; मैँ *maĩ* or मै *mai* *I*; नेँ *mě* or ने *me in*; नाँहीँ *náhiĩ* or नाँही *náhi* *not*; जानीँ *jáníĩ* or जानी *jání* *we know*, etc.

28. To avoid the *hiatus* of two contiguous vowels, य *y* is inserted after आ *á*, ई *ĩ*; and optionally व् *v*, after ऊ *ú*, ओ *o* and ए *e*. But neither य् nor व् can be inserted, if the second vowel be इ *ĩ* or ई *ĩ*; in this case the *hiatus*, as a rule, remains, though अइ *ai* may and ईइ *ii* must be contracted to ऐ *ai* and ई *ĩ* respectively, if they are followed by a heavy syllable. Thus: खिया + अल् = खियायल् *khiyáyal* *it was eaten*; जा + ए = जाये *to go*; पी + अल् = पीयल् *piyab* *to drink*; पी + ऐ = पीयै *piyai* *he drinks*; again चृवत् *chúvat* or चृश्रत् *chúat* *dripping* from चू + अल्; चृवै *chúvai* or चृऐ *chúai* *it drips* from चू + ऐ; रोवत् *rovat* or रोश्रत् *roát* *weeping* from रो + अल्; रोवै *rovai* or रोऐ *roai* *he weeps* from रो + ऐ; लेवै के *levai* *he* or लेऐ के *leai* *he* *to take* from ले + ऐ. But खा + ई = खाई *khái* *he shall eat*; खा + ईला = खाईला *kháilá* *we eat*; पी + ईला = पीईला *píilá* *we drink*; चू + ई = चूई *chúĩ* *it will drip*; चू + ईला = चूईला *chúilá* *we drip*; बोई *boĩ* *he will sow*, बोईला *boilá* *we sow*; देई *deĩ* *he will give*, देईला *deilá* *we give*; again खइवै *khaĩvai* or खैवै *khaĩvai* *we shall eat* from खा + इवै; पीवै *pívai* *we shall drink* from पी + इवै; खाइव् *kháiv* *we shall eat* from खा + इव्; पीइत् *píit* (if) *we drank* from पी + इत्; चूइवै *chúivai* and चूइव् *chúiv* *we shall drip*; बोइवै *boivai* and बोइव् *boiv* *we shall sow*; लेइत् *leit* (if) *we took* from ले + इत्.

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

*Exception 2.* The initial अ of the suffs. of the fut. ind. (viz. अत्रो<sup>०</sup> etc.), of the pres. part. (अत्) and of the pret. conj. (viz. अतो<sup>०</sup> etc.) combines with a preceding आ or ए, and with ओ of the verb हो to become to आ, ए, ओ respectively; thus खा + अत्रो<sup>०</sup> = खात्रो<sup>०</sup> *khātrō I shall eat*; दे + अत्रो<sup>०</sup> = देत्रो<sup>०</sup> *debrō I shall give*; हो + अत्रो<sup>०</sup> = होत्रो<sup>०</sup> *hoṭrō I shall be*; खा + अत् = खात् *khāt eating*; दे + अत् = देत् *det giving*; हो + अत् = होत् *hot being*.

### SINGLE CONSONANTS.

29. र *r* is generally substituted for ड *r*; thus E. H. तोरै *he breaks* for W. H. तोडे; E. H. जोरै *he joins* for W. H. जोडे; E. H. वारी *garden* for W. H. वागे; E. H. जोरू *wife* for W. H. जोरू; E. H. नारी *artery* for W. H. नागे, etc. Sometimes also र्ह *rh* for ड्ह *rh*; as E. H. बरहै *bārhai he grows* for वारै (W. H. वरै); E. H. गरहै *gārhai he beats into form* for वारै.

30. र *r* is almost universally substituted for a non-initial ल *l*; thus E. H. फरू *fruit* for W. H. फल्; E. H. गारी *abuse* for W. H. गाली; E. H. चरै *he walks* for W. H. चले; E. H. उरै *he throws* for W. H. उल्ले; E. H. करिया *black* for कलिया, etc.; but never रोग् for लोग् *people*, etc.

*Exception.* The ल् of the suff. अल of the past tense never changes; e. g., गयल् *gone*, not गयरू; पढलो<sup>०</sup> *I read*, not पढरो<sup>०</sup>.

31. ल् *l* and न् *n*, if initial, are sometimes interchanged; thus ल् for न् in लीला *dark blue* or नीला (Skr. नील); and न् for ल् in नोन् *salt* or लोन् (Skr. लवण, cf. Vr. 1, 7); नंगोट् *waistcloth* or लंगोट् (Skr. लिङ्गपट्टः, Mg. लिंगवट्टे<sup>१</sup>).

32. ह *h* may be dropped; 1) always final, thus नेह् कै or ने कै *of whom*; ओह् कै or ओ कै *of that*; ऐलह् or ऐल *aila you came*; करतह् or करत *karata (if) you did*. 2) sometimes medial (see § 126); as ताँ or तहाँ *there*, काँ or कहाँ *where*, जहाँ or जहाँ *wheresoever*, मे or मे<sup>०</sup> or माही<sup>०</sup> *within*; के or (O. H.) काही<sup>०</sup> *towards*; मराठा or मरहठा *a Maráthá*; सगा *full brother* for \*सगहा (see § 120); दिवा *day* for \*दिवहा (see § 134, note).

1) Not from नंग, Skr. नग्न *naked*, as Bs. I, 248; the original ड् of लिंग<sup>०</sup> is preserved in the ए of B. नेगुटि.

33. A medial *v*, followed by *ṛ* or *ṝ*, is always elided; and further *ṛ* (but not *ṝ*) combines with a preceding *ā* (or *ā̄* by § 25) to *ai*; thus पाव् + इवो̄ (= प + इवो̄) = पैवो̄ *I shall find*; आव् + इवे = ऐवे *thou wilt come*; खियाव् + इव्ह् = खियैव्ह् *you wilt cause to eat*. But पाव् + ṝ = पाṝ *he will find*; आव् + ṝ = आवṝ *we come*; खियाव् + ṝला = खियाṝला *we cause to eat*.

34. A medial *y* or *v*, containing a *neutral* vowel (see § 5, a), are vocalized to *i* and *u* respectively, and optionally combine with a preceding *ā̄* (or originally *ā* by § 25) to *ai* or *au*. Thus गवल् + ऐस् (= गयन्लेस् *gaylēs*) = गइलेस् *gailēs* or गैलेस् *gailēs* *thou wentest*; पिया + अल्यू (= पिययन्ल्यू *piyay'lyū*) = पियइल्यू *piyāilyū* or पियैल्यू *piyāilyū* *I could be drunk*; कराव् + अतो̄ (= करवन्तो̄ *karav'tō*) = करउतो̄ *karāūtō* or करोतो̄ *karautō* (if) *I caused to do*; चराव् + अलेस् (= चरवन्लेस् *charav'lēs*) = चरउलेस् *charāūlēs* or चरौलेस् *charaūlēs* *he caused to walk*.

35. *Affinities*. There are instances of this change in Pr.; thus आइरिओ or आयरिओ = Skr. आचार्यः (H. C. 1, 73); केलं for \*कइलं for कयलं = Skr. कदलम् (H. C. 1, 167); चोरं for \*चउरं for \*चवरं = Skr. चदरम् (H. C. 1, 170); असरइ for \*अउसरइ for अवसरइ = Skr. अपसरति (H. C. 1, 172); पाउरणं = Skr. पावरणम् (H. C. 1, 175); उसहो or वसहो = Skr. वृषभः (H. C. 1, 133); also in inflexion as नेदि = \*नइदि = Skr. नयति; होदि = \*हउदि = Skr. भवति, etc.; see § 18, note 3, p. 18).

### COMPOUND CONSONANTS.

36. *ṅksh* is always pronounced and written *ḥh*; thus छोटा *chhotā* *small* (Skr. क्षुद्रकः?); छतरौ *chhatrī* *a chhatrī* (Skr. क्षत्रियः); क्षमा *chhamā* *forgiveness* (Skr. क्षमा *kshamā*).

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

38. *ṅh* is always pronounced and generally written *ṅh* (or *ṅgh*); as संघ् *saṅgh* *collection* (Skr. संहः *saṅhah*); संघान् *saṅghāt* *collection* (Skr. संघातः *saṅhataḥ*); सिंघ् *siṅgh* *lion* (Skr. सिंहः); सिंघासन *siṅghāsan* *thron* (Skr. सिंहासनम्), etc. (see § 159).

39. 'सु *ms* is always pronounced and written 'सु *ns* (i. e. न्स *ns*, cf. §§ 13. 23); as वंसु (or वन्सु) *bans race* (Skr. वंस्रः *vamsāḥ*); वंसोधरु (or वन्सोधरु) *bansīdhar* a name (lit. *flute-holder*, Skr. वंस्रोधरः *vamsīdharah*); हिंसा (or हिन्सा) *hinsā slaughter* (Skr. हिंसा *himsā*); हंसु (or हन्सु) *hans goose* (Skr. हंसः *hamsāḥ*), etc. (see § 159).

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

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

### a) CHANGES OF FINAL SOUNDS.

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

41. A *visarga* or *anusvāra* is dropped, and a preceding ञ becomes quiescent; thus E. H. पुत्रु *son* (a tats.) for Skr. पुत्रः; E. H. कवि *poēt* for Skr. कविः; E. H. गुरु *teacher* for Skr. गुरुः; E. H. परगट् *manifest*, Skr. प्रकटन्; E. H. वन *forest*, Pr. वणं (Vr. 4, 12), Skr. वनम्; E. H. सै or सय् *hundred*, Mg. सयं (Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. शतम्; E. H. खेत *field*, Pr. खेतं (H. C. 2, 17 हेतं), Skr. क्षेत्रम्; E. H. वारि *water*, Pr. वारि or वारिँ or वारिँ (cf. H. C. 3, 25), Skr. वारि; E. H. मधु *honey*, Pr. मधु or मधुँ or मधुँ (cf. H. C. 3, 25), Skr. मधु, see § 23.

42. Pr. masc. or fem. ञ or ञ becomes quiescent ञ; thus E. H. नीदु *sleep*, Ap. निदु (H. C. 4, 418), Pr. णिदु (Vr. 1, 12), Skr. निद्रा (fem.); E. H. बाहु *arm* (also बाहुँ), Ap. बाहु (H. C. 4, 329). Pr. बाहा (H. C. 1, 36. 4, 329), Skr. बाहा (fem.); E. H. वात् *word, event*, Pr. वत्ता (Vr. 3, 24), Skr. वार्ता (fem.); E. H. राय *prince*, Ap. राय (H. C. 4, 402), Pr. राय (H. C. 3, 136) or राम्ना (Vr. 5, 36), Skr. राजा (masc.).

43. Pr. masc. or fem. ई or इ becomes इ or quiescent ञ; thus E. H. दीह् or दीहि *sight*, Ap. दिदि (H. C. 4, 330) or Pr. दिदी

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



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

44. Pr. masc. or fem. उ or उ becomes उ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. तर् or तर् tree, Ap. तर् (H. C. 4, 370), Pr. तर् (H. C. 1, 177), Skr. तर्ः (masc.); E. H. पँसु *rib*, Pr. पंसू (H. C. 1, 26), Skr. पर्शुः (masc.); E. H. तन् or तनु *body*, Ap. तणु (H. C. 4, 401) or Pr. तणू (cf. Vr. 5, 18), Skr. तनुः (fem.); E. H. पतोह् or पतोहु *daughter-in-law*, Pr. पुन्नवहू (cf. Spt. 122), Skr. पुत्रवधूः; E. H. सास् or सासु *mother-in-law*, Pr. सासू (Spt. 339), Skr. श्वश्रूः.

45. Pr. masc. ए or इ becomes ऐ ई or इ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. माग् *road*, Mg. मग्गि or मग्गे (Mehh. 96, 20), Skr. मार्गः; E. H. नर् *man*, Mg. नलि or नले (H. C. 4, 288), Skr. नजः; E. H. काम्, Mg. कम्मि or कम्मै (Wb. Bh. 420. masc.), Skr. कर्म (neutr.); E. H. कर्त् *doing*, Mg. कलंति or कलेंति or कलेंते (Mehh. 108, 18), Skr. कुर्वन्; E. H. र्खल् or र्खिल् *kept*, Mg. लक्खिदि or लक्खिदे (Mehh. 112, 6), Skr. ज्जित्तः. Also in locatives; as E. H. लग् or लगि *till*, Ap. लग्गि or लग्गे (H. C. 4, 334), Skr. लग्गे; and in conjunct participles, as E. H. कह् or कहि or कहे *kahē having said*, A. Mg. कहे (see Wb. Bh. 435) or Mh. कहिअ, Skr. कथित्वा (see § 490, 491).

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

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

47. Pr. masc. अर् becomes आ; thus E. H. घोरा horse, Mg. घोउर्, Skr. घोटकः; E. H. भला good, Ap. भल्ला (H. C. 4, 351), Mg. भल्लर्, Skr. भदकः; E. H. घरा pitcher, Mg. घउर्, Skr. घटकः.

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

E. H. तरा or तला, S. तलो, Ap. Mg. तलइ or तलए, Ap. Sr. तलउ or तलओ, Skr. तलकः; but the Psh. has also occasionally the E. Gd. form घा; as Psh. लगिआ *applied*. P. लगिआ, Bs. and H. H. लमा, Ap. Mg. लगिअइ or लगिदए, Skr. लग्नकः (lit. \*लगितकः), Ap. लगिअउ, Br. लग्यौ, Sr. लगिअओ, S. लगिओ or लग्यो. The Psh. ऐ *ai*, then, corresponds to Br. ओ *au*; being contractions of (Ap.) Mg. अइ *ai* and Ap. (Sr.) अउ *au* respectively; on the other hand, E. and S. Gd. आ corresponds to W. and N. Gd. ओ, being contractions of the Mg. अए and Sr. अओ respectively, by the quiescence of अ. It appears, then, that the termin. आ is distinctly Mg., and merely, a (comparatively modern) modification of the old Mg. ए; and not, as it is usually assumed, of the old Sr. ओ. There are, however, some traces of the termin. आ in Pr.; moreover, they seem to be distinctly connected with Mg. Pr. *Firstly*: Vr. (11; 17) expressly gives शिआला as a Mg. by-form of शिआले *jackal* (E. H. सियारू). *Secondly*: Vr. (11, 13) and K. I. (Ls. 393) state that the Mg. vocative ends in आ, and Mđ. (12, 21. 22. fol 49<sup>a</sup>) adds also ए, as चेलए or चेलआ (E. H. चेरा *oh! disciple*<sup>1</sup>). That is, the nom.

1) Vr. 11, 17 वृमालस्य शिआला शिआले शिआलकाः॥ and Mđ. 12, 21 एदोतो सम्बोधने प्रायः। पुंसि सम्बोधने एदोतौ स्यातां। हे वअसे। हे वअसो। प्रायो ग्रहणात्। हे गोमिका। हे भट्टदालाआ ॥ i. e., the voc. of masc. nouns in *ā* ends in *e* or *o*, as, *he voanse, he voanso* (Skr. वयस्य); and Mđ. 12, 22 आदात्तेपे। पुंसि सम्बुद्धौ अकार आ स्याद् आत्तेपे। अले ले चेलआ। चकारात्। चेलए। चेलओ ॥ i. e., the voc. of masc. nouns in *ā*, in the sense of rebuke, ends in *ā*; also in *e* and *o*. Neither H. C. nor T. V. give these rules in their chapter on Mg; but they have an allusion to the voc. in आ in their chapt. on the Ap. (H. C. 4, 330. T. V. 3, 4. 1); e. g., ठोला मइ तुहु वारिआ मा कह दीहा माणु; this is Bs. ठोला मै तू के वारा मत् कह दीहा मान् i. e., lit. boy! I have forbidden you, do not make long sulkiness!; again त्रिट्टीए मइ भणिअ तुहु मा कह वंकी दिट्टि, = Bs. त्रेटी मै भनि तू के मत् कह वाँकी दीह i. e., lit. daughter! I have told you, do not make a coquettish look. It is to be noted, that K. I. (16. 18. cf. Ls. 450) gives both आ and ए as the termin. of the voc. in Ap. Pr. In the present day, E. H. has a voc. in आ, but W. H. in ए; as E. H. हे चेरा, W. H. हे चले *oh disciple*. This, perhaps, explains the silence of H. C. and T. V. as to the Mg. nom. and voc. in आ; they have relegated it into their chapt. on Ap., in which as, perhaps, indicated in H. C. 4, 447

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

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

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

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

2) It is also like P., which shares the nom. in घा with E. Gḍ., भला होइआ तो मारिआ बहिन् मेरा काँत्।

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

51. Pr. fem. इआ and उआ become ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. घोरी *mare*, Pr. घोडिआ, Skr. घोटिका; E. H. माटी *earth* (W. H. मिटी), Pr. मंदिआ (H. C. 2, 29), Skr. मृत्तिका; E. H. लाठी *club*, Pr. लंदिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 247), Skr. वटिका; E. H. मउसी *mother's sister*, Pr. माउसिआ (H. C. 1, 134. 2, 142), Skr. मातृष्वसृका; E. H. माई *mother*, Pr. \*माइआ (see § 63), Skr. मातृका; again E. H. पतोहू *son's wife*, Pr. पुत्रइहूआ (cf. Spt. 35), Skr. पुत्रवधुका; E. H. बालू *sand*, Pr. वालुआ, Skr. बालुका.

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

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

*pearl*, Pr. मोत्रिञ्चं, Skr. मौक्तिकम्; again E. H. घाँसू *tear*, Pr. घंमुधं (cf. H. C. 1, 26), Skr. अश्रुकम्; E. H. नू *yoke*, Pr. तुधं, Skr. युगम्; E. H. आलू *potato*, Pr. आलुञ्चं, Skr. आलुकम्.

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

## b) CHANGES OF MEDIAL SOUNDS.

### a) SINGLE VOWELS.

55. अ becomes इ or ई; rarely; thus E. H. पिंनर्रा *cage*, A. Mg. पंनलञ्चं (cf. Spt. 225), Skr. पंनरकम् (also पिंनरकम्? M. W. 572, 3); E. H. किरकिरू *splashing*, Skr. कर्करम्; E. H. सुमिरन् *memory*, A. Mg.

सुमलपां (cf. H. C. 4, 426), Skr. सगणम्; E. H. पिचोतरन्स one hundred and five, A. Mg. पंचुन्नलसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. पंचोन्नप्रतम; E. H. चिरई sparrow, Pr. चडइया (cf. H. C. 4, 445?), Skr. चटकिका; E. H. खियावै he feeds, Pr. खयावइ, Skr. खाद्यति (\*खदापयति); E. H. छिन् moment, Pr. इणो (H. C. 2. 20), Skr. क्षणः; E. H. फिट्करो alum, Mg. \*फट्टिक्कालिघ्रा (or \*फिट्टिक्कालिघ्रा cf. H. C. 4, 177), Skr. रफटिकाजिका; E. H. निनानन्ने ninety nine, Pr. \*नवाणव्वई, Skr. नवनवति: (see § 397); E. H. इयालिस् forty six for O. इयालिस् (see § 152). Especially before ह्; as E. H. इइन्नरु seventy six, Mg. इइन्नलि (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. षट्सप्ततिः; E. H. छिलोतरसे one hundred and six, A. Mg. इलुन्नलसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. षडुन्नप्रतम; E. H. लिहल् taken, Mg. \*लहिदे<sup>1</sup>), Skr. लब्धः (\*लभितः); E. H. दिहल् given, Skr. दत्तः; E. H. लिहिस् thou tookst, O. H. लिहेन्, Ap. Pr. \*लहिघिसि, Skr. लब्धोऽसि (\*लभितोऽसि); E. H. लिहिन् they took, O. H. लिहेन्, Ap. Pr. \*लहिघिंहिं, Pr. \*लहिघंति, Skr. लब्धः सन्ति (in active sense); E. H. दिहिस् thou gavest, दिहिन् they gave; E. H. किहिस् thou didst, O. H. किहेस् for \*करेस्, Ap. \*करिघिसि, Skr. कृतोऽसि<sup>2</sup>); E. H. किहिन् they did. Again ई in तीसो flax, Skr. घनसा (cf. § 172).

Note: W. H. गिने he counts, Pr. गणाइ (H. C. 4, 358), Skr. गणयति; W. H. डिमा forgiveness, Skr. क्षमा; W. H. पिह्लो or पहिलो, Ap. Pr. पच्छिल्लउ (Skr. पश्चकः); but E. H. गनै, इमा and पाहिल् or पाहिला.

56. अ becomes उ or ऊ; very rarely; as E. H. पुमाल् straw, Skr. पलाली; E. H. मूइ (also मॉइ, see § 57) mustache, Pr. मंचू (H. C. 2, 86 or \*मंइ? cf. H. C. 1, 265), Skr. प्रमथु; E. H. खुनली itch, Ap. Pr. \*खन्नुडिघ (Skr. खर्तुः).

Note: W. H. डंगलो finger, Pr. घंगुलिघ्रा (cf. H. C. 4, 333), Skr. घङ्गुलिका; O. H. सुगन् bird (Chand), Ap. Pr. सगुणु, Skr. प्रकुनः; but E. H. घंगुरो, सगुन्.

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

2) Regarding the forms लिहल्, लिहिस, लिहिन्, किहिस, etc. see §§ 307. 501. 503.

57. *अ* becomes *ए*, *ऐ*, *घो* or *ए*, *ऐ*, *घो*; rarely; E. H. मेहर (or मेहरी or मेहरारू) *woman*, Pr. महिला (Spt. 48), Skr. महिला; E. H. केवार (or केवारा) *door*, Pr. कवाडो, Skr. कवाटः; E. H. चोच्च *beak*, Pr. \*चच्च, Skr. चच्चुः; E. H. मोच्छ *mustache* (see § 56), Pr. मंसू (H. C. 2, 86), Skr. मन्शु; E. H. सेध *hole* (in a wall), Pr. संधी (cf. H. C. 4, 430), Skr. सन्धि; and others see § 148.

58. *इ* becomes *अ*; rarely; E. H. ऐतना *this much*, Mg. ऐत्रिलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157), Skr. इयतकः, cf. S. एतिरो, G. एटलो; E. H. तेतना *so much*, Mg. तेत्रिलए, Skr. तावतिकः; E. H. जेतना *how much soever*, Mg. जेत्रिलए, Skr. यावतिकः; E. H. केतना, Mg. केत्रिलए, Skr. कियतिकः; E. H. लंगोट *waistcloth*, Mg. लिंगवट्टे, Skr. लिङ्गपट्टः; E. H. धरती *earth*, Mg. धलित्रिआ, Skr. धजित्रिका; E. H. पोरसा *fathom*, A. Mg. पउलिसअं (cf. H. C. 1, 111. 4, 287), Skr. पौरुषकम्; and optionally E. H. परखै or परिखै *he examines*, Mg. पलिकखइ, Skr. पजोक्तते; E. H. ०अल् or ०इल् *suffix of past part.*, Mg. इदे, Skr. इतः; e. g., E. H. पखल् or पखिल् *read*, Mg. पठिदे, Skr. पठितः; E. H. ०अय् or ०इय् *suffix of infinit.*, Ap. इव्वं (K. I. 50. Ls. 468), Skr. इतव्यम्; e. g., E. H. पख्य् or पखिय् *to read*, Ap. पठिव्वं, Skr. पठितव्यम्.

*Note:* Also W. H. गहर *deep*, Pr. गहिरं (H. C. 1, 101), Skr. गभीरम्; W. H. बहर *dumb*, Pr. बहियो (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. बधिरः; W. H. कलेम् *trouble*, Pr. किलंसो (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. क्लेशः; W. H. हरस् *joy*, Pr. हरिसो (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. हर्षः; W. H. वरस् *rain*, *year*, Pr. वरिसं, Skr. वर्षम्; W. H. फरस् *touch*, Pr. फरिसो (cf. H. C. 4, 182), Skr. स्पर्शः. But E. H. गहिर, बहिर, किलेस्, हरिस्, वरिस्, फरिस्. The Pr. form ऐत्रिलं or (in some MSS.) ऐत्रिल्लं is probably a curtailment of ऐत्रिअलं, composed of ऐत्रिअ and pleon. suff. ल (or ल्ल), and curtailed just as Ap. इव्व from Mh.-Sr. इअव्व, e. g., Ap. पठिव्वं for Sr. पठिअव्वं.

59. *इ* or *ई* becomes *उ* or *ऊ*; very rarely and optionally; E. H. पहर or पहरी or पहरा *watchman*, Mg. पहली, Skr. प्रहरी; E. H. बुंदी or चिंदी or बुंदा or बुंदू *drop*, Pr. चिंदू (cf. H. C. 1, 34), Skr. विन्दुः.

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

60. *उ* becomes *अ*; rarely; thus E. H. आपन् or आपुन् *own*, Pr. अपुल्लं (H. C. 2, 163), Skr. आत्मीयम् (or आत्मभवम्), cf. M. आपला,



G. चापणो; E. H. पतोह् *son's wife*, Pr. पुत्रवह्, Skr. पुत्रवधू; E. H. उडगन् *stars*, Mg. उडुगणे (cf. H. C. 1, 202), Skr. उडुगणः; E. H. कुटकी *a kind of medicine*, Pr. \*कटुकिस्रा, Skr. कटुकिका; E. H. त्रया *troop*, Pr. \*त्रुत्यघ्न, Skr. यूयकन्; E. H. सामहूँ or समहूँ *in front of*, Ap. सम्मुह्ह, Skr. सम्मुखे (H. H. साम्हने); optionally कपूत् or कुपूत् *bad son*, Mg. \*कुपुत्त, Skr. कुपुत्रः; also E. H. बूँदू 'or बूँदा *drop*, Mg. विंदुर्, Skr. विन्दुकः.

*Note:* Also W. H. उंगलो *finger*, Pr. ग्रंगुलिघ्रा, Skr. ग्रंगुलिका; W. H. बिरली, Pr. विरुलिघ्रा (Vr. 4, 26), Skr. विरुत्; W. H. कूकर *dog*, Pr. कुकुरो, Skr. कुकुरः; W. H. त्राँबन् *rose-apple tree*, Pr. तंत्रुलो, Skr. तंत्रुलः; W. H. समके *he understands*, Pr. संवुक्कड, Skr. सम्बुध्यते; Mw. कण् or कुण् *who* (see § 438, 2); but E. H. ग्रंगुरी, चितुरी, कुकुर, तामुन्, समके, कौन्. As regards E. H. चापन् *own*, the change of उ to अ, and ल् to न् appears already in Pr. अषपायं (H. C. 2, 153. 4, 350) = E. H. अचना, see § 111.

61. उ and ऊ become respectively इ and ई; very rarely; as E. H. तनिक् *small*, Pr. तणुक्के, Skr. तनुकः; फिन् or फुन् or पुन् *again*, Pr. पुणो or पुणु (H. C. 4, 343), Skr. पुनरू; E. H. चाई (fem.) *wind*, Pr. वाउ (masc.), Skr. वायुः (or वातिः masc.); बूँदो (fem.) *drop*, Pr. विंदू (masc.), Skr. विन्दुः.

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

63. ऋ becomes इ; very rarely; thus E. H. किसान् *husbandman*, A. Mg. \*किसाणे, Skr. कृषाणः; E. H. मोध् *vulture*, Mg. मिडे (Md. 1, 31), Skr. मृधः; E. H. माई *mother*, Mg. माड्या (Wb. Bh. 178. cf. H. C. 1, 135), Skr. मातृका; E. H. भाई *brother*, Mg. \*भाडर्, Skr. भ्रातृकः; E. H. भतीजा *brother's son*, Mg. \*भत्रिडरर्, Skr. भ्रातृत्रकः.

*Note:* None of these words are mentioned in the exceptional lists of H. C. I, 128—144. T. V. 1, 275—291. Vr. 1, 28—30, enjoining this change instead of the regular one of ऋ to अ (H. C. 1, 126. Vr. 1, 27), exc. माईणां gen. pl. for Skr. मातृपान् (H. C. 1, 135); but Md. gives विडो and Bh. माड्य<sup>०</sup>; and it is plain from the general form of the words, that in all of them the change of ऋ to इ must have taken place in Pr. already. In H. C. 1, 128 we find किसिघ्रो for कृषितः as an analogy for किसानो; and in 1, 137 नत्रिघ्रो and नत्रुघ्रो for नप्तृकः as an analogy for भाड्यो and भाउयो (H. C.

1, 131) = भ्रातृकः; and in 1, 135 माइहरं for मातृगृहं as an analogy for भन्निद्रो = भ्रातृः.

64. ओ becomes ए; very rarely; as गेहँ or गोहँ, Pr. गोहुमो, Skr. गोधुनः; but only W. and H. H.; the E. H. only गेहँ.

65. Short vowels become long; very rarely; E. H. ठीला loose, A. Mg. गिठिलए (cf. Vr. 2, 28. H. C. 1, 215), Skr. प्रियिलकः; E. H. पूर or पुर town, Pr. पुरं, Skr. पुरम्. Comp. H. C. 1, 113 मूसलं, E. H. मूसर for Skr. मुसलम्; especially in the verbal roots पि drink, सी sew, चू leak, छू touch, मृ die, बो sow, नौ bow, भौ roam; e. g., E. H. पीये, Pr. पिमेट, Skr. पिवति; E. H. चूरे, Pr. चुमइ (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. श्रोतति.

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

66. Long vowels become short; 1) regularly in the first part of a compound; thus E. H. पनसारू watering place, Pr. पाणिअसाला (or perhaps Ap. \*पाणिसाला, eliding अ as in इवं for इअवं see § 58, note), Skr. पानीयशाला; E. H. पनचक्की watermill, Pr. पाणिअचक्किआ, Skr. पानीयचक्रिका; E. H. फुलवारी flowergarden (for फूलवारी), Pr. \*फुल्लाडिआ, Skr. फुल्लाडिका; E. H. अथपका half-ripe (for आथपका), Mg. अठपक्कर, Skr. अथपक्कः; E. H. नदीया name of a town in Bengal (for नादीया), Mg. नअदीयए, Skr. नवदीपकः; E. H. मुमाखी honey-bee (for मौगाखी), Mg. महुमक्खिआ, Skr. मधुमक्त्रिका, etc. 2) rarely otherwise; thus E. H. दिया lamp (also दीया and दोवा), Mg. दीयए (or \*दियए cf. H. C. 1, 101 पल्लिविअं = प्रदीपितं), Skr. दीपकः; also in semitats. as E. H. पलान् stone, Skr. पापाणः; E. H. पताल् hades, Skr. पातालम्; E. H. मुरहा swoon, Skr. मूर्हा; and see also § 25, as E. H. दुबरा weak from दूबर, Mg. दुबलए, Skr. दुर्बलकः, etc.; and § 146, as E. H. सब् all for \*साब्, Mg. सब्, Skr. सर्वः, etc.

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

Skr. मुखम्; E. H. नेह् or मेह् *rain*, Mg. मेहे (cf. II. C. 1, 187), Skr. मेघः (lit. cloud, ?); E. H. सोह् or सोह् *oath* (fem.), A. Mg. सवहे (cf. II. C. 1, 179), Skr. प्रपयः; E. H. झह् *shade*, Pr. झाही (II. C. 1, 249) or झाहा (Vr. 2, 18), Skr. द्याया; E. H. ब्राह् or ब्राह् (fem.) *arm*, Pr. ब्राह or ब्राहा (II. C. 4, 329), Skr. ब्राहा (fem., but ब्राहुः masc.); E. H. माह् or माही or माही *within*, Ap. मडकहिं, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. खांसो or खासो *cough*, Pr. खासिघ्रा (cf. II. C. 1, 181), Skr. कासिका; E. H. हांसो or हासो *laughter*, Pr. हासिघ्रा (cf. II. C. 3, 105), Skr. हासिका; E. H. घास् or घास् (fem.) *grass*, A. Mg. घासे, Skr. घासः (masc.), etc.; rarely otherwise; as E. H. पाव् or पाव् *foot*, Ap. पाउ, Sr. पाघो, Skr. पादः; E. H. कूय् or कूय् or कूय् or कूय् *well*, Ap. कूयउ or कूयउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Skr. कूपकः; sometimes ह् is elided after nasalization, as E. H. त्राय् or त्राय् *they go* (for त्रायिह्), Ap. त्राहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), Pr. त्रति (II. C. 4, 388), Skr. यान्ति.

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

### β) VOWELS IN CONTACT.

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

69. The semivowels, which may separate contiguous vowels,

are generally य् or व्, rarely ह्. About the use of य् and व् see § 28. Examples of an inserted euphonic ह् are probably; E. H. वदिहा or वदिया *inferior*; E. H. डूहँ or डूवै or डूरे *he touches*; E. H. दिहल् *given* for दे + अल् (probably by analogy to लिहल् *taken*, cf. § 307); E. H. दिहिस् *he gave* for दि + इस्, and किहिस् *he did* for कि + इस् (analogous to लिहिस् *he took*, see § 307); E. H. पहिचान् *cognizance* for पइचान् (Pr. परिचम्रणं, Skr. परिचयनम्?); E. H. °अनिहार a *suffix of agency*, Ap. Pr. अणिम्रम्रटो (see § 321); E. H. अहा a *pleon. suff.*, Mg. अम्रए, Skr. \*अककः (§ 208); E. H. आहट् or आवट् a *suffix of abstract nouns*, Pr. अम्रवट्टो (see § 288). There is, apparently, one instance of an euphonic ल्; viz. E. H. दिलोतरसो or दियोतरसो *one hundred and two* (made analogously to तिलोतरसो 103, चलोतरसो 104, हिलोतरसो 106); see §§ 394. 397.

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

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

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

नावः; धी-अस् = धियः; लू-अस् = लुवः. In Pr. there are traces of the Gd. expansion; thus ओ or उ to व in पवद्गे or पओद्गे or पउद्गे = Skr. प्रकोट (Vr. 1, 40); आवद्गं for \*आओद्गं or आउद्गं = Skr. आतोयम् (H. C. 1, 156); उ or ऊ to व in सोअमल्लं for \*सोअमल्लं for \*सोउमल्लं = Skr. सौकुमार्यम् (Vr. 1, 22); दुअल्लं for \*दुअल्लं or दुउल्लं = Skr. दुकूलम् (Vr. 1, 25); ओहलो for \*उअहलो (cf. H. C. 1, 173) for उउहलो = Skr. उडूखलः (H. C. 1, 171); सोमालो for \*सुअमालो for सुउमालो = Skr. सुकुमारः (H. C. 1, 171). I do not recollect any example of ए or इ to व. Also the contraction of इ + अ to ए and उ + अ to ओ is found in Skr.; as in gen. sg. अग्नि-अस = अग्नेः; मधु-अन् = मधोः. Here the change is commonly explained as a *guna* of the final इ or उ; but it may be, as in Pr. and Gd. it undoubtedly must be, explained as an expansion of इ and उ to अय् and अव् and contraction of the resultant dissyllable अय and अव to ए and ओ; as \*अग्नयः = अग्नेः; \*मधवः = मधोः. Instances of this change in Pr. are not uncommon; thus वेइल्लं for \*अयइल्लं for अइल्लं = Skr. अचिकिलम् (H. C. 1, 166); कणरो for \*कअवारो for कअवारो = Skr. कर्णिकारः (H. C. 1, 168); एपिहं for \*अयपिं for इअपिं = Skr. इदानोम् (H. C. 2, 134. Ls. 129); एत्रिअं for \*अयत्रिअं for \*इअत्रिअं = Skr. इयतिकम्; केत्रिअं for \*कयत्रिअं for \*किअत्रिअं = Skr. कियतिकम् (H. C. 2, 157); एदूहं for \*अयदूहं for \*इअदूहं = Skr. \*इयादृगम् (i. e. \*इयत् + दृग or ईदृग; cf. Wb. Spt. 59); केदूहं for \*कयदूहं for \*किअदूहं = Skr. \*किवादृगम् (or कोदृग) H. C. 2, 157. Again ओ for \*अव for उअ = Skr. उत (H. C. 2, 172); cf. ओहरइ for अवहरइ = Skr. अवहरति (H. C. 1, 172); पोरो for \*पवरो for \*पूअरो = Skr. पूतरः (H. C. 1, 170); पोफकलं for \*पवफकलं for \*पूअफकलं = Skr. पूगकलम् (H. C. 1, 170); सोणारो for \*सवंषारो for \*सुअषारो for सुअषारो = Skr. सुवर्णकारः (Spt. 194. H. C. 1, 26), etc. An instance of the change of अ + इ to ऐ in Pr. is ऐ for अइ = Skr. अयि (H. C. 1, 169); but the Pr. tendency is to produce and retain the hiatus अइ, अउ, अउ, as दइओ = Skr. दैवः (H. C. 1, 151), पउरो = Skr. पौरः (H. C. 1, 162), पाउरणं = Skr. पावरणम् (H. C. 1, 175), etc. Somewhat analogous are in Skr. स्वरन् for स्वरन्, प्रौढः for प्रउढः, etc. (M. M. 19).

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

Ap. Pr. एहं, Skr. ईदृणे (scl. स्थाने, see § 467); E. H. तोहारू yours (W. H. तुम्हारौ), Ap. Mg. \*तुम्हल्लिर् or \*तुम्हकल्लिर् or तुम्हक्केले (cf. H. C. 2, 99. 147. 4, 422), Skr. युष्माकम्; E. H. खात् eating, Mg. खान्ते, Skr. खादन्; E. H. सङ्गंध (fem.) bad odour, Pr. \*सङ्गिअंधो, Skr. \*प्रदित्तगन्धिः (cf. H. C. 4, 219); E. H. राउत् name of a caste, Mg. \*लाम्बउत्ते, Skr. जनदूतः; E. H. लोहारू blacksmith, Mg. लोह्याले, Skr. लौहकारः; E. H. चनारू leather-worker, shoemaker, Mg. चम्म्याले, Skr. चर्मकाजः; E. H. परिवा first day of a lunar fortnight, Mg. पडिवया (Vr. 4, 7), Skr. प्रतिपत्.

*Exception.* Sometimes व् is inserted; as in the nominal long forms, e. g., रमन्वा Rāma for Mg. लाम्याह, Skr. रामकस्य (see § 369, 2); sometimes व्, as in रैनू or रयेन् night, Mg. लम्बणो, Skr. जननी.

74. इ or ई with इ or ई becomes ई; as E. H. पो or पीर् he will drink, Pr. पिद्दिद्, Skr. पास्यति (\*पिविष्यति), W. H. पीर् = Pr. \*पिर्हर्; E. H. पीवो I shall drink, Ap. Pr. पिद्दुडं, Pr. पिद्दुव्हि, Skr. पातव्य° (\*पिवितव्य°), see § 309.

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

76. *Affinities.* There are some examples of the preceding contractions in Pr.; as Ap. अम्हारू (H. C. 4, 345) = \*अम्हर्गिओ or \*अम्हर्कगिओ, Mh. अम्हक्केरो (H. C. 2, 147), Skr. अत्माकम् (lit. \*अस्मकृतः), H. H. हमारू, E. H. हनारू, W. H. हमारो (Br.) or म्हारो (Mw.) our; Pr. खाद् or खान्द् (H. C. 4, 228), Skr. खादति, E. H. खाय् he eats; Pr. राउलं or राअउलं (Vr. 4, 1), Skr. राजकुलम्, E. H. राउरू, W. H. राउल् a title of honor; Pr. भाणं or भाअणं, Skr. भाजनम् (H. C. 1, 267) vessel; Pr. सोणार्° (Spt. 194) for सुवण्णार्°, Skr. सुवर्णकार°, E. H. सोनारू goldsmith; Pr. कुम्मारो or कुम्भारो (Vr. 1, 4), Skr. कुम्भकारः, E. H. कोह्णारू, W. H. कुम्हारू potter; Pr. पावाल्लिआ for पम्बाल्लिआ (Spt. 162), Skr. प्रपावाल्लिका guardian of a well; again उआसो for \*उअआसो for उववासो (H. C. 1, 173, see § 34), Skr. उपवासः, E. H. उपास् (perhaps a semi-tatsama) fasting, etc. See Wb. Spt. 32. But as a rule, Pr. prefers to preserve the hiatus; see Wb. Bl. 408. Skr. has similar laws, see M. M. 14. 52.

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

or अय् *ay*, if penultimate, optionally; as E. H. गयल् or गइल् or गैल् gone, Mg. गमिदे (see §§ 307. 109), Skr. गतः, W. H. गवौ, P. गइया, Ap. Pr. \*गमिअउ; E. H. भयल् or भइल् or भैल् been, Mg. \*भविद् (see § 307), Skr. भूतः, W. H. भयौ, P. होइया, Ap. Pr. भविअउ or हविअउ (cf. H. C. 4, 401); E. H. कय् or कै having done for कइ, W. H. करि, Ap. Pr. करि (H. C. 4, 357), Pr. करिअ (H. C. 1, 27), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. पइठे or पैठे he enters, Pr. पइट्टइ (cf. H. C. 4, 444), Skr. \*प्रविटति (see § 352); E. H. खइलो or खैलो I ate, Mg. खाइद्ग्म्हि, Skr. खादितोऽग्नि (see § 487); E. H. गइलो or गैलो I went, Mg. गमिद्ग्म्हि, Skr. गतोऽग्नि; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् such, Ap. Mg. तइसिल्ले (see § 111), A. Mg. तारिसे (H. C. 4, 287) or तारिसे (Ls. 115), Skr. तादृषः.

*Exception.* The termin. ऐ and ऐँ of the 3. pr. sg. and pl. pres. and of the gen.-affix कै are always thus contracted; e. g., E. H. चलै he walks (not चल्इ or चल्य्), Pr. चलइ, Skr. चलति; E. H. करै they do, Ap. करहिं (H. C. 4, 382), Pr. करंति, Skr. कुर्वन्ति; E. H. कै of (lit. done by) = O. H. करि, Ap. \*करिउ or \*करिओ or करौ (H. C. 4, 422), Skr. कृतः. In the oblique form of the singular and in *postpositional* locatives अइ becomes generally ए or ई; as E. H. भले obl. form of भला good, O. H. भलहि, Ap. Pr. भल्लइ, Skr. भद्र्य (see § 365, 6. 367, 4); E. H. पाइँ or पाइे or पाइेँ or पाइे after, G. पाइी, Ap. Pr. पच्छइ (H. C. 4, 334. 420; for पच्छहि, see § 367, 4) or पच्छहिं (§§ 367, 5. and 378), Skr. पञ्चे; E. H. आगे before, Ap. Pr. अगइ (H. C. 4, 391), Skr. अग्रे; E. H. नाँहिँ or नाँहोँ (cf. § 67) within, S. मंके, Ap. Pr. मङ्कहिं or मङ्कहि, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. पाहोँ near, by side of, Ap. पक्खहिं, Skr. पक्षे; E. H. लागे or लगे with, for, till, M. लागोँ, Ap. लग्गहि, Skr. लग्ने.

78. अ with उ becomes औ, if antepenultimate, but औ or अय् *ava* or अय् *av*, if penultimate, optionally; thus E. H. चौय् or चय्य् or चउय् fourth, Mg. चउत्ये (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. चतुर्थः; E. H. चौया or चउया fourth, Mg. चउत्यइ (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. चतुर्थकः; E. H. औय् or अय्य् the province of Oudh, also अनुधा (W. H. अनुध्या *semitats.*), Mg. \*अयुढा or \*अनुढा, Skr. अयोध्या; E. H. रौरा or रउरा a honorific title, you (cf. § 25), Mg. लाउलइ (cf. Vr. 4, 1), Skr. गजकुलकः; E. H. ऐकलौता or ऐकलउता (or अक<sup>०</sup> or <sup>०</sup>टा) only-born son, Mg. एक्कलउत्तइ

(cf. Wb. Bh. 439) or ०द्दृ (cf. H. C. 2, 165. Vr. 12, 5), Skr. एकलपुत्रकः; E. H. नेढौत् or नेढउत् *son of husband's elder brother*, Mg. नेढउत्ते (cf. Wb. Bh. 315), Skr. नेढपुत्रः.

*Exception.* The termin. ओँ or ओँ of the 1<sup>st</sup> pr. sg. pres. is always thus contracted; e. g., E. H. करौँ or करोँ *I do*, Ap. करउँ (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. करमि, Skr. करोमि; Ap. Pr. सउ *hundred* is in E. H. सो beside सौ, सव्, सउ; Skr. प्रतम्. In the *postpositional* locatives अउ becomes उ; as E. H. पाहू *behind*, Ap. Pr. पच्छुँ, Skr. पओ, etc.; see § 367, 5.

79. *Affinities.* In Pr. अइ and अउ generally remain in hiatus, but sometimes become ए and ओ; thus देवुँ and ददुँ *fate* (H. C. 1, 153), Skr. दैवम्, but E. H. दैव्; Ap. केहो *of what kind* for \*कइहो or \*कादिहो, Skr. कीदृप्रः (cf. Ls. 455); Pr. केलँ for \*कइलँ or कवलँ (H. C. 1, 167), Skr. कदरम्, also E. H. केरा *plantain*; again Pr. लोणं for \*लउणं or लवणं *salt* (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. लवणम्, also E. H. लोन् or नोन्; Pr. चोव्वारो or चउव्वारो *shed, court* (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. चतुर्वारः, but E. H. चौव्वार; Pr. चांत्यो or चउत्यो (H. C. 1, 171), but E. H. चौव्. Only in one exceptional case अइ becomes ऐ, viz. Pr. ऐ for \*अइ = Skr. अवि (H. C. 1, 169). These remarks refer to the Mh.-Sr. and Ap. (Sr.) Pr.; perhaps the Mg. even more strictly preserved the hiatus; for thus it may be explained why *on the whole* the E. and N. Gd. have ऐ and ओ, while the W. and S. Gd. have ए and ओ and occasionally even modify ए to आ (just as the Mg. nom. sing. term. ए; see §§ 47. 48), or exceptionally (shortened) to अ; thus E. H., B., O., also M. चौया, N. (also Br.) चौयो *fourth*, but G., S., Mw. चोयो; E. H., B., O., N., also M. चौदा or चौदह् *fourteen*, but Mw., G. चोद (or चौद), S. चोउहँ; again E. H. गैल् *gone*, but M. गेला; E. H. कैल् *done*, but M. केला; E. H. भैल् *been*, but M. काला (for \*हैला, \*ह्याला); E. H. खैलोँ *I ate*, M. खालोँ; E. H. ऐलोँ *I came*, M. आलोँ; E. H. तैसन् *such*, M. तसा. The contraction of the Ap. Pr. loc. term. अहिँ to ईँ is quite regular in M.; see Man. 28, 2. 3; as M. वरीँ *in a house*, Ap. वरहिँ (K. I. 12, 27. in Ls. 451. see § 367, 5), Skr. गृहे; M. पासोँ *by the side of*, Ap. Pr. पासहिँ (cf. H. C. 2, 92),



Skr. पार्णे; M. आढी for (affix of dative), Ap. Pr. अद्दहिं (cf. H. C. 2, 32), Skr. अर्थे; M. ठार्ई in (Man. 127), Ap. ठाणहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थाने, etc.

80. अ with ई or उ becomes ऐ or अय् and ओ or अय् respectively; optionally; as E. H. कनहई or कनहै or कनहय् *kanhai* (krishna); E. H. बडउ or बडो or बडय् *pitcher*, redundant forms of कान् or कनहा (W. H. कान्ह्) and बडा, see § 356.

81. अ with ए, ओ, see § 97.

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

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

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

done, Mg. कलिघ्न (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. चल्यो, O. H. चल्ले, Ap. \*चलिघ्नं (see § 505), Pr. चल्लिघ्नं, Skr. चलितोऽस्मि.

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

84. उ *with* अ *becomes* ओ; as E. H. सोँधा *sweet scent*, Mg. सुञ्धए (cf. Spt. 13), Skr. सुगन्धकः.

*Exception.* The nominal termin. उञ् contracts to ऊ; as E. H. आँसू *tear*, Pr. अँसुञ्; see § 53. 49. 50.

85. *Affinities.* Both the above contractions are not uncommon in Pr.; thus Pr. लेइ *he takes* for \*लिहइ or लहइ (H. C. 4, 335), Skr. लभते, E. H. ले (cf. E. H. past part. लिहल्); Mg. ओङ्कार (cf. H. C. 1, 173) *magician* for \*उञ्ङकार or उवङ्कार, Skr. उपाध्यायः, E. H. ओका; Mg. होते for \*हुञ्ते or हुवंते (cf. H. C. 3, 180), Skr. भवन्, E. H. होत्, etc. (see § 72). They are common alike to all Gds.

86. इ or उ *with* आ *become* इया and उवा; *optionally*; the insertion of य् is usual, that of व् unusual; thus E. H. हिया or हिआ *heart*, Pr. हिमञ्, Skr. हृदयम्; E. H. बियाह् *marriage*. Mg. विआहे, Skr. विवाहः; E. H. पियास् *thirst*, Pr. पिआसा (cf. H. C. 4, 434) or पिवासा (Wb. Bh. 274),-Skr. पिपासा; E. H. पुआल् or (rarely) पुवाल् *straw*, Pr. \*पलाली, Skr. पलाली; and regularly in the nominal long forms, as घोऱिया or (rarely) घोऱिआ *mare*; गोऱ्या or (less usually) गोऱ्वा *wife*, see §§ 195. 199.

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

87. इ *with* उ or ऊ *becomes* इयु and इयू; *optionally*; the hiatus is more usual; as E. H. सिउ or सियु *Śiva*, Ap. सिउ, Pr. सिओ, Skr. शिवः; E. H. पिउ or पियू *sweetheart*, Ap. पिञ्उ, Pr. पिञ्ओ, Skr. प्रियकः.

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

89. इ or उ *with* ए or ओ; see § 98.

90. ई or ऊ *with* अ; see § 97.

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

Pr. धीघ्रा (Vr. 4, 33), Skr. धीदा or दुहिता; E. H. सीया *Sítá*, Pr. सोघ्रा, Skr. सीता (semitats.); E. H. पीयु *drink thou*, Ap. पिउ (see § 65), Pr. पिव, Skr. पिब; E. H. पीये *he drinks*, Pr. पिघइ (H. C. 4, 10), Skr. पिचति; E. H. पीयो<sup>०</sup> or पीयो<sup>०</sup> *I drink*, Ap. पिघउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. पिघमि, Skr. पिचामि.

92. उ with घ्रा, इ and ई remains in hiatus; as E. H. धूघ्रा<sup>०</sup> *smoke*, Ap. धूँउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. धूमघ्रो, Skr. धूमकः; E. H. चूइहे<sup>०</sup> *they will leak*, Ap. चुइहिं (cf. § 65), Pr. चुइहंति, Skr. श्रोतिष्यन्ति; E. H. भूई<sup>०</sup> *earth*, Ap. भूँचिघ्रां (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. भूमिघ्रा, Skr. भूमिका; E. H. सूई<sup>०</sup> *needle*, Pr. सूइघ्रा, Skr. सूचिका.

93. उ with ए, ऐ, ओ and औ becomes उवे, उवै, उवो, उवो; optionally; the hiatus is more usual; as E. H. चूरे<sup>०</sup> or चूवै<sup>०</sup> *it leaks* (W. H. चूर or चूवे), Pr. चुघइ (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. श्रोतति; E. H. चूघ्रो<sup>०</sup> or चूघ्रो<sup>०</sup> or चूवो<sup>०</sup> or चूवो<sup>०</sup> *I leak*, Ap. चुघउं, Pr. चुघमि, Skr. श्रोतामि.

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

95. ए or ओ with a long vowel remain in hiatus; less usually व् is inserted after ओ; as E. H. लेई<sup>०</sup> *he will take*, Pr. लहिहिइ, Skr. लप्स्यते (\*लमिष्यति); E. H. होई<sup>०</sup> *he will be*, Pr. होही (H. C. 2, 180) or होहिइ (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. भविष्यति; E. H. बोऐ<sup>०</sup> or बोवै<sup>०</sup> *he sows*, Pr. ववइ, Skr. वपति; E. H. बोघ्रो<sup>०</sup> or बोघ्रो<sup>०</sup> or बोवो<sup>०</sup> or बोवो<sup>०</sup> *I sow*, Ap. ववउं, Pr. ववमि, Skr. वपामि.

96. ऐ or औ with any vowel insert व् and व्; optionally; the insertion of व् is usual, but not that of व्; as E. H. भैयन्<sup>०</sup> or भइयन्<sup>०</sup> कै (see § 77) *of brothers*, Pr. भाइघ्राण, Skr. भ्रातृकाणाम्; E. H. भैया or भइया *brother*, Mg. भाइघ्राह, Skr. भ्रातृकस्य (see § 369, 2); E. H. नौघन्<sup>०</sup> or नउघन्<sup>०</sup> कै (see § 78) *of barbers*, Pr. नाचिघ्राण, Skr. नापितानाम्; E. H. नौघ्रा or नौवा or नउघ्रा or नउवा *barber*, Mg. नाचिघ्राह, Skr. नापितस्य; E. H. नौई<sup>०</sup> *he will bow*, Pr. नचिहिइ or नमिहिइ (cf. H. C. 4, 158), Skr. नमिष्यति; E. H. नौघ्रो<sup>०</sup> *I bow*, Ap. नवउं, Pr. नवमि, Skr. नमामि; E. H. नौऐ<sup>०</sup> or नौवै<sup>०</sup> *they bow*, Ap. नवहिं (H. C. 4, 367), Pr. नवंति, Skr. नमन्ति.

97. घ्रा before or after a long vowel is often elided; before; E. H. सुघ्रा<sup>०</sup> *cook*, A. Mg. सूघ्राले, Skr. सूफकाजः; E. H. फुलेल्<sup>०</sup> *scented oil*, Pr. फुल्लएल्लं, Skr. फुल्लनैलम्; after; E. H. सीरू<sup>०</sup> or सीयरू<sup>०</sup> *cold, damp*, Pr. सीवलं (cf. H. C. 4, 343. Spt. 53), Skr. श्रोतलम्; E. H. पीरू<sup>०</sup> or

पीयू *yellow*, Pr. पीमलं (H. C. 1, 213), Skr. पीतलम्; E. H. सू *hog*, A. Mg. सूमले, Skr. गूकरः; E. H. थो *or थोरा little* (W. H. थोडा), Pr. थोमडं *or थोमडमं* (cf. H. C. 2, 125), Skr. स्तोक्म् *or स्तोक्कम्*. But never in conjugation; e. g., E. H. पीयत् *drinking*, Mg. पिमंते, Skr. पिबन्; E. H. बोमत् *sowing*, Mg. वमंते, Skr. वबन्.

*Note:* पीयत्, बोमत्, etc. are not real exceptions; for their ई, मी, etc. are merely subsequent Gd. lengthenings (cf. § 65); nor होत् *being*, देत् *giving*, लेत् *taking*, for these are not contractions of हो-मत्, etc., but of Mg. Pr. हुमंते, लहंते, दंते (cf. H. C. 4, 307).

98. इ *or ए and उ or ओ after a vowel often become य ya or यू y and व va or वृ v respectively*; thus E. H. गयल् *or गरल् gone* (see § 77); E. H. धय् *having put* for धइ, Ap. धरि, Pr. धरिम, Skr. धृत्वा; E. H. खायल् *or खाइल् eaten* (§ 82. exc.); E. H. पाय् *having found* for पाइ, Ap. पात्रि, Pr. पात्रिम, Skr. प्राप्य; E. H. चूय् *having leaked* for चूइ *or चूरे*, Pr. चुइम, Skr. श्रुतित्वा; E. H. होय् *he is*, Pr. होइ (H. C. 1, 9) *or ह्वइ* (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति; E. H. होय् *having been* for होइ *or होरे*, Pr. ह्विम (H. C. 4, 271), Skr. भूत्वा; E. H. कोयू *or कोइू cuckoo* (W. H. कोइल्), Mg. कोइले, Skr. कोकिलः; E. H. नारियू *cocoanut* (W. H. नारियल्), Mg. नालिरुले, Skr. नाजिकेलः; O. H. आयसु *order* (in Tulsídás), Ap. आरसु, Pr. आरसो, Skr. आदेप्रः; E. H. चवय् *or चउय् fourth* (see § 78); E. H. घाव् *or घाउ wound* (see § 82. exc.); E. H. जाँव् *I go*, Ap. जाउं, Pr. जामि (H. C. 2, 204), Skr. यामि.

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

## γ) SINGLE CONSONANTS.

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

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

100. *Affinities.* All these five kinds of changes exist in Pr. already; but modified partly in character, partly in frequency. Thus in Pr. they affect as a rule (exceptions see § 116, note. § 145, exc. 2. and § 142) only *original* single consonants; in E. H. also *resultant* ones. Again 1) in Pr. surds are softened to sonants, in E. H. sonants to semivowels; e. g., *orig.*, Skr. कर्पटकः *cloths*, Mg. कर्पटर्, E. H. कपर्ता; Skr. कथितः *said*, Mg. कथिदे, E. H. कहिल् or कहल्; *result.*, Skr. कपर्दिका, Mg. कवट्टिग्रा (cf. H. C. 2, 36), E. H. कौरी, W. H. कौडे. This rule refers only to cerebrals and dentals, which alone are capable of the change. But something analogous takes place in the case of the other classes; thus in Pr., labials ( $\text{प}$  or  $\text{ब}$ ) are softened to  $\text{व}$  (H. C. 1, 231. 237); in E. H.,  $\text{व}$  is *vocalized*; e. g., Skr. श्रवणः *oath*, A. Mg. सवधे or सवहे, E. H. सोह (for सउह); in Mg. Pr. for gutturals ( $\text{क}$ ,  $\text{ग}$ ) and palatals ( $\text{च}$ ,  $\text{ज}$ ) is substituted the euphonic  $\text{य}$  (cf. Wb. Bh. 397); in E. H.,  $\text{य}$  is *vocalized*; e. g., Skr. नगगम् *town*, Mg. नयलं, E. H. नैरू; Skr. जतनी *night*, Mg. लयणी, E. H. रैनि. There are, however, traces of these changes in Pr. already, see §§ 35. 105. 109, note, etc. Then 2) in Pr., aspirate consonants are changed to sonant aspirates or reduced to the simple aspirate ह (see H. C. 4, 267. 302. Wb. Bh. 410); E. H. allows only the simple aspirate and occasionally extends the rule to resultant aspirates; e. g., Skr. कुजुय *you make*, Mg. कलेध or कलेह, E. H. करह; Skr. पत्ते, Ap. पक्वहिं, E. H. पाही (for पाजी). Traces of its extension to resultants, however, occur in Pr. also, see § 116, note and Wb. Bh. 410. Again 3), in Pr.,  $\text{ग}$  and  $\text{घ}$  are sometimes *vocalized* (§ 35); in Ap. Pr. also  $\text{ग}$  (see § 122, note); but in E. H. the process is far more common; see examples above (No. 1). Next 4) in Pr., unaspirate consonants proper and  $\text{ग}$  and  $\text{घ}$  only are elided (Vr. 2, 2. H. C. 1, 177); E. H. extends the practice occasionally to  $\text{र}$ ,  $\text{ल}$ ,  $\text{ह}$ ,  $\text{म}$ ,  $\text{न}$ , though traces of the latter exist in Pr. also (see §§ 125, note. and 127, note).

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

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

to which it applies its own laws of phonetic change. Of un-aspirates: exceptionally ण्; regularly ङ्; in the past part. and exceptionally in other words ढ्; regularly ञ्. Of aspirates: exceptionally ख्; regularly ह्, क् and छ्; optionally ध् and भ्. The unaspirates च् and ण् are never present; in words like E. H. पचे *it rots*, चने *it sounds* (§ 143) they are resultant, owing to a doubling (च्, ञ्) in Pr.

aa) Softening.

102. क् becomes ण्; rarely; 1) original; thus E. H. काग् *crow*, Ap. काग्, Skr. काकः (but usually कवा, Mg. काए, or कौवा (for \*कववा), Mg. काअए); E. H. साग् *vegetable*, Ap. साग्, Skr. प्राकम्; E. H. सग् *cart* (W. H. सग्), A. Mg. सगडं (cf. Wb. Bh. 248), Skr. प्राकटम्; E. H. सग् *whole*, Ap. सगलं, Skr. सकलम्; E. H. सग् *bird*, Ap. सग्णु, Skr. प्राकुनः; E. H. ऐगार्ह *eleven*, Ap. \*एगार्ह (cf. H. C. 1, 177), Skr. एकादश; E. H. परगट् *manifest*, Skr. प्रकटम् (semitats.). — 2) resultant; thus E. H. त्रिगत् or त्रेगत् *individual*, Skr. व्यक्तः; E. H. सुगति *salvation*, Skr. मुक्तिः; E. H. भगत् *devotee*, Skr. भक्तः; E. H. भगति *faith*, Skr. भक्तिः; E. H. भगताई *devotedness* (cf. § 220) = Skr. भक्तता; E. H. रगत् *blood*, Skr. रक्तम्. Not always; as E. H. चक्र *wheel*, Ap. Pr. चक्रं (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. चक्रम्; E. H. चकरी *she-goat*, Ap. चक्रिया, Skr. चक्रिका.

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

103. ट् becomes ङ् or ञ्; very rarely; always resultant, as E. H. निवाडे or निवारै *he accomplishes* for \*निवाटै, Pr. निवट्टेड् or निवट्टेड्, Skr. निर्वर्तयति; E. H. पेड् or पेड् *tree* for \*पेट्ट (see § 148), Pr. पट्टो, Skr. पत्रो (?).

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



E. H. घरे or घडे *he fashions*, Pr. घउड् (H. C. 1, 195), Skr. घटयति;  
 E. H. चिर्रे *bird* (cf. § 55), Pr. चउड्घा, Skr. चटकिका, H. H. चिड्डिया;  
 E. H. तोरे or तोडे *he breaks*, Pr. तोउड् or तोडेड्, Skr. त्रोटयति; E. H.  
 नरू or नरू *a kind of reed*, Mg. नडे (cf. H. C. 1, 195), Skr. नटः;  
 E. H. परे or पडे *he falls*, Pr. पउड् (Vr. 8, 51), Skr. पतति; E. H.  
 परिवा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Pr. पडिवा (Vr. 4, 7), Skr.  
 प्रतिपत्; E. H. परोस् *neighbourhood* (cf. § 122), A. Mg. पडिवासे or  
 पडिवासे, Skr. प्रतिवासः or प्रतिवेषः; E. H. पापरू or पापडू *cake*, Mg.  
 पपडे, Skr. पपटः; E. H. वारी or वाडो *garden*, Pr. वाडिवा, Skr.  
 वाटिका; E. H. भरू or भडू *large boat*, Mg. भडे (cf. H. C. 1, 195),  
 Skr. भटः (?); E. H. लरिका or लडिका *boy*, Mg. \*लडिक्कर from Skr.  
 लट (cf. § 252. 334. 353), H. H. लडका; E. H. लरे or लडे *he*  
*quarrels (makes uproar)*, Mg. लउड्, Skr. जटति (cf. § 110, exc.); E. H.  
 सरू or सडे *it rots*, Pr. सउड् (Vr. 8, 51), Skr. प्रदति; generally in  
 the E. H. pleonastic suffixes डू or रू, डा or रा, आडू or आरू, आडा  
 or आरा, Ap. Mg. डे, उए, अअडे, अअउए (cf. H. C. 4, 429. 430); thus  
 E. H. गोरू or गोडू *foot, leg*, Ap. गवडु (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. गनडो,  
 Skr. गनः (lit. going); E. H. थोरू or थोडू *little* (cf. § 97), Ap. Mg.  
 थोअडे, Skr. स्तोक्; E. H. ठोकरा or ठोकडा *small piece*, Ap. Mg.  
 \*ठोक्कउए (cf. H. C. 2, 125), Skr. स्तोक्; E. H. चमरा or चमडा *leather*,  
 Ap. Mg. चम्मउअं, Skr. चर्म; E. H. वडरू or वडडू *calf*, Ap. वडडउड,  
 Skr. वडसः; E. H. सैकरा or सैकडा *a hundred*, Ap. Mg. सवडुअं, Skr.  
 प्रतकन्; E. H. नेठरा *eldest*, Ap. Mg. नेठउए, Skr. ज्येष्ठः; E. H. पडिवा  
 or पडिवाडू or वारा *hindmost*, Ap. Mg. \*पडिवाअडे or वाअउए or  
 पडिवाअडे or मअउए, Skr. पश्चिमकः; E. H. पडारो or पडाडो (scl. रस्ती)  
*hind-rope (for tying horses' hind-legs)*, Ap. पडिवाअडिवा, Skr. पअक<sup>०</sup>;  
 E. H. अगारी or अगाडो *fore-rope*, Ap. अगअडिवा, Skr. अयक<sup>०</sup>, etc. —  
 2) resultant; thus E. H. कौरो or कौडो *cowrie*, Pr. कवडिवा (H. C.  
 2, 36), Skr. कपर्दिका, etc.

105. डू becomes लू; only original; very rarely; thus the  
 E. H. pleonastic suffix लू or ला, Ap. Mg. डे or उए (cf. H. C. 4, 429),  
 e. g., E. H. परलू or ला *ulterior*, Ap. Mg. पलडे or उए, Skr. पजः;  
 E. H. मोटलू *fat*, Ap. Mg. \*मोटडे or \*मुटडे, Skr. मूर्त्नः; E. H. गडली  
*mother*, Ap. Mg. \*माउडिवा, Skr. मातृका, etc.; also otherwise, as

E. H. द्विलोत्तरस्य or °सो, Ap. Mg. \*द्वुत्तरस्यं or \*द्वलुत्तरस्यं (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Ap. Sr. \*द्वुत्तरसट, Skr. षटुत्तरप्रतम्.

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

106. इ becomes न्; only original; very rarely; thus E. H. तवन् or तडन् or तोन् that (lit. of that kind), Ap. तेवुडु (H. C. 4, 407) or \*तेवडो, Pr. तेदूहो (cf. H. C. 2, 157), Skr. तादृप्रः (see § 438, 2); E. H. त्रवन् or त्रडन् or त्रौन् which (lit. of which kind), Ap. त्रेवुडु (H. C. 4, 407), Pr. त्रेदूहो, Skr. यादृप्रः; E. H. कवन् or कडन् or कौन् who (lit. of what kind), Ap. कवणु (H. C. 4, 395) or केवुडु (H. C. 4, 408), Mg. केवन्निय° (Wb. Bh. 422), Pr. केदूहो, Skr. कीदृप्रः (see § 26, note); cf. also E. H. युयडा or युयना mouth (of a horse, etc.) from योय् mouth.

107. त् becomes त् or र्; very rarely; always resultant; as E. H. स्रसठि or सडसठि or सतसठि sixty seven, Pr. सत्रसट्टो (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. सप्तषष्टिः.

108. द् becomes र्; very rarely; always original; thus गगरौ waterpot, Pr. गगरिआ (cf. Vr. 2, 13), Skr. गददिका; E. H. सत्र् seventy, Pr. सत्ररी (H. C. 1, 210. Wb. Bh. 248) for \*सत्रदो, Skr. सप्ततिः; E. H. °रह् ten, Pr. °रह (Vr. 2, 14) or °रस (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. दश; e. g., E. H. चारह twelve, Pr. चारह (H. C. 1, 219) or चारस (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. द्वादश.

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

109. द् becomes ल्; only original; always in the E. H. suffix of past part. इल् or अल्, Mg. इदे (cf. H. C. 4, 260. 302. Vr. 11, 11), Skr. इतः; e. g., E. H. गदल् or गेल् or गयल् gone (see § 77); E. H. भदल् or भैल् or भयल् been (see § 77); E. H. धदल् or धैल् or धयल् put, Mg. धलिदे (cf. H. C. 1, 36. धरिओ Spt. 241), Skr. धृतः; E. H. कदल्

or कैल् or कयल् *done*, Mg. \*कलिदे, Skr. कृतः (see § 307); E. H. खाइल् or खायल् *eaten* (see § 82. exc.); E. H. पाइल् or पायल् *found* (cf. §§ 33. 123), Mg. पाविदे (cf. H. C. 4, 387. पाविघ्न), Skr. प्राप्; E. H. आइल् or आयल् *come*, Mg. आविदे, Skr. आप्; E. H. पठल् or पठिल् *read*, Mg. पठिदे, Skr. पठितः; E. H. चर्ल् or चर्िल् *walked*, Mg. चलिदे, Skr. चलितः, etc.; rarely otherwise; e. g., E. H. सल् *hundred*, A. Mg. \*सदं, Skr. शतम्.

*Note:* This change is especially Mg., e. g., कले, गले or कदे, गदे (in Md. 12, 28. optional with कडे, गडे, Vr. 11, 15), Skr. कृतः, गतः; Mg. केलघ्नं (Sak. 37, 13) for \*कलिघ्नं, Skr. कृतकम्; A. Mg. ईलिघ्न for \*ईदिघ्न, Skr. ईदृघ्नः (cf. Lss. 417. 423); rarely in Pr. generally, as Pr. पलित्तं (H. C. 1, 221), Skr. प्रदीपम्, E. H. पलीत् *a light, candle*; Pr. पलित्तं (H. C. 1, 212) for \*पलिदं, Skr. पलितम्, E. H. पलिल् or पलल् *mud*; Pr. अलसी (H. C. 1, 211) for \*अदसी, Skr. अतसी, E. H. अलसी *linseed*.

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

*Exceptions.* E. H. लेत्रुरी *cord*, (Ap.) Mg. \*लंत्रुडिघ्न, Skr. जञ्चु; E. H. लरै or लरै *he quarrels* (S. ररै), Mg. लउड्, Skr. जटति (cf. लटति or लउति); but E. H. रारि or रारि *quarrel* (noisy contention), Mg. लाउ, Skr. जटिः; E. H. डालै or डारै *he throws*, Mg. \*डालेड् or डालेड्, Skr. दाजयति (also डालयति); E. H. भूलै or भूरै *he forgets*, Ap. Mg. \*भवलेड् or \*भमलेड्, Skr. भ्रमजयति (?); E. H. गलियावै or गरियावै *he abuses* and गाली or गारि *abuse*, cf. § 142; E. H. निकालै or निकारै *he ejects*, cf. § 115, note; E. H. चलोतरसै *one hundred and four*, Mg. चुलुन्नरसयं (§ 397), Skr. चतुन्नरशतम्; E. H. सम्हालै or सम्हालै *he supports*, cf. § 120; E. H. चालिस् *forty*, Mg. चत्रलीया (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. चत्वाजिगन्तु; E. H. डाला *branch*, Mg. डालघ्नं (cf. H. C. 4, 445), Skr. दाजकम्.

111. ल् becomes न्; sometimes; in the E. H. pleonastic suffix न् or ना, Mg. ल्ले or ल्लर्; e. g., E. H. रामुन् *roseapple-tree*, A. Mg. \*रामुल्ले (see § 18) or रामुल्ले, Skr. रामूलः; E. H. ऐतना *so many*, Mg. ऐतिलर् (cf. H. C. 2, 157) or Ap. Mg. ऐतुलर् (cf. H. C.

4, 408), Skr. इयतिकः; E. H. तेतना *so many*, Mg. तेत्रिल्लए or तेत्तुलए, Skr. तावतिकः; E. H. त्रेतना *as many*, Mg. त्रेत्रिल्लए or त्रेत्तुलए (H. C. 4, 407), Skr. यावतिकः; E. H. केतना *how many*, Mg. केत्रिल्लए or केत्तुलए, Skr. कियतिकः; E. H. आपन् or आपुन् or अपना or अपुना *own*, Mg. अपुल्लं or अपुल्लं (cf. H. C. 2, 163), Skr. आप्तोयम् or ०वकम्; E. H. अइसन् or ऐसन् *of that kind*, Ap. Mg. \*अइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403. 2, 164. Wb. Bh. 437) or \*अइसुल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 429), Skr. ईदृप्रः; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *of that kind*, Ap. Mg. \*तइसिल्ले or \*तइसुल्ले, Skr. तादृप्रः; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *of whichever kind*, Ap. Mg. \*तइसिल्ले or \*तइसुल्ले, Skr. वादृप्रः; E. H. कइसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*, Ap. Mg. \*कइसिल्ले or \*कइसुल्ले, Skr. कीदृप्रः, see also § 31.

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

112. प् becomes न्; *as a rule*; see § 13; thus E. H. पानो (or *theth* पाणो) *water*, Mg. पाणिञ्चं (H. C. 1, 101), Skr. पानोयम्, etc.

113. ह् becomes र्ह्; *very rarely*; only resultant; thus E. H. कोर्ह् *leprosy* for \*कोह्, Pr. कुट्टं (or कोट्टं cf. H. C. 1, 116 or कोट्टं?), Skr. कुष्टम्; E. H. र्ह् *angry*, Mg. लुट्टे (or लुट्टे?), Skr. गुष्टः; E. H. अष्टतिम् *thirty eight*, Mg. अष्टतोसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टत्रिंशत्.

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

114. ह् becomes र्ह् or र्ह्; *as a rule*; र्ह् is more usual; thus 1) original; E. H. कमठा or कोरठा *a kind of gourd*, Mg. कमठए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. कमठकः; E. H. मठा or मर्हा *shed*, Mg. मठए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. मठकः; E. H. मठो *small temple*, Pr. मठिआ, Skr. मठिका; E. H. पठै *he reads*, Pr. पठइ, Skr. पठति; E. H. पीठा *stool*, Mg. पीठए, Skr. पीठकः. 2) resultant; E. H. काहै or काहै *he draws*, Pr. कट्टइ (H. C. 4, 187), Skr. कर्षति (lit. \*कृष्टयति); E. H. वेरै *he encloses*, Pr. वेट्टइ (Vr. 8, 40) or वेट्टेइ (H. C. 4, 51), Skr. वेष्टेते or वेष्टयति; E. H. वरै *he grows*, Pr. वट्टइ (Vr. 8, 44), Skr. वर्धते; E. H. वरुई or वरुई or वरुइ (cf. § 138) *carpenter*, Mg. वट्टए, Skr. वर्धकिकः; E. H. वूठा *old man*, Mg. वुट्टए (cf. H. C. 1, 131), Skr. वृडकः; E. H. वूठो *old women*, Pr. वुट्टिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 131), Skr. वृडिका; E. H. डेरु or देरु *one and a half*, Mg. दिवट्टे (Wb. Bh. 190), Skr. अर्द्धतिथः

(see § 416); E. H. अर्धा *two and one half*, Pr. अर्द्धा, Skr. अर्द्धतीया (see § 416); E. H. सार्धे *one half more*, Pr. सर्द्ध°, Skr. सार्द्ध°.

115. ह् becomes ल्ह्; *very rarely*; only original; E. H. कुल्हारा *axe*, Mg. कुढालर् (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. कुढाजकः; E. H. कुल्हारी *small axe*, Mg. कुढालिन्ना, Skr. कुढाजिका; E. H. कोल्हू *mill (for making sugar or oil)*, Mg. कुढले, Skr. कुढजः (a post round which the mill stone moves).

Note: E. H. दुल्हा *bridegroom*, दुल्हो or दुल्हिन् *bride* (spelled H. H. दुल्हा, दुल्हिन् see § 6, note) are Mg. दुल्लर्, दुल्लिन्ना (cf. H. C. 4, 338. Ls. 227. 228); Skr. दुर्लभकः, दुर्लभिका (lit. *difficult to obtain, dear*), not Skr. उद्दोढा, उद्दोढा (as Bs. I, 271. 245). And E. H. निकालै is Pr. निक्कालर् or निक्कालेर्, Skr. निक्कालयति (of R. कल्; perhaps caus. or denom. of कृ), not Pr. निक्कदुर्, Skr. निक्कवति (as Bs. I, 354). As to कोल्हू, the Mg. कुढले might be कुढुले in Ap. Mg. (cf. vulgar B. कुडुल् *axe* for Mg. कुढाले, see Bs. I, 270), and thence (eliding ल्) कुढुर्, कुढु or कोल्हू (cf. §§ 49. 125); there is Skr. कुढारः, Mg. कुढालू *tree (post?)*, which might also produce कोल्हू. An instance of this change in Pr. is अंकोल्ल° for \*अंकोल्ह° (H. C. 1, 200; cf. पल्लुर् and पल्लुवर् H. C. 4, 200), Skr. अङ्कोठ°.

bb) Reduction.

116. ख् and ब् become ह्; generally when original; as E. H. मुह् or मुंह् *mouth*, Pr. मुहं (H. C. 2, 164), Skr. मुखम्; E. H. मेह् or मेह् *rain*, Mg. मेहे (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. मेयः, etc.; sometimes when initial in a compound; as E. H. पोहर् *father's family*, Pr. पिउहरं (H. C. 1, 134) for \*पिउवरं, Skr. पितृगृहम्; E. H. नेहर् *wife's mother's family*; E. H. देहर् *idol temple*, Pr. \*देअवरं, Skr. देवगृहम्; 2) rarely when resultant; as E. H. रहै *he lasts, stays* for \*रखे, Mg. लकखर्, Skr. उच्यते (pass.); E. H. पाही° *by the side of* for \*पाखी°, see § 74. exc.; O. E. H. कहूँ or काहूँ *by the side of* for \*कखूँ or \*काखूँ, Ap. \*ककखहूँ, Skr. कक्षे (cf. § 378, 3).

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

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

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

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

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

118. ह् becomes ह्; *very rarely*; only original; E. H. पहिल् or पहेल् *first*, Ap. Mg. \*पढल्ले, Mg. पढिल्ले (Wb. Bh. 437), Skr. प्रथमः; E. H. पहार or पहाइ *mountain-range*, Ap. Mg. \*पढिअउटे, Skr. प्रथितकः (lit. *spread out*); E. H. पहार or पहाअ *the multiplication table*, Ap. Mg. \*पढिअउट्, Skr. पथितकः (with pleon. उक, see § 217); the इ is absorbed just as in B., O., H. H. पहा *read*, Mg. पढिअट्, W. H. पख्यौ, Ap. पढिअउ.

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

119. ध् becomes ह्; always when original; as E. H. कहै *he speaks*, Mg. कहेदि or कधेदि (H. C. 4, 267. 302), Skr. कथयति; E. H. साइ *a title of merchants*, Pr. साइ (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. साधुः; E. H.

ब्रह्मिन् *deaf*, Mg. बहिले (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. ब्रध्मिः; E. H. दही *curds*, see § 53; also when initial in a compound; as E. H. मोह *lizard*, *aligator*, Pr. मोही, Skr. मोधिः; E. H. गोहूँ *wheat*, see § 64; 2) very rarely when resultant; as E. H. कँहार or कँहार *porter*, Mg. कंधात्राले (cf. H. C. 2, 4 or \*कंधात्राले, cf. H. C. 2, 5), Skr. स्कंधकाजः.

120. म् becomes ह्; always when original; as E. H. गुहे *he strings*, Pr. गुहइ or गुभइ (H. C. 1, 236), Skr. गुफति; E. H. सौरी or सहरी *a kind of fish*, A. Mg. सहलिन्ना (cf. H. C. 1, 236), Skr. प्रफजिका; E. H. सोहे *it looks well*, Pr. सोहइ (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. प्रोभते; E. H. गहिर *deep*, Mg. गहिले (cf. H. C. 1, 101), Skr. गभीजः; E. H. बहीर *herdsman*, Mg. बाहीले, Skr. बाभीजः; also when initial in a compound, as E. H. मुनाहल् *pearl*, Pr. मुनाहलं (H. C. 1, 236) for \*मुनाभलं, Skr. मुनाफलम्; E. H. कटहल् *jackfruit*, Mg. \*कंटभहले, Skr. कण्टकफलः; E. H. सुहान् *good fortune*, Pr. सुहगं (cf. H. C. 1, 160), Skr. सौभाग्यम्; 2) rarely when resultant; as E. H. कुँहार or कोँहार *potter*, Mg. कुम्भाले or कुम्भाले (cf. H. C. 1, 8), Skr. कुम्भकाजः; E. H. सम्हाले or सम्भाले *he supports*, Mg. सम्भालेइ, Skr. सम्भाजयति; E. H. सगा *full brother* for \*सगहा or \*सगभा, Mg. सगभए, Skr. सगर्भकः; also optionally, as E. H. त्रीह् or त्रीम् *tongue*, Pr. त्रीहा or त्रीभ (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. त्रीहा.

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

cc) Vocalisation.

121. य् becomes इ and combines with the adjacent vowels; thus 1) य *ya* to इ, as E. H. त्रिगत् *individual*, Skr. व्यक्त्तः (semitats.); 2) अय *aya* to ऐ or ए, as E. H. सै or से *hundred*, A. Mg. सयं, Skr. प्रतम्; E. H. समै or समे *time*, A. Mg. समवे, Skr. समयः; E. H. उदै or उदे *rising*, Skr. उदयः (semitats.); E. H. नेर or नेर *town*, Mg. नयलं (cf. H. C. 1, 180), Skr. नगाजम्; E. H. नैन् or नेन् *eye*, Mg. नयणं (H. C. 1, 180), Skr. नयनम्; E. H. रैन् or रेन् *night*, Mg. लयणी (cf. H. C. 4, 401), Skr. जज्ञी; E. H. पैँता *foot of a bed*, Mg. पायंतए (cf. H. C. 3, 134) or पयंतए, Skr. पादान्तकः or पदान्तकः; 3) इय *iya* to ए, as E. H. पडैँत् *backyard*, Ap. Mg. \*पड्छियंते or पड्छिमंते, Skr. पश्चिमान्तः, etc.; cf. § 77.

122. *v* becomes *u* and combines with the adjacent vowels; thus 1) *v* *va* to *u*, as E. H. सिउ or सिव *Siva*, A. Mg. सिवे, Skr. शिवः; E. H. देउ or देव *god*, Mg. देवे (cf. H. C. 1, 177), Skr. देवः; E. H. नेउ or नेव *foundation*, Mg. नेवे, Skr. नेमः; 2) *vi* to *u*, as E. H. नोई *he will bow* for \*नउई, Pr. नविहिइ or ननिहिइ (cf. H. C. 4, 158), Skr. नमिष्यति; E. H. होत्रोँ or होत्रोँ *I am* for \*हउत्रोँ, Ap. हविषउं, Pr. हविष म्हि, Skr. भूतोऽस्मि; E. H. नौघ्रा or नउघ्रा *barber*, see § 96; E. H. जनउ or \*जनउ *sacrificial thread*, Pr. \*जनोअविअं (see p. 23 and H. C. 1, 101), Skr. यज्ञोपवीतम्; 3) *ava* optionally to *o*; as E. H. ओरू or अउरू *and*, Mg. अवलं, Skr. अषण्; E. H. कौनू or कउनू or कवनू *who*, see § 106; E. H. कौरौ *a kind of shell* (see § 103); E. H. सौती *wife*, Pr. सवत्तिअ (cf. Spt. 78), Skr. सपत्निका; E. H. भौँरू *humble-bee*, Ap. भवँरू (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Skr. भ्रमरकः; E. H. पढौतोँ or पठउतोँ *if I send*, Ap. \*पठुवंतउं, Pr. पठुवंतंम्हि or पठुवंतंम्हि (cf. H. C. 4, 37), Skr. प्रस्थापयन्मि; sometimes to *o*; as E. H. सोँहू *oath*, see § 100; E. H. कोँरू *a kind of gourd*, see § 114; sometimes to *u*; as E. H. लून् or लोन् or नून् or नोन् (see § 31) *salt*, Pr. लोणं or लवणं, Skr. लवणम्; E. H. भूलै or भूरै *he forgets*, Ap. Mg. \*भवँलइ or \*भगलेइ, Skr. भ्रगज्यति; 4) *iva* to *o*; as E. H. अहिनोई, see § 49; or to *u*, as E. H. पडूत् *back-yard*, Ap. पच्छिवंतु, Skr. पश्चिमान्तः; E. H. अगूअ or अगुअ *leader, guide*, Ap. Mg. \*अग्निवँअइ, Skr. अग्निमगकः; 5) *iva* or *ive* to *o*; as E. H. परोस् *neighbourhood*, see § 104; E. H. परोसै *he distributes*, A. Mg. पलिवेसइ, Skr. पजिवेपयति; 6) *ava* optionally to *o*; as E. H. महौत् or महाउत् or महावत् *elephant-driver*, Ap. महावँतु, Skr. महामात्रः, etc.; cf. § 34. 78.

*Note:* It will be seen from some of the above examples, that Skr. *v* is in Pr. *v* (H. C. 1, 231), in Gd. *u*; and Skr. *u* in Ap. Pr. *u* or *v* (H. C. 4, 397), in Gd. *u* or *u*. Traces of these changes are found in Pr.; as Pr. लोणं or लवणं, Skr. लवणम् (Vr. 1, 7), E. H. लोन् *salt*; Pr. ओदकाओ or उवदकाओ, Skr. उपाध्यायः, E. H. ओका *magician*; Ap. पठउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385) for \*पठुवं, Pr. पठमि or पठामि, Skr. पठामि, E. H. पठौँ or पठौँ *I read*, see § 497, 2.



## dd) Elision.

123. व् before इ (or ई) is elided; as a rule (cf. § 33); only original; thus E. H. ऐकइस् twenty one (W. H. एकीस्), A. Mg. एक्कीसा (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 1, 28), Skr. एकविंशतिः; E. H. बाइस् twenty two, A. Mg. बावीसं (Wb. Bh. 425) or बावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426. T. V. 1, 4. 79), Skr. द्वाविंशतिः; E. H. तेइस् twenty three, A. Mg. तेवीसं (Wb. Bh. 425) or तेवीसा (H. C. 1, 165), Skr. त्रयोविंशतिः; E. H. पचीस् twenty five for \*पचइस्, A. Mg. \*पंचवीसं or ोसा (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. पञ्चविंशतिः; E. H. सताइन् twenty seven, A. Mg. सत्तावीसा (H. C. 1, 4), Skr. सप्तविंशतिः; E. H. अठाइस् twenty eight, A. Mg. अट्टावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टाविंशतिः; E. H. अोनइस् nineteen (W. H. उनीस्), A. Mg. उणवीसा or एकूपावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. उनविंशतिः or एकोनविंशतिः; E. H. भइल् been, पाइल् found, आइल् come, see § 109; E. H. पठइवोँ or पठैवोँ I shall send, Ap. \*पठ्विन्नउं or \*पठ्वाविन्नउं, Pr. पठ्वाविन्नउंइ, Skr. प्रस्थापितव्योऽस्मि; E. H. पठाइँ he shall send, Pr. पठ्वाविहिइ, Skr. प्रस्थापविष्यति; E. H. पठइलोँ or पठैलोँ I have sent, Mg. पठ्वाविद्इइ, Skr. प्रस्थापितोऽस्मि, etc. The resultant व्, being always hardened (see § 129) is never elided.

*Exception.* A few exceptions, see § 122.

*Note:* In the numerals all Gds. elide व्, exc. M., G. and S.; thus 21 M. एकवीस्, G. एकवीष् (S. एकीह); 22 M. बावीस् or वेवीस्, G. बावीष्, S. बावीह; 23. M. तेवीस्, G. त्रेवीष्, S. त्रेवीह; 25 M. पंचवीस्, G. पचीष्, S. पंतवीह or पंतौह, etc.

124. र् (= Mg. ल्) before इ is elided; sometimes; only original; thus E. H. कइ having done for \*कइ, O. H. करि, Mg. कलिअ (H. C. 4, 302) or Mh. करिअ (H. C. 4, 272), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. धइ having placed for \*धइ, O. H. धरि, Mg. धलिअ, Skr. धृत्वा; E. H. कै suffix of genitive for \*कइ, O. H. करि, Mg. \*कलिअ or \*कलिइ, Skr. कृतः; E. H. पे upon, Ap. Mg. पलि, Mg. पले, Skr. पे; E. H. पे however, Mg. पलि or पले, Skr. पजन्; E. H. धइल् placed and कइल् done, see § 109; E. H. अइस् or ऐस् such (see § 111), Ap. Mg. \*अइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403), A. Mg. एलिसं or Mh. एरिसं (H. C. 1, 142), Skr. ईदृष्; E. H. कइस् or कैस् of what kind, Ap. Mg. \*कइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403), A. Mg. केलिसं or Mh. केरिसं (H. C. 1, 142), Skr. कीदृष्;

E. H. तद्गन् or तैगन् of *this kind*, Ap. Mg. \*तद्गिल्, A. Mg. तालिस<sup>o</sup> or तारिस<sup>o</sup> (H. C. 4, 287), Skr. तादृग्र<sup>o</sup>; E. H. तद्गन् or तैगन् of *which kind*, Ap. Mg. तद्गिल्, A. Mg. तालिस<sup>o</sup> or तारिस<sup>o</sup> (Wb. Bh. 422), Skr. वादृग्रः; E. H. ता like, A. Mg. सलिग्र or सरिग्र, Skr. सदृग्रकः (see § 292).

*Note:* Pr. has an instance of the elision of ल before इ in चद्ग्लो *bull* (H. C. 2, 174), Skr. चलिर्वदः.

125. ल् after उ is elided; rarely; only original; thus E. H. पुगाल् *straw*, Pr. \*पुलाली, Skr. पलाली (cf. Skr. पुलाक); but perhaps for पवाल्ल or पावाल्ल = Pr. पाग्वाली, Skr. पादपाली *litter, bed of straw*; E. H. के<sup>३</sup>चुवा or के<sup>३</sup>चन्वा *earth-worm*, Mg. किंचुलर्, Skr. किञ्जुलकः; E. H. कोल्हू *sugar-mill*, see § 115.

126. ह् before or after इ is elided; sometimes; thus in the E. H. suffix of 3. pers. sg. fut. ई (for \*इर्), Pr. इही or इहिइ, Skr. इष्यति; e. g., E. H. होई *he will be*, Pr. होही (H. C. 2, 180) or होहिइ (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. भविष्यति; E. H. हूँतो or हसो (§ 67) *he will laugh*, Pr. हसिहिइ (H. C. 3, 157), Skr. हनिष्यति; E. H. ऐँ (for \*अईँ) suffix of 3. pers. pl. pres., Ap. Pr. अहिं, Pr. अंति, Skr. अन्ति; e. g., E. H. करैँ *they do*, Ap. करहिं (H. C. 4, 382), Pr. करंति (H. C. 4, 376), Skr. कुर्वन्ति; E. H. हँसैँ or हसैँ *they laugh*, Ap. हसहिं, Pr. हसंति (H. C. 3, 142), Skr. हसन्ति; E. H. ऐँ or ऐँ or ईँ suffix of locative (see § 77. exc.), Ap. अहिं (K. I. 12, 27), Skr. इ; e. g., E. H. पाइँ or पाइँ *behind*, Ap. पच्छहिं, Skr. पश्चे; E. H. ए suff. of the obl. form sing. of adj. (see § 386), O. H. अहि, Ap. Pr. अहे, Skr. अश्व; e. g., E. H. मोठे *sweet*, O. H. मोठहि, Ap. मिट्टहे, Skr. मिट्टस्य; E. H. ईँ suffix of 1. pers. pl. pres., Pr. इम, Skr. ग्रामः (§ 497, 4); e. g., E. H. हसोँ *we laugh*, Pr. हसिम, Skr. हसामः; E. H. ले *he takes*, Pr. लेइ (H. C. 4, 238) for \*लिहइ or लहइ (H. C. 4, 335), Skr. लभते; E. H. लेँ *they take*, Pr. लेहिं (H. C. 4, 387) for \*लिहंति or लहंति (H. C. 4, 341), Skr. लभन्ते; E. H. त्रिफैँ or त्रिहफैँ *thursday*, Pr. विहफई (H. C. 1, 138), Skr. वृहस्पतिः, see also § 32. Sometimes otherwise; as E. H. मो (करूँ) of *me*, Ap. Pr. महु (H. C. 4, 379), see § 430, 1.

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

घृ (H. C. 4, 384), Skr. अयः, see § 497, 5; e. g., W. H. मॉगो or मॉगो *you ask*, Ap. मग्गहु (H. C. 4, 387), Skr. मार्गवयः; also W. Gd. औ or ओ or औ or ऐ suff. of the obl. form pl., Ap. Pr. घृं or अं or अहिं, Skr. अनाम्, see § 365, 7; e. g., Br. नरौ, H. H. नरौ, S. नरौ or नरौ *men*, Ap. णरुं or णरं or णरहिं, Skr. नराणाम्; S. ऊ suffix of 1. pers. pl. pres., Ap. घृं (H. C. 4, 386), Pr. अम् (H. C. 3, 155), Skr. अमः, see § 497, 4; e. g., S. हल्लू *we go* (Tr. 314), Ap. चलुं, Pr. चलम्, Skr. चलात्. About the elision of ह् in Ap. Pr. see Ls. 484; also Pr. सरिअहं (H. C. 4, 300) for \*सरिहाहं, Skr. सदृशाणाम्, E. H. सा, see § 124.

127. म् before इ and before or after उ is optionally elided; often; generally with anupāsika; thus E. H. गोसाईं or गोसामी *monk*, Ap. गोसामिउ, Skr. गोस्वामिकः; E. H. साईं or सामी *master*, Ap. सामिउ (H. C. 4, 409), Skr. स्वामिकः; E. H. कुअरू or कुअरू or कुवरू *prince*, Ap. Pr. कुवरू or कुमरू (cf. H. C. 4, 397. 1, 67), Skr. कुमारः; E. H. कुअरू or कुवरू or कुमरू *youth, prince*, see p. 29; E. H. कुअरी or कुवारी or कुमारी *virgin, princess*, Ap. कुवारिअ or कुमारिअ, Skr. कुमारिका; E. H. भूईं or भूमो, Pr. भूमिअ, Skr. भूमिका; E. H. धूअं or धूअं *smoke*, Ap. धूउ or धूमउ, Skr. धूमकः; E. H. कोईं or कोईं *waterlily or jackfruit*, Pr. कुनुइअ (cf. H. C. 2, 182), Skr. कुमुदिका; E. H. सोहं or सोहीं *in front of*, Ap. Pr. समुहहिं (cf. H. C. 1, 29) or संमुहहिं (see § 126), Pr. संमुहग्मि, Skr. सम्मुखे; E. H. रूं *hair of the body*, Mg. लोमे, Skr. जेम; E. H. रोअं or रोअं *hair of the body*, Mg. लोमअं, Skr. जेमकम्. Rarely without anupāsika; as E. H. गह्ल् or गैल् *gone*, see § 77.

*Note:* Four instances of the elision of म् before उ are mentioned by H. C. 1, 178 (Vr. 2, 3); Pr. तडैणा, Skr. यमुना *Jamná*; Pr. चाउंउ, Skr. चानुण्डा *Durga*; Pr. काउंओ, Skr. कानुकः *a certain plant*; Pr. अणित्तयं, Skr. अतिमुक्तकम् *a certain shrub*. None of these occur in E. H.; here they are tats. or semitats.; e. g., E. H. तमुना, not tadbh. \*तौन्; perhaps to distinguish from तौन् *foreigner*, Pr. तवणो, Skr. यवनः, as in E. H. तौनपुर *Jaunpur*, Skr. यवनपुरम्. In Pr. म् before इ might become व् by H. C. 4, 397; and such व् too, would be elided in E. H. by § 123.

128. *न्* before or after *इ* or before *उ*; with or without *anunāsika*; very rarely; thus 1) original, as E. H. ठाडँ or ठाउ or ठाडँ or ठाड् *place, residence*, Ap. ठाउ (H. C. 4, 332) or ठाणु (H. C. 4, 362), Pr. ठाणं (H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्वानम्; E. H. थोँ from for \*थाडँ (N. याजि), Ap. थाणि, Pr. थाणे (cf. H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थाने, W. H. also तेँ, तईँ, ताईँ; E. H. वॉँसुरी *flute*, Pr. वंसणालिघा, Skr. वंशनालिका; 2) resultant, as in the E. H. conjunct ष्य for O. H. षिन, cf. §§ 18, p. 24. 139, note. 141.

*Note:* E. H. has also ठाम्, besides ठाडँ, ठाडँ; and this rather points to a Pr. word ठामु, ठामं (cf. § 127); H. C. has थानं (H. C. 4, 267), perhaps Skr. स्वानम्.

ee) Hardening.

129. *व्* and *वृ* become *न्* and *वृ*; only resultant; thus E. H. कार्त् work, Pr. \*कार्त्तं (cf. H. C. 2, 67), Skr. कार्यम् (or semitats.?) ; E. H. अचारन् *teacher*, A. Mg. \*अचार्त्तं, Skr. आचार्यः (or semitats.?) ; E. H. अचरन् *wonderful*, Pr. अच्च्रिन्तं (H. C. 2, 67), Skr. आश्चर्यम्; E. H. चउत्रिस् or चौत्रिस् or चवत्रिस् *twenty four*, Pr. चउव्रीसं (cf. H. C. 3, 137. Wb. Bh. 425. 426), Skr. चतुर्विंशतिः; E. H. इत्रिस् or इव्रिस् *twenty six*, A. Mg. इव्रीसं (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. षड्विंशतिः; E. H. पर्वत *mountain*, Skr. पर्वतः (semitats.); E. H. पुरुव् *eastern*, Pr. पुरुव्वं (Ls. 183), Skr. पूर्वम्.

ff) Miscellaneous.

130. *व्* or *ह्* become *ग्* or *ह्* or *र्*; in E. H. वडे or गडे *he fashions*, Pr. वउड् or गउड् (H. C. 4, 112), Skr. वढते; E. H. विगरे or विगडे *it is spoilt, destroyed*, Pr. विगउड् or विवउड्, Skr. विवढते; also *म्* or *फ्* becomes *त्र्* or *प्*; as E. H. पर्सै *he touches*, Pr. फरिसड् (H. C. 4, 182), Skr. स्पर्शयति (denom.); E. H. अत्रक् *tale*, Skr. अत्रकम् (semitats. cf. § 132).

131. *क्* or *ग्*, *ट्*, *प्* and *वृ* become optionally *घ्*, *ह्*, *फ्* and *म्* respectively; in E. H. परघट् or परगट् *manifest* (see § 102); E. H. पहिलौठा or पहिलौटा *firstborn*, Mg. \*पहमिल्लउट्टए (see § 118), Skr. प्रथमपुत्रकः; E. H. फुन् or पुन् *again*, Ap. पुणु (H. C. 4, 343), Skr. पुनर्; E. H. सत्र् or सभ् *all*, Mg. सट्टे, Skr. सर्वः.

*Note:* In the seventies the aspirate is produced by the

suppression of the neutral vowel; E. H. एवत्तरू *seventy one* for एक-हत्तरू; E. H. पङ्कत्तरू *seventy five* for पच-हत्तरू; E. H. सप्तत्तरू *seventy seven* for सत-हत्तरू; E. H. अठत्तरू *seventy eight* for अठ-हत्तरू.

132. *Aspiration is transferred*; in E. H. अचरख् or अचरक् *talé*, Skr. अत्रकम् (semitats.); E. H. हमारू or हनरा *our* (H. H. हमारा), Ap. Pr. अम्हारा (H. C. 4, 345), see § 73; E. H. फृमा *father's sister* for \*पिउहा, Pr. पिउच्छा or पिउस्सिमा (H. C. 2, 142), Skr. पितृपुत्रा; also E. H. \ कुफो; E. H. फुप् *flower*, Pr. पुष्कं (H. C. 2, 53), Skr. पुष्पम्; E. H. उखारै or उखारै *he plucks up* for \*उकारै, Pr. उक्कड्ड (cf. H. C. 4, 187), Skr. उत्कर्षति; E. H. निभाट्टे or निभाहै *he accomplishes*, Pr. निव्वाहेट्ट, Skr. निर्व्वाह्यति; E. H. म्हैँम् *buffalo*, cf. § 177.

*Note*: There are instances in Pr.; as बहिणी or भङ्णी *sister* (H. C. 2, 126), Skr. भगिनी, E. H. बहिनि; Pr. गढट् or बउट् *he fashions* (H. C. 4, 112), Skr. घटते, E. H. गढे or गाढे or गढै or गढे (§ 130). It is frequent in S.; as पंध्रौ or पंध्रहं *fifteen*, also M. पंधरा; S. इको *this* for \*इत्तहो; उको *that* for \*उत्तहो (§ 438, 4); खौ *from* for \*कहाँ, खे *to* for \*कहे (§ 375); चाल्कारो *forty* for \*चालीहारो; पांहु or पान्ह तो *own* for \*पानह तो (§ 451).

\* 133. *Consonants are transposed*; in E. H. पहिरै *he puts on* (clothes) for \*परिहै, Mg. \*पलिहट्ट or \*पलिधट्ट or \*पलिधेट्ट (cf. Cw. 99, 21), Skr. पजिदधाति; E. H. चुहुँपे and पहुँचै *he arrives*, Pr. पहुच्चट्ट (H. C. 4, 390, 419), Skr. पर्यापव्यते (Mg. पयावचट्ट); also कीच् or कीचरू and चीक् or चीकरू *mud* (Skr. चिक्रिट); नखलौ and लखनौ *Lucknow*; चिराम् and बिमारू *sick* (persian *بیمار*); also W. H. रहम् and हरम् *merriment*, E. H. हरिस् see § 58; H. H. डूवै, E. H. वूडै *he sinks*, Pr. वुट्टट्ट (H. C. 4, 101), Skr. व्रुडति (i. e. मल्लति).

*Note*: Also in Pr.; as वाणारनौ (Wb. Bh. 412. H. C. 2, 116), Skr. वाराणसी, E. H. बनारस् *Benares*; Pr. अलचपुरं (H. C. 2, 118), Skr. अलचपुरम्, E. H. अलचरू (for \*अलअउरं) *Alwar*; Pr. मरहट्टे (H. C. 2, 119), Skr. महाराष्ट्रम्, E. H. मरहट्ट or मराहट्ट *Maráthá*, see § 32; Pr. दहो (H. C. 2, 120), Skr. दहदः, E. H. दह् *deep water*; Pr. हलिमारो or हरिआलो (H. C. 2, 121), Skr. हरितालः; E. H. हरियारू *green*; Pr. हलुअं (for हलुकं) or लहुअं (H. C. 2, 122), Skr. लवुकम्, E. H. हलुक, H. H. हलका *light*.

134. *Consonants are interchanged*; viz. 1) व् and न्, in E. H. निनानत्रे *ninety nine*, Pr. \*नवाणवृई, Skr. नवनवतिः; 2) व् and न्, in E. H. चिकनावट् *clayey soil*, Pr. चिक्रुणममट्टी, Skr. चिक्रुणकमृत्तिः; and vice versa in E. H. पुहुनि *earth*, Pr. पुहुवो (H. C. 1, 131), Skr. पृथ्वी; E. H. विर्यमो *earth*, Skr. पृथिवी (semitats.); 3) न् and ह्, in E. H. केहरी or केसरी *lion*, A. Mg. केसलिट् (cf. H. C. 4, 335. Wb. Bh. 255), Skr. केसजिकः.

*Note*: The latter in Pr. optionally, in दह or दग *ten* (H. C. 1, 262), Skr. दग, E. H. दस or दहै; Pr. दिवहो or दिवसो *day* (H. C. 1, 263. Wb. Bh. 378), Skr. दिवसः, E. H. दिवा or दिवस् (see § 32); Pr. °दहं (H. C. 2, 157) or °रिसं (H. C. 1, 142. Wb. Bh. 422) or रिञ्चं (for रिहं cf. H. C. 4, 300 and § 126, note), Skr. दृशं *like*, E. H. °इस (in तइसन् § 124); Pr. °हत्ररि (Wb. Bh. 426) *seventy*, Skr. °सप्ततिः, E. H. °हत्ररू. The change of व् to न् is not uncommon in B., O. and G.; e. g., O. करिवि or करिनि *I shall do* (Sn. 28), O. केमन्त् *how* for \*केवन्त्; B. केमन्त् *how* = Ap. Pr. केयडु; G. चुनालीण् *forty four* = E. H. चौवालिस; W. H. समा *one and a quarter* = E. H. सवा (§ 416). For examples in Ap. Pr., see H. C. 4, 401. 396 and § 122, note.

135. *Consonants are interpolated*; viz. दू in E. H. पन्दरह् *fifteen*, Pr. पणरह (H. C. 2, 43) or पनरस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 3, 123), Skr. पञ्चदश; again रू in E. H. करोरू or करोरू *ten millions*, Ap. क्रोटि (cf. H. C. 4, 399), Mg. कोटी (Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. कोटिः; E. H. सराप् *curse*, Ap. Pr. \*वापु (H. C. 4, 399), Skr. ज्ञापः (semitats.); again य् in E. H. ऐगारह्, Pr. \*एगारह or एकारस (Wb. Bh. 424), Skr. एकादश; E. H. ऐक्वावन् *fifty one*, Pr. \*एक्काचणं, Skr. एकपञ्चाशत्; E. H. ऐक्वासी *eighty one*, Pr. \*एक्कासीई (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. एकाशीतिः; E. H. ऐक्वानत्रे *ninety one*, Pr. \*एक्काणवृई, Skr. एकनवतिः; E. H. निन्यानत्रे or निनानत्रे *ninety nine*, see § 134.

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

### ४) CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

136. Medial conjunct consonants in E. H. are of two kinds, original and resultant. The former are those which have passed as such into E. H. from the Pr., as in the tadbh. पक्का *ripe*, A. Mg. पक्कर, Skr. पक्कः; E. H. पत्थर *stone*, A. Mg. पत्थले, Skr. प्रस्तजः; E. H. सत्तर *seventy*, A. Mg. सत्तरि, Skr. सप्ततिः; E. H. निकम्मा *worthless*, A. Mg. निक्कम्मर, Skr. निकर्मकः; E. H. कान्ह *krishna*, Mg. कपहे, Skr. कृष्णः; or from the Skr., as in the semitats. चिसान् *belief*, Skr. चिन्नात्तः, E. H. ग्रिहस्त *householder*, Skr. गृहस्थः. The latter are those which have resulted either a) from the contraction of contiguous vowels, as in the tadbh. चलयोँ *I walked*, Ap. \*चलिग्रउं, Pr. चलिग्रउंस्मि, Skr. चलितोँस्मि, or in the semitats. आग्या *order*, P. आगिआ, O. H. आगिना, Skr. आज्ञा; or b) from the suppression of an intermediate vowel, as in the tadbh. चिन्तो *petition* for चिन्तो, Pr. विणत्तिआ, Skr. चिन्नापिका; E. H. दुल्हा *bridegroom* for दुल्हा, Mg. दुल्लहर, Skr. दुर्लभकः; E. H. चिसा *a measure of land* (the 20. part.), Ap. Mg. वीसवर or वीसनर, Skr. चिन्नकः; E. H. गथा *ass* for गद्हा, Mg. गद्दहर, Skr. गर्दभकः; E. H. बरेला *hog* for बरहेला, Ap. Mg. \*वराहिल्लर, Skr. वराहः, etc. These latter are not uncommon in the *khari* E. H., though very rare in the *theth* (e. g., in the numerals ऐखत्तर *seventy one*, सयत्तर *seventy seven*, etc., see § 131, note); in H. H. they are the rule (see § 6, note). Of the resultant conjuncts, those arising from the suppression of a vowel may be of any kind, strong, mixed or weak<sup>1)</sup>, homogeneous or heterogeneous; but those arising from the contraction of vowels must be heterogeneous and either mixed or weak. Neither kind of resultant suffers any further change in E. H. As to the original conjuncts, the tatsamas may be of any kind, but the tadbhavas can only be either homogeneous (as क्क, क्त्, त्त्, म्म्, etc.) or such as consist of a consonant proper preceded by a nasal (as क्क्, क्क्, क्क्, etc.) or of ह् following a nasal or semivowel (as

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

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

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



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

aa) Dissolution.

138. अ is interpolated; often; E. H. इगली *tamarind*, Mg. अमलित्रा (cf. Wb. Bh. 377) for Pr. \*अमलित्रा (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. अम्लिका; E. H. सुदरसन् *beautiful*, A. Mg. सुदरिसणे (cf. H. C. 2, 105), Skr. सुदर्शनः; E. H. दरसन् *interview, visit at a shrine*, Pr. दरिसणां, Skr. दधानम्; E. H. बरही *peacock*, A. Mg. बरिहिर (cf. H. C. 2, 104 but cf. Ls. 142), Skr. बर्हिकः; E. H. परामरस् *consideration*, A. Mg. परामरिसे (cf. H. C. 2, 105), Skr. परामर्गः; E. H. तुकरू or तुकल् *white*, Pr. सुकिलं (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. शुक्लम् (or शुक्रम्); E. H. अमरा *mango*, Pr. अमिरुअं (cf. H. C. 2, 56), Skr. आम्रकम्; E. H. अमल् *sour*, Pr. अमिलं (H. C. 2, 106. Wb. Bh. 415), Skr. अम्लम्; E. H. मुरख् *stupid*, A. Mg. मुरकले (cf. H. C. 2, 112), Skr. मूर्खः; E. H. मुरहा *swoon*, Skr. मूर्हा (semitats.); E. H. अचरन् *wonderful*. कारन् *work*, अचारन् *teacher*, see § 129; E. H. बरहई or बर्हई or बरहर *carpenter* (see § 114); E. H. ब्रमहन् or ब्रामन् *brāhman*, Mg. ब्रम्हणे (H. C. 2, 74), Skr. ब्राह्मणः; E. H. कन्हैया or कम्हैया *Krishna*, Mg. कणहर (cf. H. C. 2, 75), Skr. कृष्णकः; E. H. सहस्र *thousand*, Ap. Pr. सहसं, Skr. सहस्रम्; E. H. चकरू *wheel*, बकरी *she-goat*, see § 102, etc. Very commonly in semitats., as E. H. परबत् *mountain* (§ 129), Skr. पर्वतः; E. H. किरपा *mercy*, Skr. कृपा; E. H. किरति *praise*, Skr. कीर्तिः; E. H. जनम् *birth*, Skr. जन्म; E. H. रतन् *gem*, Skr. रत्नम्; E. H. जतन् *effort*, Skr. यत्नः; E. H. त्रिगत् *individual*, रगत *blood* (cf. H. C. 2, 10 रग्मि), भगत *devotee*, भगति *faith*, भगताई *devotedness*, मुगति *salvation*, see § 102; E. H. बर्कि *but*, Pers. बल्कि (بلكي).

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

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

140. उ is interpolated; rarely; thus E. H. पुर्य, W. H. पुर्य, Pr. पुरुयं (Ls. 183) or पुर्यं (H. C. 4, 323 or पुरुयं?), Skr. पूर्वम्; E. H. सुर्य top, point, but सीय् horn and साय् spear, Pr. सिंगं or संगं (H. C. 1, 130), Skr. ऋङ्गम्; see also § 187.

141. Dissolved consonants are treated like original single ones; thus क् becomes ग् (cf. § 102); e. g., in E. H. विगत्, रगत, भगत, etc.; see § 138; ङ् is elided (cf. § 101); e. g., in E. H. सङ् or सैन् sign, Pr. \*सङ्गा or \*सङ्गिणा, Skr. सङ्गा, cf. Pr. राङ्गा (H. C. 3, 51) for \*राङ्गिणा, Ps. Pr. राञ्जिना (H. C. 4, 304), Skr. राज्ञा; द् becomes ल् (cf. § 109) or is elided (cf. § 101); e. g., in E. H. अद्लो or आयो I came, Mg. अविद्ग्मिह् or अविअग्मिह्, Skr. आप्णोस्मि, etc.; च् is elided (cf. § 123); e. g., in E. H. पद्लो or पायो I obtained, Mg. पाविद्ग्मिह् or पाविअग्मिह्, Skr. प्राप्णोस्मि; न् is elided (cf. § 128); e. g., in the E. H. conjunct °ग्य° for O. H. °गिन°, see § 139, note.

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

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

the treatment of dissolved cons. are: 1) *elision* of cons. proper in रयणं or रयणं gem (Vr. 3, 60. H. C. 2, 101) for \*रतणं, Skr. रत्नम्, E. H. *deest* to distinguish from E. H. रयन् or रैन् *night*; Pr. वड्ग् thunderbolt (H. C. 2, 105) for \*वडिर्, Skr. वज्रम्, E. H. *deest* to distinguish from वैर् *enmity*, Pr. वड्ग् (H. C. 1, 152), Skr. वैरम्; but E. H. वतर (semitats.); Pr. सुड्लं *white* (H. C. 2, 166 or सुकिलं), Skr. शुक्लम्, E. H. *deest*; Pr. तविम्रो *hot* (H. C. 2, 105) for \*तविदो, Skr. तपः, E. H. *deest*. but it has तात् = Pr. तत्रो; Pr. पडनं *lotus* (Vr. 3, 65) for \*पदुमं, Skr. पद्मम्; E. H. *deest*; Pr. राडणा *by a king* for \*राडिणा (see § 141), etc.; 2) *retention* in अगणो *fire* by H. C. 1, 177; 3) *doubling* in सुड्लं *white* (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. शुक्लम्, E. H. सुकल्; Pr. पुरुव्वं *forward* (Ls. 183) or पुरव्वं (H. C. 4, 323), Skr. पूर्वम्, E. H. पुरुव् or पुरव्<sup>1</sup>); 4) *reduction* of aspirate in सुहं (H. C. 2, 101) or सुहुं (H. C. 2, 113. 1, 118. Wb. Bh. 406. 410) for \*सुखुं, Skr. सूक्ष्मम्.

bb) Simplification.

143. *The first consonant is elided*; as a rule; thus क् in E. H. सके *he can*, Pr. सक्कइ (H. C. 4, 86), Skr. प्रकरोति; E. H. सूखा or सूका *dry*, A. Mg. सुक्खए or सुक्कर (cf. H. C. 2, 5. Wb. Bh. 289—291); न् in E. H. नान् *road* (see § 45); E. H. वाय् *tiger*, Mg. वाये (cf. H. C. 2, 90), Skr. व्याघ्रः; च् in E. H. पचै *it is digested*, Pr. पच्चइ, Skr. पच्यते; E. H. नाहो *fly*, Pr. नच्चिआ (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. मच्छिकाः; न् in E. H. घात् *to-day*, Pr. घन्न (H. C. 1, 33), Skr. अन्न; E. H. वूके *he understands*, Pr. वुक्कइ (H. C. 4, 217), Skr. वुध्यते; ट् in E. H. तूटै *it breaks*, Pr. तुट्टइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. वुट्टयति; E. H. पोठि *back*, Pr. पिट्टी (H. C. 1, 35), Skr. पृठन् or Ved. पृठिः; ड् in E. H. कौडो or कौरी, see § 104; E. H. बरुठे *it grows*, see § 114; त् in E. H. वात् *event, word*, Pr. वत्ता (H. C. 2, 30), Skr. वार्ता; E. H. हाय् *hand*, A. Mg. हत्ये, Skr. हस्तः; द् in E. H. गदहा *ass*, see § 136; E. H. दूय् *milk*, Pr. दुडुठे (H. C. 2, 89), Skr. दुग्धम्; प् in E. H. इपय् or इपै *a kind of verse*, Mg. इप्पये (cf. H. C. 2, 77), Skr. पट्पटः; E. H. वाफ् *steam*, Mg. वप्फे (cf. H. C. 2, 70), Skr. वाष्पः; च् or व् in E. H.

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

सञ्च *all*, A. Mg. सञ्चै (cf. H. C. 3, 58), Skr. सञ्चः; E. H. त्तोम् *tongue*, Pr. त्तोम् (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. त्तोम्; ङ् in E. H. पालकी *a palanquin*, Pr. पल्लंकिया (cf. H. C. 2, 68), Skr. पर्यङ्किका or पल्लङ्किका; ञ् in E. H. पचाञ् *fifty*, Pr. \*पंचासं (see § 397), Skr. पञ्चाशत्; ण् in E. H. सान् *sign*, Pr. सणा (H. C. 2, 83), Skr. संज्ञा; E. H. कटहल् *jackfruit*, see § 120; न् in E. H. ग्रान् *other*, Mg. ग्रन्ने (H. C. 3, 58. Wb. Bh. 403), Skr. ग्रन्वः; E. H. हसत् *laughing*, A. Mg. हसंते (cf. H. C. 3, 181), Skr. हसनः; न् in E. H. कान् *work*, see § 45; ल् in E. H. पलट् *he turns over*, Pr. पल्लट्ट् (H. C. 4, 200), Skr. पर्यस्तयति (den.); स् in E. H. पूस् *the month December-January*, A. Mg. पूसे or पूसे (cf. Vr. 3, 58), Skr. पूष्यः. Sometimes in foreign words; as E. H. ब्राकि *but* for ब्रल्लिक, Pers. براكى; E. H. ब्राटे *for the sake of* for वास्ते, Ar. واسطى (?).

*Exception.* Rarely both cons. are retained; as E. H. पक्का or पका *ripe, thorough*, पत्थर or पाथर *stone*, निकम्मा *useless*, see § 136; E. H. चक्का or चका or चाका *wheel*, Pr. चक्कञ्चं (H. C. 2, 79), Skr. चक्रकम्; E. H. सच्च or सच् or साच or साच्च *true*, उच्च or उच्च *high*, see § 149, 2; E. H. बच्च्छा or बच्च्छा (§ 145, exc. 2) or बच्चा or बच्चा *young*, Mg. बच्च्छर् (cf. Vr. 3, 40), Skr. वत्सकः; E. H. पट्टा or पटा *title-deed*, Mg. पट्टर्, Skr. पट्टकः; E. H. सत्तर *seventy*, see § 108; E. H. गिह् or गोध् *vulture*, see § 63; E. H. कम्मल् *blanket*, see p. 20; As a rule, when the first is a nasal; thus E. H. पक्क (i. e. पक्क § 13) or पक्क *mud*, and other examples, see p. 29; cf. also § 149.

144. *The second consonant is elided; only य्, व् and optionally ह्; thus य् in E. H. पाथा teacher (cf. § 173), Skr. उपाध्यायः; E. H. अथ्थ Oudh (cf. § 78), Skr. अयोध्या; E. H. नधि within, Skr. नद्ये; E. H. परान् Allahabad for \*पर्यान्, Skr. प्रयागः; E. H. परोत्रन् necessity for \*पर्योत्रन्, Skr. प्रयोत्रनम्; E. H. पराचित् penance for \*पर्याचित्, Skr. प्रायश्चित्तम् (all semitats.). Again व् in E. H. चूमे he kisses, Mg. चुम्बर् (cf. H. C. 4, 239), Skr. चुम्बति; E. H. अमरा mango, अमला sour, see § 138; H. H. तामुन् rose-apple, see § 111; E. H. लाम् long, Mg. लम्बे, Skr. लम्बः; E. H. समुक्ते he understands, Mg. सम्युक्कट्, Skr. सम्युध्यते, and others, see § 18, p. 20; E. H. पिरयो earth (also पिरयमो see § 132), Skr. पृथ्वी (semitats.). Again ह् in ग्रामन् or*

ब्राम्हन् or ब्रमहन् *Brāhman*, कान् or कान्ह् *krishna* (e. g., in कान्पुर *Cawnpore*), see § 136; E. H. सून् *daughter-in-law* for \*सुन्ह्, Pr. \*सुण्हुआ or \*सोण्हुआ (cf. Vr. 2, 47. H. C. 1, 261), Skr. सुवा (or \*सुवुका; cf. Pr. माउआ for माता, § 52); E. H. सनालै or सम्हालै or सम्भालै *he supports*, see § 120; E. H. पलथै *he turns over*, see § 137; E. H. कोल् or कोल्हू *sugar-mill*, see § 115; E. H. गाली *abuse* for \*गालही, see § 142.

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

145. *The remaining consonant is treated like an original single one*; thus इ as a rule becomes इ or र्; e. g., in E. H. कौरी or कौरी *cowrie*, see § 104; ल् as a rule becomes र् (§ 110) as in E. H. गारी or गाली *abuse*, see § 142; ल् sometimes becomes न्, as in E. H. आपन् *own*, see § 111; ण् always becomes न् (§ 112), as in E. H. कान् *ear*, Mg. कण्, Skr. कर्णः; E. H. सान्, आन् see § 143; कान्, नून् see § 144; ह् as a rule becomes ह् or ह्, as in E. H. ब्रै *he grows*, see § 114; व् always becomes व् (§ 129), as in E. H. सत्र् *all*, see § 143; for a few rare cases, see §§ 103. 107. 113. 116. 117. 119. 120. Otherwise it remains unchanged; as E. H. चको or चक्को *wheel*, Pr. चक्किआ, Skr. चक्रिका; E. H. लान् *shame*, Pr. लज्जा, Skr. लज्जा; E. H. साठि *seventy*, Pr. सट्टी, Skr. षट्ठिः; E. H. रान् *night*, see p. 14; E. H. हाथो *elephant*, A. Mg. हत्थिर्, Skr. हस्तिकः; E. H. आधा *half*, Mg. अडर् (cf. H. C. 2, 41), Skr. अर्धकः; E. H. चाप् *father*, Pr. चप्पा (Mehh. 119, 5), Skr. चप्पा; E. H. घान् *heat*, Mg. घम्मे, Skr. घर्मः (cf. H. C. 4, 327); and other examples in §§ 143. 144. 146. 147. 148.

*Exception 1.* Sometimes इ and ह् preceded by a nasalized vowel remain unchanged; as E. H. मूँडे *he shaves*, मोँठा *stool*, see § 149.

*Exception 2.* Sometimes aspirates are disaspirated; thus ख् in E. H. परकै or परकै *he tests*, see § 58; घ् in E. H. महंग् *high-priced*, M. महंग् (Spt. 169), Skr. महार्घः; ध् in E. H. खाँदा or कांधा *shoulder*, A. Mg. खंधर् (cf. H. C. 2, 4), Skr. स्कन्धकः; ह् in E. H. अचरन् *wonderful* for \*अहरन्, see § 129; E. H. बचा or बहा *young*, see § 143. exc.;

E. H. पचतावै or पङ्कतावै *he repents*, Pr. पच्छन्नावद्, Skr. पञ्चान्नापयति (denom.); E. H. मूच्छं or मूङ्गं *beard*, see § 56; E. H. चाहं or इहै *he desires*, Pr. उच्छाहद् (cf. H. C. 2, 21), Skr. उत्साहयति (denom.); ह् in E. H. अरुतिम् or अउतिम् or अरुतिस् *thirty eight*, see § 113; E. H. अरुतालिस् or अउतालिस् or अरुतालिस् *forty eight*, Pr. अरुअन्नालीगं (or अउयाले Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अरुचत्वाजिंशत्; E. H. अरुसठि or अरुसठि *sixty eight*, Pr. अरुसठो, Skr. अरुसठिः; ह् in E. H. वडा *great* for \*वडा, Mg. वडूर (or वड<sup>०</sup> Vr. 1, 27), Skr. वृडकः; E. H. वेडू *enclosure* for \*वेडू, Mg. वेडे (cf. Vr. 8, 40), Skr. वेडः; E. H. गरै or गडै or गडे *he fashions*, विगरै or विगडै *it is spoilt*, see § 130.

*Note:* There are traces of this disaspiration in Pr., as मुक्कं or मुक्कं *dry* (H. C. 2, 5), see § 143; Pr. पल्लुट्टद् (H. C. 4, 200 for \*पल्लुट्टद्) or पल्लुट्टयद् *he turns over*, see §§ 137. 143; Pr. विंचुओ (H. C. 2, 16) or विंचुओ (Vr. 3, 41), E. H. विच्छू or व्रीहू, M. विंचू (Man. 36); Pr. उट्टो (cf. H. C. 2, 34), see § 149, 2; it is quite the general rule in M., and less so in B. and O.; thus M. हात् *hand*, B., O., E. H. हाय् (§ 143); M. हातो *elephant*, B., O., E. H. हायो (§ 145); M. साँन् *evening*, B., O., E. H. सांक (§ 149, 1); M. साँदू *hole in a wall*, E. H. सेँध्, see § 57; M., B., O. सीजे *ladder*, E. H. सीञ्जी, Pr. \*सिडो, Skr. श्रेथी (?); M., B. साडे 2½; M. दोड, B. देडू 1½; B. आटत्रिण्, M. अउतीस् or अउतीस् 38; B. आटचलिण् 48; M. वडा *great*, वेडा *enclosure*, etc. (see Bs. I, 273). It is worth noting also, that the old Mg. has स्, स्त, श् for ट्, स्त् and च् (see H. C. 4, 290. 291. 295); e. g., Mg. कोस्टागाल्, Skr. कोटागारम्; Mg. उवस्तिदे, Skr. उपस्थितः; Mg. पुआदि, Skr. पृच्छति, etc.

146. *The preceding vowel remains short; sometimes; thus* always in E. H. अत् suffix of part. pres., Mg. अते (cf. H. C. 3, 181), Skr. अन् (अन्त<sup>०</sup>); e. g., E. H. होत् *being*, Mg. होते (cf. H. C. 3, 180), Skr. भवन्; E. H. कर्त् *doing*, Mg. कलते (cf. H. C. 4, 431) or कलेते, Skr. कुर्वन्, etc.; always E. H. पच् *five*, Pr. पंच, Skr. पञ्च in composition; e. g., E. H. पचोस् *twenty five*, see § 123; E. H. पचपन् *fifty five*, Pr. \*पंचपन्, Skr. पञ्चपञ्चाशत्; sometimes otherwise; as E. H. दुल् *pain*, see § 116, note; E. H. गभिन् *pregnant*, Pr. गड्भिणा (cf. H. C. 1, 208), Skr. गर्भिता; E. H. सके, पचै, इपय्, सय्, पालकी,

पलटै, सच्, see § 143; E. H. समुक्ते, पलवै, see § 144; E. H. ब्रै, see § 114; always in the *antepenultimate* (cf. § 25); thus E. H. ग्राम्, but ग्रमरा *mango*, see § 138; E. H. दृवर, but दुवररा *weak, thin*, see § 22; E. H. उतरै *he descends*, Mg. उन्नलइ, Skr. उन्नति; E. H. गदहा, पलटै, see § 143; E. H. ग्रमला, पलवै, see § 144; and others.

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

147. *The preceding vowel becomes long; as a rule; thus अ* in E. H. आह् *eight*, Pr. अट्ट, Skr. अष्ट; E. H. रानी *queen*, see p. 23; E. H. साथ् *with*, Pr. सत्यं, Skr. संस्यम्, etc.; इ in E. H. भीव् or भीह् *alms*, Pr. भिक्खा (cf. Wb. Bh. 197. Spt. 312) or भिच्छा (Spt. 163. cf. H. C. 2, 17. 19), Skr. भिक्षा; E. H. रीह् or रीव् *bear*, Pr. रिच्छो or रिक्खो (H. C. 2, 19), Skr. ऋक्षः; E. H. दोढि *sight*, see § 43; E. H. सोय् *boiled rice, indigo*, Pr. सिस्वं (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. सिक्क्यम्; E. H. तीनि or तीन् *three*, Pr. तिस्सि (H. C. 3, 121), Skr. त्रीणि, etc.; उ in E. H. सूत् *thread*, Pr. सुन्नं (H. C. 4, 287), Skr. सूत्रम्; E. H. ऊन् *wool*, Pr. उष्ठा, Skr. ऊर्णा; E. H. मूह् *fist*, Pr. मुट्ठी (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. मुट्ठिः; E. H. पूत् *son*, Mg. पुत्ते, Skr. पुत्रः, etc.; ऐ in E. H. सेन् *bedding*, Pr. सेत्ता (see § 6), Skr. जया; E. H. पेह् *lump*, Pr. पेण्डं (Vr. 1, 12), Skr. पिण्डम्; E. H. ऐँचा *crooked*, Pr. \*ऐँचअं, Skr. अञ्चितकम्; E. H. एक् *one*, Pr. ऐक्कं (cf. H. C. 2, 99), Skr. एकम्, etc.; ओ in E. H. पोह् *hip*, Mg. \*पोट्टे, Skr. प्रोयः; E. H. बोले *he says*, Pr. बोल्हइ (H. C. 4, 2), Skr. वदति; E. H. पोयो *book*, Pr. पोत्थिआ (cf. Vr. 1, 20), Skr. पुस्तिका, etc. See other examples in §§ 143—146.

148. *The preceding vowel becomes ए or ओ; rarely; thus अ* in E. H. लेनुर् or लेनुरो *cord*, see § 110. exc.; सेँध् *hole in a wall*, see § 57; E. H. पेह् *tree*, see § 103; E. H. वेँगन् *egg-plumt*, Mg. वंगणे, Skr. वङ्गनः; E. H. एरो or एरो *heel*, Pr.?, Skr. अङ्घ्रिः; E. H. ऐँचा *crooked*, see § 147; E. H. केकरा or केकडा *crab*, Mg. कक्कडइ, Skr. कर्कटकः; E. H. केँचुरो or केँचुली *skin of a snake*. Pr. कंचुलिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 25), Skr. कञ्जुलिका; again E. H. माँह् or मूँह् *moustache*,

चोच्च *bill*, see § 57. Again इ in E. H. मकेला *middle*, A. Mg. मन्किल्लर (Wb. Bh. 437), Skr. मध्यः; E. H. केचुवा *earth-worm*, see § 125; E. H. हेदू *hole*, Pr. द्विदू (Wb. Bh. 174. Spt. 146), Skr. द्विदूम्; E. H. सेन् *bean*, Pr. सिम्बा, Skr. शिम्बा. Again उ in E. H. कोपे *he is angry*, Pr. कुप्पइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. कुप्यति; E. H. कोरू *leprosy*, see § 113; E. H. कोख् *belly*, Pr. कुक्खो, Skr. कुक्षिः; E. H. सोँठ *ginger*, Pr. सुँठी, Skr. शुपिठः.

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

149. *The preceding vowel is nasalized;* 1) as a rule after the elision of a nasal; thus अ in E. H. नौव् *leg*, Pr. नंवा, Skr. ननुवा; E. H. बौक् *barren woman*, Pr. वंका, Skr. वन्ध्या; E. H. साँक् *evening*, Pr. संका (H. C. 2, 92), Skr. सन्ध्या; E. H. चाँदू *moon*, see p. 29; E. H. डाँडे *footpath*, Pr. उँडिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 217), Skr. दण्डिका; E. H. भाँडा *pot*, Mg. भंडर् (cf. H. C. 4, 422. 12), Skr. भाण्डकः; E. H. काँपे *he trembles*, see p. 29; etc. Again ई in E. H. मोँने *he rubs*, Pr. मिंनर्, Skr. मृञ्जति; E. H. सोँचे *he irrigates*, Pr. सिंचइ (H. C. 4, 239), Skr. सिञ्जति, etc. Again उ in E. H. सूँड *elephant's trunk*, Pr. सुंडा, Skr. शृण्डा; E. H. सूँडे *he shaves*, Pr. सुंडइ (H. C. 4, 115), Skr. शृण्डति. Again ए and ओ in E. H. सेँध्, रँचा, बेँगन्, etc., and चोँच्, मोँह्, see § 148. 2) Sometimes otherwise; thus अ in E. H. अँखि *eye*, see § 43; E. H. माँगे *he requests*, Pr. मगइ (H. C. 4, 230. Spt. 71), Skr. मार्गयति; E. H. अँच् *flame* (fem.), Pr. \*अञ्चो, Skr. अर्चिः; E. H. साँच् *true*, Pr. सच्चं (cf. H. C. 2, 13), Skr. सत्यम्; E. H. साँप् *serpent*, A. Mg. सप्पे, Skr. सर्पः, etc. Again ई in E. H. ईँख् or ईख् *sugarcane*, Pr. इक्खू (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. इक्षुः; E. H. ईँट् or ईट् *brick*, Pr. इट्टा (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. इष्टा; E. H. भोँत् or भोत् *wall*, Pr. भिन्नी, Skr. भित्तिः; E. H. नोँदू or नोदू *sleep*, see § 42. Again उ in E. H. उँख् or उख् *sugarcane*, Pr. \*उक्खू or उच्छू (H. C. 2, 17. Vr. 1, 15), Skr. इक्षुः; E. H. सूँग् *a kind of pulse* (fem.), Mg. सुग्गे (cf. Vr. 3, 1), Skr. मुद्गः (masc.); E. H. उँच् *high*, Pr. उच्चं (cf. H. C. 1, 154), Skr. उच्चम्; E. H. उँट् *camel*, Pr. उट्टो (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. उट्टः. Again ए



in E. H. केकरा or केकरा *crab*, see § 148. Again ओ in E. H. होह or होह *lip*, A. Mg. ओह (cf. Spt. 22), Skr. ओहः.

150. *Affinities.* 1) The general law of the treatment of conjuncts may be stated thus: Pr. elides the first of the (Skr.) conj. and doubles the second; Gd. (exc. S. and P.) elides the first of the (Pr.) conj. and doubles (i. e. lengthens) the preceding vowel; e. g., Skr. भक्तम् *boiled rice*, Pr. भन्न (H. C. 4, 60. Wb. Bh. 214), E. H., W. H., B., O., M., G. भात्, S. भत्; Skr. सप्त *seven*, Pr. सन्न (cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H., etc. सात्, S. सत्, P. सन्न; Skr. अष्ट *eight*, Pr. अहृ (cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H., etc. आहृ, S. अठ, P. अहृ; Skr. रात्रिः *night*, Pr. रत्त्री (H. C. 2, 79), E. H., etc. रात्ति or रात्, P. रन्न, S. रत्ति. S. usually preserves the short vowel, and P. the conjunct. 2) Sometimes Pr. exhibits the Gd. process; especially when one of the conj. is स् (or ष् or ष्); e. g., Pr. लासं (H. C. 2, 92) for \*लसं (cf. H. C. 1, 84), Skr. लास्यम्, E. H. लास् *dance*; Pr. ईसरो (H. C. 2, 92) or इस्सरो (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. ईश्वरः, E. H. ईस् *lord*; Pr. वीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or वीसह (Ls. 320), Skr. विंशत् or विंशतिः, E. H. वीस् *twenty*; Pr. सोनं (H. C. 2, 92), Skr. शीर्वम्, E. H. सीस् *head*; Pr. वासा (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. वर्षा, E. H. \*वास *rain* (in कपास् *violent burst of rain*, see § 283), etc.; also otherwise, as Pr. आणा *command* for \*अणा, see p. 23; Pr. दीहो or दिग्घो *long*, see § 116, note, etc.; see Ls. 274. 3) Sometimes in Pr. the preceding vowel optionally becomes ए or ओ; see H. C. 1, 85. 116. Vr. 1, 12. 20; e. g., Pr. वेल्लं or विल्लं, Skr. विल्वम्, E. H. वेल्ल *wood-apple*; Pr. पोखरो, Skr. पुष्करः, E. H. पोखर *pond*; Pr. पोत्यघो, Skr. पुस्तकः, E. H. पोथा; Pr. मोग्गरो, Skr. मुद्गरः, E. H. मोग्ग *mallet*, etc. 4) Sometimes in Pr. the first of the conj. becomes a nasal, analogous to the nasalization of the preceding vowel in Gd.; see § 158, note. 5) Sometimes in Pr. the second of the conj. is disaspirated, see § 145. exc.

cc) Elision.

151. क्क is elided; very rarely; in E. H. चौधरी *headman, chief* for \*चव<sup>०</sup> (§ 69), \*चव<sup>०</sup>, A. Mg. चक्कधरि, Skr. चक्रधरिकः (lit. discus-holder; from <sup>०</sup>रिन् + क).

152. च् is elided; rarely; in E. H. चौवालिन् or चउआलिन् forty four (B. चौवालिन्), A. Mg. चोवालीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), for Pr. \*चउअत्तालीसा (cf. Ls. 259 on च = अ), Skr. चतुश्चात्वाजिग्रत्; E. H. द्वियालिन् forty six (cf. § 55), Pr. \*इअत्तालीसा, Skr. षट्चत्वाजिग्रत्; E. H. तेत्तालिन् (O. तेयालिन्), A. Mg. तेआलीसा (H. C. 2, 174 or तिवाले Wb. Bh. 425) for \*तेअत्तालीसा, Skr. त्रयश्चात्वाजिग्रत्.

Note: In composition the र् of चतुर and ष् (or ढ्) of ष् (or ष्) are, as a rule, assimilated, but sometimes elided; thus ass. in चउदूह (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर + दृण) or चउव्वारो (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर + वार); again इष्पओ (H. C. 2, 77 for ष् + पद) or इम्मुहो or इम्मु° (Vr. 2, 40. H. C. 1, 25. 30 for ष् + मुख), इग्गुणो (Ls. 240 for ष् + गुण). But el. in चउगुणो (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर + गुण) or चउवीसं (H. C. 3, 137 for चतुर + विंशति), चउम्मुह (H. C. 4, 331 for चतुर + मुख); again इहत्तरि (इ + हत्तरि for ष् + सप्तति) or इदिसिं (Wb. Bh. 426. 234 for ष् + द्विगो). Hence the above mentioned num. may be derived from the Pr.-forms: चउअत्त° or (eliding च, see § 101) चउअत्त°; इअत्त° or इअत्त°; and similarly तिअत्त° or तिअत्त° (Skr. त्रिचत्वाजिग्रत्).

153. च् is elided; sometimes; in E. H. आउ and आन् suff. of abstract nouns for Ap. Pr. अअउ or अअणु, Pr. अअअं or अअअं or अअत्तं or अअत्तां, Skr. त्वम् or त्वनम्, see § 227; E. H. चारि four for \*चआरि, A. Mg. चत्तारि (Wb. Bh. 425. H. C. 3, 122), Skr. चत्वारि; E. H. चालिन् forty, see § 110. exc.; E. H. अयालिन् forty two, A. Mg. वायालीसं (Wb. Bh. 426) for \*वाअत्तालीसं, Skr. द्वाचत्वाजिग्रत्; E. H. चवालिन् or चौवालिन् or चउआलिन् forty four (cf. § 26) and E. H. द्वियालिन् forty six, see § 152; E. H. सेत्तिस् thirty seven (O. सइत्तिग्र) for सय° or सअ°, A. Mg. सत्ततोसं (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. सप्तत्रिंशत्; E. H. सेत्तालिन् forty seven for सय° or सअ°, A. Mg. \*सत्तअत्तालीसं, Skr. सप्तचत्वाजिग्रत्; E. H. रोअब् or रोइब् to weep, Pr. रोत्तव्वं (H. C. 4, 212. Vr. 8, 55 or रोइअव्वं Spt. 258 or Ap. Pr. रोइव्वं), Skr. रोदितव्यम्; E. H. मिवाँ friend (a respectful address), Mg. मिअए or मित्रए (cf. Wb. Bh. 398. Vr. 3, 58), Skr. मित्रकः; or after simplification, in E. H. धार्द wet-nurse, Pr. धाइआ or \*धात्तिआ or धत्तिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 81), Skr. धात्रिका; E. H. दार्द foster-mother, wet-nurse, Pr. \*दात्तिआ or दत्तिआ, Skr. दात्रिका (lit. giver, scl. of nourishment); E. H. दाउ

*appellation of a father or elder brother* (lit. giver of sustenance), Mg. \*दातृ or \*दत्तृ (cf. H. C. 3, 44), Skr. दातृकः; E. H. भाई *brother*, Mg. \*भातिर or \*भत्रिर, and E. H. माई *mother*, Pr. \*मातिघ्रा or \*मत्रिघ्रा, see § 63; E. H. बाय् *he is* for \*बाइ, Pr. वन्नइ, Skr. वन्नते.

154. प् is elided; very rarely; in E. H. चउघा or चउपा *fourfooted*, Mg. चउपाए or चउपाए (see § 152, note), Skr. चतुष्पादः; E. H. चौमन or चउमन् *fifty four* (M. चौपन्), Mg. \*चउपन् or \*चउप्पन् (see § 152, note), Skr. चतुःपञ्चाशत्.

155. व् is elided; rarely; optionally in E. H. रे *suffix of the oblique infinitive*, for \*अए or \*इए for \*अवे or \*इवे, Ap. \*इव्वहे (see §§ 308. 365, 6), Pr. इअव्वस्स, Skr. इतव्यस्य; e. g., E. H. चलै or चलवे (cf. § 129) *to go*, Ap. चलिव्वहे, Pr. चलिअव्वस्स, Skr. चलितव्यस्य; E. H. खाये (for \*खाइए) or खाइवे or खावे *to eat*, Ap. खाइव्वहे, Pr. खाइअव्वस्स, Skr. खादितव्यस्य.

156. न् is elided; rarely; in E. H. पैँतिस् *thirty five* (O. पँतिघ, B. पँत्रिघ for पँ<sup>०</sup>), A. Mg. पन्तीसं or पणतीसं (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. पञ्चत्रिंशत्; E. H. पैँतालिन् *forty five* for पन्अत<sup>०</sup>, A. Mg. पन्नचत्तालीसा (Wb. Bh. 425 or पणयालीसं), Skr. पञ्चचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. पैँसठि *sixty five*, A. Mg. \*पन्नसट्ठी, Skr. पञ्चषष्टिः.

157. *Affinities.* In Pr. also, there are a few examples of the elision of a conj.; thus some instances of च् see in § 152, and of त् in § 153; others of त् are, Pr. राई or रत्ती *night*, Skr. रात्रिः (H. C. 2, 88. Vr. 3, 58), but E. H. राति; Pr. काऊण *having done* (Vr. 4, 23) for \*कातूण or \*कत्तूण (cf. Vr. 10, 13), Skr. क्त्वा (or \*कृत्वानं), E. H. *deest*; Pr. काअव्वं (Spt. 229) *what is to be done*, Mg. कायव्वं (Wb. Bh. 398) or कादव्वं (Vk. 67) *to be done* for \*कातव्वं or \*कत्तव्वं, Skr. कर्तव्यम्, E. H. *deest* (it forms कर्त्व); Pr. वअस्सअअ<sup>०</sup> (Spt. A 53) *companionship*, Skr. वयस्यकत्व<sup>०</sup>. An instance of क्क् is Pr. तेलोअं or तेल्लोक्कं *the three worlds* (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. त्रैलोक्यान्, E. H. *deest*; and of ङ्ग्, Mg. नियये *devotee* (Wb. Bh. 397) or निगंगे, Skr. निर्ग्रन्थः, E. H. *deest*. See also Wb. Bh. 398. Ls. 273. 274.

dd) Miscellaneous.

158. क्क, ग्ग, ग्व्, क्व्, च्च् become क्क्, क्क्, क्क्, क्क्, उक्क् respectively; thus क्क् in E. H. कंकर् *limestone*, Pr. \*कक्करी, Skr. कर्करम्; E. H. कंकरोल्

a kind of gourd, Ap. Pr. कक्रुडुलु (cf. H. C. 4, 429), Skr. कर्कटः<sup>1)</sup>; again ग्न् in E. H. नङ्गु naked, A. Mg. नग्ने (cf. Wb. Bh. 185. H. C. 2, 78), Skr. नङ्गः, and in its derivatives as नङ्गा, नङ्गी naked, नङ्गाई nakedness, etc.; again क्ख् in E. H. पङ्ख wing, A. Mg. पक्खे (cf. Wb. Bh. 427. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. पक्षः, and in its derivatives पङ्खा, पङ्खी fan, पङ्खरी or पङ्खडी flower-leaf (Ap. पक्खडिआ), पङ्खी bird (from Skr. पक्षिन्)<sup>2)</sup>; again ग्न् in E. H. गङ्गु high-priced, see § 145. exc. 2; again च्च् in E. H. पङ्खी bird, Pr. पच्छिओ, Skr. पक्षिकः (from पक्षिन् + क), and in its cognates पङ्खाला tail of a paper-kite (Ap. \*पच्छिओउउ) from Skr. पक्ष tail<sup>3)</sup>.

Note: There are instances of this change in Pr.; as Pr. वङ्कं, Skr. वक्रन्, E. H. व्राङ्क crooked; Pr. ग्रंन्, Skr. ग्रन्थु, E. H. ग्रॉन् tear; Pr. मंन्, see § 56: Pr. पुंङ्, Skr. पुच्छम्, E. H. पूँङ् tail; Pr. पंन्, see § 44; Pr. मंत्रारो, Skr. मार्तारः, E. H. मंत्रार cat, etc., see H. C. 1, 26. Vr. 4, 15; but E. H. विच्छ or वीङ् scorpion (M. विंचू) for Pr. विच्छिओ or विंचुओ (H. C. 2, 16), Skr. वृश्चिकः.

159. ँस् and ँह् become न्न् and ङ्ङ्; always; thus ँस् in E. H. ह्न्न् or हाँस् goose, see p. 29; E. H. नन्स् or नाँस् or नास् flesh, see p. 30; E. H. हिन्सा slaughter, see § 39, etc.; again ँह् in E. H. सिंग् or सोँग् lion, see p. 29; E. H. संवारू collection, Pr. संवारो or संहारो (H. C. 1, 264), Skr. संहारः, etc.

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

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

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

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

3) पङ्खी and पङ्खाला might be corruptions for पुंङ्ही, पुंङ्खाला, from Pr. पुंङ्, see note.

पाँगा *salt* (obtained from sea-mud), Mg. पंकर्, Skr. पङ्कतः; E. H. पंगति *row* (cf. §§ 102, 2. 138, usually पाँति p. 30), Skr. पङ्क्तिः; E. H. ब्राँगरू *high ground*, Ap. वंकडं, Skr. वक्रम् (lit. *curved*); again झ् in E. H. कुंती *key*, Pr. \*कुंचिन्ना, Skr. कुञ्चिका.

161. ल् and न् become ल्ह् and न्ह्; optionally; thus ल् in E. H. काल् or काल्ह् *yesterday* or *to-morrow*, Pr. कल्लं (H. C. 2, 186. Spt. 46), Skr. कलयम्; E. H. चील् or चील्ह् *kite*, Mg. चिल्ले, Skr. चिल्लः; E. H. चीलरू or चील्हरू *louse*, Ap. चिल्लुडु, Skr. चिल्लः; E. H. पेलरू or पेलहरू *testicle*, Ap. पेल्लुडं (cf. H. C. 4, 143 पेल्लुड्), Skr. पेलम्, etc. Again न् in Bs. दीन् or दीन्ह् *given*, A. Mg. दिन्ने (cf. Wb. Bh. 402) or दिषे (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. दत्तः; Bs. कीन् or कीन्ह् *done* (Ap. Pr. किन्नु H. C. 4, 329 ?), Skr. कृतः; Bs. लीन् or लीन्ह् *taken* for \*लिन्, Skr. लब्धः; E. H. इन् or ऐन् or O. H. ऐन्हि suffix of 3. pers. pl. for \*एन्नि or \*इञ्चिन्नि, Pr. इञ्चति, Skr. इतन्ति (see §§ 497, 6. 503); e. g., E. H. पठिन् or पठेन् or O. H. पठेन्हि *they read* for \*पठिञ्चिन्नि, Pr. पठिञ्चति, Skr. \*पठितन्ति (denom.); E. H. चरेन् or O. H. चलेन्हि *they walked* for \*चलिञ्चिन्नि, Pr. चलिञ्चति (Skr. चलिता भवन्ति), etc.

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

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

163. प्त् becomes न्द् or न्त्; rarely; E. H. गन्ना or गन्दा or गन्डा *sugarcane* (lit. having joints), Mg. गंडर्, Skr. गण्डकः; E. H. गंदेरी or गंडेरी *joint of sugarcane*, Ap. गंडइल्लिन्ना, Skr. गण्डक°.

164. क्क् becomes क्त्; very rarely; E. H. कुत्ता *dog* (G. कुत्तरू), Ap. कुक्कुर, Skr. कुक्करः (usually E. H. कूकरू or कुक्करू); and its derivative E. H. कुत्तरू *puppy*.

165. त्व् and ध्व् become त्त् or त्त् and ड् or ध् respectively; very rarely; thus E. H. नित्त् or नित्त्, A. Mg. नित्ते (cf. Wb. Bh. 414), Skr. नित्यः; E. H. मधि, O. H. मद्धि, Skr. मध्ये; but see § 144.

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

## c) CHANGES OF INITIAL SOUNDS.

## a) VOWELS.

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

168. आ becomes अ; sometimes; thus E. H. अचारू *teacher*, Skr. आचार्यः (§ 129); E. H. अचारू or आचारू *conduct*, Skr. आचारः; E. H. अग्या or आग्या *command*, Skr. आज्ञा (all semitats.).

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

170. ए becomes इ; sometimes; as E. H. इग्यारह् or ऐग्यारह् *eleven*; इक्वावन् or ऐक्वावन् *fifty one*, see § 135; and other compounds of एक.

171. ए and ओ become ए and व respectively; sometimes; thus ए in E. H. एक or ऐक or एक् *one*, Mg. एके (Wb. Bh. 424), Skr. एकः; E. H. यह् or ऐह् (or ई) *he, this*, Ap. एह or एहु (H. C. 4, 362), Skr. ईदृशः; again ओ in E. H. वह् or ओह् (or उ) *he, that*, Ap. \*एवेह् or \*एवेहु (see § 438, 1. 5), Skr. \*एवादृशः (= एवविधः); E. H. वनइस् or ओनइस् *nineteen*, see § 123; and other compounds of उन; cf. § 98.

172. अ is elided; sometimes; thus E. H. भीतरू *within*, A. Mg. अन्तिमतरू (Wb. Bh. 206), Skr. अन्तरान्; E. H. भीत्रै *he is afflicted with grief*, Pr. \*अन्तिमन्त्रइ, Skr. अन्तरयते (pass. of अर्त्); E. H. भीत्रै *he is wet*, Pr. \*अन्तिमन्त्रइ, Skr. अन्तरयते (denom. of अर्त् *wet*); E. H. काँठ *he sweeps*, Pr. \*अन्कट्टेर, Skr. अन्तरयति (caus. of अर्त्) or Skr. अन्तरयति (caus. of अर्त् *room*, cf. Pr. काँठइ H. C. 4, 161); E. H. कंग *upper garment*, A. Mg. अन्कंगए, Skr. अन्तरयकः; E. H. कंगिया *child's vest*, Pr. अन्कंगिया, Skr. अन्तरयिका; E. H. रूहट् or अरूहट् *water-wheel*; E. H. तीसो *flax*, see §§ 55. 109, note.

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

173. उ is elided; sometimes; thus E. H. इहै *he desires*, see § 145, exc. 2; E. H. बैठे or अइठे *he sits*, Pr. उवविदइ, Skr. \*उपविदति

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

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

### β) SINGLE CONSONANTS.

174. त् and द् become ट् and ड्; rarely; thus त् in E. H. टूटै or तूटै *it breaks*, Pr. तृट्ट (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. तृट्टति; E. H. टट्टू or तट्टू *pony*, Mg. \*तट्टृ (cf. H. C. 3, 44. 1, 131), Skr. तट्टृकः (of R. तृ; cf. तुरग *horse*); E. H. टीक् or टीका (fem.) *sectarian mark on the forehead*, Skr. तिलकः (masc.), cf. § 125; E. H. होह or होरू *beak* for \*होरू, Pr. तोहं (Vr. 1, 20), Skr. तुपउन्. Again द् in E. H. डीह or दीह or दीठि *sight*, see § 43; E. H. डाहो or दाहो *beard*, Pr. दाहिन्ना (cf. H. C. 2, 139), Skr. दंष्ट्रिका (also दाहिका); E. H. डाहू or दाहू *tooth, tusk*, Pr. दाहा (H. C. 2, 139), Skr. दंष्ट्रा; E. H. डारू or डालू or डालू *branch* (fem.), A. Mg. डाली, Skr. दागी; E. H. डारू or डालू *branch*, A. Mg. \*डालृ or \*डालृ (cf. H. C. 4, 445. Ap. डालहं), Skr. दाजकः; E. H. डारी or डाली *branch*, A. Mg. डालिन्ना, Skr. दाजिका; E. H. डेरू or डेरू or डेवरू or डेवरू *one and a half*, see § 114.

*Note:* Instances in Pr. are; Pr. डोला or दोला, Skr. दोला, E. H. डोरू or दोरू *cord*, whence E. H. डोला or दोला, डोली or दोली *a swing, a dooly*, Pr. डोलन्नो or डोलिन्ना or डो, Skr. डोलकः or डोलिका; Pr. डट्टो or दट्टो, Skr. दग्धः, E. H. डाहा *burnt fire* (Skr. दग्धकः?); Pr. डरो or दरो, Skr. दरः, E. H. डरू or दरू *fear*; Pr. डाहो or दाहो, Skr. दाहः, E. H. डाहू *malice, jealousy* and दाहू *burning*; Pr. डम्भो or दम्भो (Wb. Bh. 293), Skr. दर्भः, E. H. डम्भू *kusa-grass*; Pr. डसह, Skr. दसति *he bites*, E. H. डसै; Pr. डट्टो or दट्टो, Skr. दष्टः *bitten, oppressed*, whence perhaps E. H. डाहू *throat*, डाहै or डाहै *he threatens*; see H. C. 1, 217. 218; but E. H. दहै *it burns*, Mg. दहह् (cf. Wb. Bh. 155), Pr. डहह् (H. C. 1, 218), Skr. दहति; E. H. दंभू *arrogance*, Pr. डंभो or दंभो, Skr. दम्भः.

175. क्, ह्, ङ् become ख्, ह्, ङ्, respectively; very rarely; thus क् in E. H. खाँसो *cough*, Pr. कासिन्ना (or खासिन्ना? cf. H. C. 1, 181),

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

*Note:* Pr. examples are: खप्परं (H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कर्परम्, E. H. खपर skull, tile; Pr. खीलघो (H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कीलकः, but E. H. कीला nail; again Pr. कुच्छं or चुच्छं or तुच्छं (H. C. 1. 204), Skr. तुच्छम्, E. H. डूड mean; again Pr. कडिलो or तडिलो (H. C. 1, 194), Skr. तडिलः, E. H. deest.

176. भ् becomes ह्; rarely; E. H. हाँड or भाँड pot, A. Mg. भडे (Wb. Bh. 274), Skr. भाण्डः.

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

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

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

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

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

*Note:* In Pr. पाहलो, Skr. लाहलः, E. H. नाहर tiger; Pr. पांगलं plough, पांगलं tail, Skr. लाङ्गलम्, लाङ्गलम्, but E. H. लांगल and लाँगल, see H. C. 1, 256.

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

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

181. य् and व् become न् and व् respectively; always; thus य् in E. H. ततन् effort, Skr. यत्तः (semitats); E. H. तोग् worthy, Mg. योगे (cf. Vr. 3, 2), Skr. योग्यः; E. H. जानै he knows, Mg. याणड (cf. Wb. Bh. 394, note) or याणदि (H. C. 4, 292), Skr. जानाति (see



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

182. स् becomes ह्; *very rarely*; E. H. होचै or सोचै *he sprinkles*, see § 149.

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

183. ह् is prefixed; *very rarely*; E. H. होठ् *lip*, see § 149.

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

184. *Consonants are elided*; only in alliterative phrases; thus र् in रोटी ओटी *meal* (lit. bread, etc.); or ख् in खाना खाना *dinner*; very commonly प्, as पानी खानी *water*; आस् पास *close by*; उलट् पुलट् *topsy-turvy*; अइतावे पइतावे *he repents deeply*; etc.

### γ) CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

185. अ is interpolated; often; thus E. H. नहान् *bathing*, Ap. Pr. पहाणु (H. C. 4, 399), Skr. स्नानम्; E. H. नहाय् *he bathes*, Pr. पहाद् (H. C. 4, 14), Skr. स्नाति; E. H. नहादै *he flees*, Pr. \*पहद्द्, Skr. \*सुस्तयति (denom. of part. सुस्त); E. H. परोहन् *carriage*, Ap. प्रवहणं (cf. H. C. 4, 398) or Pr. पवहणं (Mchh. 109, 18), Skr. प्रवहणम्; E. H. परघट् or परगट् *manifest*, see § 102; E. H. परगास् *clearness*, Ap. Pr. प्रगासु (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. प्रकाशः; E. H. परगासै *he displays*, Ap. Pr. प्रगासद् or प्रगासेद्, Skr. प्रकाशयति; E. H. परसन् *pleased*, Ap. Pr. प्रससु, Skr. प्रसन्नः; E. H. परोहा *leathern waterbucket*, Ap. Pr. प्रवहड् or प्रवाहड् (cf. H. C. 1, 68), Skr. प्रवहकः or प्रवाहकः; E. H. सराहै *he praises*, Pr. सलाहद् (cf. H. C. 2, 101), Skr. प्रश्रयते; E. H. सराहन् *praise*, Pr. सलाहणं, Skr. प्रश्रयनम्; E. H. सरैस् *glue* (lit. *adhesion*), A. Mg. सिलेने (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. श्लेषः (or Pers. سیریش *sirish?*); E. H. सलान् *faded*, Pr. निलाणं (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. स्नानम्; and in semitats; as E. H. सलोक् *verse*, Skr. श्लोकः (Pr. सिलोओ H. C. 2, 106).

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

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

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

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

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

188. *The first consonant is elided; always; thus* E. H. भोतरू *within* for ङभोतरू, A. Mg. अङ्भितरं (§ 172), Skr. अङ्भ्यन्तरम्; E. H. भोत्रे, काठे, कंग, कंगिया, for ङभोत्रे, काठे, कंग, कंगिया, see § 172; E. H. इमा *forgiveness* for \*च्छमा, Skr. क्षमा, see §§ 36. 191; E. H. इहै *he desires* for \*च्छहै, see § 173.

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

*Note:* In Pr. also; as a rule, see H. C. 2, 89. Vr. 3, 50; thus Pr. काणं (H. C. 2, 26), Skr. ध्यानम्; Pr. काओ or धाओ for \*इकाओ or डाओ (H. C. 2, 27), Skr. ध्वजः; Pr. इमा or खमा for \*च्छमा or \*खखमा (H. C. 2, 18 gives इमा in the sense of *earth* and खमा as *patience* or *forgiveness*; but in E. H., the latter does not exist, and the former means *forgiveness* or *patience*), Skr. क्षमा; Pr. ठाणं or घाणं for \*ट्टाणं or \*त्याणं (H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्वानम्; etc.; but A. Mg. apparently has occasionally ङ्क्; as ङ्काणं (Wb. Bh. 315. 319),

Skr. धान°; or झूसिन्ना (Wb. Bh. 295), Skr. ग्रधूपिन्ना, etc.; see Wb. Bh. 389. 390.

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

*Note:* In Pr. नेहो (H. C. 2, 102) for \*पहेहो (not for \*नेहो as in H. C. 2, 77), Skr. नेहः, E. H. नेह् love, oil; Pr. निडे (H. C. 2, 109) for \*पिहडे, Skr. सिग्धन्, E. H. deest.

190. अ or इ is prefixed to न् preceding any consonant; only in semitats; thus E. H. अस्तुति or इस्तुति praise, Skr. स्तुतिः; E. H. अन्नान् bathing, Skr. न्नानन्; E. H. अस्नेह् love, Skr. स्नेहः; E. H. इस्तरौ woman, Skr. स्त्री; or in foreign words, as E. H. अस्कूल् or इस्कूल् school; E. H. इस्पंन् sponge; etc.

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

191. ज् and ञ् become ह् and ञ्; only in semitats; see §§ 36.37. In tadbh. ज् becomes ञ्; e. g., E. H. ज्ञानी or ज्ञान् sage, Pr. ज्ञापो (H. C. 2, 83. Vr. 3, 5), Skr. ज्ञानी; but as a semitats. it is E. H. ञ्यानी.

## SECOND SECTION. ON SUFFIXES AND ROOTS.

### FIRST CHAPTER. SUFFIXES.

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

of nouns and form secondary bases; as वृषा *old*, वृषापन् *old age*; हलुक् *light*, हलुकर्ह *lightness*; बंगाल् *Bengal*, बंगाली *a man of Bengal*; भेजू *ram*, भेजे *ewe*; etc.

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

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

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

### 1) PLEONASTIC SUFFIXES.

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

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

*First Group.*

195. Set.

Masculine.

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

Feminine.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- *Exception.* There are a few subst. with the suff. क्, का, as भिडुक् beggar beside भिडू; बालक् (or बालका) child beside बाल् and बाला; होकरा boy, होकरी girl beside होरा, होरी, from \*होक् or

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

*Note:* The forms in क्का, क्की have the accent on the syllable immediately preceding it; as मिठक्का *mīthākkā*, भरिक्का *bharikkā*, हलुक्की *halūkkī*; but the others on the first syllable; as हलुक्क *hālukk*, हलुका *hālukā*, होटक्को *chhōṭkī*, etc.

199. The fourth set may be added 1) to any subst. of the weak form, 2) to any adj. of the weak long form; in the latter case resulting in the fifth set. The forms thus made will be called, in the case of subst., their *long*, in the case of adj., their *redundant* forms. The suff. घवा (m.), ड्या (f.) are added to nouns in घ, and the suff. ड्या and उवा (both gen. com.) to nouns in इ and उ respectively. Thus, *subst.*, m. घर or घर-वा *house*; f. घात् or घतिया *event*; m. घोरा (wk. f. घोर्) or घोर्-वा *horse*; f. घोरी (wk. f. घोर्) or घोरिया *mare*; m. माली (wk. f. मालि) or मलिया *gardener*; f. बालू (wk. f. \*बालु) or बलुवा *sand*; f. अग्नि or अगिया *fire*; m. गुरु or गुरुवा *teacher*, etc. Again *adj.*, m. हलुक् or हलुकवा *light*; f. हलुक् or हलुक्रिया; m. होटक्का (wk. f. होटक्) or होटक्कवा *small*; f. होटक्की (wk. f. होटक्क) or होटक्किया.

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

200. The sixth set can only be added to subst. of the weak form. The forms thus made, I shall call their *redundant* forms. The suff. m. औवा, f. ड्यावा (or ईवा) are added to subst. in घ, and c. g. ड्यावा and उघवा (or उवा) to subst. in इ and उ respectively. Thus m. घर or घरौवा *house*; f. घात् or घतियवा (or बनोवा) *event*; m. घोरा (wk. f. घोर्) or घोर्वा *horse*; f. घोरी (wk. f. \*घोर्) or घोरियवा *mare*; m. माली (wk. f. \*मालि) or मलियवा (or मलीवा) *gardener*; f. बालू (wk. f. \*बालु) or बलुघवा (or बलूवा) *sand*; f. अग्नि or अगियवा *fire*; m. गुरु or गुरुघवा *teacher*. The suff. औवा and उघवा may be con-

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

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

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

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

1) E. g., sometimes इ migrates into the preceding syllable, as in B. काशे or केशे for E. H. कशिया *káši* (abbreviated for *kášináth*).

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



गच्छिया, गच्छैया, गच्छई, गच्छे *pit*; etc. In H. H. these pleonastic forms, being more or less vulgar, are not usually employed; but there are a few exceptions, such as बद्धवा *calf*, कडवा or कडुवा *bitter*; etc.

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

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

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

3) The example in H. C. 2, 164 is बहुञ्जयं, E. H. बहुञ्जवा.

ईकञ्, उकञ्. Thus in Mg. the suff. क may have the following forms (in the nom. sing. incl. final of base): 1) अर्, इर्, उर् by elision of क्; 2) अके, इके, उके or अकै, ईकै, उकै by retaining क्; 3) अकर्, इकर्, उकर् or अकैर्, ईकैर्, उकैर् by reduplicating the suff. and retaining क्; 4) अञ्जर्, इञ्जर्, उञ्जर् by reduplicating the suff. and eliding क्. In E. H., the first Pr. set is either *contracted* to अ, ई, उ (cf. §§ 47, 49, 98, exc.), or separated (by inserting य् or व् § 69) into अवा, इवा, उवा<sup>1</sup>); the result being the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> E. H. sets. Exceptionally the Pr. hiatus is retained in E. H. इँ, उँ, which is apparently the same as the Ap. Pr. termination इँ. The second Pr. set becomes in E. H. either अक्, इक्, उक् (cf. § 45) or अक्क, इक्क, उक्क by doubling क् and shortening the preceding vowel; thus forming the E. H. 2<sup>nd</sup> set. The third Pr. set again is in E. H. either *contracted* to अका, इका, उका and अक्का, इक्का, उक्का, or *separated* into अकवा, इकवा, उकवा and अक्कवा, इक्कवा, उक्कवा; thus producing the E. H. 3<sup>d</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> sets. Finally the fourth Pr. set becomes in E. H. औवा (contracted for \*अववा, cf. § 34), इवा (or इञ्वा or contr. ईवा § 83, exc.), उञ्वा (or उववा or contr. उवा § 84, exc.) by inserting य् or व्; thus constituting the E. H. 6<sup>th</sup> set. E. g., Skr. घोटकः *horse*, Mg. घोउर् or (gen.) घोउञ्जाह् (§ 369, 2), E. H. घोरा or घोर्वा; Skr. \*घोटककः, Mg. (gen.) घोउञ्ज्जाह्, E. H. घोरोवा (for \*घोरववा); or Skr. मिटकः *sweet*, Mg. मिट्टर् or मिट्टके or मिट्टकै, E. H. मीठा or मिठक् or मिठक्क; Skr. \*मिटककः, Mg. मिट्टकर् or मिट्टाकर्, E. H. मिठका or मिठक्का or मिठक्वा or मिठक्कवा; etc. Similarly in the feminine: 1) Pr. इञ् and उञ् = H. H. ई and उ (§ 51) or इवा and उवा; 2) Pr. \*अकी, \*इकी, \*उकी<sup>2</sup>) or अकौ, ईकौ, उकौ = E. H. अक्, इक्, उक् or अक्क, इक्क, उक्क (§ 43); 3) Pr. अकिया, इकिया, उकिया or अकिया, ईकिया, उकिया = E. H. अकी, इकी, उकी or अक्की, इक्की, उक्की or अकिया, इकिया, उकिया or अक्किया, इक्किया, उक्किया; 4) Pr. \*इञ्जा, \*उञ्जा<sup>2</sup>), (= \*इकका, \*उकका) = E. H. इवा, उञ्वा (or उववा). Thus Skr.

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

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

मृत्तिका *earth*, Mg. मृत्तिका (cf. H. C. 2, 29), E. H. माटो or मटिया; Skr. \*मृत्तिकका, Mg. मृत्तिस्रमा, E. H. मटियवा; or Skr. मिष्टा or मिष्टिका *sweet*, Mg. मिष्टा or मिष्टिस्रमा, E. H. मोठ् or मोठो or मिठिया; Skr. \*मिष्टको, Mg. मिष्टको or मिष्टाकी, E. H. मिठक् or मिठक्कु; Skr. \*मिष्टकिका, Mg. मिष्टकिस्रमा or मिष्टाकिस्रमा, E. H. मिठकी or मिठक्को or मिठकिया or मिठक्किया; etc.

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

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

sets, the hardier one (i. e., that of the *strong* forms), will naturally survive. The tendency to extinction of the weak forms is, indeed, unmistakable in Gḍ. In E. and W. H., the weak forms in इ and उ (probably from having suffered longest the addition of the suff. क) are altogether extinct in adj., and, to a considerable extent, in subst. also. The case of the weak form in अ, in W. H., is not very different from this. But the E. H. has more nearly preserved the older, i. e. Pr., stage, particularly in regard to adj.; though it also shows signs of the same general tendency, in preferring strong fem. in ई and strong long forms in का, की (see §§ 196. 198). — Another reason for the frequent addition of the suff. क in Pr. was its preference (common to all popular languages) for the use of diminutives. This habit continued in Gḍ., in whose more uncultivated forms, like the E. H., it is very marked. But as the Pr. strong (or diminutive) forms in अट्, इट्, उट्, in their contracted Gḍ. forms अ, ई, उ, had been generally substituted in Gḍ. in the place of the (more or less) extinct Pr. weak (or non-diminutive) forms, Gḍ. was obliged to distinguish its diminutive (but, in vulgar speech, pleonastic) forms by some new device. Accordingly वृ and वृ were inserted in the Pr. strong terminations, and thus were produced the long termin. अत्रा, इया, उत्रा of the E. H. The excess of this popular tendency is exhibited in the reduplication of those forms in the redundant terminations औवा, इयावा, उत्रावा.

*Second Group.*

206.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1.	अट्	अहा	अही
	2.	आट्	—	—

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

207: These suff. are sometimes added to adj. or subst. of the weak form: Thus: अट् in गडट् or गड् *fort*, from गड् *enclosure*; अहा in गडहा (or गडा), from गड or गडा *cavity*; m. अउट्हा, f. औही, from अउट् or m. अउटा, f. औती *mad* (W. H. आवल् or आवला); m.

गिरकटहा, f. °ही *feeble* (also गिरकुटहा), from गरकट् *monkey* (?); again ग्राह् in m. f. वउर्राह् *mad*.

208. *Derivation.* These suff. are closely allied to those of first group. Their original is the Skr. pleon. suff. क, the क् of which is elided in Pr. and replaced in Gd. by ह् (see § 69). Thus we have in Mg. Pr. (in the nom. sg., and incl. of the final अ of the base) अए (i. e. अकः), in E. H. अह् (for अहे); or adding pleon. अ (= क, i. e., doubling क) we have Mg. m. अअए, E. H. अहा, Mg. f. अइआ, E. H. अही. In Mg. the vowel, preceding क, may be lengthened, m. आके, f. आकी, or (eliding क्) आए, आई; whence, inserting ह्, arises E. H. m. f. आह् (= आह, आही). E. g., Skr. गर्तकः, Mg. गट्टुके or गट्टए, E. H. गउह् or गह्; Skr. वातुलकः, Mg. वाउलाके or वाउलाए, E. H. वउर्राह्; or Mg. m. वाउलकके or वाउलअए, E. H. वउर्राहा, f. Mg. वाउलइआ, E. H. वउर्राही. By way of illustration compare E. H. घट्टिहा *inferior, low-priced*, Mg. घट्टिअए, Skr. घट्टितकः.

*Third Group.*

209. Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1) a.	अरू or अउ	अरा or अउा	अरी or अउी
b.	— —	अरू or अउू	अरी or अउी
2)	एरू or एउ	एरा or एउा	एरी or एउी
3)	ओरू or ओउ	ओरा or ओउा	ओरी or ओउी
4)	अल् or अर्	अला or अरा	अली or अरी
5) a.	एल् or एर्	एला or एरा	एली or एरी
b.	ईल् or ईर्	ईला or ईरा	ईली or ईरी
c.	इल् or इर्	इला or इरा	इली or इरी
6) a.	ओल् or ओर्	ओला or ओरा	ओली or ओरी
b.	उल् or उर्	उला or उरा	उली or उरी
c.	उल् or उर्	उला or उरा	उली or उरी
7) a.	अन्	अना	अनी
b.	उन्	उना	उनी

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

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

210. The first set occurs in subst. and adj.; often; thus *m.* *गठर* or *गठरा*, f. *री*, of *गठ्* (or *गठा*) *bundle*; *चमरा*, of *चाम्* *leather*; *चीकर* (or *कीचर*), of *चीक्* (or *कीच्*) *mud* (cf. § 133); *खट्वोर*, of *खट्वू* *glutton*; *टुकरा*, f. *री*, of *टूक्* (Skr. *स्तोक*) *piece*; *पटरा*, f. *री*, of *पट* (or *पटा*) *board*; *पलंगरा*, f. *री*, of *पलंग्* *bedstead*; *बइरा*, f. *री* or *m. f.* *बइर* *calf, colt*, of *बइ* (or *बइा*) *young*; *भूखर*, of *भूख्* (or *भूखा*) *hungry*; *भुलकर*, of *भूलक्* *forgetful*; *मोटरा*, of *मोट्* *bundle*; *मेहरार*, of *मेहर* *woman*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as *सैकरा* *a hundred*, of \**सैक्* (A. Mg. *सयक्क*, Skr. *शतक*); *टोकरा* *basket*, of \**टोक्*; *थोर* or *योर*, f. *री* *little*, of \**यो* (Pr. *योअ*, Skr. *स्तोक*, cf. § 97); *डोकरा* or *डौरा* *boy* and *डोकरे* or *डौरे* *girl*, of \**डोक्* or \**डो* (see § 198 exc.); *डेरा*, f. *डेरे* *goat*, of \**डे* (Mg. *डाय*, Skr. *डाय*); *अगारे* *front*, of \**अगा* (Skr. *अग्र*); *पइारे* *back*, of \**पाइा* (Skr. *पश्च*); *पहार* *mountain* and *पहार*, *multiplication-table*, of \**पहा* (Skr. *प्रथित* *extended*, see § 118); etc. See also § 104.

211. The second and third sets occur in subst. and adj.; very rarely; thus *बइेरा* *colt*, *बइेरे* *filly*, of *बइ* (or *बइा*) *young*; *घनेर* or *घनेरा*, f. *री*, of *घन्* *much*; *गडोरा*, of *गड्* (or *गडा*) *pit*. -

212. The fourth set occurs in subst. and adj.; often; thus *मोटल्* or *मोटला*, f. *ली*, of *मोट्* (or *मोटा*) *fat*; *नेठरा*, f. *री*, of *नेठ्* (or *नेठा*) *eldest*; *रसर*, f. *री*, of \**रस्स्* or *रस्सा* *cord*; *मुहरा* *vanguard*, *मुहरे* *cuff, bore of a gun*, of *मुह्* *mouth*; *हयल्* or *हयरे*, of *हाय्* or *हया* *handle*; *सुतला* or *सुतरा*, f. *री* *string*, of *सूत्* *thread*; *परला*, f. *ली*, of *पा* *beyond*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as *अगला*, f. *ली* *former*, of \**अगा* (Skr. *अग्र*; Ap. Pr. *अगलउ* H. C. 4, 341); *मउली* *mother*, of M. *माउ*, E. H. *माई* (Skr. *मातृ*, cf. § 63).

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

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

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

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

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

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

217. *Derivation.* All these pleon. suff. occur in Pr. (H. C. 2, 164. 165. 166. 173); more especially in Mg. Pr. (Wb. Bh. 437) and Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 429. 430). Here (in the Ap. Mg.) they have, in the nom. sg. and incl. of the final of the base, the following forms: 1) m. षडे, f. षडो (H. C. 4, 431) or, with the pleon. suff. ष added, m. षडए, f. षडिष्ठा. These change into the first E. H. set, m. f. षड् or षड् and m. षडा or षरा, f. षडो or षरो; e. g., Ap. Mg. गंठडे (Skr. ग्रन्थ H. C. 4, 120), E. H. गठर्; Mg. गंठडए, E. H. गठरा; Mg. गंठडिष्ठा, E. H. गठरी. 2) The same, with the pleon. ष added to the base of the word, m. षषडे, f. षषडो and m. षषडए, f. षषडिष्ठा. These, by inserting य् (§ 69) and contracting षय to ए (§ 121), result in the E. H. second set, m. f. एड् or एर् and m. एडा or एरा, f. एडो or एरो; or by inserting व् (§ 69) and contracting षव to ओ (§ 122) result in the E. H. third set, m. f. ओड् or ओर् and m. ओडा or ओरा, f. ओडो or ओरो; e. g., Ap. Mg. घषाषडे or घषायडे, E. H. घनेर्; Ap. Mg. वच्छषडए or वच्छयडए, E. H. वड्हेरा; Ap. Mg. वच्छषडिष्ठा or वच्छयडिष्ठा, E. H. वड्हेरी; again Ap. Mg. गडुषडए or गडुवडए (Skr. गर्त H. C. 2, 35), E. H. गडोरा. 3) Mg. m. षल्लु or षले, f. षल्ली or षली or, with pleon. ष added, m. षल्लए or षलए, f. षल्लिष्ठा



or अलिङ्गा. These produce the E. H. fourth set, m. f. अल् or अर् and m. अला or अरा, f. अली or अरी; thus Mg. नवल्ले *new* (H. C. 2, 165. Skr. नव), E. H. नवल; Mg. एकल्लर् (H. C. 2, 165. Skr. एक) *solitary*, E. H. इकला or इकरा; Mg. एकल्लिङ्गा, E. H. इकली or इकरी; again Mg. पोअलर् *yellow* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. पोत), E. H. पोला or पोरा (§ 97); Mg. अंधलर् *blind* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. अन्ध), E. H. अंधला or अंधरा; Mg. पन्नलं *dish* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. पात्र), E. H. पन्नल् or पन्नर्; Mg. विद्दतुलिङ्गा *lightning* (Ls. 2, 194. H. C. 2, 173. Skr. वियुत्), E. H. वितुली or वितुरी; Ap. Mg. अगलर् *anterior* (cf. H. C. 4, 141. 444. Skr. अग्र), E. H. अगला. 4) Mg. m. इल्ले or इले, f. इल्ली or इली or, with pleon. अ added, m. इल्लर् or इलर्, f. इल्लिङ्गा or इलिङ्गा. These constitute the E. H. fifth set, m. f. एल् or ईल् or इल् and m. एला or ईला or इला, f. एली or ईली/or इली; thus Mg. m. मङ्किल्लर् or मङ्किलर् *middle* (Wb. Bh. 437. Skr. मध्य), E. H. मकेला or मकिला; Mg. f. मङ्किल्लिङ्गा or मङ्किलिङ्गा, E. H. मकेली or मकिली; Mg. पढमिल्ले (Wb. Bh. 437. Skr. प्रथम), E. H. पहेल् or पहिल् (§ 118); again Mg. तेन्निलर् (cf. H. C. 2, 157 see §§ 58. 111), E. H. तेतना, G. तेटलो, S. तेतिरी; Mg. f. तेन्निलिङ्गा, E. H. तेतनी, G. तेटली, S. तेतिरी; again Mg. पन्निल्लं or पतिल्लं *dish, vessel* (Skr. पात्र), E. H. पतोला or पतिला, etc. 5) Mg. m. उल्ले or उले, f. उल्ली or उली or, with pleon. अ added, m. उल्लर् or उलर्, f. उल्लिङ्गा or उलिङ्गा. These give rise to the E. H. sixth set, m. f. ओल् or उल् or उल्, and m. ओला or उला or उला, f. ओली or उली or उली; thus Ap. Mg. m. मङ्कुल्लर् *middle* (Skr. मध्य), E. H. मकोला; Ap. Mg. f. मङ्कुल्लिङ्गा, E. H. मकोली; Mg. मुहुल्लं (cf. H. C. 2, 164. Skr. मुख), E. H. मुहुरा *vanguard*; Mg. हत्युल्लिङ्गा (cf. H. C. 2, 164. Skr. हस्त) *handle*, E. H. ह्युरी or ह्यरी; Mg. अप्पुल्ले (see §§ 60. 111), E. H. आपुन् or आपन्; Ap. Mg. तेनुलर् (cf. H. C. 4, 435., see §§ 58. 111), E. H. तेतना; etc. 6) with pleon. अ added, m. णर्, f. णिङ्गा, n. णं. These become the E. H. seventh set, m. ना, f. नी; thus Mg. अप्पणर् (§ 60, note), E. H. अपना; Mg. अप्पणिङ्गा, E. H. अपनी. I believe this is the only example of the pleon. suff. ना in Pr. A comparison with E. H. shows: 1) that the Pr. अप्पणं (H. C. 2, 153) stands for \*अप्पणं = अप्पुल्लं (H. C. 2, 163); and 2) that the न् of this set is a substitute for an original ल्

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

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

1) Thus: Skr. मध्यक<sup>०</sup> (or मध्यम<sup>०</sup>), Mg. \*मडकअडे = \*मडकअले = \*मडकयले = \*मडकले = मडकले or मडकले, E. H. मकेल् or मकिल्.

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

## 2. SECONDARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

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

*First Group.*

220.           Set. 1. Fem. अई.           Set. 2. Fem. अई.

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

221. These suffixes are used to derive abstract nouns from adjectives. Weak and long forms take the first, strong forms the second set. Thus अई, in हलुक्कई *lightness*, of हलुक्क *light*; ठंठई *coldness*, of ठंठ *cold*; सधुअई *simplicity*, of सधुआ *simple*; भरियाई *heaviness*, of भरिया *heavy*; etc. Again अई, in भलाई *goodness*, of भला *good*; बडाई *greatness*, of बडा *great*; मिठाई *sweetness*, of नीठा *sweet*; गोलाई *roundness*, of गोला *round*; etc.

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

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

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

*Second Group.*

224. Set. 1. Masc. घाउ or घाव्. Set 2. Masc. घान्.

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

225. These suff. are used to derive abstract nouns from a very small number of adj., expressive of dimension; viz., ऊँचाउ or ऊँचाव् or ऊँचान् *height*, of ऊँचा *high*; गहिराउ or गहिराव् or गहिरान् *depth*, of गहिरा *deep*; ओँडाउ or ओँडाव् or ओँडान् *depth*, of ओँडा *deep*; चोराउ or चोराव् or चोरान् *breadth, width*, of चोरा (H. H. चौडा) *broad, wide*; लम्बाउ or लम्बाव् or लम्बान् *length*, of लम्बा *long*. The forms in घान् are properly and generally masc.; but are sometimes used as fem.

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

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

227. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. (neut.) taddh. त्व or (vedic) त्वन (cf. Wb. Spt. 68. 69). They become in Pr. (nom. sg.) तं or तपां (Vr. 4, 22. H. C. 2, 154) or, incl. of the final अ of the base, अतं or अतपां or (eliding त, see § 153) अतं or अतपां (see Spt. A. 52. वमस्समृत्पा = Skr. वयस्यकत्वेन) or in Ap. Pr. अउ or अउण् (cf. H. C. 4, 331). Now the Ap. form अउ or, with pleon. अ added to the base, अअउ contracts in H. to आउ or आव्;

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

*Third Group.*

228.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.
	1) a. एषा	b. ए or एषा	—
	2) a. एषन्	b. एन् or एषा	एषी

The suff. in षा and ई are strong, the others are weak forms. Those with एष् are added to weak, those with ए to strong bases; but एषा, एषी to either.

229. These suff. are used to derive abstract nouns from subst. or adj. The forms एषन् or एन्, however, are those commonly employed. Thus ए in बृहस्प *old age*, of बृह *old*; एषा or एषा in बृहषा *old age*, होटेषा or होटेषा *smallness*, of होट् or होटा *small*; मोटेषा or मोटेषा *fatness*, of मोट् or मोटा *fat*; रंडेषा *widowhood*, of रँड *widow*; etc.; एषन् or एन् in वडेषन् or वडेषन् *greatness* (cf H. C. 4, 437), of वड् or वडा *great*; सुधाएषन् *simplicity*, of सुधा *simple*; गरुएषन् or गरुएषन् *heaviness*, of \*गरु or गरु *heavy*; बालकएषन् *childhood*, of बालक *child*, etc.; एषा or एषी in होटएषा *smallness*; लुचएषा or लुचएषी *profligacy*, of लुच् *profligate*; ज्ञानएषा *knowingness, knowledge*, of ज्ञान् (Skr. ज्ञानी § 191) *knowing*; पात्रीएषा *profligacy*, of पात्री *profligate*, etc.

*Note:* Exceptionally the suff. appears to be added to a verbal root, as in खुजलाएषन् *itching*, from खुजलाच् *to itch*; but in reality it is added to the noun \*खुजला (cf. M. खजरा Man. 115) *itch*, which, however, is now used only as a fem. खुजली.

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

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

(see Bs. II, 73). M. has पण् n., पणा m. (Man. 112); S. प fem., पो m.; पाई f., पी f., पणु m., पणो m. (Tr. 59—61); G. पो m., पण् m., पणु n. (Ed. 14); P. पा m., पुण् or पुणा m. (Ld. 13., e. g., उचक्रपुणा *business of a उचक्रा pickpocket*); B. has पन् m., पना or (Bs. II, 71) anomalously पाना; O. has पण् m., पणिआ f. (e. g., भाँउपणिआ *roguery*). B. and O. have more commonly मि (or आमि); as लुचामि *profligacy*, भाँडामि *roguery*, ढिलामि *laziness* of ढीला, see Bs. II, 77.

231. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. (neut.) taddh. त्व or (vedic) त्वन (see § 227). They become in Ap. Pr. (nom. sg.) प् or प्पणं (H. C. 4, 437. Ls. 460) or, with pleon. अ added, प्पञ्चं or प्पणञ्चं. The Ap. प्पं and प्पञ्चं become in E. H. प् and प्पा or पा respectively; and the Ap. प्पणं and प्पणञ्चं become E. H. प्पन् or पन् and पना, whence E. H. makes fem. पनी. Thus Skr. वृढत्वन्, Ap. वृढ्पणं (cf. H. C. 1, 131), E. H. वृढाप्; Skr. \*वृढत्वकं, Ap. वृढ्पञ्चं, E. H. वृढपा or वृढापा; Skr. \*वृढत्वनम्, Ap. वृढ्पणं, E. H. वृढपन् or वृढापन्; Skr. \*वृढत्वनकम्, Ap. वृढ्पणञ्चं, E. H. वृढापना or वृढापनी; etc. The आ in the E. H. forms आपा, आपन् might be the usual result of the simplification of the conjunct प्प, but is more likely to be the strong termination of the base, as shown by the M., which changes that आ to ए, as भलेपण् *goodness* (Man. 112) for E. H. भलापन्; i. e., M. adds पन् to the strong form भले = भलय = Pr. भल्लञ्च = Skr. भद्रक. In the B. and O. मि the प् has been apparently softened to म्.

*Fourth Group.*

232.           Set.   Com. gen.                   Fem.

1) वंत् or वत्                   वंती or वती

2) मंत् or मत्                   मंती or मती

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

233. The weak suff. are used to derive *possessional* adj. from subst. of the weak form. Thus वंत् or वत् in धनवंत् or धनवत् (m. f.) *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*; भगतवंत् or वत् *faithful*, of भगत् *faith*; सोमवंत् or वत् *sorrowful*, of सोग् *sorrow*; पुनवंत् or वत् *virtuous*, of

पुन् *virtue*; त्रयवंत् or वत् *victorious*, of त्रय् *victory*; मानवंत् or ०वत् *proud*, of मान् *pride*; भगवंत् or ०वत् *fortunate, excellent*, of भग्न् *fortune, excellence*, etc. Again मन्त् or मत् in सिरिमन्त् or सिरिमत् (m. f.) *excellent*, of सिरि *excellence*; हनुमन्त् or ०मत् *monkey*, of हनु *jaw*; भक्तिमन्त् or ०मन् *devoted*, of भक्ति *devotion*; पुनमन्त् or ०मत् *virtuous*, of पुन् *virtue*; etc.

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

235. *Affinities*. These suff. exist in all Gds., exc. S. See Bs. II, 106. As to M. see Man. 114. H. H. and the H. Gds. generally are fond of using the tats. forms, m. वान्, f. वती; as रूष्वान् *beautiful*, f. रूष्वती; धनवान् *wealthy*, f. धनवती; दयावान् *merciful*, f. दयावती, etc. In E. H., however, as distinguished from H. H., the tats. forms do not occur, except in a few proper names, as भगवान् *God*, भगवती *the goddess Gaudī*, etc.; हनुमान् *the monkey-god*, etc. S. has the suff. वानु m., वानी f. (Tr. 76. 99), as m. सोलवान्, f. सोलवानी, E. H., m. f. सोलवंत् or ०वत्; H. H. m. सोलवान्, f. सोलवती *amiable*. This S. form has in exceptional cases crept into the other Gds.; as H., M., G. गाडोवान् or गाडोवानी *coachman* (see Man. 113. Ed. 14).

236. *Derivation*. The originals of these suff. are the Skr. taddh. वत् and मत्, which become in Pr. वंत and मंत (Vr. 4, 35. H. C. 2, 159). Whence in the Mg. nom. sg. m. वंते and मंते, f. वंती and मंती; in E. H. m. f. वंत् and मंत् (§§ 43. 45) or वत् and मत् (§§ 143. 146). Or with pleon. अ added, in Mg. f. वंतिआ and मंतिआ, E. H. वंती and मंती or वती and मती (§ 51). Thus Skr. m. धनवान्, Mg. धणवंत, E. H. धनवंत् or ०वत्; Skr. f. धनवती, Mg. धणवंती, E. H. धनवंत् or ०वत्; again Skr. f. \*धनवतिका, Mg. धणवंतिआ, E. H. धनवंती or ०वती (sel. वृत्ति *condition*). The S. वानु, f. वानी, though, probably, ultimately connected with the Skr. suff., are independent of the Pr. m. वंतो, f. वंती; for they exist also in Pers., and there are no forms मानु, मानी in S., corresponding to Pr. मंतो, मंती.



*Fifth Group.*

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

Fem. *अइती* or *ऐती* (§§ 25. 77)

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

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

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

240. *Derivation.* These suff. may have been originally connected with those of the fourth group. For in Vr. 4, 25. H. C. 2, 159 the Pr. originals *इत्* or *इन्न* are mentioned in close connection with *वंत्* and *मन्त्*. The latter, incl. of the final *श्च* of the base, would be *अश्चन्त्* and *अश्चन्त्* or (eliding *च्* and *न्*) *अश्चन्त्*, or (inserting *च्*, § 69) *अश्चन्त्*, or (vocalizing *च्*, § 121) *अश्चन्त्*, or (again detaching the *श्च* of the base) *इत्*. Thus Pr. *माणइतो* or *माणइतो* *proud* (H. C. 2, 159) would be = *माणवंतो* = *माणश्चन्तो*, *माणवंतो* = Skr. *मानवान्*. With pleon. *श्च* added to the suff., they are Pr. m. *अइन्नश्चो*, f. *अइन्नश्चा*; S. m. *एतो*, f. *एती*. Or with pleon. *श्च* added to the base, Pr. m. *अइन्नश्चो*, f. *अइन्नश्चा*, E. H. m. or f. *आइत्*; and with pleon. *श्च* added to both the base and suff., Pr. m. *अइन्नश्चो*, f. *अइन्नश्चा*; S. m. *आइतो*, f. *आइती*; E. H. m. *अइन्ना* or *ऐता*, f. *अइती* or *ऐती*. — There are, however, a few

words of a similar form, such as च॒रुडत् or च॒रुडता or च॒रुता *rider, trooper*, दं॒गडत् or f. दं॒गडती or दं॒गैती *quarrelsome*, अ॒क्रुडत् *swaggerer*, etc., which seem to require a different explanation. They are clearly *primary* derivatives of the Rs. च॒रु *mount*, दं॒त् *quarrel*, अ॒क्रु *strut*; viz., probably, part. pres. of the denom. verbs च॒रुव्, दं॒गव्, अ॒क्रुव् (see §§ 349. 352). The suff. of such part. would be in Skr. आव॒यन्, in Pr. आव॑न्तो or आव॑न्तो. The latter would change to आव॑न्तो, आव॑न्तो, आव॑न्तो or आव॑न्तो, and in Gd. आव॑त्. Possibly the first mentioned derivatives, also, are to be explained in this way, as denominative participles, instead of possessional adj. This is the explanation suggested by Ls. 289. 290. It is favored by the fact that both examples in Vr. 4, 25., viz., रो॒साड॑न्तो *angry* and पा॒णाड॑न्तो *alive*, end in आव॑न्तो with long *á*. Those in H. C. 2, 159., viz., क॒वृड॑न्तो *poetical* and मा॒णड॑न्तो *proud*, indeed, end in अ॒डन्तो with *á*; but this need be no objection; as Pr. may, optionally, shorten the denom. suff. आव॑ to अ॒व, see H. C. 4, 37. Wb. Spt. 65.

*Sixth Group.*

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

1) अ॒ल् or अ॒र् अ॒ला or अ॒रा अ॒ली or अ॒री

2) अ॒ल् or अ॒र् अ॒लू or अ॒रू अ॒लू or अ॒रू

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

242. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst. In some cases, the word has been restricted to some particular secondary meaning. Thus the first set in तो॑दा॒ल् or तो॑दा॒र् or m. ०रा, f. री *pot-bellied*, of तो॑दू *belly*; र॒सा॒ल् *sugar-cane* or *mango-tree* (lit. *juicy*), of र॒ज् *juice*; प॒खा॒ल् f. or प॒खारा॑ or ०ला m. *a large double water-bag of leather carried across a bullock's back, with one half suspended on each side of it* (lit. *two-sided*), of पा॒ख् *side*; र॑ता॒ल् *sandy*, of र॑त् *sand*; दु॒धा॒र् or द॒धा॒ल् *milch-cow*, of दू॒ध् *milk* (M. दु॒धालू), etc. Again the 2<sup>nd</sup> set in द॒या॒ल् or द॒या॒ल् m. or f. *merciful*, of द॒य् (Skr. द॒या) *mercy*; ल॒जा॒ल् or ल॒जा॒ल् *bashful*, of ला॒ज् *shame*; perhaps also क॒ग॒रा॒ल् *quarrelsome* of क॒ग॒रा॒ल् *quarrel*; but see §§ 308. 312.

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

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

244. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Pr. suff. अल and अलु (Vr. 4, 25. H. C. 2, 159). They occur, however, especially the latter, in Skr. also. The suff. अल becomes in Mg. (nom. sg.) m. अले, f. अली and, with pleon. अ added, m. अलए, f. अलिआ, whence arise the E. H. first set m. or f. आरू or अल and m. आर or अला, f. आरी or अली. E. g., Skr. रसालः, A. Mg. रसाले (cf. H. C. 2, 159), E. H. रसाल् or रसारू; Skr. दुग्धाला, Mg. दुडाला or ०ली, E. H. दुधाल or ०रू; Skr. \*तुन्दालकः (cf. तुन्दिल M. W. 378, 2), Mg. तोन्दालए (cf. H. C. 1, 116), E. H. तोन्दारू; f. Skr. \*तुन्दालिका, Mg. तोलिआ, E. H. तोदारी. The suff. अलु becomes in Mg., nom. sg., m. or f. अलू and, with pleon. अ added, m. अलुए, f. अलुआ, whence the E. H. second set, m. or f. अलु and m. or f. अलू. E. g., Skr. दयालुः, Mg. दयालू (cf. H. C. 2, 159), E. H. दयालु or ०रू; Skr. लज्जालुका, Mg. लज्जालुआ (H. C. 2, 159), E. H. लज्जालू or ०रू. As to the origin of the suff. अल and अलु, they are probably derivatives of the Skr. suff. दृज *like*; see § 251.

*Seventh Group.*

245.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	अइल् or अइरू	ऐला or ऐरा	ऐलो or ऐरी	
2)	इल् or इरू	इला or इरा	इलो or इरी	
3)	अउल् or अउरू	ओला or ओरा	ओली or ओरी	
4)	उल् or उरू	उला or उरा	उली or उरी	

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

246. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst. Sometimes the word is restricted to some particular meaning. The first and third sets are those commonly used. Thus the 1<sup>st</sup> set in दंभइल् m. or f. *quarrelsome*, of दंभा *quarrel*; गँढेला, f. °ली *knotty*, of गँढ् *knot*; पनेला, f. °ली *swampy*, of पानी *water*; पयइल् m. or f., or पयइला, f. °ली *full of stones*, of पयइ *stone*; उँकैला *having a sting*, of उँक् *sting*; खपरइल् *a tiled house*, of खपरा *tile*; बोकइल् *beast of burden*, of बोक् *load*; दुधइल् *milk-cow*, of दूध् *milk*; etc. Again the 2<sup>nd</sup> set in रेतिला, f. ली *sandy*, of रेत् *sand*; बोक्लिल् *loaded*, of बोक् *load*; etc. Again the 3<sup>d</sup> set in पयउर m. or f., or पयौरा, f. °री *full of stones*, of पयइ *stone*; उँकउर m. or f., or उँकौरा, f. °री *having a sting, a wasp*, of उँक् *sting*; रसउर m. or f., or रसौरा, f. °री *juicy*, of रस् *juice*; बमोरी or बमोली *prickly heat*, of बाम् *warmth*; बकोला *hood* and बकोलो *green caterpillar*, of बाँक् *a bend*; etc. Again the 4<sup>th</sup> set in पातुर *moth*, of पात् (Skr. पत्र) *wing*; पातुर or पतुरी *prostitute*, of पात् (Skr. पात्र) *vessel*; पातुर *weak* (H. H. पतला; lit. *leaf-like*), from पात् *leaf*; चाउर or चउरा, f. °री *mad* (H. H. चावला), of चाय् *wind* (lit. *inflated*). Occasionally, the suff. expresses relation generally, as in बनेला, f. °ली *wild, savage*, of बन् *a wood*; बरैला, f. °ली *tame*, of बर *house*; कखोरी or कखोली *tumour in the armpit*, of काख् *armpit*.

247. *Affinities*. These suff. exist in all Gds., but in the W. and S. Gd. they have an initial ए or ई for ऐ, and ओ or उ for औ, and in H. H. also अ for इ or उ. The M., G. and O. have ऋ, and S. often र् for ल्. Thus W. H. एलो or ईलो, H. H. एला or ईला or अला, M. एअ or ईअ, G. एओ or ईओ, S. एलो or एरो, ईलो or ईरो, इरु (Tr. 67). The interchange of र् and ल्, however, occasionally occurs in all Gds., and, indeed, already in Pr. (see § 248). Thus H. H. गँढीला, W. H. गँढीलो *knotty*; W. H. बमोली, M. बमोअे *prickly heat*; H. H. पतला *thin*, रेतला *sandy*; etc.; further examples see in Bs. II, 95—101.

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

suff. इल्ल and उल्ल (Vr. 4, 5. H. C. 2, 159) or, with the pleon. अ added to the base, अइल्ल and अउल्ल or, with pleon. अ added to the suff., इल्लअ, अइल्लअ, उल्लअ, अउल्लअ, whence the E. H. suffixal forms regularly arise. Thus E. H. पयर्इल् = A. Mg. पत्यलइल्ले; E. H. पयर्इला = A. Mg. पत्यर्इल्लए; E. H. पयर्उर् = A. Mg. पत्यलउल्ले; E. H. पयर्उरा = A. Mg. पत्यलउल्लए; E. H. प्तुरी = A. Mg. पत्तुलिअ, etc. From the Pr. these suff. were probably adopted into the Skr. as taddh. with one ल्; thus इल् in Skr. ग्रन्थिल *knotty*; उल् or उल in चातुल or चातूल *gouty*; श्रोल in गणडोला *raw sugar*, etc. The Pr. taddh. इर् (H. C. 2, 145. Vr. 4, 25), which occurs also in Skr., may, perhaps, be identified with the Pr. इल्ल (or इल), by the interchange of ल् and र् (see § 110); in S. it occurs as इर् (see § 247); but E. H. has no suff. इर्, except as an alternative of इल्. — As to the origin of the suff. इल्ल and उल्ल (probably from Skr. दृण), see § 251.

*Eighth Group.*

249.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1) a.	एर् or एइ	एरा or एडा	एरी or एडी
	b.		एर or एइ	एर or एइ
	2) a.	ओर् or ओइ	ओरा or ओडा	ओरी or ओडी
	b.	ओर् or ओइ	ओरा or ओडा	ओरी or ओडी

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

250. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst.; but the derivatives are few in number and always restricted to some particular meaning. Thus the first set, in सपेरा or सपेडा *snake-catcher*, of साप *snake*; कटेरा *palings*, of कांटा *thorn*; पलेर or पलेडा *bird*, of पाख् *wing*. The second set in लर्कोरा or लडकोडा *parents*, of लर्कि *child*; पलोरा *shoulder-blade*, of पाख् *side*; हयोरा or हयोरा *hammer*, of हाय् *handle*; करोरा *tax-gatherer*, of कर *tax*, etc.

251. *Affinities and Derivation.* I believe these suff. and their derivatives are, strictly, W. Gd., and only introduced into the E. H. from the W. H. To this group belong the suff., S. इड्यो (Tr. 70) and M. आड्या (Man. 113); e. g., S. पेरिड्यो *walker*, of पैर् or पैर् *foot*, वाटाड्या *guide*, of वाट *way*. — On comparing

this group with the sixth and seventh, it will be seen, that there are, in each, identical suff. containing ल् or क् or क्तः thus, sixth group, E. H. बालु or बालू, M. बाकृ or बाकृ, S. बाडु or M. बाड; seventh and eighth groups, E. H. ऐला or ऐला or ऐडा, M. ऐडा; E. H. औला, औडा, W. H. औला or औडा, M. औडा. Further, on comparing these with the third pleonastic group (§ 209), it will be seen that the suffixes in the two classes are identical. Hence it appears probable, that they have the same origin and are derived from the Skr. suff. दृग्र, as explained in § 218. Skr. दृग्रकः would, in Ap. Pr., become डिहड, whence, eliding ह् and contracting the hiatus-vowels, the forms ड्यो and ड्या would arise, as contained in S. इड्यो and M. बाड्या. The initial vowels of the latter must be accounted for by the addition of the pleon. अ to the base, just as in pleon. ऐडा, ऐला, इला, etc. (see § 218). — That the Skr. suff. दृग्र like would easily lend itself to derive possess. adj., may be seen from the German *peinlich*, i. e., painful, or from the English *lively*, *prickly*, *sprightly* = full of life, pricks, spirit.

*Ninth Group.*

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

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

253. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing, in a general way, possession or relation from subst. The first set is the one commonly used; sometimes in its long form ड्या (see § 199). Thus, 1<sup>st</sup> set in संगी or सद्यती *friend, companion*, of संग् or संबन्त *companionship*; खारी or कुनही *enemy*, of खार or कुनह् *enmity*; बकवादी or बतोलिया or बतुनिया *a talkative person*, of बकवाद or बतोलिा *talk*; सुखी *happy*, of सुख् *happiness*; दुखी *miserable*, of दुख् *pain*; धनी *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*; तेली *oilman*, of तेल् *oil*; माली *gardener*, of माल् or माला *garland*; धोत्री *washerman*, of धोत्र् (§ 311) *washing*; हयोटी or हयोटिया *craftsman*, of हयोटी *handicraft*; बहेलिया *hunter*, of बाह् *shooting*; गडरिया *shepherd*, of गड् *fold*, etc. And हिन्दुई *belonging to*

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

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

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

*Tenth Group.*

256. Set. 1) Fem. — ई Set. 2) Fem. इनि or इनी  
3) " आइन् or आइनी " 4) " — आनी

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

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

*bodice*, of चोला *waistcoat*, etc. Again सोचवंती *thoughtfulness*, of सोचवंत् *thoughtful*; रखवारी *guarding or guardianship*, of रखवारू *guardian*; ढलैती *shieldbearership*, of ढलाइत् *shieldbearer*; चिन्हारी *acquaintance*, of चिन्हारू *an acquaintance*; पढ़निहारी *reading or readership*, of पढ़निहारू or ०रारू *reader*; etc.

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

*Note:* In a few cases the long form in ड्या (see § 199) is exclusively used; as in कुन्निया *fem.*, of कुन्ना *dog*; डियिया *small box*, of डिया *box*, बुन्निया *old woman*, of बून्ना *old man*; but the short forms कुन्नी, डियो, बून्नी also occur.

259. The second set can be added only to subst. in ञ or ई or उ, expressing animate objects; never to adj., except when used substantively. Thus in ञ; persons; सोनारिनि or ०रिनी *f. goldsmith*, of सोनारू *m.*; चमारिनि or ०रिनी *f. leather-worker*, of चमारू *m.*; गोवाल्लिनि or गुव् or गु० *f. cowherd*, of गोवालू *m.*; घटवाल्लिनि *ferry-woman*, of घटवालू *m.*, etc. Or animals; पतुरिनी *f. moth*, of पतारू *m.*; बाघिनि or बघिनी *tigress*, of बाघू *tiger*; सोँघिनि or सिँघिनी *lioness*, of सोँघू *lion*. Again in ई; persons; परोसिनि or ०सिनी *f. neighbour*, of परोसी *m.*; त्रैरानिनि or ०निनी *f. ascetic*, of त्रैरानी; माल्लिनि or ०नी *f. gardener*, of माली *m.*; धोबिनि or ०नी *washerwoman*, of धोबी *m.*; कोह्लिनि or ०नी *f. leper*, of कोह्ली, etc. Or animals; हायिनि or हयिनी *f. elephant*, of हायी *m.* Again in उ; नउडनि or नउडनी *f. barber*, of



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

260. The third and fourth sets are confined to some particular words, as पंडाइन् or °नी *wife of a पंडा a kind of brāhman*; चौब्राइन् *woman of the चौब्रे caste*; दुब्राइन् *woman of the दूब्रे (m.) caste*; ठकुराइन् *lady of ठाकुर lord, chief*; चौधराइन् *wife of a चौधरी headman*; पंडियाइन् *wife of a पंडा priest*; गुरुआइन् *wife of a गुरु teacher*; पंडिताइन् *wife of a पंडित scholar*; बनिआइन् *woman of the बनिआ trader-caste*; पुरोहितानो *wife of a पुरोहित family priest*.

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

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

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

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

#### Eleventh Group.

263. Com. gen. अक्. Masc. आ or अक्. Fem. अइँ. The form अक् is weak, the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them see § 195, note.

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

m. पचा or पचव्राँ, f. पचईँ *fifth*, of पच् *five*; m. f. दसव् or m. दसा or दसव्राँ, f. दसईँ *tenth*, of दस् *ten*; m. f. बारहव् or m. बारहव्राँ, f. बारहईँ *twelfth*, of बारह् *twelve*, etc. They are added pleonastically to the following: दुसरा or दुसरव् or दुसरवाँ *second*, of दुइ *two*; तिसरा or तिसरव् or तिसरवाँ *third*, of तीनि *three*; चौथा or चौथव् or चौथवाँ *fourth*, of चारि *four*; इठा or इठव् or इठवाँ *sixth*, of इ *six*; बीसा or बीसव् or बीसवाँ *twentieth*, of बीस् *twenty*, etc.

265. *Affinities*. These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight differences: thus B. m. अा, f. ईँ (S. Ch. 195); M. अावा, f. अव्री, n. अव्रेँ or (from 19<sup>th</sup>) अावा, अावी, अावेँ (Man. 42. 44); H. H. अव्राँ, f. अव्रीँ; W. H. अव्रीँ, f. अव्रीँ; P. अव्राँ or अव्राँ, f. अव्रीँ or अव्रीँ (Ld. 82—85); G. (and O. H.) अमो, f. अमो, n. अमुँ (Ed. 48); S. अोँ, f. ईँ; e. g., B. पाचा, f. पाचईँ; M. पाँचवा, f. पाँचव्रीँ, n. पाँचवेँ, but विसावा, f. विसावीँ, n. विसावेँ *twentieth*; W. H. पाँचवोँ, f. पाँचव्रीँ; P. पंतव्राँ or पंतम्राँ, f. पंतव्रीँ or पंतम्राँ; G. पांचमो, f. पाँचमी, n. पाँचमुँ; S. पंतोँ, f. पंतोँ.

266. *Derivation*. The original of these suff. is the Skr. taddh. म or, with pleon. क added, मक; whence nom. sg. (incl. the final अ of the base) अमकः, f. अमिका, Mg. अमर्, f. अमिअा, Ap. Mg. अमर्, f. अमिअा (cf. H. C. 4, 397), E. H. अव्राँ or (contracted, after eliding न् or व्) अा; f. अईँ (cf. §§ 33. 47. 51). Thus Skr. पञ्चमकः, Ap. Mg. पंचमर् or पंचवर्, E. H. पचा or पचव्राँ; f. Skr. पञ्चनिका, Ap. Mg. पंचनिअा or पंचमिअा, E. H. पचईँ. The M. form अावा may be a contraction of the Skr. अतितमकः; e. g., विंशतितमकः, Mg. वीसइअमर् (cf. Wb. Bh. 476); or it may have arisen by adding the pleon. अ to the base and be = Skr. \*विश्रकमकः, Mg. \*वीसअमर्. In the latter case the addition of the suff. अावा would be pleonastic, as the Skr. विंश itself means *twentieth*; but so it is in E. H. and all other Gds. in चौथवाँ, इठवाँ, बीसवाँ, etc., the regular forms being चौथा, इठा, बीसा, etc.

#### *Improper Suffixes.*

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

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

*Twelfth Group.*

268. Com. gen. स् or सर. Masc. सरा. Fem. सरी.

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

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

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

271. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. past part. pass. सृत: *moved*, in A. Mg. सलिट् or सलित्, which in Gd. becomes सर by the successive quiescence of the final अ and इ (cf. §§ 45. 302), and स् by the elision of र (cf. § 124). Similarly the E. H. सरा is = A. Mg. सलित्, Skr. सृतकः; and f. सरी = A. Mg. सलित्, Skr. सृतिका. E. g., Skr. \*द्विसृतः (i. e., द्विः + सृत), A. Mg. दूसलिट्, E. H. दूसर.

*Thirteenth Group.*

272.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	अर or र	अरा or रा	अरी or री
	2)	आर	आरा	आरी

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

273. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing (genitive) relation from subst. or pronouns; but they occur very rarely. Thus in the possessive pron.; m. f. हमारू or m. हमरा, f. °री *our* (lit. of *us*), of हम् *we*; m. f. तोहारू or m. तोहरा, f. °री *your* (lit. of *you*), of तोह् *you*; m. f. मोरू or m. मोरा, f. °री *mine*, of \*मो *I*; m. f. तोरू or m. तोरा, f. °री *thine*, of \*तो *thou*. Again in nouns; e. g., m. f. गँवारू or m. गँवरा, f. °री *rustic, vulgar*, of गँव् *village*; m. f. चिन्हारू or m. चिन्हारा *an acquaintance* (lit. of a mark, marked), f. चिन्हारी *acquaintance*; भिखारू *beggar*, of भोख् *alms*; perhaps also हथियारू *tools, weapons*, of हथिया *small handle*; m. बसियारा, f. °री *grassier*, of बसिया (or बस्) *grass*; भठियारा, f. °री *innkeeper*, of भठिया (or भठी) *hearth, inn* (Skr. भृष्ट).

274. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the gen. affixes करू, करा, करी, see § 377, where their derivation will be fully explained. The full suffix करू still exists in the M. गाँवकरू *villager* (Man. 113), खोडकरू (H. खोडिल्) *mischievous*, of खोड् (Man. 114); चिपलुंकरू *a man of Chiplun* (Bs. II, 181), etc. The curtailed suff. अरू, आरू, etc. are employed in B. and O. as their ordinary gen. affixes; as O. घररू *domestic or of a house*, of घरू *house*. H. H. has हमारा *our*, तुम्हारा *your*, गँवारू *villager*.

*Fourteenth Group.*

275.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	आरू	—	आरा	आरी
	2)	—	आरिनि	आरो	आरिनी
	3)	कारू	—	कारा	कारी

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

276. These suff. are used to derive nouns, expressing „workers of something“. They are of a limited number. Thus the 1<sup>st</sup> set in सोनारू, f. सोनारी or °रिनि or °रिनी *goldsmith*, of सोना *gold*; कोहारू, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *potter*, of कुम्ह् *pot*; कहारू, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *porter*, of काँध् *shoulder*; चमारू, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *leather-worker*, of चाम् *leather*; सुतारू, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *carpenter*, of सूत् *thread*; बंधारू or बंधियारू or बंधारा, f. °री, or बंधियारी m.,

f. °री *dark* or *darkness*, of अंधा *dark*. The 2<sup>nd</sup> set in पुतारि, f. पुतारिनि or °रिनी *worshipper*, of पूजा *worship*. The 3<sup>d</sup> set in हुटकार or °रा or °री *deliverance*, of हुटा *delivered*.

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

*Fifteenth Group.*

278.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	क्	का	की
	2)	के	—	—

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

279. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing relation from a subst. Thus काठक् or काठके or काठका, f. °की *wooden*, of काठ *wood*; घरके or घरका, f. °की *domestic*, of घर *house*; वनके or वनका, f. की *wild*, of वन *forest*; etc.

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

the inflected termination of the noun; for the obl. form of गोहृ is not गोढे but गोहृ; similarly of वेढि it is not वेढी, but वेढि (Tr. 123. 128); but all these long vowels in S., viz. ए in एचो, ई in ईचो, आ in आषो or आकू (Tr. 70), ऊ in उषो, ओ in ओको (Tr. 71), have probably arisen by the suff. being added to the strong form (in अय or इय or अय or उय, contracted to ए, ई, etc.), just as in M. भलेषण् goodness, of भला + षण् (see § 231).

*Sixteenth Group.*

281.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	—	अान्
	2)	अाना	अानी

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

282. Of these suff. the first set is used to derive subst., expressing „desire of anything“, and the second set to derive adj. meaning „desirous“, from an other subst. The number of such derivatives, however, is small. Thus f. निँदास् *desire to sleep, sleepiness*; m. निँदासा, f. °सो *sleepy*, of नीँद् *sleep*; उँवास् *sleepiness*, °सा m., °सो f. *sleepy*, of उँव् *sleep*; गुतास् f. *desire to make water*, °सा m., °सो f. *desirous of d<sup>lo</sup>*, of मून् *urine*; हगास् *desire to stool*, °सा m., °सो f. *desirous of d<sup>lo</sup>*, of हग् *excrement*; चुदास् f. *lasciviousness*, °सा m., °सो f. *lascivious*, of चोद् *copulation*; पेटास् *gluttony*, of पेद् *belly*; कटासा m., °सो f. *inclined to bite, snappish*, of काद् *bite*. Sometimes the base is not in use, as in रोअास् f. *inclination to weep*, रोअासा m., °सो f. *tearful*. In a few words the suff. has come to signify abstract nouns, as गिठास् f. *sweetness* (lit. *desire or tendency to be sweet*), of गोद् *sweet*; उँचास् f. *height*, of उँच् *high*; तुरास् *coldness*, of तुर (II. II. तुर) *cold*.

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

the suff., व् is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted to अ. Thus Skr. निद्रावाञ्छा, Pr. निद्रवञ्छा, E. H. निँदान्; Skr. रोद्रवाञ्छकः, Mg. लोअवञ्छर् or लोअवञ्छर्, E. H. रोअसा. The change of इ to न् is very common in M. and Mw., and, though less so, in P., whence it has sometimes passed into the other Gds. (see § 11. Bs. I, 218). — Shakespear's (II. Dict.) identification of the suff. with the Skr. noun अग्रा *hope* is not tenable; neither is the theory of their connection (as Br. II, 81) with the Skr. desiderative. The latter is true only of E. H. विवास् f. *thirst* = Skr. विपासा, Pr. विअसा, and E. H. विवासा m., °ची f. *thirsty* = Skr. विपासितकः m., °तिका f. (not, as Bs., Skr. विपासुकः, which would be H. विवास्). It exactly corresponds to E. H. भूस् f. *hunger* = Skr. वृभुक्ता, Pr. वृहुक्त्वा, and E. H. भूखा m., भूखी f. *hungry* = Skr. वृभुक्तिकः m., °तिका f. — The two words क्वास् f. and कटान् m. *violent burst of rain* do not belong to this group, but are compounds of कप् or कट् *quick* and Pr. वासा f. or वानं n. *rain* (see H. C. 2, 104), = Skr. वर्षा and वर्षम्.

*Seventeenth Group.*

284.	Set.	Fem.	Fem.
	1)	आहर् or आवर्	औटी
	2)	आवर्	औती

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

285. The first set is used to derive abstract nouns from adj. The form आहर् is the one commonly employed. Thus सचाहर् or सचावर् or सचौटी *truth, truthfulness*, of सच् or सचा *true* (= सचाई § 220); मिठाहर् *sweetness*, of मोह् *sweet*; गर्माहर् *warmth*, of गर्ग् (Pers. گرم) *warm*; खराहर् *purity*, of खरा *pure*; तिताहर् *bitterness*, of तोत् or तीता *bitter*; चिकनाहर् *smoothness*, of चिकना *smooth*; रुखाहर् *roughness*, of रूख् *rough*; कडुआहर् *bitterness*, of कडुआ *bitter*, etc.

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



(cf. § 120); हिनोति *humility, supplication*, of हीन् *destitute*; ह्योटी *handicraft, dexterity*, of ह्य् *hand*.

287. *Affinities.* These derivatives are properly W. Gd. and have been introduced into the E. H. from the W. II. In the latter and in P. they are very common; also in S., which has the contracted forms आटु or आतु (or अतु) or आठो (probably for \*आठो), all masc., see Tr. 60. 62. 68. 74.; e. g., चोकिराटु *boyhood*, of चोकरु; डिग्रपातु *debtor*, of डिग्रपो *debt*; भर्तु *porter*, of भरो *load*; पापयाठो *damp*, of पापो *water*, etc. Also occasionally in M.; as रानवट् *belonging to a desert*, of रान् (Man. 113), or contracted to ईट् (= \*आवट्) as in रागोट् *angry*, of राग् (Man. 114).

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

*Eighteenth Group.*

289. Com. gen. स्. Masc. सा. Fem. सी.

The form स् is weak, the others are strong.

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

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

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

292. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. सदृश *like*, as evidenced by the E. H. use of ऐसन्, which is the same as Skr. ईदृश (§§ 111. 458). Skr. सदृश: becomes in A. Mg. सरिसे (Wb. Bh. 422, cf. H. C. 1, 142) or सरिर् (cf. H. C. 4, 300 for सरिह, with ह् as in तेदृहं H. C. 2, 157 or in तेदु = \*तद्दु H. C. 4, 402 = Skr. तादृश:). The latter becomes in Gd. \*सरिश्, \*सरि, whence M. सर or, by eliding र (cf. Ap. तदसो H. C. 4, 403 = Skr. तादृश:, see § 124) and dropping इ, E. H. स. Similarly Skr. म. सदृशकः = A. Mg. सरिसर् or Ap. Mg. \*सद्दश्, contracted \*सद्दश or (dropping इ and contracted) E. H. सा; fem. Skr. सदृशिका, A. Mg. सरिसिशा, Ap. \*सद्दशा, E. H. contracted \*सद्दई or सी. Precisely similar are E. H. भा or भवा or भद्भा *been* = Mg. भविश्, Skr. भूतः; E. H. गा or गवा or गद्गा, Ap. Mg. गद्गर्, Skr. गतः; E. H. का (§ 278) = S. कयो = Ap. कद्घउ, Skr. कृतः, see § 307; E. H. स् or सर = A. Mg. सरिर्, Skr. सृतः (§ 268). — The E. H. use of ऐक् may be compared with its analogous use in the indefinite numerals (§ 425), as दस् ऐक् *about ten, some ten.*

*Nineteenth Group.*

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

Fem. वारी or वाली and वारिनि or वालिनि.

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

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

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

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

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

### 3. PRIMARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

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

#### *First Group.*

298. Com. gen. घत्. Masc. घता. Fem. घती (or घति).

The forms in घा and ई are strong, the others weak. The masc. strong form is not much used in E. II., except in the oblique form घते, as an adv. part., see § 488.

*Note:* Observe, in adding these suff., that त् is inserted after ई, and optionally व् after ऊ and ओ; and घ is elided after घा and ए and after R. हो *be*.

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

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

O. \*अंत् (only in the obl. f. अंत, Sn. 28): H. H. m. अता, f. अतो; W. H. m. अत् (Br.) or अतो (Mw.), f. अती; P. m. अदा or अंदा, f. अदी or अंदी (Ld. 24), N. अदो, f. अदी; S. अंदो or ईंदी, f. अंदी or ईंदी (Tr. 268. 269); G. m. अतो, f. अती, n. अतुँ (Ed. 113, 53); M. c. g. अत् or m. अता, f. अतो, n. अते (Man. 63. 73); O. H. m. अंतो or अंत (Kl. 222. 240. 241). The O. has also उ (e. g., कद् *doing*, Sn. 28).

301. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अत् (or अन्त); in Pr. अंत (Vr. 7, 10. H. C. 3, 180. 181), or occasionally in Sr. Pr. अंद (H. C. 4, 261. cf. Ls. 362). Hence nom. sg. Mg. 'm. अंत, f. अतो (H. C. 3, 182) or, with pleon. अ added, m. अंतए, f. अंतिआ; and E. H. m. f. अत् or m. अता, f. अतो (cf. §§ 143. 146). Thus Skr. m. हसन्, f. हसन्ती; A. Mg. हसंते, f. हसंती; O. H. m. f. हसंत्; E. H. हसत्; again Skr. \*हसन्तकः, A. Mg. हसंतए, E. H. हसता; fem. Skr. \*हसन्तिका, A. Mg. हसंतिआ, E. H. हसतो. — The S. अंदो, P. अंदा, N. अदो, Gw. अदो or अंदो (Kl. 215) are similarly derived from the Sr. Pr. अंदओ. — The O. उ has, perhaps, arisen from अत् (or अंत) by the elision of त्? (see § 153). — The E. H. खात् is = Mg. खते or खाअंते (cf. H. C. 4, 228); E. H. देत् = Mg. देते (cf. H. C. 2, 206. 4, 379) = \*दयंते, Skr. ददत् (or \*ददन्तः); E. H. होत् = Mg. होते (cf. H. C. 3, 180) or हवंत or भवंते (cf. H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवन्.

*Second Group.*

302. Set. Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1) इल् or अल्	—	इलि or अलि	इला or अला	इली or अली
2) इअ or इ	अ	इ	आ	ई

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak. The masc. strong forms in ला are not much used, except in the obl. f. इले or अले, as adv. part., see § 488. The forms with इल्<sup>o</sup> are peculiar to the Maithilí and Magadh in the eastern, and the forms (m.) अ or आ, (f.) इ or ई to Baiswári in the western part of the E. H. area. The latter (Bs.) dialect does not use the first set at all; the other E. H. dialects use both, see § 303.

*Note:* Observe, in adding the suff. beginning with अ, that अ्

is inserted after घ्रा and ई, and optionally वृ after उ and ओ; before those beginning with इ neither य् nor वृ is inserted.

303. These suff. are used to derive the past participle from any root. Thus हसल् or हसिल् *laughed*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पठल् or पठिल् *read*, of R. पठ् *read*; पीयल् or पीइल् *drunk*, of R. पी *drink*; चूयल् or चूवल् or चूइल् *dripped*, of R. चू *drip*; रोयल् or रोवल् or रोइल् *wept*, of R. रो *weep*; खाइल् or खायल् *eaten*, of R. खा *eat*, etc. The derivatives of the second set, and those of the fem. यलि are never used by themselves, but only as component parts of the pret. indicat. (exc. in Bs), see §§ 502. 504, thus हस्यो° *I laughed*, of हसिञ्च + उं; खाइस् *thou eatest*, of खाइ + स्; again हसलिस् (f.) *thou laughedst*, of हसलि + स्, etc. But in Bs. हसा m., हसी f. *laughed*; पठा m., पठी f. *read*; खाया m., खाई f. *eaten*; etc.

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

304. *Exception.* The following part. pass. are formed irregularly: R. करू *do*, P. P. 1) कइल् or कयल् or कैल्, or 2) किइञ्च° or किहि° or Bs. कया or किया *done*; — of R. धरू *place*, P. P. 1) धइल् or धयल् or धैल् or 2) धइञ्च° or धिहि° or Bs. धया; also regularly धरिल्, धरा, etc. *placed*. — R. मरू *die*, P. P. 1) मुइल् or मुयल् or मुइल् or 2) मुइञ्च° or मुइ° or Bs. मुय्या; also regularly मरिल्, मरा *died*, etc. — R. जा *go*, P. P. 1) गइल् or गयल् or गैल् or 2) गइञ्च° or गइ° or B. गया *gone*; also regularly जाइल् or जायल् (§ 479. exc.); — R. हो *be*; P. P. 1) भइल् or भयल् or भैल् or 2) भइञ्च° or भइ° or Bs. भया or भवा *been*; also regularly होइल् or होयल् (§ 479. exc.). — R. दे *give*, P. P. 1) दिहल् or 2) दिइञ्च° or दिहि° or Bs. दया or दिया *given*. — R. ले *take*, P. P. 1) लिहल् or 2) लिइञ्च° or लिहि° or Bs. लया or लिया *taken*. — R. आवू *come*, P. P. 1) आइल् or आयल् or 2) आइञ्च° or आइ° or Bs. आया or आव्या *come*. — R. पावू *obtain*, P. P. -1) पाइल् or पायल् or 2) पाइञ्च° or पाइ° or Bs. पाया or पाव्या *obtained*.

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

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

*Note:* Some Gds. add. a pleon. suff. to the past part. in order to make it more of the nature of an adj.; viz., M. adds ला (Man. 63. 64), G. लो (Ed. 50. 113), S. लु or लो (Tr. 272. 69), Mw. लो (Kl. 209, 393), N. को (see § 216). The term. of the part. suffers various modifications before these suff., which may be seen from the following examples: M. पठलेला, G. पठलो, S. पठिल्लु or पठिल्लो, Mw. पठ्योलो or पठोलो, N. पठ्याको *read*, from the resp. part. M. पठला, G. पठ्यो, S. पठ्यो, Mw. पठ्यो, N. पठ्यो.

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

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

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

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



m. इल् or घल्, f. इलि or अलि or इल् or अल्; and m. इला or घला, f. इलो or घलो. 2) Mg. m. इए, f. इया, and, with pleon. अ added, m. इअए, f. इअया, whence the E. H. m. f. इअ or (dropping अ) इ, and m. इअ or (suppressing इ) अ, f. इई or (contracted) ई. E. g., Skr. चलितः *walked*, Mg. चलिदे, E. H. चलिल् or चलल्; or A. Mg. चलिए (Wb. Bh. 215) or Ap. चलिउ, O. H. चलिय् or चलिव्<sup>1</sup>), E. H. चलिअ or चलि, Bs. चलि or चल (*chala*). Again Skr. चलितोऽग्नि *I walked*, A. Mg. चलिए ग्दि or चलिअ ग्दि, Ap. चलिअउं (see § 503, 1. a), E. H. चलयो. Again Skr. चलितोऽसि *thou walkedst*, A. Mg. चलिए सि or Ap. a) चलिअसि or b) चलिअहि (see § 503, 1. b), N. a) चल्येस् or चलिस्, E. H. चलिस्, S. b) चलिर्. Again Skr. चलितकः *walked*, Mg. चलिदए, E. H. and M. चलला or चलिला, O. चलिला; or A. Mg. चलिअए, P. चलिअ, Bs., H. H., B., O. चला; or Mh. चलिअयो, Ap. चलिअउ, O. H. चलेव् or चलिअो or चलयो, W. H. चलयो or चलयो, S. चलिअो or चलयो, G. and N. चलयो.

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

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

condit. part., S. Ch. 190), or (d) निया (S. Ch. 190), O. (a) नेल or (b) नेला or (d) नेया (Sn. 36), M. (b) ल्याला (Mn. 80), H. H. (d) लिया, P. (d) लङ्गा or लिङ्गा (Ld. 66) or (b) लीता (perhaps contr. for a Ps. Pr. form \*लङ्गट् or \*लङ्गिट्, or made after दिङ्गा given, Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) लङ्गिट् or (d) लङ्गिञ्, W. H. (b) Mw. लीदो (contr. for \*लङ्गो) or लीधो (contr. like काधो *caten*, Kl. 213) or लीनो or लीन्हो (with न् or ऱ्ह् for द् or ध्, cf. H. C. 1, 208 गङ्गाणो = Pr. \*गङ्गाणो = Skr. गङ्गातः, Pr. गङ्गाडंतयं = Pr. \*गङ्गाडंतयं = Skr. गङ्गाकृकम्) or (d) लेत्रो (for \*लङ्गाओ) or Br. (d) लयो or लियो, G. (b) लीधो (as in Mw., Ed. 50). — 3) R. दध् *give* (substitute for दा or धा); Skr. (α) हितः (for \*धितः) or (β) हितकः, Ap. (a) °हिद् (H. C. 4, 446) or (β) °हिञ् (H. C. 4, 395), Gd. *deest*; again, formed strictly analogous to the P. P. of R. लभ्, Skr. \*दधितः, Mg. (a) \*दहिदे or (b) \*दहिदट् or A. Mg. (c) \*दहिदट् or (d) \*दहिञ्, E. H. (a) दिहल् or (b) दिहला or (c) दिहि (in the past tense, for \*दहि) or Bs. (d) देवा (Kl. 224) or द्या or दिया, B. (a) दिल् (in the past tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 190) or (d) दिया (S. Ch. 190), O. (a) देल or (b) देला or (d) देया (Sn. 36), M. (b) दिला (Man. 80), H. H. (d) दिया, P. दिङ्गा (perhaps for Skr. दत्त, or formed like लीता *taken*, cf. Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) \*दहिदट् or (d) \*दहिञ्; W. H. (b) Mw. दीदो or दीधो or दीनो or दीन्हो or (d) दयो or Bs. (d) दयो or दियो, G. (b) दीधो (Ed. 59). — 4) R. धृ *place*; Skr. धृतः, Gd. *deest*; or Skr. \*धरितः, Mg. (a) धलिदे or (b) धलिदट् or A. Mg. (c) धलिदट् (cf. H. C. 1, 36. धरिञ्) or (d) धलिञ्, E. H. (a) धल् or धरिल् or (b) धला or धरिला or (c) धृ or धरि or Bs. (c) धर or (a) धरा, B. and O. (a) धरिल् or (b) धरिला or (d) धरा, M. (b) धरला, H. H. (d) धरा, P. (d) धरिङ्गा; again Ap. Pr. (b) धरिदट् or (d) धरिञ्, W. H. (d) धर्वो or धर्वो, G. (d) धर्वो, S. (d) धरिञ्ओ or धर्वो. — 5) R. कृ *do*; Skr. (α) कृतः or (β) कृतकः, Ap. (α) किद् (H. C. 4, 446) or (β) किञ् (H. C. 4, 371), S. (β) किञ्ओ (Tr. 277); again Skr. \*करितः, Mg. (a) कलिदे or (b) कलिदट् or A. Mg. (c) कलिदट् or (d) कलिञ् or Ap. (d) किया (H. C. 4, 396; see H. H. below), E. H. (a) कल् ( §§ 109. 124) or (b) कला or (c) किहि (in the pret. tense, § 502 exc., with euph. ह्, for \*किइ = कइ = करि, formed after लिहि *taken*, दिहि *given*)

or Bs. कर or (d) करा, B. and O. (a) करिल् or (b) करिला (in the past tense and condit. part., S. Ch. 144. 148. Sn. 27) or (d) करा (S. Ch. 148. Sn. 39), M. (b) केला (for \*कइला, Man. 80), H. H. (d) किया (for \*कया = कइया, see S. below, formed after दिया *given*, लिया *taken*, गया *gone*), P. (d) कीता (perhaps for \*कइत्, like लीता *taken*, q. v., Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) करिद or (d) करिअ or किय (H. C. 4, 378 = कइअ, see below W. H.), W. H. (b) Mw. कीदो or कीथो or कीनो or कीन्हो (formed like लीदो, etc., q. v., Kl. 213), or (d) कर्यो or (d) Br. कर्यो or कियो (for \*कयो = कइयो, see below S.), G. (b) कीथो (Ed. 50) or (d) कर्यो, S. (d) कयो (for \*कइयो, Tr. 277) or (b) कीतो (see above P.). — 6) R. गम् *go*; Skr. (a) गतः or (β) गतकः, Mg. (a) गदे or गडे or (β) गदए or गडए, O. (a) गल् or (β) गला (in the pret. tense and condit. part., Sn. 34); or Skr. (a) \*गमितः, Pali (a) गमितो (Ms. 131), Mg. (a) गमिदे or (b) गमिदए or (c) गमिए or (d) गमिअए (cf. Wb. Bh. 405 गमेयाए = \*गमिअयाए = \*गमितकया), or Ap. (d) गया (H. C. 4, 376. see H. H. below), E. H. (a) गइल् or (b) गइला or (c) गइ (in the pret. tense, § 502 exc.) or Bs. (d) गया (= गइया, see below P.) or contr. गा (Kl. 225), B. (a) गेल (in pret. tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 144. 148) or (d) गया (S. Ch. 148, for गया, see below P.), M. (b) गेला (Man. 80), H. H. गया (= गइया), P. गइया or गिया (Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (d) गमिअ or गइअ or contr. गय (H. C. 4, 422. 20., see W. H. and above P.), W. H. (d) Br. गयो or Mw. गयो or गीयो (Kl. 213.? गियो?), G. (d) गयो (Ed. 50 or गयलो Ed. 83., see § 216), N. गयो. — 7) R. भू *be*; Skr. भूतः, Pr. हुओ (H. C. 4, 64), Gd. *deest*; or Skr. \*भवितः, Mg. (a) भविदे or (b) हविदे or (c) हुविदे (cf. H. C. 4, 60) or (d) भविदए or (e) हविदए or (f) हुविदए or (g) भविए or (h) हविए (cf. H. C. 4, 401 परिहविअ<sup>०</sup> = परिभूत<sup>०</sup>) or (i) हुविए or (k) भविअए or (l) हविअए or (m) हुविअए, Ap. (m) हुआ (H. C. 4, 351, for हुइया, see below H. H., and compare Ap. मुआ and मुइया), E. H. (a) भइल् or (d) भइला or (g) भइ or भय् (§ 123) or (h) हउ or हो (in the pres. tense, § 514, 3, for \*हवि, § 122) or Bs. (k) भवा or भया (= भइया) or contr. भा, B. (b) हइल (in the condit. part., S. Ch. 144. 148) or (l) हइया (S. Ch. 148), O. (c) होइल् or (f) होइला

(in the pret. tense and condit. part., Sn. 35) or (i) होइ (Sn. 35) or (m) हुआ (Sn. 66, see H. H. below), M. (e) काला (Man. 80, for \*काला or \*हइला), II. H. (m) हुआ (for हुआ, see P. and Km. below), P. (m) होइया (Ld. 26); again Ap. Pr. (k) भविष्यत or (l) हविष्यत or (m) हुविष्यत, W. H. (k) Br. भवौ (for \*भव्यौ) or भवौ (= भइयौ) or contr. भौ or Km. भव्यौ or भव्यौ or भौ (Kl. 205) or (l) Mw. द्वियौ (suppressing य between हवि<sup>०</sup>) or द्वीव्यौ (? Kl. 236) or (m) हुव्यौ or हुव्यौ (Kl. 210, for हुआ) or contr. हो (Kl. 200), G. (l) ह्यौ (Ed. 69) or (m) होव्यौ (Ed. 69), S. (m) हुआ (Tr. 298, see H. H. above), N. (k) भव्यौ (= भइयौ), Km. (m) हुआ (Kl. 2, 237), Gw. (m) होव्यौ (Kl. 236). — 8) R. नृ die; Skr. मृतः, Mg. (α) मदे or (β) मर् (Wb. Bh. 156) or (γ) मडे (Vr. 11, 15) or Mh. मुञ्चो (Spt. 144 et passim), O. (a) मञ्; or Skr. \*मरितः, Mg. (a) मलिदे or (b) मुलिदे or (c) मलिदर् or (d) मुलिदर् or (e) मलिर् or (f) मुलिर् or (g) मलिमर् or (h) मुलिमर्, Ap. (f) मुइम (II. C. 4, 367. 419., eliding ल् = र्, § 124) or contr. (h) मुञ्चा (II. C. 4, 442., see H. H. below), E. H. (a) मरिल् or (b) मुइल् or (c) मरिला or (d) मुइला or (e) मरि or (f) मुइ or (g) Bs. मरा or (h) मुञ्चा, M. (c) मेला (Man. 80, for \*मइला), II. H. (h) मुञ्चा (for मुइया, see Ap. Mg. above); again Ap. Pr. (g) मरिष्यत or (h) मुरिष्यत or contr. मुष्यत (H. C. 4, 442, for \*मुइष्यत, see Ap. Mg. above and W. H. below), W. H. (g) मर्यौ or मर्यौ or (h) मुञ्चौ or मुञ्चौ (for \*मुइयौ), G. मुच्यौ (Ed. 50), N. (g) मरिव्यौ or मर्यौ, S. dto. — 9) R. आप् come and प्राप् (= प्र + आप्) obtain; Skr. आप्; or प्राप्, Pr. अत्तो or पत्तो (cf. H. C. 4, 332), Gd. deest; or Skr. \*आपितः or \*प्रापितः, Mg. (a) आविदे or (b) आविदर् or (c) आविर् (cf. II. C. 4, 387 पाविम, and see Ap. below) or (d) आविमर्, E. H. (a) आइल् or (b) अइला or (c) आइ or आय् or (d) Bs. आया (cf. § 423), B. (a) आइल् (in the pret. tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 188. 189)<sup>1</sup>), M. (b) आला (Man. 80, for \*आइला), II. H. (d) आया (for आइया), P. (d) आइया; again Ap. Pr. (c) आविष्यत or आइष्यत (H. C. 4, 422) or (d) आविष्यत (cf. H. C. 4, 432 Bombay Ed. आउइयो = आविष्यो?), W. H. (d) आयौ or आयौ (for आइयो), N. आयौ. The forms of प्राप् are strictly analogous throughout.

1) The other B. forms अत्तिल्<sup>०</sup>, etc. are derived from the R. आइन् = Pr. आविस् = Skr. आविष् enter (आ + विष्).

*Third Group.*

308.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	इच् or अच्		* इच्वा or * अच्वा	इचि or अचि
2)	आच् or आच्		आच्वा	आच्वाइ or आच्इ or आच्वट्
3)	अब्च् or आब्च्		—	—
4)	अवइया or अइया		—	—
5)	अच्वाच् or अच्वाल्		अच्वाच्वा or अच्वाच्वाला	अच्वाच्वारी or अच्वाच्वाली
6)	आच्च् or आल्च्		—	—

The forms of the fourth set are redundant (§§ 200. 202); of the others those in आ, ई and ऊ are strong, the remainder are weak. — The forms with initial इ are not commonly employed, except with Rs. in आ and causal or denom. Rs. in आच् (or आ by § 33). — The masc. strong forms of the first set are never used, exc. in the obl. form इचे or अचे or (by elision of च्) contr. ऐ. — The suff. आच्वट् is sometimes wrongly spelled आच्ट्, owing to a confusion with the suff. आच्ट् of § 284.

*Note:* Observe in adding these suff., 1) that in the first set the initial अ is elided after Rs. in आ, ए and R. हो *be*, and इ after Rs. in ई; 2) that before the suff. of the second and fourth sets, the termin. आच् of caus. and den. Rs. is elided, and final radical आ and ए are shortened. For the rest see § 298, note.

309. *Meaning.* These suff. are used to derive 1) part. fut., both pass. and act., and 2) verbal nouns, both of act and agency, from any root. Originally their derivatives were part. fut. *passive* only; but in the neuter gender they naturally came to express verbal nouns of act and thus were used as the (so-called) infinitive; for the “*it is to be done*” of a thing is equal to the “*doing*” of a thing. Next the pass. sense was dropped, as in the case of the past part. pass. (§ 301, note), and the part. used actively (e. g., in the formation of the fut. tense act. cf. § 509, 3); and thus it came to express verbal nouns of agency. The latter process was facilitated by the addition of pleon. suff., see § 314. With some intrans. verbs, as होच् *to be*, the part. fut. pass. ne-

cessarily has an active sense; and this may have led the way to the general practice of using this part. *actively*.

310. The first set is used to form the part. fut. or the inf. Thus हसव् or हसिन् *what is to be laughed at or to laugh*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पठव् or पठिन् *what is to be read or to read*, of R. पठ् *read*; कर्तव् or कर्तिन् *what is to be done or to do*, of R. कर्त् *do*; छूव् or छूह्व् or छूइव् *what is to be touched or to touch*, of R. छू *touch*; बोधव् or बोधव् or बोधव् *what is to be sown or to sow*, of R. बो *sow*. But खाइव् or खाव् *what is to be eaten or to eat*, of R. खा *eat*; कराइव् or कराव् *what is to be caused to be done or to cause to do*, of C. R. कराव् *cause to do*; पीव् or पीन् *what is to be drunk or to drink*, of R. पी *drink*; देव् or देइव् *what is to be given, debt or to give*, of R. दे *give*; होव् or होइव् *what is to be, future, possible or to be*, of R. हो *be*. Thus मो के or मो से उ कर्तव् वाटै *by me that is to be done*, or actively मैँ कर्तवोँ (= कर्तव् + उँ) *I shall do*. The fem. in इ is used only as a component part of the fut. tense act., as कर्तविस् (fem.) *thou wilt do* for कर्तवि + स्, cf. § 509, 3.

311. The second set is used to form *nouns of act*. Thus अवाइ *coming*, of R. आव् *come*; जावाइ *going*, of R. जा *go*; खावाइ *eating*, of R. खा *eat*; सुकाव् or सुकाइ or सुकावट् *seeing*, of R. सूक् *see*; सिचाव् or सिचाइ or सिचावट् *irrigation*, of R. सीच् *irrigate*; ओलाव् or ओलाइ or ओलावट् *movement*, of R. ओल् *move*; लराव् or लरावट् *fighting*, of R. लर् *or लर् fight*; चलाव् *dispatch*, of C. R. चलाव् *cause to go*. Very commonly the fem. expresses the *wages or price* paid for doing a thing, as रखावाइ or रखाइ *wages for keeping*, of R. रक् *keep*; कटवाइ *wages for cutting*, of R. काट्; बनवाइ or बनाइ or बनावट् *making or price for making* of C. R. बनाव् *make*; लिखवाइ or लिखाइ *wages for writing or dictation*, of R. लिख् *write* or C. R. लिखाव् *dictate*. The masc. strong form is very rarely used and, as a rule, has some special meaning; thus पहिरावा *dress* (lit., *what is to be put on*), of R. पहिर् *put on, wear*; बुलावा *a call*, of C. R. बुलाव् *call*, but बुलवाइ, बुलावट् *calling*; मिलावा *mixture*, of R. मिल् *mix*; चढावा *sacrifice*, of C. R. चढाव् *sacrifice* (lit., *cause to ascend*).

312. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth sets are used to form *nouns of agency*. The fourth set is the one commonly employed. Thus खात्रू or खब्रू *glutton* or खवइया or खवेया *eater*, of R. खा *eat*; उरात्रू or उरब्रू or उरालू or उरवाला or उरवइया *timid, coward*, of R. उरू *fear*; रखवात्रू or रखवारा or रखवइया or रखइया *guardian*, of R. रखू *keep*; कगडात्रू or कगडालू *quarrelsome*, of R. कगडू *quarrel*; इवइया *thatcher*, of R. इा *thatch*; दिवइया *giver*, of R. दे *give*; चरुइया *rider*, of R. चरू *mount*; देखइया *observer*, of R. देखू *see*; सुनवइया *listener*, of R. सुन् *hear*; बनवइया *maker*, of C. R. बनाव् *make*, etc. The fem. makes nouns of act., as रखवारी *guarding*.

313. *Affinities*. The first and second sets occur in all Gds. as suff. of the part. fut. pass. or of nouns of act. (i. e., of the infinitive), exc. in P.<sup>1</sup>). Thus the first set in B. (wk. f.) इत्रू (in the fut. tense act., S. Ch. 146) and (st. f.) इत्रा or (by elision of त्र्) contr. आ (as “gerund or verbal noun”, S. Ch. 149, i. e., as part. fut. pass. and inf.); this same आ or (uncontracted) इये (= इये = इए) is used also in an *active* sense as a suff. of nouns of agency; e. g., घासकाटा *a grass cutter* (S. Ch. 154. 149). Similarly in O. (wk. f.) इत्रू (in the fut. act. Sn. 27) and (st. f.) इत्रा or contr. आ (Sn. 30). Also in W. H. (as inf. and part. fut. pass.) (st. f.) Br. अत्रौँ or अत्रौ or इत्रौँ or इत्रौ or Mw. अत्रौँ or अत्रौ or इत्रौँ or इत्रौ (obl. f. अत्रे or इत्रे, as in E. H.). In G. it occurs as the suff. of a part. fut. pass., ending in (st. f.) m. अत्रो, f. अत्री, n. अत्रुँ, and forms the so-called “potential” (Ed. 57); e. g., मारे होउवो हतो lit., *by me he should be delivered*; also as suff. of the infinit., viz. (st. f.) अत्रुँ neut. (Ed. 50. 112); e. g., होउवुँ *to deliver*. Also in S. it occurs; though never to form an inf., but only a part. fut. pass. in इत्रो (in the fut. tense pass. Tr. 336), and strangely also a part. present pass. (Tr. 54); e. g., इउत्रो pres. *being given up* (Tr. 331) or fut. *he shall be given up* (Tr. 336). Perhaps it exists also in the M. inf. termin. उँ, a strong form, contr. for इउँ = इउँ (Man. 61, 5. 71);

1) The so-called P. „gerund“ (Ld. 24. 45. 81) ending in उआ m., ई f., is identical with the past part. pass.; see the § on compound verbs.

e. g., सोडूँ to loose (for \*सोडिउं = Mw. होडिवोँ, G. होडवुँ)<sup>1</sup>). — The second set, which now forms in E. H. and similarly in W. H. verbal nouns only, is still used in M. to form the part. fut. pass., ending in (st. f.) अवेँ neut. (called “supine” in Man. 62. 61, 5), with an obl. f. अवाया (= E. H. अवे) or (by eliding व्) contr. अया (= E. H. ऐ, B. इये). It also occurs in M. with the sense of a part. pres. pass. in the formation of the pres. conj. tense, ending in अवा m., अवाी f., अवेँ n.; e. g., M. मी सुटावा *I may be loosed* (lit. *I am to be loosed*), or म्यँ सोडावा *I may loose him* (lit. *by me he may be loosed* or *by me he is to be loosed*); see § 509, 3. — The other sets occur also in W. H., except that there is no change of ल् to र् in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> sets; e. g., W. H. रखवाल् or ोला, f. ोली; कगडालू. The 5<sup>th</sup> set occurs in M. as अवाडू or अवाडू (see Bs. II, 60; e. g., कन्हवाडू *pitiful*, of R. कन्हू *moan*); and in G. as अवानो (commonly used to form the fut. tense act.; e. g., होडवानो *he shall deliver*, of R. होडू Ed. 61), the original pass. sense of which may be seen from its use in the so-called “potential” (Ed. 57); e. g., मारे होडवानो हतो lit., *by me he should be delivered*. The sixth set occurs in M. as अडू or अडू (see Man. 114. Bs. II, 60; e. g., खेडू *frolisome*, of R. खेल् *play*; खानाडू *itching*, of R. खानू *itch*); in S. as अरो or अर (Tr. 53; e. g., धारारो or धोरारो *pedlar*, of R. धोरू *seek*; पोजारो *cotton-carder*, of R. पिडू *card*).

314. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. kṛit तव्य forming the part. fut. pass. It is often added with the connecting vowel इ; thus इतव्य. The addition of इ is general in Pr. (Vr. 7, 33. H. C. 3, 157) and universal in Gḍ. The suff. इतव्यन् (nom. sg. neut.) becomes in Pr. एअव्यं or इअव्यं (H. C. 3, 157) and in Ap. \*एव्यं or इव्यं (H. C. 4, 438. K. I. 53 in Ls. 469, 5) or इव्यं (K. I. 50 in Ls. 468, 3); finally in E. H. इव् or अव्. Similarly,

1) If it were not the long vowel उ, it might be taken as a contr. of the Pr. एउं or इउं = Skr. इतुन् H. C. 3, 157; like the M. conj. part. in उण = Pr. एउण or इउण, Skr. \*इत्वान्.



with the pleon. *ञ* added, Skr. इतव्यकम्, Pr. एञ्चञ्च or इञ्चञ्च, Ap. Sr. (a) एञ्चं (H. C. 4, 438. 4, 354) or Ap. Mg. (b) एवा (= \*एवए or \*एवञ्च, cf. § 54), W. Gd. (a) इचौ or अचौ or E. Gd. (b) इचा or अचा or S. Gd. (b) अचै (= \*एवञ्च). Thus Skr. कर्तव्यम् (or \*करितव्यम्), Pr. करेञ्चञ्च or करिञ्चञ्च, Ap. \*करेञ्च or करिञ्च or करेचं, E. H. करिच् or करच्; again Skr. कर्तव्यकम्, Pr. करेञ्चञ्च or करिञ्चञ्च, Ap. (a) \*करेवञ्च or (b) करेञ्चं or (c) करेवा; Gd. (a) M. करावे, (b) W. H. करिचौ, (c) O. करिचा. It should be remarked, that H. C. expressly gives the neut. wk. f. एचं (H. C. 4, 441) as an inf. suffix, while the corresponding st. f. एचं and एवा (H. C. 4, 438) are mentioned as suff. of the part. fut. pass. — The suff. अचाई is a comp. of the suff. अच् or अच् + suff. चाई of § 220; and the suff. अचया a comp. of suff. अच् + pleon. suff. ऐया (of the redundant form, § 202); and the suff. अचार or अचारा a comp. of suff. अच् + pleon. suff. अच् or अरा (§ 209); and the suff. अचट् a comp. of suff. अच् + ट्. The nature of the latter element (ट्) is obscure. Perhaps it represents the Skr. suff. ता of abstract nouns (§ 220, also contained in the suff. अचाई) or त्वम् (or fem. \*त्वा in Mg., see Wb. Bh. 437); thus Skr. इतव्यता or °त्वम् = Mg. इञ्चञ्चता or Ap. \*एवट्टा, E. H. अचट्; the change of ङ् to ट् (as in पट्टणं for पत्तन H. C. 2, 29) may be owing to a confusion with the suff. अचट् or अहट् (§ 284) derived from the Skr. वृत्ता = Pr. वट्टा. — Again the suff. अचाई, अचया and अचार (or अचालू) are contr. respectively from the suff. अचाई, अचया and अचारा (or अचाला), by the elision of च्; just as the E. H. obl. f. ऐ is contr. for B. इये (= इवे), and the M. obl. f. अया for अचया (§ 313). — The suff. तव्य, in course of time, lost its originally pass. sense and became active, as in B. अा and इये (see § 313); in the other Gds., this process was facilitated by the addition of the pleon. suff. ऐया and अरा = Ap. Pr. अञ्चञ्च (= अचके) and अञ्चञ्च, the ञ् of which latter suff. changed, as usual in Gd., to ङ् or ल् or र् or न्. E. g., Ap. रवेञ्चञ्चउत् (Skr. रन्तितव्यः), W. H. रवेचाली or E. H. °रा; Ap. वेलेञ्चञ्चउत्, M. \*खेलचाराट् or contr. खेलाट्. Similarly the originally pass. suff. अनीया (of the part. fut.) and इत (of the past. part.) have become active

in Gd. (see §§ 316. 305). It is a remarkable fact, that the suff. ण्य has suffered a precisely analogous change in the Latin *tivus*. Its derivatives occur very rarely in classic Latin, and, as a rule, are used passively, as *captivus* "prisoner", *votivus* „dedicated“; but *stativus* "appointed" or "stationary" is both pass. and act., and *fugitivus* "fugitive" is active. But in the later (low) Latin they are very common, and, as a rule, used actively; as *effectivus* „effective“, *operativus*, *contemplativus*, *negativus*, etc.

*Fourth Group.*

315. Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	घन्	घना	घनी
2)	घावन् or घान्	घउना or घोना	घउनी or घोनी
3)	घनिहार	घनिहारा	घनिहारी
4)	—	घनेवारा or °ला	घनेवारी or °ली

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. The second set, on being added to caus. and den. roots in घाव्, supersedes that termin. For the rest, see § 298, note.

316. *Meaning.* These suff. are used to derive 1) part. fut., both pass. and act., and 2) verbal nouns, both of act. and agency, from any root. The nouns of agency are, in fact, *part. fut. act.*, implying the habit of doing a thing. As to the change of the sense from pass. to act., see § 309. The verbal nouns of act., formed by these suff. and used as infinitives in W. II. and the other Gds., are seldom or never employed so in E. II.

317. All these suff. (exc. the strong femin. of the third set) are occasionally used to form the part. fut. pass., and generally have some particular meaning. Thus देन् or देना or देनी *what is to be given, a debt*, of R. दे *give*; लेन् or लेना or लेनी *what is to be taken, a receipt*, of R. ले *take*, as in the phrase लेन् देन् *intercourse, traffic*; वाजन् or वजना *what is to be played, a musical instrument*, of R. वज् *be played*; घोऱ्ना or घोऱ्नी *what is to be put on, a cloak or sheet*, of R. घोऱ् *put on, wear*; बिहावन् or बिहउना or बिहौना or f. °नी *what is to be spread, bed-clothes*, of R. बिह् *spread*; खेलउना or खेलौना, f. °नी *what is to be played*

with, a toy, of R. खेल् *play*; भरउना or भरौना *what is to be loaded, a load*, of R. भराव् *load*; कहौनी (H. II. कहानी) *what is to be said, a story*, of R. कह् *speak*; पहिरावन् or पहिरौनी *what is to be put on, garments*, of R. पहिरू *put on*; इउनी or इौनी *encampments, barracks* (lit., *what is to be thatched*), of R. इा *thutch*; पठन् or पठनी *what is to be read, spell, charm*, of R. पठ् *read*. Again होना, f. होनी, or m. f. होनिहार or m. ०रा, or m. होनेवारा, f. ०री *what is to be, possible, future*, and अहोना *impossible*, of R. हो (but होनेहारी *possibility, futurity*).

318. The third and fourth sets (exc. the strong femin. of the former) are used to form part. fut. act. or nouns of agency. Thus m. f. करनिहार, m. ०रा *one who is going to do or a doer*, of R. कर् *do*; m. f. पठनिहार or m. पठनिहारा or पठनेवारा or ०ला, f. ०री or ०ली *one who is going to read, a reader*, of R. पठ् *read*; m. f. देनेहार or m. ०रा or m. देनेवाला or ०रा, f. ०लो or ०री *one who is going to give, a giver*, of R. दे *give*, etc. Occasionally also the strong forms of the first and second sets form nouns of agency, as हँसना, f. ०नी *jester*, of R. हँस् *laugh*; उरउना or उरौना, f. ०नी *coward, timid*, of R. उर् *fear*; सुहउना or सुहौना, f. ०नी *pleasing*, of R. सुहाव् *please*; घिनउना or घिनौना, f. ०नी *disgusting*, of R. घिनाव् *nauseate*; पहिरउनी or पहिरौनी *a tire-woman*, of C. R. पहिराव् *attire*. The fem. in अनी often signifies an instrument, and the masc. in अन् a place; thus fem. खोदनी *a spade* (lit., *digger*), of R. खोद् *dig*; लेखनी *style, pen*, of R. लेख् *write, engrave*; कतरनी *scissors*, of R. कतर् *cut*; सुननी *sense of hearing*, of R. सुन् *hear*, etc.; and masc. उठान् *area, court*, of R. उह् *rise*; चकान् *place for ensnaring*, of R. चाक् or चकाव् *ensnare*; टिकान् *halting-place*, of R. टिक् *halt*.

319. The weak forms of the first and second sets and the strong femin. of the first, second and third sets are commonly used to form nouns of act. Thus m. कहन् or f. कहनी *speaking, speech*, of R. कह् *speak*; सुनन् or सुननी *hearing*, of R. सुन् *hear*; लेन् or लेनी *taking*, of R. ले *take*; करन् or करनी <sup>1)</sup> *action*, of R. कर् *do*; रहन् or रहनी <sup>1)</sup> *existence, living*, of R. रह् *remain, live*; होनी <sup>1)</sup> *occur-*

1) Also करतव्, रहतव्, होतव् or होनिहार, which are clearly part.

rence, *accidence*, of R. हो *be*; मुक्तावन् *direction, advice*, of R. मुक्ताव् *show*; मनावन् *agreement, respect*, of R. मान् *respect* or मनाव् *persuade*; वदन्ति *dispute*, of R. वदन् *fight*; लिखन्ति *writing*, of R. लिख् *write*; निखावन् *instruction*, of R. सिखाव् *teach*, etc. Especially the suff. ग्रन्; as उगन् *flying*, of R. उद् *fly*; कुदन् *leaping*, of R. कृद् *leap*; चढान् *ascent, riding*, of R. चढ् *mount, ride*; डोलन् or डोलान् *movement*, of R. डोल् *move*; ब्रह्मन् *sitting, session*, of R. ब्रह् *sit*; धरान् *holding*, of R. धर् *hold*; पकरान् *seizure*, of R. पकर् *seize*; सिचान् *irrigation*, of R. सोच् *irrigate*; उठान् *rising*, of R. उठ् *rise*; चलान् *clearance*, of R. चलाव् *dispatch*; लडान् *fighting*, of R. लड् *fight*, etc.

*Note:* उगन् *flying*, etc. may be also उगाव्, उगाई, उगावद्, etc.; see § 308. — The derivatives of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> sets must not be confounded with those of the Skr. suff. ग्रन्, which are not E. H. formations but received from the Skr. as tats. or tadbh. The suff. ग्रन् no longer exists as such in Gḍ., nor apparently did it do so in Pr. Its derivatives in E. H. can be often recognized by the fact of the non-existence of their roots in it. Thus E. H. पान् *beverage*, दान् *giving*, मान् *respect*, गवन् or गमन् *going*, ब्रधावन् *presents*, etc., whose roots \*पा, \*दा, \*मा, \*गम्, \*ब्रधाप्, etc. do not exist in E. H., at least in this particular form. But sometimes it may remain doubtful, whether an E. H. word is an old tadbh. deriv. of the Skr. suff. ग्रन् or an E. H. formation of the present group.

320. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gḍs.; but those of the 4<sup>th</sup> set are not properly E. H., nor generally E. or S. Gḍ. (cf. S. Ch. 154. Man. 113, 2), but introduced into them from the W. Gḍ., especially from W. H., P. (Ld. 24, 80) and S. (Tr. 76 अन्वारो or अन्वारो). — The third set is that commonly used in E. H.; it occurs also in W. H., P. (Ld. 24, 80) and S. (Tr. 75); in G. it is contr. to अन्वार (forming the fut. act. tense, Ed. 61), also in M. अन्वार or अन्वार (forming the fut. part. act. or nouns

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fut. pass. and thus disclose the etymological character of the words in the text.

of agency, Man. 63, 3. 64, 4). — The first and second set is used in all Gds. in the same way as in E. H.; moreover, the masc. strong form commonly serves as the (so-called) infinitive in W. H. (अनोँ or अनो in Br. and अनोँ or अनो in Mw.), P. (अणा or अना Ld. 24, 80); also in M. (neuter) अणेँ (called “gerund” in Man. 61, 100. 62); and, in the weak form, in B. अन or अनि or अान् or अानि (S. Ch. 149. 186), O. अण or अण (Sn. 30, 38), W. H. (Br.) अनि, S. अणु or इणु (Tr. 54. 251), N. अन्. The strong form exists also as a suff. of the part. fut. pass. in W. H. m. अनो, f. अनो, and S. m. अणो or इणो, f. अणो or इणो (Tr. 279. 55).

321. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अनोय, which in Pr. becomes अणोअ (Vr. 2, 17. H. C. 1, 248) or अणिअ (as in पाणोअ or पाणिअ *water* = Skr. पानोय Vr. 1, 18. H. C. 1, 101) or अणअ (or अणय Wb. Bh. 418. H. C. 4, 443. 441). The latter form has already dropped the passive signification and become a suff. of act. or agency. From the Ap. forms अणिअ or अणअ, by the addition of the pleon. suff. उ or उअ or अउ or अउअ, arise the forms अणअउ or अणअउअ, which become अणारू or अनारू or अणारू or अनारू in M. and G.; and the form अणअअउअ, which (inserting euph. व्) appears in S. as अनवारू, W. H. अनवालू; and the forms अणिअअउ or अणिअअउअ, which (inserting euph. ह्) appear in E. H. etc. as अनिहारू or अनिहारू. The simple Ap. form अणअ (H. C. 4, 443) appears in E. H. etc. as अना. The simple Ap. अणह्, which forms the inf. (H. C. 4, 441) appears in the W. H. infinitive in अनोँ or अनो; and the Ap. inf. suff. अणहिँ (H. C. 4, 441) in the W. H. inf. suff. अनै or shortened अनि. — It is probable that in the popular usage the two krit suff. अन (pleon. अनक = Pr. अणअ) and अनोय have become confused, so as to make a correct allotment of their respective derivatives a matter of difficulty. But as there can be no doubt, that the passive suff. तव्य has become an active suff. of act. and agency (see § 314), it is extremely probable that the same change has occurred in the case of the similar suff. अनोय, the modern derivatives of which exhibit remarkably analogous forms and meanings to those of the

suff. तव्य. — The secondary suff. वला or वरा (§ 293) have contributed a further cause of popular confusion.

*Fifth Group.*

322. Set. 1) Fem. घत् or घती. Set. 2) Fem. घवत् or घौती. The forms in ई are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

323. These suff. are used to derive nouns of act. from a root; but they exist only in a limited number of words. Thus the first set in चुकत् or चुकती *settlement*, of R. चुक् *finish*; चुनत् *plaiting, plaits*, of R. चुन् *plait*; बसतो *dwelling, village*, of R. बस् *dwell*; भरती *filling up, enlistment*, of R. भर *fill*; चरुती *rising, gain*, of R. चरु *rise*; बरुती *increase*, of R. बरु *increase*; घटती *decrease*, of R. घट् *decrease*; लगती *belonging, assessment*, of R. लग् *belong*. Occasionally the root is not in use, as in अरुत् *commission* (lit., *increase*), of R. \*अरु; बिनती *information, petition*, of R. \*बिन्. The second set in समुकावत् or समुकौती *explaining*, of R. समुकाव् *explain*; हुटौती *release*, of R. हुटाव् *release*; मनौती *security*, of R. मनाव् *cause to trust*.

324. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds. Those of the second set, however, appear to be extinct in B. and O., see Bs. II, 108. In M. they are उत् and अवती; in G. औती or उती; in P. and W. II. अवत्, औती. Thus W. H. and P. समुकौती, G. समनुती, M. समनुत्; W. H. and P. मनौती, G. मनोती; W. H. and P. चुकौती, M. चुकवती. S. seems to have only the first set in अति (Tr. 49).

325. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit ति (fem.), added to the caus. or denom. radical suff. णप् (§ 349); thus अण्णि or, with pleon. क added, अण्णिका; and in Pr. अत्तो or अत्तिष्ठा, in, E. H. अत् or अती. Thus Skr. विज्ञाणिका, Mg. विन्नत्तिष्ठा, E. H. बिनती; or Skr. \*वर्धाणिका (of R. वृध्), Mg. वदूत्तिष्ठा, E. H. चरुती; or Skr. \*अर्धाणिः (of R. ऋध्), Mg. अदूत्तो (cf. T. V. 3, 1. 13)<sup>1</sup>), E. H. अरुत्, M. अउत्, O., B., G., S. अउत् (see Bs.

1) According to H. C. 4, 81 Pr. substitutes अण्णुत् for the Skr. R.

II, 53). — By the dissolution of the conjunct  $\text{प्र}$ , the forms Pr.  $\text{घावती}$  or  $\text{घावतिघ्रा}$ , E. H.  $\text{घावत्}$  or  $\text{घौती}$  might arise; thus Skr. \* $\text{गनापिका}$ , Mg. \* $\text{गणावतिघ्रा}$ , E. H.  $\text{मनौती}$  (for  $\text{मनवती}$  or  $\text{मनउती}$ , §§ 25. 34. 78).

*Sixth Group.*

326. Com. gen. घ. Masc. घा. Fem. ई.

The form घ is weak; the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

327. These suff. are used to derive nouns of act. from any root. As a rule they are fem. Thus  $\text{सूक्}$  *sight*, of R.  $\text{सूक्}$  *see*;  $\text{लयेर्}$  f. *draggling* (W. H.  $\text{लयेर्}$ ), of R.  $\text{लयेर्}$  *draggle*;  $\text{चपेट्}$  f. or  $\text{चपेटा}$  m. *a slap*, of R.  $\text{चपेट्}$  *slap*;  $\text{खेल्}$  m. or f. *play*, of R.  $\text{खेल्}$  *play*;  $\text{चाल्}$  f. *walking, conduct, custom*, of R.  $\text{चाल्}$  or  $\text{चल्}$  *walk*;  $\text{पकर्}$  f. *seizure* (W. H.  $\text{पकर्}$ ), of R.  $\text{पकर्}$  *seize*;  $\text{हँस्}$  m. f. or  $\text{हँसा}$  m.,  $\text{हँसी}$  f. *laughter*, of R.  $\text{हँस्}$  *laugh*;  $\text{दउर्}$  f. or  $\text{दउग}$  m. or  $\text{दउगी}$  f. *running, race*, of R.  $\text{दउर्}$  *run*;  $\text{रगर्}$  f. or  $\text{रगग}$  m. *rubbing*, of R.  $\text{रगर्}$  *rub*;  $\text{फेर्}$  m. or  $\text{फेरा}$  m. or  $\text{फेरी}$  f. *turning, circumambulation*, of R.  $\text{फेर्}$  *turn*;  $\text{दाब्}$  m. *pressure, force, fear*, of R.  $\text{दाब्}$  *press*;  $\text{बोल्}$  m. or  $\text{बोली}$  f. *speech, dialect*, of R.  $\text{बोल्}$  *speak*;  $\text{पङ्ताव्}$  m. or  $\text{पङ्तावा}$  m. *repentance*, of R.  $\text{पङ्ताव्}$  *repent*, etc.

328. *Affinitics.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight differences: W. H. has m. f. घ, and m. घो or घो, f. ई; S. m, उ, f. घ or इ, and m. घो, f. ई (Tr. 46, 47); G. m. f. घ, and m. घो, f. ई; M., B. and O. have the same as E. H. Thus M.  $\text{घोल्}$ ,  $\text{घोली}$  *speaking, language* (Man. 107);  $\text{बँध्}$ ,  $\text{बँधा}$  *binding, embankment*, of R.  $\text{बँध्}$  (Man. 107), etc.; S.  $\text{भोल्}$  f. *error*, E. H.  $\text{भूल्}$ , of R.  $\text{भूल्}$ ; S.  $\text{घाटि}$  f. or  $\text{घाटो}$  m. *decrease*, of R.  $\text{घट्}$ ; S.  $\text{फेर्}$  m. *turning* (Tr. 46. 47). Further examples see in Bs. II, 51. 52.

329. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit घ, which (in the nom. sing.) forms m. घः, f. घा and, with pleon. क added, m. घकः, f. इका. These are in Mg. m. ए, f. आ,

वापृ; T. V. 3, 1. 13 gives  $\text{आघट्}$ ; thus H. C.  $\text{आघट्टेर्}$ , T. V.  $\text{आघट्टेर्}$ . The derivation is obscure; but it seems rather to be connected with the R.  $\text{ऋध्}$ .

and m. घृ, f. इघ्रा; whence E. H. m. f. घ (cf. §§ 42. 45) and m. घ्रा, f. ई (cf. §§ 47. 51). Thus Skr. क्रीडः or क्रीडा (or खेला), Mg. खेले or खेला (cf. II. C. 4, 382), E. H. खेल; again Skr. हसः or हसिका, A. Mg. हसे or हसिघ्रा, E. H. हस् or हसो, etc.

*Seventh Group.*

330. Com. gen. उ or घाउ.

Both forms are strong. Causal roots in घाव् take the suff. घाउ which supersedes the caus. termination; that is, उ is added to घाव्, the व् of which is elided.

331. These suff. are used to derive nouns of (habitual) agency from any root. Thus उ in खाउ *cater, glutton*, of R. खा; उचाह् *vexatious*, of R. उचाह् *vex*; मारह् *fighter, beater*, of R. मारह् *beat*; मूँड् *ascetic* (lit., *one who shaves his head*), of R. मूँड् *shave*; काह् *cutter, biter*, of R. काह् *cut, bite*; कारह् *sweeper, broom*, of R. कारह् *sweep* (W. H. काह्); जगह् *vigilant*, of R. जगह् *wake*; त्रिगाह् *spoiler*, of R. त्रिगाह् *spoil*, etc. Again घाउ; in कगघाउ *quarrelsome*, of R. कगह् *quarrel*; उठाउ *spendthrift*, of R. उठाव् *squander* (lit., *cause to fly*); कनाउ *laborer, bread-winner*, of R. कनाव् *labor, earn*; टिकाउ *stationary*, of R. टिक् *stop*; त्रिकाउ *saleable*, of R. त्रिक् *sell* (intrans.); फुसलाउ *coaxer, tempter*, of R. फुसलाव् *coax*. Occasionally the root no more exists in E. H. as उाँक् or उाकू *robber*, of R. \*उाँक् *bite or overpower*.

332. *Affinities.* These suff. are not properly E. H., nor E. Gd., but W. Gd., whence they have been introduced. W. H., P. and S., like the E. H. (Tr. 51), have उ and घाउ; G. appears to have a weak form in उ, as खाउ *cater*, काउ *broom*, etc.; see Bs. II, 37 where other examples will be found; it may, however, be strong; for G. has a tendency to shorten a strong final उ or ओ; e. g., Ap. Pr. सोणउं, Mw. सोनो is in G. सोनुँ or सोनु *gold* (Skr. सुवर्णकम्).

333. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit तृ or, with pleon. क added, तृक; the ऋ of which has a tendency to change to उ in Pr. (cf. II. C. 3, 44), also in Páli (see Ms. 40. Bs. II, 57). Whence (nom. sing.) Pr. उ or उओ (= \*तु; or



\*तृकः), W. Gd. उ or उ; e. g., Skr. भर्ता *husband* (base भर्तृ), Pr. भन्तृ (H. C. 3, 44), Gd. *deest* (E. H. has भतार, Pr. भतार H. C. 3, 44); Skr. पिता *father* (base पितृ), Pr. पिउ or पिउओ (H. C. 1, 131), P. पिउ or पिउ; Skr. भ्राता *brother* (base भ्रातृ), Pr. भाउ or भाउओ (H. C. 1, 131) or Ap. भ्राउ or भ्राउउ (cf. H. C. 4, 398), P. भाउ or भाउ or भ्राउ or भ्राउ (cf. Ld. 10, 30), S. भाउ, M. भाउ. Similarly Skr. दंष्टकः (of R. दंश् or दंस्) *one who bites or overpowers*, Pr. उकुओ (cf. H. H. 2, 2 उको = Skr. दष्टः *bitten*), Ap. उकुउ, W. Gd. उक् *robber*. — The suff. तृ was often added in Skr. with the connecting vowel इ; thus इतृ. This was, probably, generally done in Pr. (see the analogous cases of the suff. इत and इतव्य §§ 306. 314), and universally in Gd. Whence we have in Pr. इउ or इउओ and (with absorption of इ) in W. Gd. उ (G.) or उ (W. H., P., S.). Thus Skr. खादिता *eater* (base खादितृ), Pr. खाइउ or खाइउओ, G. खाउ or W. H. खाउ; Skr. मारितृ *beater*, Pr. मारिउ or मारिउओ, G. मारु or W. H. मारु, etc. — The suff. घाउ contains the caus. or denom. suff. घाप; thus Skr. कर्मापयितृ *worker*, Pr. कम्मावेउओ or कम्मावउओ, W. Gd. कमाउ, where व् is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted, as usual in caus. or denom. verbs (e. g., W. H. part. pres. कम्मातु *working* = Pr. कम्मावंतो or कम्मावेंतो).

*Eighth Group.*

334.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	अक्	अका	अकी
	2)	आक्	आका	आकी

The forms of com. gen. are weak; the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

335. The first set forms nouns of act. In many cases the original root is no longer in use; and the derivative itself, in its weak form, is employed as a root. The weak form is, as a rule, fem. Thus अइठक् f. or अइठका m. *sitting, seat*, of R. अइठ् *sit*; कसक् f. *pain*, of R. कस् *tighten*; तउक् f. *cracking, cleft*, तर्का *day-break*, of R. \*तर or तर्क् (W. H. तउक्) *crack*; कमक् f. or कमका m., °की f. *glittering*, of R. \*कम् (*wave*) or कमक् *glitter*; कलक् f. *glitter*, कलकी f. *glance*, of R. \*इवल्ल or कलक् *glitter*; कपक् f. or °की m. or

°की f. *snatch, wink*, of R. \*कप् *be quick* (Skr. अर्धर्प?); कटक् f. or °का m. *twitch*, of R. \*कट् *be quick* (Skr. अर्धट्?); फडक् f. *palpitation*, फडकी *partition, screen*, of R. फाड् *split*; फाटक् m. *gate*, of R. फाट् *split*; सडक् f. *road*, of R. सट् *join?*, etc.

336. The second set is used to derive nouns of agency from roots. Thus चराक् m. or f. *an animal that grazes*, of R. चर् *graze*; चलाक् m. or f. *active, clever*, चलाकी f. *cleverness* (see § 257), of R. चल् *walk, move*; दडडाक् m. or f. *runner, racer*, of R. दड्ड *run*; लराक् m. or f. or °का m., °की f. *quarrelsome*, of R. लर् (W. H. लड्) *fight*; उडाक् m. or f. *capable of flying, fledged*, of R. उड् *fly*; पडराक् *swimmer*, पैराकी *act or art of swimming*, of R. पडर् *swim*, etc.

337. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds.; but the W. Gds. have final औ or ओ for E. Gd. आ; and S. has आकु or आक् for E. H. आक् or आका (Tr. 52, 9). Examples, see in Bs. II, 31—33. 42. 43. They are exactly the same as in E. H.

338. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अक, which is really a compound of the krit suff. (or nominal termin.) अ and the nominal base क (probably = कृत् *doing*, of R. कृ *do*) meaning *doing, agent*. On this subject see § 353. The derivatives of the suff. अक, therefore, are really compound words, made up of two nominal bases, one ending in अ, the other being क; e. g., Skr. कर्षक = कर्ष + क lit. *making a tightening*, E. H. कसक्. An initial क् of the second part of a compound has a tendency to be preserved or even doubled in Pr.; e. g., अम्हक्केरं or अम्हक्केरं (H. C. 2, 99 = अम्ह + केरं), पडिक्कूलं or पडिक्कूलं (H. C. 2, 93 = प्रति + कूलं), मुक्को or मुक्को (H. C. 2, 99 = मू + क lit. *made fast*, i. e., *dumb*). Hence the preservation of it in the Gd. suffixes. — The second set, probably, contains the denom. suff. आप्, and is equal to Skr. आपक; thus Skr. उडुपकः, Mg. उडुपके or उडुपके, E. H. उडाक्, with elision of व् and contraction of the hiatus-vowels.

## SECOND CHAPTER. ROOTS.

339. The usual rule in Hindî grammars for ascertaining the form of the root is, to reject the suff. of the infinitive. This rule holds good for the E. II. also. The root is obtained by detaching the suff. *ञ्च्* or *इच्* (§ 308). Thus R. पॄ from inf. पॄञ्च् *to read*; R. ब्रूक् from inf. ब्रूक्ञ्च् *to know*; R. खा from inf. खाइच् or खाञ्च् *to eat*. In some cases, however, a *च्* or *य्* must be either supplied or omitted; thus R. पाव् from inf. पाइच् *to obtain* (for \*पाविच् § 33); R. जी from inf. जीयच् *to live*; R. चू from inf. चूवच् or चूञ्च् *to drip*; R. रो from inf. रोवच् or रोञ्च् *to weep*, etc. It will be found that with a few exceptions (about 25) which have a final vowel, all E. H. roots terminate with a consonant.

340. The same result, however, is obtained by taking the 3<sup>d</sup> pers. sing. pres. conj. (see § 495) and detaching from it the termination ऐ (or ए); thus R. पॄ, from पॄऐ *he reads*; R. ब्रूक्, from ब्रूकै *he knows*; R. पाव्, from पावै *he obtains*; R. खा, from खाए *he eats*; R. जी, from जीऐ *he lives*; R. चू, from चूऐ *he drips*; R. रो, from रोऐ or रोवै *he weeps*. Moreover, this, unlike the ordinary method, presents the E. II. root in the most convenient form for comparing it with the original Skr. root which it represents. Thus while in such cases as that of the inf. पॄञ्च् *to read* and 3. sg. pres. conj. पॄऐ *he reads*, both forms lead equally well to the original Skr. root पॄ, through their respective Skr. and Pr. equivalents (viz., inf. Ap. Pr. पठिञ्च्, Skr. पठितव्यम् and pres. Pr. पठइ, Skr. पठति); on the other hand, in such cases as ब्रूक्ञ्च् *to know*, it is only the 3. sg. ब्रूकै *he knows*, which leads through its equivalents, Pr. वुक्कइ, Skr. वुध्यते (i. e. वुध्-य-ते), to the original (Skr.) form of the root वुध्; for the inf. ब्रूक्ञ्च् can, by no possibility, be an equivalent of the Skr. बोधितव्यम्. Its Skr. equivalent would be, if it could exist at all, some such form as \*बुधितव्यम्. Such inf. as ब्रूक्ञ्च्, in fact, are purely Gd. formations, made from a previously changed radical form ब्रूक्. For the explanation of this and similar radical changes, see §§ 344—349.

341. *Affinities.* On the whole, the Gds. show a very close agreement with one another, as regards roots; especially the E. and W. H. The differences are, in general, only phonetic. Thus E. H. uses र् and ल्, where W. H. has र् and ल् (see §§ 29. 30); e. g., E. H. पर् fall, W. H. पड्; E. H. चर् walk, W. H. चल्. Or E. H. has इ where M. has स् (see § 11); e. g., E. H. हुद् be loosed, होद् loose, M. सुद्, सोड. Or E. H. has an aspirate, where M. has a tenuis (see § 145, note); e. g., E. H. सिख् or सोख् learn, M. सिक्, etc. Sometimes the difference is greater, and is either phonetic or due to different derivation; e. g., E. H. बैस् sit, N. बस्, P. वह्, S. विह (Skr. उपविष्, cf. § 173); or E. H. सूत् sleep (den. of the Skr. part सुप्, § 352), W. H. सो (Skr. R. स्वप्). Sometimes the same root, though it may exist in both languages, is common in one, but uncommon in the other; e. g., E. H. गोहराव् call, W. H. पुकार्. There are, however, a few roots, especially in S. and M., which do not exist in E. H.; e. g., S. पस् see, M. पाह् see, but E. H. दिस् or देख्, which are also S. and M.

342. If the E. H. roots are examined, they will be found capable of division into two classes. Firstly, those which, though disguised more or less by phonetic modifications, are direct representatives of old Skr. roots (single or compound); secondly such as, though ultimately connected with Skr. roots, are not directly traceable to any of them. Examples of the first kind are: E. H. चल्, Skr. चल् walk; E. H. तप्, Skr. तप् be hot; E. H. ज्ञान्, Skr. ज्ञा know; E. H. कर्, Skr. कृ do; E. H. बो, Skr. वप् sow; E. H. खा, Skr. खाद् cat; E. H. च्, Skr. श्रुत् leak; E. H. कोप्, Skr. कुप् be angry (§ 148); E. H. बोल्, Skr. वद् speak; E. H. मल्, Skr. मृद् rub; E. H. तूद् or टूद्, Skr. ब्रूद् break (§ 174); E. H. बस्, Skr. बर्ष् rub; E. H. परिस्, Skr. स्पर्स् touch (§ 58, note); E. H. परोस्, Skr. परिविष् distribute (§ 122, 5); E. H. देख्, Skr. दृष् see; E. H. उठ, Skr. उत्या rise; E. H. काँट्, Skr. अर्धर्द् sweep (§ 172), etc. Of the second kind are: E. H. भूल् forget, cf. Skr. भ्रमर्; E. H. इह् wish, cf. Skr. उत्साह् (§ 173); E. H. चह् sit, cf. Skr. उपविष्ट (§ 173); E. H. पड् enter, cf. Skr. प्रविष्ट; E. H. सूत् sleep, cf. Skr. सुप्; E. H.

निकाल् or निकारू *eject*, cf. Skr. निष्कृष्ट (cf. §§ 113. 114); E. H. ज्ञात्वा *make known*, cf. Skr. ज्ञाप; E. H. पलट् or पल्यत् *turn over*, cf. Skr. पर्यस्त (§ 143); E. H. पक् *cook*, cf. Skr. पकृ; E. H. पहिचान् *recognize*, cf. Skr. परिचयनम् (§ 69); E. H. काँक् *spy, peep*, cf. Skr. छां कृ; E. H. घोँक् *omit*, cf. Skr. वग् कृ; E. H. कडक् *crack, rumble*, cf. Skr. कर्द कृ; E. H. धेँक् *blow*, cf. Skr. धुनं कृ, etc. The first class of roots I shall designate *primary*, the other *secondary*.

### 1. PRIMARY ROOTS.

343. The phonetic disguises which affect the primary roots and make them differ more or less from their Skr. originals, are generally owing to the following causes: 1) phonetic permutation of the radical consonant or vowel; 2) the incorporation of the Sanskritic „class-suffix“ into the root; 3) the change of the Sanskritic „class“ of the root; 4) the addition of the pleonastic radical suff. अपि. Not unfrequently several of these causes act together. On the other hand a few roots, favored by peculiar phonetic circumstances, remain altogether unchanged so as to be identical in E. H. and in Skr.

344. *Phonetic permutation.* 1) Final radical consonants are principally exposed to this cause of change, because through the accretion of the (so-called) „class-suffix“, they generally become medial, and then, in their progress through Pr. and according to its laws, liable to permutation or elision. Thus E. H. खा *eat* for Pr. खा, Skr. खाद्; as 3<sup>d</sup> sing. pres. Skr. खादति, Pr. खाम् or खाद् (Vr. 8, 27), E. H. खाय्. Sometimes, however, a root contains a final consonant which Pr. tolerates, and thus identical roots arise; e. g.; E. H. चल *walk* for Pr. चल, Skr. चल; as Skr. चलति, Pr. चलद्, E. H. चलै. Hence, when the E. H. exhibits an (apparently) identical root with Skr. (as E. H. तप् *be hot*), containing a final consonant, which would ordinarily be liable to change in Pr., the identity is open to suspicion, and is, probably, to be accounted for in a different way, namely by the incorporation of „the class-suffix“, see § 345: — 2) Initial radical consonants are rarely

liable to change, and, indeed, never change, unless they are compound consonants or a prefix is added, when the initial cons., being now medial, is either changed or elided in Pr.; but such roots are of unfrequent occurrence in E. H.; thus E. H. चू *leak* for Pr. चु (चो), Skr. श्र्युत् or च्युत्; as Skr. श्र्योति, Pr. चुञ्चद् (H. C. 2, 77) or चोञ्चद्, E. H. चूरे; or E. H. परोस् *offer food* for Pr. परिवेस्, Skr. परिवेप् (caus. of परि-विप्); as Skr. परिवेष्यति, Pr. परिवेसेद् or परिवेसद्, E. H. परोसे (§ 122, 5). Very exceptionally a real single initial cons. is changed; e. g., E. H. हो *be* for Pr. हुव, Skr. भू (§ 176, note), as Skr. भवति, Pr. हुवद् or होद् (Vr. 8, 1), E. H. होय् *he is*; but the original भ् is preserved in the E. H. past part. भङ्ल् *been*. — 3) Radical vowels occasionally suffer a change; sometimes through the vocalisation of an adjoining semivowel (य् or व्, §§ 121. 122); thus E. H. हो *be* for Pr. हुव or हव, Skr. भू; E. H. भीन् *moisten* for Skr. भ्याद् (§ 172); sometimes by the ordinary phonetic laws; thus E. H. मल् *rub* for Pr. मल्, Skr. मृद्, as Skr. मर्दति, Pr. मलद् (H. C. 4, 126), E. H. गलै (§ 109); or E. H. तूद् or टूद् *break* for Pr. तुद्, Skr. त्रुद्, see §§ 143. 147. 174; E. H. कोप् *be angry* for Pr. कुप्, Skr. कुप्, see §§ 143. 148. — 4) Exceptionally the initial vowel of the prefix of a compound root is elided; as E. H. इद् *wish* for Pr. \*उच्छाद्, see § 173; or E. H. काँड् *sweep* for Pr. अन्कड्, see § 172.

345. *Incorporation of the „class-suffix“.* Skr. roots are divided into *ten* classes, according to the suffix which they assume for the purpose of forming the conjugational base for the four principal tenses or moods (pres., imperf., potent., imper.). In all other tenses these „class-suffixes“ are rejected and the root used alone. Already in Pr., however, it had become the custom, sometimes to incorporate the class-suff. and to use the root, thus amended, as the conjug. base in all tenses (or moods) and derivative verbs (passive, causal, etc.). In Gd. this usage has been still more extended. Thus E. H. has R. जान् *know* for Pr. जाण् and जा, Skr. ज्ञा, through incorporating the suff. ना of the IX<sup>th</sup> class, as Skr. जानाति, Pr. जाणाद् (cf. H. C. 3, 154. Ls.

348 = ज्ञा + णा + इ) or ज्ञाषाद् (Vr. 8, 23 = ज्ञाण् + ष + इ); E. H. ज्ञानै; or E. H. चुन् *gather* for Pr. चुण् or चिण् or चि, Skr. चि, through incorporating the suff. नु of the V<sup>th</sup> cl.; as Skr. चिनोति, Pr. चिणोद् (cf. Ls. 347 = चि-णो-इ) or चिणद् or चुणद् (Vr. 8, 29. H. C. 4, 238 = चिण् or चुण् + ष + इ), E. H. चुनै; or E. H. नाच् *dance* for Pr. णच्, Skr. नृत्, through incorporating the suff. व् of the IV<sup>th</sup> cl., as Skr. नृत्यति, Pr. णच्चद् (Vr. 8, 47 = णच् + ष + इ), E. H. नाचै, etc. It should be noticed, that the incorporation of the class-suff. is more or less optional in Pr. and, indeed, exceptional as regards the so-called „general“ tenses and derivat. verbs (cf. Wb. Spt. 59); but in Gd. it is absolute. It may be surmised that, while this was the case in the literary Pr., in the more vulgar Ap. dialects, from which the Gd. took its immediate origin, incorporation was the usual, perhaps the general, practice. That it was a real incorporation of the suff. into the root, even in Pr., can be seen clearly from those forms in which according to Skr. usage the class-suff. could have no place; such as ज्ञापिञ्चं (lit., Skr. \*ज्ञानितम्) *known*, but also regularly णायं (H. C. 4, 7), for Skr. ज्ञातम्; or Pr. ज्ञापिऊण (lit., Skr. \*ज्ञानित्वा) or regularly णाऊण (H. C. 4, 7), for Skr. ज्ञात्वा *having known*; or Pr. ज्ञाणावेद् (H. C. 3, 149), for Skr. ज्ञापयति (lit. \*ज्ञानापयति) *he caused to know*; or Pr. चिणिहिद् or चिव्विहिद् (H. C. 4, 243), for Skr. चेष्यति (lit. \*चिन्व्यति or \*चिन्वियति, i. e., चिन् or चिन्-इष्यति) *he will gather*; or Pr. चिव्वुद् (H. C. 4, 242), for Skr. चीयते (lit., Skr. \*चिन्व्यते or Pr. \*चिणुर्इद्) *it is gathered*; or Pr. सुणद् (Spt. 46) or सुणुर्इद् (cf. H. C. 4, 302. Dl. 24, lit. \*सुन्वते), but also regularly सुव्वुद् (H. C. 4, 242), for Skr. श्रूयते (lit. \*श्रुव्यते) *it is heard*; or Pr. सुणिऊण (lit., Skr. \*सुनित्वा) or regularly सोऊण (H. C. 4, 241), for Skr. श्रुत्वा *having heard*; or Pr. णच्चविञ्चं (H. C. 1, 33), for Skr. नर्तितानि (lit. \*नृत्यापितानि) *caused to dance*; or Pr. करिञ्च (lit. \*कर्य) or regularly कदुञ्च (H. C. 4, 272), for Skr. कृत्वा *having done*, etc. In E. H. this incorporation is so thoroughly established, that the old radical forms have entirely disappeared, and their places have been taken by the new ones, even, e. g., as the base for the formation of the ver-

bal noun in षञ् which is the source of the modern infinitive (§§ 308—314); thus E. II. ज्ञानञ् to know for Skr. ज्ञातव्यञ् (lit. \*ज्ञानितव्यञ्); E. II. नाचञ् to dance for Skr. नर्तितव्यञ् (lit. \*नृत्यितव्यञ्), etc. This process explains why many Skr. roots ending in a vowel terminate in E. II. with a consonant.

*Note:* In most of the above examples there is not only an incorporation of the class-suff., but simultaneously also a change of the „class“; see § 347.

346. An exactly analogous process is the *incorporation of the passive suff.* य्, by which means a few intransitive roots are formed in E. II. from Skr. transitive (active) roots; e. g., the Skr. R. चप् is trans. *press*, but the E. II. R. चप् is intrans. *be put down, be abashed*, and equal to the Skr. pass. R. चप्य; as Skr. pass. चप्यते *he is pressed*, Pr. चपद्, E. II. चपै, etc. Sometimes both the Skr. and Gd. Rs. are intrans.; e. g., E. II. चारू (W. H. चाल्) and Skr. चल् *walk*, as Skr. pass. चलयते (but act. चलति), Pr. चल्लद् (Vr. 8, 53, but act. चलद् H. C. 4, 231), W. H. चालै or E. II. चारै (but act. W. H. चलै, E. H. चरै), etc. In rare cases both are trans.; e. g., E. II. सोच् and Skr. सिच् *irrigate*; as Skr. pass. सिच्यते (but act. सिञ्चति), Pr. सिच्चद् (H. C. 4, 230, but act. सिंचद् H. C. 4, 239), E. H. सोचै (but act. सोचै), etc. Other examples, see § 348.

*Note:* In most cases of this kind also a change of „voice“ from pass. to act. takes place; see § 348.

347. *Change of „class“.* The Skr. distribution of roots into ten classes had already in Pr. become, to a considerable extent, obliterated. In Gd. it has disappeared altogether. While Skr. has ten classes, of which the 1<sup>st</sup> (incl. VI<sup>th</sup>) and the X<sup>th</sup> (incl. denom. and causal) include by far the largest number of roots, Pr. has, in the main, only two, of which one corresponds to the Skr. VI<sup>th</sup> (or 1<sup>st</sup>) and the other to the Skr. X<sup>th</sup> cl. The remaining classes occur in Pr. only in extremely isolated and exceptional cases; but as a rule, roots belonging to them are transferred into the VI<sup>th</sup> 1) (or occasionally X<sup>th</sup>) class, either 1) by

1) It is usual to say the 1<sup>st</sup> cl. (cf. Wb. Spt. 59. Ls. 334); but it seems



substituting the suff. अ of the VI<sup>th</sup> (or X<sup>th</sup>) for their proper class-suff. (नु of the V<sup>th</sup>, न of the VII<sup>th</sup>, उ of the VIII<sup>th</sup>, ना of the IX<sup>th</sup>, व of the IV<sup>th</sup>), see H. C. 4, 239; or 2) by incorporating the latter with the root and, when necessary, eliding and changing the final vowel of such class-suff. (उ, अ) into अ, the characteristic of the VI<sup>th</sup> and X<sup>th</sup> classes (cf. Wb. Spt. 59 ff. Ls. 334); or 3) by interpolating the suff. अ of the VI<sup>th</sup> class. For example; R. चि gather is in Skr. of the V<sup>th</sup> cl., base जिनु, hence 3. sg. pres. चिनोति, but in Pr. it becomes of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by incorporating नु and changing उ to अ, hence base चिण, 3. sg. pres. चिणइ (Vr. 8, 29); or again R. प्राप् obtain is in Skr. of the V<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base प्राप्, 3. sg. pres. प्रप्नोति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by substituting the suff. अ of the VI<sup>th</sup> for नु, hence base पात्र, 3. sg. pres. पावइ (H. C. 4, 239); or again R. भङ् break is in Skr. of the VII<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base भनङ्, 3. sg. pres. भनङ्कि, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by incorporating न and eliding its अ, hence base भञ्, 3. sg. pres. भंङइ (H. C. 4, 106); similarly in Pr. पिसेदि or पिसेदि (Ls. 347), for Skr. पिनष्टि, there is a transfer of the R. पिप् from the VII<sup>th</sup> into the X<sup>th</sup> cl.; or again R. कृ do is in Skr. of the VIII<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base कृ, 3. sg. pres. करोति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or I<sup>st</sup> or X<sup>th</sup> cl., by changing the suff. उ of the VIII<sup>th</sup> to अ, hence base ०कृ (i. e., क्र) or कर् or करे (i. e., करय), 3. sg. pres. ०कृइ (as in खुकृइ Spt. 173 = Skr. खूकरोति) or कर्इ (Vr. 8, 13)

to me, on the whole, that the form which such Pr. roots take, is more accurately described as that of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. The I<sup>st</sup> differs from the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. by *gunating* and *accentuating* the radical vowel; the VI<sup>th</sup> does not *gunate* the radicals and accentuates the suffixal vowel. Now in many cases Pr. does not *gunate* the rad. vowel; e. g., in चिणइ, सुणइ, where if they were of the I<sup>st</sup> cl., it should be चेणइ, सोणइ; for the Rs. are, practically, चिण्, सुण्. Again in many other cases the final rad. sound is a comp. cons., which precludes the *gunation* of the rad. vowel and thus renders it impossible to determine the class by this sign; e. g., in भंङइ, पाञ्इ. Here the class could only be determined by the accent; but as Pr. (and Gd.) is devoid of the old Aryan accent, this aid to determine the class also fails. Thus circumstances are in favor of its being the VI class.

or करेद् (H. C. 4, 337); or again R. ज्ञा *know* is in Skr. of the IX cl., hence base ज्ञाना, 3. sg. pres. ज्ञानाति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or X<sup>th</sup>, by incorporating ना and changing ञा to ञ, hence base ज्ञाण or ज्ञाणे (i. e., ज्ञानय), 3. sg. pres. ज्ञाणद् (Vr. 8, 23) or ज्ञाणेद् (Dl. 15); or again R. ग्रह् *seize* is in Skr. of the IX<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base गृह्णा, 3. sg. pres. गृह्णाति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or X<sup>th</sup>, by substituting their suff. ञ (ञय) for ना, hence base गेह् or गेहे (i. e., गेह्य), 3. sg. pres. गेहद् (Vr. 8, 15) or गेहेद्दि (Dl. 90); or again R. नृत् *dance* is in Skr. of the IV<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base नृत्य, 3. sg. pres. नृत्यति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or X<sup>th</sup>, by incorporating य, hence base णच् or णच्चे, 3. sg. pres. णच्च्द् (Vr. 8, 47) or णच्चेद्दि (Dl. 50); or again R. रुद् *weep* is in Skr. of the II<sup>nd</sup> cl., hence irregular base रोदि, 3. sg. pres. रोदिति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> or I<sup>st</sup> cl., by substituting their suff. ञ for the irreg. इ of the II<sup>nd</sup> cl., hence base रुद् or रोद्, 3. sg. pres. रुश्च् or रुवच् (H. C. 4, 226. Spt. 311 or contr. रोद् H. C. 4, 368) or रोश्च् or रोवच् (H. C. 4, 226); or again R. या *go* is in Skr. of the II<sup>nd</sup> cl., hence base या, 3. sg. pres. याति, but in Pr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by interpolating its suff. ञ, hence base जाञ्, 3. sg. pres. जाञ्च् (H. C. 4, 240 or contr. जाद् H. C. 4, 240. 350). Moreover, there was already in Pr. a tendency to run its two (remaining) classes, the VI<sup>th</sup> and X<sup>th</sup>, into *one*, either by transferring the roots of the VI<sup>th</sup> into the X<sup>th</sup>; or *far more commonly* by reducing the roots (whether primitive or denom. or caus.) of the X<sup>th</sup> into the VI<sup>th</sup>, through changing the X<sup>th</sup> class-suff. ट् into the VI<sup>th</sup> class-suff. ञ (see H. C. 3, 158. 149. Wb. Spt. 60. Ls. 341. 342. 344). Thus 1) change of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. into the X<sup>th</sup>; e. g., हसेद् (H. C. 3, 158), for हसच् (H. C. 3, 158. Skr. हसति) *he laughs*; करेद् (H. C. 4, 337), for करच् (Vr. 8, 13) *he does*; नच्चेद् (Dl. 50), for नच्च् (Vr. 8, 47) *he dances*, etc.; 2) change of the X<sup>th</sup> cl. into the VI<sup>th</sup>; e. g., कहद् (H. C. 4, 2), for कहेद् (Spt. 35. cf. H. C. 4, 267), Skr. कथयति, from R. कथ् *speak*; or चिंतद् (H. C. 4, 422), for चिंतेद् (Spt. 156. cf. H. C. 4, 265) *he thinks*; or सहद् (Spt. 260), for साहेद् (Spt. 188), Skr. साधयति, from R. साध् *accomplish*; again in causals: द्रिस्द्

(H. C. 3, 149), for दृशिसेद्, Skr. दर्शयति, from R. दृश् see; or करावद् (H. C. 3, 149), for करावेद् (H. C. 3, 149), Skr. कारयति, from R. कृ do; or हसावद् (H. C. 3, 149), for हसावेद् (H. C. 3, 149), from R. हस् laugh; or भमावद् (H. C. 3, 151), for भमावेद् (H. C. 3, 151) *he causes to roam*, from R. भ्रम्, etc. In E. H. (and Gd. generally) this process reaches its natural conclusion by all roots whatsoever (whether primitive or derivative) having been transferred to a single class, which practically corresponds to the VI<sup>th</sup> of Skr. While, therefore, in Skr. roots belong to ten, and in Pr. (in the main) to two classes, they all belong in E. H. to one and the same. Thus (see the above examples) E. H. चुनै = Pr. चुणद्; E. H. पावै = Pr. पावद्; E. H. भञ्जै = Pr. भञ्जद्; E. H. पीसै = Pr. पीसद् or पिसद्; E. H. करै = Pr. करद्; E. H. ज्ञानै = Pr. ज्ञाणद्; E. H. गह्वै = Pr. गेह्वद्; E. H. नाचै = Pr. नच्चद्; E. H. रोरै = Pr. रोश्चद्; E. H. ज्ञाय् (W. H. ज्ञायै) = Pr. ज्ञाद् (or ज्ञाश्चद्); E. H. हसै = Pr. हसद्; E. H. कहै = Pr. कहद्; E. H. चिंतै = Pr. चिंतद्; E. H. करावै = Pr. करावद्; E. H. हसावै = Pr. हसावद्, etc. Some E. H. roots ending with an anomalous long vowel, as पी *drink*, चू *drip*, are probably to be explained on the principle of the interpolation of the VI<sup>th</sup> class-suff. ञ्; just as in the case of the above mentioned R. ज्ञा go. Thus E. H. पीयै *he drinks* presupposes a Pr. form \*पिञ्चञ् or \*पिञ्चयद्, instead of the common Pr. पिञ्चद् (H. C. 4, 10) or पियद् (H. C. 1, 180), Skr. पियति, which would be in E. H. either \*पीद् or \*पियै; similarly E. H. चूरै *it drips* = Pr. \*चुञ्चञ्, for the ordinary Pr. चुञ्चद् (H. C. 2, 77).

*Note:* Some Skr. roots are conjugated in several classes, one of which is the usual one, while the others are either rarely used or confined to the Vedas. It will be found, that some Gd. roots which have apparently changed their Skr. class, have really preserved such an unusual or vedic class. Thus R. तप् *be hot* is in Skr. both of the I<sup>st</sup> cl., तप्, and also, but rarely, of the IV<sup>th</sup> cl., तप्य. The latter is the modern E. H. तप् (Pr. तप्प). The former would have become in E. H. तव or तो, through Pr. तव (cf. तवद् H. C. 1, 231). Again R. मृ *die* is in Skr. of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., म्रिय,

but in the Vedas of the I<sup>st</sup> cl., मर्. The latter is preserved in the E. H. मर्, Pr. मर् (Vr. 8, 12 मर्इ, E. H. मर्). It is possible that other modern Gd. roots, which have apparently changed their class, have really preserved an ancient traditional one of colloquial use, even though in many instances no evidence of it has survived either in Skr. or Pr. literature.

348. An exactly analogous process is the *change of „voice“*. In the case of some simple roots, their passive radical forms, made in Skr. with the suff. वृ, are used in Pr. in an active sense and substituted in their place (cf. Wb. Spt. 64. S. Gdt. in J. G. O. S. XXIX, 492). By this process, practically, such roots are transferred in Pr. from their proper Skr. class into the VI<sup>th</sup> (or X<sup>th</sup>), and in E. H. into the VI<sup>th</sup>. Thus R. भञ् break is in Skr. of the VII<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base भनञ्, 3. sg. pres. भनक्ति; its pass. root or base is भद्य, hence 3. sg. pres. भद्यते *he is broken*. Now Pr. treats this form, as if it were an active one of a R. भञ् of the IV<sup>th</sup> cl., and, by incorporating the (really passive, but practically IV<sup>th</sup> cl.) suff. व, makes the root to be of the VI<sup>th</sup>; hence base भञ्, 3. sg. pres. भञ्इ *he breaks* (cf. Spt. 168 भञ्तरत्त, Dl. 42 विभञ्). Again R. हृध hinder is in Skr. of the VII<sup>th</sup> cl., hence base हृषध्, 3. sg. pres. हृषाडि; but in Pr. it is of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by incorporating न and eliding its ष; hence base हृध, 3. sg. pres. हृधइ (Vr. 8, 49). The Skr. pass. base is हृध, hence 3. sg. pres. हृधते *he is hindered*; in Pr. this becomes हृकइ (or हृकभइ) and is used both in its proper pass. sense (*he is hindered* II. C. 4, 245. 248) as well as in the act. sense (*he hinders* II. C. 4, 218); that is, Pr. transfers the R. हृध into the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., by incorporating the pass. suff. व and employing it in an act. sense. Examples of this kind are not uncommon. Thus R. ऋक् can forms Pr. ऋकइ, for Skr. ऋक्नोति (Vr. 8, 52. II. C. 4, 230). Now clearly ऋकइ is the equivalent of the Skr. pass. ऋक्यते, used actively. The real equivalent for the Skr. (V<sup>th</sup> cl.) ऋक्नोति is the alternative Pr. form ऋक्नोइ (cf. Dl. 36 ऋक्नोमि). Again R. लग् belong forms Pr. लगइ (Vr. 8, 52), which cannot be = Skr. (I<sup>st</sup> cl.) लगति, but = Skr.

pass. लगते; again R. स्फुट् *burst* forms Pr. फुट् or फुड् (Vr. 8, 53). Of these, evidently, the former = Skr. pass. स्फुट्यते, the latter = Skr. act. (VI<sup>th</sup> cl.) स्फुटति. Again R. सिच् *sprinkle* forms both सिञ्च (H. C. 4, 230) = Skr. pass. सिच्यते, and सिंचि (H. C. 4, 239) = Skr. act. (VI<sup>th</sup> cl.) सिञ्चति. Again R. हन् *kill* forms either हम्मर् = Skr. pass. हन्यते and used both as an act. (Vr. 8, 45) and as a pass. (H. C. 4, 244), or हणार् (Dl. 72) = Skr. act. हन्ति. Again the R. विक्री *sell* (i. e. वि-क्री) forms both विक्रेर् and विक्रीणार्, of which the latter = Skr. act. विक्रीणीते; but that the former = Skr. pass. विक्रीयते is shown by the E. H. विक्रै *it is sold* which is still used exclusively in a pass. or intrans. sense. This Pr. form विक्रेर्, by showing that the termin. एर् may represent the Skr. pass. termin. इयते, throws light on some strange Pr. forms, which thus are shown to be passives, used actively. Thus Pr. धेर् *he places*, of the R. धा, is the same as Skr. pass. धीयते; for from the usual Skr. act. (III<sup>d</sup> cl.) दधाति it cannot be phonetically derived. Thus also देर् (Cw. 99) *he gives*, of R. दा, is probably the Skr. pass. दीयते; and Pr. चेर् *he gathers* (T. V. 2, 4, 72), of R. चि, is the Skr. pass. चीयते rather than an assumed new 1<sup>st</sup> cl. चयति (as Wb. Spt. 60); and Pr. ठेर् or येर् (Ls. 345) *he stands*, of R. स्या, is the Skr. pass. स्यीयते rather than an assumed new 1<sup>st</sup> cl. स्यायति, of R. स्यै (? as Ls. 135); and Pr. उडेर् *he flies* (Cw. 99), of R. उद्-डी, is the Skr. IV<sup>th</sup> cl. उट्टीयते (in reality a pass. form) rather than the Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> cl. उट्टयते. All these last mentioned forms in एर्, as regards their termination, resemble the Pr. X<sup>th</sup> cl., which likewise ends in एर्, as Pr. कहेर् = Skr. कथयति; and thus they come to be treated as if they were really X<sup>th</sup> cl. formations, and may all be optionally transferred into the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. Just as कहेर् may change to कहर्, so देर् to दर् (Spt. 216), ठेर् to ठर् (H. C. 4, 17), and, no doubt, the others similarly, though in their case the Pr. evidence is wanting. But the fact is proved by the E. H., which here again makes the change absolute and transfers all pass.-act. roots to the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. Thus E. H. विक्रै = Pr. विक्रार् or विक्रेर्; E. H. ठेर् (in पहिर् *he put son*, see § 133) = Pr.

°धइ or °धिइ; E. H. संचे = Pr. संचइ or संचेइ; E. H. उडे = Pr. उडुइ or उडेइ; the only exception is E. H. दे (or देय) for Pr. देइ. Again E. H. सके = Pr. सक्कइ; E. H. लगै = Pr. लगइ; E. H. फुटे = Pr. फुटइ; E. H. चारै or W. H. चाले = Pr. चल्लइ; E. H. सोचै = Pr. सिच्चइ.

*Note:* The cause, no doubt, of this confusion in Pr. of the pass. and act. was the great likeness between the form of the (active) IV<sup>th</sup> cl. and that of the passive. Even in Skr. they can only be distinguished by the accent, which in the IV<sup>th</sup> cl. is thrown on the radical, but in the pass. on the suffixal vowel; thus act. नह्यते *nāhyate he binds*, but pass. नह्यते *nahyāte he is bound*. In Pr., where the accent is disused, the identity becomes complete. In this way some passives became associated in the popular mind with the IV<sup>th</sup> cl. and came to be used as actives. Most, if not all, the facts might be explained, by supposing a transfer in Pr. of certain roots into the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., but such a change of class is otherwise quite unsupported; and the explanation by means of a change of voice seems much simpler.

349. *Addition of the pleonastic suffix* ञापि. In Skr. the causal roots are occasionally formed by adding the suff. ञापि (Pr. ञापि, E. H. ञाव) instead of the ordinary causal suff. इ; e. g., caus. R. ञध्यापि (3. sg. ञध्यापयति *he teaches*), of R. ञधी (i. e., ञधि-इ) *read*; see other examples in M. M. 217. 218. In Pr. any C. R. may be formed at pleasure with either of these suff. (Vr. 7, 26. 27. H. C. 3, 149. Wb. Spt. 64. 65. Wb. Bh. 436); e. g., Pr. कारेइ or क्रावेइ *he causes to do* = Skr. कारयति or \*क्रापयति. In E. H. the C. R. is *always* formed with ञापि; the original C. Rs. formed with इ, so far as they have survived, having become primitive transitive roots (see §§ 471—473). Thus E. H. क्रावै *he causes to do*, not \*कारै, which does not exist; again E. H. म्रावै *he causes to die* (i. e., causing death indirectly), but मारै *he beats* or *he kills*. Now it has been shown in § 347, that, in Pr., roots of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. are occasionally transferred into the X<sup>th</sup> cl. (H. C. 3, 158), i. e., practically are formed like causal roots with इ;

and hence they also occasionally assume the (caus.) suff. घापि, which in their case, of course, is practically pleonastic (cf. H. C. 3, 158 सुणाउ perhaps contr. for सुणावउ or सुणावउ); e. g., Pr. has the pleon. R. सुहावि = Skr. सुव् or \*सुखापि (3. sg. सुहावेइ Spt. 169), E. H. सुहाव्. In E. H. these pleon. roots are still more common; e. g., चुराव् *steal*, Pr. \*चुरावि, Skr. चुर्; E. H. गरिवाव् *abuse*, Pr. \*गलिहावि, Skr. गल्ह्, etc. See the List of Roots. There can be little doubt, however, that such Gd. pleon. Rs. as well as their Skr. originals are in reality *denominative* roots (see § 352).

## 2. SECONDARY ROOTS.

350. Secondary roots may be divided into three classes, according to their origin. I shall distinguish them as 1) *derivative*, 2) *denominative*, and 3) *compound*.

351. *Derivative Roots*. In E. H. there sometimes exist pairs of roots, of which one member is intrans. and corresponds to the Skr. simple or (sometimes) passive root, and the other is trans. and represents the corresponding Skr. causal root. In these cases the intrans. has a short and the trans. a long vowel. Thus E. H. चर् issue intrans. = Skr. S. R. च्, and E. H. चार् accomplish (lit. *cause to issue*) trans. = Skr. C. R. चारि; or E. H. गर् die intr. = Skr. S. R. म्, and E. H. मार kill trans. = Skr. C. R. मारि; E. H. वुर् sink intr. = Skr. S. R. वुर् and E. H. वोर् immerse trans. = Skr. C. R. वोटि, etc. In a similar manner, by shortening the radical vowel, E. H. sometimes derives new intrans. from trans. roots, when, on phonetic grounds, only the latter can be shown to have an equivalent in Skr. or Pr.; vice versa, in a few cases, by lengthening the radical vowel, E. H. derives trans. from intrans. roots, when only the latter exist in Skr. or Pr. The latter process is resorted to only very exceptionally, because E. H. has its own special means of forming causal (or trans.) roots with the suff. घाव् (see §§ 349. 474). Thus E. H. possesses a number of new pairs of roots, of which one member is original, while the other is derivative. Thus E. H. निवाह् accomplish

is trans. and equivalent to the Skr. C. R. निर्वाहि, of the trans. S. R. निर्वाह्; from नित्राह् E. H. derives an intrans. R. निबह् *be accomplished*, which cannot, phonetically, be derived from the Skr. pass. R. निर्वाह्य or निर्वाह्य; for these forms would become in Pr. निवृह्य, and thence E. H. \*नित्रक्. Again E. H. नहा *bathe* is equivalent to the Skr. S. R. स्ना (Pr. षहा). From it E. H. derives the intrans. R. नह् *flow*, for which Skr. offers no equivalent. It is, as if नहा were a trans. C. R., and नह् is to it, as करू *do* is to करा (or कराव्) *cause to do*. On the other hand, E. H. संह् or सट् *combine* is intrans. and equivalent to the Skr. intrans. S. R. संस्था (Pr. संठा or संठ). From it E. H. derives a trans. (or caus.) R. साह् or साट्, which cannot be derived, phonetically, from the Skr. C. R. संस्थापि, Pr. संठाव, etc.

352. *Denominative Roots.* Nouns which are used as roots for the purpose of forming new verbs, are called denominative roots. The practice of thus using nouns is very ancient. Even among the recognised Skr. simple roots, there are many which are really denominative. Pr. and Gḍ. have considerably added to their number. Theoretically the power of using nouns as roots is unlimited, and a great variety of nouns are actually thus employed upon occasion in Skr., Pr. and Gḍ.; see examples in M. M. 227—230. Wb. Spt. 60. 65. Wb. Bh. 429. 437. I speak here, however, only of such nouns, as are formally recognised and treated as roots and enumerated as such in *dhātupāthas* (or lists of roots). Such radical nouns or denominative roots 1) always end in ञ; 2) may be either common nouns or participles (see also Wb. Bh. 429); and 3) belong, as regards Skr., generally to the X<sup>th</sup> class, but occasionally also to the I<sup>st</sup>. In Pr., with its tendency to obliterate class-differences (see § 347), they are all made optionally to belong to the VI<sup>th</sup> cl., to which they belong without exception in E. H. Thus, e. g., the following roots are derived from common nouns in Skr.: R. मार्त् *scour*, from मार्त् *scouring*, a krit-derivative of the S. R. मृत् *scour*; or R. मार्ग् *seek*, from मार्ग् *seeking*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. मृग् *seek*; both



preserved in E. H. as म॑न् and म॑ग्. Again Skr. roots derived from participles are amongst others: R. वेष्ट् *surround*, from वेष्ट *enclosure*, perhaps a past part. pass. of S. R. विग् or विप् with suff. त; or R. कष्ट् *pull* from कष्ट *pulled*, a past part. pass. of S. R. कप् (or कृप्) *rub, pull* with suff. त; both preserved in E. H. as वेरु and कारु (cf. Cw. 99. Wb. Spt. 107). Examples from the E. H. and Pr. are: 1) roots derived from common nouns: R. जन् *germinate*, from Skr. जन्म *birth*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. जन् *be born*; thus ३. sg. pres. Skr. \*जन्मयति, Pr. जन्मेइ or जन्मइ (H. C. 4, 136), E. H. जमे; again R. धारू or ढारू or ढाल् *pour*, from Skr. धार *flowing*, probably connected with the S. R. धाव् *run*; Skr. \*धारयति, Pr. धाडेइ or धाउइ (T. V. 3, 1. 14, where it is said to be a substitute of Skr. निःसरति), E. H. धारै or ढारै *he pours*. Again 2) roots derived from participles: R. पलट् or पल्य् *turn over*, from Skr. पर्यस्त *turned over*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. Cp. R. परि-अन् *turn over* with suff. त; Skr. \*पर्यस्तयति, Pr. पल्लट्टइ or पल्लट्टयइ (H. C. 4, 26. 200), E. H. पलटै or पल्यै *he turns over*; again R. पीट् *beat*, from Skr. पीट *beaten*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. S. R. पीप् *beat* with suff. त; Skr. \*पीटयति or पीट्यति (? , Spt. 173. Comm.), Pr. पीट्टेइ (Spt. 173 for \*पीट्टेइ) or पीट्टइ, E. H. पीटै *he beats*. Examples, from the E. H. or Pr., of denominative roots, formed with the pleonastic suff. of the X<sup>th</sup> cl. अपय (Pr. आवे, H. आव, see § 349), are the following. One root derived from a common noun is सुहाव् *be pleasant*, from Skr. सुख *pleasure* (said to be a compound of सु *good* and ख *a mine*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. खन् *dig*), Skr. सुखयति or \*सुखापयति, Pr. सुहावेइ (Spt. 169) or सुहावइ, E. H. सुहावे *it is pleasant*. A root derived from a participle is चिताव् *make known*, from Skr. चित्र *known*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. S. R. चित् *know* and suff. त; Skr. \*चित्रापयति, Pr. \*चित्रावेइ or \*चित्रावइ, E. H. चितावे *he makes known*.

353. *Compound Roots.* The great diversity and intricacy of the old Skr. system of radical „classes“ must always have formed a formidable obstacle to its being adopted in the language of the common people. An evidence of this fact has been already

noted in § 347, in the decided tendency of Pr. and still more of Gd. to reduce the ten Skr. classes to one. But they made use, besides, of an other remedy, viz., instead of inflecting the root itself, they took some very simple form of a noun derived from it and construed it with the inflected root कृ do. This is still a common practice in modern II., where numerous verbs are formed from (especially foreign) nouns by construing them with the verb कर्त्व् to do; thus तमा कर्त्व् to collect, बंदू कर्त्व् to shut, वैल् कर्त्व् to boil, पास कर्त्व् to pass an examination, मेल कर्त्व् to mix, धान् कर्त्व् to meditate, विचार कर्त्व् to think (for विचार्व्, as in English to make answer for to answer), etc. Even in Skr., paraphrased roots of this kind are often found; thus न्यक् + कृ make low, degrade, चिरं कृ make long, delay, etc. (see more examples in M. W. Skr. Lex. under Art. कृ). In fact, any suitable noun might be thus turned into a verb. But it is not of these, that I speak here, but of a special and small class from among them, in which the construction of the noun with the R. कृ has become so firmly established by more or less obscure causes, as to produce, through constant usage, a coalescence of its two component parts (N. + R.) into one single simple form, and the recognition and treatment of this compound form as a simple root. Such roots I designate *compound roots*. Thus there is in Skr. a paraphrased verb स्फुत् + कृ or फुत् + कृ blow, whence फुत्करोति he blows; this appears in Pr. as फुक्क्रेइ or फुक्कइ and in E. H. as फूँकै. In Skr. the two component parts, N. फुत् and R. कृ, are still separate and clearly recognisable, but they have already in Pr. and still more in E. H. coalesced into one form, Pr. फुक्क, E. H. फूँक् which is now recognised in E. H. as a simple root; in reality it is compound. This process of amalgamation must have been already at work in old times, for among the recognised simple roots of Skr. are found several, which are clearly compound; as वृक्क bark (cf. H. C. 4, 169) = वृ or वद् + कृ; धक्क destroy = धक् + कृ or ध्वत् + कृ (acc. sg. neut. of N. दह् or ध्वस्); फक्क swell = स्फद् + कृ; चिक्क pain = चत् + कृ; टक्क bind = तन् + कृ, etc. There can hardly

be a doubt as to the compound character (as above explained) of such roots; though the exact phonetic process, by which it was produced, may be obscure. The following may be found a probable explanation. It has been shown in § 348, that in Pr. passive roots are often employed in an active sense; and that sometimes they are recognisable by the termination र्द्, which is occasionally reduced to ञ्द्. It is probable, therefore, that the Pr. form केद् or कद् (as in लोक्केद् or लोक्कद् Spt. 173 = Skr. लुक्करोति) is a passive-active form, or identical with the Skr. pass. क्रियते, used actively. There are in E. H. a few forms which support this view. Thus it has the form ञोढे which is both active (*he wears*) and passive or intrans. (*it is worn* or *it wears*); the corresponding Pr. forms would be उञ्जद् or उञ्जद्दे; and in Skr. we find the form उपध्रियते which is both pass. and act. (VI<sup>th</sup> class). In fact, in this particular case, the properly passive form उपध्रियते has already in Skr. assumed an active sense; for the usual active form of the R. धृ is धरति, of the I<sup>st</sup> class. Similarly the R. मृ die is said to be in classic Skr. an active belonging to the VI<sup>th</sup> class (म्रियते). It is, however, really passive with an active sense<sup>1)</sup>; for the proper active voice, which has been lost in the classic Skr., but preserved in the Vedic and also in Pr. and E. H., is (like that of R. धृ) of the I<sup>st</sup> cl. (मरति). It is precisely the same with the R. कृ do. Its Skr. pass. form क्रियते has come to be occasionally (i. e., in compound roots) used in Pr. as an active (of the VI<sup>th</sup> cl.). Its corresponding proper active form is (like that of the Rs. मृ and धृ) करति, of the I<sup>st</sup> class, and, though lost in classic Skr., still preserved in the Vedic and in Pr. (कर्द्) and E. H. (करै). But although the Pr. केद् or कद् and the E. H. कै have generally assumed an active meaning, their original passive signification is still apparent enough in some cases. Thus E. H. वृहकै,

1) The change, in this case, was facilitated by the R. मृ being intrans. Besides, as both the VI<sup>th</sup> cl. and the pass. accentuate the suffixal vowel, there is absolutely no difference, externally, between the act. VI<sup>th</sup> cl. म्रियते *mriyâte* and the pass. म्रियते *mriyâte*.

from E. H. R. ब्रह्क् *stray* (i. e., lit. *be turned out*, scl., *of the right path*) represents the Pr. ब्रह्क्क्इ or ब्रह्क्क्इ and Skr. ब्रह्क्क्रियते; or E. H. उचक्, of the E. H. root उचक् *be raised, rise*, representing the Pr. उचक्क्इ or उचक्क्इ and Skr. (Vedic) उचाक्रियते *he is carried on high*, etc.<sup>1</sup>). It has been stated already that in such compositions the R. कृ was usually constructed with some simple derivative noun. The simplest form of a noun, derived from the simple root, is the root itself; as Skr. R. रुध् *hinder*, N. रुध् *hindrance*. The next simplest is a noun, formed by one of the krit-suffixes त् or घ्र; as Skr. R. च्यु *cease*, N. च्युत् *ceasing*; or R. कष् *pain*, N. कष *pain*. In constructing such a noun with the R. कृ, it is, if it has the form of the simple root or is formed with the krit-suff. त्, immediately joined with the R. कृ; as N. रुध् *hindrance*, acc. sg. neut. रुत्, whence Cp. R. रुत् + कृ = E. H. रोक् *hinder*; or N. च्युत् *ceasing*, acc. sg. neut. च्युत्, whence Cp. R. च्युत् + कृ = E. H. चुक् *cease*. Or if it is formed with the krit-suff. घ्र, it is joined with R. कृ by means of a connecting vowel, generally ई; e. g., N. कष *pain*, when Cp. R. कषेक् = E. H. कसक् *pain*<sup>2</sup>). It will be seen that in such compounds the initial क् *k* of the R. कृ or of its inflected form क्रियते is preceded either by a consonant or a long vowel; hence in Pr., according to its phonetic usages, the क् is always doubled, either by assimilating the consonant or shortening the vowel; thus Skr. रुत्-क्रियते = Pr. रुक्क्इ or रुक्क्इ *he hinders*;

1) In the Vedas the R. कृ is also of the II<sup>nd</sup> cl., thus 3. sg. pres. parasm. कर्ति, atm. कृते. The latter would be in Pr. क्क्इ and by transfer into the X<sup>th</sup> cl. (§ 347) क्क्इ. This may serve as an alternative explanation, if the pass.-act. theory given in the text be not accepted.

2) This ई is, probably, the debris of an old case-ending. In Vedic Skr. occasionally ञा is used, which is also without doubt an old case-ending, such as we see, e. g., in Skr. बलात्कृतः lit. *violently treated, forced* (बलात् abl. sg. of बल *violence*); thus Ved. उचाक्रियते *he is carried up* = Pr. उचक्क्इ, E. H. उचक् *he rises*. As these C. Rs. were probably formed in very old times, it was possibly the connecting vowel ञा rather than ई, which was used in them. However, it makes no practical difference, whether it was ञा or ई; for in E. H. both are equally reduced to घ्र.

Skr. च्यन्-क्रियते, Pr. चुक्क्रे or चुक्क्रे *he ceases*; Skr. कवीक्रियते = Pr. कसिक्क्रे or कसिक्क्रे *it pains*; indeed the doubling of क् is already insured by the following र् (in क्). In E. H., finally, according to its phonetic laws, the double क् is reduced to single क् (§ 143). Thus Pr. रुक्क्रे = E. H. रोके (§ 148); Pr. चुक्क्रे = E. H. चुके (§ 146); Pr. कसिक्क्रे = E. H. कसके (§ 58). This explains the preservation in E. H. of the initial क् of the R. कृ, which, therefore, is an almost unerring indication of the presence of a compound root, in which it now forms the terminal sound; thus E. H. चुक् *cease*, रोक् *hinder*, कसक् *pain*. Similarly E. H. चमक् *glitter*, 3. sg. pres. चमके, Pr. \*चमक्क्रे or \*चमक्क्रे, Skr. \*चमत्क्रियते, comp. of N. चमत् (onomatop.) and R. कृ *do*, etc.

*Note:* Sometimes, though a C. R. does not exist in E. H., nominal derivatives of it do. Thus नक्क्रे *degraded, vile*, from the unused C. R. नक्, Pr. नक्क्रे, Skr. न्यक्क्रे *degrade* = नि-ञ्च-कृ.

354. It remains briefly to notice a small number of E. H. roots, which probably belong to the one or the other of the above mentioned two principal classes, but which I am not able satisfactorily to trace to a Skr. origin. They must have been subject to extreme phonetic deterioration. They may be divided into:

1) such as are, probably, primary roots; e. g., टस् *burst*, टूम *vex*, देर् *shout*, देल् *remove*, टेच् *sharpen*, टो *handle, grope*, टाँस् *cram*, टो *carry*, तग् *stich*, तच् *be parched*, यिन् *be congealed*, तिहुड् or त्योद् or त्योड् *bend*, पनर् *drip*, पसा *skim*, पहुड् or पौद् *repose*, पैना *sharpen*, पो or पोच् or पोद् *make bread or thread*, मूच् *shut*, गुर *acquire a taste*, लच् *bend*, लट् *be laden*, लिड् or लील् *swallow*, लेट् *recline*, लौट् *turn over, return*, रन् *be mixed, be soiled* and tr. सान् *mix, soil*, सोढ *review*, हट् *be perverse*, हिच् *loathe*, etc.

2) such as are, probably, secondary roots, and divisible into: a) *denominative*; as गोहराच् *call*, हलन् *be kindled*, etc.; — b) *compound*; as तौक् *scold*, टोक् *prevent, challenge*, भटक् *go astray*, etc.; — c) to these may be added a class of roots which end in ल् or ड्

(or  $\sqrt{r}$ ) or  $\sqrt{d}$ ; as  $\sqrt{d}$ हल् or  $\sqrt{d}$ ह्र् walk to and fro (cf. N.  $\sqrt{d}$ हल् f. service, drudgery);  $\sqrt{d}$ हल् or  $\sqrt{d}$ ह्र् stop, remain (cf.  $\sqrt{d}$ ह्र् or  $\sqrt{d}$ ह्र् a place);  $\sqrt{d}$ केल् or  $\sqrt{d}$ केल् or  $\sqrt{d}$ केल् shove (cf.  $\sqrt{d}$ क्का or  $\sqrt{d}$ क्का a shove);  $\sqrt{d}$ हल् pass agreeably, be amused (cf. R.  $\sqrt{d}$ ह्र् flow);  $\sqrt{d}$ भिगल् be dazzled (cf. Pr. R. गिन् H. C. 4, 203 = Skr. भास्);  $\sqrt{d}$ कगद् quarrel;  $\sqrt{d}$ लयद् be dragged or  $\sqrt{d}$ लयेद् draggle;  $\sqrt{d}$ लताद् or  $\sqrt{d}$ लतेद् (lit. kick) insult, exhaust by labour (cf.  $\sqrt{d}$ लात् or  $\sqrt{d}$ लत् a kick and  $\sqrt{d}$ लतरू an old shoe);  $\sqrt{d}$ कपद् spring or  $\sqrt{d}$ कपेद् attack suddenly (cf.  $\sqrt{d}$ कप् quick);  $\sqrt{d}$ चपद् be flattened or  $\sqrt{d}$ चपेद् flatten (cf. R.  $\sqrt{d}$ चाप् or  $\sqrt{d}$ चाप् press and N.  $\sqrt{d}$ चाप् a bow);  $\sqrt{d}$ रपद् slip or  $\sqrt{d}$ रपेद् chase (cf.  $\sqrt{d}$ रापी or  $\sqrt{d}$ रापी an iron scraper or knife);  $\sqrt{d}$ लपद् adhere or  $\sqrt{d}$ लपेद् enclose, fold (cf. N.  $\sqrt{d}$ लप् palm of the hand hollowed so as to hold water);  $\sqrt{d}$ वसद् or  $\sqrt{d}$ वसिद् or  $\sqrt{d}$ वसोद् drag (cf. R.  $\sqrt{d}$ वस् rub);  $\sqrt{d}$ वृकोद् scratch (cf.  $\sqrt{d}$ वृकर् or  $\sqrt{d}$ वृक्का claw, a handful). The forms with a penultimate long vowel are, as a rule, trans.; those with a short one, intrans. These roots, however, are not properly E. H. or E. Gd., but introduced from W. Gd. It will be shown (in § 476) that in W. Gd. there are causal roots in  $\sqrt{d}$ गल् or  $\sqrt{d}$ गला (W. H.),  $\sqrt{d}$ गड or  $\sqrt{d}$ गवाड (G.),  $\sqrt{d}$ गरू or  $\sqrt{d}$ गरा (S.); e. g., W. H.  $\sqrt{d}$ त्रिठला or  $\sqrt{d}$ त्रिठाल् cause to sit, G.  $\sqrt{d}$ खवाद् cause to eat (Ed. 114), S.  $\sqrt{d}$ डिगारू cause to give,  $\sqrt{d}$ घारा cause to wound (Tr. 256. 257). It seems probable, that these W. Gd. causals and the above mentioned (W. Gd.) secondary roots have an identical origin. There is, moreover, a curious analogy in Pashtu (see Tr. in J. G. O. S. XXXIII, 7 ff.). It has a class of secondary roots in  $\bar{e}d$  (infinit. in  $\bar{e}dal$ ), which are, as a rule, intrans.; e. g.,  $\bar{b}ah\bar{e}d$  flow (cf. E. H.  $\sqrt{d}$ हल्),  $\bar{m}at\bar{e}d$  be broken (cf. Skr.  $\sqrt{d}$ मृष्ट rubbed);  $\bar{k}\bar{e}d$  be done; but occasionally trans.; e. g.,  $\bar{a}v\bar{e}r\bar{e}d$  hear,  $\bar{b}l\bar{o}s\bar{e}d$  torment,  $\bar{p}u\bar{s}\bar{t}\bar{e}d$  ask (cf. Skr.  $\sqrt{d}$ पृष्ट asked). Occasionally the primary root exists also, as  $\bar{z}ang$  or  $\bar{z}ang\bar{e}d$  swing,  $\bar{k}r$  do and  $\bar{k}\bar{e}d$  be done; just as in E. H.  $\sqrt{d}$ चाप् and  $\sqrt{d}$ चपेद् flatten. And further, the causal roots may be made with  $\bar{e}d$  in Pashtu<sup>1)</sup>.

1) Trumpp explains the Rs. in  $\bar{e}d$  as being compounds with  $\bar{k}\bar{e}d$  be done. This might suit the intrans., but not the trans. and caus. Rs. in  $\bar{e}d$ ; moreover the R.  $\bar{k}\bar{e}d$  itself requires to be explained; for it is clearly a derivative of the R.  $\bar{k}r$  do.

The origin of these roots is very obscure. Possibly they are denominative roots, derived from nouns which are themselves again derived from others by the secondary or pleonastic suff. अल्, इल्, अउ, etc. (cf. §§ 209. 245) or वृ (cf. § 285). Or perhaps they may be compound roots, formed from the Skr. R. वृत् (Pr. वृट्), of which the terminal ट् (or अट्, एट्, एउ) is the sole remnant, as क् (of R. कृ, Pr. कृ) is in the other compound roots. Thus Skr. वर्णे वर्तते *he is occupied in rubbing, he drags* = \*वर्षवर्षयति den. of \*वर्षवर्ष, Pr. \*वस्तवट् इ = \*वस्तअट् इ = \*वस्तयट् इ = E. H. वसेटै or वसीटै. At all events, in some cases, these roots have an alternative form, ending in क्: thus कपट् and कपक्; चपट् and चपक्; लपट् *cling* and लपक् *spring*; cf. also E. H. औचट् and औचक् *suddenly*.

355. There is also in E. H. a very small number of what may be called *tatsama* roots; viz., denom. roots formed from tats. nouns. Some are comparatively modern formations. Thus गरत् *thunder* (Skr. गर्ग); त्याग् *abandon* (Skr. त्याग); धूप् *perfume* (Skr. धूप); भोग् *enjoy* (Skr. भोग); लोभ् *be enamoured* (Skr. लोभ), etc.

### THIRD SECTION. INFLEXION OF NOUNS.

#### FIRST CHAPTER. THE SUBSTANTIVE.

##### 1. FORMS OF THE SUBSTANTIVE.

356. Every subst. admits of three forms: the short, long and redundant. The short is the primary form, which is given in dictionaries, and by which it is generally known. It is, as a rule, the only one admissible in good or literary language. The other two forms are more or less vulgar. They are made by adding to the short form the pleon. suff. of the fourth and sixth sets of the first group, as explained in §§ 199. 200 (q. v.). E. g., masc. sh. f. मीत् *friend*, lg. f. मितवा or ०वाँ, red. f. मितोवा or ०वाँ or मितो; fem. sh. f. जाट् *bed*, lg. f. खटिवा or ०वाँ, red. f. खटियवा or ०वाँ;

masc. sh. f. बेटा *son*, lg. f. बेटवा or °वाँ, red. f. बेटौवा or °वाँ or बेटौ;  
 fem. sh. f. सीता *Sitá*, lg. f. सितिया or °याँ, red. f. सितियवा or °वाँ; in  
 इ; masc. sh. f. मुनि *sage*, lg. f. मुनिया or °याँ; rel. f. मुनियवा or °वाँ;  
 fem. sh. f. अँखि *eye*, lg. f. अँखिया or °याँ; red. f. अँखियवा or °वाँ;  
 in ई; masc. sh. f. भाई *brother*, lg. f. भइया or भैया or °याँ; red.  
 f. भइयवा or भैयवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. धूरी *axe*, lg. f. धुरिया or °याँ;  
 red. f. धुरियवा or धुरीवा or °वाँ; in उ; masc. sh. f. तरू *tree*, lg. f.  
 तरूवा or °वाँ; red. f. तरूअवा or तरूवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. पतोहु  
*daughter-in-law*, lg. f. पतोहुवा or °वाँ; red. f. पतोहुअवा or पतोहुवा or  
 °वाँ; in ऊ; masc. sh. f. नाऊ *barber*, lg. f. नउवा or नौवा or °वाँ;  
 red. f. नउअवा or नौअवा or नउवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. बहू *daughter-*  
*in-law*, lg. f. बहुवा or °वाँ; red. f. बहुअवा or बहवा or °वाँ, etc.

*Note:* Sometimes the W. H. long and red. forms are used;  
 as कन्हैया or कन्हई *krishna*, रमै or रमैया *Rám*.

357. Many subst. (especially among those in अ) admit of  
 two forms, a weak and a strong. Most of them, however, (espe-  
 cially those in इ and उ) exist in one of these forms only. The  
 weak form is the original one; the other is made by adding to  
 it the pleon. suff. of the first set of the first group, as explained  
 in § 196 (q. v.). Thus 1) in अ or आ; masc. भेड़ or भेडा *ram*,  
 नाय् or नाया *forehead*, बाम् or बासा *dwelling*, बाल् or बाला *child*,  
 etc.; fem. भेड़ or भेडी *ewe*, लाह् or लाठी *staff*, मूह् or मूठी *fist*, etc.;  
 in इ or ई; masc. very rare, e. g., ज्ञान (ज्ञानि) or ज्ञानी *wise man*;  
 fem. बाति or बाती *wick*, light, बहिनि or बहिनी *sister*, etc.; in उ or  
 ऊ; masc. very rare, e. g., पील् or पीलू *elephant*; fem. बहू or बहू  
*daughter-in-law*, पतोहु or पतोहू *daughter-in-law*. 2) Only in अ;  
 masc. सोनारू *goldsmith*, कहारू *porter*, देव *god*, बाघ *tiger*, बैल् *ox*, घरू  
*house*, नाम् *name*, फूल् *flower*, पेट् *stomach*, पेड़ *tree*, etc.; fem. बात्  
*word*, event, नाँक् *nose*, नींदू *sleep*, etc. 3) Only in आ; masc. लरिका  
 or होकरा *boy*, अनिया *merchant*, घोरा *horse*, काँठ *thorn*, कुत्ता *dog*,  
 मोखा *footstool*, etc.; fem. only tats., as दुर्गा *Durgá*, सीता *Sitá*, or  
 semitats., as किरपा *mercy*, etc. 4) Only in इ, rarely; masc. gene-  
 rally tats., as मुनि *a Muni*, or semitats., as रिवि *a Rishi*, etc.;  
 fem. अग्नि *fire*, अँखि *eye*, etc. 5) Only in ई; masc. धोबी *washerman*,



नाली *gardener*, तेली *oilman*, हाथी *elephant*, नातो *grandchild*, भाई *brother*, बहिनोई *brother-in-law*, कोर्रो *leper*, पानी *water*, मोतो *pearl*, घो *clarified butter*; fem. घोरी *mare*, बिल्ली *cat*, लरिकी or झोकरी *girl*, माई *mother*, टोपो *hat*, मोरी *drain*, माखो *fly*, etc. 6) Only in उ; rarely, masc. तारु *tree*, गुरु *teacher*, etc.; fem. देस्त. 7) Only in उ; masc. नाउ *barber*, पहरू *watchman*, हिन्दू *a Hindú*, आलू *potato*, पेठू or छाउ *glutton*, etc.; fem. मेहरारू *woman*, तोरू *wife*, तलू *leech*, बालू *sand*, etc.

*Note:* On the meaning of these various forms, see § 201.

## 2. GENDER.

358. There are only two genders, the masculine and the feminine. No practically workable rules can be given to recognise the gender of a subst. by its termination; excepting, that short forms in आ (exc. tats., like दुर्गा) are always masc.; e. g., घोरा *horse*, हाँडा *pot*, गोला *ball*, जूता *shoe*, etc., and that such short forms in ई, as have a synonymous masc. in आ, are always fem.; e. g., घोरी *mare*, हाँडी *pot*, गोली *bullet*, जूती *shoe*, etc. As a rule E. H. subst. retain the gender which they had in Skr.; but Skr. neuters become masc. in E. H. This affords, on the whole, a safe guide for those who can use it. Where there is a natural gender, that of course, determines the grammatical gender also. For the rest, the gender must be learned by practice.

359. The difficulty of determining the gender of E. H. words by their termin., is easily explained. Compare §§ 42 to 53. The termin. ई and उ must be uncertain, because they are contractions of the Mg. Pr. termin. masc. इर् or उर्, fem. इया or उया: thus Pr. fem. घोडिया *mare* = E. H. घोरी; but Mg. Pr. masc. तेलिर् *oilman* is likewise = E. H. तेली; again Mg. Pr. fem. बालुया *sand* = E. H. बालू, but Mg. masc. बिच्छुर् *scorpion* is also = E. H. बिच्छू. — The E. H. termin. इ and उ must be uncertain, because they were so even in Pr. and Skr., where their nom. sg. in ई and उ (Pr.) or इः, उः (Skr.) may be of either gender. — On the other hand, since the Pr. termin. आ, whether masc. or

fem., always becomes ष in E. H. (e. g., Pr. masc. राज्ञा or राजा *king*, E. H. राज or रै; Pr. fem. वत्ता *word*, E. H. वत्), no E. H. short form in षा can be fem. (always excepting tats., which have not passed through Pr.); and since every final E. H. षा of a short form stands for a Mg. masc. षट्, therefore all E. H. short forms in षा must be masc. Similarly, since every final E. H. ई of a short form, which corresponds to a synonymous masc. short form in षा, stands for a Pr. fem. इषा, all such E. H. short forms in ई must be fem. — Finally the termin. षा of E. H. long and redundant forms must be uncertain, because it is a contraction of the Mg. Pr. gen. termin. masc. षाह, fem. षाघ ( §§ 369, 2. 365, 1); e. g., E. H. नतिया *grandchild* = Mg. नत्तियाह (Skr. नत्कः, H. C. 1, 137); but E. H. वृद्धिया *old woman* is also = Mg. वृद्धिषाघ. — The number of words, which are masc. or neut. in Skr., but fem. in E. H., is limited; and in the case of most of them the change had already taken place in Pr. Thus (see Vr. 4, 26. H. C. 1, 35. S. C. 1, 1. 53) Skr. n. अक्षि *eye*, Pr. n. अक्षिं or f. अक्षो or \*अक्षो, E. H. f. अक्षि; Skr. m. रश्मिः *cord*, Pr. m. or f. रस्सी, E. H. f. रस्सी<sup>1</sup>); Skr. m. अञ्जलिः *handful*, Pr. m. or f. अंजलो, E. H. f. (also m.) अंजलि; Skr. अलिः *offering*, Pr. m. or f. अलो, E. H. f. अलो; Skr. m. विधि (good) *conduct*, Pr. m. or f. विहो, E. H. f. विहो; Skr. n. पृष्ठम् *back*, Pr. n. पिष्टं or f. पिष्टो, E. H. f. पीठ; Skr. m. कुक्षिः *belly*, Pr. m. or f. कुक्षो, E. H. f. कोह or कोख; Skr. n. चौर्यम्, Pr. n. चौर्यं (Vr. 3, 20) or f. चौर्या (Spt. 210), E. H. f. चोरी<sup>1</sup>). Again Skr. m. ग्रन्थिः *knot*, Pr. m. or f. गंठी (H. C. 1, 35), E. H. f. गाँठ (also m.); Skr. m. बाहुः *arm*, Pr. m. बाहु or f. बाहा (H. C. 1, 36. S. C. 1, 1. 54), E. H. f. बाह or बाँह; Skr. n. अन्त्रम् *intestines*, Pr. f. अन्तो (in Ap. अन्त्रो H. C. 4, 445. T. V. 3, 4. 69), E. H. f. अँत्; Skr. n. अस्थि or अस्थिकम् *bone*, Pr. n. अष्टिं (cf. Spt. 100) or f. अँठी (H. C. 2, 32), E. H. f. अँठी. To these may

1) The Pr. fem. चौर्या is really a different word, i. e., = Skr. चौरिका (cf. Wb. Spt. 45); so also the E. H. fem. रस्सी is really derived from the masc. रस्सा; see §§ 257. 262.

be added, as examples of what seem to be purely E. H. changes, E. H. f. अग्नि *fire*, Skr. m. अग्निः, Pr. m. अग्नी (Vr. 5, 18. S. R. fol. 9<sup>b</sup>); E. H. f. देह *body* (but S. m. डेहु), Skr. m. देहः, Pr. m. देहो (Spt. A, 63); E. H. f. सोह *outh*, Skr. m. प्रपयः or n. प्रपयम्, Pr. m. सवहो (Vr. 2, 15) or n. सवहं (Spt. 361); E. H. f. चिंदू or चिंदी or बूंदू or बूंदी *drop*, Skr. m. विन्दुः, Pr. m. चिंदू or n. चिंदुं (H. C. 1, 34. S. C. 1, 1. 52); E. H. चाई *wind*. Skr. m. वायुः, Pr. m. वाऊ (Vr. 5, 18)<sup>1</sup>). The strong E. H. forms चिंदी (or बूंदी) and चाई seem to be diminutives (Pr. \*चिंदिन्ना, \*वाइन्ना) and to presuppose Pr. fem. forms \*चिंदा, \*वाया; just as Pr. fem. वाहा and masc. वाहू *arm*. Curious anomalies are, E. H. वस्तु *thing* (S. regularly tadbh. वथु fem. Tr. 105) and धातु *metal* (also वस्तु and धातु), which are masc., but are sometimes used as fem., though they are tats., which always keep their original gender, in this case n. and m. respectively in Skr. Of words in which the gender has changed from fem. in Skr. to masc. in E. H., there is, I believe, only one; and the change took place in Pr.; viz., Skr. fem. प्रवृष्ट *rainy season*, Pr. m. पाउसो (Vr. 4, 18. H. C. 1, 31. S. C. 1, 1. 50), E. H. m. पाउस् or पावस्<sup>2</sup>). As regards the change of Skr. neut. to E. H. masc., it had already taken place in Pr., in the case of all neut. ending in the cons. न् and स् (Vr. 4, 18. H. C. 32. Wb. Bh. 404. 420); thus Skr. n. कर्म (base कर्मन्) *work*, A. Mg. m. कम्मे (Bh. 163. 167) or Mh. कम्मो, E. H. m. कम्; Skr. n. यज्ञः *renown*, A. Mg. m. ज्ञसे (Bh. 420) or Mh. ज्ञसो, E. H. m. ज्ञस्; Skr. n. उरस् *breast*, A. Mg. m. उरे, E. H. उर; Skr. n. पयस् *milk*, A. Mg. m. पये, E. H. m. पय or पै; Skr. n. चक्षुस् *eye*, Pr. m. चकखू (H. C. 1, 33. S. C. 1, 1. 51, also n. चकखुं), E. H. m. चखू, etc. Sometimes also the change took

1) E. H. f. ताँत *string* is not = Skr. m. तन्तुः (as Bs. II, 174 after Tr. 69 says), but = Skr. f. तन्त्री. — The E. H. चाई *wind*, however, is more probably = Skr. f. वातिः.

2) The other word mentioned by the Pr. Gramm., m. सर्ओ = Skr. f. सर्दू, occurs in E. H. only as a fem. semitats. सर्दू. — There is, however, also a Skr. m. प्रवृष्टः.

place in the case of neut. in अ (Skr. nom. sing. अम्; see H. C. 1, 33. S. C. 1, 1. 51), especially in Mg. (Wb. Bh. 416. Ls. 399. 408. 429) and in Ap. (H. C. 4, 445. Ls. 461. 476); thus Skr. n. कुलम् *family*, Pr. n. कुलं or m. कुलो, Ap. m. कुलु (H. C. 4, 361), E. H. m. कुल्; Skr. n. दुःखम्, A. Mg. n. दुःखं or m. दुःखे (Bh. 190. 191), E. H. m. दुःख्; Skr. n. नयनम् *eye*, Pr. n. पात्रपां or m. पात्रपाो or पायपाो, E. H. m. नयन् or नैन्; Skr. n. वचनम् *word*, Pr. n. वचपां or m. वचपाो or वयपाो, Ap. वयपा (H. C. 4, 387), E. H. वयन् or वैन्; Skr. n. लोचनम् *eye*, Pr. n. लोत्रपां or m. लोत्रपाो or लोयपाो, E. H. m. लोयन्; Skr. n. हृदयम् *heart*, Pr. n. हिअत्रं (Vr. 1, 28) or Mg. m. हियर् (Bh. 394, also हउक्के) or Mh. हिअत्रो (Urv. 23, 10 in Pl. Diss. 5), E. H. m. हिया; Skr. n. धनम् *wealth*, Mg. m. धणे (Vr. 11, 11) or Ap. धपा (H. C. 4, 358), E. H. m. धन्; Skr. n. शिरस् *head*, Mh. n. सिर् (H. C. 1, 32), but Ap. m. सिर् (H. C. 4, 445), E. H. m. सिर्. In Gd. (exc. M., G. and exceptionally W. H.) the Pr. tendency to change neut. into masc. is extended to all neut.; thus Skr. n. दाम (base दामन्) *string*, Pr. n. दामं (H. C. 1, 32), but E. H. m. दाम् (sometimes even fem.); Skr. n. गृहम् *house*, Pr. n. घर, M. n. घर, but E. H. m. घर; Skr. n. घृतम् *clarified butter*, Pr. n. विअं, M. n. घो, but E. H. m. घो; Skr. n. दधिकम् *sour milk*, Pr. n. दहिअं, M. n. दहो, but E. H. m. दहो; Skr. n. पानीयम् *water*, Pr. n. पाणिअं (Vr. 1, 18), M. n. पानी, but E. H. m. पानी; Skr. n. मौक्तिकम् *pearl*, Pr. n. मोत्तिअं (Spt. 314), M. n. मोतो, but E. H. m. मोतो; Skr. n. मस्तिकम् *head*, Pr. n. मत्तिअं, M. n. मातो, but E. H. m. माथो; Skr. n. सुवर्णकम् *gold*, Pr. n. सोषअं or सोषयं (cf. Spt. 194), O. H. सोनयं, M. n. सोने, but E. H. m. सोना; Skr. n. अश्रुकम् *tear*, Pr. n. अंसुअं, M. n. अंसू, but E. H. m. अंसू (O. H. अंसुअ in Chand Devagiri 22); Skr. n. युगम् *yoke*, Pr. n. जुअं, M. n. जू, but E. H. m. जू or strong form जुअ; Skr. (st. f.) n. कर्तव्यकम् *doing*, Pr. n. करिअवुअं, Ap. n. करेवुउ (H. C. 4, 438) or करिवुउं, W. H. n. करिबो or m. करिबो, O. m. करिवा, E. H. (wk. f.) m. करिब् or करब्.

360. *Affinities.* As regards the gender of nouns, E. H. occupies an intermediate position. The M. and G. have preserved the three genders of the Skr. and Pr. Again B. and O. distinguish

-no gender at all. But E. H. has at least two genders, masc. and fem. Generally speaking it agrees in that respect with W. H., P., S. and N.; though traces of the old neut. survive in W. H. in the infinitives in अनीँ and इवीँ or अवीँ, as indicated by the final *aunásika*. — All the above mentioned E. H. instances of change of gender are common to W. H. and, as a rule, to the other Gds. also.

### 3. NUMBER.

361. There are only two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plur. of nouns, which signify *rational beings*, is formed 1) generally by adding the noun लोग् *people*, without any change in the sing. noun; or 2) less commonly by using the same form of the noun as in the sing. Thus *disciples* may be either चेलालोग् or less frequently चेला, from sing. चेला; or *daughters* बेटीलोग् or बेटी, from sg. बेटी. The plur. of any other being or thing can, generally, be formed only in the second way. Thus *horses* is घोरा but not घोरालोल्; *words* is वात्, not वातलोग्, from the sing. घोरा and वात्. In such cases, if the noun be in the nom. case, the context must decide its number. The plural, formed with लोग्, I shall call the *compound*, the other the *simple*.

*Exception.* A few nouns optionally form anomalous plurals, as वन् *man*, pl. वने; मनुल् *man*, pl. मनइ.

362. The termination of the subst. suffers no change in the sing. nor in the nom. and acc. *proper* of the plur.; but in the oblique cases of the plur. the suff. 'अन्, इन्, उन् are added to subst. in अ or आ, इ or ई, उ or ऊ respectively. In the case of the comp. plur. they may be added either to the noun itself or, as is more common, to the plur. sign लोग्. The form thus made, I shall call the *oblique plural*; that of the obl. cases of the sing. and of the nom. and acc. *proper* of the (simple) plur., the *oblique sing.*; and that of the nom. sing., the *direct form*. See examples in § 379.

*Exception.* Subst. in ई, signifying *inanimate objects*, do

not make the oblique plur. (with इन्) in the short, but only in the long and red. forms; see examples in § 379.

363. *Affinities.* 1) In E. H. the nom. and acc. *proper* of the simple plur. of all subst. are identical with the obl. form of the sing.; the reason of which will be explained in § 369. The same, in principle, is the case in all Gds., except in O. and, partially, M. In the latter the fem. and neut. subst. have a special dir. form of the plur., whilst in O. there is no simple plur. at all (exc. in the plur. sign माने, see below Nro. 2. 3). But the B. and N. are peculiar in adding to the obl. sg. a special case-affix to denote its nom.-plur.-application; viz., B. र्, N. ह्; and N. has the further peculiarity of using an archaic obl. sg. in हे or ह् (see §§ 364, 3. 365, 6). Thus E. H. ob. sg. चेला, nom. pl. चेला *disciples*, W. H. obl. sg. चेल्ले, nom. pl. चेल्ले; B. obl. sg. चेला, nom. pl. चेला-र्, N. old obl. sg. चेलाहे or चेलाह, nom. pl. चेलाहे-ह् or चेलाह-ह्, etc.; for other examples see §§ 364, 3. 369, 1. — 2) The E. H. has both a simple and a comp. plur., the former for all subst., the latter (as a rule) for those only which denote *rational beings*. Formerly the O. also had, for subst. denoting rational beings, a simple plur. which, in the case of अ-bases, ended in ट् (see Bs. II, 198; e. g., कुमारे pl. of कुमार *boy*); but now the comp. plur. (made with माने) only is used. For all other subst. the O. has no plur. at all (see Sn. 14). None of the other Gds. possess a comp. plur.; B. using the simple plur. for rational beings only (S. Ch. 44. 53); the rest of the Gds., for all subst. alike. The comp. plur. is made, in O. with माने, obl. f. मानन्, in E. H. with लोग्, obl. f. लोग्न्. Thus nom. pl. E. H. चेला or चेला-लोग् *disciples*, O. चेला-माने; dat. pl. E. H. चलन्-के or चेला-लोग्न्-के, O. चेला-मानन्-कु. It should be observed, however, that, for the purpose of emphasizing the plur. meaning, a periphrastic plur. may be formed in all Gds. for any subst. whatsoever, by appending to the sing. some suitable collective noun, such as गण् *troop*, वर्ग *class*, सकल् or सद् *all*, etc. — 3) All Gds. have an obl. f. of the simple plur. (see

table, below), exc. the N., B. and, apparently, G. which use the form of the nom. pl. in the obl. cases also. Thus E. H. nom. pl. चेला, obl. चेलन्; H. H. चेल्ले, obl. चेल्लो, etc.; but G. nom. and obl. चेलान् or (variously spelled) चेलान् or चेलान्. However, in G. the final *anunásika* (Pr. *anusvára*), which usually distinguishes the obl. plur. (see § 368, 6), may have been dropped. Where there is no simple plur., as in O., there can be, of course, no obl. plur. But the O. and E. H. comp. plur. signs माने and लोम (see Nro. 2) form a regular obl. pl. मानन् and लोमन्. As to the N. and B., see § 364, 2. 3. — 4) As regards the sing., the general tendency of the Gds. is to assimilate the obl. to the dir. form. In the E. Gd. the assimilation is complete, no subst. (of whatever termin.) having its obl. differing from its dir. form. In W. Gd. (exc. S.) and N. Gd., it is almost complete, the only exceptions being strong nouns in ञा. In S. the obl. form of masc. nouns in उ and ओ, and of com. gen. nouns in ई and ऌ is different from the direct. In S. Gd. the two forms differ in most nouns of whatever termination. It must, however, in all cases be understood, that the obl. f., though *now* it may outwardly be the same as the dir., is not really identical with it, but has a different origin, as will be shown in § 365. Thus nom. sg. A. Mg. सामिर् or सामिञ् = dir. f. M. and E. H. सामी, or nom. sg. Mh. सामिओ, Ap. सामिउ = dir. f. S. सामी *lord*; and gen. sg. A. Mg. सामिञ्जह = obl. f. M. साम्या, E. H. (lg. f.) समिया; or gen. sg. Ap. सामिञ्जहो or ०हु = obl. f. O. H. सामिञ्जह, S. सामिञ्ज, W. H. and E. H. सामी. Again nom. sg. A. Mg. घोउर् or घोउञ् = dir. f. M. and E. H. घोउ, or nom. sg. Mh. घोउओ, Ap. घोउउ = dir. f. S. घोउे; and gen. sg. A. Mg. घोउञ्जह = obl. f. M. घाड्या (for \*घोउया), E. H. (lg. f.) घोउवा; or gen. sg. Ap. घोउञ्जहो or घोउञ्जहे = obl. f. O. H. घोउञ्जह or O. P. घोउञ्जहि, G., W. H., E. H. घोउ, P., H. H. घोउे. — 5) The subjoined tables give a comparative view of the various terminations of the Gd. dir. and obl. forms. Observe, that where a form is not ascribed to any particular Gd., it belongs to all; and where no gender is mentioned, it is common.

*Direct forms singular*

of weak bases	}	in अ	अ; exc. S., O. H., O. P. उ m., अ f.
		in इ	इ; exc. M., H. H. इ m. n., इ or अ f.
		in उ	उ.
of strong bases	}	in आ	E. Gd., H. H., P. आ m., Br. आ or आ m., Mw., S., N. आ m., G. आ m., उँ n., M. आ or उ m., ऐँ or उँ n., O. H. आ or अय m. अयं n.
		in ई	ई; exc. M. ई m. f., ईँ n., O. H. ई m., इय f.
		in उ	उ; exc. M. उ m. f., उँ n., G. उ c. g.

*Direct forms plural in M.*

of weak bases	}	in अ	आ f., ऐँ n.	}	of strong bases	in आ	ईँ or ऐँ n.
		in इ	ईँ f.			in ई	या f., येँ n.
		in उ	deest			in उ	वा f., वेँ n.

*Oblique forms singular*

of weak bases	}	in अ	अ; exc. B. अ or ऐ, M. आ m. n., ऐ f., O. H. अ or अह or अहि, O. P. अ or अहि.
		in इ	इ; exc. M. ई, O. H. इ or इह or इहि, O. P. इ or इहि.
		in उ	उ; exc. M. उ, O. H. उ or उह or उहि.
of strong bases	}	in आ	B., O., E. H., Mw. आ m., Br. आ or ऐ m., H. H., P., S. ऐ m., M. या or आ m. n., G. आ m., आँ n., O. H. अअह or अअहि m. n.
		in ई	ई; exc. S. इअ, M. या m. n., ये f. or ई c. g., O. H. इअह or इअहि.
		in उ	उ; exc. S. उअ, M. वा m. n., वे f. or उ c. g., O. H. उअह or उअहि.

*Oblique forms plural*

of weak bases	}	in अ	E. H. अन्, H. H. आँ, Br. आँ or अन् or अनि, Mw., M. आँ, P. आँ m., ईआँ f., G. आ, S. आँ or ऐँ or अनि c. g., उनि f., O. H. आन् or अन् or अन्ह or अन्हि.
		in इ	E. H. इन्, H. H. इयोँ, Br. इयोँ or इन् or इनि, Mw. यॉ, P. इआँ, G. इआँ, M. ईँ, S. इआँ or इऐँ or इनि or इअनि or इतनि, O. H. इन् or इन्ह or इन्हि.
		in उ	E. H. उन्, H. H. उओँ, Br. उन or उनि, Mw., P. उआँ, G. उओ, S. उनि, M. उँ, O. H. उन् or उन्ह or उन्हि. N. B., in B., O., N. <i>deest</i> throughout.



of strong bases	in ञ	P. इञ्चो m, S. ञो or ञ् or ञनि m., G. ञात् (or ञाञ्चो) m., ञो n., M. ञो or ञो m. n.	} the rest as in the weak bases.
	in ई	Br. इवो or इवन् or इवनि or इन् or इनि, P. ईञ्चो, G. ईञ्चो, M. वो or ई.	
	in उ	Br. उञ्चो or उञ्चन् or उञ्चनि or उन् or उनि, P. उञ्चो, S. उञ्चो or उञ्चन् or उञ्चनि or उनि, M. वो or उ.	

*Obl. forms used as nom. plur.*

of weak bases	in ञ	B. ञ-रा or ए-रा, N. ञहे-रु or ञह-रु, E. H. ञ, H. H. ञ m., ञ् f., Br., O. H. ञ m., ञ् f., Mw. ञ m., ञो f., P. ञ m., इञ्चो f., S. ञ m., ञो or उ f., M. ञ m., G. ञ m., ञो c. g.
	in इ	B. इ-रा, N. इहे-रु or इह-रु, E. H. इ, H. H., Br. इ m., इवो f., Mw. इ m., वो f., P. इ m., इञ्चो f., S. इ m., इञ्चो f., G. इ m., उञ्चो c. g., M. इ c. g.
	in उ	B. उ-रा, N. उहे-रु or उह-रु, E. H. उ, H. H., W. H., P. उ m. उञ्चो f., S. उ m., उञ्चो f., G. उ m. or उञ्चो c. g., M. उ.

N. B., in O. *deest* throughout.

of strong bases	in ञ	B. ञ-रा, N. ञहे-रु or ञह-रु, E. H., Mw., S. ञ m., H. H., P. ए m., Br. ञ or ए m., G. ञ or ञात् m., ञो or ञोच् n., M. ए or उ m.
	in ई	B. ई-रा, N. ईहे-रु or ईह-रु, E. H. ई, G. ईञ्चो, H. H. ई m., इवो f., Br. ई m., ई or इवो f., Mw. ई m., वो f., P. ई m., इञ्चो f., S. ई m., ईञ्चो f., M. ई m.
	in उ	B. उ-रा, N. उहे-रु or उह-रु, E. H., S. उ, H. H., W. H. उ m., उञ्चो f., P. उ m., उञ्चो f., G. उञ्चो or उ c. g., M. उ m.

N. B., in O. *deest* throughout.

*Note:* It will be observed, that in W. Gd. the obl. plur. of weak nouns in इ and उ generally adopts the obl. termin. of strong nouns in ई and उ, and vice versa in E. H. the obl. plur. of strong nouns in ञ, ई, उ the obl. termin. of the weak nouns in ञ, इ, उ.

364. *Derivation of the plural signs.* 1) The O. माने or, shortened, मान is, probably, identical with the E. H. plur. मनइ men (§ 361, exc.; from Skr. मानव *man*; not मान *measure*, as Bs. II, 199), and is a plur. noun with the old termination ए, obl.

मन् (see § 363, 2). The E. H. लोमन् *men* (Skr. लोक § 102) is also a plur. noun, as shown by its obl. f. लोमन् (§ 363, 2), and, like मान, is shortened for लोमे. The shortened form मान is not used with rational beings (see Sn. 11). — 2) The B. is generally said to form a comp. plur. with the pl. sign दिग्, which is sometimes (see Bs. II, 200) believed to be none other than the Skr. दिक् *region, side*. But there can be little doubt, that this identification is a mistake. For a) the B. दिग् ends in (quiescent) घ, while the Skr. दिक् does not; b) a final Skr. क् would not become ग् in either Pr. or Gd.; c) the Skr. दिक् is merely the nom. sg. of the base दिग्, while the B. दिग्, if anything, is an obl. f., i. e., equal to the Skr. gen. sg. (see § 366) which is दिग्ः (Pr. दिसो or rather दिसाट्, cf. H. C. 1, 19. 3, 30); d) the sg. दिग् (or nom. दिक्) is not a collective noun and, therefore, could not serve to form a plur.; on the other hand e) in the plur. (like माने, लोमे) it would be Skr. दिग्ः, Pr. दिसाघो, which would not produce the B. दिग्. I am inclined to believe, that दिग् is not a real word, but merely a compound of two case-affixes. The ordinary B. gen. pl. ends in देरू. This I divide into दे (base) and रू (case-aff.), just as in the gen. sg.; thus देवदेरू *of gods* = देवदे-रू, just as देवेरू *of a god* = देवे-रू (see § 365, 6). Here देवदे, like देवे, is an obl. f.; its dir. f. would be देवदा (or देवद); and, in fact, the two forms, thus deduced, are the same as the P. gen. sg. देव-दा and its obl. f. देव-दे. It should be observed that the B. uses the gen. sg. to serve as a plur. base (see § 369); its nom. pl. देवे-रा *gods* is but the st. f. of its gen. sg. देवे-रू *of a god*. Similarly it uses an other (now obsolete) gen. sg. देव-दा, to serve as the pl. base of the obl. cases, which are made by adding certain case-affixes. Before the latter, as usual, the base is inflected, i. e., देव-दा becomes देव-दे, and with the gen. aff. रू it is देव-दे-रू. With the dat. aff. के it ought to be देव-दे-के; but के has a tendency to change to ने (just as in W. H. among the *Mairs* the gen. aff. are गो, गा, etc. for को, का; in N. मरू *to do* for करू) and दे to become दि (just as the B. and E. H. dat. aff. के is in O. कि); hence it is देव-दि-गे

(or देवदिग्गे, as it is commonly spelled, see S. Ch. 58, with two ग्, to compensate for the shortening of ए). Similarly with the loc.-aff. ते or के-ते, it is देव-दि-गे-ते (just as, e. g., in H. H. dat.-acc. उस-के-तई<sup>०</sup> to him, lit. up to him). In course of time this origin was forgotten and an imaginary noun दिग्ग formed, and henceforth treated like a real noun. Thus a dat. दिग्ग-के and a gen. दिग्गेरू was made. The form दिग्गेरू, however, is, according to S. Ch. 50 not commonly used in speaking, which points to a surviving consciousness on the part of the people of the unfitness of the formation. The occurrence of the ordinary P. gen.-aff. दा in B., at the two furthest extremities of the Gd. area, is no doubt remarkable; but it is by no means the only fact of its kind. Thus there is the same peculiar auxil. past tense in the O. गेला he was and in S. यिओ, P. या; and indeed the ordinary B. and O. gen.-aff. रू occurs also in the distant Mw. रौ (see § 377, 1). In each case, these words are almost entirely absent in the intermediate Gds.; though occasionally ओ and दा are met with in W. H. (see Kl. 70. 157), and या and यो are the regular forms in H. H. and N. respectively, and ह occurs in the plur. of N. (see Nro. 3). It will be shown also in § 377, 3, that the B. instr.-aff. दिया is connected with the gen.-aff. दा. — 3) There is a close analogy between the N. and B. plur. The former is made by adding हेरू or हरू to the sing. But these plur. signs are not, as it has been supposed, nouns, but are compounded of the old gen. or obl. termin. हे or ह (see § 365, 6) and the gen.-aff. ह, which is identical with the B. gen.-aff. रू, but has preserved the old termin. उ. In fact, the N. plur. termin. हेरू is identical with the B. gen. termin. एरू and the B. plur. termin. एरा; the latter being the st. f., the other two wk. forms. Thus N. देवहे-रू or देवह-रू gods = B. देवे-रा (or gen. देवे-रू). The B. ए is but a contraction of the older form अहे or अहि. In the O. Gd. the gen. or obl. sg. in अहे or अहि or अह or (shortened) ए was used as a nom. plur. (see § 369); e. g., जने men = जनहि lit. of man scl. multitude; and in order to make it a plur. base capable of declension, the declinable

gen.-aff. ह् or (st. f.) र्त् (a curtailed nomin. base, § 377) was added. Thus the N. जनह-ह् (originally a gen. sg., = Ap. Pr. जनहो केह्) is now a plur. base, which can be regularly declined; e. g., gen. जनह-ह्-को of men, dat. जनह-ह्-लाई to men, etc. Similarly in B.; only instead of declining the plur. base जन-र्त्, it substitutes in the obl. cases an other plur. base जन-दा or जन-द्, which was also originally a gen. sg. Thus gen. जन-दे-र् of men, dat. जन-दि-गे to men, etc. But, as in the case of the B. दिग्, the true nature of the N. हेह् or हेह् is now forgotten, and it is supposed to be a real noun; see also § 369, 1.

365. *Derivation of the obl. terminations.* It will be seen from the table of obl. termin. (§ 363), that they are divisible into two great types, of which those of the M. and S. are respectively most characteristic, and which can be best distinguished in the sing. In M. the sg. obl. forms end in a long, in S. in a short vowel. Thus M. obl. sg. (wk. f.) m. ञा, f. ए, m. f. ई, m. f. उ, and (st. f.) m. या, वा, f. ये, वे; again obl. pl. (wk. f.) m. f. ञाँ, ईँ, ऊँ, and (st. f.) m. f. याँ, वाँ. But in S. obl. sg. (wk. f.) m. f. ञ, ए, उ, and (st. f.) m. f. ञा or ए (= ञञ), इञ, उञ (or in the other Gds. contracted ई, उ); again obl. pl. (wk. f.) m. f. ञाँ or ऐँ (in W. H. ञाँ, ञाँ), and (st. f.) m. f. इञाँ or इऐँ, उञाँ or उऐँ (in W. H. इयाँ or इयाँ, उयाँ or उयाँ). To the S. type belong the W. and N. Gds.; to the M. type, of course, the S. Gd. (i. e. M.), though exceptionally, a few forms of the S. type have found admittance into M.; viz., the M. strong obl. forms in ञा, ई, उ. The E. Gds. again are a mixture of both; for their short (incl. weak and strong) forms are of the S. type, and their long forms of the M. This double character can be best seen in E. H. — The original of the Gd. oblique form is the Pr. genitive (see § 366). The obl. f. of the M. type goes back to the M. gen.; that of the S. type to the Ap. gen. — 1) *Deriv. of the Mg. type.* The suff. of the gen. sg. are in Mg. Pr. ञ (or ञा = Skr. ञ) or ह् (Vr. 11, 12. H. C. 4, 299), which are added indifferently to all three kinds of bases in ञ, ए and उ of whatever gender (see § 367).

Before ह the final of the base is lengthened. Thus there are two sets of Mg. gen. termin.: 1) अस्स, इस्स, उस्स and 2) अह, ईह, उह or, with strong bases, 1) अअस्स, इअस्स, उअस्स and 2) अअह, इअह. In M. (representing the old Dk. Pr. of the Mg. Pr. type, see Introd.) the 1<sup>st</sup> set becomes (§§ 143. 147) आस्, ईस्, उस् or (st. f.) यास् (for अयास् or इयास्), वास् (for उयास्), and the 2<sup>nd</sup> set (dropping ह<sup>1</sup>) आ, ई, उ or (st. f.) या (for अया or इया), वा (for उया). In the E. H. (= old A. Mg. Pr.) only the 2<sup>nd</sup> set occurs; viz., (lg. f.) अवा, इवा, उवा (with euph. व् and व्). Both sets are preserved in the M. dat., which is identical with the old gen. (see Vr. 6, 64); thus M. देवास् or देवा to a God = Dk. Pr. देवस्स or देवाह, Skr. देवस्य. But, in M., the first set is also preserved in its proper gen. sense in the so-called post-position साठी<sup>०</sup>, which is really a compound of the gen. termin. स् and the post-position आठी<sup>०</sup> (= Ap. Pr. अट्टहिं, Skr. अर्थे for the sake of); thus M. देवासाठी<sup>०</sup> lit. for the sake of God, i. e. देवास् आठी<sup>०</sup> = Dk. Pr. देवस्स अट्टहिं, Skr. देवस्य अर्थे. The 2<sup>nd</sup> set is used as the termin. of the ordinary M. and E. H. obl. form, and as such retains its old gen. sense. Thus M. dat. देवा लाई<sup>०</sup> lit. for the benefit of God = Dk. देवाह लाहहिं, Skr. देवस्य लाभे; or (lg. f.) M. देव्या लाई<sup>०</sup> = Dk. देवयाह लाहहिं, Skr. देवकस्य लाभे; or E. H. dat. देववा के lit. at the side of God, A. Mg. देवअह कहि, Skr. देवकस्य कत्ते. — 2) The suff. of the gen. sg. of fem. nouns in आ, ई and उ is in Pr. ए (= Skr. यास्) or, shortened, इ or अ (Vr. 5, 22. 23. H. C. 3, 29. 30). The form अ is, evidently, the latest, whence it passed into Gd. Thus the latest Mg. Pr. gen. termin. are: आअ, ईअ, उअ or, with strong bases, इअअ, उअअ. In M., these become ए (for आय with euph. व्), ई and उ (dropping अ), and (st. f.) ये, वे (for याय, वाय); and in E. H., (lg. f.) इया, उया or उवा (dropping अ and inserting euph.

1) As to the Gd. tendency to drop a final ह, see § 32. In the O. H. of Chand *shāh* king is often spelled सा, and *sih* lion सी; e. g., करी आनि साहाव सा वन्धि गोरी, *Revatāta* 43; or रा चावँउ जैतसी *Devagiri* 51 for साहाअ साह and जैतसीह.

यू and वू). These M. and E. H. termin. occur in their obl. forms. Thus M. obl. f. त्तोमे of a tongue, contr. for Dk. त्तोमाय or त्तोमाय or त्तोमाइ or त्तोमाइ = Skr. त्तोमायाः, of M. त्तोमा, Dk. त्तोमा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. त्तोमा. — 3) There are some M. strong masc. and fem. nouns in ई and ऊ, the obl. form of which ends also in ई and ऊ instead of in या m. (ये f.) and वा m. (वे f.). Thus m. विंचू scorpion has obl. f. विंचवा or विंचू; m. हत्ती elephant has obl. f. हत्ती (not हत्त्या); f. घोडे mare has obl. f. घोडी, (not घोडेय), f. मामू mother-in-law has obl. f. मामवे and मामू. It is just possible, that here ई and ऊ may be contractions of या, ये and वा, वे respectively; but it is much more probable that they are Ap. Pr. forms which have been mixed up in M. with Dk. Pr. forms (see Nro 6)<sup>1</sup>). The same remarks apply to the E. Gd. obl. forms in आ, ई, ऊ of short-form nouns in आ, ई, ऊ. Thus E. H. obl. f. घोरा of a horse might be contracted from A. Mg. gen. घोउआह; but it is much more probably a contraction of the Ap. Pr. घोउआहो. — 4) The suff. of the gen. pl. are in Mg. Pr. णं or ण (Vr. 5, 4. 4, 16. H. C. 3, 6. 1, 29 = Skr. नाम्) and हँ (H. C. 4, 300), which are added indifferently to bases in अ, इ and उ of whatever gender (see § 367), and before which the final of the base is lengthened. Thus there are two sets of Mg. Pr. termin.: 1) आणं, ईणं, उणं and 2) आहँ, ईहँ, उहँ, or, with strong bases, 1) आणणं, इणणं, उणणं and 2) आहहँ, इहहँ, उहहँ. In M. the 1<sup>st</sup> set becomes आंना, ईंना, ऊंना<sup>2</sup>) or (st. f.) यांना (for अयान or इयान), वांना

1) That both the Mg. and Ap. gen. have contributed to the M. obl. forms, can be clearly seen from the following example: Skr. nom. घोटकः, gen. घोटकस्य becomes, in M., nom. घोडा, obl. घोडवा; analogously Skr. वर्तसरकः should be, in M., nom. वाटसरा, obl. वाटसर्वा, but it becomes वाटसरू, obl. वाटसरा. The reason is, that the former represent Mg. forms: nom. घोउठ्, gen. घोउआह; the latter Ap. forms: nom. वट्सरुउ, gen. वट्सरुअह or हो.

2) These forms are usually divided into आँ + ना, ईँ + ना, ऊँ + ना, and ना is considered to be an aff., and the rest to be the ordinary obl. f. This is possible, as ना might be a modification of the ordinary M. dat. aff. ला, analogous to the G. sg. and pl. dat. aff. ने. But in that case,

(for उञ्चान), and the 2<sup>nd</sup> set becomes (by elision of ह् and contraction of the hiatus-vowels) षाँ, ईँ, ऊँ or (st. f.) वाँ (for षवाँ or इषाँ), वाँ (for उषाँ). In E. H. the first set becomes (by shortening the initial vowel) षन्, इन्, उन्, or (lg. f.) षवन्, इवन्, उवन्, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> set (lg. f.) षवाँ, इवाँ, उषाँ (with euph. व् and य्). In O. H. (Chand and Kabir), however, examples of the 1<sup>st</sup> set with a long vowel still occur; e. g., महिलानं of women, द्रव्यानं of riches, गुरुन् to teachers (Bs. II, 219. 207. 282). In M., the 1<sup>st</sup> set is, just as in the sing., preserved in the dat. (= old gen.); thus M. देवांना to Gods = Dk. देवाणां, Skr. देवानाम्. In E. H. the 1<sup>st</sup> set forms the termin. of the ordinary obl. pl., with the sense of the gen.; e. g., loc. देवन् मे lit. in the midst of Gods = A. Mg. देवाण मदिक्, Skr. देवानां मध्ये. The 2<sup>nd</sup> set forms the termin. of the ordinary obl. pl. in M.: and obl. sg. in E. H.<sup>1)</sup>, also retaining the sense of the gen.; e. g., loc. M. देवाँ ठाईँ lit. in the place of Gods = Dk. देवाहँ ठाणहिं, Skr. देवानां स्थाने, or (lg. f.) M. देवाँ ठाईँ = Dk. देवयाहँ ठाणहिं, Skr. देवकानां स्व°; or (lg. f.) E. H. देववाँ मे in a God = A. Mg. देवग्राहँ मदिक्, Skr. देवकानां मध्ये. — 5) The masc. nouns in ईँ and ऊँ, mentioned in Nro. 3 as having an obl. sg. in ईँ and ऊँ for वा, वा, similarly have an obl. pl. in ईँ and ऊँ, which might be contractions of वाँ and वाँ, but more probably are Ap. forms (see Nro. 7). Thus हत्तो elephant has obl. pl. हत्तो (not हत्तो), विंचू scorpion has obl. pl. विंचवाँ or विंचू. — 6) Deriv. of the S. type. The suff. of the gen. sg. are, in the Ap. Pr., हो and हे or, shortened, हु or हि (H. C. 4, 338. 336. 351 and 4, 350. 341. 352. K. I. 30. 34. 36. 35. 29 in Ls. 451. 462), which are added alike to bascs in ष, इ, उ of whatever gender (see § 367). Thus there are two sets of Ap. termin.; viz. 1) अहो, इहो, उहो or अहु, इहु, उहु

one would expect ना to be used also in the sg., which is not the case. On the whole, I think it more probable, that the whole is one suff., to which, however, a mistaken popular etymology has given an anomalous final षा; the forms ought to be षाँ, ईँ, ऊँ.

1) This confusion of sg. and pl. forms may be also otherwise observed in Gd., see § 367, 5.

and 2) ग्रहे, इहे, उहे or ग्रहि, इहि, उहि or, with strong bases, 1) ग्रग्रहो, इग्रहो, उग्रहो or ग्रग्रहु, इग्रहु, उग्रहु and 2) ग्रग्रहे, इग्रहे, उग्रहे or ग्रग्रहि, इग्रहि, उग्रहि. In old Gd. (O. H., O. P.) the 1<sup>st</sup> set becomes ग्रह, इह, उह or (dropping ह) ग्र, इ, उ, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> set ग्रहि or ए (contr. for ग्रहि = ग्रइ), इहि, उहि, or in strong bases, 1) ग्रग्रह, इग्रह, उग्रह or ग्रा (for ग्रग्र), इग्र, उग्र, and 2) ग्रग्रहि or ग्राय (for ग्रग्रइ) or ए or ए, इग्रहि, उग्रहि. The 1<sup>st</sup> set (in ह) is still found in the O. W. H. of Chand, the 2<sup>nd</sup> set (in हि) in the O. P. of the Granth (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI), in the O. H. of Kabir, Tulsí Dás, etc. and in the O. B. of Vidyapati, etc., in their proper sense of the gen. sg.; e. g., गोचार परह चारै सु गोइ । *a herdsman tends the cattle of an other* (Chand 28, 62), or बोल बोलहु अविचारह । *you speak a speech of inconsiderateness* (Ch. 28, 50), or चहुवानह पास । *by the side of the Chakuván* (Ch. 28, 33). Again राम नाम लै वेराधारा ५ सो तै ले संसारहि पार ॥ i. e., *so thou mayest reach the farther shore of the world* (Kabir Ram. 75, 3), or जीवहि मरन न होइ ॥ i. e., *of the soul there is no dying* (Kabir Ram. 22, 6). Again प्रणउँ पुर नर नारि बहोरी । ममता तिन पर प्रभुहि न थोरी ॥ i. e., *concerning which the pride of the Lord is not small* (Tulsí Dás, Bal. 10), or होइहि संतत पियहि पियारी ॥ *there will be offspring of the beloved one of the beloved* (T. Dás, Bal. 26), or को गुण दोषहि करै विचार ॥ i. e., *who takes account of virtue and vice* (T. Dás, Bal. 30). In the sense of the dat. (= old gen.) हि is very common in O. H. <sup>1)</sup>; thus रंगअवनि सत्र मुनिहि दिवाई ॥ i. e., *he showed all the decorations to the sage* (T. Dás. Bal.), or आपु जुवरातपद रामहि देउ ॥ i. e., *give the heir-apparentship to Rám* (T. Dás Ayodh. 5); also in O. B., e. g., ग्रानहि to another (see Bs. II, 229). Both ह and हि also occur as the termin. of the obl. f.; e. g., कह्यौ सम वान ततारह । *he spoke with the Khán Tartár* (Chand 28, 58), or ततारह उपरह । *upon the Tartár* (Ch. 29, 19); or ग्रदिहि ते सत्र कथा सुनाई *he narrated the whole story from the beginning* (T. Dás

1) Also often in the sense of the acc. (= dat. = old gen.); e. g., बहु विधि राम शिवहि समुवावा । परवती कर जन्म सुनावा ॥ i. e., *in many ways Rám admonished Shiva and narrated the story of the birth of Parvatí* (T. Dás, Bal. 26), etc. See also Kl. 65. 283. 286 and § 367, 3,



in Bs. II, 212). These examples contain also instances of the curtailed form of the gen.; thus राम नाम लै *taking the name of Rāma*, प्रपाउं पुर नर नारि *I salute the men and women of the town*, पियारी संतत (for पियारिञ्च) *offspring of the beloved one*, etc. In modern Gd. both sets occur only in their curtailed forms (with one exception in N., see below): 1) अ, इ, उ and 2) ए or, in strong bases, 1) आ, इअ or ई, उअ or ऊ and 2) आय् or ऐ or ए. The 2<sup>nd</sup> set is still preserved in the B. and O. dat. (= old gen.; especially in words denoting inanimate objects; but generally in poetry and *theṭh bhāshā*; see S. Ch. 46, 2. 59, 4. 62. 63. Sn. 14. 15); thus B. and O. घरे *to a house* = O. Gd. घरहि, Ap. Pr. घरहे, Skr. गृहस्य; B. दीने *to the poor*, O. Gd. दीनहि, Ap. दीणहे, Skr. दीनस्य; B. तामाय् *to copper*, O. Gd. तामाहि or तामग्रहि, Ap. तम्बग्रहे, Skr. ताम्रकस्य, etc. But both sets are used in all Gds. (with the exceptions in Nros 1—5) as the ordinary termin. of the obl. sg., and as such retain their old gen. sense. They are distributed among the various Gds. in the following manner. The contracted weak form ए is confined to the gen. and loc. sg. and nom. pl. of B.; thus B. gen. sg. देवे-र् lit. *done of God*, O. Gd. देवहि कर, Ap. देवहे केर, Skr. देवस्य कृतः (see § 377); loc. sg. देवे ते *in God*; nom. pl. देवे-रा *Gods*, O. Gd. देवहि करा, Ap. देवहे केरउ, Skr. देवस्य कृतकः scl. सङ्गः (see § 364, 2). N. has preserved even the full old form (in हे or ह) in its nom. pl.; thus N. देवह-र् or देवहे-र् *Gods*, O. Gd. देवह कर, Ap. देवहे or हो केर, Skr. देवस्य कृतः (scl. सङ्गः). The contr. st. f. आ occurs in B., O., Mw. and G.; E. H. has आ and ए, Br. आ and ऐ (i. e. आ in subst., ए or ऐ in adj.); P. and S. have ए; thus gen. sg., B., O. घोडा-र्, Mw. घोडा-रो, E. H. घोरा कै, Br. घोडा कौ, G. घोडा नो, P. घोडे दा, S. घोडे नो *of a horse*, O. Gd. घोडग्रह or हो करौ or करौ, Ap. घोडग्रहो or हो केरउ, Skr. घोटकस्य कृतकः; again E. H. भल्ले कै, Br. भल्लै कौ *of good*, O. H. भल्लग्रहि क°, Ap. भल्लग्रहे क°, Skr. भद्रकस्य क°. The uncontr. st. f. इअ and उअ are possessed by S. only; the contr. ई and ऊ by all other Gds.; thus loc. sg., E. H. etc. हायो मे, but S. हयिअ मे lit. *in the midst of the elephant*, O. Gd. हयिअह माही, Ap. हयिअहो मन्कहिं, Skr. हस्तिकस्य मध्ये; or E. H. etc. विहू मे, but

S. विदुग्र मे° *in the midst of the scorpion*, O. Gd. विदुग्रह म°, Ap. विच्छुग्रहो म°, Skr. वृश्चिकस्य म°, etc. The weak forms घ, इ, उ are common to all Gds; thus dat. sg., O. नर कु, B., E. H. नर के, Br. नर कैँ, Mw. नर नै, G. नर ने, P. नर नूँ, N. नर लार्ह, S. नर खे lit. *by the side of the man*, Skr. नरस्य कत्ने. — 7) The suff. of the gen. plur. are, in the Ap. Pr., हं, हुं and हिं (H. C. 4, 339. 340. 337. cf. 347. 351. K. I. 31. 32. 28 in Ls. 451), which are added indifferently to bases in घ, इ, उ of whatever gender (§ 367). Thus there are three sets of Ap. Pr. termin.: 1) अहं, इहं, उहं, 2) अहुं, इहुं, उहुं, 3) अहिं, इहिं, उहिं or, with strong bases, 1) अग्रहं, इग्रहं, उग्रहं, 2) अग्रहुं, इग्रहुं, उग्रहुं, 3) अग्रहिं, इग्रहिं, उग्रहिं. In O. H. the 3<sup>d</sup> set is still found in the sense of the dat. (= old. gen.); thus नातुपितहिं पुनि वह मत भावा *this counsel, again, pleased (her) parents* (T. Dás. in Kl. 286); or दीन्ह अनीस सग्रहिं सुखमानो *he gave a blessing to all of happy import* (T. Dás, Bal.); or त्तो तुमहिं सुता पर नेह। lit. *if to you there is love for your daughter or if there is love of you for your daughter*<sup>1</sup>). In modern Gd., ह is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted; thus 1) अँ, ईँ, ऊँ, 2) औँ or औँ, (इहुँ *deest*), ऊँ, 3) ऐँ or ऐँ, ईँ, (उहिँ *deest*) or, in strong bases, 1) अँ, इयँ or यँ, उग्रँ or वँ, 2) औँ or औँ, इयोँ or इयोँ or इयूँ, उग्रौँ or उग्रौँ or ऊँ, 3) ऐँ or ऐँ, इऐँ or ईँ, उऐँ. Most of these forms serve as the termin. of the ordinary obl. plur., and, as such, retain their original gen. sense. They are distributed among the various Gds., as follows. The forms अँ (wk. or st.), इयँ or यँ, उग्रँ or वँ occur in S., P. and Mw.; the forms औँ or औँ (wk. or st.), इयोँ or इयोँ, उग्रौँ or उग्रौँ in Br. and H. H.; the forms ऐँ (wk. or st.), इऐँ, उऐँ in S., and the st. forms ईँ and ऊँ in M. Thus loc. pl.; S., P., Mw. नरँ मे° lit. *in the midst of men*, Ap. पारहं मरुकिहं, Skr. नराणां मध्ये; Br. नरौँ मे°, H. H. नरौँ मे°, Ap.

1) Also often in the sense of the acc. (= dat. = old gen.); e. g., तत्र रामहिं बिलोकि वैदेही *then Vaidehi having beheld Ráma* (T. Dás, Bal.); रामहिं is here the plur. majestatis; but the pl. हिं is often used for the sg. हि, see § 367, 5.

नरुहुं म°; S. नरे° मे°, Ap. पारुहिं म°; or in st. f., S., P., Mw. घोडौं मे°  
*in the midst of horses*, Ap. घोडग्रहं मङ्कहिं, Skr. घोटकानां मध्ये; Br.  
 घोडौं मे°, H. H. घोडौं मे°, Ap. घोडग्रहुं म°; S. घोडौं मे°, Ap. घोडग्रहिं म°,  
 etc. Again M. dat. pl. हत्तीं ला lit. *for the benefit of elephants*,  
 Ap. हत्त्यग्रहिं लाहि, Skr. हस्तिकानां लाभे, etc. The rest of the forms  
 are used as termin. of the nom. pl.; see § 369<sup>1</sup>). — 8) I add  
 a few more examples to illustrate the preceding remarks: *Weak*  
*bases in अः* masc. or neut., जल *water*; gen. sg., Skr. जलस्य, 1) Mg.  
 Pr. (a) जलप्र or (b) जलाह, M. (a) जलास् or (b) जला; 2) Ap. Pr.  
 (c) जलहो or (d) जलहे, O. Gd. (c) जलह or (d) जलहि, M. Gd. (c)  
 जल (in all) or (d) जले (in B. and O.). Fem. त्रिह्वा *tongue*, gen. sg.  
 Skr. त्रिह्वायाः, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) त्रिह्वाए or त्रिह्वाइ or त्रिह्वाअ or त्रिह्वाय  
 (with euph. व्), M. (a) त्रिभे; 2) Ap. Pr. (b) त्रिह्वाहो or (c) त्रिह्वाहे,  
 O. Gd. (b) त्रिभह or (c) त्रिभहि, M. Gd. (b) त्रिभ (in all) or (c) त्रिभे  
 (in B., O.). *Gen. plur.*, Skr. जलानाम्, त्रिह्वानाम्, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जलाणां,  
 त्रिह्वाणां or (b) जलाहं, त्रिह्वाहं, M. (a) जलांना, त्रिभाना or (b) जलाँ,  
 त्रिभौ, E. H. (a) जलन्, त्रिभन्, Br. (a) जलन् or जलनि, त्रिभन् or त्रिभनि,  
 S. (a) जलनि, त्रिभुनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) जलहं, त्रिह्वाहं or (d) जलहुं, त्रिह्वाहुं  
 or (e) जलहिं, त्रिह्वाहिं, O. H. (e) जलहिं, त्रिह्वाहिं, S., P., Mw. (c) जलाँ,  
 त्रिभौ, Br. (d) जलाँ, त्रिभौ, H. H. (d) जलाँ, त्रिभौ, S. (d) जलेँ, त्रिभेँ. —  
*Strong bases in अः* masc. or neut., ताम्रक *copper*; gen. sg., Skr.  
 ताम्रकस्य, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) ताम्रप्र or (b) ताम्राह (with euph. व्); M.  
 (a) ताँव्यास् or (b) ताँव्या, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) ताम्वा (with euph. व्);  
 2) Ap. Pr. (c) ताम्रहो or (d) ताम्रहे, O. Gd. (c) ताँव्याह or (d) ताँव्याहि,  
 O., E. H. (c) ताम्वा, W. H., N., G. (c) ताँव्या, B. (c) ताम्वा or (d)  
 ताम्वाय्, P., H. H. (d) ताँव्ये, S. (d) टाम्मे. *Fem.*, see fem. strong bases in इ.  
*Gen. plur.*, Skr. ताम्रकानाम्, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) ताम्रयाणां or (b) ताम्रयाहं,  
 M. (a) ताँव्यांना or (b) ताँव्याँ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) ताम्रवन् (with euph. व्)  
 or (b) ताम्रवाँ (but used in the sg.); E. H. has also the anomalous  
 short form ताम्रन्, Br. ताँव्रन् or ताँव्रनि, S. टाम्रनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c)  
 ताम्रहं or (d) ताम्रहुं or (e) ताम्रहिं, P., Mw. (c) ताँव्याँ, S. (c) टाम्वाँ,  
 Br. (d) ताँव्याँ, H. H. (d) ताँव्याँ, S. (e) टाम्मेँ. *Fem.*, see fem. strong

1) Some of them are also used to form the loc., instr. and abl. sg.  
 or pl. in S., P. and M.; see §§ 367, 2. 376, 3. 378, 3.

bases in इ. — *Weak bases in इ*: masc. or neut., कवि *poet.*; gen. sg., Skr. कवः (lit. कविस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) कविप्र or (b) कवीह, M. (a) कवीस् or (b) कवी; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) कविहो or (d) कविहे, O. Gd. (e) कविह or (d) कविहि, M. Gd. (c) कवि (in all). *Fem.* गिति *wall*; gen. sg., Skr. गित्याः or गित्नेः (lit. गित्तिस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गितिप्र or (b) गित्नीह, M. (a) गीतोस् or (b) गीतो; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) गित्तिहो or (d) गित्तिहे, O. Gd. (e) गीतिह or (d) गीतिहि, P., S. (c) गिति, B., O., E. H., W. H., G. गीत. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. कवीनाम्, गित्नीनाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) कवीणां, गित्नीणां or (b) कवीहं, गित्नीहं, M. (a) कवीन्ना, गीतोन्ना or (b) कवीँ, गीतोँ, E. H. (a) कविन्, गीतिन्, Br. कविन् or कविनि, गीतिन् or गीतिनि, S. कविनि, गितिनि or (lg. f.) गितिअनि or गितिउनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) कविहं, गित्तिहं or (d) कविहुं, गित्तिहुं or (e) कविहिं, गित्तिहिं, O. II. (e) कविहिं, गीतिहिं, in M. Gd.; only the long forms occur; viz. Ap. Pr. (c) कविअहं, गित्तिअहं or (d) कविअहुं, गित्तिअहुं or (e) कविअहिं, गित्तिअहिं, Mw., P., S. (c) कविआँ, Br. (d) कविओँ, H. H. (d) कविओँ, गीतियोँ, S. (e) कविँ, गित्तिँ. — *Strong bases in इ*: masc. or neut., मालिक *gardener*; gen. sg., Skr. मालिकस्य; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) मालिअप्र or (b) मालिअह, M. (a) माल्यास् or (b) माल्या, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) मलिया; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) मालिअहो or (d) मालिअहे, O. Gd. (c) मालिअह or (d) मालिअहि, S. (c) मालिअ, E. H. etc. (c) माली. *Fem.* घोटिका *mare*; gen. sg., Skr. घोटिकायाः, Ap. Pr. (a) घोडिअहो or (b) घोडिअहे, O. Gd. (a) घोडिअह or (b) घोडिअहि, S. (a) घोडिअ, E. H., M., etc. (a) घोडे. The Mg. forms exist only in M. monosyllabic words and E. H. long forms: as स्त्रिका *woman*; gen. sg., Skr. स्त्रिकायाः, Mg. \*स्त्रियाए or \*स्त्रियाइ or \*स्त्रियाय, M. स्त्रिये, E. H. स्त्रिया (tats.); similarly E. H. (lg. f.) घोर्िया. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. मालिकानाम्, घोटिकानाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) मालिअणां, घोडिअणां or (b) मालिअहं, घोडिअहं, M. (a) माल्याँना, घोड्याँना or (b) माल्याँ, घोड्याँ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) मलियन्, घोर्ियन् or (b) मलियाँ, घोर्ियाँ (but used in the sing.); Br. (a) मालियनि, घोर्ियनि, S. (a) मालिअनि or माल्यनि or मालिउनि or माल्युनि, घोडिअनि or घोडिउनि, etc.; E. H. has also the anomalous short forms मालिन्, घोर्िन्, Br. and S. मालिनि, घोर्िनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) मालिअहं, घोडिअहं or (d) मालिअहुं, घोडिअहुं or (e) मालिअहिं, घोडिअहिं, S. (a) मालिअँ or माल्याँ, घोर्िअँ or घोड्याँ, Mw. (a) माल्याँ, घोड्याँ, P. (a) मालीअँ, घोडेअँ

(with anomalous ई), Br. (d) मालियोँ, घोडियोँ, H. H. (d) मालियोँ, घोडियोँ, S. (e) मालिईँ, घोडिईँ. — *Weak bases in उ*: masc. or neut., गुरु teacher; gen. sg., Skr. गुरोः (lit. गुरुस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गुलुग्रा or (b) गुलूह, M. (a) गुरुस् or (b) गुरुः; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) गुरुहो or (d) गुरुहे, O. Gd. (c) गुरुह or (d) गुरुहि, M. Gd. (c) गुरु (in all). *Fem.* like masc. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. गुरुणां; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गुलूपां or (b) गुलूहँ, M. (a) गुरुंना or (b) गुरुँ, E. H. (a) गुरुन्, Br. (a) गुरुन् or गुरुनि, S. (a) गुरुनि; 2) short forms *desunt* in Gd.; in their place the long forms are used: Ap. Pr. (c) गुरुअहं or (d) गुरुअहुं or (c) गुरुअहिं, P. (c) गुरुअँ, Mw. (c) गुर्वँ, Br. (d) गुरुओँ, H. H. (d) गुरुओँ, O. H. (e) गुरुहिं or गुरुअहिं. *Fem.* like masc. — *Strong bases in उ*: masc. or neut., वृश्चिक scorpion; gen. sg., Skr. वृश्चिकस्य; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) विच्छुअग्रा or (b) विच्छुआह, M. (a) विंच्चास् or (b) विंच्चा, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) विच्छुअ or विच्छुवा; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) विच्छुअहो or (d) विच्छुअहे, O. Gd. (c) विच्छुअह or (d) विच्छुअहि, S. (c) विच्छुअ, E. H. (c) विच्छु, M. (c) विंच्चू. *Fem.* बालुका sand; gen. sg., Skr. बालुकायाः; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) बालुआए or बालुआइ or बालुआय, M. (a) बालू, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) बलुआ or बलुवा; 2) Ap. Pr. (b) बालुअहो or (c) बालुअहे, O. Gd. (b) बालुअह or (c) बालुअहि, S. (b) बालुअ, E. H., etc. बालू. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. वृश्चिकानाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) विच्छुआपां or (b) विच्छुआहँ, M. (a) विच्छुंना or (b) विंच्चँ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) विच्छुअन् or (b) विच्छुअँ (but used in the sing.), Br. विच्छुअन् or विच्छुअनि, S. विच्छुअनि; E. H. has also the anomalous short form विच्छुन्, Br. and S. विच्छुनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) विच्छुअहं or (d) विच्छुअहुं or (e) विच्छुअहिं, P. and S. (c) विच्छुअँ, Mw. (c) विच्छुँ, Br. (d) विच्छुओँ, H. H. (d) विच्छुओँ, S. (e) विच्छुईँ. *Fem.* like masc. — G. is peculiar in dropping the final anunásika in the obl. plur. of masc. and fem. nouns; e. g., G. obl. pl. देवो Gods for \*देवोँ, Ap. देवहुं; fem. जीभो tongues for \*जीभोँ, Ap. जिम्भहु; again in strong bases: G. masc. obl. pl. घोडाव or घोडाउ<sup>1</sup>)

1) These forms are sometimes spelled with final ओ, as घोडाओ (so in Ed. 36. Bs. II, 189); the really correct spelling is with उ or व्, as written for me by a Paṇḍit. But it is quite customary now in Gd., to spell the same final sound as उ or व् or ओ; thus in W. H. देउ or देव् or देओ god, चहाउ or चहाव् or चहाओ attack.

*horses* for \*घोडाउँ, Ap. घोडग्रहुं; fem. पोथीउ *books*, Ap. पोथिग्रहु. According to H. C. 4, 351, even in the Ap. Pr., fem. nouns have no final anuswára. But G. retains it in neut. nouns; e. g., G. obl. pl. सोनाँव् or सोनाँउ, Ap. सोणग्रहुं. On the other hand, it adds it anomalously in the sg. neut.; as G. obl. sg. सोनाँ *gold* for \*सोना, Ap. सोणग्रहो.

366. *Origin of the obl. form.* 1) The Gd. obl. f. is identical with the Skr. and Pr. gen. case. For a) it has been already shown (§ 365) that the suff. of the former can be phonetically traced back to those of the latter. b) It will be shown in §§ 375—378, that the Gd. case-affixes are, in reality, nouns (generally in the loc. case); as such they must be constructed with the gen. of the noun, which they govern; hence it follows that the obl. f., in which the latter is always put, when it takes a case-aff., must be the old gen.; e. g., E. H. नरन् मे वाटै *he is in the midst of men*, O. H. नरन्ह महि वाटै, Pr. नराणं मज्जि वट्टइ, Skr. नराणां मध्ये वर्तते. c) Pr. Gramm. state expressly (H. C. 4, 422. T. V. 3, 3. 56) that the word केर, which is the same as the E. H. gen. aff. कै or कर or O. H. केर, is constructed with the gen., whence it follows that the obl. form, with which those gen. aff. are constructed, is the old gen. d) It can be shown, that Pr. has a tendency to substitute the gen. in the place of all other obl. cases and to make it the *one, universal inflexion*. This proves that the obl. form, which is the one, universal inflexion in Gd., must be the old gen. In Pr. this is but an other instance of its general tendency to produce uniformity of grammatical forms. Two instances of this have been already noticed; the one in regard to roots (§ 347), the other referring to bases (§ 205). Here we have a third instance, affecting the *cases*. In Skr. there are, generally, seven cases or inflexions: the nom., acc., instr., dat., abl., gen., loc. In Pr. the dat. has (almost) entirely disappeared, and its place been taken by the gen. (Vr. 6, 64. H. C. 3, 131); but there is a tendency to substitute the gen. for the other obl. cases also, so as to leave only two inflexions, the nom. and gen. This is

expressly stated by Pr. Gramm. (II. C. 3, 134. T. V. 2, 3. 39). In the Ap. Pr. that process of substitution is especially marked. Its gen. suff. are expressly stated to form the abl. (compare H. C. 4, 336. 337. 341. 351 with 4, 338. 340) and the loc. (II. C. 4, 340) also<sup>1</sup>). In Gḍ. there are only two inflexions left, the direct form or nomin., and the obl. form or gen. But in order to obviate the necessary ambiguity of this uniformity, Gḍ. adds different affixes to the obl. form, to indicate the particular *case*, in the sense of which the obl. form is to be understood. Thus the obl. form with कै means the gen., with से the instr., with मे the loc., etc. In this way the original seven cases are re-established in Gḍ. — 2) It should be observed, however, that since there are in the Ap. Pr. several gen. suff. for the sing. (हो and हे) and the plur. (हं, हुं, हिं), several obl. forms are possible in the Gḍs. and do actually exist in most of them. In the latter case, one of them is used as the *general* obl. form and always constructed with case-aff.; but the other constitutes a *special* obl. form for one or, at most, two cases, and, as a rule, takes no affix. Thus there is in G. and Mw. the *general* obl. f. sg. in आ = Ap. gen. in अहो, and the *special* obl. f. sg. in ऐ or ए = Ap. gen. in अहे; e. g., G. instr. घोडा ऐ or घोडे *by a horse*; Mw. loc. घोडा माँ or घोडे *in a horse*. — 3) It is curious to observe that the levelling process noted just now, has a tendency, both in the Ap. and in Gḍ., to reduce the whole declension to *one inflexion*, by substituting (§ 369) the obl. form even for the dir. form or nom. case. The cause, possibly, was their similarity; thus in the Ap. the nom. sg. would be देवन्नो or देवउ *god* (Skr. देवकः), the gen. sg. देवहो or देवहु; whence, by inserting an euph. ह in the nom., the two forms would be easily assimilated.

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1) Exceptionally all these cases are preserved in Pr.; thus the dat. sg. in the sense of „for the sake of“ (H. C. 3, 132. 133), as देवाय *for the sake of god*; in the Ap. Pr., the abl. sg. in अद् or अउ (Ls. 461), and the loc. sg. in इ (H. C. 4, 334 = Skr. ए). The abl. sg. in अउ survives even in S. poetry (Tr. 118).

367. *Distribution of the Pr. gen. suff.* The ordinary Pr. suff. of the gen. sg. is स्स and of the pl. षं. There are also the suff., sg. ह्, pl. हँ which are peculiar to Mg., and sg. हो or हे, pl. हँ, हुँ or हिँ which are peculiar to Ap. 1) The ordinary Pr. suff. are derived from the Skr. sg. स्य, pl. नाम् (i. e. न् + अम्). In Skr., नाम् is added to all three kinds of bases in अ, इ and उ; but स्य is added only to अ-bases. In Pr. both षं and स्स, and similarly the special suff. ह्, हँ, etc., are added to all three kinds. In Vr. 5, 8. H. C. 3, 10 स्स and षं are apparently limited to *a*-bases, but the succeeding rules Vr. 6, 60. H. C. 3, 124 extend them to *i*- and *u*-bases also; and this is born out by Pr. literature. Hence there can be no doubt, that the Mg. ह् and हँ and the Ap. हो, though apparently limited by H. C. 4, 299. 300. 338 to *a*-bases, in reality belong to *i*- and *u*-bases also. This is born out by the evidence of modern Gḍ.; and, moreover, it is expressly affirmed by K. I. and Mḍ. Thus H. C. 4, 336. 338 gives हो to the gen. and abl. of masc. (always incl. neut.) *a*-bases; and हे to the abl. of masc. *i*- and *u*-bases (4, 341)<sup>1</sup>). Again K. I. (30. 34 in Ls. 451. 462) gives हो to the gen. of all masc. bases and to the abl. of masc. *i*- and *u*-bases; and हे (29. 36) to the abl. of all masc. bases and to the gen. of masc. *a*-bases. Again both H. C. (4, 350) and K. I. (35) give हे to the gen. and abl. of all fem. bases. Lastly Mḍ. gives both हो and हे to the abl. of all masc. and fem. bases<sup>2</sup>). These conflicting statements really supplement each other, as shown by modern Gḍ. It should be remembered, 1) that the abl. and gen. are identical in Ap. Pr. (as, indeed, they ge-

1) H. C. 4, 336 gives हुँ as the abl. suff. of *a*-bases, but this is merely a shortening of हो, which is given by Mḍ. (see next footnote). As to the gen. of *i*- and *u*-bases, H. C. is silent; which seems to indicate, that it may be हो by the analogy of *a*-bases, and हे by the usual identity of the gen. and abl. of cases.

2) Mḍ. says: उसेस्तु हे हो च ॥ उसेः स्थाने हेहौ च स्यातां ॥ रुक्खहे पडिदु । रुक्खहो ॥ (अग्निहे) । अग्निहो ॥ बालाहे । बालाहो ॥ i. e., *the abl. sg. has हे or हो, as „he is fallen from a tree, from fire, from a girl“*. On the gen., I cannot find any rule; which would seem to show that it is identical with the abl.



nerally are even in Skr.), and 2) that the Ap., no doubt, varied slightly in the localities of the different grammarians. The general result is, that in the Ap. Pr. both हो and हे were used to form both the gen. and abl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, whether masc., fem., or neut. — The case of the Ap. plur. suff. हं and हुं is similar. In H. C. 4, 339. 340 हं is ascribed to the gen. and हुं to the abl. (4, 337. 341) of all masc. bases, and हुं (4, 340) also to the gen. of masc. bases in *i* and *u*. Again K. I. (31. 32) gives हं to the gen. of all masc. bases and to the abl. (33) of masc. bases in *i* and *u*, and हुं to the abl. (28) of masc. bases in *a*. Lastly Mḍ. allows both हं and हुं to all masc., both in the gen. and abl.<sup>1)</sup> As regards the fem. bases, both K. I. and Mḍ. are silent, which really means, that their gen. and abl. do not differ from those of the masc. (and neut.). This is confirmed by H. C. 4, 351, who gives to the fem. gen. and abl. the suff. हु, which is either the same as the sg. gen. and abl. suff. हु or हो (H. C. 4, 336. 338), or identical with the pl. gen. and abl. suff. हुं dropping the anuswára. The general result again is, that in the Ap. Pr. both हं and हुं are used to form both the gen. and abl. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, whether masc., fem., or neut. And this is born out by the state of the modern Gḍs. — 2) As to the Ap. pl. suff. हिं, both H. C. (4, 347) and Mḍ.<sup>2)</sup> ascribe it to the loc. and instr. plur. K. I., by his silence (Ls. 463), probably implies the same thing; since हिं was already the instr. pl. suff. in the Mh. Pr. (Vr. 5, 18). But it appears to have been used also for the gen. plur. This is, perhaps, the true reading

1) Mḍ. says: हंहुं भ्यसः ॥ भ्यसो हंहुमो स्यातां ॥ ह्रस्वहं पठितुं ॥ परहुं चलितुं ॥ आहुल्यात् । ह्रस्वाहितो । परसुंतो ॥ सुपो वा । ग्रामो वा । हंहुमो स्यातां ॥ वम्भणाहं । वम्भणाहुं । ब्राह्मणानामित्वये । वम्भणापां ॥ i. e., the abl. pl. takes हं or हुं; as „it fell from the trees“, „he came from foreign (countries)“; also the loc. and gen. pl. take हं and हुं, as „of Bráhmans“.

2) Mḍ. says: हिंभिस्त्रिसुपां ॥ त्रिवेषां हिं स्यात् । पुरिसहिं । वषाहिं । बहुहिं ॥ i. e., all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* take हिं in the loc. and instr. plur., as „in or by men, in or by forests, in or by wives“.

in K. I. 32 (Ls. 451. 464), where हेँ is given for the gen. plur. Again both H. C. (4, 340) and Mđ. (see footnote 1, p. 205) allow the gen. suff. हेँ and हुँ to the loc. plur. also; vice versa, the loc. suff. हिँ may have been allowed to the gen. At all events, in O. Gđ., हिँ is found as a suff. of the dat. (= old gen.); and in M. Gđ. (S.) it appears as the obl. pl. suff. रँ (contr. for अहिँ); see examples in § 365, 7. Indeed the term. अहिँ seems to occur in the contracted form रँ even in the Ap. Pr.; though as a term. of the instr. *sing.* (see H. C. 4, 343. K. I. 23. 24). The examples in Mđ. are: वषारँ *by a forest*, बालारँ *by a girl*, अगिरँ *by fire*, वाउरँ *by wind*; they would be equal to \*वषाअहिँ, \*बालाअहि, \*अगिअहिँ, \*वाउअहिँ. Here रँ can hardly be = Skr. term. रन (as Ls. 461); for the latter would not be added to fem. bases in अ. Moreover, as will be shown in Nro. 3, the *sing.* term. अहि is similarly contracted to र. It may, also, be added that the pl. term. अहिँ is similarly used as a term. of the loc. *sing.* (see K. I. 26. 27. Ls. 451. 463), as घरहिँ or घरे or घरि *in a house*. In Gđ., this practise of using the pl. suff. for the *sing.* is sometimes extended to all plur. suff. हेँ, हुँ, हिँ; see Nro. 5. — 3) The Ap. *sing.* suff. हो is sometimes shortened to हु (H. C. 4, 336. 351); thus H. C. has रुक्खहु, but Mđ. (see footnote 2, p. 204) रुक्खहो *from a tree* or of a tree; sometimes even to ह, according to Ls' conjecture of K. I. 34 (Ls. 462); e. g., अगिहो or अगिह *of fire*; sometimes even ह is dropped (H. C. 4, 345). In the form हु it still occurs in the O. P. of the Granth (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI) and expresses the abl. In the form ह it is often found in the O. W. II. of Chand, and expresses the gen., abl., loc., act., acc.-dat.; thus *gen.* in गोचार परह चारै सु गोइ । i. e., *the herdsman tends the cows of an other* (28, 62), or सेन भीमह करि किनिय । i. e., *he dispersed the Army of Bhima* (38, 41), or चरूयो उदै क्रूरह बलिय । i. e., *he marched at the rise of mighty Saturn* (27, 47), or वन नूय मृग सिंहह रू गत । i. e., *in the forest is plenty of deer, lions and elephants* (27, 13); *abl.* in फूलह सुधार धर । *having adorned the body with flowers* (38, 37) or तत्र सुमंत परधानह पुडिय । i. e., *then he asked good counsel of the Premier* (28, 88);

loc. जाने कि अकासह मान दिन । *just as in the sky the measure of day*, i. e., *the sun* (26, 25), or न्याय तौ कलह न किञ्चै । i. e., *justice is not done in the Kali age* (28, 41); *act.* वीसलह राज कयि पुञ्ज कथ्य । i. e., *Visala rāja told the whole story* (1, 82) or तप सु इंडि तुअरह । i. e., *the Tuar has abandoned asceticism* (28, 55); *acc.* अनंगपालह बुलाइय । i. e., *he has called Anangpāla* (28, 9), or अनंगेसह लैआउ । i. e., *bring ye Anangesa* (28, 77). The form without ह is the common one in M. Gd.; see § 365, 6. — 4) The Ap. sg. suff. हे of the gen. and abl. is sometimes also used as a loc. suff., e. g., एत्रहे *now*, lit., *in that*, scl. *time* (H. C. 2, 134; the same एत्रहे is an abl. *from that*, H. C. 3, 82. 83), or एत्रहे *in this*, तेत्रहे *in that*, scl. *place* (H. C. 4, 436). But, as a rule, it is shortened to हि, when it expresses the loc. (H. C. 4, 341. 352), e. g., कलिहि *in the Kali age*; and after *a*-bases ह् may be elided, as पच्छइ *behind*, *after* (H. C. 4, 420 for \*पच्छहि), अगइ *before* (H. C. 4, 391), एवइ *thus* (H. C. 4, 420), but commonly the term. अहि (or अइ) is contracted to ए (H. C. 4, 334), e. g., तले *below* for \*तलइ or \*तलहि<sup>1</sup>). In this contracted form ए, it is also used in the Ap. Pr. to express the instr. sg. (of fem. nouns)<sup>2</sup>); see H. C. 4, 349. 333. K. I. 38 and Md. स्त्रियां च ए च स्यात् ॥ वुडिए । धेनुए । णइए । वहुए । वालाए ॥ i. e., *fem. bases also take ए* (viz. besides एं, as वालाएं), as *by intelligence*, *by a cow*, *by a river*, *by a wife*, *by a girl*; contr. for \*वुडिअहि, \*णइअहि (Skr. नदिकायाम्). In the form हि it still occurs in the O. P. of the Granth, to express the gen., abl., dat. and acc. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXV); also in O. H., to express the gen., abl., loc., dat. and acc.; thus *gen.* in राजहि तुम पर प्रीति विप्रेयो *there is a special love of*

1) This ए is usually considered to be the Skr. and (Mh. Pr.) loc. suff. ए; but that old suff. is hardly likely to have survived so long; and has been, indeed, worn down to इ in Ap. (H. C. 4, 334); e. g., Ap. तले or तलि *below*; the former = Ap. तलहि, the latter = Skr. तले.

2) This cannot be the Mh. Pr. instr. suff. ए; for that suff. had already in the Mh. Pr. been (optionally) worn down to इ or अ, and, moreover, requires the lengthening of the final vowel of the base (Vr. 5, 22); thus the instr. sg. of नदी *river* is in Mh. Pr. णइए or णइइ or णइअ, but in the Ap. णइए.

*the king for you* (T. Dás in Kl. 286); *abl.* को किहि वंसहि उपःवो (Chand I, 167 in Bs. II, 211), or गुरुहि पूछ करि कुलिविधि राजा *the king having enquired from the Guru performed the family rites* (T. Dás in Kl. 65); *loc.* in किहि कात्र रिपि अयो घरहि *for what cause, Rishi, hast thou come into the house* (Chand I, 45 in Bs. II, 211); *dat.* बहु विधि चेरिहि आदर देइ *in many ways he shows honor to the bondmaid* (T. Dás in Kl. 286); *acc.* मुनि रघुवरहि प्रसंश *the sage extolled Raghubar* (T. Dás in Kl. 283); see other examples in § 365, 6. The contr. form ए is used in B. and O., to express the dat.-acc., loc. and instr.; as घरे *to or in or by a house* (see S. Ch. 59, 4. 62. Sn. 15); and in B. even for the nom. (S. Ch. 56, see § 369). In G. and Mw. it is used to express the instr. (or act.) and loc.; thus G. घरे, Mw. घरै *by or in a house* (Kl. 66, a. Ed. 31, 87. 34, d); in H., P., S. it is used for the loc.; thus घरे *in the house* (Ld. 12, 37. 77, 133. Tr. 120, 7). — 5) The Ap. Pr. gen. plur. suff. are sometimes used in the sing. Thus in the Ap., the suff. हिं (or the term. अहिं), which commonly expresses the loc. or instr. pl. (H. C. 4, 347) is often used for the loc. sg.; see K. I. 26. 27 (in Ls. 451. 462); e. g., सुरहिं or सुरे or सुरि *in a god*; and, in the contracted form हें, for the instr. sg. (H. C. 4, 343, see Nro. 2); e. g., अगिहें *by fire* for \*अगिअहिं (Skr. अग्निकेन). In O. II. the suff. हिं is as often used for the dat., acc. and loc. in the sing. as in the plur.; thus *dat.* in कहु केहि रंकहिं करौं नरेसु, i. e., *say, what pauper shall I make a king* (T. Dás in Kl. 283); *loc.* in नित्र लोकहिं विरंच गये देवन्ह इहै सिखाइ। i. e., *Brahmá, having taught this the gods, went to his own world* (T. Dás in Kl. 122); *acc.* in रामहिं प्रेम समेत लखि सखिन समीप बुलाइ i. e. *beholding Ráma with affection she called near her friends* (T. Dás in Bál.), etc. Similarly it occurs in M., in the contracted form ईं, both in the loc. sg. and plur. (Man. 17, 45. 27, 66. 28, 2); as घरौं *in a house or in houses* for \*घरहिं; and, in the contracted form हें, in the instr. sg. (Man. 17, 45. 28, 66); e. g., घरें *by a house* for \*घरहिं<sup>1</sup>). Also E. H.

1) This explains why the M. instr. in हें is seldom used except with the postpositions करून् or कडून् (Man. 28, note 1); for it is really a gen.

and W. H. occasionally have it, in the contr. form ऐँ or ऐ, in the loc. sing.; as पाइँ or पाइँ behind, after for \*पच्छिँ (see § 77, exc.). Again the suff. हुँ (or term. अहुँ) which in Ap. Pr. expresses the abl. and loc. plur. (H. C. 4, 340), is used in S. for the abl. sg. in the forms अउँ or ओँ or उँ (Tr. 118), in P. for the abl. or, occasionally, loc. sg. in the form ओँ (Ld. 12, 37), and in W. H. for the loc. sg. in the form उ; thus S. घरउँ or घरौँ or घरँ, P. घरौँ from a house, or P. पाहौँ, W. H. पाहूँ behind, after, for \*घरहुँ, \*पच्छहुँ. Again the suff. हँ (or termin. अहँ), which in the Ap. expresses the abl. and loc. plur. (see Nro. 2), is used in M. for the loc. both of the sing. and plur. in the contr. form अं (Man. 17, 45. 27, 66. 28, 2); e. g., घरँ in a house or in houses, for \*घरहँ; also occasionally in E. H. and W. H.; e. g., E. H. इहाँ, W. H. यहाँ here, lit. in this, scl. place, for \*एहहँ (Skr. ईदृष्टे); in S. it forms the abl. sing. (Tr. 117, 5); e. g., घरँ from a house, मंकाँ from within, for \*मदकहिँ. Lastly the Mg. Pr. gen. plur. suff. आहँ (H. C. 4, 300) is used in E. H. for the obl. sing.; thus घोडवाँ (कै of) a horse, for Mg. घोडआहँ; see § 365, 4. — 6) The gen. sg. suff. हो and हे are also used in Ap. Pr. and Gd. to express the nom. and voc. sg. or pl.; see § 369.

368. *Origin of the gen. or obl. suffixes.* 1) The Skr. gen. sg. suff. स्य becomes in Pr. सस (Vr. 5, 8) according to the usual phonetic laws (Ls. 274. 275; see §§ 150. 137). But though सस is the common form, yet in the pronouns Pr. already shows a tendency to reduce it to स and to lengthen the preceding vowel (see § 150, 2); e. g., gen. masc. कास = कसस of whom (Vr. 6, 5. H. C. 3, 64); neut. कीस why = \*किसस (Ls. 326); fem. कीसे = \*किससे (Vr. 6, 6. H. C. 3, 64). In Gd. this process is extended to all gen., including those of nouns, as may be seen in M. (see § 365, 1); in Br. the two pronom. gen. तस of which, तस of him (Kl. 122. 133) are its only relics. Besides सस (K. I. 30 in Ls. 451)

or obl. form, and as such naturally takes a postposition; see § 366, 1; if it were, as commonly supposed, identical with the old Skr. instr. in एन, the addition of the postpos. would be very superfluous and anomalous.

the Ap. Pr. has स्सु or सु; in the latter case with or without the lengthening of the preceding vowel (H. C. 4, 338. 358. K. I. 30); though it is not clear, how the final उ arose. Traces of this Ap. form have survived in the O. H. and Br. pronom. gen. ताम्, ताम्; e. g., ताम् किन्तो चंद कहिय of him the glory Chand has told (Chand 1, 46 in Bs. II, 316, see Kl. 122. 133). The O. W. H. of Chand has occasionally nominal gen. in अस (perhaps = Ap. अत्सु); e. g., पुत्री वरी उत्रेन दिसि । पहिलै पंगस पुत्र ॥ i. e., a daughter has married in Ujainland, first the son of Paṅga (25, 22). The O. P. of the Granth appears to have a gen. in असि (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI). — 2) The Skr. स्य, however, also changes in Pr. to ह् or हि, with the lengthening of the preceding vowel (cf. Ls. 398); the conj. स्स् becoming ह्, as in the fut. suff. हामि, हिद् for स्वामि, स्वति (Vr. 7, 12. 13), and the vowel being lengthened by way of compensation. The form ह् is limited to the Mg. Pr. (Vr. 11, 12), and हि to the abl. case (Vr. 5, 6), which is identical with the gen.<sup>1)</sup> Thus Pr. abl. वच्छाहि from a calf (lit. gen. of a calf), Mg. Pr. gen. वच्छाह् of a calf, Pr. गिरीहि from a mountain, गुरुहि from a teacher (H. C. 3, 124). The Ap. Pr. gen. suff. हे is, probably, an other modification of the Skr. स्य (cf. Ls. 462), which, because of its final र् being heavy, does not lengthen the preceding vowel; as वच्छहे, गिरिहे, गुरुहे<sup>2)</sup>. In O. Gd. it is shortened to हि (as वच्छहि, गिरिहि, गुरुहि), the gen. character of which is shown by its being especially used for the dat. (= old gen., see examples in §§ 365, 6. 267, 4) or generally for the obl. in connexion with case-aff. which require the gen. (see § 366, 1. b). In that particular kind of Apabhrāṃṣa (probably Gujarāṭī or Maṛwārī) which is treated by H. C. 4, 350, this shortened obl. or gen. suff. हि was, in the case of masc. and neut. nouns, confined to the loc. sing., probably because the alternative gen. suff. हो or हु (see Nro. 3) were used in the gen.

1) It may be observed that even in Skr. the abl. takes the gen. suff. अस् in the case of all bases, exc. those in अ.

2) Exceptionally the vowel is lengthened in Mh. Pr., e. g., एत्तहे from that (H. C. 3, 82), but Ap. Pr. एत्तहे (H. C. 4, 420) = Skr. इतः or एततः.

(incl. dat. and abl.). — 3) There is an other Ap. Pr. gen. suff. हो or shortened हु (H. C. 4, 336. 338)<sup>1</sup>), which, however, has no connection with the Skr. स्य. Its origin is obscure. Ls. 462 identifies it with an assumed Skr. suff. स्व. It seems more probably to be identical with the Skr. abl. plur. suff. भ्यस्, which in Pr. would regularly change to भो or हो (cf. Pr. त्रीहा or त्रिभ्या *tongue* in H. C. 2, 57 and § 120) and easily serve as a gen. suff. also. In the Ap. of H. C. 4, 351 हु actually occurs as an abl. and gen. plur. suff. The change of „number“ would be analogous to that in the case of the Pr. abl. pl. suff. हितो which is used in the sing. also (see H. C. 3, 8. 9, see also § 367, 5). — 4) The Skr. gen. plur. suff. नाम् becomes in Pr. णं or ण (Vr. 5, 4) with the lengthening of the preceding vowel; as Skr. वत्सानाम्, Pr. वच्छाणं *of calfs*. This form has survived in M., E. H., Br. and S., see § 365, 4. — 5) The Skr. gen. pl. suff. नाम्, however, also changes in Pr. to एहं or एह, हं and हँ, the last with, the former two without the lengthening of the preceding vowel. The process is quite regular; a) Skr. न् is doubled, and the preceding long vowel shortened, as in Pr. खण् = Skr. खाणुः, Pr. तुपिहक्को = Skr. तूष्णीकः, Pr. युत्तो = Skr. सूत्तः, etc. (H. C. 2, 99, see Ls. 143. 276); b) the Pr. ण् is changed to एह (see § 161 and Ls. 271); c) Pr. एह ण्हा is changed to हं *ham* (projecting the *anusvāra*, for *mha*), or to हँ, prolonging, in the latter case, the preceding vowel, to compensate for the loss of the *anusvāra* (see §§ 143. 149). Thus, e. g., Skr. °ग्रानाम् is in Pr. \*अणं = अएहं = अहं = अहँ. The form एहं is added in Pr. to numerals only, as पंचएहं *of five* = Skr. पञ्चानाम् (H. C. 3, 123), and exceptionally to pronouns, as कइएहं *of how many* = Skr. कतीनाम् (H. C. 3, 123). The form हँ is added also to nouns, especially in Mg. Pr. (H. C. 4, 300). The form हं is used only in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 339). In Gd. all three forms are used

1) Observe that in the Ap. of H. C. the gen. suff. हो (H. C. 4, 338) becomes हु when used for the abl. (H. C. 4, 336); just as the gen. suff. हे (H. C. 4, 350) becomes हि when used for the loc. (H. C. 4, 352).

with nouns (see § 365, 4. 7); though ऋ or न is limited to E. H., Br. and S. — 6) There is also an Ap. Pr. gen. pl. suff. हुं (H. C. 4, 340), the origin of which is obscure. Ls. 463, 11 derives it from the Pr. abl. pl. suff. सुन्तो (Vr. 5, 7). It may possibly be identical with the Ap. Pr. gen. and abl. suff. हु (see Nro. 3), to which, being both plur. and sing., perhaps an inorganic *anusvāra* was added, to distinguish better its plur. character by making a pair हु, हुं analogous to the other two pairs of Ap. suff., sg. ह, pl. हं, and sg. हि, pl. हिं. — 7) There is, lastly, an Ap. plur. suff. हिं (H. C. 4, 347) or हे<sup>०</sup> (K. I. 32 in Ls. 451). Ls. 310, 3 identifies it with the Skr. pl. instr. suff. भ्याम्<sup>1</sup>), which would regularly change in Pr. to हे<sup>०</sup> or हिं (for ह्ये<sup>०</sup> or ह्यिं), and easily come to be used in the Ap. Pr. for the gen. (K. I. 32) and instr. or loc. (H. C. 4, 347) of the plur. Its gen. character is shown by its being still used in O. Gd. for the dat. (= old gen., see examples in §§ 365, 7. 367, 2. 5), and in S. for the act. (= old instr.) and obl. generally; thus O. H. dat. नरहिं to men, S. act. नरे<sup>०</sup> by men or obl. नरे<sup>०</sup> खे to men.

369. *Derivation of the direct terminations.* 1) A comparison of the various Gd. terminations of the obl. sing. and plur. with those of the dir. or nom. plur. will show at once that the latter are always identical with the former. Sometimes it is some obl. form of the sg., sometimes (apparently) of the pl.; again sometimes it is an obl. form of the same Gd., sometimes of an other, which is thus used for the nom. plur.; but in every case it is *some one* obl. form. To this rule the M. fem. and neut. nouns form the only exception. For example compare the following weak forms: a) *masc.*, the S. nom. pl. जन men with the S. obl. sg. जन man (nom. sg. जन्), and the E. H. nom. pl. जने (§ 361, exc.)

1) Even in Skr. the suff. भ्याम् is used for the instr. and dat. also, similarly the pl. abl. suff. भ्यस् for the dat. and, in the modified form भिस्, for the instr.; there is also a dat. sg. suff. भ्यम् in Skr., as तुभ्यम् to thee. — If हुं be rightly identified with सुन्तो, हिं might be derived from the Pr. abl. pl. suff. हितो (Vr. 5, 7).



with the B. obl. sg. जने; b) *fem.*, the Br. nom. pl. ज्ञेमे<sup>०</sup> or ज्ञेमे<sup>०</sup> *tongues* with the S. obl. pl. ज्ञेमे<sup>०</sup>; the Mw., P. and S. nom. pl. ज्ञेमा<sup>०</sup> or ज्ञिमा<sup>०</sup> with the S. obl. pl. ज्ञिमा<sup>०</sup>; the S. nom. pl. ज्ञिमे<sup>०</sup> with the abl. sg. (really obl. pl., § 367, 5) ज्ञिमे<sup>०</sup>; the W. H., P. nom. pl. गित्त्रिया<sup>०</sup> *walls* with the S. obl. pl. गित्त्रिया<sup>०</sup>; the S. nom. pl. गित्त्रिऊ<sup>०</sup> with the S. abl. sg. (really obl. pl.) गित्त्रिऊ<sup>०</sup> (or गित्त्रि<sup>०</sup>), etc. Again strong forms: a) *masc.*, P., H. H., M. nom. pl. घोडे *horses* with the P., H. H. and S. obl. sg. घोडे; the B., O., E. H., W. H., S., G. nom. pl. घोडा *horses* with the B., O., E. H., W. H., G. obl. sg. घोडा; b) *neut.*, the G. nom. pl. सोना<sup>०</sup> *goldpieces* with the G. obl. sg. सोना<sup>०</sup>; c) *fem.*, the W. H. and P. nom. pl. घोडिया<sup>०</sup> *mares* with the S. obl. pl. घोडिया<sup>०</sup>; the S. nom. pl. घोडिऊ<sup>०</sup> with the S. abl. sg. (really obl. pl.) घोडिऊ<sup>०</sup>; the W. H. nom. pl. पोथी<sup>०</sup> *books* (Kl. 64, 130) with the P. loc. pl. पोथी<sup>०</sup> *in books*<sup>1)</sup>; the W. H. and P. nom. pl. सासुअ<sup>०</sup> *mothers-in-law* with the S. obl. pl. सासुअ<sup>०</sup>, etc. It will be observed, that in the case of fem. nouns the dir. pl. is identical with the obl. pl., but in the case of masc. and neut. it is the same as the obl. sg. The difference, however, is probably in appearance only. For, no doubt, the pl. obl. forms when employed as dir. pl. are used as sing., just as in the S. abl. and M. loc. (see § 367, 5). There can be no doubt, that these so-called nom. plur. forms are *elliptic* phrases, which must be filled up by supplying some collective noun, as लोग *people*, गन *troup*, etc. The E. H. practice of forming the plur. by the addition of such a collective noun, illustrates this theory (§ 361). Such nouns would require the principal word to be in the *gen.* case; and this explains the use of the obl. form, which is the same as the old *gen.* (§ 366). In B. it is actually the *gen.* sg. (not merely the obl. f.), which is used to form the plur.; e. g., B. obl. f. देवे, *gen. sg. देवे-रू of a god*, nom. pl. देवे-रू *gods*; here रू is merely the strong form of रू; see § 364, 2. Similarly in N. the plur. is an archaic form of the *gen. sg.*, composed of the

1) The form पोथी<sup>०</sup>, both in the nom. and loc. pl., is a contraction for पोथि<sup>०</sup> = Ap. पोथिअहिं.

gen.-affix  $\text{रु}$  (for  $\text{करु}$  or  $\text{केरु}$ , § 377) and the O. Gd. gen. sg. in  $\text{हे}$  or  $\text{हृ}$  (§ 365, 6). Thus O. Gd. gen. or obl. sg.  $\text{देवहे}$  or  $\text{देवहृ}$ , N. nom. pl.  $\text{देवहे-रु}$  or  $\text{देवहृ-रु}$  *gods*; see also § 364, 3. Thus the H. H., P. or S. nom. pl.  $\text{घोडे}$  *horses* is really as much as Ap. Pr.  $\text{घोडग्रहे}$  scl. गणु = Skr.  $\text{घोटकस्य गणाः}$ , lit. *a troop of horse*. The nom. pl. of nouns in  $\text{इ}$ ,  $\text{उ}$ ,  $\text{ई}$ ,  $\text{ऊ}$  is, of course, of the same character; though it does not come out so strikingly. — 2) The obl. sg. is sometimes even used to form the nom. sing. Thus always in the long forms: e. g., E. H. nom. sg.  $\text{रमवा}$  or  $\text{रमवाँ}$ , M.  $\text{राम्या}$  (for \* $\text{रामया}$ ) *Rāma* = obl. form E. H.  $\text{रमवा}$  or  $\text{रमवाँ}$ , M.  $\text{राम्या}$  = A. Mg. or Dk. Pr. gen. sg.  $\text{रामग्राह}$  or pl.  $\text{रामग्राहँ}$  (see § 365, 1. 4)<sup>1</sup>). But sometimes also in masc. short forms; viz. in B. weak forms in  $\text{ग्र}$ , and B., P., Br. and H. H. strong forms in  $\text{ग्रा}$ . Thus in B. the nom. sg. may be  $\text{देवे}$  *a god,  $\text{घोडाग्र}$  *a horse* (for the usual  $\text{देव}$ ,  $\text{घोडा}$ ), both obl. forms = O. Gd. gen. sg.  $\text{देवहि}$ ,  $\text{घोडाहि}$  (§ 365, 6); see S. Ch. 56, where these nom. are described as loc. Again P. or Br. or H. H. nom. sg.  $\text{घोडा}$  *a horse* = O. Gd. gen. or obl. sg.  $\text{घोडाहृ}$  or  $\text{घोडग्रहृ}$ , Ap. Pr.  $\text{घोडग्रहो}$ . With these exceptions, the nom. sg. of short forms in all Gds. is simply a modified form of the Pr. nom. sg., as explained in §§ 40—54. Thus S., G., Mw.  $\text{घोडो}$ , Br.  $\text{घोडौ}$  = Ap. Pr. nom. sg.  $\text{घोडउ}$ , Pr.  $\text{घोडग्रो}$ ; E. H., B., O., M.  $\text{घोडा}$  = Mg. Pr. nom. sg.  $\text{घोडग्र}$  or  $\text{घोडइ}$  or  $\text{घोडर्}$  (Vr. 11, 10) = Skr.  $\text{घोटकः}$ ; again E. H., B., O., M.  $\text{देव}$  *a god* = Mg. Pr. nom. sg.  $\text{देव}$  or  $\text{देवि}$  or  $\text{देवे}$ ; W. H., P., G., N.  $\text{देव}$  or S., O. W. H., O. P.  $\text{देवु}$  = Ap. Pr. nom. sg.  $\text{देवु}$ , Pr.  $\text{देवो}$ , Skr.  $\text{देवः}$ . — 3) The nom. pl. of fem. and neut. nouns in M. is identical with the old Pr. nom. pl. The suff. of the nom. pl. neut. is in Pr.  $\text{इं}$  (Vr. 5, 26 = Skr.  $\text{नि}$ ), before which the final vowel of the base is lengthened; in the Ap. Pr. it is also  $\text{इं}$ , but without lengthening the preceding vowel (H. C. 4, 353). Hence the termin. are in Mh. Pr.  $\text{ग्राइं}$ ,  $\text{ईइं}$ ,  $\text{ऊइं}$ , in Ap. Pr.  $\text{ग्रइं}$ ,  $\text{इइं}$ ,  $\text{उइं}$ , or with strong bases  $\text{ग्रग्रइं}$ ,  $\text{इग्रइं}$ ,  $\text{उग्रइं}$ . These be-*

1) Not = Mg. Pr. nom. sg.  $\text{रामर्}$ ; for  $\text{र्}$  could not well become  $\text{ग्रा}$ ; and it would not account for the final *anunāsika* in E. H.

come in M.  $\ddot{e}$  (इं and उं *desunt*) or, with strong bases,  $\ddot{e}$  or ई, वे, वे. Thus M. घरं *houses*, Ap. घरइ, Pr. वराइ, Skr. गृहाणि; M. वांसरे *calves*, Ap. वच्छउअइ, Skr. वत्स; M. केली *plantains*, Ap. केलअइ, Pr. कयलअइ (H. C. 1, 167), Skr. कदरकाणि; M. मोतवे *pearls*, Ap. मोत्तिअइ, Pr. मोत्तिअइ, Skr. मोक्तिकानि; M. अंसु (or अंसवे), Ap. अंसुअइ, Pr. अंसुअइ, Skr. अश्रुकाणि. — 4) The suff. of the nom. plur. fem. is in Pr. ओ or उ or may be dropped altogether (Vr. 5, 19. 20); so also in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 344. 348). Thus M. त्रीभा *tongues* (nom. pl. of त्रीभ), Pr. त्रीभा or त्रीभाउ or त्रीभाओ, Skr. त्रीहाः; or M. घोड्या *mares*, Pr. घोडिअ or घोडिअउ or घोडिअओ, Skr. घोटिकाः; or M. सास्रा (or सासवा) *mothers-in-law*, Pr. सासुअ or सासुअउ or सासुअओ, Skr. साश्रुकाः. — 5) The use of the gen. sg. (or obl. form) for the nom. sg. or pl. is expressly taught by Mḍ. for the Ap. Pr. As this is a point of some importance, I will quote his rules on the subject. They are: a) उत्सूमोः सुमोहत् स्यात् चन्दु । राउ । अग्निउ । महुउ, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 331), i. e., *a*-bases have *u* in the nom. and acc. sg., as *moon, king, fire, honey*; b) होच सुमोर हो च स्यात् रुक्खहो i. e., they have also *ho* (gen. suff., see H. C. 4, 338) in the nom. and acc. sg., as *tree*; c) सौ पुंस्य अत ओ क्वचित् सप्यो i. e., masc. *a*-bases have sometimes *o* (cf. H. C. 4, 332), as *serpent*; d) तसो हे च रुक्खहे । वालाहे i. e., *a*-bases have also *हे* (gen. suff., see H. C. 4, 350) in the nom. plur., as *trees, girls*; e) स्त्रियाम् उच्च तप्रसोः वालाउ चकाराद् वालाहे i. e., fem. *a*-bases have *u* (cf. H. C. 4, 348) or *हे* in the nom. and acc. plur., as *girls*; f) इं नपुंसके दीर्घो वा नपुंसके तप्रसोर इं स्यात् प्राग् दीर्घो वा वपाइ । वपाइ महुइ । मुहुइ i. e., neut. bases have *im* in the nom. acc. pl., and the preceding vowel may be long, as *woods, honeys*. — 6) It may be further observed, that the voc. sg. and pl. throughout the Gḍs. is identical with some one Gḍ. form of the obl. sg. or nom. pl. Thus in *masc.*; E. H. obl. sg., voc. sg., nom. pl. alike घोडा (*of a horse, oh horse, or horses*); H. H. and P. obl. sg., voc. sg. and nom. pl. alike घोडे; voc. pl. H. H. घोडे, P. घोडि (= \*घोड्यु or \*घोडउ); S. nom. pl. and voc. sg. घोडा, voc. pl. घोडा or घोडउ or घोडो; G. obl. sg. and voc. sg. घोडा, nom. pl. and voc. pl. घोडाउ or घोडाव् (or घोडाओ); M. obl. sg. घोड्या,

nom. pl. घोडे, voc. sg. घोड्या or घोडे. So also in fem. nouns<sup>1)</sup>. The identity of the voc. sg. and pl. with the obl. sg. and nom. pl. is expressly taught by Pr. Gramm., who ascribe the two suff. of the gen. sg. हो and हे to the voc. Thus Mḍ. states: सम्बुद्धौ सौ हे च ॥ स्त्रियाम् इत्य् एव ॥ बालाहे । पाडहे ॥ चकारान् महाराष्ट्रीवच् च ॥ i. e., the voc. sg. of fem. only takes *he*. The Mh. Pr. forms would be बाले, पाड्. The latter forms alone are enjoined by K. I. 17, 18 (in Ls. 450), who does not identify them with the Mh. Pr. forms. In this he is correct; for बाले is a mere contraction for बालहे or बालहि; and पाड् has dropped the suff. हे or ह, just as in the obl. or gen. sg. (cf. H. C. 4, 345). The form ए is preserved in P. fem. nouns; as त्रिभे *oh tongue*, मावे<sup>०</sup> *oh mother*, पोए *oh daughter*; but also extended to masc. sg.; as घोडे *oh horse*, and to masc. pl., as देवे *oh gods*. Again Mḍ. continues: त्रिषु तसो हो स्यात् ॥ रुक्मवहो । वषाहो । पाडहो ॥ i. e., the voc. pl. of all bases in *a, i, u* takes *ho*. So also H. C. 4, 346 and K. I. 29 (in Ls. 450). In M. Gḍ. the suff. हो becomes उ (for हु) or अ (for ह), which are contracted with a preceding अ to ओ or आ respectively; e. g., P. voc. pl. घोडीउ *oh mares* = घोडिअहु (with ई for इअ) = Ap. घोडिअहो; or S. नरो or नरा *oh men* for \*नरउ or \*नरअ = \*नरहु or \*नरह, Ap. पारहो. Gḍ. extends the contr. form आ even to the sing.; e. g., P. voc. sg. देवा *oh god*, but voc. pl. देवे *oh gods*; the former being derived from Ap. देवहो, the latter from Ap. देवहे. Indeed, as such it is noticed by K. I. 26 (in Ls. 450) as already occurring in the Ap. Pr. The general result seems to be, that in the Ap. Pr. both हे and हो or its modifications are used to form both the voc. sing. and the voc. pl. of all bases in *a, i, u* whether masc., fem. or neut.

#### 4. CASE.

370. There are seven cases, viz. nominative (incl. vocative), accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative.

1) Exceptionally, the voc. pl. is the same as the obl. pl.; e. g., Mw. nom. pl. and voc. pl. घोडो *oh horses* or (of) horses.

The nom. serves also as the voc., and in that case some interjection, as हे, रे or अरे, is generally prefixed; e. g., nom. राम् *Rāma*, voc. हे राम् *oh! Rāma*; nom. बेटा, voc. अरे बेटा *oh! son*; nom. दुर्गा, voc. रे दुर्गा *oh! Durgā*, etc. The E. H. has no (eighth) case of the „agent“, or (as I shall call it) *active case*.

371. *The active case.* The absence of the act. case in E. H. is a point of great importance, as it helps to determine its affiliation or position with regard to the other Gḍ. languages. This case is one of the main features that distinguish the W. and S. Gḍs. from the E. Gḍs. The latter are without it; the former possess it. E. H., therefore, as not having the act. case, belongs to the E. Gḍ. group, and is more nearly allied to B. and O., than to W. H. — The rationale of the act. case is as follows. The old organic past tenses active of the Skr., mostly very complicated forms, were in Pr. already disused (cf. Wb. Spt. 63) with a few fragmentary and rare exceptions (cf. Vr. 7, 23. 24. H. C. 3, 162. 163). The inconvenience of this want was obviated by the simple expedient of giving to the sentence the passive construction; thereby turning the subject or nom. case into the instr. case and the past tense act. into the past part. pass. This method of expressing the past act. was already much used in Skr.; and in Pr. it has become the common one; thus „they have not devoured that“ may be in Skr. ते एतद् न खाचेहः or in pass. constr. तैर् एतद् अनाचोर्णम्; but in Pr. only the latter तेहिं दृअं अणाइणं (cf. H. C. 3, 134). But there is yet a simpler way of using the pass. constr.; viz., by employing the past part. pass. in an *act. sense*, whereby the change of the nom. case into the instr. in the subj. becomes unnecessary. This practise may have originated from the use of the past part. pass. of intrans. verbs in an *act. sense*, which is very common in Skr.; as अहं गतः *I went* for अहं गगाम. In Pr. it is already found occasionally extended to trans. verbs (cf. Gl. in J. G. O. S. XXVII, 492), as *Setub.* 6, 51 अढत्ता दीसिउं पिासिअरुच्छाअा *the shadows of the night-walkers began to be seen* (Skr. निप्रिचरुच्छाया दृष्टम् आरुत्थाः), and intrans., *ibid.* 8, 30 दीसिउं पउअं

रोडब्रंथस्स मुहुं *the head of the bridge began to be seen*, or *ibid.* 7, 71  
 वेष्पिउं वट्ठा पवंगा *the monkeys began to be taken*, etc. Now of these  
 two methods of using the past part. pass. to supply the past  
 tense act., the former, i. e., *the real pass. constr. with the subj. in  
 the instr. case*, was adopted by the W. and S. Gds., while the  
 other, i. e., (what I may call) *the pass.-act. constr. with the subj.  
 in the nom. case*, was chosen by the E. and N. Gds., and, of  
 course, these latter make the past part. pass. to agree in number  
 and gender with the subj. Thus „*they have not eaten that*“ is in  
 E. H. ईलोग् उ न खैलेन्, in W. H. इन्हो ने व्ह न खायो. Here खैलेन्  
 is the 3<sup>d</sup> plur. masc. 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. (formed from the past part. pass.  
 खैल् or खायल्, see § 307), agreeing with the nom. ईलोग् and  
 governing the acc. उ; while खायो is the nom. sg. masc. (of the  
 past part. pass. खायौ) agreeing with व्ह and governed by the  
 instr. or rather act. इन्हो ने. — It has been stated already  
 (§ 366, 1. d) that the tendency of the later Pr. was to substi-  
 tute the gen. for every other case. Thus the example of the  
 gen. in the place of the instr., given by H. C. 3, 134, is तेसिं  
 एअं अणाएणं, where तेसिं is the gen. plur. (= Skr. तेषाम्) for the  
 instr. तेहिं (= Skr. तेभिः)<sup>1</sup>). It has also been stated (*ibid.*) that  
 this Pr. tendency has become in Gd. an absolute law, and also, that  
 the Gd. so-called obl. form is identical with the old Pr. gen.  
 Hence, as regards the W. Gd. and S. Gd., their method of ex-  
 pressing the past tense act. by means of the *real pass. constr.  
 with the subj. in the instr. case*, may now be stated thus, that  
 they express it by means of the *past part. pass. with the subj.  
 in the obl. form* (= old gen.-instr.). Now there is every reason  
 to believe, that this was once the universal usage in the whole  
 of the W. and S. Gd.; that is, that in the pass. constr. the  
 mere obl. form was used without the addition of any affix (ने or

1) His other examples are: धपास्स लडो for धपोण लडो *acquired with  
 money*, or चिरस्स मुक्का for चिरेण मुक्का *long delivered*; here the gen.-instr.  
 has not the sense of the act.

नें). Thus in the O. II. (of Chand, Kabir, Behári Lál, etc.) the aff. never or very rarely occurs<sup>1</sup>). In O. S. it cannot have been used; for it does not exist even in the M. S. Nor was it used in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI); nor, as far as I can ascertain, in O. M. (see Man. 138) and O. G. Even in the modern S. (Tr. 113, 3) and Mw. (Kl. 66, 132. a) it is always omitted; also, as a rule, in G. (Ed. 87) and not, unfrequently, in Br. (Kl. 287, 543) and P. (Ld. 7, 22. 73, 119). Indeed, it may be said to be really confined to the literary forms of the Gd. languages and, therefore, to be comparatively modern. Such, at all events, is the case with Hindí, where it is confined to the H. H. (or Urdu) and originated at the same time with the literary cultivation of the language. The latter took place in the sixteenth century around the centre of the Moghul empire in Western Hindústán. In the low dialects of those parts the following dat. aff. are in use, G. नेँ, Mw. नेँ, P. नैँ; and it so happens that in G. the same aff. नेँ is also used as an aff. of the act. case in the pass. constr. It may be concluded, therefore, that the founders of the H. H. adopted what they found current as a dat. aff. in their regions for the act. case also. It should be remembered, that the mere obl. f. which originally was the act. case was often outwardly not to be distinguished from the nom. This was too inconvenient for a literary language which necessarily aims at grammatical precision. Seeing, then, two dat. aff. current in different parts of their neighbourhood (viz., कोँ or को in Br., नैँ or ने in Mw.) they assumed one (ने) for the act., while they reserved the other (को) for the dat.; and thus, as will be seen, any confusion between the act. and the dat. in H. II. was avoided. Possibly, the dat. aff. ने was already employed, in some cases, by the common people (as in G.) to signify the act., and thus a precedent was

1) It must be remembered, that in many cases the obl. f. happens not to differ from the dir. or nom.; thus in Pr. R. 1, 49 (in Bs. II, 267) दुन्न and रान्न are not nom., but obl. f., just as तिन and त्रिहि in the other cited verses.

afforded. The choice of the dat. aff. to supply an affix of the act. must have been felt to be natural; for it has merely the general sense of „referring to“. An affix, having such a vague and general meaning, might well be employed to express any relation in which a noun may stand in a sentence. — This theory of the identity of the act. aff. with that of the dat., with which I entirely agree, was, I believe, first propounded by Beames (II, 270). The common theory of its identity with the Skr. instr. termin. एन or न् can hardly be seriously maintained, and has been well refuted by the same writer (ibid. 266). — It should be mentioned, that G. and Mw. employ a special obl. f. in ए or ऐ for the act. case sing., their general obl. f. ending in ञ, see § 366, 2; while S. uses its general obl. f. for the act. case also. — The various act. case-aff. are: H. H. ने, Br. ने<sup>०</sup>, M. sg. ने<sup>०</sup> or pl. नी<sup>०</sup>, P. ने, G. ने or षे, N. ले. The aff. यो<sup>०</sup> in G. and ही<sup>०</sup>, सी<sup>०</sup> or प्री<sup>०</sup> in M. do not belong to the act., but to the instr. or abl., just as से in E. H. (see §§ 372. 376). — N. alone has the curious anomaly of using the act. case with ले together with the act.-pass. constr.; i. e., of constructing the subj. like the W. Gds., but the verb like the E. Gds. (see § 487).

*Note:* On the derivation of the act.-dat. affixes see § 375.

372. All cases, exc. the nom. and acc. (*proper*) are formed by adding to the obl. form of the noun certain affixes which are the same for both numbers. These are the following: instr. or abl. से *by, with* or *from*; dat. के *to*, gen. कै, के or करू, करे *of*, loc. मे *in*. The acc. proper is identical with the nom.; but commonly, as in all Gds., the dat. is substituted for the acc. See paradigms in § 379.

*Note:* The following aff. are also sometimes used: dat. कहं, abl. सो<sup>०</sup> or सेन or ते or यो<sup>०</sup>, loc. मे<sup>०</sup> or म or माँ or माँक or माँही<sup>०</sup>.

373. For the gen., there are two sets of aff.: 1) कै and के, 2) करू and करे. Of these two sets, nouns (i. e., subst., adj., and numer.) may affix only the former (कै, के), while pron. may



take either pair at pleasure. Of the two members of each pair the former (कै, करू) are used when the governing word is in the nom. or acc. proper; the latter (के, करे) when it is in any obl. case. The number and gender of the governing word make no difference in this respect. Thus घरू कै सामी आवत् वा *the master of the house is coming*; घरू के सामी से कहह *tell ye the master of the house*; घरू कै लोग् आवत् बाटे *the people of the house are coming*; घरू के तिरियालोग् के बुलावह *call ye the women of the house*. Again ई ओकरू or ओके घरू बाटे *this is his house*; उ ए करे or ए के घरू मे बाटे *he is in his house*; उ ए करू or ए कै पोयो बाटे *those are his books*; उ एकरे or एके पोयो मे पढैला *he reads in his book*.

374. *Affinities*. Besides the want of the act. case (§ 370), E. H. shows its affinity to E. Gd., as against W. Gd., also in the government of the gen. aff. In the W. Gd. the form of the aff. changes not only with the case, but also with the number and gender of the governing word; it is for the *nom. sg. masc.* Br. को, H. H. का, Kn. को, Mw. रो, G. नो, P. दा, S. जे; *obl. sg. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा or रै, G. ना, P. दे, S. जे; *nom. sg. neut.* G. नुँ; *obl. sg. neut.* G. नाँ; *nom. sg. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नी, P. दी, S. जे; *obl. sg. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नी, P. दी, S. जे or त्रिअ; *nom. pl. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा, G. ना or नाव्, P. दे, S. ज्ञा; *obl. pl. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा, G. ना or नाव्, P. दे or दिअँ, S. जे or त्रनि; *nom. pl. neut.* G. नाँ or नाँव्, *obl. dto.*; *nom. pl. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नीउ, P. दीअँ, S. जूँ or त्रिउँ; *obl. pl. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नीउ, P. दीअँ, S. जे or त्रिनि or त्रुनि or त्रिअनि or त्रिउनि (see Ld. 7. Tr. 129). The S. Gd. and N. Gd. follow the W. Gd. practice; thus *nom. sg. masc.* M. चा, N. को, *obl.* M. चे or च्या, N. का; *nom. sg. neut.* M. चेँ, *obl.* चे or च्या; *nom. sg. fem.* M. ची, N. की, *obl.* M. चे or च्या, N. की; *nom. pl. masc.* M. चे, N. का, *obl.* M. चे or च्या, N. का; *nom. pl. neut.* M. चीँ, *obl.* चे or च्या; *nom. pl. fem.* M. च्या, N. की, *obl.* M. चे or च्या, N. की (see M. 27. 41). On the other hand, in B. and O. the form of the gen. aff. never changes; not even, as in E. H., with

the case. — The case-aff. have a great variety of forms in the different Gds.; they are exhibited in the subjoined table.

	B.	O.	E. H.	H. H.	Br.	Mw.
dat. acc.	के	कु or कि	के	को	कोँ	ने
abl. instr.	हइते	रु, करु	से	से	सोँ	सूँ
gen.	रु	रु, करु	कै, करु	का	को	रो
loc.	ते	रे, करे	मे	नेँ	मेँ	गाँ
act.	—	—	—	ने	ने	obl.

	G.	P.	S.	M.	N.
dat. acc.	ने	नूँ	खे	ला	लाई
abl. instr.	यो	ते	खोँ, खाँ	सोँ, हीँ, हूँ, ऊँ	संग
gen.	नो	दा	ज्ञो	चा	को
loc.	माँ	मै	मेँ	तूँ	गा
act.	obl. or ने	नै	obl.	नेँ	ले

Besides these affixes which are allotted to particular *cases*, there is a large number of others, which are used to modify the noun in various senses which may, in a general way, be referred to the dat., abl. or loc. These may be divided into two classes, according as they are or are not added to the obl. form of the noun by means of the gen. aff. In the former case, I shall call them *postpositions*, in the latter, *affixes*. Many of them, however, belong to both classes, sometimes in the same, sometimes in different languages; e. g., E. H. वदे is a postpos. in के करु वदे *what for*, but an aff. in केहू वदे *what for*; again लये or लिये is a postpos. in E. H., W. H. घरु के लये or लिये *for the sake of the house*, but an aff. in S. घरु लइ (Tr. 404). The following list contains most of these aff. or postpos.; their meanings (indicated by numbers) generally are; *for* or *to* 1, *till* or *up to* 2, *with* 3, *by* 4, *from* 5, *in* or *at* 6. Thus a) (Skr. लग्), B. लागत् or O. B. लागि, E. H. लग्, लगि 2, W. H. लागि 1, S. लगे or लगि 1, G. लगी 1, M. लागीँ or लागुनि 1, N. लागी 1; b) (Skr. लब्ध), E. H. लिये 1, W. H.

लये or लए or लयेँ or लौँ or लोँ 2, P. लई 1, S. लाइ or लइ 1, G. लोथे 1, M. ला 1, N. लाई 1; c) (Skr. स्यान्), B. ठाईँ 1, थेके 5, O. ठा-रे 1, ठा-रु or हुँ or ठाउँ 5, E. H. थोँ 5, W. H. थोँ 5, G. थो 5, P. थोँ or थोँ or O. P. थावहु or थो or थोँ 5, ठाइ or थानि 1, N. थाञ्चि 5 or 6, M. ठाईँ 6; d) (Skr. कर्ण), W. H. कने or कनेँ or कानोँ or कणि 1, P. कनी 1, G. काने 1, S. काणे or काणि or कने or कनि 1, कनोँ or कनोँ 5; e) (Skr. पक्ष), B. पक्षे or पाके, E. H. पाहीँ, W. H. पै, P. पाहोँ 5; f) (Skr. कक्ष), B. काङ्गे or के 1, O. कु or कि 1, E. H. के or कँहँ 1, Br. कोँ 1, H. H. को 1, O. H. कहँ or कहुँ or कडुँ or काहुँ 1, O. P. कह or कहु or कउ or को or कू or कूँ 1, S. खे 1 or खोँ or खोँ 5; g) (Skr. तरित्?), B. तक् 2, ते 6, E. H. तक् 2, ते 5, W. H. तक् or तलक् or ताईँ or तईँ 2, ते or तेँ 5, P. ताईँ or तोकु or तोकुर or तेडो 2, ते or उतोँ or उतोँ 5, S. ताईँ or तोईँ or तोडो or तोषो 2, ताँ or तोँ 5, ते 6; h) (Skr. वार्त्), E. H. वाटे 1, S. वटे 1, वाटोँ 5, G. वते 1, N. वाट 5; i) (Skr. वरे), E. H. वरे 1, M. वरुन् 5; k) (Skr. कार्य), E. H. काञ् 1, O. H. कात्र 1; l) (Skr. कृत), S. करे or करि 1, M. करुन् 5, करितोँ 1; m) (Skr. अर्थ), M. अठीँ; n) (Skr. सङ्ग), B. सने 3, E. H. सन् or सने or सन् or सेनो 3, W. H. सणि 1, P. सणे 1, S. साँगे or साँगोँ 1, सणु or साणु 5, N. सँग 5; o) (Skr. सदृश), Mw. सरु or सारु 1, S. सारु 1, G. सारु 1; p) (Skr. समाधा?), W. H. सूथो 2, S. सूथोँ 5; q) (Skr. भवन्त), B. हइते 5, O. H. हुंतो or हुँतो 5, N. भन्दा 5; r) (Skr. कृत्वा), B. करिया 4, E. H. करू or करि 4, W. H. करि or करके 4, P. करके 4; s) (Skr. दत्त्वा), B. दिया 4; t) (Skr. पार्श्व), E. H., W. H. पास 6, P. पास 6, पासोँ 5, S. and G. पासे 6, M. पासोँ 6, पसून् 5; u) (Skr. पर), B. परू or परे 6, E. H. परू or परि 6, W. H. परू or परि or पै 6, P. परू 6, परोँ 5, S. परे 6, परीँ or परोँ 5; v) (Skr. मध्य), B. मध्य or मध्ये or माके 6, E. H. माँक् or माँहीँ or मेँ or मे or मा or म 6, W. H. मेँ or मोँ or माँ or माँय् or मईँ or माहै 6, O. H. मधि or मडि or मकि or माँक or मन्क or माहैँ or माँहोँ or माही or मडि or मैँ 6, O. P. मै or माहि 6, S. मंके or मेँ 6, माँ or मोँ 5, G. माँ 6, O. M. मातो 6, M. मध्येँ 6; w) (Skr. अभ्यन्तर), B. गितरू or भितरे 6, E. H. and W. H. भीतरू 6; x) (Skr. कउ), M. कउ 6, कडून् 5; y) (Skr. मस्त), S. मये 6, G. माटे 1, N. माथि 6; z) (Skr. चिरस्), P. चिरू 6, S. चिरे 6; aa) (Skr. वृत्त्य), W. H. चीच् 6, P. चिच् 6, O. P. चिचि 6, S. चिचे 6; and others.

375. *Derivation of the dat. affixes.* 1) In B. there is a dat. postpos. काड़े (S. Ch. 62, 215) meaning lit. *near*; and the O. H. has a dat. aff. कहँ or कहुँ or कहूँ or काहूँ, which often also means *near, by the side of*; e. g., ऋधि सिधि संपति नदी सुहाईँ । उमगि अत्रध अंत्रुधि कहं आईँ ॥ i. e., *fair rivers of prosperity, success, wealth, overflowing came near to the sea of Avadh* (see Bs. II, 253 where some more examples will be found). This points to the Skr. loc. कन्ते *at the side of* as their source. In the Ap. Pr. it would be कच्छे (as in B.), or \*कक्खे or \*कक्खहुँ (see § 378) or probably \*कहे or \*कहि or \*कहहुँ (or \*काहहुँ, see § 116). The latter would contract in O. H. to कहूँ (or काहूँ), and in M. W. H. to कोँ or (with the loss of *anunásika*) in H. H. को. The former, कहि, contracts in E. H. and B. to के (see S. Ch. 49) and is shortened in O. to कि (Sn. 13). Similarly the O. कु (Sn. 13) is a shortened form of the H. H. को (= कहुँ). The S. ख has arisen from कहे or कहि by the metathesis of ह्, just as in भैस् *buffalo* for बहिस or महिस, गध *donkey* for गद्धा (Pr. गद्ध H. C. 2, 37). — 2) Again the G. has the dat. postpos. लीधे *for* (Ed. 115) and W. H. लये or लयेँ or लर् (Kl. 273, 508), H. H. लिये, S. लाइ or लइ (Tr. 404), P. लई. These are identical with the past part. G. लीधो, W. H. लयो, H. H. लिया (see § 307) = Skr. लब्धः *obtained, benefited*. This points to the Skr. loc. लब्धे lit. *for the benefit of* (lat. *commodo*) as their source. In the Ap. Pr. it would be \*लहिर or \*लहिरिहिँ or (eliding ह्) लइर् or लइअहिँ, whence contr. W. H. लये or लयेँ or P. लई, and still more contr. ले or \*लैँ. The form ले exists in N. as an act. aff. (§ 371); but लैँ and ले further change to Mw. नैँ and G. ने, which latter is used in W. H. as an act. aff. (§ 371). The change of ल् to न् occurs also in the B. नेउन् (S. Ch. 189) and O. नेवा (Sn. 36) *to obtain* = H. H. लेना, E. H. लेन्. The contraction of लये to ले is like that of the Br. भये or ह्ये to भे or हे *they were* (Kl. 225, 438. 201). Another Ap. loc. would be \*लहिरहुँ or \*लइअहुँ (see §§ 307. 378, 3) which would contract to \*लयूँ or लौँ or लौँ. The last two forms exist in W. H. in the sense of *up to, until*. From लौँ arises the P. dat. aff. नूँ. Those forms of this dat. aff.

which have ञा, as N. लाई, S. लाइ, M. ला, are probably to be referred to the Ap. Pr. loc. लाहि or लाहे, Skr. लाभे lit. *for the benefit of*. — 3) There is another set of dat. postpos. which has been much confused with the preceding one, though it is of an entirely different origin; viz. E. H. लग् or लगि, W. H. लागि, S. लगे or लगि, G. लगी, N. लागी, M. लागी, H. H. लग्. It means *up to, until, or on account of, for*, and is derived from the Skr. loc. लग्ने lit. *in contact with*. In the Ap. Pr. it is लगे or लगि, whence the Gd. लगे or लगि or लग् or लागि; or Ap. Pr. लगहिं, whence the Gd. लागी or लागो or लगी<sup>1</sup>). P. has also the abl. postpos. लागो and S. लाकू (Tr. 401, ?लागू?) *from up* = Ap. Pr. abl. लगहुं. — 4) The dat. postpos., B. ठाई and O. ठा-रे, are clearly the same as the Ap. Pr. loc. ठाणि or ठाणे, Skr. स्थाने *in the place of*; B. also uses the tats. स्थाने itself. — 5) The M. आठी (in the so-called postpos. साठी, see § 365, 1) is = Ap. Pr. loc. आठिं, Skr. अर्थे lit. *in the interest of*. — 5) The B. पाके (for पाखे, see § 145, note), E. H. and W. H. पाही or पे, P. पाइ (Ld. 74) are = Ap. loc. \*पखे or \*पाहे or \*पाहिं, Skr. पक्षे lit. *at the side of* (see § 116); B. also uses the tats. पक्षे; and P. has also an abl. postpos. पाहो (Ld. 74) = Ap. \*पाहुं. — 6) The set, W. H. कणि (Km., see Kl. 69) or कने (Br.) or कने or कानी (Mw.), P. कनी, S. कने or कनि or काने or कानि (Tr. 401. 407), G. काने, which is also used in the lit. sense of *at the side of*, is = Ap. loc. कषे or कषहिं and probably (as Tr. 401) = Skr. कर्षे or कार्षे (lit. *at the ear or belonging to the ear, i. e., side*). — 7) The forms, B., E. H., W. H. तक् or तलक्, W. H. तई or ताई, P. ताई or तोकु or तोकुर or तेडी (Ld. 76. 126), S. ताई or तोई or तोडी or तोपी (Tr. 399) meaning *up to, till, to*, I believe, form one set, together with the abl. aff., W. H. ते, ते, P. ते, उतो, उतौ (Ld. 77), S. तौ, तो (Tr. 400), meaning *from up to*, and the loc. aff., B., P., S. ते

1) The O. M. लगुनि or लगोनि is the conj. part. of the same verb, = Pr. लगिऊपा; so also might be the G. लगी = Pr. लगिम्; but not (as Bs. II, 260. 261) the M. लागी, on account of the final *anunásika*.

on, upon (S. Ch. 49. Ld. 77. Tr. 400). I am inclined to connect them with the Skr. past. part. तरित (or उन्नरित, of the R. तृ) *passed to*, hence *up-to, upon, from-upon*. The loc. तरिते would become Ap. तरिर् or \*तइर् (see § 124) and contract to Gd. ते, just as Gd. ले arises from लहिर, etc. (see above Nro. 2). The elements क्, कु I take to be the dat. aff. कि, कु (as in O.), and the elements ज्ञे, णी to be pleon. suff. (see § 209). — 8) The set, Mw. सर or सार, S. सार, G. सार, which mean lit. *conformable to* (Tr. 400) and thence *for the sake of*, I connect with the Skr. सदृष *like*, Ap. obl. (or loc.) सरिहहु or सरिग्रहु (cf. § 292). — 9) The dat. aff., W. H. सणि (Km., see Kl. 69), S. सणि (Tr. 407), meaning *on account of, for*, together with the abl. aff., E. H. सन् or सने or सेन् or सेनी *with, from*, P. सणे *with* (Ld. 74), S. साणु or सेणु *with* (Tr. 401), N. सणं *from*, S. सणं *on account of* (Tr. 407), I connect with the Skr. सङ्गे, which may mean *in company with* (from R. सम् + गम्) or *in attachment to* (from R. सञ्ज्). The conj. ञ् would readily pass into ण् or न्, cf. पण for पञ्च (H. C. 2, 43. Wb. Bh. 403, see also p. 21). — 10) The W. H. सूधो (Kl. 69) *up-to, till* and S. सूधो *along with* (Tr. 401), the former a loc., the latter an abl., I would connect with some derivative of the R. समाधा (Ap. \*सवड or \*सडड), meaning *collected, adjusted*, whence *with or up-to*. — 11) The dat. aff., E. H. वटे, S. वटे (Tr. 402), G. वते (Ed. 115), meaning *for or instead*, and the abl. aff., N. वट्, S. वटं *from* (Tr. 402), I connect with the Skr. वर्त्त (or वर्त्त or वृत्त) *welfare*, Pr. वट् or वत्त (cf. H. C. 2, 29. 30), loc. वर्त्ते lit. *in favor of, for*, whence *in place of, instead*. — 12) The dat. aff. E. H. वरे and the abl. aff. M. वरन् are derived from the Skr. वर *boon, advantage*. — 13) The E. H. कान् is the Pr. loc. कञ्जे, Skr. कार्ये *for the work or sake of*. — 14) The S. करे or करि is contracted for \*करिर् = Skr. कृते *for the sake of*, and the corresponding abl. aff. is the M. करन्; similar is the M. dat. aff. करितो which is apparently a loc. sg. of the pres. part. (see §§ 300. 307). — 15) As to the relics, in M., of the organic dat. in ग्रस्, ईस्, उस् sg. and ग्राना, ईना, उना plur., see § 365, 1. 4.

*Note:* I think the identification of the S. खे with \*कहे more consonant with Gd. analogy (see § 132, note) than Trumpp's theory that खे = Skr. कृते, by the loss of र् and consequent aspiration of क् (i. e., कृते = क्रिते = खिर = खे Tr. 115). For this process there is, I believe, no analogy in Gd. The examples, to which Tr. refers (मिथुं labor, हिर्या heart, for Skr. मृदङ्ग a drum, हृद्य heart Tr. V.), are not analogous. For 1) र् has not disappeared, and 2) it has aspirated the following, not the preceding cons.; whereas, in the case of खे, it is the preceding cons., and र् has disappeared. According to the adduced analogy, Skr. कृते would become किर्ये, not खे. There is one really analogous case in Pr. in the adverbial suff. त्र, for which Pr. has त्व (e. g., Pr. एत्व or एत्तु here = Skr. अत्र), but the case is unique, and the identification of त्व with त्र (Ls. 251) is, to my mind, doubtful, see § 469. — Beames' remarks on my theory (II, 258) are founded on a misunderstanding. I hold that both the W. H. को and the B. काहे are the same words, in as much as both are various modifications of the same Skr. words; and that the H. form represents a later phase of phonetic development than the B. form, in as much as B. has preserved the aspirate cons. of the Pr., while H. has worn it down to the simple aspirate ह् (in कहुं) and even dropped it altogether (in कोँ, को); but not, that the one is actually derived from the other. The H. form comes after the B. phonetically, though not historically; only in this sense can one be said to be derived from the other.

376. *Derivation of the abl. and instr. affixes.* 1) Pr. has the instr. suff. हितो and सुतो (Vr. 5, 7), both in the plur. (H. C. 3, 7), but हितो also in the sing. (H. C. 3, 8). Of these the former contracts to M. होँ, the latter to E. H., W. H. सोँ, Mw. सूँ, G. पूँ; similarly as the 3. pl. pres. termin. Skr. अन्ति, Pr. अन्ति contracts in Gd. रैँ or रेँ or ईँ (see § 497, 2 f.). In the Ap. Pr., there is an abl. aff. होँतओ or होँतउ (H. C. 4, 355), which appears in O. H. (Chand) as हुँतो or हूँत<sup>1</sup>). These forms

1) हूँत् is a wk. f. = Ap. Pr. होँतु or हुँतु.

are really part. pres. of the verb *भू to be* (cf. H. C. 3, 180). The modern B. has still an abl. aff. *हइते*, and N. *भंदा*, which are part. pres. (cf. S. Ch. 148, and see § 300), representing the Pr. forms *हवंत°* and *भवंत* or *भंत* (cf. H. C. 4, 60 *हवंति* and H. C. 4, 365 *भति* = Skr. *भवन्ति they are*). The rationale of this usage may be explained (as Bs. II, 237) „by supposing the idea to be that of having previously been at a place, but not being there now, which involves the idea of having come away from it“; thus Ap. *तहँ होंतउ अगदो* (H. C. 4, 355), O. H. *तहँ हुंतो आयो*, N. *ताहँ भंदा आयो*, B. *ओया हइते आइल् from there* (lit. *being there*) *he has come*. The Ap. and O. H. forms are *direct*, i. e., *he who is there* (lit. *the there being*) *has come*; the B. and N. forms are *oblique* and may be taken as loc., i. e., *in being there he has come*. Possibly the ordinary Pr. suff. *हंतो* and *सुंतो* may be also part. pres. of the Rs. *भू be* and *अम् be* respectively, slightly modified for *हंतो* (cf. H. C. 4, 406 *हंति*)<sup>1)</sup> and *संतो* (cf. H. C. 1, 37). Just as *हंतो* or *हुंतो* (H. C. 4, 61) have become *हंतो*, so *संतो* or *सुंतो* may become *संतो*; and this form appears to exist in the N. *सित्*<sup>2)</sup>, and in the S. *से*<sup>3)</sup> (Tr. 401), E. H. and H. H. *से*, G. *गे* and M. *सी*<sup>3)</sup> or *प्री*<sup>3)</sup>. The S. *सँ* (Tr. 401) I would similarly derive from *संतो* which is still used by S., in the form *संदो*, as a gen. aff. (Tr. 129), or from *संते* which is still used in E. H. as an adv. part. *on being* (see § 488, note). — The Pr. suff. *हंतो* and *सुंतो* are used for the

1) Pr. has a tendency to change *अ* to *इ* in the suff. *अन्ति* of the 3. pl. and *अंत°* of the part. pres., see Wb. Bh. 404. 428, and B. has *इते* in the part. pres. for E. H. *अते* (§ 300).

2) With *त्* for *न्त्*, as in the M. 3. pl. pres. *अत्* for Pr. *अन्ति*, and in the E. H. part. pres. in *अत्*, B. *इत्* for Pr. *अंतो* (§ 300).

3) The M. *सी*<sup>3)</sup> or *प्री*<sup>3)</sup> cannot be divided (as Bs. II, 272) into *स् + ई*<sup>3)</sup>, the former being the termin. of the (Pr.) gen. sg., the latter the Pr. instr. plur. suff. *हिं*; thus M. *देवासी*<sup>3)</sup> = *देवाम्* or *देवस्स + हिं*. No doubt, modern M. case aff. (like *ने*<sup>3)</sup> in *त्यच्या ने*<sup>3)</sup> *by him*) may be added to a gen.; for they are relics of what were formerly full nouns. But *ई*<sup>3)</sup> is not an aff., but the relic of an old suff.; see at the end of this paragraph.



instr. only, but the Ap. aff. होंतउ for the abl. also; similarly शोँ and हीँ are confined, in M., to the instr., but in the other Gds. the corresponding aff. express both the instr. and abl. Thus instr. in E. II. ओह् से कइल् गइल् *done by him or with it*, but abl. in तहाँ से आइल् *come from there*. They never have in E. II. strictly the sense of „in company with“; thus *gone with him* is not ओह् से गइल् but ओह् के संग् गइल्; but they appear to be used so occasionally in S. (Tr. 403), e. g., वर पुनहू सेँ पलकु *return with Punahú a moment*; and, of course, the instr. easily admits of this sense. — The Pr. हितो (H. C. 3, 7. 8) and the Ap. होंतउ (H. C. 4, 372. 373) are used both in the sing. and plur.; but हितो was in Pr. originally confined to the plur. (Vr. 5, 6. 7), and the M. हीँ is so still; on the other hand, both M. and all other Gds. extend सोँ, सोँ, से, etc. to the sing. also, while the corresponding Pr. सुतो is limited to the plur. — The M. abl. aff. हून् or, curtailed, उन् can not well be derived from the Pr. हितो (as Ls. 311. Bs. II, 234. 236); though it may be (like the O. H. हुँत्) traced to the Ap. होंतउ (or rather the wk. f. होंतु) by the change of न्त् to न्, as in the S. suff. अन्नि of the 3. plur. pres. for Pr. अन्ति. Indeed this derivation would hardly admit of a doubt, but for the fact, that in O. M. the aff. is हूनि or हूनियाँ, which points to its being a conj. part., the suff. of which is in O. M. उनियाँ or उनि and in M. M. उन् (see § 491). Accordingly it would be equal to होऊन *having been*. Similarly N. uses the conj. part. देखि *having seen* as an abl. aff.; e. g., ताँहाँ देखि निस्क्यो *he came out from there*, माँक् देखि *from the midst*. But very possibly (as Bs. II, 236 suggests) some confusion may have taken place between the abl. aff. हून् and the conj. part. होऊन; and, on the whole, the identification of हून् with हुँतो seems most to commend itself<sup>1</sup>). — 2) As regards the other groups of abl. and instr. aff. or postpos., the B. ढाँइ

1) With Bs.' identification (II, 272) of the M. हीँ with Pr. हिं and of the H. सोँ or से with Skr. संगं (II, 274) and with Ls.' derivation (310) of हितो from हिं + तस् I cannot agree.

(S. Ch. 229) and O. ठा-र or ठाउ or ठु (Sn. 13) are derivatives of Skr. खान, ठाउ or ठा (र is the abl. aff.) being = Ap. loc. ठाणि, and ठाउ or ठु = Ap. abl. ठाणहु. Identical with these, only substituting ञ् for ह् (cf. H. C. 4, 16) is the other set: N. याञि, P., E. H., W. H. यो (Ld. 77), G. यो (Ed. 115), all = Ap. loc. याणि; and O. P. याञहु or यो or यो, M. P. यो = Ap. abl. याणहु; in the B. येके (S. Ch. 62. 230) and G. यकी the aff. के and की are super-added. — 3) The explanation of the set of instr. aff., E. H. सन्, सने, सेन्, सेनी, S. साणु or सेणु *with*, and of the abl. aff., E. H. ते, ते, P. उतो, S. तौ or तो, has been given in § 375. So also that of the M. abl. aff. करन् and वरन्, and of the N. ब्राट, S. ब्राटौ. Others, as M. पासन्, P. पासो, and P. परो, S. परौ or परो, and S. माँ or मो or मंकाँ and S. मवाँ, will be explained in § 378. — 4) There are also some relics of the old organic instr. or abl. Thus M. has an instr. sing. suff. रँ (Man. 17), which is the Ap. instr. sg. suff. रं (H. C. 4, 342), probably contracted for अहिं (see § 367, 5); e. g., M. देवे by a god, Ap. देवे, for \*देवहिं. Again M. has an instr. pl. suff. ई, which is contracted from the Ap. instr. pl. suff. अहिं (H. C. 4, 347); e. g., M. देवी by gods = Ap. देवहिं. Again there are the abl. sg. suff. अँ and अउँ or अो or उँ in S. (Tr. 117, 5) or अो in P. (Ld. 12) which are the same as the Ap. abl. plur. suff. अहं and अहुं (H. C. 4, 337. 339, see § 367, 5); e. g., S. घरँ from a house = Ap. Pr. घरहं, or S. घरउँ or घरो or घरँ, P. घरौ = Ap. घरहुं.

377. *Derivation of the gen. affixes.* The O. H. possesses a gen. aff., which in the weak form, dir. and obl., sing. and pl., is केर m., केरि f., and in the strong form, *masc.*, dir. sg. केरा (E. H.) or केरो, केरौ (W. H.), obl. sg. and dir. pl. केरे (E. H. and Br.) or केरा (Mw.); *fem.*, dir. and obl., sg. and pl. केरो. The same forms exist also in O. P. (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI) and in O. G., which latter adds the st. form neut. sg. केहँ, pl. केरौ (see Bs. II, 283). Thus *masc.* sg. केर in सो सुग्रीव केर लघु धावन, i. e., *it is Sugriva's little messenger* (T. Dás, Lanká) or मिटै न त्रिवह केर कलेसा *the pain of the creatures is not removed* (T. Dás in Kl. 72); *fem.* sg. केरि in सीता केरि करहु

रखवारी, i. e., *keep a watch of Sitá* (T. Dás in Kl. 72); masc. sg. dir. केरा in एक नारि त्रत रघुपति केरा, i. e., *to have one wife is the rule of Raghupati* (T. Dás, Lanka), or केरो in को तेरा पुत्र पिता तूँ काको मिथ्य भ्रम जग केरो, i. e., *who is thy son, whose father art thou, (such questioning) is a delusion and error of the world* (Kabír, Suravalí 12), or केरो in दौरै गज ग्रंथं चाहवान केरो *blindly ran the elephant of the Cháhuván* (Chand 20, 141); masc. sg. obl. केरे in आखर केरे वपत नेँ वंदे किस का करोगे दीदार *at the time of the end, oh friend, to whom will you look up?* (in Kabir's Reklitás); masc. pl. dir. केरे in ये किरिट द्वाकंधर केरे *these are the diadems of Ravana* (T. Dás, Lanká), or केरा in जान्हवी केरा तरंग ततो ने तट मँ जाइ कूप खादे रे *having left the waves of Ganges he goes on to the bank and drinks from a well* (Narsingh, Kávyad. 2, 4 in Bs. II, 283); fem. sg. dir. केरी in सुनि कठोर वाणी कपि केरी *having heard the stern voice of the monkey* (T. Dás, Lanká), etc. Some more examples will be found in my Essay I. in J. B. A. S. XLI, 127. 128. Bs. II, 281—284. Kl. 72. On referring to the rules for the treatment of adj. (§§ 381. 384. 386) it will be seen, that these gen. aff. केरू etc., are treated exactly like adj. This remark applies also to the other sets of gen. affixes. The O. H., namely, possesses also another set, which is merely a slightly modified form of the former. It consists of the weak forms, dir. and obl., sg. and plur., करू m., करी f. Thus masc. dir. sg. करू in कौन रंग है जीव को ता करू करहु विवेक *what is the pleasure of life, of that make investigation* (Kabír, Ramaini 24), or क्षत्रि जाति करू रोष *the wrath of the warrior-caste* (T. Dás, Lanká); or plur. सब करू शत्रु सुकृत फल बीता *to day the fruit of the good deeds of all has passed away* (T. Dás Ayodhyá 343 in Bs. II, 279); fem. sg. dir. करि in सु भट सोसन विन किन्निय । ह्य किन्निय विन नरनि । सेन भीमह करि किन्निय ॥ *lit. the warriors without heads he made, the horses he made without men, the army of Bhima he dispersed* (Chand, Soma-badha 41). For some more examples, see again my Ess. I, Bs. and Kl. *ibidem*. This set is preserved in E. H., which adds the corresponding strong forms, masc. dir. sg. करा, obl. sg. and nom. pl. करे, fem. sg. and pl., dir. and obl. करी. They are confined,

however, to the pronouns (see § 439). They occur also in O., but are limited to the plur., in connection with the plur. sign मानन् (obl. f. of माने § 363, 2); thus gen. देव-मानन्-करू of gods, where करू is both masc. and fem., sing. and plur.; again loc. or dat. देव-मानन्-करे to gods and abl. देव-मानन्-करु from gods, where करे and करु are the regular O. dat. and abl. of करू (cf. O. हाते to or in a hand, हातु from a hand of हात् hand, see Sn. 15). In the sing., O. curtails करू, करे, करु into रू, रे, रु respectively, e. g., जन-रू of a man, but जन-मानन्-करू of men; जन-रे to a man, जन-रु from a man. Again B., N. and Mw. possess only these curtailed forms; viz., B. the wk. f. रू in the gen. (e. g., sg. जने-रू of a man, pl. जन-दे-रू of men; sg. चेला-रू of a disciple, pl. चेला-दे-रू of disciples, see § 364, 2), and the st. f. रा in the nom. pl. (e. g., जने-रा men, lit. (multitude) of man; चेला-रा disciples, see § 369); N. the weak f. रु in the nom. pl. (e. g., जनहे-रु or जनह-रु men, चेलाहे-रु or चेलह-रु disciples, see § 364, 3); Mw. the st. f. रो m., री f. (e. g., जन-रो घरू the house of a man, जन-रै घरै in the house of a man, जन-रा घरू-नै to the house of a man, जन-रा घरू the houses of a man, जन-री वात् or वाताँ the word or words of a man). Similarly in Mw. and E. R., the conj. part. करू is curtailed to रू (e. g., मर्-र having died = H. H. मरू करू, see § 491)<sup>1</sup>). On the other hand, रू may be elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted; whence arise the st. forms का or को or कौ m., की f., के or का obl., for करा or करो, etc., and the weak forms कै or के or shortened कि or क comm. gen. for करि or कर. Thus masc. dir. sg. in प्रान इन-कै दुष मुक्कै his life departs from pain (Chand 26, 2); fem. dir. sg. in सुनहु विभोषष प्रभु-कै रीती। hear, o Vibhúshan, the lord's custom (T. Dás, Sundara 298 in Bs. II, 278); masc. dir. sg. क in प्रेम-क गुण कह्य सत्र कोइ every one will say (it is) the quality of love (Vidyapati, Pad. in Bs. II, 281); fem. dir. sg. in पितु आयसु सत्र धर्म-क टीका (to obey) a father's command is the crown of all virtue (T. Dás, Ayodhya 334 in Bs. II, 283); masc.

1) Similarly औरू and is shortened in E. H. to अरू and curtailed in N. to रू; e. g., गिया रू and they were.

obl. sg. क in हरि सु उठरै दिन-क महि *Hari can save in an instant* (Chand 1, 60 in Bs. II, 283) or फुटल बाँधुलि कमल-क रांग *the bándhuli has flowered with the lotus* (Vidyapati in Bs. Ind. Antiq. Febr, 1873). In the E. H., as a rule, the weak forms कै and के only are used. The former, however, is now constructed only with dir., the latter with obl. forms (e. g., जन कै घर *the house of a man*, but जन के घर मे *in the house of a man*); perhaps by way of assimilation to the W. H. obl. के, if the E. H. obl. के is not actually identical with it. The st. forms का or को sometimes occur already in O. Gd.; thus कौ in कंठसोभ बर इंद्र कौ । नाम कह्यौ परवान ॥ *the name of this verse is truly called Kāṅṭasobha* (Chand 27, 31); fem. की in कया मंड चहुआन की कहि *they well told the story of Chahuán* (Chand 27, 22); obl. के in सूकर खान के जन्मै धरई । जो गुरु केरी निंदा करई, i. e., *he will take the births of a swine and dog who causes the disgrace of his teacher* (in Kabir's Rekhtás). They are the ordinary gen. aff. in W. H. (exc. Mw.) and H. H. Lastly there is an example of a fem. st. f. किय in कया तं पि ससीवृत्त किय । अब कहत कया विस्तार किय । जो राजन दूतन करिय ॥ *narrating the story of Sasivritta, he now tells the story in detail, which the messengers of the kings had told* (Chand 25, 41); and the corresponding masc. occurs, e. g., in the O. P. abl. aff. किग्रहु (Tr. A. Gr. CXXV) which is a regular Ap. Pr. abl. of किग्रो<sup>1</sup>). There can hardly be a doubt, *prima facie*, that all these various sets of gen. aff. are merely different modifications of the same original form. Turning to Pr., we find the 1<sup>st</sup> set not unfrequently occurring in the following forms: 1) in the wk. f. sg. केरो or केह m., केरी f., केरं or केह n.; st. f. sg. केरओ m., केरिआ f., केरअं or केरउं n., or (specially in Mg. Pr.) केरको etc. or केलके etc. They are treated in every way like adj., i. e., they are fully declined in conformity with the governing subst. Thus masc. केरो in H. C. 2, 147. 148; n. केरं in H. C. 2, 99. 148; masc. केरओ in एसो कखु अलंकारओ अतथा केरओ *this surely*

1) It is quite analogous to the above mentioned O. abl. aff. कहु, which is a curtailed form of the Ap. abl. करहु or करो.

is the ornament of the lady (Mrchh. act. 4. Skr. श्यामायाः मल्लिकार्जुनः); fem. in मन केलिका वडवालिखा my turn of slaughter (Mrchh. act. 10. Skr. मन वडवाली); neut. in कस्य केरकं एदं पवहणं whose is this conveyance (Mrchh. act. 6. Skr. कस्य प्रवहणम्) or तुम्हहं केरुं धणु your wealth (H. C. 4, 373. Skr. युष्माकं धनं); masc. instr. sg. in तसु केरे<sup>१</sup> हुंकारुं मुहं पडंति तणां on account of whose (the lion's) roaring the grass falls from the mouths (of the deer) (H. C. 4, 422. Skr. यस्य हुंकारेण<sup>१</sup>). It will be observed, that केर is here used in Pr. as a gen. aff. precisely as in Gḍ. For 1) it takes its dependent noun in the gen. (= Gḍ. obl. form) and agrees with its governing noun as an adj.; thus compare T. Dás' शीवन्ह केर कलेसा the pain of the creatures or Chand's भीमह करि सेन the army of Bhima with H. C.'s तुम्हहं केरुं धणु the wealth of you; 2) it is pleonastic, i. e., it has no meaning of its own and might be omitted from the passage without affecting the sense; thus तम्हहं धणु and तुम्हहं केरुं धणु<sup>२</sup>) or कस्य पवहणं and कस्य केरकं पवहणं are absolutely identical in meaning, just as शीवन्ह कलेसा or भीमह सेन would be in Gḍ.; 3) it is added merely to distinguish or emphasise the gen. or, in other words, simply as a gen. aff.; just as in Gḍ., where it is added only to distinguish the obl. f. in its gen. sense from its other senses; this, indeed, is expressly affirmed by H. C. 4, 422 संबन्धिनः केरतणौ i. e. सम्ब<sup>०</sup> परे केर<sup>०</sup> भवतः after (or in addition to) the gen. *kera* and *tana* are used; and then follows the example तसु केरे<sup>१</sup> etc. (see above). It cannot be doubted, then, but that the Pr. केरो, etc. are identical with the Gḍ. केर, etc. and therefore, *prima facie*, with the other Gḍ. sets of gen. aff. Now, according to old Indian tradition, the Pr. केर is the same as the Skr. past part. कृत done, made, of the R. कृ do. I believe, this tradition can be shown to be correct both on *intrinsic* and *phonetic* grounds. In the first place, the phrase *done by* most easily lends itself to express the gen. sense „of“; thus in H. C.'s example

1) More exam. will be found in my Essay I. in J. B. A. S. XLI. 129. 130, and in an article by Pischel in the Ind. Antiq. April 1873. p. 121. 122.

2) H. C. 4, 373. 380 expressly states that तुम्हहं by itself is the gen. plur.

the phrase तसु केरं हुंकारउरं lit. *through the roaring made by whom* is equivalent to *through whose roaring*. It may be remarked here, that in the literary Pr. the word केर is usually not added to the gen., but compounded with its dependent noun; the gen. construction being confined, as a rule, to the Ap. and the lower Mg. dialects; thus Mh. Pr. रायकेरं *royal*, पारकेरं *foreign* (H. C. 2, 146) or अम्हकेरो *ours*, तुम्हकेरो *yours* (H. C. 2, 147. 1, 246. 2, 99), but Ap. Pr. अम्हं केरउ *ours*, तुम्हं केरउ *yours* (H. C. 4, 373. 359) or Mg. Pr. कश्च केलके *whose* (Mrchhh. 96, 22), तविश्रानोर् केलका *of an ascetic* (Mrchhh. 152, 6), etc. Originally केर cannot have been pleonastic, but must have had a meaning of its own, and supposing the latter to have been the past part. „done“, केर would naturally be first used in the compounding construction; thus Mh. रायकेरं = Skr. राजकृतं lit. *done by a king*, Mh. अम्हकेरं or अम्हकेरं (H. C. 2, 99) = Skr. अस्मत्कृतं *done by us*<sup>1</sup>). But the original meaning was soon lost sight of, and केर looked upon as a mere possessive (gen.) suff. and used in the compound constr., or even as a gen. aff. and, in this case, appended pleonastically to the gen. The former usage is expressly taught by H. C. in his rules on the Mh. Pr. इदमस्य केरः i. e., *kera is used as a possessive suff.* (H. C. 2, 147) and परराज्यां क्कडिक्को च i. e., *kka, ikka and kera are used as possessive suff. after para and rāja* (H. C. 2, 148), i. e., like the Skr. possessive suff. इय and कीय. The latter usage is taught by him in his rule on the Ap. Pr. (quoted above) संत्रन्धिनः केरतणौ (H. C. 4, 422)<sup>2</sup>). — The identification (by Psch. in the

1) E. g., Pr. रायकेरं वयनं = Skr. राजकृतं वचनं lit. *speech made by a king*, i. e., *a king's speech*.

2) The comp. usage probably preceded the pleon. one; accordingly we find the comp. form Mh. Pr. तुम्हकेरो *yours* contracted in the later Ap. Pr. to तुम्हारा (H. C. 4, 434) which occurs in the Ap. beside the pleon. form तुम्हं केरउ (H. C. 4, 357). Probably the Ap. तुम्हारा is really = \*तम्हकरियो, see § 73. — The curtailment of कर, करो to र, रो in B., O. and Mw. may perhaps be traced back to the original compounding usage. — The Skr. suff. कीय itself may well be derived from the past part. कृत.

Ind. Ant. Dec. 1873, p. 368 and Ls. 118. Wb. Spt. 38. 66) of केर् with the Skr. part. fut. pass. कार्य is untenable. For 1) the meaning of कार्य *what is to be done* would not produce a gen. without a violent wrench (so rightly Bs. II, 286), and 2) phonetically, all Pr. analogies are (not, as Ls. thinks for, but) *against* it. In all the examples mentioned by the Pr. gram., it is a *short* अ which absorbs a following इ; thus Pr. सेज्ञा, वेज्ञो, पेज्ञतो or पेर्तो, सुंद्रो, अच्चेरो, बम्हचेरो are = Skr. प्रया, वल्लिः, पर्यन्तः, सौन्दर्यः, आश्रयः, ब्रम्हचर्यः (Vr. 1, 5. H. C. 1, 57. 58. 59) <sup>1</sup>). On the other hand Skr. °श्रय° becomes in Pr. °श्रज्ञ° or °श्रिञ्° (Vr. 3, 17. 10, 8. H. C. 2, 24. 4, 314); e. g., Pr. भज्ञा or भारिञ्चा = Skr. भार्या *wife*; Pr. कज्ञं or कारिञ्चं = Skr. कार्यम् *to be done* <sup>2</sup>). — *Secondly*, the identification of केर् with कृत is supported by Pr. and Gd. phonetic analogies. Skr. roots in ऋ, as कृ, धृ, मृ, सृ, etc., become in Pr. कर, धर, मर, सर, etc. (Vr. 8, 12. H. C. 4, 234) and form their past part. by means of the connecting vowel इ (Ls. 363), as करिञ्चो, धरिञ्चो (H. C. 1, 36), मरिञ्चो, सरिञ्चो (H. C. 4, 355 पसरिञ्चउं = Skr. प्रसृतकम्), etc. By the transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, करिञ्चो and the

1) H. C. 1, 78 gives Pr. गेज्ञं for Skr. ग्राह्यं; but even this single case is no real exception; for Skr. has both गृह्यं and ग्राह्यं; and the Pr. गेज्ञं is clearly the former; just as Skr. गृह्णाति is in Pr. गेणह् (H. C. 4, 209); that is, Skr. गृह्यं = \*ग्रह्यं = Pr. गेज्ञं. — The Pr. नेत्र or नेत्य for Skr. मात्र is not an exception; for no इ has been absorbed; besides the derivation from मात्र is doubtful; Ls. 128 suggests an original मित्र.

2) Ml. 19, 4 allows to the Ps. Pr. °श्रिञ्° also, but not °रर°; viz. र्यस्य रिञ्चः प्राग्वस्वो वा । र्यस्य रिञ्चः स्यात् । प्राक् द्वस्वश्च वा स्यात् ॥ भारिञ्चा । भरिञ्चा ॥ कार्यं कच् च दृश्यते । कञ्च । चकारात् कारिञ्चं । करिञ्चं च ॥ i. e., „ry becomes *ria* and the preceding vowel may be short or long“. — Skr. कार्य never becomes कार in Pr. (as Psch. ibidem); the Skr. कार is a different word, with an active sense, *doing*, while कार्य is passive, *what is to be done*. The B. gen. आपनकार, आजिकार, कलकार do not contain a gen. aff. कार; there is no such B. aff.; but the forms are regular gen. of आपना *own*, आजिका *of to-day*, कलका *of yesterday* (gen. आपनका-र, etc.), which words exist in H. also and may be declined through all cases, both in H. and B.; see S. Ch. 115.



st. f. करिञ्चो become केरो and केरञ्चो, just as Skr. अश्रयम् *wonderful* becomes in Pr. अच्छरिञ्चं or अच्छेरं (Vr. 1, 5. H. C. 1, 58). Similarly Pr. उक्केरो *a heap* and देरं *a door* are, in all probability, modified from the past part. pass. Pr. उक्करिञ्चो *heaped up* and दरिञ्चं *split*, of the Rs. उत्कृ and दृ resp.<sup>1)</sup>. The modified part. forms केरो and केरञ्चो are never used in Pr. or Gd. but as gen. aff., while the unmodified forms करिञ्चो and करिञ्चो serve both as proper part. and as gen. aff. No examples, indeed, I believe, of the latter two forms in either usage have been found as yet in Pr. literature. But notwithstanding this, their existence would be but in accordance with the general rule of the Pr. gramm. (Vr. 8, 12. H. C. 4, 234) that the conjugational base is कर् (not कृ). And what is more, they do actually exist in Gd. as the *ordinary past part.* of the verb कर् *to do*; see § 307; which §, moreover, will show, that in Gd. the part. forms of कर् are the same as the gen. aff. Thus the gen. aff. कर्ता or कर् म., करी or करि f. occur identically as part. in O. H. (T. Dás) and Bs. and, in the slightly modified form कर्ते म., in Kn., कर्ते म. in Mw. and कर्ते म. in Br., करी f. in all (see Kl. 205, 3. 207, 390. 213, 405. 216, 414. 223, 431). The O. H. gen. aff. किय or O. P. abl. aff. कियहु occur as the ordinary H. H. part. किया म., किई f. *done*. The contr. gen. aff. का or क do not, I believe, occur as part., but quite analogous contractions are the part. गा or ग for गया or गिया *gone*, भा or भ for भया *been*, पा for पाया *found* in Bs. (see Kl. 225, 438. 230, 449) and O. H.; e. g., तमसि तमसि सामंत सत्र । रोस भरि ग प्रथिराज ॥ i. e., *in great passion were all the chiefs, with wrath was filled Prathirāj* (= H. H. भर् गया). The E. H. part. कइल्, M. केला, B.

1) Pr. gramm. (H. C. 1, 58. 79) identify them with the Skr. उत्कर् and द्वारं, which, of course, can be true as to the meaning only. Ls. 118 derives उक्केरो from a supposed vulgar form उत्कर्य, which shows that he himself felt, that Pr. analogy requires a *short अ* before र्च् to produce र्च; for according to rule (Pan. 3, 1. 120. 124) the part. fut. pass. ought to be उत्कर्य. — The common Skr. past part. is उत्कीर्ण; but Pr. would form, as usual, उत्करित.

करिल्<sup>०</sup> presuppose an original form करिद् or करित (§§ 109.307). The st. form कयते m. (= Ap. करिअउ) is found frequently in the O. H. of Chand; thus चिंद् ललाट प्रसेद् । कयते संकर मत्तराज्ञं ॥ *of the drops of perspiration made a chain the elephant* (Revatāṭa 3); or तिहि उप्पर चामंड । कयते हुस्सैन वान सन्नि ॥ *upon this Chāmand made Hussain Khān ready* (Revatāṭa 58); and the st. form करिय f. (= Ap. करिइया) in करिय अरुज उमराउ *the nobles made petition* (Revatāṭa 96), or सत्र मिलि सु ताहि पुञ्जा करिय *all assembling made adoration of him* (Adiparv. 96); again the wk. form करि f. in करि सलाह संमेल करि *they (made) took counsel having made an assembly* (Revatāṭa 96), etc. — Thus the gen. aff. of W. H., E. H., N., B. and O. form a group by themselves, all being derivatives of the past part. कृत. — 2) To this group I would also affiliate the M. aff. चा m., चो f., चे<sup>०</sup> n. In the O. M. the forms चिया m., चिये<sup>०</sup> n. (Man. 138) occur, from which the modern forms are contracted, just as M. H. का from O. H. किय. In M. the initial क् has been palatalised by the influence of the succeeding palatal इ; just as in Pr. चिलादो for Skr. किरातः (Vr. 2, 33) and in Pr. अम्हेच्चयं *ours*, तुम्हेच्चयं *yours* (H. C. 2, 149) beside Pr. अम्हक्केरं and तुम्हक्केरं (H. C. 2, 99. 2, 147). In fact, in the two last examples we have, in a slightly modified form, the O. M. gen. aff. चिया (cf. E. H. गया, but B. गया *gone*). According to Pr. gramm. (H. C. 2, 147. 149) अम्हेच्चयं is but an other form of अम्हक्केरं, which shows that it is = \*अम्हक्कयं = \*अम्हक्कश्च = \*अम्हक्करिश्च, the इ having been transferred into the preceding syllable अक्क and having palatalised it into एच्. — The M. चा is sometimes identified with the Skr. suff. च (as Bs. II, 289. Man. 132, 3). This theory assumes, that an old suff. has in comparatively modern times changed into an aff.; for the M. चा is not added to the base (as the Skr. suff.) but to the obl. form, i. e., to the old gen. Such a change would be, as far as I know, altogether unique, without any analogy or evidence to support it. The word केर (unlike च) was never a real suff., though sometimes it is practically used like one in Pr.; but it is a real noun with a meaning of its own, viz. *made* or *done*; and this accounts

for its peculiar use as an aff. constructed with the obl. f. On the other hand, the change of क् to च् through a following इ is supported by the examples above quoted, to which may be added the S. neut. interrog. pron. इहा *what* (i. e., *chhá* = *khiá* = *kihá*) corresponding to the P. किय्या and W. H. क्या for \*किहा (cf. P. obl. किह दा *of whom*); also the G. प्रो m., प्रो f., गुं n. *who* for \*हो, \*हो, \*हुँ (see § 438, 5)<sup>1</sup>. — 3) The P., S. and 'possibly G. and Konkani gen. aff., I believe, form a distinct group. The P. gen. aff. are: दा m., दो f. The same aff. occurs in B. as a component part of the plur. sign, viz. दे or दि in देरू, दिगे (see § 364, 2), and as the instr. aff. दिया with which may be compared the P. obl. plur. masc. दिअं, see § 374. I believe them to be identical with the past part. दिया *given* of the verb दे *to give* (see § 307), and their origin to be precisely analogous to that of the preceding groups. The past part. *given*, just like the part. *made*, would easily produce the gen. sense „of“; e. g., the P. तंत्र दो वाणो lit. *the sound given by an instrument* is the same as *the sound of an instrument*. — The S. gen. aff. are तो m., तो f. Here the original initial द् has been palatalised by the following palatal इ. Other examples of the same change are the P. अत्रिहा or अत्रेहा *of such sort* (Ld. 19) and the S. इको *this* (Tr. 198, for *idhio* = *idiho*, see § 132, note) for Skr. ईदृप्रः; the S. उको *that* (Tr. 202) = Skr. \*एवदृप्रः; the Ap. Pr. एजाहो (Ls. 455, for \*एदिआहो = \*एदाइहो) = Skr. एतादृप्रः; the S. कुताउ *what* (cf. H. कुता *where*) for Skr. \*केवदृप्रः (see § 438, 4). — The O. P. has a gen. aff. डा (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI), where the initial द् has been cerebralised, as in the M. S. डिअनु *to give* (Tr. 276. H. H. देना). The modern G. gen. aff. नो m., नो f., नुं n. I am inclined to count with this set by the not uncommon change of द् or ड् to ण् or न् (§ 106). They might be, however, as Bs. II, 287 suggests, curtailed forms of the gen. aff. तपो, तपो, तपुँ, which occur in

1) In the Romance languages the change of the guttural into the palatal is very common, even before the vowel *a*; e. g., lat. *camera*, french *chambre*, engl. *chamber*; lat. *caminus*, fr. *cheminée*, engl. *chimney*, etc.

O. G. and still earlier in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 422, e. g., *ब्रह्म भग्ना अम्हाहं तणा that is the fortune of us*). They still occur occasionally in Br. (तनो) and Mw. तणो or तणू m., तणो f., तणाँ plur. (see Kl. 68, 73). — The Mewári gen. aff. ञो m., ञो f., ञा or ञै obl. (Kl. 68) and Konkani लो, etc. (Bs. II, 287) I am also inclined to refer to this group, on account of the cerebral ञ, which appears to be a modification of the ञ in the O. P. ञा. They might be, however, identified with the Mw. रो, etc. (as Bs. II, 287), which occur also in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI). And I may add here, that the aff. का, केरा, चा of the other groups and the S. ञा occur in O. P. also (see Tr. ibidem). — 4) There is one more peculiar group of gen. aff.; viz. in Mw. (poetry) हंदो m., हंदो f. (Kl. 68. 73); in S. sg. dir. संदो m., संदो f., obl. संदे m., संदिअ f., plur. dir. संदा m., संदिउँ f., obl. संदेँ or संदनि m., संदिनि or संदिअनि or संदिउनि f.; in Ksh., with a sg. noun, sg. संदू m., संज् f., pl. संदि m., संज् f., with a plur. noun, sg. हिंदू m., हिंज् f., pl. हिंदि m., हिंज् f. (see Bs. II, 290)<sup>1</sup>). Bs. (II, 291) identifies them with the Pr. pres. part. हंतो and संतो *being* of the Rs. भू and अस् *to be*. This is quite possible. But perhaps an other derivation may be suggested. They may be divided into सं-दो, हं-दो or हिं-दो; the first parts सं and हं or हिं being the Pr. gen. termin. of the sing. and plur. resp. (§ 365, 1. 7), and दो the gen. aff. as in P. Thus Mw. जनहंदो or Ksh. जनहिंदू *of men* being really जनहं or जनहिं + दो or दू; S. जनसंदो and Ksh. जनसंदू *of a man* being जनस-दो for the Pr. gen. sg. ञणस्स. This would explain the singular difference in Ksh. between the sing. and plur. aff. On the other hand, one would have to assume that S. has lost the plur. and Mw. the sing. forms. But these curious gen. aff. are at present too little known, to allow of any satisfactory theory being propounded.

1) Bs. transliterates سنڙه by संजह, which is hardly correct. The final ڙ is merely a mater lectionis, to indicate that the word in which it is used ends in a short or, sometimes, long a; e. g., نڙ = न *not*, ڙ = ڙ *with*, بندڙ = वंदा *servant*, etc. Hence either संज sañja or संजा sañjā; probably the former.

378. *Derivation of the locative affixes.* 1) The original of the aff. मे etc. is the Skr. loc. मध्ये *in the midst of*, which in Ap. Pr. becomes मङ्के or मङ्कि or मङ्कहिं. From these Ap. forms arise two Gd. sets, one retaining क्, the other changing it to ह् (see § 117). To the first set belong the B. माके, S. मंके for Ap. मङ्के; the O. H. मकि or माँक, E. H. माँक् for Ap. मङ्कि, and the O. M. मात्री (or मात्री°) for Ap. मङ्कहिं; also the S. abl. aff. मंको° or मंकाँ *from-within* for Ap. मङ्कहुं or मङ्कहं. To the second set belong the O. H. महि for Ap. मकि, and the O. H. माँहे° or माँही° or माँही, E. H. and Br. माँही°, Mw. माहे or माई° or मई° (for \*मही°) for Ap. मङ्कहिं; also the E. H. मे contracted from महि, W. H. मे° contr. from \*महो°, E. H., W. H., G. माँ, N. ना similarly contr. from \*महाँ = मकाँ (cf. S. abl. aff.) = Ap. मङ्कहं; and W. H. नाँ for \*महो° = मको° (cf. S. abl. aff.) = Ap. मङ्कहुं. Both, माँ and नाँ, occur in S. also as abl. aff. — 2) Other groups of loc. aff. or postpositions are: a) the M. ठाई° = Ap. ठाणहिं, and the N. याञि = Ap. याणि, for Skr. स्वान्ने *in the place of*; b) the N. नायि and S. नये *upon* = Ap. Pr. नयि or नये for Skr. मस्ते *on the head or top of*, and the corresponding S. abl. aff. नयाँ *from-upon*; similar to these are: S. सिरे, P. सिर upon = Ap. सिरे for Skr. सिरसि *on the head of*; c) the B. भितर or भितरे, E. H., W. H. भोतर within (see § 172); d) in all Gds. पर or परि or पर upon, Ap. Pr. परि (H. C. 4, 438), Skr. परे *beyond*; and the corresponding abl. aff. S. पराँ and S. or P. परो° *from-upon*; e) the S. and G. पासे, P. and W. H. पास = Ap. पासि or पासे, and M. पासो° = Ap. पासहिं, for Skr. पाश्रे *by the side of*; f) the S. विचे, P. विच्, O. P. विचि, W. H. वीच् *within* = Ap. विचे or विचि, perhaps for Skr. वृये lit. *surrounded by*; cf. H. C. 4, 421, where the Ap. विच्च is said to be a substitute for Skr. वर्त्तमान; g) the M. त् *nt*, as in घरांत *in a house*, कवींत *in a poet*, मधूंत *in honey* (Man. 30. 31), is probably a curtailment of the Pr. अंतो or अंते (H. C. 1, 14. 60) for Skr. अन्तर within; and related to it, in all Gds., अंतर = Ap. अंतह (H. C. 4, 350), for Skr. अन्तरम् *within*. — 3) There are also some relics of the old organic loc.: a) loc. sg. in इ in most Gds.,

for Ap. इ, Skr. ए; b) loc. sg. in ऐ or ए in most Gds., or ई in N., P., G., for Ap. ए or अइ or अहि; c) loc. sg. in ऐ<sup>०</sup> or ई<sup>०</sup> in E. H., ई<sup>०</sup> in P., or loc. sg. and pl. in ई<sup>०</sup> in M., for Ap. sg. and pl. अहिं; d) loc. sg. in अँ in E. H., W. H., or loc. sg. and pl. in अँ in M., for Ap. pl. अहं; e) loc. sg. in औ<sup>०</sup> or ऊ in W. H., for Ap. pl. अहुं. Examples see §§ 367, 5. 375, 1. 2. 77. 78.

### 5. DECLENSION.

379. There is only *one* declension. All subst. are declined exactly alike; and the base never changes, exc. in the obl. cases of the plur., where अन्, इन्, उन् are added (see § 362). One example, therefore, of a subst. fully declined will be sufficient. But as a matter of convenience, I shall add a list of nom. and gen. of a subst. of every form, gender and termin., leaving it to the student to supply the remainder.

#### 1. Masculines in अ.

##### a) Short form: राम् *Rám.*

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.	
nom.	राम्	राम्	रामन्लोग्	or रामन्लोग्
acc.	राम् or र <sup>०</sup> के	राम् or रामन्के	रामन्लोग् or <sup>०</sup> गन् के	or रामन्लोग् or <sup>०</sup> के
instr.	राम् से	रामन् से	रामन्लोगन् से	or रामन्लोग् से
dat.	राम् के	रामन् के	रामन्लोगन् के	or रामन्लोग् के
abl.	राम् से	रामन् से	रामन्लोगन् से	or रामन्लोग् से
gen.	राम् कै, <sup>०</sup> के	रामन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के	रामन्लोगन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के	or रामन्लोग् कै, <sup>०</sup> के
loc.	राम् मे	रामन् मे	रामन्लोगन् मे	or रामन्लोगन् मे
voc.	हे राम्	हे राम्	हे रामन्लोग्	or हे रामन्लोग्

##### b) Long form: रामन्वा or रामन्वाँ.

nom.	रामन्वा	रामन्वा	रामन्वालोग्	or रामन्वन्लोग्
acc.	रामन्वा or र <sup>०</sup> के	रामन्वा or रामन्वन्के	रामन्वालोग् or <sup>०</sup> गन् के	or रामन्वन्लोग् or र <sup>०</sup> के
instr.	रामन्वा से	रामन्वन् से	रामन्वालोगन् से	or रामन्वन्लोग् से
dat.	रामन्वा के	रामन्वन् के	रामन्वालोगन् के	or रामन्वन्लोग् के
abl.	रामन्वा से	रामन्वन् से	रामन्वालोगन् से	or रामन्वन्लोग् से
gen.	रामन्वा कै, <sup>०</sup> के	रामन्वन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के	रामन्वालोगन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के	or रामन्वन्लोग् कै, <sup>०</sup> के

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
loc.	रमन्वा मे	रमन्वन् मे	रमन्वालोग्न् मे or रमन्वन्लोग्न् मे
voc.	हे रमन्वा	हे रमन्वा	हे रमन्वालोग्न् or हे रमन्वन्लोग्न्
c) Redundant form: रमौवा or रमौवा or रमौवाँ or रमौवाँ.			
nom.	रमौवा	रमौवा	रमौवालोग्न् or रमौवन्लोग्न्
acc.	रमौवा or र <sup>०</sup> के	रमौवा or <sup>०</sup> वन् के	रमौवालोग्न् or <sup>०</sup> गन् के or रमौवन्लोग्न् or र <sup>०</sup> के
instr.	रमौवा से	रमौवन् से	रमौवालोग्न् से or रमौवन्लोग्न् से
dat.	रमौवा के	रमौवन् के	रमौवालोग्न् के or रमौवन्लोग्न् के
abl.	रमौवा से	रमौवन् से	रमौवालोग्न् से or रमौवन्लोग्न् से
gen.	रमौवा कै, <sup>०</sup> के	रमौवन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के	रमौवालोग्न् कै, <sup>०</sup> के or रमौवन्लोग्न् कै, <sup>०</sup> के
loc.	रमौवा मे	रमौवन् मे	रमौवालोग्न् मे or रमौवन्लोग्न् मे
voc.	हे रमौवा	हे रमौवा	हे रमौवालोग्न् or हे रमौवन्लोग्न्

*Note:* The long and redundant forms in ऋ may be pronounced with a final *anunásika* (see §§ 195. 365, 4); thus gen. रमन्वाँ कै or रमौवाँ कै, etc. — Subst. which do not denote *rational* beings, can not form the comp. pl. (see § 361); thus gen. घरन् कै *of houses*, बाघन् कै *of tigers*, not घरलोग्न् कै, बाघलोग्न् कै.

## 2. Masculines in ऋ.

### a) Short form: बेटा *son*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	बेटा	बेटा	बेटालोग्न् or बेटन्लोग्न्
gen.	बेटा कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.	बेटन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.	बेटालोग्न् कै, <sup>०</sup> के or बेटन्लोग्न् कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.

### b) Long form: बेटन्वा or बेटन्वाँ.

nom.	बेटन्वा	बेटन्वा	बेटन्वालोग्न् or बेटन्वन्लोग्न्
gen.	बेटन्वा कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.	बेटन्वन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.	बेटन्वालोग्न् कै, <sup>०</sup> के or बेटन्वन्लोग्न् कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.

### c) Redundant form: बेटौवा or बेटौवाँ, etc.

nom.	बेटौवा	बेटौवा	बेटौवालोग्न् or बेटौवन्लोग्न्
gen.	बेटौवा कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.	बेटौवन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.	बेटौवालोग्न् कै, <sup>०</sup> के or बेटौवन्लोग्न् कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.

## 3. Masculines in इ.

### a) Short form: रिषि *rikhi patriarch*.

nom.	रिषि	रिषि	रिषिलोग्न् or रिषिन्लोग्न्
gen.	रिषि कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.	रिषिन् कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.	रिषिलोग्न् कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc. or रिषिन्लोग्न् कै, <sup>०</sup> के, etc.

b) Long form : रिपिया or रिपियाँ.

Sing.

Simple plur.

Comp. plur.

nom. रिपिया	रिपिया	रिपियालोग्	or रिपियन्लोग्
gen. रिपिया कै, °के, etc.	रिपियन् कै, °के, etc.	रिपियालोगन् कै, °के or रिपियन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.	

c) Redundant form : रिपियत्रा or रिपियत्राँ.

nom. रिपियत्रा	रिपियत्रा	रिपियत्रालोग्	or रिपियत्रन्लोग्
gen. रिपियत्रा कै, °के, etc.	रिपियत्रन् कै, °के, etc.	रिपियत्रालोगन् कै, °के or रिपियत्रन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.	

#### 4. Masculines in ई.

a) Short form : भाई *brother*.

nom. भाई	भाई	भाईलोग्	or भाइन्लोग्
gen. भाई कै, °के, etc.	भाइन् कै, °के, etc.	भाईलोगन् कै, °के or भाइन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.	

b) Long form : भैया or भैया or भैयाँ or भैयाँ.

nom. भैया	भैया	भैयालोग्	or भैयन्लोग्
gen. भैया कै, °के, etc.	भैयन् कै, °के, etc.	भैयालोगन् कै, °के or भैयन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.	

c) Redundant form : भैयत्रा or भैयत्राँ.

nom. भैयत्रा	भैयत्रा	भैयत्रालोग्	or भैयत्रन्लोग्
gen. भैयत्रा कै, °के, etc.	भैयत्रन् कै, °के, etc.	भैयत्रालोगन् कै, °के or भैयत्रन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.	

#### 5. Masculines in उ.

a) Short form : तहू *tree*.

nom. तहू	तहू	
gen. तहू कै, °के, etc.	तहून् कै, °के, etc.	<i>deest.</i>

b) Long form : तहूवा or तहूघ्रा or तहूवाँ or तहूघ्राँ.

nom. तहूघ्रा	तहूघ्रा	
gen. तहूघ्रा कै, °के, etc.	तहूघ्रन् कै, °के, etc.	<i>deest.</i>

c) Redundant form : तहूघ्रवा or तहूघ्रवाँ.

nom. तहूघ्रवा	तहूघ्रवा	
gen. तहूघ्रवा कै, °के, etc.	तहूघ्रवन् कै, °के, etc.	<i>deest.</i>

#### 6. Masculines in ऊ.

a) Short form : नाऊ *barber*.

nom. नाऊ	नाऊ	नाऊलोग्	or नाऊन्लोग्
gen. नाऊ कै, °के, etc.	नाऊन् कै, °के, etc.	नाऊलोगन् कै, °के or नाऊन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.	



b) Long form: नउअ or नौअ or नौवा or नउअँ etc.

Sing.

Simple plur.

Comp. plur.

nom.	नौवा	नौवा	नौवालोग्	or	नौवन्लोग्
gen.	नौवा कै, °के, etc.	नौवन् कै, °के, etc.	नौवालोगन् कै, °के	or	नौवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: नउअवा or नौअवा or नौअवाँ, etc.

nom.	नौअवा	नौअवा	नौअवालोग्	or	नौअवन्लोग्
gen.	नौअवा कै, °के, etc.	नौअवन् कै, °के, etc.	नौअवालोगन् कै, °के	or	नौअवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

### 7. Feminines in ञ.

a) Short form: चात् *word, thing, event.*

nom.	चात्	चात्	
gen.	चात् कै, °के, etc.	चातन् कै, °के, etc.	<i>deest.</i>

b) Long form: चतिया or चतियाँ.

nom.	चतिया	चतिया	
gen.	चतिया कै, °के, etc.	चतियन् कै, °के, etc.	<i>deest.</i>

c) Redundant form: चतियवा or चतियवाँ.

nom.	चनियवा	चतियवा	
gen.	चतियवा कै, °के, etc.	चतियवन् कै, °के, etc.	<i>deest.</i>

### 8. Feminines in ञा.

a) Short form: दुर्गा *Durgá.*

nom.	दुर्गा	दुर्गा	दुर्गालोग्	or	दुर्गन्लोग्
gen.	दुर्गा कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गालोगन् कै, °के	or	दुर्गन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: दुर्गिया or दुर्गियाँ.

nom.	दुर्गिया	दुर्गिया	दुर्गियालोग्	or	दुर्गियन्लोग्
gen.	दुर्गिया कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियालोगन् कै, °के	or	दुर्गियन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: दुर्गियवा or दुर्गियवाँ.

nom.	दुर्गियवा	दुर्गियवा	दुर्गियवालोग्	or	दुर्गियवन्लोग्
gen.	दुर्गियवा कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियवन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियवालोगन् कै, °के	or	दुर्गियवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

### 9. Feminines in इ.

a) Short form: आगि *fire.*

nom.	आगि	आगि	
gen.	आगि कै, °के, etc.	आगिन् कै, °के, etc.	<i>deest.</i>

b) Long form: अगिया or अगियाँ.

Sing.

Simple plur.

Comp. plur.

nom.	अगिया	अगिया	
gen.	अगिया कै, °के, etc.	अगियन् कै, °के, etc.	deest.

c) Redundant form: अगियवा or अगियवाँ.

nom.	अगियवा	अगियवा	
gen.	अगियवा कै, °के, etc.	अगियवन् कै, °के, etc.	deest.

### 10. Feminines in ई.

a) Short Form: लाठी staff.

nom.	लाठी	लाठी	
gen.	लाठी कै, °के, etc.	deest (§ 362, exc.)	deest.

b) Long form: लहिया or लहियाँ.

nom.	लहिया	लहिया	
gen.	लहिया कै, °के, etc.	लहियन् कै, के, etc.	deest.

c) Redundant form: लहियवा or लहियवाँ.

nom.	लहियवा	लहियवा	
gen.	लहियवा कै, °के, etc.	लहियवन् कै, °के, etc.	deest.

### 11. Feminines in ऊ.

a) Short form: बहू daughter-in-law.

nom.	बहू	बहू	बहूलोग्	or	बहुन्लोग्
gen.	बहू कै, °के, etc.	बहुन् कै, °के, etc.	बहूलोग् कै, °के	or	बहुन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: बहुवा or बहुआ or बहुआँ, etc.

nom.	बहुआ	बहुआ	बहुआलोग्	or	बहुआन्लोग्
gen.	बहुआ कै, °के, etc.	बहुआन् कै, °के, etc.	बहुआलोग् कै, °के	or	बहुआन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: बहुअवा or बहुअवाँ.

nom.	बहुअवा	बहुअवा	बहुअवालोग्	or	बहुअवन्लोग्
gen.	बहुअवा कै, °के, etc.	बहुअवन् कै, °के, etc.	बहुअवालोग् कै, °के	or	बहुअवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

## SECOND CHAPTER. THE ADJECTIVE.

## 1. FORMS OF THE ADJECTIVE.

380. Every adj. admits of three forms: the short, long and redundant. The short is the primary form, which is given in the dictionaries and by which it is generally known. The other two are more or less vulgar. The latter are made by adding to the weak form (see § 381) the pleon. suff. of the second, third and fifth sets of the first group, as explained in §§ 198. 199. Thus, *masc.*, sh. f. मोट् *thick*, lg. f. मोट्का or मोटका, red. f. मोट्कवा or मोटकवा; *fem.*, sh. f. मोट्, lg. f. मोट्की or मोटकी, red. f. मोट्किया or मोटकिया; *masc.*, sh. f. बडा *great*, lg. f. बडका or बडका, red. f. बडकवा or बडकवा; *fem.*, sh. f. बडी, lg. f. बडकी or बडकी, red. f. बडकिया or बडकिया; *com. gen.*, sh. f. भारी *heavy*, lg. f. *masc.* भरिका or भरिका, *fem.* भरिकी or भरिकी, red. f. *masc.* भरिकवा or भरिकवा, *fem.* भरिकिया or भरिकिया; *com. gen.*, sh. f. गर् *heavy*, lg. f. *masc.* गरका or गरका, *fem.* गरकी or गरकी, red. f. *masc.* गरकवा or गरकवा, *fem.* गरकिया or गरकिया, etc.

381. All adj. of the short form in अ admit of two forms, a weak and a strong. The weak form ends in अ and is the original one; the strong form is made by adding to this the pleon. suff., अ म., ई f., of the first set of the first group, as explained in § 196. Thus, *masc.*, wk. f. लाम् *long*, st. f. लामा; *fem.*, wk. f. लाम्, st. f. लामो; or wk. f., *com. gen.*, उच् *high*, st. f. *masc.* उचा, *fem.* उचो, etc. Adj. in ई and उ exist only in the strong form; their weak forms in इ and उ are obsolete. Thus st. f., *com. gen.*, भारी *heavy*, हल् *light*; the wk. f. भारि, हर or हल् occur in O. H. (Tulsí Dás).

382. The adj. of the strong form in ई admit of two forms, the contracted and uncontracted. The latter is made by adding the pleon. suff. इँ to the former, see § 197. Thus भारी or भारिँ *heavy*. Of the uncontracted a long form भारिँका m., भारिँकी f., may be made, but no redundant form.

383. When adj. are used as subst. or parts of proper names, their long and redundant forms are made exactly like those of real subst. Thus सेठन्त्रा (not सेठन्का), lg. f. of सेठ् a name of a caste (lit. *best*, Skr. श्रेष्ठ); or मिठवा ग्राम् the name of a species of mangoe, but मिठका ग्राम् any sweet mangoe.

## 2. GENDER.

384. Adj., like subst., have only two genders, masc. and fem. Strong and long adj. change, in the fem., the final वा to ई, and redundant adj. अवा to इया (see §§ 258 ff.). In other adj. the two genders are identical in form. Thus the wk. f. मोट् *sweet*, झोट् *small*, etc., and the st. f. भारी *heavy*, हलू *light*, etc. are *gen. com.*; but st. f. *masc.* मोटा, झोटा, *fem.* मोठी, झोटी, etc., and lg. f. *masc.* मिठका or मिठका, *fem.* मिठकी or मिठकी, etc., and red. f. *masc.* मिठकवा, *fem.* मिठकिया, etc.

385. *Affinities and Derivation.* All other Gds. have, like the E. H., a fem. in ई for their strong forms in वा (E. and S. Gd. and P.) or ओ or औ (W. and N. Gd.). Thus *masc.* B., O., W. H. काला, E. H. कारा *black*, M., P. काफ़ा, G. काफ़ो, S. कारो; *fem.* B., O., W. H. काली, M., P., G. काफ़ी, E. H., S. कारी, etc. But the B. and O., as a rule, and even the E. H. not unfrequently, dispense with the use of strong adj. in वा. In S. the weak forms in उ (corresp. to अ in the other Gds.) have a fem. in इ or अ (Tr. 99. 152); in all other Gds. the fem. ends in अ; thus S. अधु *half*, *fem.* अध or अधि, but E. H., B., O., G. *masc.* or *fem.* अध्. In E. H., however, the fem. wk. f. in इ is preserved in the part., when the latter are used to form participial tenses (see §§ 502 ff.); thus *fem.* कर्त्ति, of *masc.* कर्त्त् *doing*, in the 2. sg. pret. conj. कर्त्तिस् *if thou didst (fem.)*; or कइलि *fem.*, of कइल्, in the 2. sg. pret. ind. कइलिस् *thou didst*; कर्त्त्रि *fem.*, of कर्त्त्र्, in the 2. sg. fut. ind. कर्त्त्रिस् *thou wilt do*, etc. In H. H. the weak fem. in अ and इ cannot properly be used. In Skr., adj. in अ generally form their fem. in अ; but in Pr. they may optionally have a fem. in आ or ई (Vr. 5, 24. H. C. 3, 32), which become अ or इ in Gd.

(see §§ 42. 43). As to the derivation of the fem. term. ई and इया see § 262.

### 3. DECLENSION.

386. Adj. are declined precisely like subst., with the following exceptions: 1) strong adj. in आ change it to ए in the obl. form sg. and pl. — 2) long adj. in का or क्का change आ to ऊ in the voc. sg., and also throughout the plur., if the adj. is used in a derisive sense (i. e. परिहस्ये). Thus, *dir. form*, nom. sg. ई मीठा आम् चट्टै *this is a sweet mangoe*; *obl. form*, acc. sg. ऊ मोटे आम् के खैलेस् *he ate a sweet mangoe*; *dir. f.*, nom. sg. ऊ मिठका आम् चट्टै *that is a sweet mangoe*; *obl. f.*, acc. sg. ऊ मिठके आम् के खैलेस् *he ate a sweet mangoe*; *dir. f.*, nom. sg. ओकरू अद्दा घोरा चट्टै *his is a good horse*; *obl. f.*, loc. sg. ऊ अद्दे घोरा परू चरुल चट्टै *he is mounted on a good horse*. Again, *dir. f.*, nom. pl. ई मीठा आम् चट्टै *these are sweet mangoes*; *obl. f.*, acc. pl. ऊ मोटे आम् के खैलेस् *he ate sweet mangoes*; *dir. f.*, nom. pl. ऊ मिठका आम् चट्टै *those are sweet mangoes*; *obl. f.*, acc. pl. ऊ मिठके आम् के खैलेस् *he ate sweet mangoes*; *dir. f.*, nom. pl. ओकरू अद्दा घोरा चट्टै *his are good horses*; *obl. f.*, loc. pl. ऊ अद्दे घोरे परू चरुल चट्टै *they are mounted on good horses*.

387. *Affinities*. The M. and Br. agree with the E. H. in inflecting, in the sing., their strong adj. in आ differently from their strong subst. in आ. While the termination of the obl. sing. of subst. is आ in E. H. and Br. and या in M., that of the obl. form of adj. is ए in all three. In the other Gds. the adj. does not differ from the subst. in the obl. sg. Thus, gen. sg., E. H. अडे घोरा के *of a big horse*, Br. अडे घोडा को, M. अडे घोड्या चा; but Mw. अडा घोडा रो, G. अडा घोडा नो, P. अडे घोडे दा, S. अडे घोडे नो, B. अडा घोडा-रू, etc. In all Gds. the obl. form of adj. is the same in both plur. and sing., except in S., where their obl. f. pl. may be optionally like that of the subst. (Tr. 145); thus, gen. pl., E. H. अडे घोर्न् के *of big horses*, Br. अडे घोडाँ को, M. अडे घोड्याँ चा, Mw. अडा घोडाँ रो, G. अडा घोडाँ नो, P. अडे घोडिअँ दा, S. अडे घोडेँ नो

or बड़े बड़े गो, etc. It must, of course, be understood, that if an adj. is used substantively, and not attributively, it is declined in every respect like a real subst.; and that in all Gds.

#### 4. COMPARISON.

388. The degrees of comparison cannot be indicated by any change in the (positive) form. The comparative is expressed by putting the object with which another is compared in the abl. (made with the aff. स), and the superlative by prefixing to the adj. either the adj. itself or the pron. सच् all in the abl. case; e. g., ओकरे मोट् बर्दा से मोर् बर्दा ब्हा बाटै *my bullock is better than his fat bullock*; ओह् से बडा *greater than he*; ई सच् से मिठका आम् बाटै *this is the sweetest mangoe*, lit., this is a mangoe sweet (compared) with all (others); अच्छी स अच्छी तरकारी *the best vegetable*; अच्छे से अच्छे चाडू के भात् *the best (cooked) rice*. Sometimes, however, the comp. is expressed by the long form of the adj. (see § 198), as it emphasizes its meaning. Thus के बडका बाटै *which is the elder one*; उ छोटका बाटै *that is the younger one*.

389. *Affinities.* In all Gds. the comp. and superlat. degrees are formed precisely as in E. H.; see S. Ch. 83. Sn. 21. Man. 40, 78. note 1. Ld. 15. Ed. 45, 97. 98. Tr. 156. Thus, comparative, E. H. ओह् से बडा *greater than he*, B. ताहा हस्ते बड, O. ताहा-ह् बड, M. त्याहून् बडा, Br. वा सो<sup>०</sup> बडो, Mw. उण् सू<sup>०</sup> बडो, G. आ वी बडो, P. उह् ते बड, S. हुन ख<sup>०</sup> बडो; and superlat., E. H. सच् से बडा *greatest*, B. सकल् हस्ते ब<sup>०</sup>, O. सकल-ह् ब<sup>०</sup>, M. सर्वाहून् ब<sup>०</sup>, Br. सच् सो<sup>०</sup> ब<sup>०</sup>, Mw. सच् सू<sup>०</sup> ब<sup>०</sup>, G. सभ वी ब<sup>०</sup>, P. सच् ते ब<sup>०</sup>, S. सभ ख<sup>०</sup> ब<sup>०</sup>.

#### THIRD CHAPTER. THE NUMERAL.

390. There are various kinds of numerals in E. H., as cardinals, ordinals, multiplicatives, collectives, reduplicatives, fractionals, beside which there are some others, as proportionals, subtractives, distributives, indefinitives, which are expressed by various modes of paraphrase.

## 1. CARDINALS.

391. Their forms from *one* to *hundred* are the following:

1. एक्	21. ऐकस्	41. ऐकतालिस्	61. ऐकसठि	81. ऐक्यासो
2. दुइ	22. ब्राइस्	42. ब्रयालिस्	62. ब्रासठि	82. ब्रयासो
3. तौनि	23. तेइस्	43. तैँतालिस्	63. तिरसठि	83. तिरासो
4. चार्	24. चौत्रिस्	44. चौवालिस्	64. चौँसठि	84. चौरासो
5. पाँच्	25. पचोस्	45. पैँतालिस्	65. पैँसठि	85. पचासो
6. इ	26. इड्त्रिस्	46. द्वियालिस्	66. द्वाइठि	86. द्वियासो
7. सात्	27. सताइस्	47. सैँतालिस्	67. सरसठि	87. सत्रासो
8. अठ्	28. अठाइस्	48. अठतालिस्	68. अठसठि	88. अठ्ठासो
9. नौ	29. अोनतिस्	49. अोनचास्	69. अोनहत्रर्	89. नवासो
10. दस्	30. तोस्	50. पचास्	70. सत्रर्	90. नब्बे
11. ऐग्यार्ह	31. ऐकतिस्	51. ऐक्यावन्	71. ऐवत्रर्	91. ऐक्यानबे
12. ब्यार्ह	32. ब्रतिस्	52. ब्रावन्	72. ब्रहत्रर्	92. ब्रानबे
13. तेर्ह	33. तैँतिस्	53. तिरपन्	73. तिहत्रर्	93. तिरानबे
14. चौदह	34. चौँतिस्	54. चौवन्	74. चौहत्रर्	94. चौरानबे
15. पन्दर्ह	35. पैँतिस्	55. पंचावन्	75. पइत्रर्	95. पंचानबे
16. सोर्ह	36. इत्रिस्	56. इप्पन्	76. द्विहत्रर्	96. द्वानबे
17. सतरह	37. सैँतिस्	57. सत्रावन्	77. सयत्रर्	97. सत्रानबे
18. अठार्ह	38. अठतिस्	58. अठ्ठावन्	78. अठत्रर्	98. अठ्ठानबे
19. अोनइस्	39. अोनतालिस्	59. अोनसठि	79. अोनसो	99. निनानबे
20. चीस्	40. चालिस्	60. साठि	80. अस्सो	100. सौ

392. Some of the cardinal numbers admit one or more slightly different forms; but those marked with an asterisk are used only in the multiplication table, and those marked with two asterisks, only in the formation of cardinals above *a hundred*; thus:

1. यक्	5. पच्* or	11. इग्यार्ह or	38. अरतिस् or	54. चौअन् or
2. दो*	पाच्	ग्यार्ह	अरुतिस्	चउअन्
3. तिन्* or	6. इइ* or	15. पनर्ह	44. चवालिस् or	55. पचपन्
तीन्	इव्	24. चवत्रिस् or	चउअलिस्	67. सउसठि or
4. चर्* or	7. सत्*	चउत्रिस्	48. अरतालिस् or	सतसठि
चार	8. अठ्	30. तिस्*	अरुतालिस्	68. अरसठि

71. ऐकहत्र्	78. अठहत्र् or	95. पनचानवे	100. सै ** or
75. पचहत्र्	अठनत्र्*	99. निनानवे or	सो ** or
77. सतहत्र्	84. चवरासी	निन्यानवे	सल्

The final syllables °त्रिस्, °तिस्, °लिन् may, optionally, be spelled °त्रीस्, °तीन्, °लीन्; thus 24 चौत्रिस् or चौत्रीस्, 33 तैतिस् or तैतीस्, 40 चालिस् or चालीस्; but 21 ऐकह्, not ऐकर्; 23 only तेह्, not तेहस्. Again all numbers of the seventh decade may drop the final इ; thus 60 साठि or साठ्, 66 द्वाइठि or द्वाइठ्, etc. Again the initial syllable ओन्° may also be spelled वन्°; thus 19 ओनइन् or वनइस्, 79 ओनासी or वनासी.

393. All cardinals above *a hundred* are formed by subjoining the lower number to the higher without any intervening conjunction; thus:

101. एक सै एक	103. एक सै तीन	105. एक सै पाँच	210. दुइ सै दस
102. एक सै दुइ	104. एक सै चार	200. दुइ सै	220. दुइ सै त्रीस्
	300. तीन सै	1000. सहस्र	
	400. चार सै	100,000. लाख	
		10,000,000. कोटि	

1874. एक सहस्र आठ सै चौहत्र्  
2,154,210. ऐकहस् लाख चौवन् सहस्र दुइ सै दग्, etc.

394. The cardinals between *one hundred* and *two hundred* are differently formed, when employed in the multiplication table (पहाडा). Namely up to 120 the higher number is subjoined to the lower one with which it is compounded by means of उत्र् above, the initial उ of the latter combining with the final अ of the preceding word to ओ (ओत्र्); thus 108 is अठोत्र्, i. e., अठ + उत्र् + सो *eight-above-hundred*. From 120 and optionally from 110 up to 160 and optionally up to 170, the connecting vowel अ is interposed, instead of उत्र्, except in the fifth decade where चालिस् *forty* is curtailed to चाल्. In the rest the original form remains unchanged. Moreover, in the second, third and fourth decade the penultimate short vowel is lengthened. The accent is always on the antepenultimate of the whole compound;



e. g., 161 *cksātthāso*, 152 *bavānnāso*, 112 *barāhāso*, etc. Thus the forms of these cardinals are the following :

101. ऐकोत्तरसो	117. सतराहासो	140. चालसो	170. सत्रसो
102. द्विलोत्तरसो	118. अठराहासो	141. ऐकतालसो, etc.	171. एखत्रसो
103. तिलोत्तरसो	119. अँगैसासो	149. अँगनचासासो	179. अँगनासीसो
104. चलोत्तरसो	120. वीसानो	150. डेहसो	180. अँगसीसो
105. पिचोत्तरसो	121. ऐकैसासो	151. ऐकअवनासो	181. ऐकवासीसो
106. द्विलोत्तरसो	122. अइसासो	152. अवनासो	189. नवासीसो
107. सतलोत्तरसो	123. तेइसासो	153. तिरपनासो	190. नब्बेसो
108. अठोत्तरसो	124. चाव्रीसासो	154. चौवनासो	191. ऐकवानत्रेसो
109. निगरोत्तरसो	125. पचोसासो	155. पनचोनासो	192. वानत्रेसो
110. दहात्तरसो	126. इअवीसासो	156. इपनासो	193. तिरानत्रेसो
111. ऐगरोत्तरसो	127. सतैसासो	157. सतवनासो	194. चोरानत्रेसो
112. अरहात्तरसो	128. अठैसासो	158. अठवनासो	195. पनचानत्रेसो
113. तेरहात्तरसो	129. अँगनतीसासो	159. अँगनसट्टासो	196. ज्ञानत्रेसो, etc.
114. चौदहात्तरसो	130. तीसासो	160. साठसो	199. निगानत्रेसो
115. पनराहासो	131. ऐकतीसासा, etc.	161. ऐकसट्टासो, etc.	200. दुइ मौ
116. सोराहासो	139. अँगनतालसो	169. अँगनहत्रसो	

395. The following are alternative forms of some of the preceding cardinals :

101. इकोत्तरसो	113. तेराहासो	119. अँगनइसासो	163. तिरसठसो
102. द्वियोत्तरसो	114. चौदाहासो	121. ऐकइसासो	164. चौसठसो
106. द्वियोत्तरसो	115. पन्दरहात्तरसो	155. पचपनासो	165. पैसठसो
108. अठोत्तरसो	116. सोरहात्तरसो	159. अँगनसाठसो	166. हाइठसो
111. इगरोत्तरसो	117. सतरहात्तरसो	161. ऐकसठसो	170. सत्रसो
112. अराहासो	118. अठरहात्तरसो	162. बासठसो	

396. *Affinities.* On the whole the numeral forms are very much alike in all Gds. There are, however, three main points of difference. In the first two the E. Gd. differs from the W. and S. Gd., in the third the W. Gd. from the E. and S. Gd. — Firstly; in E. Gd. the final syllable of the second, third, fourth and fifth decades is short (viz. अइ, इस् or विस्, तिस्, लिस्) but in W. Gd. it is long (viz. अँ or अइँ, ईस् or वीस्, तीस्, लीस्), G. only being a partial exception; thus:

	O.	B.	E. H.	W. H.	P.
13.	तेर	तेर	तेरह्	तेरा	तेरँ
14.	चोद	चोदृ	चोदह्	चोदा	चोदाँ
23.	तेइश्	तेइश्	तेइस्	तेइस्	तेइ
24.	चत्रिश्	चत्रिश्	चोत्रिस्	चोत्रीस्	चोत्री
32.	बत्रिश्	बत्रिश्	बतिस्	बतीस्	बती
46.	पइँचालिश्	पयँतालिश्	पैँतालिस्	पैँतालीस्	पैँताली
	S.	M.	G.	H. H.	
13.	तेरहँ	तेरा	तेर	तेरह्	
14.	चोउहँ	चोदा	चउद	चोदह्	
23.	ट्रेवीह	तेवीस	त्रेवीश्	तेइस्	
24.	चोवीह	चोवीस्	चोवीश्	चोवीस्	
32.	बट्टीह	बत्रीन्	बत्रिश्	बतीस्	
46.	पंनतालीह	पंचेचालीस्	पग्रतालीश्	पैँतालीस्	

Secondly; in E. Gd. a final short इ is retained, while in W. Gd. it is dropped, S. only being a partial exception; thus:

	O.	B.	E. H.	W. H.	P.	M.	G.	S.	H. H.
2.	दुइ	दुइ	दुइ	दो	दो	दोन्	वे	व	दो
3.	तिनि	तिनि	तीनि	तीन्	तिंन	तीन्	त्रण्	ट्रे	तीन्
4.	चारि	चारि	चारि	चार	चार	चार	चार	चारि	चार
60.	षाठिइ	षाठि	साठि	साह्	संठ	साह्	सठि	साह्	साह्

With regard to सत्तर *seventy* alone, all Gd. languages agree in dropping the final इ, excepting O. and S. which have सत्तोरि and सत्तरि respectively; and E. H. optionally in सत्तरि सै *seven hundred*. — Thirdly; in W. Gd. the syllable च, but in the E. and S. Gd. either the conjunct त्र् or the whole increment चत्र् of the Pr. चत्त्रालीसा *forty* is always elided in the fifth decade. In this case E. H. occupies an intermediate position; thus:

	M.	O.	B.	E. H.	P.	S.	G.
41.	एकचालीस्	एकचालिश्	एकचलिश्	एकतालिस्	एकताली	एकेतालीह	एकतलीश्
42.	बेचालीस्	बयचालिश्	बेयचलिश्	बयचलिस्	बैताली	ब्राएतालीह	बेतालीश्
43.	त्रेचालीस्	तेयचालिश्	तेतचलिश्	तेँतालिस्	तैताली	ट्रेतालीह	तेँतालीश्
44.	चट्टेचालीस्	चोचालिश्	चोयचलिश्	चोवचलिस्	चौतालो	चोएतालीह	चुमालीश्

	M.	O.	B.	E. H.	P.	S.	G.
45.	पंचेचालीस्	पङ्चालिग्र्	पयंतालिग्र्	पै॒तालिस्	पै॒ताली	पंजतालीह्	पप्रतालीग्र्
46.	ग्रेचालीस्	इयालिग्र्	इचलिग्र्	द्वियालिस्	द्विताली	द्वाएतालीह्	द्वै॒तालीग्र्
47.	सत्तेचालीस्	सतचालिग्र्	सतचलिग्र्	सै॒तालिस्	सै॒ताली	सतेतालीह्	शुउतालीग्र्
48.	श्रद्धेचालीस्	श्रद्धचालिग्र्	श्रद्धचलिग्र्	श्रद्धतालिस्	श्रद्धताली	श्रद्धतालीस	श्रद्धतालीग्र्

Some minor differences are the following: 1) S. and P. change the final स् of त्रोस्, तीस्, लीस्, त्रास् into ह्, which is generally afterwards dropped by P.; thus S., P. वीह् 20, P. तीह् or त्रीह्, S. द्वीह् 30, S. द्वेवीह् 23, वद्वीह् 32, P. तेई or त्रेई, वती or वत्री, S. चालीह्, P. चाली 40, S., P. पंताह् 50, S. वावंताह्, P. ववंता 52, etc. Similarly these two languages alone change the initial स् of साह् 60 into ह्; e. g., 61 P. इकाहट्, S. एकहठि, while P. also changes ह् to ट् (see § 145, exc. 2). With regard to सत्र् 70, again, all Gds. agree in changing the initial स् to ह्, except O.; thus 71 B. एकात्र् (= \*एकघत्र् = एकहत्र्), E. H. एवत्र् or एकहत्र्, W. H. एकहत्र्, P. इकहत्र्, S. एकहत्रि, M. एकाहत्र्, but O. एकस्तुरि (= \*एकस्तुरि). — 2) M., G. and S. alone retain the initial व् of वीस् or वीह् 20 in compounds; see § 123, note. — 3) G., S., B. and optionally P. retain र् in त्रिग्र् or त्रीह् 30 and its compounds; as 31 B., G. एकत्रिग्र्, P. इकत्री or इकत्री, S. एकद्वीह्, 30 B., G. त्रिग्र्, P. तीह् or त्रीह्, S. द्वीह्, etc. — 4) B. alone doubles ल् in चलिग्र् 40 and its compounds, as एकचलिग्र् 41, etc. — 5) M. alone preserves the semitats. सट् 60 in compounds, as एकसट् 61, वासट् 62, etc.; but साह् 60 (see Man. 43). — 6) P. alone forms optionally नवे॑ for नवे॑ 90 in compounds, as इकानवे॑ or इकानभे॑ 91, etc.; but नव्हे or नव्हे 90 (see Ld. 85). — 7) S. alone preserves the full termination अह्, while the others contract it to अत् or अ or shorten it to अह् or अ; thus 12 S. वारह्, but P. वारत् (= \*वारअ् = \*वारह्), M. वारा, W. H. वारा, or E. H. वारह्, B., O., G. वार.

397. *Derivation.* 1. एक् regularly for Pr. एक्ता (Vr. 3, 58. § 143); as to the forms यक्, ऐक् and इक् see §§ 170. 171. Pr. has also the forms एगो (H. C. 1, 176) and एगो (H. C. 2, 99); the latter does not occur in E. H., but the former in compounds; e. g., ऐगरोतरसो 111 or shortened इग्, e. g., इगरोतरसो 111. —

2. दुइ regularly for Pr. दुइ (Ls. 318, see § 45) or दुवे (Vr. 6, 57); the Mg. Pr. has दुवे or दो or दोनि (Wb. Bh. 424. see H. C. 3, 130); the first is preserved in E. H., B., O. दुइ, the second in E. H. दो (§ 392), the third in M. दोन् and S. दू (Tr. 158); Pr. has also the form वे (H. C. 3, 120) which is preserved in the G. वे and S. व; the P. and W. H. have दो. — 3. तीनि regularly for Pr. तिणि (Vr. 6, 56. cf. §§ 143. 147). — 4. चारि see § 153. — Pr. दुवे or दोणि, तिणि, चत्वारि are gen. comm. (Vr. 3, 56. 57. 58); but they appear to have arisen from the Skr. neut. द्वे or \*द्वानि, त्रीणि, चत्वारि respectively (see Ls. 318. 319). The Skr. masc. द्वौ is perhaps represented by the Pr. and Gd. दो. Mg. Pr. has a masc. तयो (Wb. Bh. 475) = Skr. त्रयः *three*, but it has not survived in Gd. Pr. has also the masc. चत्वारो (Skr. चत्वारः nom.) and चउरो (= Skr. चतुरः acc., see M. M. 124) H. C. 3, 122. Wb. Bh. 425, but they do not occur in Gd.; the latter, however, survives in the Ksh. चोर *tsor* (Bs. II, 132). — 5. पाँच् or पाच्, 7 सात्, 8 आट् regularly for Pr. पंच, सत्त, षट् = Skr. पञ्च, सप्त, षट् (see §§ 143. 147); S. and P. have पंत, P. सत्त, षट्, S. सत, षट, B. आट. — 6. इ, also Pr. इ (Wb. Bh. 425. Ls. 319) for Skr. षट्, eliding final ट् (Vr. 4, 6) and changing ष to इ (Vr. 2, 41); also W. H., S. and G. इ; E. H. has a form इह which occurs also in S. इह, M. सहा and Ksh. णिह (Bs. II, 132) and which represents perhaps the Skr. form षप्, Pr. \*इस or \*इह with final ष (cf. Ls. 220. H. C. 1, 19. cf. M. दहा 10). E. H. has also a form इव् corresponding to B. इव्, O. इष, W. H. and P. हे, with euphonic व् or ष् for elided इ; Pr. has also इष see Ls. 320. — 9. नौ or नउ regularly for Pr. नव, Pr. has also नघ (Ls. 320) which does not occur in E. H., but in O. नघ and B. नव; P. नौ<sup>०</sup> and S. नौ<sup>०</sup> add an *anunásika*. — 10. दन् regularly for Mg. Pr. दस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 1, 262), Skr. दश; Pr. has also दह (Vr. 2, 44) which is only preserved in P. दह (also दस्), S. उह, M. दहा, Ksh. दह (Bs. II, 133). — As the latter part of the compound numerals of the second decade, Skr. दश becomes in Pr. दह or उह or रह (H. C. 1, 219), in Gd. दह or लह or रह. Thus 11 Skr. एकादश, Pr. \*एगारह,

E. H. ऐग्यार्ह or इग्यार्ह or ग्यार्ह. As to its euphonic य्, see § 135; it is more properly W. Gd.; for B. एगार्, O. एगार्, M. अकरा have it not; while W. H. ग्यार्ह, P. गिग्यार्ह, G. अगिग्यार् have it. The other P. form एग्यार्ह (Vr. 2, 44) occurs only in S. ग्यार्ह. The Pr. has also दस, रस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 3, 123), which have not survived in Gd. — 12. Skr. दादप्र, Pr. वार्ह (Vr. 2, 44), E. H. वार्ह, B., O., G. वार, M., W. H. वारा, P. वारह, S. वार्ह. — 13. Skr. त्रयोदप्र, Pr. तेरह (i. e. त्रयोदप्र for त्रयः + दप्र cf. H. C. 1, 165)<sup>1</sup>), E. H. तेरह; other Gds. see § 396. — 14. Skr. चतुर्दप्र, Pr. चउदह (Vr. 2, 14. H. C. 1, 171), E. H. चौदह; other Gds. see § 396. — 15. Skr. पञ्चदप्र, Pr. पषार्ह (H. C. 2, 43, but पषार्हो Vr. 3, 44), E. H. पनरह (§ 392 and in पनराहासो 115, see § 394); so also B. पनेर (perhaps rather for the Pr. form पषार्ह, see Ls. 320. Cw. 24, note); the usual Gd. form, however, inserts an euphonic द् ( § 135), as E. H. पंदरह, O. पंदर, W. H. पंदरा, P. पंदरह, S. पंदरह or पंध्र, M. पंधरा, G. पंदर. — 16, see § 105, note, E. H. सोरह, B. सोल, O. सोहल (with a strange metathesis), W. H. सोला, M. सोला, P. सोलह, S. सोरह, G. सोळ. — 17. Skr. सप्तदप्र, Pr. सत्रह (T. V. 1, 3. 42), E. H. सतरह; other Gds. see § 396. — 18. Skr. अष्टादप्र, Pr. अट्टार्ह (T. V. 1, 3. 42. cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H. अठारह, G. अठार, S. अठह (cf. 38. 48 below); other Gds., as in § 396. — 19. Skr. ऊनचिंघ्रतिः, Mg. उनवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. अनोइस्, W. H. उनीस्, B. उनिष्, O. उपाइष्; Skr. has also एकोनचिंघ्रतिः, Mg. एकूनवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), only preserved in M. एकुणीस्, O. H. अगुनीस् and गुनीस्, G. अगुणीस्; the P. has उनीह and S. उपाह or उपावीह with ह् for स् (see § 396). — As to 21 एकइस्, etc. see §§ 123. 129. The (apparently anomalous) अ in सत्राइस् is probably (as Bs. I, 291) caused by the ancient accent of the oxytone *saptá*. Of all dissyl-

1) The Pr. form तेरह is explained in H. C. 1, 165 as containing a change of the first अ together with the following cons. and vowel to ए; that is, in Skr. त्रयोदप्र the first अ together with the following syllable यो (i. e. cons. य् + vow. ओ) becomes ए; hence तेरह. Cowell's view, therefore, (Cw. 121, note) as to the Pr. Gramm. theory is more correct than Beames' (II, 135).

labic numerals only\* *saptā* and *ashtā* are oxytone, all others are barytone, *ēka*, *pāñcha*, *nāva*, *dāśa*, etc.; now Gd. has अ in सप्ताद्स्, अष्टाद्स्, but अ or ई (for अइ) in एकद्स् (W. H. एकोस्) and पचोस् (for पचद्स्, M. पंचवोस्). In Skr. the influence of the accent is seen in अष्टाद्स्, अष्टाविंशति, अष्टात्रिंशत्, etc.; but not in सप्तद्स्, सप्तविं, सप्तत्रिंशत्; in Pr. and Gd. both sets show it in the third decade, but neither set in all other decades; e. g., 37 सैतिस्, 38 अडतिस्, 47 सैतालिस्, 48 अडतालिस्, and in Skr., too, the accent of अष्ट only optionally influences the form after the first four decades; e. g., 48 अष्टचत्वारिंशत् or अष्टाचत्वारिंशत्, etc. — 20 वीस् regularly for Pr. वीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or वीसई (Md. 4, 3. Ls. 320), Skr. विंशतिः. — 30 तोस् regularly for Pr. तोसा (H. C. 1, 28) or तोसआ (Md. 4, 3. Ls. 320), Skr. त्रिंशत्. — 32 व्रतिस् regularly for Pr. व्रतीसा (T. V. 1, 4. 79), with अ on account of the following double ङ्, Skr. द्वात्रिंशत्. — 33 तैतिस् regularly for Pr. तेतीसा (H. C. 1, 165, see § 149), Skr. त्रयस्त्रिंशत्; M. has तेहतीस् (Man. 43) beside the regular तेतीस्. — 35 पैतिस् see § 156, W. H. पैतीस्, P. पैती, G. पैत्रिण्; but M. परतीस् (Man. 43, for पसतीस् with स् for च्, cf. § 11) and S. पंजद्रीह. — 37 सैतिस् see § 153, also W. H. सैतीस्, P. सैती, B. सैत्रिण्; but M. सदतीस् or सततीस्, G. साडत्रिण्, S. सतद्रीह. — 38. Skr. अष्टात्रिंशत्, Pr. अष्टतीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), O. अठतिण्, B. आठत्रिण्, S. अठद्रीह, P. अठती, M. अठतीस् or अडतीस्, E. H. अठतिस् (§ 113) or अडतिस् or अरुतिस् (§ 145, exc. 2), G. आडत्रिण्. — 40. E. H. चालिस् see § 153. — 41. Skr. एकचत्वारिंशत्, Pr. एकचत्रालीसा or (eliding च) \*एकअत्रालीसा and (contracted according to Vr. 4, 1), E. H. एकतालिस्; this derivation is proved by the S. एकेतालीह, which is contracted from एकयतालीह with euph. य्. The usual explanation, identifying ०तालिस् with ०चालिस्, assumes a change of च् to त्; thus Pr. एकचत्रालीसा = एकचत्रालीसा = एकचालीस् = एकतालिस्; but such a change of च् to त् is not only intrinsically improbable, but also lacks all evidence. Similarly are formed 43 तेतालिस् (see § 152), 49 अोनतालिस्, 45 पैतालिस् (see § 156), 47 सैतालिस्, 48 अडतालिस् (see § 145, exc. 2). The latter is in Pr. also अडयाले (Wb. Bh. 412); here both the syllable च *cha* and the conjunct ङ् *tt* are elided; so also in

the Gd. forms: 42 वयालिस्, 44 चौवालिस्, 46 द्वियालिस् (see §§ 152. 153); as to the other Gds. see § 396, 3; Pr. has 42 वायालीसं (Wb. Bh. 412). — 50. Skr. पञ्चाग्रत्, Pr. \*पंचासा, E. H. पचास् (see §§ 143. 146), also W. H. पचास्, G., O. पचाण्, but the nasal is preserved in B. पंचास्, P. पंताह् and S. पंताह्. The common Pr. form is पञ्चासा (Vr. 3, 44. H. C. 2, 43); it is preserved in the M. पन्नास् 50 and in the curtailed form पन् or वन् of the compound numerals of the 6<sup>th</sup> decade of all Gds., exc. P. and S.; thus वन् in 52 E. H. वावन्, W. H., G. dto., O. वावन्, B. वावन्, M. वावणं, Pr. वावणं (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. द्वापञ्चाग्रत्; 57. E. H., O., W. H., G. सतावन्, M. सतावन्, Pr. \*सतावसा or <sup>०</sup>सं, Skr. सप्तपञ्चाग्रत्; 58. E. H., O., W. H., G. अठावन्, M. अठ्ठावन्, Pr. \*अठ्ठवणं, Skr. अष्टापञ्चाग्रत्; 55. E. H., O., G. पंचावन्, M. पंचावन्, Pr. पंचावसा (H. C. 2, 174), Skr. पञ्चपञ्चाग्रत्; B. contracts सतान् 57, अठान् 58, पंचान् 55. The other E. H. form पचपन्, which is also H. H., presupposes a Pr. form \*पंचप्पसा. There is another Pr. form पपावसा (H. C. 2, 174) or पपावणं (Wb. Bh. 426), but it has left no trace in Gd. Again पन् in 56 E. H., W. H. इपन्, O., G. इपन्, B. इपाण्, M. इपन्, Pr. \*इप्पसा, Skr. षट्पञ्चाग्रत्; 53. E. H. तिरपन्, W. H. तिरपन् or त्रेपन्, G. त्रेपन, M. त्रेपन्, O. तेपन्, B. तिपान् presuppose a Ap. Pr. form \*त्रिप्पसा (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. त्रिपञ्चाग्रत्; the common Pr. form तेवसा (H. C. 2, 174) does not occur in Gd.; 54. W. H., G. चोपन्, M. चोपन् or चौपन्, regularly for Pr. \*चउप्पसा, Skr. चतुःपञ्चाग्रत्; but in E. H. चौअन् or चउअन् or (with euph. व्) चौवन्, O. चउवन्, B. चोवान् the conjunct प् has been elided (see § 154). The unusual Pr. form पंचासा 50 is preserved in E. H. 49 अोनचास्, with the syllable प pa elided, precisely as च cha in अोनतालिस् 39 (see above); thus Skr. उनपञ्चाग्रत्, Pr. उपावंचासा or उपापंचासा, whence B. उनपंचास्, G. अोगपापचाण्, S. उपावंचाह्, P. उपावंचा or उपांचा, O. उनंचाण्, E. H. अोनचास्; but M. regularly एकुपापन्नास्. Moreover it is used throughout in P. and S., thus S. द्वेवंताह्, P. तिवंचा or तिरवंता 53; S. चोवंताह्, P. चोवंता or चुवंता 54; S. पंचवंताह्, P. पंचवंता 55; S. इवंताह्, P. द्विपंचा or द्विवंता 56, etc. — 60. Skr. षट्ठिः, Pr. षट्ठी (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. साठि, B. साठि, M., G., W. H. साह्, P. षट्ठ, S. सठि; the O. साठिर् adds a pleonastic ष्.

In the compounds, M. has सट्, S. हृठि and P. हट्, see § 396. Otherwise they differ little. But 61 is in P. इकाहट्, 62 in O. वाआसठि with आ; 63. O., B. तेसठि, G. तेसाठ्, W. H. त्रेसह् or तिरसह्, M. त्रेसह्, P. तेहह् or त्रेहह्, S. देहठि; 65. B. पयंसठि, M. पांसह्, W. H. पैसह्, P. पैहह्, but O. पंचसठि, G. पंचसाह्, S. पंत्रहठि; 66. O. इअसठि, M. सासह्, S. इाहठि, W. H. द्वियासह्, P. द्विआहह्, B. इसठि; 67. E. H. सतसठि or सउसठि or सरसठि, M. सतसह् or सदसह्, W. H. सरसह्, see § 107; the others retain त्, O. सतसठि, B. सातसठि, P. सवाहह्; 68. E. H. अउसठि or अरसठि, see § 145, exc. 2, M. अउसह् or अउसह्, W. H. अउसह् or अरसह्, see § 145, exc. 2; but O. अठसठि, S. अठहठि, P. अठाहह्, B. अठसठि; 69. B. उनसत्र्, all others regularly °हत्र्, see § 396. — In the Bh. the following curtailed forms occur, 62 वावट्टि, 64 चोयट्टी (but also चउसट्टी), 66 इावट्टि, and even 61 एगट्टि, 67 सन्नट्टि (Wb. Bh. 426), which (if trustworthy) may be explained by the intermediate change of स् to ह् (as in P. and S.) and subsequent elision of ह्. — 70. E. H. सत्र् see § 108; so also in the other Gds. see § 396. In the compounds there is little difference, but 72 is in O. वाआस्तुरि, B. वाहात्र्, S. वाहत्रि, M. वाहत्र्; 73. M. त्रेहत्र् or आहत्र्, B. तेहात्र्, O. तेस्तुरि; 74. M. चौर्वाहत्र्; 75. M. पंचेहत्र्; 76. O. इअस्तुरि, B. इयात्र्, S. इाहत्रि, M. ग्राहत्र् or श्रेहत्र् (see § 55); 77. B. सातात्र्, M. सत्वाहत्र् or सत्रेहत्र्, P. सतत्र्; 78. B. आठात्र्, P. अठत्र्, M. अठ्याहत्र् or अठेहत्र्. — 80. Skr. अशीतिः, but Pr. आसीई with आ (Wb. Bh. 426), and so in B. आशी; but E. H., W. H., P. अस्ती with double स्, which explains the आ of B.; in S. असो and O. अशी one स् has been elided; as to M. ऐशी and G. ईसो, see § 148. In the compounds, which differ very little has all Gds. have आसी, exc. M., which आयँशी; thus 81. E. H. एकासी, M. एकायँशी; on the euph. स् see § 135. — 82. B. त्रियाशी, M. त्रयायँशी, P., S. त्रिआसी, O. त्रयाशी, B., E. H., W. H. त्रयासी. — 86. O. इयाशी, M. प्रायँशी, S. इहासी; 83. M. आयँशी, G. तेआसी or तासी; 84. Pr. चउरासी (Wb. Bh. 426), M. चौर्वायँशी; 87. M. सत्वायँशी; 88. M. अठ्यायँशी; 89. M. नव्यायँशी, E. H., W. H. नवासी are Skr. नवाशीतिः; but M. has also एकुषानव्वद्, B. उननव्वद्, O. उषानउ, P. उषानवे, S. उषानवे = Skr. एकोनवतिः. — 90. Skr. नवतिः, Pr. नउट् (Wb. Bh.



426), E. H. नब्बे, O. नबे, B. नब्बइ, M. नब्बद्, W. H. नब्बे, S. नबे, P. नब्बे or नब्बे; these Gd. forms seem to presuppose a Pr. form \*नब्बर्; the origin of the final र् is obscure; so also is that of the connecting vowel आ which occurs in all the compounds of नब्बे, and is especially marked in S. and M.; e. g., 92. S. विद्यानबे, M. व्याषव; 93. S. द्विज्ञानबे, M. व्याषव; 94. E. H. चौरानबे, S. चौरानबे, M. चौर्याषव, etc.; it occurs already in Pr. सत्तानउर् 97 (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. सतानबे, S. सतानबे, M. सत्याषव. — 99 is in S. नवानबे, B. निवानबुद्, M. नव्याषव (with euph. वृ see § 135) for Skr. नवनवति; the E. H. and W. H. निनानबे or न्बानबे apparently exchange नृ for वृ, though it might be also a modification of उ in the P. नडिन्ने<sup>०</sup> or नडिन्ने<sup>०</sup> (see § 396, 6) which are probably connected with the other S. forms नथानबे or वथानबे; for these as well as for the P. forms I know no satisfactory explanation. O. alone has अनेप्रत्, perhaps for Skr. उनप्रतम्. — 100. E. H., W. H., S., G., P. सौ or सो is the Ap. Pr. सउ (cf. H. C. 4, 331), Skr. प्रतम्, and E. H., P. से, B. प्र, O. प्रये, M. प्रे<sup>०</sup> is the Mg. Pr. सअं or सयं (Wb. Bh. 426); as to E. H. सल् see § 109. — The compounds above 100, formed with उत्रर्, occur also in M. (Man. 44) and S. (Tr. 165); in the latter they may be formed up to 200; they are also found in Pr. (see Wb. Bh. 427); in the Bh. the original ओ is reduced to उ, but Gd. preserves it; e. g., 107 सनुत्रं सयं (Bh. 15<sup>a</sup>), S. सतोत्सौ; or Ap. Pr. पंचोत्सउ, S. पंतोत्सौ, E. H. पिचोत्सौ (§ 55); 106. S. इहोत्सौ, E. H. द्वियोत्सौ or द्विलोत्सौ (see § 55); the latter as well as 104 E. H. चलोत्सौ (for चुलो<sup>०</sup>, cf. Pr. चुलसौ 84 in Wb. Bh. 425), S. चोरोत्सौ, 103 E. H. तिलोत्सौ or तियो<sup>०</sup>, S. द्विरोत्सौ, 102 E. H. द्विलोत्सौ or द्वियो<sup>०</sup> (see § 69), S. त्रिरोत्सौ, M. दुवोत्स्रं<sup>०</sup> are formed anomalously; the Skr. would be षडुत्स्रं, चतुह्रं<sup>०</sup>, शुत्रं<sup>०</sup>, द्युत्रं<sup>०</sup>. Very anomalous are the E. H. सतलोत्सौ 107 (for \*सतोत्सौ) and निगरोत्सौ 119; there seems to be here some confusion with the forms of 111 and 117. — The other compounds formed with the connecting vowel आ occur also in S., which has ओ; e. g., 112. E. H. वराहासौ, S. वरहो सौ; 115. E. H. पनराहासौ, S. पन्दराहो सौ, etc. E. H. shortens the first आ by § 25, and lengthens

the second अ, probably, for the sake of euphony. The first part of these compounds is probably a collective or aggregate numeral; see §§ 404. 405; e. g., E. H. तीसा, S. द्वाहो *a sum of thirty*, whence E. H. तीसा सौ, S. द्वाहो सौ 130, i. e., *100 plus the sum of 30*, or E. H. तेरहॉ, S. तेरहो *sum of thirteen*, whence E. H. तेराहासो, S. तेरहो सौ 113, etc.

398. *Declension.* All cardinals can be declined, when used as subst., in which case they are inflected like them; thus gen. pl. पाँचन् कै *of five*, etc. But दुइ *two* and तीन *three* have a special form in these circumstances; viz. दूनो or दुन्दुन् or दुनुहुन् *two* and तीनो *three*; thus gen. pl. दूनो कै or दुन्दुन् कै or दुनुहुन् कै *of two*, तीनो कै *of three*. When they are used as adj., they are not inflected; thus पाँच तनन् कै *of five men*, दुइ तनन् कै *of two men*, तीन तनन् कै *of three men*.

399. *Affinities and Derivation.* M. has special obl. forms दोहो, तिहो, चोहो for दोन् *two*, तीन् *three* and चार *four* (Man. 46). When used adjectively with *persons*, they are changed to दोबे m., दोबी f., दोबे n. *two*; similarly तिबे, तिबी, तिबे *three*, चौबे, चौबी, चौबे *four* (Man. 46). Otherwise the declension is regular; thus gen. एका चा *of one*, दोहो चा or दोबाँ चा *of two*. — S. has the obl. forms बिन *or* बी, द्विन *or* द्वी, चडिन *or* चडि for व *two*, द्वे *three*, चारि *four*; otherwise the declension is regular; thus gen. बिन त्तो *of two*, पंतन त्तो *of five*, etc. (Tr. 169. 171). S. inflects the cardinals, when they are used adjectively (Tr. 171); as दहनि बैरिनि खे *or* दहे बैरिं खे *to ten enemies*; बिन *or* बी बैरिं खे *to two enemies*. — In the E. H. form दुनुहुन् the conjunct न्ह has been dissolved (see § 138). The second उ of दुन्दुन् is probably euphonic, for \*दुन्दुन्. In this and the other E. H. and M. special obl. forms the plur. suff. has been apparently reduplicated. The Pr. gen. pl. is दोपहं *or* बेपहं *of two* (H. C. 3, 119), तिपहं *of three* (H. C. 3, 118), which are contr. in S. to बी, द्वी *or* slightly modified बिन, द्विन; but E. H. दूनो *or* दुन्दुन्, M. दोहो would presuppose the Pr. form \*दोपहहुं *or* \*दोपहपह, etc.

## 2. ORDINALS.

400. The formation of the ordinals from the cardinals has been explained in §§ 263—266. They are treated in every respect like adj., i. e., they admit of a weak and strong form (§ 381), and the latter has a fem. in ई or ई<sup>०</sup> (§ 384) and an obl. masc. ए or ए<sup>०</sup> (§ 386). The following are the first seven ordinals of which some are formed peculiarly: *First*, wk. f. पहिल् or पहेल् c. g., or st. f. पहिला or पहेला or लका m., ली or लकी f.; *second*, wk. f. दूसर् or दुसरब् c. g., or st. f. दुसरा or दुसरवाँ or दुसरका m., री or रई<sup>०</sup> or रकी f.; *third*, wk. f. तीसर् or तिसर्ब् c. g., or st. f. तिसरा or तिसरवाँ or तिसरका m., री or रई<sup>०</sup> or रकी f.; *fourth*, wk. f. चउथ् or चौथब् c. g., or st. f. चौया or चौयवाँ or चौयरका m., यी or यई<sup>०</sup> or रकी f.; *sixth*, wk. f. ष्टब् c. g., or st. f. ष्टा or ष्टवाँ m., ष्टी or ष्टई<sup>०</sup> f.; *fifth*, wk. f. पंचब् c. g., or st. f. पचा or पंचवाँ m., पची or पंचई<sup>०</sup> f.; *seventh*, wk. f. सातब् c. g., or st. f. सत्ता or सत्तवाँ m., सत्ती or सत्तई<sup>०</sup> f. The rest are formed exactly like the forms of the *fifth* and *seventh*. Their obl. forms are, e. g., gen. sg. or pl., masc. पहिले कै of the first, दसवे<sup>०</sup> कै of the tenth; fem. पहिली कै, दसई<sup>०</sup> कै, etc. When they are used as subst., they are inflected like them; thus gen. sg. पहिला कै of the first one, pl. पहिलन् कै of the first ones; but पहिले जन् कै of the first man, पहिले जनन् कै of the first men, etc.

401. *Affinities and Derivation.* For the derivation of पहिल् see §§ 118. 213. B. and O. पहेला or पहिला (S. Ch. 105. Bs. II, 142), M. पहिला, W. H. पहलौ or पहिलौ or लो, P. पहिला, G. पेहेलो, S. पेहेरो<sup>०</sup> or पेहेर्यो<sup>०</sup> or पहर्यो<sup>०</sup>. The first ए of the G. and S. forms is merely euphonic (see § 57). — The deriv. and affin. of दूसर् and तीसर् see in §§ 270. 271, and for the deriv. of चौथ्, see § 78. B. and O. have चौथ (chauthō) or चौथा (S. Ch. 105), M. चवया, W. H. चौथी (Br.) or चौथी (Mw.), P. चौथा, G. चौथो, S. चौथो<sup>०</sup>. — The E. H. ष्टा, B. and O. deest, W. H. ष्टी or ष्टी, G. ष्टी are derived from Pr. ष्ट्यो, st. f. of Pr. ष्टी (H. C. 1, 265), Skr. षट्, the M. सहावा, P. हेवाँ, S. इहो<sup>०</sup> are formed anomalously (as if Skr. \*षट्) from the Gd. cardinals M. सहा, P. हे, S. इह. The E. H.

forms इठवाँ, दुसरव्, or दुसरवाँ anomalously contain the suff. अत्र् or अवाँ, see § 264. The forms पहिलका, दुसरका, तिसरका contain the pleon. suff. अका (see § 198). The form चौयरका is formed anomalously after the analogy of दुसरका, तिसरका. As to the deriv. and affin. of the rest, see §§ 265. 266.

### 3. MULTIPLICATIVES.

402. The multiplicatives denote how many times a number is multiplied. They are formed from the cardinals by adding the suff. आ or आँ or आँईँ, excepting the first six which are made in a peculiar way. They are used only in the multiplication table.

- |   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. ऐकं or ऐकै or के or कं                                 | 6. इक् or इक्का or इक्के or इक्क |
| 2. टूनी   | 7. सते                           |
| 3. तियाँ or त्रिका or तिरिका<br>or त्रिके or तिरिके or ति | 8. अठे or आठ्                    |
| 4. चौक् or चौका   | 9. नवाँ or नवाँईँ                |
| 5. पचा or पचे or पुरे                                     | 10. दहाँ or दहाँईँ, etc.         |

403. The forms ऐकं and ऐकै are only used in the phrase ऐकं एक् or ऐकै एक् *once one is one*; and पचा only in पचा पचास् *five times five are twenty five*. The form पुरे is used only when the product contains the words पच् or पैँ *five*, i. e., when it is fifty or an odd multiple of five (excepting, however, पाँच् *five*, पंदरह् *fifteen* and पचास् *twenty five*). As to the other alternative forms, no strict rule can be given; the practice varies according to local or individual fancy. In general it may be said, that the shorter forms, as ति, आठ्, इक् or इक्क, are used when the product is polysyllabic. The multiplicative always takes the middle place in the sentence. The following tables are given as examples:

10 × 1 is 10, etc.

दस् के दस्	दस् इक्के साठि
दस् टूनी बीस्	दस् सते सत्र्
दस् तियाँ तीस्	दस् अठे अस्सी
दस् चौक् चालिस्	दस् नवाँ नब्बे
दस् पुरे पचास्	दस् दहाँ सौ

3 × 1 is 3, etc.

तीन् के तीन्	तीन् इक्क अठारह्
तीन् टूती इ	तीन् सते एकइस्
तीन् त्रिका नौ	तीन् अठे चौबिस्
तीन् चौक् बारह्	तीन् नवाँ सताइस्
तीन् पचे पंदरह्	तीन् दहाँईँ तीस्

13 × 1 is 13, etc.

तेरह् के तेरह्	तेरह् झाक् अठनूत्र
तेरह् दूनी इब्बिस्	तेरह् सते ऐक्यानब्बे
तेरह् ति वनतालिस्	तेरह् आह् चलोतरसो
तेरह् चौका बावन्	तेरह् नवौ सतराहौसो
तेरह् पुरे पैसठि	तेरह् दहाई तीसासो

The table of one is formed in a peculiar manner; thus:

ऐकै एक	चार के चार	सात के सात	दहाई दस
दु के दुइ	पच् के पाँच्	अठ के अठ	
तिन् के तीन्	इ के इह	नवौं नौ	

The multiples of five are formed thus:

पच् के पाँच्	चार पचे बीस्	सात पुरे पैतिस्	दस पुरे पचास्
दो पचे दस	पचा पचीस्	आह् पचे चालिस्	इग्यारह पुरे पंचावन्
तीन् पचे पंदरह्	इ पचे तीस्	नौ पुरे पैतालिस्	बाराह् पचे साठि, etc.

404. *Affinities and Derivation.* The forms in ए are probably obl. forms or nom. plur. of the resp. nom. sing. in अ, as सते of सता, अठे of अठा, etc. For the rest see § 407. The multiplicatives are identical with the collectives or aggregates; thus तीन् अठे चौबिस् means lit. *three sums-of-eight are twenty-four.*

#### 4. COLLECTIVES.

405. The following words are used to express some aggregate sums: जोरा or जोरी *a pair*, चौकरा or <sup>०</sup>री or गंडा *a four*, गहो *a five*, कोगे *a score*, सैकरा *a hundred*, सहस्र *a thousand*, लाख *a hundred thousand*, कोरा or करो *ten millions*. Collectives may also be formed by adding अ or अँ to the cardinals, so especially बीसा *a score*, तीसा *a thirty*, चलीसा *a forty*, also एका *a one*, पंचा *a five*, सता *a seven*, अठा *a eight*, नवौ *a nine*, दहा *a ten*, etc. The multiplicatives दूनी, तियाँ or त्रिका, चौक् or चौका, झाक् or इक्का may be used as collectives.

406. All collectives are subst.; those in अ (*quiescent*) or आ are masc.; those in ई fem.; they are declined precisely like all other subst.

407. *Affinities.* These numerals probably occur in all Gds., though they are not noticed by all Gd. grammarians. As to S. see Tr. 178—181 (§§ 26. 27); thus एको or हिको 1, त्रिको 2, द्विको 3, चउको or चउकु or चउकडे 4, पंता 5, इको 6, सतो 7, षठो 8, नाँओ 9, उहो or उहाको 10, वीहो or वीहारो or विहारो or कोडे 20, द्वीहो or द्वीहारो or द्विहारो 30, चालीहो or चाल्लहारो (for \*चालीहारो) 40, पंताहो or पताही 50, साठीको 60, सत्रियो or सौकिडे 100, सहासु or हत्तारु 1000 (Tr. 168), लाखु 100000, कोरु or किरुडि 10000000. As to P., see Ld. 85. 86, thus काउ or काउँ 1, टूणी 2, तिस्रउँ or तिस्रउँ 3, चौका 4, पाँता 5, इका 6, साता 7, अठा 8, नाइँ 9, दाहा or दहाका 10, कोडे or बीहडे or बीहा 20, पंताहा 50, सैकडा 100, सहस्र or हत्तारु 1000, लख 100000, करोड 10000000, etc. As to W. H., see Kl. 105—107; they do not much differ from E. H.; एकाई 1, टूना or टूनी or त्रोजा or त्रोजे 2, ती or तीन् 3, पंता 5, नम् or नम्मा 9, दहाम् or दहाई 10, कोडे or बीसा 20, सैकडा 100, सहस्र or हत्तारु 1000, करोड 10000000; some collectives are formed by adding the fem. suff. ई (for masc. आ), as बत्तीसी a *thirty two*, पचीसी a *fifty*, etc. In M. सहस्र or हत्तारु 1000, लाख् 10000, कोट or क्रोड् 10000000.

408. *Derivation.* Collectives are derived in Skr. by means of the suff. क, whence the Gd. forms arise regularly. Thus *unit*, Skr. एककम्, Pr. एक्कञ्; E. H. एका; *triad*, Skr. त्रिकम्, Pr. तिस्रं, W. H. ती, E. H. ति; *score*, Skr. विंशकम्, Pr. वीसञ्, E. H. बीसा; *hexad*, Skr. षट्कम्, Pr. इक्कं, E. H. इक्; *quaternion*, Skr. चतुष्कम्, Pr. चउक्कं, E. H. चौक्; *pentad*, Skr. पञ्चकम्, Pr. पंचञ्, E. H. पंचा, etc. Sometimes the pleon. suff. क (see § 195) is added; thus *triad*, E. H. तियाँ or त्रिका, Pr. तिस्रञ्, Ap. Pr. त्रिक्कञ्, Skr. त्रिककम्; *quaternion*, E. H. चौका, Pr. चउक्कञ्, Skr. चतुष्ककम्; *hexad*, E. H. इक्का, Pr. इक्कञ्, Skr. षट्ककम्; *ten millions*, E. H. कोँरा or कोँडा, Pr. कोडिञ्, Skr. कोटिकम् (or \*कोटकम्); sometimes the pleon. suff. रा (or डा, see § 209) is superadded; as *four*, E. H. चौकरा, W. H. चौकडे, Ap. Pr. चउक्कउउ, Skr. चतुष्के; *hundred*, E. H. सैकरा, W. H. सैकडे, Ap. Pr. सयक्कउउ, Skr. शतकं, etc.; perhaps also E. H. जौरा, W. H. जोगे, Ap. Pr. \*नुञ्जउउ (cf. H. C. 2, 15 विज्ञं = Skr. विद्वान्),

Skr. द्विक°, though this might be a noun derived from the R. जुट् or जुट् *join*. Sometimes the „collective“ sense is emphasised by making the numeral an abstract noun by means of the suff. ञ् (see § 220); thus W. H. एकाई *unit*, E. H. नवाई° *nine*, दहाई *decade*, etc. — Differently derived is दूना m. and दूनी f. *duad*, viz. from Pr. दुउपाञ् (cf. H. C. 1, 94), Skr. दिगुपाकम्. — As to the E. H. सहस्र and करोर see §§ 138. 135. — The E. H. गंडा is properly a noun, the Skr. गणउकः, lit. *aggregate of four sides* (?); so is also the E. H. गाही, lit. *the aggregate of the five (ancient) planets* (Skr. ग्रह). — For the E. H. कोरी or कोडे *score* I know no satisfactory explanation; possibly it may be connected with कौडे, (Skr. कपर्दक) *aggregate of twenty shells* (?).

### 5. REDUPLICATIVES.

409. The reduplicative numbers are defective. Only the following occur in E. H.; अकेहरा *onefold, single*, दुहरा or दोहरा *twofold, double*, तेहरा *threecfold, triple*, चौहरा *fourfold, quadruple*. The rest are made by adding the word बार or बेर *time* to the cardinal numbers; as पाँच बार or पाँच बेर *five times, quintuple*, etc.

410. The reduplicatives are adj. and treated precisely like those of the strong form (§ 381); that is, they make a fem. in ई (§ 384), as दोहरी, तेहरी, etc., and an obl. form in ए (§ 386), as दोहरे, etc.

411. *Affinities.* The reduplicatives exist in all Gds. As to W. H. see Kl. 105. In P. there are 1 इकहरा or कहिरा, 2 दोहरा, 3 तिहरा, 4 चौहरा or चउहरा, 5 पंतौहरा or पंतउहरा, 6 डेघौरा, 7 सतौरा; and even the „ordinal“ suff. म may be added pleonastically; thus पंतौहरम *quintuple*, just as पंतभाँ or पंतवँ *fifth* (Ld. 88). In S. there are, 1 हेकर or हेकार, 2 बिहर or बिहार, 3 दिहर or दिहार, 4 चौहर or चोहार (Tr. 184). M. adds पट *strip* instead of हरा; thus 1 एकपट, 2 दुपट, 3 तिपट, 4 चौपट, 10 दसपट, etc. (Man. 42). Similarly W. H. adds लज *string*, e. g., 3 तिलज, 4 चोलज (see Kl. 105). — B. and O. seem to use tats. forms; as एकधा, द्विधा, etc. (see §. Ch. 109. Sn. 24).

412. *Derivation.* Reduplicatives are formed in Skr. by the addition of the *quasi-suff.* विध (from विधा *form, manner*), which in Pr. becomes विह or, curtailed, ह, whence, probably by the addition of the pleon. suff. रा (see § 209, or in S. ग्रार), arises the E. H. हरा. Thus in the Bh. (Wb. Bh. 425. 426) the following occur: 2 दुविह, 4 चउव्विह, 5 पंचविह, 6 ष्वविह, or contracted 1 एगहिय, 2 वेहिय, 3 तेहिय (perhaps from Skr. विहित past part. of R. वि-धा). Accordingly Skr. द्विविध° *twofold*, Pr. दुविह° (H. C. 1, 94) or वेविह°, whence contracted Ap. Pr. दोहउउ or वेहउ, and W. H. दोहरौ or E. H. दोहरा, S. त्रिहर. The S. form त्रिहार presupposes an Ap. Pr. वेहउउ, containing the pleon. suff. क and उ. Compare the names of the E. H. metre दोहा masc. (Skr. द्विविधकः) and Pr. दोहडिया fem. However, the Pr. ह and Gd. हर might be also derived from the Skr. *quasi-suff.* ध or धा, as in द्विधः (from द्विधा *in two parts*).

## 6. FRACTIONALS.

413. The following fractional numbers occur in E. H. Those marked with an asterisk are used both as subst. and adj.

$\frac{1}{2}$ *आध् or *आधा	$\frac{1}{16}$ सोरही or सोरहिया
$\frac{1}{3}$ तिहाई or तिहड्या or तिहैया	$1\frac{1}{4}$ *सवा or सवाई or सवड्या or सवैया
$\frac{1}{4}$ *पाउ or *पाव or चौथाई or चौथड्या or चौथैया	$1\frac{1}{2}$ *डेऊ or डेहा or डेहे or देऊ or देहा or देहे
$\frac{1}{10}$ दहाई or दहड्या or दहैया	$2\frac{1}{2}$ *आठा or अठाई or अठड्या or अठैया
	$\frac{3}{4}$ पाउन् or पौना

It is to be noted, that पउने or पौने deducts *one fourth*, but सवा adds *one fourth* and साढे *one half* to the numeral to which they are prefixed. Thus एक पाउ सेर *one fourth of a ser*; आध् सेर or आधा सेर *half a ser*; पउन् or पौना सेर *three quarters of a ser*; सवा सेर *one ser and a quarter*; डेऊ सेर *one ser and a half*; पौने दुइ सेर *one ser and three quarters* (lit., one quarter less than two sers); सवा दुइ सेर *two sers and one quarter*; आठा सेर or अठाई सेर *two sers and one half*; साढे तीनि सेर *three sers and one half*, etc.

414. None of the adjectival fractionals change their form in construction with a subst., except आधा *half* which makes re-



gularly fem. अर्धे (§ 384), and obl. form अर्धे (§ 386). Thus अर्धे राति *midnight*, अर्धे माग्ने *at half-way*.

415. *Affinities.* These fractionals occur in all Gds., though there are additional forms in some of them. Thus  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. H. पाञ्चो or चौयाई, P. पाउ or चुयाई, S. पाउ or चोये or चोयाई or चोया, G. पा, M. पाव्, B. चौटि or सिक्कि, O. पा or पाट्;  $\frac{1}{3}$ , W. H., P. तिहाई, S. टिहाई, B. तिहाइ;  $\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. अर्ध् or अर्धो, P. अर्ध or अर्धा, S. अर्धु or अर्धो, G. अर्धो, M. अर्धा, B. अर्ध् or अर्ध or अर्धक्, O. अर्ध or अर्ध or अर्धक्;  $\frac{3}{4}$ , W. H., P. पौन्, G. पोणो, M. पाउणा;  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. H. सवा or सना or सन, P. सवा or सवाई or सवाईया, S. सवाई, G. सवा, M. सवा, B. सउया;  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. डेरू or डोळा or डेओळा, P. डेरू or डूरू or डूळा or डेउळा, S. डेरू or डेळे, G. डोढ, M. दीड्, B. देरू, O. देरू;  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. अर्डाई or ढाना or ढाम्, P. ढाई or ढाईया or ढाया, S. अर्डाई, G. अढो or हडो, B. अर्डाई, O. अर्डाइ;  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. हूँटा or होटा, P. उठा or उँटा or उटा;  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. ढोँचा, P. ढौँचा (or पौँचा?);  $5\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. पोँचा, (P. पौँचा?);  $6\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. खोँचा;  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H. सतोँचा. Again *minus*  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. H., B., O., P. पौने, S. पौणो or मुनो, G. पोणा, M. पाउणो or पावणे; *plus*  $\frac{1}{4}$ , W. H., P., S., G. सवा, M. सवा, B. सउया, O. सउयाइ; *plus*  $\frac{1}{2}$ , W. H., P., O. साढे, S. साढा (or साढु), G. साटा, M., B. साडे. See Kl. 103. 105. Ld. 85. 86. 87. Tr. 184. 185. Ed. 48. Man. 45. S. Ch. 109. Sn. 24.

416. *Derivation.* अर्ध् or अर्धा regularly for Pr. अर्धो or अर्धो, Skr. अर्धः or अर्धकः. — तिहाई, चौयाई, दहाई, सोरही are abstract nouns derived with the suff. ई or आई from the ordinal or cardinal forms (see § 220). The ह् in तिहाई is probably merely euphonic, for तिआई = तीआई = Pr. तइअ (H. C. 1, 101) = Skr. तृतीय°. — पाउ or पाव् (or H. H. पाञ्चो) regularly for Ap. Pr. पाउ, Pr. पाञ्चो, Skr. पाट्; O. पा or पाव् or पाट् = Mg. पाट् or पाये. — सवा curtailed from Ap. Pr. सवाउ, Pr. सवाञ्चो, Skr. सपाट्; O. सवाई, Mg. सवाट् or सवाये. — साढे is the obl. form of साढा (which, however, is never used), regularly for Pr. सडुञ्चो, Skr. सार्धकः from स + अर्ध (lit. *with a half*). — पउने or पौने is the obl. form of पौना or wk. form पाउन् or पौन्, regularly for Pr. पाञ्चोणो, Skr. पादोनः, from पाट् + उन, lit. *one quarter less*. — The forms देरू or डेरू, अर्डा, अर्डा,

उठा, etc. are made by compounding अर्ध *half* with the next highest ordinal; thus  $3\frac{1}{2}$  is in Mg. Pr. अर्धद्वयं (see Wb. Bh. 425), which is evidently shortened for अर्धद्वयं = अर्ध + अर्धद्वयं = अर्ध + चतुर्थं (cf. H. C. 2, 33) = अर्ध + चतुर्थं lit. *half-fourth*. The same shortening of ओ to उ occurs in Mg. सत्तुत्तरं for सत्तोत्तरं = Skr. सप्तोत्तरम् (Wb. Bh. 427). Next Pr. अर्धद्वयं is changed to अर्धद्वयं (see § 119) and the initial अ is dropped (see § 172), whence arises the W. H. होटा or हूँटा or (dropping ह्) the P. उठा or उँटा (cf. § 145, exc. 2). Again  $2\frac{1}{2}$  is in Mg. Pr. अर्धतृतीया (Wb. Bh. 425), which is contr. for अर्धतृतीया or अर्ध + तृतीया = अर्ध + तृतीया (cf. H. C. 4, 339 तृतीया) = Skr. अर्ध + तृतीया lit. *half-third*. An alternative Pr. form of तृतीया is तृतीया (cf. H. C. 1, 101), whence arises Pr. अर्धतृतीया or contracted अर्धतृतीया or E. H. अर्धतृतीया or अर्धतृतीया or (dropping initial अ, § 172) P. तृतीया or तृतीया. Similarly  $4\frac{1}{2}$  must be Skr. अर्धपञ्चमः *half-fifth*, Ap. Pr. अर्धपञ्चमः or contracted अर्धपञ्चमः, whence (dropping initial अ, § 172) P. पञ्चमः. W. H. षोडशः. Similarly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  would be in Skr. अर्धद्वितीयः, Mg. अर्धद्वयं (or \*अर्धद्वयं), and transposing अर्धं and द्वयं (or \*द्वयं), द्वयं, which form occurs in the Bh. (see Wb. Bh. 190.411) and whence is contracted E. H. देह् or डेह्, M. दोह् or G. डोह् or P. डोह् and डोह् or W. H. डोह्. — The forms षोडशः, षोडशः, सप्तोडशः are anomalous and fanciful forms, made after the analogy of षोडशः under a mistaken idea of its true derivation. They have, certainly, no connection with उँचा *high* (as Kl. 108). The ष् of षोडशः is merely the modern pronunciation of ष् in the Skr. षष्, and shows that the word is of modern origin, without any foundation in Pr. — In the W. H. समा or सम the व् of सवा has been changed to म् (see § 134), as W. H. नम्मा or नम *nine* for नवा. In the W. H. ढामा or ढाम corresponding to P. ढाया or ढाई the म् appears to be merely euphonic.

## 7. PROPORTIONALS.

417. Proportional numbers are made by adding the word गुना *time* to the cardinal numbers; thus दुइगुना *two times*, तेनिगुना *three times*; चारिगुना *four times*; पाँच्गुना *five times*, etc.

There are also the contracted forms दुग्ना *twice*, तिग्ना *thrice*, चौग्ना *four times*.

418. *Affinities and Derivation.* The proportionals exist in all Gds. Thus B. दुग्णा 2, etc. (§. Ch. 109), O. तिनि गुण् 3, etc. (Sn. 24), W. H. दुग्ना 2, तिग्ना 3, चौग्ना 4, सतग्ना 7, etc. (Kl. 105); P. uses either the full or the contracted forms throughout; e. g., दूणा or दूणो 2, तीउणा or तिगुणा 3, चौणा or चौगुणा 4, पचौणा or पंचौणा 5, ष्चौणा or ष्चिगुणा 6, सतौणा or सतगुणा 7, अठौणा or अठगुणा 8, नौणा or नौगुणा 9, दसौणा or दसगुणा 10, etc. (Ld. 87). S. has only the contracted forms: thus हेकूपो 1, बीणो 2, ट्रीणो 3, चउणो or चौणो 4, पंनूणो 5, इहूणो 6, सतूणो 7, अहूणो 8, नऊणो 9, उहूणो 10, etc. (Tr. 182). S. has also हेकूटो *once*, बीटो *twice*, which, perhaps, are contractions of हेक-पटो, त्रिपटो, as in M. which uses पट् instead of गुण्; thus एकपट् 1, दुप्पट् 2, तिप्पट् 3, चौपट् 4, etc. (see § 411). — E. H. दुग्ना regularly for Pr. दुग्णाञ्चं, Skr. द्विगुणाकम्; E. H. तिग्ना for Pr. तिग्णाञ्चं, Skr. त्रिगुणाकम्; and E. H. चौग्ना for Pr. चउग्णाञ्चं, Skr. चतुर्गुणाकम्.

## 8. SUBTRACTIVES.

419. Subtractive numerals are made by adding कम् *less*; thus 99 is एक् कम् सै *one hundred less one*; 48 is दुइ कम् पचास् *fifty less two*.

420. *Affinities and Derivation.* कम् is thus used also in B. (§. Ch. 110), and in W. H., H. H., and probably in all W. Gds., as it is a persian word. B. uses also the Gd. word वाइट् (§. Ch. 110).

## 9. DISTRIBUTIVES.

421. Distributive numbers are made by repeating the numeral; thus दुइ दुइ *by twos, two each*; दस् दस् *by tens, ten each*. Sometimes distribution is idiomatically expressed by the word पाइ *after*; e. g., ब्राह्मन् के दुइ दुइ पैसा दिहलेस् or ब्राह्मन् पाइ दुइ प<sup>०</sup> दि<sup>०</sup> *he gave the Bráhmans two paisás each*. Sometimes करि *having made* is added to the reduplicated num.; e. g., दुइ दुइ करि दि<sup>०</sup> *he gave two to each*.

422. *Affinities.* This practice of reduplication is common to all Gds.; thus B. दश दश or दश दश करिया *by tens* (§. Ch. 108. 245), O. दुइ दुइ *by twos* (Sn. 24), and so in all. B. also expresses distribution by adding the particle टा or टो to a single numeral, as दश टा करिया देउ *give ten to each* (§. Ch. 245).

### 10. DEFINITIVES.

423. Definiteness or emphasis is given to a number by adding the suff. ओ or ओ<sup>०</sup>; thus दोनो वरिस् *the two years*; तीनो<sup>०</sup> दिन् *the three days*; चारो<sup>०</sup> ब्राह्मन् *the four Bráhmans*, etc. A final इ is dropped before the suff., e. g., चारो<sup>०</sup> of चारि *four*, साठो<sup>०</sup> of साठि *sixty*, etc.

424. *Affinities and Derivation.* This suff. is used also in W. H. (see Kl. 101), to which it more properly belongs. It is the same as the suff. of the obl. plur. (see §§ 362. 363. 365, 7), which is occasionally transferred to the nom. plur. also (see § 369).

### 11. INDEFINITIVES.

425. Indefiniteness in a number is expressed either by prefixing or suffixing एक् *one* to the numeral, as एक् दस् *about ten*, सौ एक् *about one hundred*, etc.; to एक् itself आध् *half* is added, एक् आध् *about one*. Or it may be expressed by joining another number according to the following rules: 1, every number is used with the one immediately following, as तीनि चारि *about three*, दस् इग्यारह् *about ten*, etc.; or 2, ten or any multiple of ten is used with the next following multiple of five or ten; as दस् पंद्रह् or दस् बीस् *about ten or any number between ten and fifteen or between ten and twenty*; बीस् पचोस् or बीस् तीस् *about twenty*; or 3, exceptionally 2 is used with 4, दुइ चारि *about two*, 5 with 7, पाँच् सात् *about five*, 8 with 10, आह् दस् *about eight*, 10 with 12, दस् बारह्, 12 with 14, बारह् चौदह् *about twelve*, 20 with 50, बीस् पचास् *about twenty*.

426. *Affinities.* These usages are probably common to all Gds. As to B. see §. Ch. 106. 107, and as to W. H. see

Kl. 101. B. also expresses indefiniteness by prefixing one of the particles गोटा, गोटी, खान् or यान्, गच्छ to a numeral (§. Ch. 106); O. uses गोटा (Sn. 24); S. suffixes खनु (Tr. 180). Thus B. or O. गोटा त्रिम् or B. खान् त्रिम् or S. द्विहारो खनु *about thirty*. — The B. खान् or यान्, S. खनु is, probably, the Skr. स्थाणुः *stake* or *post*, which becomes in Pr. याणू or खाणू (H. C. 2, 7) or खणू (H. C. 2, 99). — The B. गोटा or गोटी is probably the Skr. गोष्ठकः or गोष्ठिकः *assembly, heap*, and गच्छ probably the Skr. गच्छ *a progression*.

#### FOURTH CHAPTER. THE PRONOUN.

427. There are six kinds of pronouns, 1) the personal, 2) the correlative, 3) the reflexive, 4) the honorific, 5) pronominal adjectives and 6) pron. adverbs. The genitives of the personal and reflexive pron. serve to express the corresponding possessive pron.

##### 1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

428. E. H. possesses pron. for the first and second person only. For the third pers. the remote demonstr. pron. is used. The pers. pron. are alike for both genders. The forms of the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. are, dir. sg. मै<sup>०</sup> *I*, obl. sg. मो or मो<sup>०</sup>, dir. and obl. pl. हम् *we*; those of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. are, dir. sg. तै<sup>०</sup> *thou*, obl. sg. तो or तो<sup>०</sup>, dir. pl. तू<sup>०</sup> *you*, obl. pl. तोह्.

429. There is a long form of the pers. pron., which, however, now occurs only in the fem. plur. and is made by adding the suff. अनी (see §§ 209. 214) to the obl. plur., thus हमनी *we*, तोहनी *you*.

*Note:* The weak form हमन् *we* occurs in the O. H. (Kl. 127); the corresponding form of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. would be \*तोहन् *you*. From these are derived the strong fem. forms हमनी and तोहनी, to which would correspond the strong masc. \*हमना and \*तोहना, obl. \*हमने and \*तोहने. Some of these masc. forms may be in actual use. All alike are very vulgar and almost exclusively used

by women, even in a sing. sense<sup>1</sup>). A plur. तुमन् and even a sing. तुइन् actually exists in Gw. (see Kl. 129). See similar long forms of the correlative pron. in § 436.

430. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) *The first pers. pron. sing.* The dir. form is essentially the same in the E., S. and N. Gds.; thus B. मुइ, O. मु or मुइ or मुहि, E. H. मै (Bh.) or मइ or मय् (Bs.), M. मो, N. मै or मो; also H. H. मै. It is quite different in the W. Gds., viz. W. H. हो (Br.) or हो (Kn.) or हू (Mw.), P. हउ, G. हु, S. अउ or अ (dropping ह्). The other forms, however, also occur dialectically in the W. Gds., viz. W. H. and P. मै, S. मू or मा, but, as a rule, they are only used as the obl. form; e. g., abl. sg. Mw. मै मू from me, P. मै थो, S. मू खो or मा खो; act. sg., W. H. and P. मै, G. मे, S. मू or मा. On the other hand, the proper dir. form अ is occasionally used as an obl. in S. (Tr. 190), and so also हउ in P. (Ld. 16). This shows that the forms with initial म् are properly obl., and have been anomalously transferred to the nom. sg., as has occasionally happened in the case of subst. (see § 369). — *The obl. form* is essentially the same in all Gds.; viz. B. and O. मो, E. H. मो (Bh.) or म्वा or म्वहि (Bs.), O. H. मोहि or मुहि, W. H. मोहि or मुहि or मो or मै or मे (Br.) or मै or म्है or (shortened) म or म्ह or म्हो or म्हा or मा (Mw.)<sup>2</sup>, P. मे or मै, S. मू or मा or मुहु<sup>3</sup>, G. म or मा or मे<sup>4</sup>, M. म or मो or म्वा<sup>5</sup>, N. म or मै or मो or मे<sup>6</sup>). — There are, then, in Gd. two principal types: 1) that of the proper dir. forms हो, etc.; 2) that of the various obl. form मै, मो, etc., some of which are also occasionally used as direct forms.

1) I may state here as a general fact, that among the vulgar in India the plur. forms of the pron. and verb are almost universally used in the place of the sing. Inattention to this fact has led to many errors in the statements of Kl. and Bs. as to E. H.

2) मे and मा or म्हा only in the gen. मेरो (Br.), मारो or म्हारो (Mw.).

3) मुहु only in the gen. मुहु जो.

4) मा only in gen. मारो, and मै in the act.; but acc. म ने.

5) मो and म्वा only in the act., but acc. म ला, etc.

6) मे only in gen. मेरो, मै only in the act. मै ले.

The dir. forms are modifications of the Ap. Pr. nom. sg. ह॑उं (H. C. 4, 375) or ह॑नुं (K. I. 39 in Ls. 451) or ह॑गु (Mḍ. अस्मदो ह॑गु सुना सार्कं । अस्मद् इत्वधिकारः । ह॑नु भणामि ॥, i. e., *asmad* has *hamu* in the nom. sg.; here the rules on *asmad* commence; *hamu bhānami I speak*). The Skr. nom. sg. is अ॒हम्, which becomes in Pr. अ॒हं or हं (Vr. 6, 40) or str. form अ॒ह्यं (Vr. 6, 40) or \*ह॒यं. The latter regularly H. C. 4, 354 changes to ह॑उं in Ap. Pr.<sup>1</sup>), and this becomes in P. ह॑उं, in Br. हो॑, in Kn. हो॑, in Mw. हूँ, in G. हूँ. — The Gḍ. obl. forms are modifications of the Pr. gen. sg. forms म॒द् or म॒ह (H. C. 3, 113) or म॒हु (H. C. 4, 379). The form म॒द् is used in Mh. Pr. for the gen., abl., instr. and loc. sg. (H. C. 3, 113. 111. 109. 115), and in the Ap. Pr. for the instr. loc. and acc. sg. (H. C. 4, 377); that is, it has evidently become a general obl. form. There can be little doubt, that म॒द् is a curtailment of \*म॒हि (see § 126) and the three forms \*म॒हि, म॒हु and म॒ह are evidently made by means of the Ap. gen. or obl. suff. हि, हु, ह (shortened for ह and हो, see §§ 365, 6. 367, 3). In the Ap. Pr. the corresponding pl. suff. हिं, हुं, हं are sometimes transferred to the sg. (see § 367, 5); accordingly we find in the Ap. Pr. also the alternative forms म॒द् (for \*म॒हिं, cf. § 126), म॒हुं and म॒हं (see K. I. 44 in Ls. 451, and H. C. 4, 377. 3, 113)<sup>2</sup>). Now the Ap. म॒द् or \*म॒हि is modified in O. to मु॒हि

1) Ls. 330 explains the form अ॒ह्यं as = अ॒ह्यं, analogous to Pr. तु॒मं and तुं or तं (H. C. 3, 90); this seems to be supported by the Ap. form ह॑गु; that form, however, is somewhat doubtful; it might well be a false reading for ह॑उं. It appears to me more probable that अ॒ह्यं is the regular strong form of अ॒हं, and equal to \*अ॒ह्यं, as shown by the corresponding Mg. अ॒ह्ये (Vr. 11, 9) which according to Mg. usage retains the क्; there is also a Mg. form ह॒के or ह॒गे (Vr. 11, 9), which represents a Mh. form \*ह॒यं and the Ap. ह॑उं; H. C. 4, 354 expressly states that the Pr. strong form termin. अ॒ह्यं (अ॒कं) changes to अ॒उं in the Ap. Pr.

2) The Ap. Pr. has म॒द् according to H. C. 4, 377, but म॒ह according to Mḍ. म॒ह डिटाभिः । म॒ह । म॒यि म॒या मां वार्थः ॥ again it has म॒हु according to H. C. 4, 379, but म॒हुं according to K. I. and Mḍ. उ॒सिउ॒सां म॒न्त्रम॒हुंम॒हा । त्रयः

or मुद्, in B. मुद्, in Bs. म्वहि (for \*मुहि, i. e. व for उ, § 71), Br. मुहि (in assimilation to तुद्), and contracted in P. to मे or मै, M. मो. The Ap. मद् is in Bs. मद् or मय्, in E. II., W. H., P., N. मे, in M. मो or म्य (for मे, i. e. वा for ए, cf. § 71). The Ap. महु is in O. H., B., O., E. H. गो<sup>1</sup>) (for \*मउ, § 126, cf. तउ in Nro. 2) or Bs. म्वा, and the Ap. महुं in E. II., N. गो and in S. मुहु (in assimilation to तुहु) or मू. The Ap. Pr. मह occurs in O. H. (e. g., मह सम *like me*, cf. Kl. 121<sup>2</sup>)), and is shortened in M., G., N. to म, in O. मु, in W. H. न or म्ह; and the Pr. महं is in S. मः. Lastly in the O. H. and in Br. the obl. suff. हि is pleonastically super-added to the obl. form मो, making it मोहि. — 2) *The second pers. pron. sing.* The circumstances here are precisely analogous to those of the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. pron., with the exception, that of the old Skr. nom. sg. त्वम्, Pr. तं or तुं or तुवं or तुमं (H. C. 3, 90) no trace has survived in Gd. In all Gds. alike, and even in the Ap. Pr., the old gen. sg. or obl. form has taken the place of the dir. form (cf. § 369). Thus as dir. forms are used in B. तुद्, in O. तु or तुद् or तुहि, E. H. तद् or तय् (Bs.) or तै (Bh.), N. त, W. H. ते or ते or तू (Br.) or तू or तू (Mw.), P. तू, S. तू, M. तू, G. तू; as obl. forms in B. and O. तो, E. H. तो or तो (Bh.) or त्वा or त्वा or त्वहि (Bs.), N. ते or त<sup>3</sup>), W. H. तोहि or तो or तू or ते or ते (Br.) or थो or थै or था or थ (Mw.) or तोई or त्वी or त्वै (Gw., Km.)<sup>4</sup>), P. ते or ते, S. तो or तुहु<sup>5</sup>), G. त or तु or ते or

स्युः ॥ and in the *Nāgara Ap.* मनेत्यर्थे महुं च स्यात् । महुं धरु सुन्दरु । चकारान् मम च ॥ lastly the Ap. has मह according to Mđ. in the above quotations, and the Mb. Pr. has both मह and महं according to H. C. 3, 113.

1) In the O. H. of Chand मो occurs as a gen., e. g., नाय मो नाम चंद *Lord! my name is Chand* (Kl. 121).

2) Or, Chand 25, 28 मह सगपन सा करिहि सु केमं ॥ *how will she make my kinship*, etc.

3) ते only in the act. ते ले *by thee*.

4) ते and था only in the gen. तेरो (Br.), थारो (Mw.), तू and ते only in the act. in Br. तूने or तेने, but in Mw. generally, e. g., abl. तेँ सूँ or थैँ सूँ, see Kl. 128.

5) तुहु only in the gen. तुहु तो.



तू or ता<sup>1)</sup>, M. तू or त्वाँ or तु<sup>2)</sup>. All these obl. forms are various modifications of the Pr. gen. sg. forms तइ or तइं, तउ (modified for \*तहि or \*तहिं, \*तहु, cf. महु in Nro. 1), तुह or तुहं, तुहुं<sup>3)</sup>, which are derived by means of the gen. or obl. suff. हि, हु, ह or हिं, हुं, हं from the bases त or तु (for Skr. त्व). To complete the series, the form तुहि must be added, which is preserved in the O. H. and Br. तुहि, Bs. त्वहि, O. तुहि or तुइ, B. तुइ, Gw. (lg. f.) तुइन्; and also the form तह<sup>4)</sup> which is preserved in the Br. gen. तेरो, Mw. यारो *thine* for Ap. \*तहारउ, just as Br. मेरो, Mw. मारो or म्हारो *mine* = Ap. महारउ (H. C. 4, 358) from Ap. gen. मह. The Pr. तइ or \*तहि appears in P. ते or ते or (shortened) G. त, Mw. त or य; and the Ap. Pr. तइं or \*तहिं in Bs. तइं or तय्, Bh., Br., N. तेँ, Mw. येँ, G. तेँ, N. तँ. The Ap. Pr. तउ or \*तहु becomes

1) ता only in the gen. तारो, तेँ and तू only in the act. तेँ or तूँ, त or तु in the acc. तने or तुने.

2) M. तू or त्वाँ only in the act.

3) The form तइ is used as an obl. form in the Mh. Pr. for the gen., abl., instr., loc. sing. (H. C. 3, 99. 96. 94. 101) and in the form तइं in the Ap. Pr. for the instr., loc. and acc. sg. (H. C. 4, 370) and Mđ. तइं डिटाभिः । एभिः सह युष्मदस् तइं स्यात् । तइं । त्वया त्वयि त्वां वा ॥ The form तउ is used in the Ap. Pr. for the gen. and abl. sg. (H. C. 4, 372), and तुह for the gen., abl. and loc. (Mđ. डिडसिडसां तुहतुङ्कतम्भतुट्भाः स्युः ॥ see also K. I. 44 in Ls. 451) and तुहं for the gen. and abl. (K. I. 44 in Ls. 451); the same form तुह and तुहं are also used for the nom. sg. both in the Mh. (H. C. 3, 90) and Ap. Pr. (K. I. 39 in Ls. 451); the form तुहुं is used in the Ap. Pr. for the nom. sg. (H. C. 4, 368. Mđ. युष्मदस् तुहं । युष्मद इत्यधिकारः । सुनेत्येव । तुहुं सोमसि ॥ i. e., *thou sleepest*. The identity of the nom. forms तुह or तुहं with the gen. forms तुह or तुहं has been already pointed out by Ls. 465, and that the nom. form तुहं is really a gen. is shown by the fact of its still being used in S. for the gen. तुहुं नो (Tr. 191. 193). In तइ, तइं, तउ a medial ह् has been dropped, as is shown by the Mw. obl. येँ or य (contr. for \*तहिं, \*तह); and the forms in इं (= \*हिं), हं, हुं are gen. pl., used in a sing. sense, precisely as in the case of मइं, महं, महुं (see Nro. 1).

4) तह is given as an obl. form by De Tassy in his Hindi Gramm. (Kl. 121).

in O. II., B., O., E. H., S. तो<sup>1</sup>), and in W. II. ता or थो, Bs. त्वा, and a corresponding Ap. form \*तुहं is preserved in the E. H. तो<sup>०</sup> or त्वाँ, M. त्वाँ (cf. § 71). The Ap. तुह् becomes in O., M., G. तु and is preserved also in the E. Gd. तोरा *thine* for Ap. तुहारा (cf. H. C. 4, 434). The Ap. तुहं or तुहुं becomes in P., S., G. तू, Mw. तू or तूँ, Br. तू. Lastly, O. II. and Br. form तोहि by pleonastically supperadding the obl. suff. हि to the obl. form तो; and similarly S. forms the gen. तुहे<sup>०</sup> (तो), abl. तोहाँ by pleonastically adding the obl. suff. हँ and हाँ (or हे<sup>०</sup>, हँ). — 3) *The first pers. pron. plur.* The circumstances here are the same as with the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. pron. sing. No trace of the old Skr. nom. pl. वयम् has survived in Gd.; Pr., however, has वयं or वयँ (H. C. 3, 106). But Gd. and, generally also Pr., use one of the many obl. forms of the Skr. base अस्म as their direct form. Thus the various dir. forms in Gd. are: B. अग्नि or अग्न (to the latter, as usual, the pl.-aff. रा is added, अग्न-रा), O. अग्ने, E. H. हम्, N. हामी (to which, as usual the pl.-aff. हरु or हेरु is added, हामीहरु or हामीहेरु), M. अग्ही, W. H. हम् (Br.) or म्हे or म्हे<sup>०</sup> (Mw.), G. अमे or हमे; and S. and P. असी<sup>०</sup>. The various Gd. obl. forms are: B. अमा, O. अम्म or अम्भन (the latter only in the dat. अम्भुङ्कु), E. H. हम् (Bh.) or हम्ह (Bs. see Kl. 127), N. हाँमी, M. अग्हा or अग्ही<sup>०</sup> (only act.) or अगम् (only in the gen. अगन् चा), W. H. हम् or हमन् or हमनि or हमौ<sup>०</sup> or हमै<sup>०</sup> (Br.) or माँ or म्हां (Mw.) or हम् (Gw.)<sup>2</sup>, G. अन् or अमे or हमे (only act.) or अमा (in the gen. अमारो); P. असा or सा or हना or (only act.) असी<sup>०</sup>, S. असाँ or असाँहे<sup>०</sup> or असाँहूँ. All these forms are modifications respectively of the following Pr. gen. or obl. forms: a) अम्ह or अग्हि or अग्हे, b) अग्हापां, c) अग्हहं, d) अग्हिहिं or अग्हहं, which may be spelled also अग्मा<sup>०</sup> (H. C. 4, 412). Of these the first set अम्ह, अग्हि, अग्हे are modifications of the vedic

1) In the O. II. of Chand तो occurs as a gen. sg., e. g., सुनिय त्वात तो ततत। *having heard the word, thy father, etc.*

2) हमै<sup>०</sup> only in the dat. and acc. हमै<sup>०</sup> को; हमा only in the gen. हमारा *our*.

obl. form अस्मे; and अम्ह्, अम्हे are used in Pr. for the gen., instr., acc., nom. (H. C. 3, 114. 110. 108. 106) and अम्हे in the Ap. for the acc. and nom. (H. C. 4, 376)<sup>1</sup>). The Pr. अस्मे or अम्हे becomes आम्मे in O., अस्मे or हस्मे in G., and म्हे in Mw.; and the Pr. अम्ह् becomes अम् in G., हम् in W. H. and E. H., and आम् in M. — The Pr. form अम्हि or अम्मि, though clearly a mere modification of the plur. obl. form अम्हे (or अम्मे), has assumed the sense of the sing. and is used for the nom. and acc. sing. (H. C. 3, 105. 107). It is so employed also in one of the Ap. Pr. (Mḍ. अहम् अर्थे अम्मिहुंममाः । अम्मि पस्मिद्दु (?) । एत्वं हुंमम (?) ). It has only survived in the B. आमि I. As to the second Pr. set अम्हाणं or अम्भाणं, it is the regular gen. plur. of the base अम्ह् or अम्मा (H. C. 3, 114, see § 365, 4) and has survived in the O. अम्भन् and W. H. हम्न् or हम्नि. As to the third and fourth Pr. set अम्हं, अम्हं, to which must be added a form \*अम्हं, they are regularly derived with the Ap. gen. or obl. suff. हं, हुं, हिं (see § 365, 7) from the base अम्ह्. The form अम्हिं or (dropping ह्) अम्हं is limited in the Ap. to the nom., acc. and instr. (H. C. 4, 376)<sup>2</sup>), but in Gḍ. it occurs also in the dat. (= old gen.); thus in O. H. हम्हिं and contracted in Br. हमैँ, H. H. हमेँ, Mw. म्हेँ, M. अम्हीँ or अम्ही, N. हाँमी. The form \*अम्हं is not noticed by the Pr. Gramm., but it appears in Br. as हमोँ, H. H. हमोँ, Gw. हमुँ. The Ap. form अम्हं, especially mentioned by H. C. 4, 380 as the gen. plur., survives in Mw. म्हाँ or माँ or (dropping the *anundsika*) in B. अमा, M. अम्हा, W. H., P. हमा, G. अमा. — The anomalous P. and S. forms with न्

1) H. C. allows both अम्हे and अम्हं to the nom. and acc.; K. I. gives अम्हे to the nom. and अम्हं to the acc. (K. I. 40 in Ls. 451); again Mḍ. allows both अम्मे and अम्हं to the nom., but only अम्हं to the acc., thus अम्ह इति त्रशस्तभ्यां । अम्ह अहम् पक्व वा । अम्मे च तसा । अम्मे भणामु । चकाराद् अम्हं च ॥

2) H. C. has only अम्हं and allows it only to the nom. and acc., but Mḍ. has both अम्हिं and अम्हं and allows them also to the instr., thus अम्हं अम्हि अम्भो अम्माहिं अम्मेहिम् इति च भिस्ता । पञ्च स्युः । अम्ह भणिद्दु । एवमन्यानि ॥

cannot have arisen from the ordinary Pr. or Ap. forms, but must be referred to some peculiar Pr., which changed the conjunct स् of the Skr. base अस्म to स् instead of to म् or म्<sup>1</sup>). Otherwise, however, their formation is exactly analogous to those of the other Gd. forms; thus P. and S. असौ<sup>०</sup> is analogous to M. अग्ही<sup>०</sup> and would presuppose a Pr. form \*अस्सहिं or \*अस्सइं; and the P. असा, S. असा<sup>०</sup> to P. हमा, Mw. म्हा<sup>०</sup>, presupposing Pr. \*अस्सहं. In the S. असांहे<sup>०</sup> and असांहुं<sup>०</sup> the obl. suff. हे<sup>०</sup>, हुं<sup>०</sup> (for हं, हुं) are pleonastically superadded. — 4) *The second pers. pron. plur.* The circumstances here are exactly analogous to those of the first pers. pron. plur., substituting only the base तुम्ह or तुम्भा (= Skr. तुभ्ये) for अम्ह or अम्भ. A simple enumeration therefore of the various Pr. and Gd. forms will suffice. Pr. and Ap. have: a) तुम्ह or तुम्हे (H. C. 3, 91. 93. 4, 369); b) तुम्हाणं (H. C. 3, 100); c) तुम्हहिं or तुम्हइं (H. C. 4, 369), d) तुम्हहं (H. C. 4, 373) or e) \*तुम्हहुं, all plur., and f) तुम्हे (H. C. 3, 92. 94. 101) in the sing. (like अस्मि). In Gd. there are, 1) the following dir. forms: B. तुमि (f), O. तुम्मे (a), E. H. (a) तू (Bh., for तूहं) or तोह् or तोह्<sup>०</sup> or (a) तुम्ह (Bs.), W. H. (a) तुम् (Br.) or (a) थे or (c) थै (Mw., for \*तहे or \*तहै, with अ for उ as in G., S. and P.); G. तमे (a), M. तुम्ही (c), N. (f) तिमि (like B. तुमि) or (c) तिमो (with इ for अ or उ, as in Br. तिहारौ yours), S. (c) तव्हो<sup>०</sup> or तवो<sup>०</sup> or तहो<sup>०</sup> or तइं<sup>०</sup> or (c) अहो<sup>०</sup> or अवो<sup>०</sup> or अहो<sup>०</sup> or अइं<sup>०</sup> or अइं<sup>०</sup>, P. (c) तुमो<sup>०</sup> (for Pr. \*तुस्सइं). And 2) the following obl. forms: B. (d) तोमा or (a) तोम (only in the nom. pl. तोम-रा), O. (a) तुम्भा or (b) तुम्भन् (only in the dat. तुम्भकु), E. H. (a) तोह् or तोह्<sup>०</sup> (Bh.) or (a) तुम्ह (Bs.), W. H. (a) तुम् or (e) तुम्हो<sup>०</sup> or (c) तुम्है<sup>०</sup>

1) The loc. suff. स्मिन् admits both changes in the pron. of the ordinary or Mh. Pr. (H. C. 4, 59. 60, e. g., सव्वस्सिं or सव्वस्मिं or सव्वहिं for \*सव्वम्हिं in all), but only स्मि in subst. (H. C. 3, 11, e. g., देवस्मि in god); on the other hand the Mg. Pr. admits a form \*सि म्शि or सि सि even in subst. (Wb. Bh. 417, as देवंसि or देवसि). This is noteworthy; for the P. and S. phonetic system shows also in other points (see §§ 16. 18. 14) an affinity to that of the Mg. class of Prs. and Gds. The Pāli admits both स्मिन् and म्हि in subst. (St. G. 62).

(only in the dat.) or (d) तुम्हा or तिहा (only in the gen. तुम्हारौ or तिहारौ), all these in Br., or (e) तुम् (Gw.) or (b) तुमन् (Km.) or (d) थॉ (Mw., for \*तहाँ, see S.), G. (d) तगा (in the gen. तमारौ) or (a) तम् or (a) तमे (only act.), M. (d) तुम्हा or (c) तुम्ही (only in the act.) or (a) तुम् (only in the gen. तुम् चा), N. (f) तिमि or (c) तिमि, S. (d) तहँ or तवँ or तहाँ or तँ or (d) अहँ or अवँ or अहाँ or अँ, P. (d) तुसा (for Pr. \*तुसाहँ) or (d) तुहा or थुआ or (d) तुमा or (c) तुमी (only in the act.). As to the origin of the S. forms; the उ of the Pr. तुम्हँ is changed to अच् (similarly as in Bs. त्वहि to thee for तुहि) and म् is elided, whence S. तहँ; next either ह् or व् is dropped, making तवी or तही; finally च् or ह् is elided, making तई; the other S. set अहँ, etc. arises in a precisely similar way from the Pr. forms derived from the Pr. base उम्ह (H. C. 3, 99. 95). — 5) *There remain a few peculiar obl. forms:* viz., of the first pers. pron., M. मन् or माके or माक्या (Man. 47. 85), G. मन्, W. H. मुन्, H. H. मुक् or मुके, and of the second pers. pron., M. तुन् or तुके or तुक्या, G. तन्, H. H. तुक् or तुके, P. तुथ्. These obl. forms are modifications of the Pr. gen. मन्क (H. C. 3, 113) or Ap. मन्कु (H. C. 4, 379), Pr. तुन्क (H. C. 3, 99) or Ap. तुन्कु (H. C. 4, 372) or तुथ् (H. C. 4, 372). The origin of these forms is obscure. In Pr., the forms मन्क and तुन्क are treated as regular bases, just like Pr. अम्ह and तुम्ह, Skr. अस्म and युष्म, and declined as nouns. Thus in the gen. sing. the pure base मन्क or अम्ह (H. C. 3, 113) is used after the Ap. Pr. fashion, i. e., dropping the gen. suff. (H. C. 4, 345); loc. sg. मन्कम्मि or अम्हम्मि (H. C. 3, 116), gen. pl. मन्काणां or अम्हाणां (H. C. 3, 114), loc. pl. मन्कसु or अम्हसु (H. C. 4, 117), etc. In Gd. the gen. sg. (or pure base) मन्क, तुन्क become H. H. मुक्, तुक्, M. मन्, तुन् (with न् for क्, § 145, note). And Gd. derives from them even regular obl. st. forms, H. H. मुके, तुके, M. माके or माक्या, तुके or तुक्या (just as H. H. घोडे, M. घोड्या of घोडा horse). The corresponding direct st. forms exist only in M. माका m., माकी f., \*माके n., and तुका, तुकी, तुके. They serve both as the gen. sing. of the personal pron., and as possessive pron. In E. H., also, the possess. pron. are often used in the place of

the pers. pron.; thus abl., E. H. हमरे गो<sup>०</sup> or हमरा सो<sup>०</sup>, just as M. माक्या हुन्, loc. E. H. गोरे मे, M. माक्यात्. It appears, probable, therefore, that the bases मक and तुक are really those of possessive pron. and perhaps connected with Skr. मदीय *mine* and त्वदीय *thine* by substituting the Pr. bases मह, तुह for म, त्व (or मद्, त्वद्); thus महइय = मक्य = मक or तुहइय = तुक्य or तुह (cf. H. C. 3, 91. nom. pl. तुहे) = तुक. Or they might be referred to the Skr. bases मादृग्र *like me*, त्वादृग्र *like thee*, which would easily assume a possessive meaning (see §§ 218. 251), and which might change in Pr. to मद्दिह = मक, तुद्दिह = तुक. It may be remarked that a somewhat analogous process has taken place in the case of the demonstrative pron.; thus Pr. एहो is both *that* and *such-like* = Skr. ईदृग्र, and S. has एको = इतहो = ईदृग्र: (see § 438, 4). This would explain also the P. form तुध, which would be = तुदह = त्वादृग्र, and the र् in the Ap. Pr. form तुध might be a reminiscence of the Skr. ऋ of दृग्र<sup>1</sup>). Ls. connects मक and तुक with the gen. sing. of the pers. pron. \*मस्य and \*त्वस्य, but these change regularly to मह or महि, तुह or तुहि (see Nros 1. 2); I believe, there is no example of the Skr. conjunct स्य् ever changing to स्क् in Pr.

431. Personal pron. are declined precisely like nouns, with the exception that in the gen. they use their corresponding possessive pron. (§ 449). The weak form of the latter is preferred in the nom., and the st. form in the obl. cases: thus मोरू बाप् or rarely मोरा बाप् *my father*, but मोरे बाप कै *of my father*; हमारू माई or rarely हमरी माई *our mother*, but हमरी माई कै *of our mother*, etc.

432. A sort of pleonastic declension may be made by adding the case-aff. to the obl. form of the gen. in ए; but in

1) Or again, मक might be = मह-त्त, and तुक = तुह-त्त and तुध = तुह-द्; त्त and द् being the gen. postpositions which occur in O. H. and O. P., and are still used in M., P. and M. S. They may have existed in Pr. already, just as the modern gen. postpositions चा, का, केरा lit. *done* (see § 377).

the *khari bhāshā* this is restricted to the loc., as गो मे or गोरे मे *in me*, हम मे or हमरे मे *in us*, etc.

432 a.

1. First personal pron.

a) Simple form: मैं *I*, हम *we*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. मैं	हम्	हमलोग्	
a., d. मो के or मो के	हम् के	हमलोग् के	or हमलोगन् के
i., abl. मो से or मो से	हम् से	हमलोग् से	or हमलोगन् से
gen. मोरू or मोरा, मोरी, मोरे	हमारू or हमरा, ०री, ०रे	हमलोग् कै, के	or हमलोगन् कै, के
loc. गो मे or मो मे or गोरे मे	हम् मे or हमरे मे	हमलोग् मे	or हमलोगन् मे

b) Emphatic form: मैं ही or मैं हूँ *even I*.

	Singular.	Plural.	
nom. मैं ही	मैं हूँ	हम ही	हम हूँ
a., d. मोही के	मोहू के	हम ही के	हम हूँ के
i., abl. मोही से	मोहू से	हम ही से	हम हूँ से
gen. मोरू or मोरे ही	मोरी or मोरे हूँ	हमरू or हमरे ही	हमरी or हमरे हूँ
loc. मोही मे or मोरू मे	मोहू मे or मोरी मे	हम ही मे or हमरू मे	हम हूँ मे or हमरी मे
	or मोरे ही मे	or मोरे हू मे	or हमरे ही मे
		or हमरे हू मे	or हमरे हू मे

432 b.

2. Second pers. pron.

a) Simple form: तू *thou*, तू *you*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. तू	तू	तूलोग्	
a., d. तो के or तो के	तोहू के	तूलोग् के	or तूलोगन् के
i., abl. तो से or तो से	तोहू से	तूलोग् से	or तूलोगन् से
gen. तोरू or तोरा, तोरी, तोरे	तोहारू or तोहरा, ०री, ०रे	तूलोग् कै, के	or तूलोगन् कै, के
loc. तो मे or तो मे or तोरे मे	तोहू मे or तोहरे मे	तूलोग् मे	or तूलोगन् मे

b) Emphatic form: तू ही or तू हूँ *even thou*.

	Singular.	Plural.	
nom. तू ही	तू हूँ	तू ही or तूहूँ	तू हूँ or तूहूँ
a., d. तोही के	तोहू के	तूहूँ के	तोहू के
i., abl. तोही से	तोहू से	तूहूँ से	तोहू से
gen. तोरू or तोरे ही	तोरी or तोरे हूँ	तोहरू or तोहरे ही	तोहरी or तोहरे हूँ
loc. तोही मे or तोरू मे	तोहू मे or तोरी मे	तूहूँ मे or तोहरू मे	तोहू मे or तोहरी मे
	or तोरे ही मे	or तोहरे ही मे	or तोहरे हू मे

*Note:* ही and हृ may or may not be spelled हीँ, हृँ; also हम and तुह may be spelled हमँ and तुहँ before हीँ and हृँ (see § 67); e. g., हम हीँ के to us, तुह हृँ के to you. — The gen. pl. may also be तोहारै, हमारै, etc.

## 2. THE CORRELATIVE PRONOUNS.

433. By the term „correlative pronoun“ I here designate the demonstrative, the relative, the interrogative and the indefinite. The demonstrative pron. include the near, the far and the general. The forms of the *near dem.* are: dir. sg. or pl. ई (also यह or emphatic ऐहै or इहै or इहई), obl. sg. ए or ऐह (or emph. ऐही), pl. ऐन्ह (or emph. ऐन्हही); of the *far dem.*: dir. sg. or pl. उ (also वह or emph. ओहै or उहै or उहई), obl. sg. ओ or ओह (or emph. ओही), pl. ओन्ह (or emph. ओन्हही); of the *general dem.*: dir. sg. or pl. ते (or emph. तेहै or तिहई), obl. sg. ते or तेह (or emph. तेही), pl. तेन्ह (or emph. तेन्हही); of the *relative*: dir. sg. or pl. ते (or emph. तेहै or तिहई), obl. sg. ते or तेह (or emph. तेही), pl. तेन्ह (or emph. तेन्हही); of the *interrog.*: dir. sg. or pl. के (or emph. केहै or किहई), obl. sg. के or केह (or emph. केही), pl. केन्ह (or emph. केन्हही); of the *indef.*: dir. sg. or pl. क or केह, obl. sg. or pl. के or केह. These forms are alike for the masc. and fem.

434. The interrog. pron. has a peculiar form in the sing.: dir. का, obl. का or काहे, when inanimate objects are spoken of. It is, in fact, practically a *neuter*. The obl. काहे is used only, when no subst. is expressed. Thus का करैलह *what do you do*, का घर मे *in what house*, काहे से खइये *with what wilt thou eat it?* In the plur., the ordinary forms are used.

435. The general dem. pron. has an alternative dir. form से *he, that* for both, sing. and plur. It is generally used instead of ते, but has no emph. forms to express which तेहै, तिहई are used.

436. All correlative pron., exc. the near and far. dem., have long forms, made by adding the pleonastic suff. अन् (see §§ 209. 214). They are treated like adj., i. e., they may be



either weak or strong (§ 381), they are alike in the sing. and plur. (§ 386), and they form a strong fem. in ई (§ 384) and a strong masc. obl. in ए (§ 386). Thus *weak forms*: dir. and obl., sg. and pl., com. gen., तवन् or तउन् or तोन् *he*, तवन् or तउन् or तोन् *which*, कवन् or कउन् or कौन् *who*, कौनो *any one*; *strong forms*: sg. and pl., masc. obl. तउने or तोने, तउने or तोने, कउने or कौने; fem. dir. and obl. तउनी or तोनी, तउनी or तोनी, कउनी or कौनी. The existence of the strong masc. dir. forms \*तउना or तोना, etc. is doubtful.

437. *Affinities*. In the following list, forms of the same origin are designated by the same letter. Thus *a*, *a* denote forms of the same group, *a*, *a* or *a*, *a* forms of the same variety of the same group, etc. It will be noticed, that the various groups have been much intermixed, the dir. form of a declension sometimes belonging to one group or variety, and its obl. form to another.

1) *The near dem. pron.*; *dir. sg.*, B. (a) ए or (c) इनि; O. (a) ए or एहि or (a) इहा; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ई or ऐह् or इह or यह् or Bs. या; (W. H.) Br. (a) यह् or यहु or इहु or Mw. (a) यो or ओ (masc.) and या or आ (fem.); P. (a) इह or एह् or अह or (f) इत्; S. (a) ही or हे (com. gen.) or (a) हीउ or हिउ (masc.) and हीअ or हिअ (fem.) or (a) इहो or ईहो or इओ or ईओ (masc.) and इहा or ईहा or इआ or ईआ (fem.) or (e) इको (masc.) and इका (fem.); G. (a) आ or ए; M. (a) हा (masc.), हो (fem.), हे (neut.); N. (a) यो. *Obl. sg.*, B. (a) ए or (a) इहा or (c) ईहा, O. (a) इहा or एहा or एहाँ; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ए or ऐह् or Bs. (a) या or यहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) इहि or या or यहि or Mw. (c) इण or ईँ or (γ) इणी or अणी or H. H. (b) इस् or (β) इसे (in the dat. and acc. only); P. (a) इह or अह or (b) इस् or एस् or ऐस् or (c) इन् or एन् or ऐन् (only act.); S. (c) हिन् or इन् (or इनाँ only abl.); G. (a) आ or ए; M. (a) ह्या or या (masc.) and हि or इ (fem.) or ह्यास्, हीस् (only dat.); N. (a) ए or (b) यस् or Km. (a) ये or ए. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ई or ऐह् or यह् or इह or Bs. (a) ए or एन्ह or इन्; W. H. (a) यह् or (a) ये or येँ or ऐ; P. (a) इह or एह् or अह; S. (a) ही or हे or (a) इहे or (e) इके; G. (a) आ or एओ; M. (a) हे (masc.), ह्या

(fem.), हो (neut.); N. (a) इन् or एन्ह. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ऐन्ह or Bs. यन्ह or इन्ह or यन् or इन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) इन् or (c) इन्हो (or इन्हं dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) यो or यो or (c) इयाँ or अयाँ; P. (c) इनाँ or इन्हाँ or एनाँ or (a) ग्रहाँ or (c) इनीँ or इन्हीँ or एन्हीँ or एनीँ (act. only); S. (a) इनि or हिनि or (c) इननि or हिननि or इन्हनि or इन्हिनि or इन्हे; G. (a) एओ or (c) एवन्; N. (a) इन्ह or इन् or Km. (a) यूँ or (c) इन्ूँ or इनी.

2) *The far dem. pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) ओ or (c) उनि; O. *deest*; E. H. (a) ऊ or ओह or वह or उह; (W. H.) Br. (a) वह or वृह or वृहि or उहि or (a) वो or Mw. (a) ऊ or वृ (masc.) and वा (fem.); P. (a) उह or ओह; S. (a) हू or ऊ (com. gen.) or हो or ओ (masc.) and हुअ or उअ (fem.); G. (d) ओलो or पेलो (masc.), याली or पेली (fem.), ओलूँ or पेलूँ (neut.); M. *deest*; N. (a) ऊ. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) ओ or (a) उहा or (c) उँहा; O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ओ or ओह or Bs. (a) वहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) उहि or वा or वाहि or (b) उस् or विस or (β) उसे or विसे (dat. acc. only) or Mw. (c) उण or वो or (γ) उणो or वणो; P. (a) उह or (b) उस् or (c) उन् or ओन् (only act.) or (f) उत्; S. (c) हुन् or उन् or उनिह or उन्हिअ or उन्हे (or हुनाँ or उनाँ abl. only); G. (d) ओला or पेला (masc.), etc.; M. *deest*; N. (b) उस् or Gw. (a) वे. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ऊ or ओह or वह or उह or Bs. (a) ओ or उन्ह; W. H. (a) वह or (a) वे or वे; P. (a) उह or ओह; S. (a) हू or हो or (a) हूर or उर or होर or उहे; G. (d) ओला or पेला (masc.), etc.; M. *deest*; N. (c) उन्ह or उन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ओन्ह or Bs. (a) उन्ह or उन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) उन् or उनि or (c) उन्हो or (a) विन् or विनि or (c) विन्हो (or उन्हे or विन्हे dat. acc. only) or Mw. (a) यो or यो or (c) उयाँ or अयाँ; P. उनाँ or उन्हाँ (or उनीँ or उन्हीँ act. only); S. (a) हुनि or उनि or (c) हुननि or उननि or उन्हनि or उन्हिनि; G. (d) ओलाओ or पेलाओ; M. *deest*; N. (a) उन् or उन्ह or Km. (a) ऊँ or (c) उन्ूँ or उनी.

3) *The general dem. pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) से or (a) ताहा or (c) तिनि or तेह; O. (a) से or सेहि; E. H. (a) ते or से or तेह or तिहि or (c) तवन् or तउन् or तीन्; W. H. (a) सो; P. (a) सो; S. (a) सो (masc.) and गा (fem.); G. (a) ते; M. (a) तो (masc.), ती (fem.), ते (neut.);

N. (a) त्यो or (c) तुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) ताहा or (c) ताँहा; O. (a) ता or (a) ताहा or ताहाँ or ताहिँ; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ते or तेह् or Bs. (a) त्या or त्वहि or (c) तवन् or ( $\gamma$ ) तउने or तौने; (W. H.) Br. (a) ता or ताहि or तिहि or तिहु or (b) तानु (gen. only) or H. H. (b) तिस् or ( $\beta$ ) तिसे (dat. acc. only) or Mw. (c) तिषा or तिषी or तषी; P. (a) तिह् or (b) तिस् or (c) तिन् (act. only) or (f) तित्; S. (a) तँहिँ (or तहाँ abl. only); G. (a) ते; M. (a) त्या (masc.) and ति (fem.); N. (a) त or तो or (b) तस् or (c) तुन् or Km. (a) तद् or तै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. (a) ते or तेह् or तिह् or (c) तवन् or तउन् or तौन्; W. H. (a) तो; P. (a) स; S. (a) से; G. (a) ते or तेओ; M. (a) ते (masc.), त्या (fem.), तो (neut.); N. (c) तुन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) तेह् or (c) तौन् or ( $\gamma$ ) तौने or Bs. (a) त्वह् or त्वन् or तेन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) तिन् or तिनि or (c) तिन्हो (or तिन्है dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) त्वाँ or ताँ or (c) तिषाँ; P. (c) तिनाँ or तिन्हाँ (or तिन्हीँ or तिनीँ act. only); S. (a) तिनि or तनि or (c) तिननि or तिनिनि or तिन्हनि or तिन्हनि; G. (a) तेओ or (c) तेम्; M. (a) त्वाँ; N. (a) तिन्ह or तिनह् or Km. (a) त्वँ or (c) तन् or तनन्.

4) *The relat. pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) ये or (a) याहा or (c) यिनि; O. (a) ये or येहु or (c) येडु or येडँ or योँ; E. H. (a) जे or जेह् or जिह् or (c) जवन् or जउन् or जौन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जो or जो or (c) जोन or Mw. (a) ज्यो; P. (a) जो; S. जो (masc.) and जा (fem.); G. (a) जे; M. (a) जो (masc.), जी (fem.), जे (neut.); N. (a) जो or (c) जुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) याहा or (c) याँहा; O. (a) या or याहिँ or याहा; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जे or जेह् or (c) जौन् or ( $\gamma$ ) जौने or Bs. (a) ज्या or ज्यहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) जा or जाहि or जेहि or H. H. (b) जिस् or ( $\beta$ ) जिसे (dat. acc. only), or Mw. (c) जिषा or जोँ or जषा or जषी; P. (a) जिह् or (b) जिस् or (c) जिन् (act. only) or (f) जित्; S. (a) जँहिँ; G. (a) जे or (c) जेवन्; M. (a) ज्या or जा or जे (masc.), जि (fem.); N. (a) ज or जो or (b) जस् or (c) जुन् or Gw. (a) जद् or जै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जे or जेह् or जिह् or (c) जवन् or जउन् or जौन् or Bs. (a) तेह्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जो or जो or (c) जोन् or Mw. (a) ज्यो; P. (a) जो; S. (a) जे; G. (a) जे or जेओ; M. (a) जे (masc.), ज्या (fem.), जो (neut.); N. (c) जुन् or (a) जिन्ह. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जेह् or Bs. (a) ज्यह् or ज्यन् or जेन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जिन् or जिनि

or (c) त्रिन्हो<sup>०</sup> (or त्रिन्है<sup>०</sup> dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) त्र्य<sup>०</sup> or त्र<sup>०</sup> or (c) त्रिणत<sup>०</sup> or त्रपात<sup>०</sup>; P. (c) त्रिना<sup>०</sup> or त्रिन्ह<sup>०</sup> (or त्रिनी<sup>०</sup> or त्रिन्हो<sup>०</sup> act. only); S. (a) त्रिनि or त्रनि or (c) त्रिन्हनि or त्रिन्हिनि or त्रिननि or त्रिनिनि; G. (a) त्रेशो; M. (a) त्र्यत<sup>०</sup>; N. (a) त्रिन्ह or त्रुन्ह or Km. (a) त्र्य<sup>०</sup> or (c) त्रन् or त्रनन्.

5) *The interrog. pron.; dir. sing.*, B. (a) के (com. gen.) or कि or कोन् (both neut.); O. (a) के or केहु or (c) केडु or केड<sup>०</sup> or कौ<sup>०</sup> (all com. gen.) or (a) कि or (b) किस or (c) कण (all neut.); E. H. (a) के or केह<sup>०</sup> or किह<sup>०</sup> or (c) कवन् or कउन् or कौन् (com. gen.) or (a) का or काह<sup>०</sup> (neut.); (W. H.) Br. (a) को or कौ or (c) कौन् or कौनु or Mw. (c) कोण् or कुण् or कण् (all com. gen.), or Br. (a) का or कहा or क्या or Mw. (a) काई<sup>०</sup> or कइ<sup>०</sup> (all neut.); P. (a) किहडा or (c) कोण् (com. gen.) or (a) को or किश्रा (neut.); S. (a) केहो or केशो or (d) केरहो or केहरो or केर<sup>०</sup> or (c) कुताडो (all com. gen.) or (a) डा or कोडु or कुहु (neut.); G. (a) श्रो (masc.), श्रो (fem.), श्रु<sup>०</sup> (neut.) or कश्रो (masc.), कइ<sup>०</sup> (fem.), कयु<sup>०</sup> (neut.) or (c) कोण् (com. gen.); M. (c) कोण् (com. gen.) or (a) काय् (neut.); N. (a) को or (c) कुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) काहा (com. gen.) or (a) कि or (b) किसे (both neut.); O. (a) का or (a) काहा or काहि<sup>०</sup> (all com. gen.); (E. H.) Bh. (a) के or केह<sup>०</sup> (com. gen.) or (a) का or काहे (neut.) or Bs. (a) क्या or क्यहि (com. gen.); (W. H.) Br. (a) का or काहि or किहि or Mw. (c) कुण् or कण् or कौ<sup>०</sup> or कुणी or कणी or H. H. (b) किस् or (β) किसे (dat. acc. only) com. gen., or काहे (neut.); P. (a) किहडे or किह<sup>०</sup> or (b) किस् or (f) कित् or (c) किन् (act. only) com. gen., or कास् or काह<sup>०</sup> (neut.); S. (a) केहे or (d) केरहे or कइहि<sup>०</sup> or (e) कुताडे (com. gen.); G. (a) के or (c) कोण् (com. gen.); M. (c) कोणा or कोपया or कोपो (or काणी<sup>०</sup> instr. only) com. gen., or (b) कसा or कस्या or कशा or कषया (all neut.); N. (a) क or को or (b) कस् or (c) कुन् or Gw. (a) कइ or कै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. and W. H. like sing.; P. (a) किहड<sup>०</sup> or (c) कोण्; S. (a) केहा or (d) केरहा or केरे or (e) कुताडा (com. gen.); G. (a) कश्रा (masc.), कइ<sup>०</sup> (fem.), कश्रा<sup>०</sup> (neut.); M. and N. like sing. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) केन्ह<sup>०</sup> or Bs. (a) क्यन्ह<sup>०</sup> or क्यन् or केन् or किन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) किन् or किनि or (c) किन्हो<sup>०</sup> (or किन्है<sup>०</sup> dat. acc. only); Mw. (c) कुणा<sup>०</sup> or कणा<sup>०</sup>; P. (c) किना<sup>०</sup> or

किन्हां (or किनी<sup>०</sup> or किन्ही<sup>०</sup> act. only); S. (a) केहनि or (d) केरुहि or (a) किनि or कनि or (c) किन्हनि or किन्हिनि or किनिनि or किनिनि; M. (c) कोणा<sup>०</sup> (com. gen.) or (b) कस<sup>०</sup> or कश<sup>०</sup> (neut.); N. (a) कुन्ह or Gw. (a) क्यू<sup>०</sup> or कनू<sup>०</sup> or कनन्<sup>०</sup>.

6) *The indefinite pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) केह; O. (a) केहि or (c) कौणसि or कउणसि; (E. H.) Bh. (a) केहू or (c) कौनो or Bs. (a) केउ or कोउ; W. H. (a) कोई or कोउ or (c) कौनो; P. (a) कोई; S. (a) को or कोई (masc.), का or काई (fem.), को (neut.); G. (a) कोइ; M. (c) कोणी or कोपही; N. (a) कोहि. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) काहा; O. (a) काहा; E. H. like *dir.*; (W. H.) Br. (a) काहू or (b) किसू or किसी or (c) कौनो or Mw. (a) को<sup>०</sup> or (c) कुणी or कणी; P. (b) किते or कितो; S. (a) कंहि<sup>०</sup> or कंही<sup>०</sup>; G. (a) कोइ; M. (c) कोणा or कोपहा; N. (a) कोहि or (b) कसै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H., W. H., P. like *sing.*; S. (a) के or केई or कई or कई; G. (a) कई; M. (c) कोणी. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. and W. H. like *sing.*; P. (b) किते or कितो or (c) किन्हां; S. (c) किने or कने or कनी or कन्ही<sup>०</sup>; M. (c) कोपहां.

438. *Derivation.* It will be observed that in the preceding list there are *six* principal types of forms, which I have severally marked with a, b, c, d, e, f, and the characteristic features of which are the letters ह (occasionally elided), स, न् (or ण), ल् (or र्), क् (or ङ्), त् respectively. The derivation of these forms is involved in many difficulties, the explanation of which, however, in most cases (I think) will be found to be the fact, that the forms which are now used as simple pron. were originally those of pron. adj. of quality or quantity.

1) The pron. of quant. are in Skr. इयत् (or Ved. ईवत्), तावत्, यावत्, कियत् (Ved. कीवत्) *so large* or *so much*, etc. In Pr. these become एव, तेव, त्रेव, केव (cf. H. C. 4, 407. 408) or एम, तेम, त्रेम, केम (K. I. 10. 11. 12 in Ls. 450. 451), or slightly modified इव, तिव, त्रिव, किव or इम, तिम, त्रिम, किम (K. I. 10. 11. 12); sometimes they are variously spelled एव or ईव, etc. (II. C. 3, 397. 401) or एम्ब or इम्ब, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 418); again they may be shortened to ए, ते, त्रे, के (see Wb. Bh. 422). Thus the Ap. Pr. uses the first set एव, etc., with the addition of the pleon. suff. दु,

as quant. pron., एवडु, तेवडु, etc. (H. C. 4, 407. 408 and see § 218), and S. and P. similarly use the shortened forms ए, ते, etc. with the pleon. suff. डो or डा; viz. S. एडो, तेडो, etc., P. एडा, तेडा, etc. Again G. uses the set एव, तेव, etc., itself without adding any pleon. suff., as qual. pron., एवो, तेवो, etc. But already in the Ap. Pr. these quant. (or qual.) pron. had come to be commonly used as *simple pron.*; so especially the bases इम *he* or *this* (H. C. 4, 361. 3, 72; it is also so used in Skr. in the obl. cases of इद्ग) and किम *what* (K. I. 13 in Ls. 450); again as *pron. adv.*, viz. एव, तेव *thus*, etc. (H. C. 4, 401; एव or एवम्, an acc. sg., occur even in Skr.), or एम्बइ *so, thus* (H. C. 4, 420, a loc. sg. cf. H. C. 4, 334) and एम्बहिं *now* (H. C. 4, 420, also a loc. sg., cf. H. C. 4, 357). Again the shortened bases (कि etc.) occur in the Ap. Pr. abl. sg. किहे (H. C. 4, 356, with the abl. suff. हे of nouns in इ, cf. H. C. 4, 341), and perhaps in the pron. adv. तिह, जिह, किह (H. C. 4, 401, lit. abl. sing. with suff. ह, shortened for हे). Again the shortened forms जे (ते?), से are mentioned by Mḍ. as nom. sg. (जे से एस सुना यत्तदेतदां । एषां सुना सह जे से एस इत्य् एते स्युः । ते (?) पुरिसो महिला वषां वा । एवं से एस ॥). The latter are used in all E. Gḍs. and in G. as nom. sg.; thus E. H. ए, ते or से, जे, के. By adding the regular obl. sing. suff. ह (shortened for Ap. हो or हु, see § 365, 6) the E. H. obl. forms ऐह्, तेह्, जेह्, केह् are derived and by adding the regular obl. plur. suff. ंह (see §§ 365, 4. 368, 5) the plur. obl. forms ऐन्ह्, तेन्ह्, etc. The older form in हु is occasionally met with, as तिहु (Kl. 137, e). The corresponding obl. form made with the gen. or obl. suff. हि (shortened for Ap. हे, see §§ 365, 6. 368, 2) is found in Bs. and Br.; thus Br. याहि (for \*एहि) or इहि, तेहि or तिहि, etc., Bs. यहि (for \*इहि), त्यहि (for \*तिहि), etc. Again (just as with nouns, see § 365, 6) the obl. suff. ह or हि may be dropped in E. H.; thus Bh. ए, ते, etc., Bs. या, त्या (= ए, ते), etc., Br. या, ता, etc. In the obl. pl. of Bs. the suff. ंह usually drops the ह् (as in E. H. and Br. nouns, see § 368, 5); thus Bs. इन्ह् or यन्ह् or इन् or यन्, etc. In Br. it optionally ends in इ; e. g., Br. इन् or इनि, तिन् or तिनि, etc. (cf. O. H. कविन्ह् or कविन्हि, Br.

कविन् or कविनि, obl. pl. of कवि *poet*). In P., also, the short obl. sg. forms in ह् occur; e. g., इह्, तिह्, etc.; and, on the other hand, in S. the short obl. pl. forms in नि; as इनि or हिनि (transposed for \*इन्हि), तिनि or तनि (with च् for इ, see § 26). As regards the S. obl. sg. इन् or हिन्, etc. and the Br. obl. pl. इन्हौँ, etc., P. इनाँ or इन्हँ, etc., see below Nro. 2. — Just as the forms of the near demonstr. pron. have arisen from the shortened form ए of the old quant. pron., so those of the far dem. pron. have originated from the long form of the quant. pron. Thus the E. H. obl. sg. ओह् is a contraction of \*अवह्, shortened (see § 26) from the Ap. Pr. gen. \*एवहु or \*एवहो. The other E. H. obl. form ओ has dropped the final ह्. The dir. sing. ओ or ऊ is a contraction of the Ap. Pr. nom. sg. \*एव or \*एवु. In G. the latter contracts to आ *that* (abl. आ यो *from that*). There is, also, in H. a fuller obl. form वाहु (Kl. 137, d) for \*ओहु = \*एवहु; and in Br. there is the obl. form वाहि for \*ओहि = Ap. \*एवहि or \*एवहे. And so forth as to the rest of the forms of the far dem. pron. and their derivatives; they are exactly analogous to those of the near dem. pron., as explained above. Here, also, must be mentioned the S. neut. interrog. pron. कोहु or कुहु *what, why* (Tr. 208); it is an obl. form and contracted form \*कवहु for Ap. \*केवहु or \*केवहो.

2) Among the Ap. Pr. quant. pron. एवडु, तेवडु, नेवडु, केवडु (H. C. 4, 407. 408, see Nro 1) the last one is already used in the Ap. as a simple pron. But it shortens एव to अ (cf. § 26 and Nro 1, p. 291) and changes ड to ण (cf. § 106), and thus becomes कवण् (H. C. 4, 367). In E. H. it appears as कवन or कउन् or कौन्, in W. H. कौनु or कौन्, P. कौण्, G. and M. कोण्, Mw. कुण् or कण्, N. कुन्. Similarly Ap. नेवडु becomes in G. नेवन्, in E. H. नेवन् or नेउन् or नौन्, W. H. नौन्, N. नुन्; and Ap. तेवडु becomes in E. H. तवन् or तउन् or तौन्, N. तुन्. E. H. makes a regular obl. form कौन् or कौने, representing the Ap. gen. sg. कवण or कवणहे (H. C. 4, 425) with or without the gen. suff. हे. The Ap. एवडु gives rise to the B. उनि *that*; the intermediate forms G. एवन्, P. ओन् or उन्, Mw. उण् occur only as obl. forms sing.;

Mw. has also the alternative obl. sg. उषो or वषो beside उष्, just like E. H. कौन् and कोने. Mw. possesses also the corresponding plur. obl. forms उषाँ or वषाँ; and similarly in the other pron., as obl. sg. कुष् or कष् or कुषो or कषो, obl. pl. कुषाँ or कषाँ. The latter are regularly contracted from the Ap. Pr. gen. pl. कवषाहं, etc. These obl. pl. occur, also, in P. उनँ or उन्हाँ, Br. उन्हाँ (= Ap. gen. \*अवषाहुं = एवउहुं), S. उननि or उन्हनि or (with ह् transposed) हुननि. The Br. possesses also as plur. obl. forms उन्हेँ (used only in the sense of the dat. and acc.), in O. H. उनहिँ which are made by the Ap. obl. pl. suff. हिँ (see § 367, 2). Corresponding to the Ap. quant. pron. एवउ, etc., S. has the shorter forms एउे, तेउे, नेउे, केउे. Just as the Ap. एवउ becomes in B. a simple pron. उनि, so एउे, तेउे, नेउे by changing उ to ण् give rise to the B. simple pron. इनि, तिनि, यिनि (read त्रिनि)<sup>1</sup>). This set exists also in P. एन् or इन्, Mw. इष्, S. इन, etc., which, however, occur only as obl. forms sing. There are, also, the fuller obl. sg. forms, Mw. इषो or अषो, S. इनिह (also spelled इन्हिअ or इन्ही) or इन्हे (for \*इन्हे), N. इन्ह or इन्हे (in the plur. इन्ह-रु or इन्हे-रु, also spelled इन्ह-रु, इन्हे-रु, retaining the obl. suff. हे or ह, see § 364, 3)<sup>2</sup>). There are, also, the corresponding obl. pl. forms Mw. इषाँ or अषाँ, Km. इनू or इनो, P. एनाँ or एन्हाँ or इनाँ or इन्हाँ, Br. इन्हाँ, S. इन्हेँ or इननि or इन्हनि or हिननि (probably with an anomalously transposed ह्, for इन्हि, cf. § 368, 5). Moreover, Br. has a dat. इन्हेँ, O. H. इनहिँ, and P. an act. एन्हीँ or इन्होँ. The obl. forms in न्हाँ, न्होँ, न्हेँ contain the Ap. Pr. gen. pl. or obl. suff. हं, हुं, हिं respectively (see § 365, 7, being contractions of \*नहँ, \*नहुँ, \*नहिँ). These remarks apply, *mutatis mutandis*, also to the analogous forms of the relat., interrog., and gen. dem. pron. in Mw., P. and S. — Even the original forms एउे, तेउे, etc. occur in S. as simple pronom. adv.; viz. in

1) It should be noticed that here, again, the far dem. उनि is founded on the longer form एवउ, but the near dem. on the shorter एउ.

2) S., also, has an obl. sg. हिन which stands for \*इन्ह = इन्ह.



the obl. form एडे or एडहँ or एडहुँ *hither*, तेडे or तेडहँ or तेडहुँ *thither*, केडे or केडहँ or केडहुँ *whither*<sup>1</sup>). Some of these exist, also, in E. H. (with the usual change of ड् to न्), एने *hither*, तेने *thither*, जेने *whithersoever*, केने *whither*.

3) The Ap. Pr. quantit. pron. एव, तेव or तिव or तेम, जेव or जिव or जेम, etc. (see Nro 1) seem to have also produced the following Gd. simple pron.; viz. O. वेडँ, केडँ, G. जेव, तेव (also spelled जेउ, तेउ or जेओ, तेओ) or जेम, तेम which, however, appear to be used only as obl. plur. forms (see Ed. 41. 43); also G. कओ m. (कई f., कडँ n.), probably for \*कवो, shortened from the strong form केवो, which occurs in G. as a qualit. pron.; S. has केओ m. (कई f., Tr. 209); the corresponding weak form \*कउ occurs in Br. कौ or को, N. को, and is used alike for masc. and fem., sing. and plur. (just like Ap. एहु, see Nro 6). Similarly N. has त्यो (for \*तिवो) and जो, Mw. ज्यो or जो, Br. जौ, P. जो; M. also has masc. जो, but makes a regular fem. जी and neut. जेँ, and obl. sg. ज्य or जे, obl. pl. ज्यँ, dir. pl. जे, ज्य, जीँ; a fact which points to their origin from the strong forms \*जओ, \*जई, \*जयँ. To the M. obl. pl. ज्यँ corresponds the Mw. obl. pl. ज्यँ, Gw. ज्यँ. The S. has m. जो, but a rather anomalous f. जा, pl. जे c. g. Exactly analogous are M. sg. तो, ती, तेँ, pl. ते, त्या, तीँ; obl. sg. त्या, ति, pl. त्यँ, Mw. त्यँ, Gw. त्यँ. The G. neut. कडँ was used already in the Ap. Pr. as pronom. adv. कडँ *why* (H. C. 4, 416). Also तउ, जउ are mentioned as Ap. Pr. acc. (= nom.) and gen. sg. forms by Md. in the following two sūtras: यन्नदोरु अमा जउ तउ । अमा सह यन्नदोरु जउ तउ स्यात् । जउ मगसि तउ देमि ॥ i. e., *yat tad* become *jaü taü* in the acc. sg.; e. g., what thou askest, that I give; and उसिउस्यँ जउ तउ च । यन्नदोरु इत्य् एव । चकारात् पत्ने प्राकृतवत् ॥ i. e., *yat tad* become *jaü taü* in the abl. and gen. sg. or they have the regular Pr. forms<sup>2</sup>). I believe, N. is the only Gd., which

1) The forms in हँ, हुँ are, properly, obl. plur., but used as sing.

2) My MS. reads यन्नदो मा जउ पतिउ । अमा सह यन्नदोरु जउ तउ स्यात् । जउ म<sup>०</sup> तउ द<sup>०</sup>; there can be little doubt, that जउ, तउ (or perhaps जउँ, तउँ) is the true reading as shown by the succeeding sūtra, where the MS. reads जउ,

admits *तो*, *तो* as obl. forms; viz. in the abl. sg. *तो वाट* or *तो सँग* from *which*, *तो वाट* or *तो सँग* from *him*. — In G., *एम*, *तेम* *thus*, etc. occur also as pron. adv. (Bs. II, 336, 337); so also in O. II. *केम* or *केमं* *how*, etc.<sup>1</sup>). B. adds the pleon. suff. *अन्* (§§ 209. 214); thus *एमन्* or *एमनि* or *एमने*, *तेमन्* or *तेमनि* or *तेमने* *thus*, etc. (see S. Ch. 216).

4) From the Ap. Pr. quantit. pron. *एवडु*, *तेवडु*, etc. are also derived the G. far dem. pron. *ओलो* or *पेलो* *he*, *that* and the pronom. adv. *अइले* or *ऐल्हे* *now*, *तइले* or *तैल्हे* *there*, etc. by the change of *ड* to *ल्*. Thus Ap. *एवडो* becomes \**अवडो*, \**अवल्लो* or contr. *ओलो* or *पेलो* (for *वेलो* with an anomalous hardening of *वृ* to *प्*). The N. *अइले* or *ऐल्हे* (for \**एल्हे*) is a loc. (or obl. form) sing. made with the obl. suff. *हे* and is = Ap. Pr. *एवडहे* (see § 469). The Pr. loc. sg. *ताला* *there*, *ताला* *where*, *काला* *where* (H. C. 3, 65) are probably to be explained in a similar manner. Possibly the S. interrog. *केह* *who* may be identified with the short quant. pron. *केडु* by the change of *ड* to *रू*; but it may be also (as Tr. 206) the curtailment of the Ap. qual. pron. \**केरिहु*, a slight modification of the ordinary Pr. *केरिसो*, Skr. *कीदृषः*. The Ap. strong form \**केरिहो* becomes in S. the simple pron. *केहो* *what* (usually spelled *केहरो* with transposed *ह्र*). Substituting in *केरिहो* the long Ap. form *केव°* for *के°*, and the original *दू* for *रू*, we obtain *केवदिहो* (cf. Pr. *कीदिसो* Ls. 116); and similarly *एवदिहो* or *एदिहो* for the ordinary Pr. *एरिसो* or \**एदिसो*, Skr. *ईदृषः*. Here the palatal vowel *इ* changes *दू* to *दृ*, and thus in S. the Ap. \**एदिहो* and \**एवदिहो* become the simple pron. *इको* *this* (for \**इत्तिहो*, just as S. *केहो* for *केरिहो*) and *उको* *that* respectively; the one being the near, the other the far dem. pron., corresponding to the short and long

तउ. In the original MS., which was in the Oṛiya characters उ (or उं) would be hardly distinguishable from डु.

1) E. g., Chand Pr. Rāj 25, 28 *कहै नदृ सो रातन वर प्रेमं । मह सगपन सा करिहि सु केमं* « i. e., says the king to the actor, full of affection: how will she make kinship with me? or 1, 82 *तरु ताप उधरो केम नथ्य* । i. e., I am hot with fever; how can I remove it, oh Lord?

qual. pronominal forms. Similarly the S. कुताडो *what* stands for the Ap. \*केवदिहञउउ (with the pleon. suff. ञउउ, see § 217, H. C. 4, 429). In H. there is a pron. adv. कुता *where*. In the Ap. there is a qualit. pron. एत्ताहु *such-like* (K. I. 5, see Ls. 449, 455) = Skr. एतादृशः. In P. there is the qual. pron. अन्निहा or अनेहा *of this sort* (Ld. 19, 56).

5) The pron. of qual. are in Skr. ईदृशः, तादृशः *such-like*, etc. They become in the Ap. Pr. एहु, तेहु, तेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or (in the st. form) एहो, केहो etc. The first of these एहो or एहु or एह was already used in Pr. as a simple pron. *he* or *this* (H. C. 4, 362)<sup>1)</sup>, and it occurs in most Gds. as the dir. form of the near dem.; thus P. एह् or इह्, Br. इहु or यहु or वह्, E. H. इह or ई (for \*इञ dropping ह्) or ऐह्. O. has एहि which appears to be founded on the form \*एहे mentioned by K. I. 8 in Ls. 449, and is Ap. Mg. (see § 46). The S. ही or हे or हिउ (for इह, एह, इहु) transposes the ह्; and the S. इहो (for इहो) elides it; so does also the N. यो (for इहो) and Mw. यो; and the Mw. ओ drops the initial य् of यो. In M. the initial इ or ए is dropped; thus हा m., ही f., हे n. (for Ap. \*इहउ, \*इहिआ, इहयं, all st. forms) with a regular obl. sg. ह्या, pl. ह्याँ, and dir. pl. हे m., ह्या f., ही n. The Ap. Pr. qual. pron. केहो occurs in S. as the adjectival simple pron. केहो (fem. केही) or (eliding ह्) केओ *which* (Tr. 209); so also in G., where, however, ए is shortened to अ, thus G. कओ (fem. कई, n. कउं). But perhaps these S. and G. forms are rather to

1) H. C. limits all three forms to the nom. and acc. sg., but Mđ. only एहो and एहु, while he appears to allow एह for all cases; thus तदञ्चैह सुपा। सुपा सह तदो (दश्चा त्रे सेञ्च?) एहः स्यात्। एह त्रयो वाला वषां वा। चकारात् पूर्वोक्तरूपम् ॥ i. e., *tad* in declension becomes *cha* or (*ima*) as before mentioned. The reading in brackets is doubtful; perhaps it is to include the pron. अदञ्च; as in the succeeding rule: एहो एहु च स्वभ्यां। स्वभ्यां सह तददसोर् एहो एहु च स्यातां। एहो सोहेइ देकव वा। एव प्रोभते। एतं पश्यति। एवं एहु। चकारात् पूर्वोक्ते च ॥ i. e., in the nom. and acc. sg., *tad* and *adas* become *cho* or *chu* or as before mentioned (*cha*). Mđ. is correct; for *cha*, being a pure base, may serve as an obl. form, while एहो and एहु are proper nominatives.

be connected with the base केव (see Nro 3). In P. the pleon. suff. डा is added, thus केहडा *which*, नेहडा *whichsoever* (fem. ०जे). — Connected with the Ap. Pr. केहो is also the W. H. (so-called) neut. interrog. pron. कहा or P. किय़ा *what*, with ए shortened to इ and अ. They are really obl. forms. The P. किय़ा stands for \*किया and is contracted in H. H. to क्या. S. transposes ह् (i. e., किय़ा *khiá*, § 132, note) and changes क्कि *khi* to ह् *chh* by the influence of the palatal इ, thus making ह् (Tr. 208). Similarly G. changes \*कियो, \*कियो, \*किहुं into ओ, ओ, गुं (for दो, डी, डुं, see § 11, for \*कियो, \*किई, \*किई). — Here is also to be mentioned the peculiar E. and W. Gd. (exc. G.) general dem. pron. से or सो, O. also सेहि *that*, which I am inclined to derive from the Skr. सदृशः *like*. It would become in the Ap. Pr. \*सेहो or \*सेहु or \*सेह, just as Ap. एहो, एहु, एह for ईदृशः; and it would easily acquire the meaning of *such-like* in correlation with the relat. pron. जे or जो. It is commonly (Bs. II, 314) identified with the Pr. nom. sg. सो (H. C. 3, 3) or the Pr. gen. sg. से (H. C. 3, 81). But the Gd. से is *never* an obl. form; and both the Gd. से and सो are used indifferently in the nom. sg. and plur. Besides the S. सो forms a fem. सा and plur. से; and the O. सेहि seems to be an analogous form to O. एहि. Possibly the E. H. nom. sg. and pl. ते, जे, के may be identified with the Ap. qual. pron. तेहु, जेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or तेह, जेह, केह, by dropping the final ह्; for a form तेह, etc. appears in the emphatic forms तेहै, etc.

6) The same Skr. qual. pron. इदृशः, etc. also become अइसो, तइसो, जइसो (H. C. 4, 403) or अइसु, तइसु, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 331. 332) in the Ap. Pr. In Gd. अइ is changed to ऐ or ए or इ or अ; thus strong forms: W. H. ऐसौ, तैसौ, P. and H. H. ऐसा, तैसा, N. यसो (for \*ऐसो or \*इसो, see §§ 71. 171), तसो, M. असा, तसा, etc. But the weak forms तसु or तस्, तसु or तस्, etc. also occur in Br. (see Bates' Hindi Dict.) and O. H. Thus Chand in Pr. Raj 24, 52 बांन बांन नर उडे। चंद तस उप्पन पाइय ॥ i. e., *from place to place men fly up* (i. e., *like birds*), *such a simile has Chand devised*. In modern Gd., however, the weak forms have become

simple pron. Thus P. ऐस् or एस् or इस्, तिस्, N. यस्, तस् *he* or *this*, etc. They are found only as obl. forms. The corresponding fuller obl. forms in ए also occur; thus H. II. has इसे, तिसे (as dat. acc. *to him* or *him*) besides इस्, तिस्, etc., (just as E. H. कौन् and कौने, see Nro. 2; contr. for Ap. अइसाहि or अइसाहे, see § 365, 6). B. has the gen. sg. किसे-रू of *what*, dat. loc. किसे *to or in what* (S. Ch. 122; just as B. देवे-रू of *god*, देवे *to or in god* of देव्). M. has not only the sing. obl. कसा or कस्या (= Ap. Mg. gen. कइसाह or कइसायाह, Skr. कीदृप्रस्य or कीदृप्रकस्य, see § 365, 1), but also the pl. obl. कसाँ or कस्याँ (= Ap. Mg. gen. कइसाहँ, etc., § 365, 4) of *whomsoever* (see Man. 54; just like M. obl. sg. देवा, pl. देवाँ of देव् *god*). The existence of these fuller obl. forms shows that the shorter ones (तिस्, त्रिस्, etc.) cannot, probably, be identified with the Pr. gen. तस्स, त्रस्स, Skr. तस्य, यस्य, etc. (as Bs. II, 315).

7) Again the before mentioned (see Nro. 1) Skr. quant. pron. इयत्, तावत्, etc. are changed in the Ap. Pr. to एत्तिउ (H. C. 4, 341), तेत्तिउ, त्रेत्तिउ, केत्तिउ (cf. H. C. 4, 383) or, in the strong form, to एत्तिओ, तेत्तिओ, etc. (H. C. 4, 395, cf. 2, 157, for \*एत्तिअउ, etc.). The latter become in W. H. इत्तौ, तित्तौ, etc., H. H. इत्ता, तित्ता, O. एते, तेते, etc. (Bs. II, 332); the former in S. एति°, तेति°, etc., G. एट°, तेट°, etc., W. H. and P. इत्°, तित्°, etc., E. H. ऐत्°, तेत्°, etc., B. एत्, तेत्, etc. (S. Ch. 85). As a rule, these weak forms add some pleon. suff. (ना or रो or लो); thus P. इतना, तितना, etc., S. एतिरो, तेतिरो, etc., G. एटलो, etc. (see §§ 452. 453). But the plain weak form is used in P. as a simple pron.; thus इत्, तित् *he* or *that*, त्रित् *which*, कित् *who* (Ld. 22, 66); it occurs, however, only in the obl. sing. (e. g., gen. तित् दा of *this*). Both these shorter obl. sg. and the corresponding fuller obl. sg. forms are used as pron. adv.; thus Br. इत् or इतै *here*, तित् or तितै *there*, etc., P. इत्ये, तित्ये, etc., S. इति or इते or इत्थि or इत्थ्ये, तिति or तिते or तित्थि or तित्ये, etc. The forms इत्थि, इत्थ्ये, etc. are contracted from इत्तहि or इत्तहे, तित्तहि or तित्तहे, etc. These are loc. sg., made with the Ap. Pr. obl. suff. हे (see § 365, 6), and occur even in the Ap. Pr.

itself, as एतद् here, तेतद् there, etc. (H. C. 4, 436)<sup>1</sup>). By the side of the shorter forms एतद्, केतद्, etc., Pr. uses also the longer forms एतद्भिः, केतद्भिः, etc. (see Wb. Bh. 422); and as Pr. एतद्भिः originates the W. H. near quant. pron. इतो, so Pr. \*एतद्भिः (shortened \*अतद्भिः, \*ओतद्भिः) becomes the far quant. W. H. उतो that much, H. H. उता. The corresponding weak forms are S. ओति°, G. अट°, W. H. and P. उत°, E. H. ओत°, B. अत् (S. Ch. 85, see §§ 452. 453); and the pron. adv. are, Br. उत् or उतै, P. उत्ये, S. उति or उते or उत्ति or उत्त्ये; and P. uses उत् as a simple pron. in the obl. cases; e. g., उत् दा of him, of that.

8) The following Gd. pron. forms appear to be remnants of the old simple pron. The Skr. gen. sg. तस्य, यस्य, etc. become in the Ap. Pr. तस्स, तस्स or तास, त्तास or तासु (also तस्सु H. C. 4, 419), त्तासु (H. C. 4, 358. 3, 63). In O. H. the following instances of the latter two kinds of forms occur, तास or तासु and त्तास or त्तासु<sup>2</sup>), in Br. only तासु and त्तासु (Kl. 122, a); and P. has कास् as the obl. form of the neut. interrog. pron. (of what, Ld. 20, b). But in the Ap. Pr. the gen. or obl. form is also made by adding the ordinary obl. suff. हो or हे, before which the vowel may be either long or short; thus तहे, कहे (H. C. 4, 359) or ताहे, काहे (H. C. 3, 65), एतहे (H. C. 4, 436) or एताहे (H. C. 3, 82. 2, 134); again ताहो, काहो or ताह, काह, etc.<sup>3</sup>). Some of the forms with अ

1) Perhaps the Ap. Pr. forms एत्यु here, तेत्यु there, etc. (H. C. 4, 404) may be similarly explained as contr. from एतद्हु, तेतद्हु, etc., made with the abl. or obl. suff. हु (H. C. 4, 336, see § 365, 6); and the Ap. Pr. forms त्तु where, त्तु there, etc. (H. C. 4, 404) as acc. neut. in उ (H. C. 4, 331) or as containing the abl. suff. तो or तु (= Skr. तस्). Some of these Ap. forms have been received into the literary Pr.; viz. एत्य (for एतद्हु = एतद्हु) or एताहे or एतो, see H. C. 3, 82. 83. Vr. 6, 20. 21, where they are expressly described as being abl. sing.; and त्त्य, त्त्य, क्त्य, see H. C. 2, 161 and Wb. Bh. 422 (क्त्य and एत्यं = \*एतद्हुं abl. pl., § 365, 7).

2) Thus Chand, Pr. R. 25, 16 तास राज समीपं । र्हो नट विया उचारं ॥ i. e., near that king I remain to practise the art of the actor.

3) Md. says: दीर्घो ऽ स्ते वा उसाद्रेषु । सखत्रिते उसाद्रेषु एषां (i. e. कियत्तदां) दीर्घो वा स्यात् । काहो । काह । कासु । काहं । काहुं । एवं यत्तदोः ॥ स्ते । कस्स । तस्स ॥

are preserved in Gd.; thus ताहि, ज़ाहि, काहि (for \*ताहे, etc.) and ताहु, ज़ाहु, काहु (for ताहो, etc.) in Br. (Kl. 122. 226) and, as the obl. form of the so-called neut. interrog., काहे in E. H. and Br., and काह् in P.; in O. H. also ताह or ता<sup>1</sup>). The Ap. Pr. loc. sg. is तहिं, ज़हिं, कहिं (H. C. 4, 357); apparently these have become general obl. forms in S. तहिँ, ज़हिँ, कहिँ, and with घा in O. ताहिँ, ज़ाहिँ, काहिँ, and perhaps serve as neut. interrog. pron. in Mw. काईँ or कइँ (dropping ह्) and also in the Ap. Pr. काइँ (H. C. 4, 367) and कइँ (H. C. 4, 426).

9) The indefinite pron. are made by adding the emphatic particles उ or ई (see § 550) to the interrog. pron. Thus E. H. केहू *any one* = केहु + उ *kehu + u* and कौनो = कौन + उ *kauna + u*, M. कोणी = कोण् + ई *kon + i*, H. H. कोई = को + ई *ko + i*.

439. *Declension.* Correlative pron. are declined regularly like nouns, with the following two exceptions: 1) those of the short form (ई, उ, ते, ने, के, § 433) may optionally use in the gen. the aff. करू or करा. This affix is treated precisely like an adj.; i. e., it follows the gender, number and case of the governing noun. Thus करू is the weak form, of com. gen. and incapable of inflexion, but करा is the masc. st. form (§ 381), making a fem. करी (§ 384) and obl. masc. करे (§ 386), fem. करी, both in the

i. e., *ka, ya, ta* may become *ká, yá, tá* before the gen. suff., exc. when the latter is *ssa*. — It will be observed, that हे is a general obl. suff.; for in H. C. 4, 359 (ताहे) it is a gen. suff., in H. C. 3, 65 (ताहे) and H. C. 4, 436 (एत्रहे) and H. C. 2, 134 (एत्राहे) it is a loc. suff.; in H. C. 3, 82 (एत्राहे) it is an abl. suff. Moreover, हे may be shortened to हि and ह, see H. C. 2, 161 (तहि, तह); and ह or त्य is an abl. suff. in H. C. 3, 82 (एत्य = \*एत्रह), but a loc. suff. in H. C. 2, 161 (तत्य = \*तेत्रह).

1) Thus Chand Pr. Ráj 25, 36 न न हंस धीर न न सुष्य ताह ॥ i. e., *neither his soul nor his felicity was firm*; again 25, 16 ता ग्रह सु पात्र अनेक गुन ॥ i. e., *in his house is a daughter of many virtues*. — It may be observed, that the so-called neut. interrog. pron. is, in reality, merely some obl. form of the common interrog. pron.; thus M. has काय् (for \*काहि = \*काइ); Bs. has काह and Bh. का (for काह्) *what*.

sing. and plur. (§ 386); but करे may be used, though anomalously, as a fem. obl. The strong forms are not commonly used in the nom., nor the weak forms in the obl. cases. Practically, therefore, the aff. are; dir. form करू c. g., obl. करे m. or करी f.; just like के and के. It should be observed also that the latter aff. only (but not करू, करे) can be used with the full pron. obl. forms in ह् (viz. ऐह्, ओह्, तेह्, नेह्, केह्) and with the emph. obl. forms in ही (as ऐही, ओही, etc. § 433). Thus dir. form sg. or pl. के करू घर or केह् के घर or rarely के करा घर *whose house or houses*; के करू मेहरू or केह् के म<sup>०</sup> or rarely के करी म<sup>०</sup> *whose wife or wives*; obl. sg. के करे घर मे or केह् के घर मे or rarely के करू घर मे *in whose house*; के करी मेहरू से or केह् के मेहरू से or rarely के करू or के करे म<sup>०</sup> से *from whose wife*; obl. pl. के करे घरन् मे or केह् के घरन् मे *in whose houses*; के करी मेहरन् से or केह् के म<sup>०</sup> से or rarely के करे म<sup>०</sup> से *from whose wives*; etc. — 2) There is no acc. proper, identical with the nom., but only the (improper) acc. formed with the dat. aff. के. Thus *whom* is के के or केह् के or कवन् के or कौने के, but not simply के or कवन्.

440. Optionally a sort of pleon. declension may be made, by adding the case-aff. to the ordinary obl. form of the gen. in ए. In the *khari bhāshā*, however, this is not commonly done, exc. in the loc.; e. g., sg. ओ करे मे *in him*, pl. ओन्ह करे मे *in them*, etc.

441.

## 1. Short form.

a) Simple form: ई *he, this*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	ई	ई	ईलोग्
acc., dat.	ए के or ऐह् के	ऐन्ह् के	ऐन्ह् लोगन् के
instr., abl.	ए से or ऐह् से	ऐन्ह् से	ऐन्ह् लोगन् से
gen.	ए कै, के or ऐह् कै, के or ए करू, करी, करे	एन्ह् कै, के or एन्ह् करू, करी, करे	ऐन्ह् लोगन् कै, के
loc.	ए मे or ऐह् मे or ए करे मे	ऐन्ह् मे or एन्ह् करे मे	ऐन्ह् लोगन् मे



b) Emphatic form: इहै or इहौ *even he, even this.*

Singular.

nom.	इहै or इहई	इहौ or इहउ
acc., dat.	एही के	एहू के
instr., abl.	एही से	एहू से
gen.	एही के or एही करू or ए करै or ए करे ही	एहू के or एहू करू or ए करौ or ए करे हू
loc.	एही मे or ए करै मे or ए करे ही मे	एहू मे or ए करौ मे or ए करे हू मे

Plural.

nom.	इहै or इहई	ऐन्ह हूँ
acc., dat.	ऐन्ह ही के	ऐन्ह हूँ के
instr., abl.	ऐन्ह ही से	ऐन्ह हूँ से
gen.	ऐन्ह ही के or ऐन्ह ही करू or ऐन्ह करै or ऐन्ह करे ही	ऐन्ह हूँ के or ऐन्ह हूँ करू or ऐन्ह करौ or ऐन्ह करे हूँ
loc.	ऐन्ह ही मे or ऐन्ह करै मे or ऐन्ह करे ही मे	ऐन्ह हूँ मे or ऐन्ह करौ मे or ऐन्ह करे हूँ मे

*Note:* Like ई are declined उ *that*, ते *he*, ते *which*, के *who*; only substituting उ, ओ, उ, ओ and ते, ति, ते, etc. for ई, ए, इ, ऐ respectively. — All forms with ऐ or ओ may, optionally, be spelled with इ or उ; e. g., ऐन्ह के or इन्ह के *to these*, and ओन्ह के or उन्ह के *to those*, etc.

442. 2. Long form: तवन् or तउन् or तोन् *he, this.*

Sing. and simple plur.

	Com. gen.	Fem.
nom.	तवन्	तउनी
acc., dat.	तौने के	तौनी के
instr., abl.	तौने से	तौनी से
gen.	तौने के, के	तौनी के, के
loc.	तौने मे	तौनी मे

Compound plural.

	Com. gen.	Fem.
nom.	तौनेलोग्	तौनीलोग्
acc., dat.	तौनेलोग् के or तौनेलोग् के	तौनीलोग् के or तौनीलोग् के

Com. gen.

Fem.

instr., abl.	तौनेलोग् से	or तौनेलोगन् से	तौनीलोग् से	or तौनीलोगन् से
gen.	तौनेलोग् कै, के	or तौनेलोगन् कै, के	तौनीलोग् कै, के	or तौनीलोगन् कै, के
loc.	तौनेलोग् मे	or तौनेलोगन् मे	तौनीलोग् मे	or तौनीलोगन् मे

*Note:* Like तवन् are declined तवन् *which* and कवन् *who*; also आपन् *own* (§ 449). — Their forms may, optionally, be spelled with अघ or अउ or औ according to § 34; e. g., तउने के or तौने के *to this*.

442a. Short form: के or केहू. Long form: कौनो *any one*.

Sing. and simple plur.

Compound plural.

nom.	के	केहू	कौनो	केलोग्	केहू लोग्	कौनो लोग्
a., d.	के के	केहू के	कौनो के	{ के लोग् के	केहूलोग् के	कौनोलोग् के
i., abl.	के से	केहू से	कौनो से	{ or के लोगन् के	केहूलोगन् के	कौनोलोगन् के
gen.	के कै, के	केहू कै, के	कौनो कै, के	etc.	etc.	etc.
loc.	के मे	केहू मे	कौनो मे			

*Note:* Like केहू is declined तेकेहू *whosoever*.

### 3. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN.

443. The reflexive pron. *self* is आप्. It is alike for both genders, and is declined regularly like a subst., but has no plur.; the sing. form being used for both numbers; dat. sg. and pl. आप् के *to himself* and *to themselves*.

444. *Affinities.* W. H. and P. use the same refl. pron. आप्; O. has आपे or आपण, B. आपनि (with obl. आपना), M. आपण्; while in S. it is पाण; H. H. has in the dir. form आप्, but in the obl. आप् or अपने. The M., B. and O. forms आपण and H. H. obl. अपने are properly the corresponding possess. pron. (*own*), see § 449; it is in fact a sort of pleonastic declension, see §§ 440. 432.

445. *Derivation.* The original of the refl. pron. is the Skr. subst. आत्मा (nom. sg. of आत्मन्) *soul* or *self*. In Pr. it becomes अप्पा or अत्ता (H. C. 2, 51. Vr. 3, 48) or अप्पो (H. C. 3, 56) or Ap. Pr. अप्पु (or st. f. अप्पउ H. C. 4, 422). In Gd. it is आप्; in O. H. and Br., also, आप्. The Pr. form अत्ता, I believe, has left no trace in Gd. In Pr. the pron. also assumes a long form

अप्पाणो (H. C. 2, 51. 3, 56), Ap. Pr. अप्पाणु (H. C. 4, 396), which survives in the S. पाण with the loss of the initial अ; O. II., also, has it as m. अपान्, f. अपानि (Kl. 124, 231). Cw. 46 mentions also a Pr. form अप्पाणो, which, however, has left no trace in Gd., and is, probably, a false reading.

#### 4. THE HONORIFIC PRONOUN.

446. The hon. pron. is substituted for the pron. of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sg. तै<sup>ॐ</sup> and pl. तूँ, in respectful address. It is, in the wk. f. रात्रू or रात्रू c. g., in the st. f. रत्ररा or रौरा m., रत्ररी or रौरी f. It is declined regularly like a subst. (§ 379). But the refl. pron. आप् may also be used as a honorific; and in that case it always forms the comp. plur. आप्लोग् when applied to more than one person.

447. *Affinities and Derivation.* The use of रात्रू as a hon. pron. seems to be confined to E. H.; but आप् and its cognate forms are used so in all Gds.; thus B. uses आपनि (S. Ch. 114. 115. note, with obl. f. आपना or आपनका), O. आपण (Sn. 18), W. H. आप्, P. आप् (Ld. 20, 58), etc. — The original of रात्रू I believe to be the Skr. noun राजकुल<sup>०</sup> (or राजकुल्य) *royal*, Pr. राअउल<sup>०</sup> or राउल<sup>०</sup> (Vr. 4, 1. H. C. 1, 267), see § 78.

#### 5. PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES.

448. By the term. *pron. adjectives*. I designate the possessive pron. (as *mine, thine, own*), the correl. adj. of quantity and quality, and the indefinite pron. *all, whosoever, some*.

##### a) Possessive pronouns.

449. Possess. pron. may be derived from the first and second pers. and from the refl. pron. Those of the first pers. pron. are: wk. form मौरू c. g. *mine*, or st. f. मौरा m., मौरी f.; and wk. f. हमारू c. g. *our*, or st. f. हमरा m., हमरी f. Those of the second pers. are: wk. f. तौरू c. g. *thine*, or st. f. तौरा m., तौरी f.; and wk. f. तोहारू c. g. *your*, or st. f. तोहरा m., तोहरी f. Those of the refl. pron. are: wk. f. आपन् c. g. *own*, or st. f.

अपना m., अपनी f. They are declined regularly like adj. of the corresponding form (see § 386). The possess. pron. of the third pers. is identical with the gen. of the near or far dem. pron.; viz., wk. f. एक़् or ओक़् c. g. *his* or *her*, or st. f. एकरा or ओकरा m., ०री f.; and wk. f. ऐन्हक़् or ओन्हक़् c. g. *their*, or st. f. ऐन्हकरा or ओन्हकरा m., ०री f.

*Note:* The following bye-forms also occur: हमारा *our*, तोहारा *your*, fem. ०री. — The adj. निन् *own* is also frequently used as a refl. pron.

450. *Affinitics.* The forms of these pron. do not differ materially in the Gds., exc. in M., S. and, partially, P. They are: of the first pers., B. मोरू, अमारू; O. मोरू or मोहोरू, अम्भरू; W. H. मेरौ, हमारौ (Br.) and मारो or म्हारो, मारो or म्हारो (Mw.); G. मारो, अमारो; N. मेरो, हम्रो; but P. मेरा, असाडा or साडा; M. माका, अम-चा; S. मू-तो or मुहुँ-तो, असाँ-तो. Of the second pers., B. तोरू, तोमारू; O. तोरू, तुम्भरू; W. H. तेरौ, तुम्हारौ or तिहारौ (Br.) and थारो (or थाडा), थारो (Mw.); G. तारो, तमारो; N. तेरो, तिम्रो; but P. तेरा, तुसाडा or तुहाडा; M. तुका or तुम्-चा; S. तो-तो or तुहुँ-तो, तव्हौ-तो or अव्हौ-तो. It should be observed, that B. and O. use अमारू, अम्भरू and तोमारू, तुम्भरू as sing. *mine*, *thine*, and form new plur., B. अमा-देरू and even मो-देरू *our*, तोमा-देरू, तो-देरू *your*, O. अम्भमानङ्करू, तुम्भमानङ्करू. Similarly also N. हामीहेह-को, तिमिहेह-को or तिमोहेह-को. B. forms also अमादिगेरू or अमारू-देरू or अमारू-दिगेरू and similarly तोमादिगेरू, etc. — Of the refl. pron.: E. H. आपन् or अपना, O. H. आपुन् or अपुना, Br. अपनी or आपनी, M. आपला, P. आपणा, N. आफना, G. आपणो, but also आपन्-नो, O. आपणा, but also आपण-रू (Sn. 18), S. पाँ-तो or पाँहँ-तो. — The possess. pron. of the third pers. are made in all Gds. in the same way as in E. H.

451. *Derivation.* It will be observed that these adj. pron. are made by simply adding the gen. aff. (see the list in §§ 374. 377 also §§ 272—280) to their corresponding subst. pron. In some cases the aff. still remains a separate word; thus in S. मू-तो *mine*, M. अम-चा *our*, P. तुसा-डा *your*, S. पाँ-तो *own*, Mw. आप-रौ *own*, O. आपण-रू *own*. In others it has coalesced with the base into one

word; as E. H. मोरू *mine*. हमारू *our*, etc. The latter contain two of the ancient gen. aff. केरू and करू, on the derivation of which see § 377. The former appears in the ordinary Pr. possess. pron. of the plur. अहकेरो *our*, तुहकेरो *your* (H. C. 2, 147); in the sing., however, the ordinary Skr. forms seem to have been used, thus Pr. मद्म *mine* = Skr. मदीय (H. C. 2, 147). The aff. करू always elides क्, and coalesces with the base; thus in the Ap. Pr. महारु (H. C. 4, 358) or महारा (H. C. 4, 434) *mine* (for \*महकरु or \*महकरा, मह being the gen. of हउं *I*, cf. H. C. 3, 113), or contracted in the Nágara Ap. मेरो (Md. त्वदीये तेरु । मदीये मेरु ॥); so also in Br. मेरो or in Mw. मारो or म्हारो. The E. H. मोरू is founded on a form \*महुकरो (from gen. महु, H. C. 4, 379) or has been assimilated to तोरू *thine*. Again Ap. Pr. तुहारू (cf. H. C. 4, 434) *thine* stands for \*तुहकरू (from gen. तुह, H. C. 3, 99) and is contracted in E. H. to तोरू. The Br. तेरौ and Mw. वारो presuppose an original form \*तहकरा (from gen. तह, see § 430, 2) or have been assimilated to मेरौ, म्हारो. Again Ap. Pr. अम्हारा (H. C. 4, 434) *our* (= \*अम्हकरा, from gen. or base अम्ह H. C. 3, 113. 114) becomes, by transposition of ह्, H. H. हमारा, W. H. हमारौ; or, by elision of ह्, B. अमारू, G. अमारो; or, by elision of अ, Mw. म्हारौ; or, by shortening अ, O. अम्भर, E. H. हमरा. Similarly Ap. Pr. तुम्हारा for तुम्हकरा, whence H. H. तुम्हारा, E. H. तोहरा, etc. — The P. form असा-डा (or सा-डा with loss of अ, just as in Mw. म्हारौ), तुसा-डा or तुहा-डा are made with the old gen. aff. डा (= M. P. दा, see § 377, 3); as to the सू of असा, तुसा see § 430, 3. 4. It will be observed that in P. and M. the plur. only, but in S. both the plur. and sing. are made by a separate gen. aff. As regards the M. forms माका, तुका see § 430, 5. — As to आपनू or अपना, see §§ 60. 111. The Mw. आपरो contains either the gen. aff. रो, or the रू is a modification of the Pr. ल् of अपुल्लो (H. C. 2, 163). — The S. पाँह-तो appears to contain the old gen. \*पानह (Ap. अप्पाणाहो), contracted to पान्ह = पाँह (see § 132, note).

b) Correl. pron. of quantity and quality.

452. The pron. of quant. are: एता or ऐतना *this much*,

तेता or तेतना *that much*, जेता or जेतना *as much*, केता or केतना *how much*. They are strong forms, and consequently are treated precisely as adj. of a like form; that is, they have a fem. in ई (§ 384, as एती or ऐतनी, etc.), and an obl. form in ए (§ 386, as gen. एते कै or ऐतने कै *of so much*, etc.). Sometimes also the forms ऐतेक् or ऐतिक् or ऐतक् or इतेक् इतिक् or इतक् or अतेक्, etc.; उतेक् or उतिक्, कतेक् or कितेक् or कतेक् or केतिक् or कितिक् or कितक्, and so forth of जेत<sup>०</sup>, तेत<sup>०</sup>, are met with (see Bs. in J. R. A. S. vol. III, 490 and Kl. 141), see § 26. I have also met with the forms जैता or जौया *as much*, कौया *how much*.

453. *Affinities.* Nearly the same forms are used in all Gds.; thus B. एत, अत, तत, यत, कत or एतक्, अतक्, etc. (S. Ch. 84); एत, etc. are sounded *ctā*, etc., but एतक् *ctak*; hence gen. एत-रू, but एतके-रू. O. एते, तेते, येते, केते, W. H. (Br.) इत्तो or इतनो, उत्तो or उतनो, तित्तौ or तितनौ, etc. or (Mw.) इतरौ, उतरौ, तितरौ, etc., P. इतना, उतना, तितना, etc., G. एटलो, अटलो, तेटलो, etc. (Ed. 44), S. एतिरो or हेतिरो, ओतिरो or होतिरो, तेतिरो, etc. (Tr. 224), M. इतका or इतकाला, तितका or तितकाला, etc. (Man. 52; also कितो or कितोक? as Tr. 223), N. यति, उति, तति, जति, कति.

454. *Derivation.* The quant. pron. in Pr. are एन्निओ, तेन्निओ, जेन्निओ, केन्निओ (H. C. 2, 157) or Ap. Pr. एन्निउ (H. C. 4, 341), केन्निउ (H. C. 4, 383), etc.; and in the strong form: Pr. एन्निओ, etc., Ap. एन्निउ, etc. The Mg. Pr. would have wk. f. एन्निए or एन्निइ or एन्निअ (Vr. 11, 11) or st. f. एन्निअए or एन्निअके or एन्निअकए (see § 202), etc. Now Mg. एन्निअ contracts to O. एते, N. यति, etc.; Mg. एन्निअए to E. H. एत्ता; Mg. एन्निअक to E. H. ऐतेक् or ऐतिक् or ऐतक्, B. एतक्; Mg. एन्निअकए to M. इतका. In Pr. the pleon. suff. लो may be added: एन्निओ (for एन्निओलो, see § 58, note) or Ap. Pr. एन्निओलो, etc., whence G. एटलो, etc. (with ट् or टृ for त् or त्र, as in Pr. पट्टण for Skr. पत्तन H. C. 2, 29), S. एतिरो, etc., E. H. ऐतना (see §§ 58. 111. 214). In M., the pleon. suff. ला may be super-added to the pleon. suff. का, thus इतकाला, etc. (lit. Ap. \*एन्निअकअलउ). The Gd. forms उति, उतेक् or उतिक्, अतिरो, etc. are similarly derived from the Pr. एवन्निआ (see Wb. Bh. 422), as explained in

§ 438, 1. 7. — The Pr. forms एन्निघो, तेन्निघो, etc. are in Skr. द्यवतिकः, तावतिकः, etc. — The E. H. forms कौया, त्रौया or त्रैढा are perhaps derived from केवतिघ्न, त्रैवतिघ्न with an anomalous aspiration, as in M. केवढा, and cerebralisation, as in G. त्रैढलो.

455. *Cognate quant. forms.* By the side of the forms एन्नुलो, तेन्नुलो, etc. The Ap. Pr. has the forms एवडु, तेवडु, त्रैवडु, केवडु (H. C. 4, 407. 408), made by adding the pleon. suff. डु to the quant. pron. एव, तेव, त्रैव, केव, in Ved. Skr. ईवत्, कीवत्. M. has them in the strong form एवढा or (with pleon. ला) एवढाला, तेवढा or तेवढाला, etc. (Man. 52); so also G. एवडो, घावडो, तेवडो, etc.; S. also has them, but in the shorter form एडो or हेडो, ओडो or होडो, तेडो, etc. (Tr. 224), made by adding the pleon. suff. डो to the short quant. pron. ए, ते, त्रै, के (see § 438, 1), so also P. wk. f. एड् or ऐड्, तेड् or तैड्, etc., and st. f. एडा, तेडा, etc.; also O. एडे, तेडे, त्रैडे, केडे (Bs. II, 336). In this form the quant. pron. usually expresses *size*, i. e., *so large, how large*, etc. In S. the diminutive suff. डो may be added, as एडिडो or हेडिडो, ओडिडो or होडिडो, तेडिडो, etc. (Tr. 224), meaning *so small*, etc. — The W. H. has also तै, त्रै, कै which are derived from the Skr. quant. pron. ततिः, वतिः, कतिः, Pr. तर्इ, त्रर्इ (H. C. 1, 177), कर्इ (H. C. 1, 180?), Ap. Pr. तइ, त्रइ, कइ (H. C. 4, 376).

456. The pron. of qual. are: अइसन् or ऐसन् *of this kind*, तइसन् or तैसन् *of that kind*, त्रइसन् or त्रैसन् *of which kind*, कइसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*. They are the same in the masc. and fem., and are declined regularly, like any adj. (see § 386). But they may also take the strong obl. forms; viz. in the sing., m. ऐसने, f. ऐसनी, etc., in the plur. m. ऐसनन्ह् (or ऐसनेन्ह्), f. ऐसनिन्ह्, etc.

457. *Affinities.* There is much difference among the various Gds. as regards these pron. There are four main types, the characteristics of which are: 1) स, 2) ह, 3) व or म and 4) ड or र or ल. To the first or स्-type belong: E. H. ऐसन्, तैसन् and in Bs. also ऐस् or अस् or यस्, तैस् or तस्, etc.; W. H. ऐसो, तैसो, त्रैसो (Br.) or इस्यो, उस्यो, तिस्यो (Mw.), etc.; M. असा or असाला or असलाला, तसा or तसला or तसलाला, etc. (Man. 52); and

N. वसो, उसो, तसो, etc. Of the second or ह-type are: P. एहा or इहा or अत्रिहा or अत्रेहा, तेहा or तिहा, etc., S. इहडो or हिअडो, तिहडो, etc. Of the third or व-type are: G. एवो, आवो, तेवो, etc., B. एमत् or एमन्, तेमत् or तेमन्, etc., O. एमन्त्, तेमन्त्, etc. Of the fourth or उ-type are: Mw. ऐडो or ऐरो, वैडो or वैरो, तैडो or तैरो, etc., Gw. ऐनो or ऐनू or अनू, वनो or वनू, तनो or तनू, etc. (Kl. 141).

458. *Derivation.* The qual. pron. in the Ap. Pr. are either अइसो, तइसो, तइसो, कइसो (H. C. 4, 403) or एहु, तेहु, त्रेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or in the strong form, एहउ or (contr.) एहो, etc., (K. I. 9, in Ls. 449). The former set produces the स-type, the latter the ह-type. M. असला, etc. and E. H. ऐसन्, etc. add the pleon. suff. ल or न, see §§ 111. 214. M. even reduplicates the suff. ल in असलाला, etc. The S. इहडो, etc. add the pleon. suff. उ. The P. अत्रिहा preserves the ह-type in a more complete form; for it stands for a Pr. form एदिहस्रो = Skr. ईदृशः (see § 438, 4). — The Skr. qual. pron. are ईदृशः, तादृशः, यादृशः, कोदृशः, which become in Pr. एरिसो, तारिसो, तारिसो, केरिसो (H. C. 1, 142) or एदिसो, तादिसो, etc. (see Ls. 115). As a rule रू (or दू) is elided (see § 124), whence the Ap. Pr. अइसो, etc. (see § 25, note); and स्र (or ग्र) is changed to ह, whence Ap. एहो, तेहो contracted for \*अइहो, \*तइहो, etc. (see Ls. 455). It may be observed, that the P. and S., which alone have the ह-type, similarly change the स्र (or ग्र) of Pr. वीसा 20, तोसा 30 (Skr. विंशति, त्रिंशत्) into ह, P. वीह, तीह, S. वीह, द्वीह. — The forms of the व- and उ-types were originally quant. pron. The Skr. इयत् (Ved. ईवत्), तावत्, etc. become in Pr. एव, तेव, etc. or एम, तेम, etc. (cf. Wb. Bh. 422. Ls. 458), whence G. एवो, तेवो, etc. and B. एमन्, तेमन्, etc. (with pleon. suff. अन्, see §§ 209. 214); and the O. एमन्त्, B. एमत्, etc., perhaps, are based on the Skr. इयत्कः, etc., Pr. \*एवन्तस्रो, and probably contain the suff. Skr. वत्, मत्, Pr. वन्त, मन्त (see §§ 232. 236). — The Mw. ऐडो or ऐरो, etc. are identical with the S. quant. pron. एडो, P. एडा, etc.; and so also the Gw. ऐनो, where डू has been changed to नू (see §§ 106. 438, 2) — The forms, Br. वैसो and Gw. वनो



are founded on the Ap. Pr. forms \*एवइसो (= Skr. \*एवादृप्रः) and एवडो respectively.

c) Indefinite pronouns.

459. The indef. pron. *all, every one* is सत्र् or सभ or emph. सत्रै or सभै. It is the same in both genders, and is declined regularly like any other adj. of the weak form. But when plurality is to be emphasised, it has an obl. form सभन् or सत्रहन्; thus gen. सत्र् or सभ कै of *all* taken as *a whole*, but सभन् or सत्रहन् कै of *all* taken *severally*.

460. *Affinities.* The forms of this indef. pron. are nearly alike in all Gds. Thus B. सत्र्, O. सत्रु, W. H. सत्र् or सत्रर्, P. सभ, G. सभ or सर्व (Ed. 44, 1), S. सभु m., सभ f., or सभुको m., °की f., M. सर्व, N. सत्र्. S. has the emph. forms सभोई and मित्र्योई or मित्रोई. — E. H. also uses सकर् or सगर and सारा *all, whole*.

461. *Derivation.* The original is the Skr. सर्वः, which becomes in Pr. सब्बो, in the Ap. Pr. सब्बु (H. C. 4, 366) or \*सत्रु (cf. H. C. 4, 399, see § 135, note). The former becomes O. सत्रु, E. H., N., Br. सत्र्, the latter Br. सत्रर् (emph. सत्ररै). The form सभ has an anomalous aspirate (see § 131), perhaps analogous to N. अफु *self* for अपु, अघि *before* for अग्नि, etc. — The S. सभुको adds the pleon. suff. को. — The G. and M. सर्व is a semitats. — The strange S. मित्र्योई or मित्रोई, I believe, to be merely a curtailment of the emph. सभोई or सत्रोई. The final ई is the emph. particle; the initial म् of the remainder मित्रो stands for व (see § 134); the final इत्र्यो or इत्रो is a pleon. suff., the same as in S. पेहेयो° or पेहेरो° *first* (see §§ 118. 213), योरित्रो *very little* (Tr. 79), एडित्रो *so small* (§ 455). In S., म् often changes to ह् (see Tr. XXX); hence सत्र° may have become हत्र° or हम°, next ह्र° (by suppressing अ), next न° (cf. Mw. म्हारो or मारो *our* for Br. हमारो). — The E. H. सगर is the Skr. सकल° (see § 102); and सारा is, perhaps, really the past part. of सारत्र् *to complete*, the causal of the R. सृ (= Skr. part. सारितः), or it may be the Skr. सार्वः.

462. The indef. pron. *whoever* is त्रेकेह् which is both masc. and fem.; and त्रेकिहु *whatever*, which is used with *things* only.

They are compound forms, made of *ते* and *कहू* or *किहु*, and are declined regularly like their component parts; thus gen. sing. *तेकेहू कै* of *whomsoever*.

463. *Affinities and Derivation.* This pron. is formed in the same way in all Gds. by compounding the relat. with the indef. pron. Thus S. *तेको* m., *तेका* f., *तेको* n. (Tr. 213); B. *तेकिहु* or *तेकोन्* n. (S. Ch. 127), etc. As to its derivation, see § 438.

464. The indef. pron. *some* is *केतना* or *कर्ई* which is masc. and fem., and *किहु* or *कुहु* or *कहु* which refers to *things* only. They are declined regularly like adj. Thus gen. *केतने लोगन् कै* of *some men*, *कर्ई घोर्न् कै* of *some horses*, *किहु चात् कै* of *some thing*. When *केतना* is used independantly, it forms the obl. *केतनन्*, and to *कर्ई* the pleon. aff. *एक्* (§ 289) is added; thus gen. *केतनन् कै* or *कर्ईएक् कै* of *some*.

465. *Affinities and Derivation.* The impersonal indef. pron. is in B. *किहु*, O. *किहि*, Br. *कहु*, H. H. *कुहु*, M. *काँही*, Mw. *काँई* or *काँई*, S. *की*, P. *कुहु*. I know no satisfactory derivation for *किहु*, perhaps it is Pr. \**किंचिहु* = Skr. *किंचित्* (बलु).

466. Here may be added the E. H. *ग्रान्* or *टूसर्* or *अउर्* or *पर्राई* *another*, and *एक् टूसर्* *one another*.

*Note:* *ग्रान्* is the Mg. *ग्रने* (cf. H. C. 3, 58), Skr. *ग्रन्*; — *अउर्* is the Mg. *अवले*, Skr. *अवज*; — *पर्राई* seems to be connected with the Skr. *परकीय*; it also occurs in the Ap. Pr. *पर्राई* (H. C. 4, 350) or *पर्राया* (H. C. 4, 376). — On *टूसर्* see § 271.

## 6. PRONOMINAL ADVERBS.

467. The E. H. pron. adv. are the following: a) of *place*, *इहँ* or *इहाँ* or *इहवँ* or *एठे* or *एठाँ* or *ऐट्टेन्* or *ऐठान्* or *ऐठाई* *here*; *ताँ* or *तहँ* or *तहाँ* or *तहवँ* or *तेठाँ* or *तेट्टेन्* *there*; *त्राँ* or *तहँ* or *त्रहाँ* or *त्रहवँ* or *त्रेट्टेन्* *where*; *काँ* or *कहँ* or *कहाँ* or *कहवँ* or *केट्टेन्* *where?* The same in emph. form are: *इहवै* or *ऐहीठे* or *ऐहीठाँ* *even here*; *तहवै* or *तेहीठे* or *तेहीठाँ* *even there*; *त्रहवै* or *त्रेहीठे* or *त्रेहीठाँ* *even where*; *कहवै* or *केहीठे* or *केहीठाँ* *even where?*

b) of direction, ऐह् or ऐह्व् *hither*; ओह् or ओह्व् *thither*; तेह् or तेह्व् *thither*; नेह् or नेह्व् *withier*; केह् or केह्व् *withier*?

c) of time, अत् *now*, तत् *then*, त्रत् *when*, कत् *when*? In emph. form: अत्रही° or अत्रहिये° *even now*; तत्रही° or तत्रहिये° *even then*; तत्रही° or तत्रहिये° *even when*; कत्रही° or कत्रहिये° *even when*?

d) of manner or cause: यू° or एउ° or एओ° or अइसे or ऐसे *in this manner or for this cause*; त्यू° or तेउ° or तेओ° or तइसे or तैसे *thus or therefore, also then*; इयू° or नेउ° or नेओ° or नइसे or नैसे *in which manner or for which cause, also when*; व्यू° or केउ° or केओ° or कइसे or केने *how or why or काहे why, केह् कात् or काहे अदे what fore, काहे° why not*?

468. *Affinities.* Forms of the same origin are designated by the same letter. — a) *Adv. of place*; B. (a) एया or हेया, ओया or होया, तया or सेया, यया (i. e. त्रया), कोया or (h) ए खाने, ओ ख°, से ख°, ये ख°, कोन् ख°, or (d) हेदे *here*, or (y) हेरो *here*. O. (a) एठा, सेठा, येठा, कोठा, or (h) ए-ठा-रे, येउं ठारे, केउं or कों ठारे, etc. Bs. (a) ऐठया° or ऐठयन्, ओठया° or ओठयन्, तेठया° or तेठयन्, etc., or (b) उहँ or उहाँ or उहवाँ, इहँ, etc. (as in E. H.); (W. H.) Br. (a) इत् or इते, उत् or उते, तित् or तिते, जित् or जिते, कित् or किते or कत्, or (b) यहाँ or याँ, वहाँ or वाँ, तहाँ or ताँ, त्रहाँ or त्राँ, कहाँ or काँ; Mw. (a) अठे or अठी or ईंठै, उठे or उठी or ऊंठै, त्रठे or त्रठी (or त्रंठै?), कठे or कठी or कैंठै or कोठै (also अउं, त्रउं, etc., Kl. 265); P. (a) इत्ये, उत्ये, तित्ये, जित्ये, कित्ये; S. (a) इति or हिति or इते or हिते or इत्ये, उति or हुति or उते or हुते or उत्ये, तिति or तति or तितिय or तिते or तित्ये or तते, जिति or जितिय or जति or जिते or जित्ये or जते (also जतते or जतये), किति or कितिय or कति or किते or कित्ये (Tr. 392. 393); G. (b) हियाँ, अहीँ, त्याँ or तहीँ or ताँहाँ, ज्याँ or त्रहीँ or त्राँहाँ, क्याँ or कहीँ or काँहाँ (Ed. 115. Bs. II, 336. 337); M. (a) येये°, तये°, त्रये° or जिये°, केये° or (a) कोठे° (Man. 100); N. (b) स्याँ or यहाँ or याँहाँ or आहाँ, वहाँ or वाँहाँ, तहाँ or ताँहाँ, त्रहाँ or त्राँहाँ, कहाँ or काँहाँ.

b) *Adv. of direction*; B. (c) एगने, अगने, कमने; O. (y) एने, केने; E. H. (c) ऐह-रू or ऐह्व-रू, etc.; in some parts also (y) एने or (c) एमह-रू or (y) एनह-रू, etc. (cf. Kl. 266); W. H. इधरू, उधरू, तिधरू,

त्रिध्र्, किध्र्; P. unknown; S. (γ) एडे or हेडे or एडहँ or एडहँ or एडहुँ or हेडहुँ, ओडे or होडे or ओडहँ etc., तेडे or तेडहँ or तेडहुँ, तेडे etc., केडे etc.; G. (γ) आणी-गन्, तेणी-गन् (cf. Bs. 336. 337); M. (c) इकडे or हिकडे (Man. 127), तिकडे, त्रिकडे, किकडे; N. (b) याँहिँ, वाँहिँ, ताँहिँ, त्राँहिँ, काँहिँ. The adv. of place may also be used in all Gds.; generally with the dat. aff. added; e. g., E. H. तहाँ के, O. सेढा कु *thither*, etc.

(c) *Adv. of time*; B. (c) एवे, तवे, यवे, कवे (S. Ch. 207) or (h) ए-खन्, त-खन्, य-खन्, क-खन्; O. (c) एवे, तेवे, येवे, केवे; E. H. (c) अच्, तच्, त्रच्, कच्; W. H. (c) अचै or अचे, तचै or तो (= तच्), त्रचै or त्रौ, कचै, or (d) त्रद् or त्रद्वै or त्रदा or तद्र, तद् or तद्वै, कद् or कद्वै or कदा or कद्र, or (e) त्ररै, त्ररै; O. II. (c) ताम, त्राम; P. (d) तद्, त्रद्, कद्; S. (c) ताँ, त्राँ, or (γ) तडिहीँ, त्रडिहीँ, कडिहीँ; M. (c) एवहाँ, तँव or तेवहाँ, तँव or तेवहाँ, कँवहाँ (Man. 100. 125), or (a) आताँ *then* (Man. 100); N. (c) अच्, तच्, त्रच्, कच्, or (c) अइले or ऐल्ले, तइले or तैल्ले, त्रइले or त्रैल्ले, कइले or कैल्ले, or (e) त्र्र, त्र्र.

(d) *Adv. of manner*; B. (γ) हेन्, केन्, or (c) एमन् or एमन् or एमनि or एमने or एमते, अमनि, तेमन् or तेमत् etc., येमन् or येमत् etc., केमन् or केमत् or किमत् etc. (S. Ch. 216. 217. 218); O. (c) (एमन्त, रोमन्त, येमन्त?), केमन्त or कियँ or काहिँ-के or काहा-र; O. H. एम or एमि, तेम or तिमि, त्रम or त्रिमि, केम or किमि; P. (c) एडँ, तडँ, त्रडँ, कीडँ; S. (c) ईँअ or हीँअ or ईँअ or हिँअ or इँएँ, उँअ or हूँअ or उँअ or हुँअ or उँएँ or हुँएँ, तीँअ or तिँअ or तिँएँ, त्रौँअ or त्रिँअ or त्रिँएँ, कीँअ or किँअ or किँएँ; G. एम्, आम्, तेम्, त्रम्, केम्; M. (f) असेँ, तसेँ, त्रसेँ, कसेँ (Man. 101. 126); N. (f) यसेँ, तसेँ, त्रसेँ, कसेँ, or यस्तै, तस्तै, त्रस्तै, कस्तै, or (h) यसो-गरिँ, तसो-गरिँ, etc., क्वान् *why*.

I may add here, that pron. adv. implying *from* or *up-to* are made in all Gds. by adding abl. or loc. aff. to the above mentioned pron. adv. Thus O. के-हुँ *whence*, E. H. कहाँ-से or केहर-से *whence*, कत्र-से *since when*, कत्र-तक् or कहाँ-तक् *how long*, S. के-सीँ or का-सीँ or के-सीँअ or के-ताईँ *how long* (Tr. 394); N. काँहाँ-वाद् or काँहाँ-देखि *whence*, etc. But in P., M., Mw., S. and occasionally in the other Gds. they may be made by giving to the adv. of place or direction a different (abl.) inflection; thus P. (a) इत्योँ

hence, उत्यो<sup>०</sup> *thence*, etc. (Ld. 70. 103); M. (a) एयून् (Man. 126) or इकडून् *hence*, तिकडून् *thence*, etc. (Man. 100, 2. d); Mw. (a) ऋठा यूँ *hence*, कठा यूँ *whence*, etc.; S. (a) इतौ<sup>०</sup> or इताऊँ<sup>०</sup> or इतहूँ<sup>०</sup> or इताहूँ<sup>०</sup> or (γ) एउाँ<sup>०</sup> or एडाऊँ<sup>०</sup> or एउहूँ<sup>०</sup> or एडाहूँ<sup>०</sup> *hence*, etc. (Tr. 394. 39P); O. काहुँ<sup>०</sup> *whence*.

469. *Derivation.* The case of the pron. adv. is similar to that of the pron. themselves (see § 438). Here also, there are six different types, marked *a* (or *a*), *b*, *c* (or *γ*), *d*, *e*, *f* respectively; and the adverbs are in reality obl. forms of what were originally qual. or quant. pron. adj. Thus: 1) the Ap. Pr. uses the obl. form (or loc. sg.) in हे of the quant. pron. एत्तिअ, etc. as pron. adv. of place (as explained in § 438, 7), एत्तहे, तेत्तहे, etc. (H. C. 4, 436); in P. and S. they are contracted to इत्ये (for \*इत्तहे), तित्ये or (eliding ह्) W. H. इतै, तितै or S. इते, तिते or (shortening the final ए) इति, तिति, etc. The M. येथे<sup>०</sup>, तेथे<sup>०</sup>, etc. are similarly contracted from Ap. Pr. एत्तहिं, तेत्तहिं (with the obl. or loc. suff. हिं H. C. 4, 357, see also § 378, 3); and the B. एया, तथा (also एयाय्, तथाय्, see S. Ch. 214. 222), etc. from the Pr. एत्ताहे (H. C. 3, 82. 2, 134), etc. There is also a series of by-forms of this *a*-type (marked *a*) which substitute ह् for य्; e. g., Mw. ऋठे, ऋठे (like S. इत्ये), E. H. ऐठे<sup>०</sup>, तेठे<sup>०</sup> (like M. येथे<sup>०</sup>), O. एठा, सेठा (like B. एया), etc.; analogously to the change in the pron. adj., G. एत्तो so many for E. H. ऐतना, S. एत्तिरो, etc. It appears, that some confusion originated at an early period between the terminations था and ठा, थे<sup>०</sup> and ठे<sup>०</sup>, ये and ठे and the nouns (loc.) थान् or ठान्, थार्इ<sup>०</sup> or ठार्इ<sup>०</sup> in a place. The E. H. emph. forms एही-ठार्इ<sup>०</sup> or एही-ठे<sup>०</sup>, etc., and the O. येउं-ठारु, केउं-ठारु can hardly be explained on any other theory. Indeed, the real phrases, E. H. ए थान् in this place, ते थान् in that place, etc., B. ए खान्, त खान् (with ख् for य् as in Pr. खाणू for Skr. स्थाणुः, H. C. 2, 7) are not unfrequently used. — Again 2) Ap. Pr. uses the loc. sg. in हिं or इं of the quant. pron. एम्ब as a pron. adv. of time and manner: एम्बहिं now (H. C. 4, 420) and एम्बइं or एम्बइ thus (H. C. 4, 421. 420). In B. and O. they are contracted to एवे or एवे, and in W. H. shortened to अत्रै now,

O. H. इनि *thus* (for \*इमि), S. इहं *thus* (for \*इने or \*इवे). Similarly the W. II. तत्रे, O. H. तिनि, S. तिहं, etc. postulate an Ap. Pr. तेम्त्रहिं or तेम्त्रइ, etc. The Ap. Pr. also uses the plain obl. form (without suff., H. C. 4, 345) एम्त्र *thus* (H. C. 4, 420), तेम or तेवं or तिम or तिवं *thus*, etc. (H. C. 4, 401. 397). They become in O. H. and G. एम, तेम, etc., in S. एउं, तउं (changing व *va* to उ) or इअं, तिअं (eliding म् or व्) or ईअ, तीअ, etc. (with ई, perhaps, to compensate for the elision of the conj. म्), in W. H. contracted यो, त्यो, etc. or E. H. यू, त्यू (for \*एउं, \*तेउं) *thus*, etc.; but also as adv. of time M. तंव *then*, E. H. and H. H. अय् *now*, तय् *then*, N. अय्, तय्, etc. B. adds the pleon. suff. अन्, thus एमने or एमनि or एमन् *thus*, etc. (= Ap. Pr. \*एम्त्रउइ); so also W. H. एवन् *thus*, etc. B. also uses these forms as adv. of place or direction, thus एमने *here* or *hither*. N. adds to them the pleon. suff. ल and uses them as adv. of time; thus ऐल्हे (= Ap. Pr. \*एविल्लहे) or अइले (= Ap. \*एविल्लइ), etc. The O. H. and E. H. use the shorter form ए, etc. for एव or एम्ब, etc., and add the pleon. suff. न (= Ap. उ); thus एने *here* or *hither*, etc. (for B. एमने, Ap. Pr. \*एम्त्रउइ); so also S., which preserves the original उ; thus एउे *hither*, etc. S. also uses the obl. or loc. suff. हँ and हुँ (H. C. 4, 340, see also § 378, 3) instead of ए; thus एउहँ or एउहुँ *hither*, etc. These last forms are purely Ap. Pr., exc. that in that language they would be loc. *plur.* Similarly the obl. suff. हँ is used in the M. एव्हँ *now*, etc. (for \*एव्हँ with transposed ह् for \*एवहँ). In the M. forms इकडे *hither*, etc. (shortened for \*एकडे) both the pleon. suff. क and उ have been added. The simpler forms त्रिको, तिको (without उ) occur in Mw. (see Kl. 132). This seems to me more probable, than the assumption of a compound इ + कडे *on this side* from the subst. कउ *side* (as Man. 127). S. also uses the obl. or loc. suff. हिँ (H. C. 4, 347. 357), probably confused with the emph. aff. ई or हो, in तउिहीँ *then*, etc. — The Ap. also uses the forms ताम, ताम (for तेम, तेम = Skr. तावत्, यावत्, H. C. 4, 406) as adv. of time. They are in O. H. (Chand) ताम, ताम and in S. ताँ, ताँ. — The E. H. ऐहर *hither*, etc. (lit. ऐह-र) contain the loc. suff. र (shortened for रे,

as in O. हत-रे *in the hand*) and the obl. form ऐह् (on which see § 438, 1); similarly E. II. ऐह्वर (transposed for ऐवह्व), ऐमह्व or ऐम्ह्व, ऐनह्व or ऐन्ह्व *hither*, etc. contain the obl. forms ऐवह् or ऐमह् or ऐनह् of the bases एव or एम or एन. — Again 3) the Ap. Pr. has the pron. adv. तहाँ, तहाँ, कहाँ (H. C. 4, 355). They are stated by H. C. to be abl. forms in the phrases तहाँ होतञ्चो आगतो *he came thence*, etc. That phrase means lit. *he came being there*, i. e., *from there*. In fact, होतञ्चो is the abl. aff. added to the adv. of place तहाँ, just as in O. H. तहाँ हुंतो, E. H. तहाँ से (see §§ 376, 1. 468, p. 312). Those Ap. Pr. forms are still used as adv. of place in E. H. and W. H. तहाँ *there*, etc. or, slightly modified, in G. and N. ताँहाँ, etc. They are, I think, derived by means of the obl. suff. हं (forming gen., abl. and loc. in Ap. Pr., see § 376, 4) from the qual. bases Ap. Pr. एह, तेह, etc., but shortening ए to इ or अ; thus Ap. Pr. एहहं, E. H. इहाँ (for \*इहञ्चं), W. H. वहाँ; Ap. Pr. तेहहं or तहाँ, E. H. तहाँ (compare Ap. Pr. तुम्हहं होतञ्चो आगतो *he came from you*, H. C. 4, 373). Similarly the Ap. Pr. obl. or loc. suff. हिं is contained in the G. तहाँ there, etc. (for Ap. \*तेहहिं) and perhaps in the N. ताँहिं *thither*, etc. — Again 4) the forms M. असे, N. वसे, E. H. ऐसे *thus*, etc. are obl. forms of the Ap. Pr. qual. pron. अस्मो, etc. (H. C. 4, 403, the Ap. instr. would be अस्मे, loc. अस्मद् or अस्मे H. C. 4, 342. 334, but see § 367, 2. 4 on such obl. forms). — Again 5) the W. H. forms इध्व *hither*, etc. are perhaps contracted for इदह्व-र and connected with the Pr. qual. pron. एद्वह, etc. (H. C. 2, 157); the medial अ being suppressed and the loc. aff. र (for रे) added. To this type belong the B. हेदे *here* (S. Ch. 215) for \*एधे or \*एदहे = Pr. loc. sg. एद्वहे, and the W. H. adv. of time तदै or तदा or तद्रु or तद् *when*, तदै *then*, etc. for \*तदहे (eliding ह्) or Pr. तैद्वहे, etc. Similarly W. H. has इद्व *hither*, etc. by the side of इध्व, etc. — Again 6) the Mw. तदै, तदै, N. तद्रु, तद्रु *then, when* are, perhaps, connected with the Skr. तर्हि, तर्हि; or they may be of the same origin as the P. तेडे *whither*, तेडे *thither* (see Nro. 2 changing इ or इ to र); and the B. हेरो *here* (S. Ch. 215) also belongs to this type. — Lastly, the B. ए खन् *now*, etc. are com-

pounds of ए *this* and खन् *moment* (Skr. क्षण, Pr. खण II. C. 2, 20), and the N. यसो गच्छि *thus*, etc. of यसो *such* and गच्छि *having done* (conj. part. of the R. कर्त्तु *to do*, for कर्त्तु); just like B. ए खान् *here* (see Nro. 1).

## FOURTH SECTION. INFLECTION OF VERBS.

### FIRST CHAPTER. FORMS OF THE VERB.

470. There are two *kinds* of verbs, the transitive and the intransitive; two *degrees*, the simple and the causal, of which the causal is always transitive; two *voices*, the active and the passive, of which the intransitive verb possesses only the active, but the trans. has both; four *moods*, the indicative, conjunctive, imperative, infinitive, to which may be added as a fifth mood the participles.

#### 1. KINDS.

471. A trans. verb is formed from an intrans. by lengthening the radical vowel, viz. अ to आ, इ to ई or ए, उ to ऊ or ओ; and *vice versa* an intrans. from a trans. by shortening the same vowel. Thus from the intr. कट्त् *to be cut* comes the trans. काट्त् *to cut*; similarly गड्त् *to be buried*, गाड्त् *to bury*; मर्त्त् *to die*, मार्त्त् *to kill*; लड्त्त् *to be laden*, लाड्त्त् *to load*; मिल्त्त् *to be mixed*, मेल्त्त् *to mix*; दिख्त्त् *to be seen*, देख्त्त् *to see*; दिस्त्त् *to be seen*, दीस्त्त् *to see*; लिपत्त्त् *to be smeared*, लीपत्त्त् *to smear*; खुल्त्त् *to be opened*, खोल्त्त् *to open*; हुड्त्त् *to be loosed*, ह्याड्त्त् *to loose*; गुण्त्त् *to be plaited*, गूण्त्त् *to plait*. Again from the trans. उखाड्त्त् *to pluck up* comes the intr. उखड्त्त् *to be plucked up*; likewise नहायत्त् *to bathe*, नह्त्त् *to flow*, etc., see also § 351. Trans. and intr. verbs are conjugated alike, except in the 3. sg. 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. ind., where they have different forms (see § 504); e. g., tr. कर्त्तुस् *he did*, but intr. गच्छत् *he went*.



472. *Affinities.* In all Gds. these sets of trans. and intr. verbs occur; but in M. and S. the trans. root may optionally end in इ; thus M. सुट् to *get loose*, but सोडि to *loose*; S. मर् to *die*, but मारि to *kill* (see Tr. 48); e. g., M. सुटतो<sup>०</sup> *I get loose*, but सोडितो<sup>०</sup> *I loose* or (in Konkani, see Man. 68, note) सोडतो<sup>०</sup>; again सुटला *it got loose*, but सोडिला *he loosed*; again सुटत् *getting loose*, but सोडित् *loosing*, etc.; again S. मरणु to *die*, but मारिणु (or in Lári) मारणु to *kill*; again मरु *die thou*, but मारि *kill thou*; again मरंदो *dying*, but मारिंदो *killing*; again S. सुनि or सुनु *hear thou*, सुनंदो or सुनींदो *hearing*, etc. But E. H. हुटतो<sup>०</sup>, हुटलो<sup>०</sup>, हुटत्; मरब्, मर, मरत्; and so also झोडतो<sup>०</sup>, झोडलो<sup>०</sup>, झोडत्; मारब्, मार, मारत्; सुन्, सुनत्.

473. *Derivation.* As a rule, the E. H. intrans. and its respective trans. verb correspond to the simple verb and its resp. causal in Skr., where the causal is made by lengthening the radical vowel of the simple verb with *gūṇa* or *vṛddhi*. In some cases, however, the E. H. trans. and intr. verbs correspond to the Skr. act. and pass. verbs; see § 351. The originally causal character of such Gd. trans. verbs is shown by their possessing the Skr. causal suff. इ in M. and S.

## 2. DEGREES.

474. The causal is formed from the simple verb by adding the suff. ञ्च् to the root (see §§ 339. 349). To the causal root, thus formed, the infin. suff. ञ्च् or इच् is reattached. If the simple root contains a long vowel it is shortened; viz. आ to अ, ई and ए to इ (or ऐ), ऊ and ओ to उ (or ओ). Thus S. V. कर्च् or करिच् to *do*, S. R. कर, whence C. R. कराच्, inf. कराइच् (eliding च् by § 33) to *cause to do*; or S. V. मिल्च् to *mix*, S. R. मिल्, whence C. R. मिलाच्, inf. मिलाइच् to *cause to mix*; similarly S. Vs. पीयच् to *drink*, लेच् to *take*, घूमच् to *turn*, बोलच् to *speak*, whence C. Vs. पियाइच् to *cause to drink*, लियाइच् or लेयाइच् to *cause to take*, घुमाइच् to *cause to turn*, बुलाइच् or बोलाइच् to *call*, etc.

*Exception.* खाच् or खाइच् to *eat*, R. खा, forms its causal खियाइच् to *cause to eat* for \*खाइच् (cf. § 55).

*Note:* Observe that, according to §§ 25. 33. 34, the suff. *याच्* may, in certain positions, undergo various changes, viz. *च्* is elided before *इ* or *ई*; *याच्*, when antepenultimate, is shortened to *यच्*, and *च्* vocalised to *उच्*, while *याच्* + *इ* may change to *येच्* and *याच्* + *उच्* to *योच्*. Thus *चलाई* *he will cause to walk* (for \**चलायो*); *चलाइयो* or *चलैयो* *I shall cause to walk* (for \**चलावियो*); *चलाउतो* or *चलौतो* *I cause to walk* (for \**चलावतो*); but *चलावत्* *he causes to walk* (not *चलाउत्*).

475. *Affinities.* The causal is formed nearly in the same way in all Gds.; but B., O., H. H. and S. use the caus. suff. *याच्*, as C. R. *पढा* *teach* of S. R. *पढू* *read*; E. H. and G. have *याच्*, as *पढाच्*; W. H. has *याच्* or *याउच्*, as *पढाच्* or *पढाउच्*; P. and N. have *याउच्*, as *पढाउच्*; M. has *याचि*, as *पढचि*. The shortening of *याच्* to *यच्* (as in M.) also occurs occasionally in Hindi (poëtry), as *पुनाच्* for *पुनायच्* *fill* (see Kl. 207) and *पुराच्* for *पुरायच्* *fill* (Kl. 228); so also the contraction of *याच्* to *योच्*, as *रिसो* for *रिसायच्* *be angry* (Kl. 228); and H. H. optionally contracts *याच्* to *योच्* in *डुयो* or *डुया* *immerse* of R. *डूच्*, and *भिगो* or *भिगा* (for *भिगायच्*) *moisten* of R. *भिग*; also in P. *भिगो* (Ld. 67); M. occasionally changes *याचि* to *ड्य* in trans. verbs, as *सोडिचि* or *सोडचि* *loose* (Man. 78, note. 110), and sometimes retains *याच्*, as *योलाचि* or *योलचि* *call* (Man. 109). — Monosyllabic roots, ending in a vowel, form in most Gds. irregular caus.; thus the C. Rs. of R. *खा* *eat* are in B. *खानोया* (S. Ch. 129), O. *खुआ* (Sn. 37), E. H. *खियाच्*, W. H. *खयाच्* (or *खवा* Kl. 207. 217), P. *खुआउ* (Ld. 67), M. *खाचि* (Man. 77), G. *खयाउ* (Ed. 114), S. *खारा* (Tr. 257), H. H. *खिला*. Again of R. *दे* *give* they are in B. *देओया* (S. Ch. 129), O. *दिया* (Sn. 37), E. H. *दियाच्* (also Bs. *दिवाच्*), W. H. *दयाच्* or *दिराच्* (Kl. 214), M. *देवचि* or *देचि* (Man. 118), G. *दयाउ*, S. *डिआर* (Tr. 256), H. H. *दिला*. Exactly analogous are the C. Rs. of the Rs. *जा* *go* and *ले* *take*; but H. H. has *लिया* *cause to take*, not \**लिला*. Similarly formed are the C. Rs. of *पी* *drink*, *सी* *sew*, *जी* *live*; thus S. *पिआरू*, *सिआरू* (Tr. 256), G. *पीयाउ* (Ed. 114), H. H. *पिला*, *सिला*, *जिला*; but E. H. regularly *पियाच्*, *सियाच्*, *जियाच्*. Also of the Rs. *चू* *leak*, *सो* *sleep*, *रो* *weep*,

धो *wash*, ढो *carry*, सो *sow*; thus H. H. चुला, मुला, रुला, धुला, हुला, G. च्वाड् (but H. H. चोआ), S. चुआर् (Tr. 256). Some roots which end in consonants, form irregular causals in the same manner; thus R. सिख् or सोक् *learn* has in H. H. सिखला, S. सेखार् (Tr. 257) *teach*, but regularly in E. H. and W. H. सिखाव्, N. सिखाउ, M. शिकवि (Man. 78), B. and O. (also optionally H. H.) सिखा; again R. देख् *see* in H. H. optionally दिखला or दिखा, P. दिखाल् or दिखलाउ (Ld. 67), S. डेखार् (Bs. I, 242) *show*, but regularly E. H. and W. H. दिखाव्, N. देखाउ, etc. Again R. कह् *speak* in H. H. optionally कहला or कहा (*be called*, in pass. sense, see § 354, 2), G. केहेवडा (Bs. I, 243), but regularly in E. H. कहाव्. Again R. बह् or बिह् *sit* (Skr. उपविष्) in H. H. बहला (in the sense of *amuse*, lit. *cause to sit*), P. बहाल् (Ld. 87), S. बिहार (Tr. 256). Again R. बैठ् *sit* (Skr. उपविट) in H. H. optionally बिठला or बैठाल् or बैठा; and R. पैट् *enter* (Skr. प्रविट) in H. H. पैठाल् (Kl. 186). Again R. पाह् *see* in M. पाहववि (cf. Man. 75); R. लिह् *write* in M. लिहववि (Man. 77); R. जोह् *regard* in H. नुहार *salute* (lit. *cause to be regarded*); R. ऊम् *be excited* (cf. H. C. 2, 57) in H. उमार *excite*; R. उय् *rise* in S. उयार् (Tr. 257); R. सुम्ह् *sleep* in S. सुम्हार; R. ड्रिन् *be afraid* in S. ड्रिनार; R. विंहिन् *bathe* in S. विंहिनार (Tr. 257); R. नम् *eat* in G. नमाड् (Ed. 50); R. घट् *diminish* in G. घटाड् (Bs. I, 243), and others.

476. *Derivation.* Caus. verbs are formed in Skr., as a rule, by adding the suff. अय (or इ) to the S. R., but exceptionally also by means of the suff. आपय (or आपि), as च्नापयति *he causes to tremble* from S. R. च्नाय्; चापयति *he causes to collect* from S. R. चि, etc. In Pr. these two suff. become ए and आवे resp. (Vr. 7, 26. 27); in later Pr. (by a change of class, see § 347) अ and आन्, and finally in Gḍ. अ-*quiescent* and आव् (see § 349). Besides, while in Skr. the formation with आपय is exceptional, in Pr. the two modes of formation with ए and आवे are equally common; and finally in Gḍ. the formation with आव् (or आउ or आ) is the exclusive one, while the other is only preserved in the trans. verbs (see §§ 471—473). Thus Skr. S. R. मृ *die*, C. R. मारय (or

मारि) *kill*, Pr. मारे or मार, E. H. मार; again Skr. कृ *do*, C. R. कारय (or \*कराय), Pr. कारे or कार or करावे or कराव, E. H. कराव्; or in the 3. sg. pres. ind. Skr. मारयति, Pr. मारेइ or मारइ, E. H. मारै; Skr. कारयति, Pr. कारेइ or कारइ or करावेइ or करावइ, E. H. करावै. — The Gd. suff. अच् changes व् to उ in N. and P. (cf. § 34) and drops it in B., O., H. H. and S.; it also shortens अ to अ in M. The Pr. suff. अवे becomes in M. अवि or अव (cf. § 472); the former is trans. and forms causals, the latter is intr. and forms potent. pass. (see § 483). — The irregular monosyll. verbs appear to use the double causal (see §§ 477. 478) in the place of the ordinary one; compare e. g., M. खावत्रि *cause to eat* (for \*खात्रावि), B. खाओया (for \*खावा with अओ for अच्), W. H. खवाव्, O. खुआ (with उ for अच्) with M. नित्रवत्रि or नित्रविव *cause to cause to sleep* (Man. 109); again S. खारा *cause to eat* (contr. for \*खारा) with S. फेरार *cause to cause to turn* (Tr. 258). The G. खवाउ *cause to eat* is transposed for \*खवडा; the original form is preserved in G. केह्वडा *cause to speak* from R. केह्, and the suff. अवडा or अवाउ belong to the double causal, as may be seen from the M., where roots in ह्, as a rule, take the double caus. suff. अवत्रि (Man. 77); e. g., लिह्वत्रि *cause to write* from R. लिह्. Similarly the S. suff. अर् or आर् (for \*अवार or \*अवराव्), H. H. आल् or आला are double causal suff. The origin of these strange forms °डा, °रा, °ला which are confined to the W. Gds. (espec. G. and S.) is very obscure. The identification of ल् with the व् of the Skr. caus. suff. अव (as Bs. I, 241) is hardly correct; for the H. ल् as well as the S. र् are modifications of the G. उ (or उ)<sup>1</sup>, but the Skr. व् could not possibly change into उ. It should be observed, that there is a remarkable similarity between the Gd. caus. formation and that of Psh. The latter language forms causals by means of the suff. अव or एद्; the former corresponding to the M. अवि, G. आव्, S. आ; the latter to the G. आड, S. आर्,

1) Not *vice versa*; उ sometimes changes to ल्, see § 105; but never ल् to उ.

H. H. आल्. See also the remarks in § 354, 2. A few instances of caus. in आउ occur in the Pr.; e. g., भमाडेइ or भमाउइ (besides the regular भामेइ or भमावेइ or भमावइ) of R. भ्रम् roam (H. C. 3, 151); also तमाउइ (H. C. 4, 30. see also H. C. 4, 161); धंसाउइ *he looses* (H. C. 4, 91).

477. From the caus. verb an other causal may be formed, precisely in the same way, by adding the suff. आव् to the caus. root, the long आ of which is shortened to अ. Thus S. V. पठ् to read, S. R. पठ्, C. R. पठ्वाव् *cause to read* (i. e. *teach*), whence other C. R. पठ्वाव्, inf. पठ्वाइव् *to cause to cause to read* (i. e. *to cause to teach*). This I shall designate the *double causal*. It may, obviously, be formed from the simple verb immediately, by adding to the S. R. the compound or reduplicated suff. अवाव्. These double causals are conjugated in every respect like the ordinary causals.

*Note:* The double caus. of a trans. verb implies that something is done by the intervention of a *third* person; as कर्त् means *to do*, कर्त्वाइव् *to cause an other person to do it*, but कर्त्वाइव् *to order an other person to cause a third person to do it*. In the case of an intr. verb, the double caus. has the sense of an ordinary caus., and the ordinary caus. the sense of a trans.; as वनव् *to be made*, वनाइव् *to make*, वनवाइव् *to cause an other person to make it*.

478. *Affinities and Derivation.* The double caus. probably exists in all Gds., and it is formed in the same way by reduplicating the ordinary caus. suff. Thus E. H. has अवाव्, W. H. अवाव् or अवाउ, P. अवाउ, M. अववि or अविव (Man. 109), G. अवाव् (or अववा), S. आरा (Tr. 257), H. H. (and probably B. and O.) अवा. Thus of R. पठ् *read*, double caus. R. in E. H. पठ्वाव्, W. H. पठ्वाव् or पठ्वाउ, P. पठ्वाउ, M. पठ्त्ववि or पठ्त्विव, G. पठ्वाव्, S. पठ्वा, H. H. पठ्वा *to cause to cause to read*. The principle of the formation of the double caus. seems to be analogous to that of the redundant forms of subst. (see § 203). As there the pleon. suff. क, so here the caus. suff. आपि is reduplicated (i. e. \*अपापि or \*अपापय).

## 3. VOICES.

479. The passive voice is formed by adding to the past part. of the act. verb the auxiliary ग्राह्य्, which is the same as the intrans. verb ग्राह्य् to go and is conjugated in the same manner. The past part. undergoes no change whatever may be the gender or number of the subj. Thus act. खाद्य् to eat, pass. खायल् ग्राह्य् to be eaten; or पठेत्ता he reads, pass. पठल् ग्रात्ता it is read. This I shall call the *compound passive*.

*Exception.* The pass. of the verbs ग्राह्य् to go and होद्य् to become is not formed with their ordinary past part. गयल् and भयल् but with the special past part. forms गायल् and होम्यल् (see § 304).

*Note:* Observe that the comp. pass. is very rarely used in E. H. or, indeed, in any of the Gds. It is commonly paraphrased by means of compound verbs; e. g., to be beaten is मारू खाद्य्, lit. to eat a beating, not मारू ग्राह्य्.

480. *Affinities.* All Gds. form this pass. by composition with the verb ग्राह्य्, except S. and optionally Mw., N. and P. In the latter it is made by adding some suffix to the root; viz. S. इत्, Mw. ईत् (see Kl. 214), N. इय, P. ई. But P., Mw. and, probably, N. also use the comp. pass. The B. and O. do not use their past part. in इल् but that in अ in the formation of the pass. base, after the manner of the W. Gds. The E. H. and M. alone use the part. in अल् (or इल्) for the pass. (see § 303). Thus E. H. पठल् or पठिल् ग्राय् it may be said, M. पठिल्ता (or पठल्ता) ग्राय् it was wont to be read (Man. 99); but B. पठ्ता ग्राय् (S. Ch. 142), O. पठ्ता ग्राये (Sn. 39), H. H. पठ्ता ग्राय् (or ग्राये), W. H. पठ्ति ग्राय् or पठ्थ्यो or पठ्थ्यो ग्राय्, P. पठ्थि ग्राये (Ld. 60), G. पठ्थ्यो ग्राय्; but S. पठ्थिने (Tr. 259. 331), Mw. पठ्थिने, N. पठ्थिये, P. पठ्थीर्<sup>1</sup>). The latter kind of pass. is occasionally preserved in H. and M.; thus

1) Thus in the 3. sg. fut. pass. Mw. पठ्थिनेलो it will be read, N. पठ्थियेला, P. पठ्थीर्गा.

in the H. H. respectful imperatives: कीने (cf. S. क्तिण्णु *to be done* Tr. 260), दीने, पीने, लीने, सीने, मूने, हूने lit. *let it be done, given, drunk, taken, sewn, died, been* (cf. Kl. 164, d); also H. H. करिये, पढिये, etc. *let it be done, read, etc.*, W. H. करोने or करने, पढोने or पढने, etc. (Kl. 212, a); again in the M. पाहिने *it is wanted* (Man. 90). In O. E. H., O. W. H., O. P. and O. M. they are also often met with; in O. M. sometimes even in an active sense (Man. 139). Thus in O. E. H. (Tulsí Dás) करिय or करिये or करोने *let it be done* (Kl. 220. 422), करियत *being done* (part. pres., cf. Kl. 220, a), O. P. करोअतु or करोअत; in O. M. करिने *let it be done*, करिनेतो *it is being done*, करिनेला *it has been done*, करिनेल्ल *it will be done* (Man. 139). Similarly in S. इडिने *it may be given up*, इडिनेयो *it is being given up* (Tr. 301. 333).

481. *Derivation.* The origin of the modern comp. pass. can be distinctly traced. In Skr. the pass. is made by the suff. य. In Pr. this becomes ईअ or इअ (Vr. 7, 8. H. C. 3, 160), and in Gd. इय or ई or ईअ or अत or इत. Thus Skr. पढ्यते *it is read*, Pr. पढोअइ or पढिअइ, whence P. पढोए or N. पढिये or Mw. पढोने or पढने or S. पढिने. Again Skr. क्रियते *it is done*, P. किअइ (H. C. 1, 97) or करिअइ (H. C. 4, 250) or करोअइ, whence H. H. कीने, S. क्तिने, Mw. करोने or करने, O. M. करिने, P. करोए, N. करिये. In O. H. and M. H. (Bs. or Br.) the pass. forms पढि जाय्, करि जाय् are used. This shows that the old forms पढिने, करिने began to be looked upon as compounds of the past part. पढि, करि (= Pr. पढिअ, करिअ, Skr. पढित, कृत, see § 302) and the verb तै (contracted for जाय्, Pr. जाइ, Skr. याति) *it goes*. This misunderstanding, being once established, naturally led to the further step of using the ordinary past part. (in अल and यो or अ) in conjunction with the verb जा *to go* to form the pass.; thus पढिने became पढि जाय्, पढा or पढ्यो or पढल् जाय्. It is probable, however, that the old Skr. suff. य itself is a curtailment of the R. या (= Gd. जा) *to go*; so that the language has merely reverted to the point whence it started. It may also be observed, that there is a tendency in Pr. to shorten a final radical अ, which would facilitate the con-

fusion of the R. ग (= ग) with the suff. न. Thus Pr. has गन्ति *they go* (H. C. 4, 388) for Skr. गन्ति; Pr. उत्यद् *he rises* (H. C. 4, 17) from R. उत्या (= \*उत्याति); Pr. यवद् *he raises* (H. C. 4, 357) = Skr. स्थापयति; Pr. दद् *he gives* (Wb. Spt. 59) from R. दा; etc.

482. Besides the comp. pass., made with गद् ( § 479), E. H. possesses an other pass., the root of which is made by adding the suff. ञ् to the root of the act. verb. If the latter contains a long vowel, it is shortened, precisely as in the formation of the causal (see § 474). These pass. roots in ञ् are conjugated precisely as any other intrans. roots in ञ्. Thus act. R. पठ् *read*, pass. R. पठ्णा *be read*, inf. पठ्णाद् *to be read*, just like inf. गद् *to go* of the intr. R. ग *go*; again act. R. घृम् *turn*, pass. R. घृम्णा *be turned*, inf. घृम्णाद् *to be turned*, etc. Though this pass. may be used in the same sense as the comp. pass., yet properly and generally it has a peculiar, viz. a potential, signification. Hence I shall call it the *potential passive*. Thus पठ्णाला means *it can be read*, while पठ्णल् ञ्णाला means *it is read*.

*Exception.* The R. खा *eat* makes its pot. pass. R. खिया *be eaten*.

*Note:* As the pot. pass. may have the sense of the ordinary pass., so the comp. pass. may have that of the pot. pass. Thus पठ्णल् ञ्णाला may mean *it can be read*, and पठ्णाला *it is read*.

483. *Affinities.* The pot. pass. also exists in M. and G. I think it probable that other Gds. also possess it, but it does not seem to have attracted the attention of grammarians. In M. it is formed by means of the suff. ञ् or ञ्णव, and in G. by the suff. ञ् or ञ्णा. The longer suff. ञ्णव and ञ्णा are used with monosyllabic roots and roots ending in ङ्. Thus E. H. झोडाय् *it can be loosed*, G. झोडाय्, M. सोडवे; again E. H. कह्णाय् *it can be said*, G. केहेवाय्, M. कह्णवे. This pass. is called in the Man. 75 „the potential verb“ and in Ed. 54 „the first potential mood“, in Ed. 107 „the passive verb“ and in Ed. 51, d apparently „the deponent“. It is constructed in E. H. and G. with the instr. case of the agent, but in M. either with the act. (classically) or



the acc. (colloquially), see Man. 75, 128. note, where, however, the case is erroneously called the dative.

484. *Derivation.* A comparison of the suff. of the pot. pass. with those of the causals (§§ 474. 477) will at once show their identity. Thus the E. H. and G. pot. pass. suff. *घा* is identical with the B., O., H. H. and S. caus. suff. *घा*, and the G. pot. pass. suff. *घवा* with the H. H. double caus. suff. *घवा*; again the M. pass. pot. suff. *घव* and *घवव* are the same as the M. caus. suff. *घवि* and double caus. *घववि*, even as regards the shortening of the original *घा* of the suff. *घव* or *घवाव*. Again the pot. pass. suff. and the caus. suff. have precisely the same influence on the root; thus in E. H. the R. *खा eat* becomes *खिया* in the pass. and *खियाव्* in the caus. (see §§ 474, exc. 482, exc.). Lastly the longer pass. suff. *घवा* and *घवव* and the double caus. suff. *घवाव्* and *घववि* are used precisely in the same way; viz. they are added principally to monosyllabic roots. So far, then, there can be no question as to the identity of the forms of the pot. pass. and the two causals. But the sense and mode of construction of the pot. pass., also, prove that identity. In fact, it is merely a caus. with a peculiar reflexive sense. Thus E. H. caus. *मै० पोयी पढउलो०* might be translated: *I caused (some one) to read the book*, or briefly, *I caused the book to be read*. Similarly the E. H. *पोयी पढायल्* is either *the book caused (some one) to read itself* or *the book caused itself to be read (by some one)*. It will be seen at once that, practically, this is the same as the pass. *the book was read*. It will also be noticed, that the agent who reads (*some one* or *by some one*) may be expressed either by the acc. or the act. case. Accordingly both cases may be used in M., *मत्ता* (acc.) or *माक्याने०* (act.) *पोयी पढवली* *by me the book was read*, lit. *the book caused me to read itself* or *the book caused itself to be read by me*. In E. H. and G. the instr. only is employed; thus E. H. *मो से पोयी पढायल्* or G. *मारा थो० पोयी पढायो*. This pass. is now commonly used in a potential sense, *by me the book could be read*; but that sense is not really inherent in the peculiar form of the verb,

but only attached to it conventionally. For even the ordinary comp. pass. may take that meaning; thus मो से पोयो पठल् गयल् *by me the book could be read*. On the other hand, the pot. pass. may have the ordinary pass. sense; see § 482, note.

#### 4. MOODS.

485. *Infinitive*. The infinitive is made by adding the suff. अत् or इत्, obl. अत्रे or इत्रे or ऐ to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 308—310. Thus पठ्त् *to read* of R. पठ्; पठ्त्रे से or पठ्त्रै से *by reading*; again खाइत् or खाव् *to eat* of R. खा; खइत्रे or खैत्रे or खात्रे or खाये से *by eating*, etc.

*Note:* For affinities and derivation, see §§ 313. 314.

486. *Adjective participles*. The pres. part. is made by adding the suff. अत् c. g., and the past part. by adding the suff. अल् or इल् c. g. to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 298. 299. 302. 303. Thus पठ्त् c. g. *reading*, पठल् c. g. *read*; खात् c. g. *eating*, खाइल् or खायल् c. g. *aten*, etc. The fut. part. is identical with the infinitive, see §§ 310. 485.

*Note:* For exceptions see § 304; and for affinities and derivation see §§ 300. 301. 305—307.

487. *Prayogas*. The past and fut. part. are used with a pass. sense in the pass. and the infin. respectively, but with an act. sense in the past and fut. tenses act. Thus E. H. मै होइल् तालो *I am loosed*, मै होइव् वाटो *I am to be loosed*, but घोरा के (or घोरा) मै होइलो *I did loose the horse*, घोरा के मै होइवो *I shall loose the horse*, or पोयो के (or पोयो) मै पठलो *I did read the book*, प के मै पठवो *I shall read the book*. The latter usage (with the part. in the act. voice and the subj. in the nom. case and the obj. in the acc.) is what I have called (§ 371) the *pass-act. construction*, or the कर्तरि प्रयोग् of the native grammarians. It is peculiar to all E. Gds. Thus the above sentences are in B.: ग्रामि (or मुद्) होइ त्राइ, but घोइ के (or घोइ) ग्रामि होइल्लाम् and घ के ग्र होइव; पोयो के ग्रामि पठ्ल्लाम् and घ के ग्र पठ्व; in O. मुहि होइ त्राइ, but घोइ कु मुहि होइलि (or ग्रमे होइलि) and घ कु म होइवि

(or  $\text{अ}^{\circ}$  होञ्चिन्ना); पोयी कु मुहि पऱ्हिलि and  $\text{प}^{\circ}$  कु म<sup>०</sup> पऱ्हिचि. On the other hand, the W. and S. Gds. always use these participles in the pass. sense, and, in consequence, where they are employed to express the pret. ind. and pres. conj. (see § 509, 3) tenses act., they take the subj. in the act. case and the obj. in the nom., and agree with the latter in number and gender. This usage I call the *pass. constr.*; and it is the कर्मनि प्रयोग् of the nat. gramm. Thus M. मो सोडिल्ला ज्ञातो<sup>०</sup> *I am loosed*, but घोडा मो<sup>०</sup> सोडिल्ला *I did loose the horse* (lit. *the horse was loosed by me*) or पोयी मो<sup>०</sup> वाचिल्ली *I did read the book* (lit. *the book was read by me*), घोडा मो<sup>०</sup> सोडावा *I may loose the horse* (lit. *the horse may be loosed by me*), or  $\text{प}^{\circ}$  मो<sup>०</sup> वाचावो *I may read the book* (lit. *the book may be read by me*). The same in W. H. हौ<sup>०</sup> होञ्च्यो ज्ञावो<sup>०</sup>, but घोडा मै<sup>०</sup> ने होञ्च्यो, पोयी मै<sup>०</sup> ने वाँचो; or in S. अँऊँ हडिचो अँहियाँ<sup>१</sup>), but घोडे मूँ हडिचो, पोयी मूँ पऱ्हिचो; or in H. H. मै<sup>०</sup> होडा ज्ञाता हूँ, but घोडा मै<sup>०</sup> ने होडा, पोयी मै<sup>०</sup> ने पऱ्हो. There are, however, a few verbs in M., which take the E. Gd. *pass.-act. constr.*; as पऱ्हणे<sup>०</sup> to read, पावणे<sup>०</sup> to obtain, पिणे<sup>०</sup> to drink, बोलणे<sup>०</sup> to speak, लेणे<sup>०</sup> to take and others (see Man. 32); thus मो पोयी पऱ्हलो<sup>०</sup> *I did read the book*, not मो<sup>०</sup> पोयी पऱ्हली. — There is a third kind of constr. which is also confined to the W. and S. Gds. It is likewise a pass. constr., but differs from the ordinary one, by having the obj. in the acc. case, and the part. in the nom. sing. masc. or neut. It is, in fact, a sort of impersonal pass. constr., and is called by nat. gramm. the भावो प्रयोग्. Thus in this constr. the above sentences would be: M. घोड्या ला मो<sup>०</sup> सोडिल्ले<sup>०</sup> lit. *as to the horse, it was loosed by me*, पोयी ला मो<sup>०</sup> वाचिल्ले<sup>०</sup> lit. *as to the book, it was read by me*; W. H. (Br.) घोडा को<sup>०</sup> मै<sup>०</sup> ने होञ्च्यो, पोयी को<sup>०</sup> मै<sup>०</sup> ने वाँच्यो; S. घोडे खे मूँ हडिचो, पोयिच खे मूँ पऱ्हिचो. — Lastly there is a fourth constr., which, I believe to be confined to the N. Gd. (N.). It is *pass.-act.*, but differs from

1) Here, the part. हडिचो is in the pass. voice, but in the pres., instead of the fut. tense, see § 313; but S. has also the old pass. अँऊँ हडिजाँ यो, see § 480.

that common in E. Gd. by having the subj. in the act. case, with which, however, the verb (i. e. past part.) agrees in number and gender. Thus the same sentences in N. are: घोड़ो मैँ ले होड़ियो lit. *as to me, I loosed the horse*, पोयो मैँ ले पढियो lit. *as to me, I read the book*; or with a fem. subj. घोड़ी स्त्री ले होड़ी lit. *as to the woman, she loosed the horse*.

488. *Adverbial participle.* This part. is the same as the obl. of the strong form of the adj. part., and ends, according to the tense (see § 486), in अते, अले (or इले), अत्रे (or इत्रे). The pres. adv. part. commonly takes the emphatic particle ई, which coalesces with its termination to अतै. In order to distinguish more clearly the resp. time, some noun or case-affix is often added; thus समै *time* after अते, से *from* after अले, के *to* or बटे *for* after अत्रे. Thus पढते or पढतै or पढते समै *on reading* or *during the time of reading*; पढले or पढले से *after reading* or *on condition of reading*; पढत्रे or पढत्रे के or पढत्रे बटे *for reading* or *for the purpose of reading* or *on the point of reading*.

*Note:* The pres. adv. part., as a rule, expresses *coincidence*; the past, *precedence* or *condition*; the fut., *imminence* or *object*. The distinction between the pres. and past, however, is not very strictly observed. — The past adv. part. and the conj. part. may be interchanged, as पोयो पढि आयल् or पोयो पढले से आयल् *he came, having read* or *from reading the book*. — Instead of हतेते *on being* संते is sometimes used.

489. *Affinities.* These adv. part., as a rule, exist in all Gds., and are used in the same manner, as in E. H. Their termin. are: in B. इते, इले (S. Ch. 148. 184. 185), O. अंत, इले (Sn. 28), M. अतँ (or emph. अतँना, Man. 63. 64), H. H. अते (emph. अते ही), ए, अने (Kl. 311, 2. 3. 309, d. e), P. अदे, ए (Ld. 79, 146. 78. 139), S. अदे, ए (Tr. 485. 487). See S. Ch., Kl. and Tr. for syntactical observations and examples. They apply equally to E. H.

490. *Conjunctive participle.* This part. is made by adding the suff. ऐ or इ to the root of the verb. It is, however, usually changed to ए, after a vowel, and dropped after a con-

sonant. In order to emphasise the part. the aff. के is commonly superadded. Thus पढे or पढि or पढ् or पढे के or पढि के or पढ् के *having read* from R. पढ्; खाइ or खाय् or खाइ के or खाय् के *having eaten*; होय् के etc. *having been* from Rs. खा, हो. The simple conj. part. without के is especially used in the formation of compound verbs (see § 537), as कहे देव् or कह् देव् *to inform*, खाय् लेव् *to eat up*, आय् जाइव् *to come on*, etc.

491. *Affinities and Derivation.* The suff. of the conj. part. in Skr. are य or त्वा. The former is used for comp., the latter for simple roots; but in the Ved. Skr. य may be used for either kind. In Pr. (both in Sr. and Mg., H. C. 4, 271. 302) they become इञ्च and उण respectively. Both are preserved in Gd.; so, however, that इञ्च is common to the E., W. and N. Gd., while उण is confined to S. Gd. and, optionally, E. R. Thus B. has इया (S. Ch. 148), O. इ (Sn. 28), E. H. ऐ or इ or *quiescent*, W. H. इ or *quiescent* (Kl. 202, 378. 209, 394), P. इ or *quiescent* (Ld. 79), G. ई (Ed. 113), S. ई or ए (Tr. 280. 281), N. ई; but M. ऊन्, E. R. ऊने (Kl. 209, 394). Thus Skr. कृत्वा (or कर्त्तव्य) *having done*, Pr. Sr. करिञ्च (H. C. 4, 272), E. H. करे or करि or कर्, N. गरी, etc., or Pr. करिउण, M. करून्, E. R. करूने. Or Skr. प्राप्य *having obtained*, Pr. पाविञ्च, E. H. पाइ or पाय्, N. पाई, etc., or Pr. पाविउण, M. पावून्, E. R. पावूने. I know no satisfactory explanation of the final ए of the E. R. form ऊने. Similar are the O. M. forms अणि or अनियाँ (also उणि or उनियाँ, see Man. 138. 139, as करोनियाँ or करोनि *having done*), and the Mg. Pr. form दाणि (Vr. 11, 16, as करिदाणि; also Mđ. 12, 17)<sup>1</sup>). Analogous to the latter, there might have been a Pr. form \*टूणि, from which rather than from the Mg. दाणि the modern M. and E. R. forms appear to be derived. Both Pr. forms दाणि and टूण (or उण) are modifications of the Ved. Skr. and Páli त्वानं, a by-form of the ordinary Skr. त्वा (see Wb. Bh. 435), which occurs in the

1) Mđ's sūtra seems to be, क्लो दाणिञ्च स्यात् । पुञ्चिदाणि । पुञ्चे पुञ्चिञ्च ॥ i. e., *having asked*; but both H. C. 4, 272. 302 and T. V. 3, 2. 10. 27 omit दाणि and replace it by टूण.

Pr. of the Bh. as त्राणं, just as Skr. त्वा becomes in Pr. त्रा (Wb. Bh. 435) or दुञ्च (H. C. 4, 272). If त्वानम् be (with Ls. 289) the acc. sg. of a base त्वान (or त्वन्), the Pr. दाणि or Gd. ओनि, उने might be a loc. sg. for \*त्राणे or \*तूणे (cf. H. C. 3, 56); and the Gd. ओनिवौ might be an emphatic form of the same<sup>1</sup>). — Of the Pr. form दुञ्च (as in कदुञ्च *having done*, गदुञ्च *having gone*, H. C. 4, 271) no traces, I believe, have survived in Gd. — The aff. के is itself a contraction of the E. H. conj. part. क्य् *having done* of R. कर्. It also occurs in P. के (Ld. 24, 79), in Br. के or कै or करू or करि (Kl. 202); in E. R. it is curtailed to रू (for करू); e. g., मार-रू *having beaten* for मारू-करू; खा-रू *having eaten* for खा-करू (Kl. 209, 394). Mw. has the aff. ने for के; e. g., करू-ने *having done* = Br. करू-के (Kl. 209, 394). The two aff. are related to each other precisely as the G. gen. aff. नो is to the W. H. को or कौ (see § 377). In H. H. the aff. is reduplicated, करू-के; e. g., मारू-करू-के *having beaten*; similarly E. R. reduplicates कने (Kl. 209, 394) and N. कन् (shortened for के-ने); e. g., N. गरीकन् *having done*, खार्-कन् *having eaten*, वसो-कन् *having sat*, etc.

492. *Nouns of agency.* This is made by adding the suff. अग्निहारू c. g. to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 315. 316. 318. Thus पठ्निहारू *a reader* from R. पठ्; खानिहारू *cater* from R. खा, etc. According to circumstances, these nouns may have the sense of a pres. part. or a fut. part.; thus पठ्निहारू may mean *one who is reading* or *one who is going to read*.

*Note 1:* The masc. strong form in अग्निहारू is also used occasionally; likewise the W. H. suff. अग्नेवारा (for अग्नेवाला), fem. ०री; but the fem. strong form in अग्निहारौ only forms nouns, expressing an act; thus पठ्नेहारू *a (male) reader*, but पठ्नेहारौ the act. of *reading* (not *female reader*), see § 319.

*Note 2:* For affinities and derivation see §§ 320. 321.

1) Ls. 400 supposes दाणि to have lost a final anuswára (for \*दाणिं) and to have changed the अ of \*दाणं = त्राणं to इ.

SECOND CHAPTER. TENSES.

493. There are three tenses, the present, past and future, each of which may be either simple or periphrastic (see § 510). The indicative mood possesses all three; the conjunctive has only two, the pres. and past; the imperative has only one, the present. Every tense possesses two numbers, sing. and plur.; and three persons, first, second and third; and also, though with the exception of the pres. conj. and imper., two genders, masc. and fem.

494. Some of the tenses are formed from the root of the verb, others from the participles. From the root are formed the three pres. tenses of the ind., conj. and imp.; from the part., the past and future tenses, viz. the first and second preterite ind., the past conj. and the fut. ind. Tenses made from the root will be called *radical*; those made from the part., *participial*. A third class, made by adding an auxiliary verb to a participle, I shall call *periphrastic*.

1. RADICAL TENSES.

495. *Present conjunctive and imperative.* These are identical in every respect, and are made by adding to the root the subjoined suff., according to the number and person (but not gender) of the subj. In the 2. sing. the suff. may optionally be omitted. After roots in अ the forms of the suff. are slightly modified by coalescence with that letter.

	Sing.	Plur.		Sing.	Plur.
1. pers.	ओ <sup>०</sup>	ई <sup>०</sup>	after Rs. in अ	आव् <sup>०</sup>	आइ <sup>०</sup>
2. pers.	उ or quiesc. अ	अह् or अ		ओ or अ	आह् or आ
3. pers.	ऐ	ऐ <sup>०</sup>		आय्	आय् <sup>०</sup>

*Note 1:* The pres. conj. is occasionally used in the sense of the fut. indic.

*Note 2:* The 2. pl. ends throughout the conjugation either in अह् *ah* or अ *a*. The latter (अ), being the resultant of the drop-

ping of the final ह् of ग्रह्, is always *sounded* (see § 24, exc.). It is important to observe this circumstance, as, in the future tense, it forms the only difference between the 1. pl. and the 2. pl., and affects the vowel combination. Thus पढ्य् *parhab* we shall read, but पढ्य् *parhaba* you will read; खाय् *khāb* we shall eat, but खाय् *khāba* you will eat, or खाइय् *khāib* we shall eat, but खाइय् *khāiba* or खैय् *khaiba* you will eat (see § 508). So पढ् *parha* read you, but पढ् *parh* read thou. Again पढ्यल *parhaila* you read, not पढ्यल् *parhail* (see § 500). — In Kellogg's Hindi Grammar (p. 201. 233—241) the forms of the 2. pl. are given, by mistake, as forms of the 2. sg. Colloquially the plur. is commonly used in the place of the sing. This practice, probably, has been the cause of the misapprehension.

496. *Affinities.* The E. H., I believe, is the only Gḍ. language, in which the pres. of the conj. and of the imper. are completely identical. In W. Gḍ. the two tenses are also alike, with the exception of the 2. sg. But in S. Gḍ., N. Gḍ. and E. Gḍ. (exc. E. H.) the differences are more numerous; viz. 2. and 3. sg. differ in B., 2. and 3. sg. and pl. in N., and 1., 2. and 3. sg. and 2. and 3. pl. in M. — The tense, which is *now* the pres. conj. in E. H., exists in all Gḍs., but in some of them it has slightly modified its original meaning. It was originally the same as the Skr. and Pr. pres. indic.; and this sense it has preserved in M., though it is now used only in a special case, viz. as a *historical present* or what practically amounts to a *habitual past* (see Man. 59, 3, e. g., तो बहेरु निघे *he sallies forth* = *he used to sally forth*); but in O. M. it is employed for the ordinary pres. indic. (Man. 138). Again in B., O. and G. it is both a pres. indic. and a pres. conj. (see S. Ch. 136. 142. Sn. 27. 32. Ed. 54). On the other hand, in E. H., W. H., P., S. and N. it is only a pres. conj. (see Tr. 284—287. Ld. 23, 74. 53)<sup>1</sup>). As a natural

1) Even in these languages it may still be heard occasionally as a pres. ind., e. g., E. H. गुरु तोह् के बोलावै *the teacher calls you*; see also Tr. 287, note and Kl. 206. 212, 402. a; and in O. H. it is still the ordinary



consequence the W. and N. Gd. and E. H. form a new pres. indic. by adding to the old pres. some auxiliary verb (see §§ 500. 501). On the other hand, M. employs, for the purpose of expressing the pres. conj., the part. fut. (called *supine* in Man. 62, see §§ 313. 509, 3), ending in the sing. in *आवा* m., *आवी* f., *आवे* n., in the pl. *आवे* m., *आवा* f., *आवी* n. G. may do the same; there the termin. are *अवी* m., *अवी* f., *अवे* n. (called *second pres. of the second pot.* in Ed. 54, see § 509, 3)<sup>1</sup>). — In all W. Gds. the pres. conj. (i. e., the old pres. ind.) may be used as a future. Such was the case in O. M. also (Man. 59, 3. note); but it is not so in modern M. In O. M. it was also used in the sense of the *habitual past* (Man. 59, 3. note), as it is in modern M. (see above); but of this usage there are traces even in Pr.; see Wb. Spt. 63; e. g., *तद्वा पा र्मसि* *thou wast not wont to enjoy* (Spt. 91), or *तद्वा पा षेसि* *thou wast not wont to direct* (Spt. A, 38). — The following table shows the various Gd. termin. of this tense:

Present conjunctive or old pres. indic.

	M.	N.	B.	O.	E. H.	H. H.	Br.	Mw.	P.	G.	S.
1.	ए <sup>3</sup>	उ, ए	इ	इ, अइ	ओ	उ	ओ	उ, उ	आ	उ	आ
2.	अन्, एन् <sup>1</sup>	इस्, ए <sup>1</sup>	इम् <sup>1</sup>	उ <sup>1</sup>	उ, अक्.	ए <sup>1</sup>	ऐ <sup>1</sup>	ए <sup>1</sup>	ऐ <sup>1</sup>	ए <sup>1</sup>	ऐ, ई <sup>2</sup>
3.	ए <sup>4</sup>	ए <sup>10</sup>	ए <sup>7</sup>	अइ, ए <sup>7</sup>	ऐ	ए	ऐ	ए	ए	ए	ए
4.	उ	ओ, ए	इ	उ, इ	ई	ऐ	ऐ	आ	ये	ये	उ
5.	आ <sup>5</sup>	ओ, ए	अ	अ	अत्, अ	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ
6.	अत् <sup>6</sup>	अन्, ए <sup>8</sup>	एन् <sup>8</sup>	अंति <sup>9</sup>	ऐ	ऐ	ऐ	ऐ	अपा	ए	अनि

In the pres. imper.: 1) अ quiesc.; 2) इ or उ; 3) उ; 4) ओ or उ; 5) आ; 6) ओत् or उत्; 7) उ (or B. उक्); 8) उन्; 9) अंतु or उंत; 10) ओस्.

pres. ind. (Kl. 221, 224). — In the various Gd. grammars this tense is called by a great variety of names; thus *second potential* or *optative* by Ed. 54, *potential* by Tr. 284, *indefinite future* of the pot. mood by Ld. 53, *contingent future* by Kl. 158. 163, *prospective conditional* by Eth. 73; but *pres. subjunctive* by S. Ch. 136. Sn. 32.

1) With trans. verbs the *karmani prayoga* must be used (see § 487), because this part. is properly pass.; but with intrans. verbs the *kartari prayoga*; in the latter case, M. adds in the 2. pers. the suff. स् sg. and त् pl., but the first and third pers. are alike. Thus M. तू सुटावास् *thou*

497. *Derivation.* 1) The Gd. pres. conj. and pres. imp. are the same as the Skr. pres. indic. and pres. imp. respectively. But in the same measure as the Skr. pres. indic. assumed a conj. sense in Gd., it also became capable of doing duty for the pres. imp. and was, consequently, confounded with it; but so, that, as a rule, the pres. conj. superseded the pres. imper., while in the 2. pers. the imp. took the place of the conj. It will be observed that M., in which the pres. indic. has fully preserved its original indic. sense, possesses both tenses (pres. ind. and pres. imp.) in a complete form, and in B. and O., where its indic. sense is predominant, the greater part of the two senses is preserved; while in W. Gd. and E. H., where its sense is almost exclusively conj., the amalgamation of the two tenses is more or less complete. This amalgamation had already begun in Pr.<sup>1</sup>). Thus in the Ap. Pr. the suff. of the 1. sg. उं, 2. sg. हि and, possibly, 2. pl. हु of the imper. are optionally, though commonly, substituted for the suff. मि of the 1. sg., सि 2. sg. and ह 2. pl. pres. indic. (H. C. 4, 383. 384. 385; e. g., Ap. कट्टं or कट्टमि *I cut* = Skr. कर्तवामि, E. H. काटो<sup>०</sup> or कटो<sup>०</sup>; Ap. रुग्रहि or रुग्रसि *thou weapest* = ved. Skr. रुदसि; Ap. इच्छु or इच्छह *you wish* = Skr. इच्छ्य). On the other hand, even in the Mh. Pr. the suff. गो and ह of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. pres. ind. are also used for the imper. and conj. (H. C. 3, 176; e. g., M. हसह *you laugh* or *you may laugh* = Skr. हसथ or हसत or हसेत; Mh. हसामो *we laugh* or *we may laugh* = Skr. हसामः or हसाम or हसेम). — 2) *Pres. conj.* (= old pres. ind.): a) The termin. of the 1. sg. is in Skr. अमि, Pr. अमि or अमि (H. C. 3, 141. 154. Vr. 7, 3. 30), Ap. Pr. अमि or अटं (H. C. 4, 385).

*mayest get loose*, but त्वीं घोडा सोडावा *thou mayest loose the horse* (lit. *by thee the horse may be loosed*); again मी or तो सुटावा *I or he may get loose*.

1) Analogous is the occasional use in Pr. of the pres. ind. as a (pret.) conj., of which Wb. Spt. 62. 82 gives a few examples; thus Spt. 326 नइ पा ह्येति *if they were not* (= Skr. यदि न भवति). The Gds. do not use the old pres. ind. in this manner, but express the pret. conj. by means of the part. pres. (see §§ 506. 507); thus E. H. नो न ह्येतै<sup>०</sup>.

The former is preserved in the O. अइँ, M. ऐँ, B. इ; e. g., Skr. पठामि *I read*, Pr. पठामि or पठमि, O. पठइँ, M. पठेँ, B. and O. पठि. The latter becomes in O. H. अउँ, Br. ओँ, E. H. ओँ, H. H. उँ, Mw. उँ or उँ, G. उँ, N. उ; thus Ap. Pr. पठउं *I read*, O. H. पठउँ, Br. पठोँ, E. H. पठोँ, H. H. and Mw. पठूँ, G. पठुँ, N. पठु. The S. and P. अॉ, as पठॉ, must be a modification either of अउँ = ओँ or अइँ = ऐँ. The Psh. and Pers. have अम्. — b) The term. of the 2. sg. is in Skr. असि, Pr. असि (H. C. 3, 140. Vr. 7, 2), Ap. Pr. असि or अहि (H. C. 4, 384). The former is preserved in the O. H. असि or (by transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, see § 148, note) ऐच, M. अस् or एस्, B. and N. (by shortening of ए) इस्; thus Skr. पठसि *thou readest*, Pr. पठसि, O. H. पठसि or पठेस्, M. पठस् or पठेस्, B. and N. पठिस्. The latter becomes in O. H. अहि (still used in Br., see Kl. 202, 380) or अइ, W. H. ऐ, H. H. and G. ए; also P. ऐँ and S. ऐँ or ईँ, but with an anomalous *anunásika*; thus Ap. Pr. पठहि, O. H. पठहि or पठइ, W. H. पठै, H. H. and G. पठे, P. पठेँ, S. पठेँ or पठोँ. The Psh. has ए and Pers. ई. As to the E. H. and O. उ, O. H. उ or सु (Kl. 218, e. f), see Nro. 3, h. — c) The term. of the 3. sg. is in Skr. अति, Pr. अइ (H. C. 3, 139. Vr. 7, 1), which is preserved in the O. H. अइ (also अहि with anomalous ह्), O. अइ, but generally contracted to ऐ in E. H. and W. H. or ए in the rest; thus Skr. पठति *he reads*, Pr. पठइ, O. H. पठइ, O. पठइ or पठे, E. H. and W. H. पठै, B., M., N., H. H., G., P., S. पठे. The Psh. has ई and the Pers. अद्. — d) The term. of the 1. pl. is in Skr. ग्रामः, in Pr. ग्रामो or ग्रामु or ग्राम or ग्रमो or ग्रमु or ग्रम (H. C. 3, 144. 155. Vr. 7, 4. 31) or इमो or इमु or इम (H. C. 3, 155. Vr. 7, 31), Ap. Pr. इमु etc. or अहुँ (H. C. 4, 386). The form अहुँ, probably, contains an euph. ह् for अउँ for Pr. अमु (see § 127, note), perhaps to distinguish it from the 1. sg. अउँ (for Pr. 1. sg. imper. अमु, see Nro. 3, g) and to assimilate it to the 1. pl. अहिँ<sup>1</sup>). It becomes in N. ओँ, M. and

1) Compare also the O. H. 3. sg. अहि beside अइ (Nro. 2, c). — Cw. XXIX and Ls. 335 give optional 1. pl. termin. अम्हो, अम्ह (e. g., हसम्हो, हसम्ह *we laugh*). These, if correct, would account for the ह् in the Ap. अहुँ; but I know no authority for them; H. C. 3, 147. Vr. 7, 7 give only म्हो,

S. ऊँ, O. उँ or उ; thus Skr. पठामः *we read*, Pr. पठामो or पठामु or पठम्, Ap. Pr. पठहुं, N. पठोँ, M. and S. पठूँ, O. पठुँ or पठु. The Pr. form इगु or इग् contracts in E. H. to ईँ (see § 127), B. and O. (shortened) इ; thus Pr. पठिमु or पठिम, E. H. पठेँ. The intermediate form would be \*इअँ, which may either contract to ईँ (like M. पाणीँ *water*, for Pr. पाणिअँ, § 83, exc.) or drop final अ (like E. H. करि *having done*, for Pr. करिअँ, § 491); hence E. H. पठोँ, O. पठि. But apparently at an early period, it also became transposed to अइँ and modified to अहिँ, in assimilation, probably, to the 3. pl. अहिँ. Both अइँ and अहिँ occur in O. H. and are contracted to ऐँ in Br. and हँ in H. H.; thus O. H. पठइँ or पठहिँ, Br. पठेँ, H. H. पठेँ. In the strange G. and S. form ये, there seems to be a reminiscence of the original intermediate form \*इअँ; thus G. and S. पठये, perhaps for \*पठिअँ or \*पठिअइँ. The Mw. अँ is a modification of the N. अोँ or the Br. ऐँ, similarly as in the case of the P. and S. 1. sg. अँ (see Nro. 3, a). The Psh. has ऊ, the Pers. ईम्. — e) The term. of the 2. pl. is in Skr. अय, in Pr. अह (H. C. 3, 143. Vr. 7, 4) or अहं (with euph. anusvára, see H. C. 1, 27. Ls. 336), in Ap. Pr. अह or अहु (H. C. 4, 384). The former is only preserved in E. H. अह or अ, B. and O. अ, and M. अँ (for अहं); thus Skr. पठय *you read*, Pr. पठह or पठहं, E. H. पठह, B. and O. पठ, M. पठँ. The latter, I am inclined to explain as identical with the Skr. अयः of the 2. dual; it would regularly become in Pr. \*अहो or अहु<sup>1</sup>). In O. H. it becomes अहु or अउ, in Br. and N. अो, in the rest अो; thus Ap. Pr. पठहु, O. H. पठहु or पठउ, Br. and N. पठो, E. H., H. H., Mw., P., G., S. पठो. The Psh. has अइँ, the Pers. ईदू; the latter is represented by the Pr. इत्य (H. C. 3, 143 as हसित्य *you laugh*) which, however, has left no trace in Gd. — f) The term. of the 3. pl. is in Skr. अन्ति, in Pr. अन्ति (H. C. 3, 142. Vr. 7, 4), in Ap. Pr. अन्ति or अहिँ (H. C.

ह for the Skr. स्मः *we are*, where म्ह is perfectly regular for स्म् by H. C. 2, 74. Vr. 3, 32.

1) Just as 1. pl. Pr. अगो or अगु for Skr. अगमः; see also Nro. 3, 1; Ls. 468 identifies it with the Skr. ध्वम् of the átman. 2. pl. imper., but this would have changed to Pr. ऊँ, as felt by himself, p. 336.

4, 382). The former is only preserved in O. अंति and M. अत् (see § 146, note); thus Skr. पठन्ति *they read*, Pr. पठन्ति, O. पठन्ति, M. पठन्. The latter becomes in O. H. अहिँ or अइँ, E. H. and Br. ऐँ, H. H. ऐँ, also Mw. ऐँ and G. ए with loss of *anunásika*; thus Ap. Pr. पठहिँ, O. H. पठहिँ or पठइँ, E. H. and Br. पठेँ, H. H. पठेँ, Mw. पठे, G. पठे. The origin of the Ap. form अहिँ is disclosed by the O. H. termin. अन्दि or एन्दि (for \*इअन्दि) of the pret. tense (see § 503). It appears that अंति was changed to अंदि, then to अन्दि and finally to अन्दि (see § 161). The O. H. अन्दि is preserved in the S. अन्दि, B. एन् (with transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, § 148, note), P. अण्, N. अन्. Thus S. पठन्दि, B. पठेन्, P. पठण्, N. पठन्. The Psh. has इँ and the Pers. अन्द् (softened for अन्त्). — 3) *Pres. imper.*: g) The term. of the 1. sg. is in Skr. अग्नि, which, however, is a peculiar suff. and does not exist in Pr. The latter has the regular suff. अग्नु or अग्न (H. C. 3, 173. Vr. 7, 18); in the Ap. Pr. it becomes अउँ (see § 127)<sup>1</sup>) and becomes a suff. of the pres. conj. (or indic., H. C. 4, 385, see § 497, 2, a). In M. it contracts to ऊँ, but remains a suff. of the 1. sg. imper.; while in E. H. it contracts to ओँ and passes to the pres. conj., and so in all W. Gds. and in N. Gd. On the other hand, B. and O. have lost it, and use the suff. इ of the pres. conj. instead. Thus (Skr. पठानि), Pr. पठानु or पठनु *let me read*, Ap. Pr. पठउँ *I may read* or *I read*, M. पठेँ *let me read*, E. H. पठेँ *I may read* or *I read*, etc. — h) The term. of the 2. sg. is in Skr. अहि (suff. हि) or अ; Pr. has preserved the regular termin. अन्नु besides अहि and अ (H. C. 3, 173. 174. 175. Vr. 7, 18), and the Ap. Pr. has, besides अहि, also ए or इ or उ (H. C. 4, 387. K. I. 62 in Ls. 453). The term. अन्नु must have existed in the Ap. Pr.; for it is still found occasionally in O. H., both in the sense of the imper. and the pres. conj. (see Kl. 218, f. 220, 1). Similarly the term. अहि is used also for the pres. indic. in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 383) and for the pres. conj. in W. Gd. (see

1) I prefer this explanation of the origin of the Ap. term. अउँ to that previously given in § 122, note.

§ 497, 2, b), but in the O. H. is still occurs both for the imper. and the pres. conj. (Kl. 204). The Ap. termin.  $\overline{\text{ए}}$  is a contraction of  $\text{अ}$  (of the X<sup>th</sup> class or causal imper.) and represents the Skr. and Pr. term.  $\text{अ}$ , while the Ap. term.  $\overline{\text{इ}}$  is a curtailment of  $\overline{\text{ए}}$ , and the term.  $\overline{\text{उ}}$  perhaps a corruption of the  $\text{अ}$ . This is clearly shown by the S., which has preserved both  $\overline{\text{इ}}$  and  $\overline{\text{उ}}$ , and uses the former for trans. verbs (which correspond to the old caus. and X<sup>th</sup> class verbs, see §§ 472. 473), while it adds the latter to intrans. verbs (Tr. 251). The term.  $\overline{\text{उ}}$  is preserved also in O. H. (see Kl. 218, e. 220, 1), E. H. and O., but has assumed also the sense of the pres. conj.; while throughout Gd. (exc. S. and optionally O. H. and E. H.) it becomes *quiescent* (i. e.  $\text{अ qu.}$ ) when used in its proper sense of the imper. Thus Pr.  $\text{पठसु}$  *read thou*, but O. H.  $\text{पठसु}$  *read thou or thou mayest read*; or Pr.  $\text{पठहि}$  *read thou*, Ap. Pr.  $\text{पठहि}$  *read thou or thou readest*, O. H.  $\text{पठहि}$  *read thou or thou mayest read or thou readest*; or Skr.  $\text{पठ}$  *read thou*, Pr.  $\text{पठ}$ , Ap.  $\text{पठु}$ , O. H. and E. H.  $\text{पठु}$  *read thou and thou mayest read*, O.  $\text{पठु}$  *thou mayest read*, E. H.  $\text{पठु}$  *read thou or thou mayest read*, all other Gds. (exc. S.)  $\text{पठु}$  *read thou*. Again Pr.  $\text{पठे}$  (cf. H. C. 3, 158) *read thou*, Ap.  $\text{पठे}$  or  $\text{पठि}$ , S.  $\text{पठि}$ . — i) The term. of the 3. sg. is in Skr.  $\text{अतु}$ , in Pr.  $\text{अउ}$  (H. C. 3, 173. Vr. 7, 18) and becomes in M.  $\text{अं}$  or  $\text{उ}$ , O.  $\text{उ}$ , B.  $\text{उक्}$ , N.  $\text{ओस्}$  (or after vowels  $\text{वस्}$ ). The additions,  $\text{क्}$  in B. and  $\text{स्}$  in N., are pleon. suff. of obscure meaning and origin; perhaps they are enclitic pronouns, viz. indef.  $\text{के}$  or 3. pers.  $\text{से}$  (see § 503). Thus  $\text{पठतु}$  *let him read*, Pr.  $\text{पठउ}$ , M.  $\text{पठो}$  or  $\text{पठू}$ , O.  $\text{पठु}$ , B.  $\text{पठुक्}$ , N.  $\text{पठोस्}$  (or  $\text{तत्रस्}$  *let him go*). — k) The termin. of the 1. pl. is in Skr.  $\text{आम}$ ; but Pr. substitutes the termin.  $\text{आमो}$  or  $\text{अमो}$  (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20) or  $\text{अमु}$  and Ap. Pr.  $\text{अहुं}$  (K. I. 64, in Ls. 453) of the pres. indic. The same is also done in all Gds.; thus (Skr.  $\text{पठाम}$ ), Pr.  $\text{पठमो}$  or  $\text{पठमु}$  *let us read*, Ap.  $\text{पठहुं}$ , N.  $\text{पठौ}$ , M.  $\text{पठू}$ , etc., see § 497, 2, d. — l) The termin. of the 2. pl. is in Skr.  $\text{आत}$ ; but Pr. substitutes the termin.  $\text{अह}$  (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20) of the pres. indic. The Ap. Pr. has  $\text{अउ}$  (K. I. 63, in Ls. 453) which is

the same as ऋद् of the pres. indic. (see § 497, 2, e), but has dropped ह्<sup>1</sup>). It occurs also in all W. Gds., and after vowels in N.; while the Pr. ह is preserved in the E. Gds. and M., and also, after consonants, in N. Thus (Skr. पठत), Pr. पठह् *read you*, E. H. पठह् or पठ (*parha*), B., O. and N. पठ, M. पठा (for \*पठम = पठह्); but Ap. पठउ, Br. पठौ, Mw., G., P., S. पठो, in fact identical with the 2. pl. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2, e). — m) The term. of the 3. pl. is in Skr. अन्तु, Pr. अंतु (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20), it is preserved in the O. अंतु or उत् (by transfer of उ into the preceding syllable, § 148, note), M. अंतु or उत्, B. and N. उन्. Thus Skr. पठन्तु *let them read*, Pr. पठंतु, O. पठंतु or पठुत, M. पठेत् or पठूत्, B. and N. पठुन्. The change of उत् to उन् is analogous to that of अत् to अन् (see § 497, 2, f). The other Gds. substitute the 3. pl. of the pres. conj. — 4) As regards the contracted E. H. terminations, they will be understood from the following examples: Skr. खादति *he eats*, Pr. खाद्यद् or खाद् (H. C. 4, 228), E. H. खाय्; Skr. खादामि *I eat*, Pr. खामि or खामि, Ap. Pr. खाउं, E. H. खाव्, etc.

*Note:* It may be observed, that B. uses the termin. of the 3. pl. for the 2. pl. in respectful address: thus pres. B. पठेन् *you read* (lit. *they read*), pret. पठिलेन् *you read* or पठियाहेन् *you have read*, पठियाहिलेन् *you had read*, fut. पठिसेन् *you will read*, etc. In M. this is always done in the 2. pl. of the pres. conj. (see § 509, 3), the termin. of which अवेत् m., अव्यात् f., अवीत् n. really belong to the 3. pl. See also § 501, footnote on p. 342.

498. The pres. imper. may optionally add the following suff. in the 2. person.; viz., sing. इहे and plur. इह; e. g., पठिहे *read thou*, पठिह् *read you*. This is a respectful form of the imper., implying request or prayer rather than command, and may be called a *precativè*. Sometimes it is used in the sense of a simple future.

499. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the corresponding suff. of the old Skr. and Pr. future. The use of the fut. to express the imper. is easily intelligible.

1) *Is.* reads उ, which is probably a false reading for उ or हु.

The corresponding Skr. termin. are: sg. इष्यति, pl. इष्यथ, in the Ap. Pr. sg. इहहि and pl. इहह or इहहृ, in E. H. sg. इहे (for \*इहइ = इहह), pl. इह (for \*इहहृ); in O. S., and occasionally M. S., pl. इहो (for \*इहउ); e. g., कलिहो *seize ye* (Tr. 266). — The corresponding suff. in W. H. are: sg. इये and pl. इयो; that is, the medial ह् is elided, and the hiatus filled up by the connecting semivowel य्. P. has sg. ई, pl. ईओ (Ld. 44); B. has pl. इओ (S. Ch. 147); and S. has sg. इति or एति or इता or इताइ, pl. इतो or एतो or इताउ or इताह (Tr. 266. 267); G. sg. अते, pl. अतो; Mw. sg. अतै or ईतै or अये, pl. अतो or ईतो or अयो (Kl. 211. 212); Br. sg. इये or इयै or इयै or इतै or ईतै, pl. इयो or इयो or इयो or इतो or ईतो (Kl. 204). I am inclined to think, that the W. Gd. forms are really passive, but used actively. Thus (Skr. पद्यसे), Ap. Pr. पद्योअहि or पद्यित्ताहि or पद्येत्ताहि (H. C. 3, 175), Br. पद्यीयै or पद्यियै, P. पद्यी, or Mw. पद्यीते, S. पद्यित्ते or पद्येते, G. पद्यते; plur. (Skr. पद्यथ्रे), A. Pr. पद्योअहु or पद्यित्ताहु, Br. पद्यीयो, P. पद्यीओ, Mw. पद्यीतो, S. पद्यीतो or पद्येतो. The increment इत्त or इत्ता or एत्त or एत्ता is found also in Pr. All verbs in Pr. may use it in the 2. pers. of the imper. (H. C. 3, 175), while the verb हो (Skr. भू) *to be* and others ending in a vowel (H. C. 3, 178. K. I. 315, in Ls. 357) may adopt it in any tense. This shows, I think, that these forms cannot well be identified with the single Skr. precative (or benedictive) tense (as Ls. 357) <sup>1</sup>, but constitute a regularly conjugated passive verb which, however, has assumed an active sense (see § 348). Thus *pres. tense*, Pr. होइ or होइत्ताइ *he is* (H. C. 3, 178) = Skr. भवति or (pass.) भूयते. There is also a longer form होइत्ताइ, where the tendency of the pass. suff. व् to revert to its original radical state वा (which is fully developed in the Gd. pass., see § 481) already shows itself; for Pr. होइत्ताइ is, as it were, a compound of भू + वाति lit. *he is going to be*; compare the real H. H. compound हो त्ताइ *he becomes*, E. H. होय् त्ताय्. Again in the *imper.*, Pr. होउ or होउत्ताउ *let him be* = Skr. भवतु or

1) It is probable, however, that the Skr. pass. and prec. are formed on the same principle, by compounding the auxil. verb वा *to go* with the root; e. g., 3. sg. भूयान् *may he be* = R. भू and 2<sup>nd</sup> aorist वात्.



(pass.) भूयतां (lit. \*भूयतु, for the Pr. prefers the parasm. suff., see Ls. 333); also Pr. होङ्गाउ (H. C. 3, 178) = \*भू + यात्. Again in the fut., Pr. होहिषि or होङ्गाहिषि *thou wilt be* = Skr. भविष्यसि or (pass.) भविष्यसे (lit. \*भूयस्यसे, for Pr. incorporates the pass. suff. य, see § 346); also Pr. होङ्गाहिषि (H. C. 3, 178) = \*भू + यास्यसि. Again in the imper., Pr. हससु or हसेङ्गसु *laugh thou* (H. C. 3, 175) = Skr. हस or (pass.) हस्यस्व; also Pr. हसेङ्गहि or contr. हसेङ्गे (H. C. 3, 175), whence S. हसेङ्गि or हसिङ्गि. S. has also a longer form हसेङ्गाइ or हसिङ्गाइ lit. = \*हस् + याहि. Similarly S. pl. हसेङ्गो or हसिङ्गो *laugh ye* presuppose a Ap. Pr. (not mentioned by H. C.) हसेङ्गहु. In Pr. all the personal suff. may be dropped, and that, in all tenses alike; thus leaving the mere increment इङ्ग or एङ्ग as a universal termination; and this curtailed form may be used with all roots, whether ending in a vowel or consonant; thus Pr. होङ्ग or होङ्गा may mean: *he is* or *he may be* or *let him be* or *he was* or *he has been* or *he will be*, etc.; similarly पढेङ्ग or पढेङ्गा may mean: *he reads*, *he will read*, or *let him read*, etc. (H. C. 3, 177). Of this usage, however, I believe, there is no trace in Gd.

500. *Present indicative.* This tense is made by adding the following suff. to the root of the verb according to the gender, number and person of the subj.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. ऐलो (or ऐल्यो)	ऐल्यै	ईला	ईला
2. ऐले or ऐलेस्	ऐली or ऐलिस्	ऐल or ऐलइ (or ऐल्यइ)	ऐल्यै
3. ऐला	ऐले	ऐलै or ऐलेन्	ऐली or ऐलिन्

Optionally the initial ऐ may be changed to अ (§ 26); thus masc. अलो, fem. अल्यै, etc.; but 1. pl. only ईला. After roots in अ or ए and the R. हो, the initial ऐ or अ (but not इ) is dropped. Thus 1. sg. masc. लो, fem. ल्यै, etc.; but 1. pl. always ईला.

501. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) It has been stated in §§ 496. 497 that the old pres. indic. has been changed into the pres. conj. in E. H., N. and the W. Gds. Accordingly these languages (ex. P. see Nro. 2, p. 343) form a new pres. indic. by adding to the old tense some auxil. verb, viz. in Bh. लो, Mth.

ही, N. हूँ, Br. होँ or हूँ (Kl. 206, a), Mw. हूँ or हूँ (Kl. 212, 402), G. हूँ (Ed. 54), S. थो (Tr. 293). The Mth., N., Br., Mw. and G. forms ही, हूँ or हूँ, हूँ or होँ are those of the pres. tense of the auxil. verb *to be* (see § 514, 4. 5); but while Br., Mw. and G. simply add them to the unchanged termin. of the pres. conj., Mth. and N. first reduce the latter to the uniform type ऐ and अ respectively. Thus Br. करौँ होँ or करँ हूँ, Mw. करँ हूँ or करँ हूँ, G. करँ हूँ, but Mth. करै ही, N. गर हूँ or गर हूँ *I do*; Br. करै है, Mw. करै है or करै है, G. करे है, Mth. करै है, N. गर इस *thou doest*, etc. The S. form थो is the past part. of the auxil. verb विष्णु *to be* (contr. for विष्णो, Tr. 305, see § 514, 6), and is simply added to the pers. termin. of the pres. conj., but agrees in gender and number with the subj.; thus S. masc. करिँ थो *I do*, fem. करिँ थो, pl. masc. करिँ या *we do*, fem. करिँ थिँ, etc. The E. H. form लोँ is the 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. of the auxil. verb आव् *to come*, curtailed from ऐलोँ (see § 509, 4). It is conjugated regularly (see § 504), with the exception of the 3. sg. and 1. pl., where it has ला for \*ल् and \*ली (i. e., 3. sg. ऐल् or आयल्, 1. pl. ऐली); and the pers. termin. of the pres. conj., to which it is added, are not the ordinary ones but a uniform type in ऐ (as in Mth.) or in अ (as in N.), with the exception of the 1. pl. which preserves its regular term. ई<sup>1</sup>). It may be observed, that in Gw. the forms, sg. लो, pl. ला, are used as an auxil. verb, in the sense of *he is, they are*, etc., by the side of the ordinary W. H. है, है, इ, etc. (Kl. 198, 200); e. g., Gw. कोई लो or कोई इ or कोई है or कोई है

1) The uniform ऐ-type can easily be explained. In Br. the 2. and 3. sg. pres. conj. ends in ऐ, the 1. pl. in ऐँ. In O., the 1. sg. ends in अई which would easily contract to ऐ. Lastly in Br. the 3. pl. एन् is also used in the 2. pl. (see S. Ch. 142 and § 497, note; e. g., करेन् *they do* and *you do*); this is sometimes also done in Bs. (e. g., अहँ or अहेन् *they are* or *you are*; but the proper 2. pl. अह् or अह or अहो is also used); similarly the E. H. 3. pl. ऐँ would intrude into the 2. pl. Final anunasika is dropped. According to these analogies every person of the E. H. pres. conj. might end in ऐ. The अ-type of the N. is but a shorter form of the ऐ-type (see § 26).

*is there any one?* In E. H. the forms of the pres. indic. are sometimes used in the sense of a future indic.; e. g., E. H. माई आवैले तबू खाईला i. e. *when mother comes, then we shall eat*. Now it will be shown in § 509, 4, that the fut. indic. is made precisely in the same way (by adding the auxil. part. ल *come* to the pres. conj.) in Mw., M. and N.; and it may be observed, that in the Br. and P. their fut. indic., which is made in an analogous way by adding the auxil. part. ग *gone* to the pres. conj. (§ 509, 5), is also used as a pres. indic. in the case of the substant. verb *to be*; thus compare Br. and P. हूँ or हैगा (हैगी) masc. *he is*, fem. है or हैगी with Br. होयगी, H. H. होग, P. होवेगा masc., °गी fem. *he or she will be*; again Br. हूँ or हैंगे masc. *we are*, fem. हैँ or हैंगे, P. masc. हाँ or हांगे, fem. हाँ or हांगी with Br. होयंगे, H. H. होंगे, P. होवंगे masc. *we shall be*, fem. Br. °गी, H. H. °गी, P. °गी, etc. Again the presence of a long vowel in the antepenultimate, as E. H. सूतैलो I sleep (of R. सूत), proves the composite character of the forms of the pres. indic. (viz. सूतै + लो); for otherwise, if they were single words, such a vowel would be shortened by the rule of § 25. Lastly these composite forms naturally yield the sense of a pres. indic. Thus सूतैलो which means lit. *I have come (that) I may sleep* or *I have come to sleep*, may easily pass into *I am sleeping* or *I sleep*. Literally these forms express, that the action is the *present result* of preceding events; e. g., „I have come to be happy“ is equal to „I am happy“ now. — 2) The H. H. and P. and, optionally, the Bs., Br. are peculiar in adding the auxil. verb हूँ, हाँ, अहेउँ, होँ resp., not to the old pres. tense, but to the pres. part. in ता, दा, तू, तु resp. Thus sing. Bs. कर्तु अहेउँ masc., °ति अ° fem. (Kl. 241), Br. कर्तु हूँ or °ती होँ m., °ति or °ती हूँ or होँ f. (Kl. 202, a. 204, 283), P. कर्दा हाँ m., °दी हाँ f. (Ld. 29. 37. 46), H. H. कर्ता हूँ m., °ती हूँ f. *I do*; plur. Bs. कर्तु अही m., °ति अही f., Br. कर्तु हैँ or °ते हैँ m., °ति or °ती हैँ f., P. कर्दे हाँ m., °दीयाँ हाँ f., H. H. कर्ते हैँ m., °ती हैँ f. *we do*, etc. Sometimes the auxil. verb is omitted; but in that case, the forms are properly those of

the pret. conj. — 3) In M. the old pres. indic. has assumed the sense of a *habitual past* (§ 496). Hence it forms a new pres. indic. by suffixing the ordinary personal termin. to the pres. part. in अत् (Man. 69. 72), in the same way as in the E. H. pret. conj. (§ 506). Thus M. करितो<sup>m.</sup>, करित्वे<sup>f.</sup>, करिते<sup>n.</sup> *I do*; करितोग्<sup>m.</sup>, करितोस<sup>f.</sup>, करितेन्<sup>n.</sup> *thou doest*, etc. — 4) In B., O. and optionally in G., the old pres. indic. having retained its original indic. sense (§ 496), is still used as such (S. Ch. 142. Sn. 27. Ed. 54). Thus B. करि, O. करइ, G. करह *I do*; B. करिस्, O. कर, G. करे *thou doest*, etc. — 5) I add a comparative table of the terminations:

## Singular.

	B.	O.	E. H.	Mth.	Br.	Mw.	G.
1.	इ	अइ	एँ लो	ऐ हो	ओ हो	ऊँ हूँ, ऊँ हूँ	उँ, उँ हूँ
2.	उस्	उ	एँ लेस्	ऐ हे	ऐ हे	ऐ हे, ऐ हे	ए, ए हे
3.	ए	अइ	एँ ला	ऐ अहि	ऐ हे	ऐ हे, ऐ हे	ए, ए हे
	N.	S.	M.	Bs.	Br.	H. H.	P.
1.	अहूँ, अहूँ	आँ यो	अतो	अत् अहेउँ	अत् हूँ <sup>1)</sup>	अता हूँ	अदा हूँ
2.	अ इस्	एँ यो	अतोस्	अत् अहेस्	अत् हे	अता हे	अदा हे
3.	अ इ	ए यो	अतो	अत् अहे	अत् हे	अता हे	अदा हे

## Plural.

	B.	O.	E. H.	Mth.	Br.	Mw.	G.
1.	इ	उँ	ई ला	ऐ हो	ऐँ हे	आँ हों, आँ हों	ये, ये ह्ये
2.	अ	अ	एँ लह्	ऐ हो	ओ हो	ओ हो, ओ हो	ओ, ओ हो
3.	एन्	अति	एँ लेन्	ऐ अवि	ऐँ हे	ऐ हे, ऐ हे	ए, ए हे
	N.	S.	M.	Bs.	Br.	H. H.	P.
1.	अ हूँ <sup>2)</sup>	ऊँ था	अतो	अत् अहो	अत् है	अते है	अदे हों
2.	अ हो	ओ था	अताँ	अत् अहह <sup>3)</sup>	अत् हो	अते हो	अदे हो
3.	अ हन्	अनि था	अतात्	अत् अहेन् <sup>3)</sup>	अत् है	अते है	अदे हन्

In the fem., S. changes यो and वा to यी and विऊँ, Br. अत् to अति, H. H. अता and अते to अती, P. अदा and अदे to अदी and अदीआँ; M. sg. 1. अत्वे<sup>m.</sup> or अतं<sup>m.</sup>, 2. अत्वेस् or अतेस् or अतीस्, 3. अती

1) Or, masc. अतो हो, fem. अती हो, etc.

2) Or, अ हूँ.

3) Or, 2. अत् अहो, 3. अत् अहे.

or अत्वे or अते; pl. fem. like masc. — *In the neut.*, M. has sg. 1. अते<sup>०</sup>, 2. अते<sup>०</sup>स, 3. अते<sup>०</sup>; pl. neut. like masc.

## 2. PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

502. *First preterite indicative.* A past tense indic., which I shall call the *first preterite* to distinguish it from the other form of the past indic. (§ 504), is made by modifying the termination of the past part. in इञ् or इ (see § 302) in the following manner according to the number and person (but not the gender) of the subj.

Sing. 1. यो<sup>०</sup>, 2. इस्, 3. इस्. Plur. 1. आ, 2. यो, 3. इन्.

There is no difference in meaning between the first and second preterites; they only differ in usage; the first pret. is said to be confined to the language of towns (*nāgarī bhāshā*).

*Exception.* As to some verbs which use an irregular past part. see § 304. E. g., कर्त्व् to do uses the forms किय (for किइञ्) in the 1. sg. and 1. 2. pl., and किहि in the 2. 3. sg. and 3. pl.; thus sing. 1. कियो<sup>०</sup>, 2. किहिस्, 3. किहिस्; plur. 1. किया, 2. कियो, 3. किहिन्. Like कर्त्व् are conjugated धर्त्व् to place, देव् to give, लेव् to take.

503. *Affinities and Derivation.* This tense exists in all Gds., exc. M.; but it is formed in a variety of ways. — 1) In O. H., E. H. and N. it is made by adding the suff. of the pres. conj. to the weak past participial form in इञ् or इ (§ 302). These suff. (after subtracting the initial अ of the terminations, see § 497) are: 1. sg. उँ or इँ (as in O. H. कर्त्तुँ, O. कर्त्तुँ I do); 2. sg. सि or हि or उ (as in O. H. कर्त्तुसि or कर्त्तुहि or E. H. कर्त्तु thou doest); 3. sg. इ or (with anomalous ह्) हि (as in O. H. कर्त्तुइ or कर्त्तुहि he does); 1. pl. उँ (as in N. कर्त्तुँ we do for \*कर्त्तुँ or N. जाँ we go); 2. pl. हु (as in O. H. कर्त्तुहु you do); 3. pl. न्हि or नि (as in S. कर्त्तुनि or कर्त्तुनि they do, Tr. 287). The part. termin. इञ् is generally contracted to ऐ and, sometimes, to अ in O. H. — a) The 1. sg. suff. उँ occurs in O. H. and E. H.; thus पठ्तिञ् + उँ = O. H. and Bs. पठ्तेँ or पठ्तेँ, Bh. पठ्ठुँ I read; the 1. sg. इँ in N.; e. g., पठ्तिञ् + इँ = N. पठ्तेँ I read or विञ् + इँ = N. थ्येँ or थियेँ I was. —

Again b) the 2. sg. हि or उ occur in O. H.; thus पठिग्र + हि = O. H. पठेहि or पठिग्र + उ = O. H. पठेउ or पठउ *thou readst*; the 2. sg. सि in O. H. and Bs., thus पठिग्र + सि = O. H. पठेसि, Bs. पठिसि; in E. H., N. and, optionally, in Bs. it is shortened to न्, Bs. पठेन्, Bh. and N. पठिन्, or विग्र + सि = N. थेम् or वियेम् *thou wast*. — Again c) the 3. sg. suff. हि occurs in O. H.; thus पठिग्र + हि = O. H. पठेहि *he read*. The 3. sg. इ does not exist in this tense. The E. H. adds the aff. न्, which in the longer form सि, occurs also in O. H. and Bs.; thus पठिग्र + aff. सि = O. H. पठेसि, Bs. पठिसि or पठेस्, Bh. पठिस् *he read*. Though these 3. sg. forms outwardly resemble those of the 2. pers., they can scarcely have the same origin<sup>1)</sup>. The same 3. sg. aff. न् exists also in P.; e. g., पठिग्रोन् *he read*, कीतोन् *he did* (Ld. 69); and also in N., though not in the pret. but the imper. (see § 497, 3. i, p. 338); e. g., पठोस् *let him read*. It is possibly a shortened form of the 3. pers. pron. ने, enclitically attached in a manner similar to the more general S. practice of affixing curtailed pron. forms to the verb (see Tr. 345 ff.); thus S. पठित्त-सि *he read*, फिरित्त-सि *he turned round* (Tr. 368). The N. adds in the 3. sg. no suff. at all, but uses the strong instead of the weak part. form; thus N. masc. पठ्यो or पठियो *he read*, fem. पठो *she read*, or masc. थ्यो or वियो *he was*, fem. विर्ह *she was*. — Again d) the 1. pl. उँ occurs in N.; thus पठिग्र + उँ = N. पठ्यूं or पठ्यूं *we read*, or विग्र + उँ = N. विउँ or थ्यूं or थ्यूं *we were*. The O. H. and Bs. use (just as in the pres. conj.) the suff. of the 3. pl. न्हि or नि, thus पठिग्र + न्हि (for न्ति) = O. H. पठेन्हि, Bs. पठिनि or पठेन्. The E. H. (Bh.) 1. pl. termin. ग्र is, perhaps, a modification for \*ग्रँ, containing the same 1. pl. termin. ग्रँ as the 1. pl. of the Mw. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2. d, p. 336); thus E. H. पठा *we read* for \*पठ्यग्रँ = पठिग्र + ग्रँ. — Again e) the 2. pl. हु occurs in O. H., E. H. and N.; thus पठिग्र + हु =

1) O. H. has, in the 3. sg., forms in षउ or ऐउ resembling those of the 2. pers., e. g., पठेउ or पठउ *he read*, but here उ is, probably, not a conjugational, but a pleon. suff. = Ap. Pr. पठिग्रउ, Pr. पठिग्रओ, Skr. पठितकः, corresponding to the S. 3. sg. पठिग्रो, N. पठ्यो.

O. H. प॒ठेहु, N. प॒ठिउ or प॒ठ्यो, Bh. प॒ठ्यो, Bs. प॒ठिउ *you read*, or N. वि॒अ + हु = वि॒यउ or थो *you were*. — Again f) the 3. pl. णि॒ह occurs in O. H., as प॒ठेहि *they read*, and णि in Bs. प॒ठिणि and न् in E. H. and N. प॒ठेन्, Bh. प॒ठिन्. The N., however, has more usually a suff. ए, which is perhaps a modification of \*ये or \*वे, containing the same 3. pl. suff. ए or ऐ as the 3. pl. of the G. and H. H. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2. f, p. 337); e. g., N. प॒ठे *they read* for \*प॒ठ्ये or \*प॒ठ्ये = प॒ठिअ + ऐ, or N. थे or वे *they were*. Sometimes N. omits the suff. altogether, and uses only the strong form of the past part.; thus N. प॒ठ्या *they read*, वि॒या or थ्या *they were*. — It will be observed, that this mode of forming the pret. indic. practically amounts to treating the past part. as a denominative verbal root. The treatment, generally, of past part. as denominative roots is not uncommon in E. H. (see § 352), and existed even in Pr. (see Wb. Bh. 429). In this particular case, no doubt, the practice originated from the similarity, in Pr., of participles, used denominatively, to participles accompanied by the auxil. verb अस् to be. Thus compare the denom. form, 1. sg. Pr. प॒ठिअणि, Ap. Pr. प॒ठिअउं (= Skr. \*पठितानि) *I read* with the common compound form, Pr. प॒ठिअ णि॒ह (H. C. 3, 147) = Skr. पठितोऽस्मि. — 2) In B. and O. this tense is made by adding the pres. tense of the auxil. verb आ॒हि or अ॒हि *I am* to the past part. in इअ or इ resp.; thus 1. sg. B. प॒ठिया॒हि *I read* for प॒ठिअ or प॒ठि + आ॒हि, O. प॒ठिअ॒हि = प॒ठि + अ॒हि; 2. sg. B. प॒ठिया॒हे, O. प॒ठिअ॒हु *thou readst*, etc. — 3) S. combines these two methods in the formation of this tense; viz., in the 1. sg. and pl. it adds (like the B. and O.) the auxil. verb सि *I am* and सो we are (for हि and हो, § 11); e. g., 1. sg. S. ह॒लिउ-सि masc., ह॒लिअ-सि fem., or (in poetry) ह॒लिओ-सि m., ह॒लिआ-सि f. *I went* (= O. च॒लिअ॒हि), pl. masc. ह॒लिअ-सो, fem. ह॒लिउ-सो *we went* (ह॒लिउ being the masc. and ह॒लिअ the fem. nom. sing. of the weak and ह॒लिओ, ह॒लिआ of the strong form of the past part.). In the 2. sg. and pl. it adds (like the E. H.) the person. term. of the pres. conj., sg. ऐ and pl. उ; thus 2. sg. ह॒लिऐ masc. (i. e., base ह॒लिअ + suff. हि), ह॒लिऐ or ह॒लिअौ

fem. *thou wentest*; pl. masc. हल्यउ (= E. H. चलयो), fem. हलिउं *you went*. In the 3. sg. and pl. it adds (like the N.) no suff. at all, but uses the strong instead of the weak participial form; thus 3. sg. हलिओ masc., हली fem. *he or she went* (= N. चलियो, चली); pl. masc. हलिआ, fem. हलिउं *they went* (= N. चल्या, चली). These remarks, however, apply only to intrans. verbs. In the case of trans. verbs, S. never adds any suff. or auxil. verbs, but uses only the strong past part. form; that is, in effect, trans. verbs have in S. only a 3. pers. sg. and pl. (but no 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons)<sup>1</sup>). It is a circumstance in which all W. Gds. agree with S., and which explains the peculiarity, that for the 1. and 2. pers. they can only employ the *Bhāvī prayoga* or impers. pass. construction (see § 487); e. g., *the disciple left me* is in Br. चेला ने मो कौं छोड्यो, S. चेले मूँ खे इडिओ lit. *by the disciple in regard to me it was left*, „me“ being either masc. or fem.; but not the *Karmani prayoga* or personal pass. contr. चेला ने हौं छोड्यो masc. or हौं छोडी fem., S. चेले अउं इडिओ masc. or अउं इडो fem., lit. *by the disciple I was left*. On the other hand, for the 3. pers., both the *Bhāvī* and *Karmani prayoga* may be used; thus *the disciple left that book* may be in Br. चेला ने ओह पोयो कौं छोड्यो, S. चेले हुन् पोयो खे इडिओ lit. *by the disciple, in regard to the book, it was left (Bhāvī)* or Br. चेला ने उ पोयो छोडी, S. चेले हू पोयो इडो lit. *by the disciple that book was left (Karmani)*. — 4) With regard to intrans. verbs, the W. H., P. and G. use (like S.) the past part. in the *Kartari prayoga*, but (unlike S.) they do not add any suff. or auxil. verb; thus *I walked* is in W. H. हौ चलयो m., हौ चली f., G. हुं चलयो m. or चली f., but S. अउं हलिउसि m. or हलिअसो f. — 5) I add a comparative table of the terminations:

1) It should be recollected that, in W. Gd., trans. verbs admit only of the pass. constr., which converts what, with us, is subj. into the obj. Thus our 1. pers. sing. „I left him“ becomes, in W. Gd., 3. pers. sg. „by me he was left“. Accordingly, in W. Gd., there could be a first person only we should have the accus. of the 1. pers. pron. as obj.; e. g., our 3. pers. „he left me“ ought to become, in W. Gd., 1. pers. „by him I was left“. But even here W. Gd. has no first pers., but employs the impersonal constr. „by him in regard to me it was left“.



Singular.

	B.	O.	O. H.	E. H.	N.	S.	
	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr.	tr.
1.	इयाद्धि <sup>1)</sup>	इअद्धि	ऐउं	यो <sup>७</sup>	एँ	इउमि <sup>2)</sup>	
2.	इयाद्धे	इअद्धु	ऐसि	इस्	इम्	इएँ	
3.	इयाद्धे	इअद्धद्	ऐ-सि	इ-स्	यो	इओ	इओ

	P.		G.		W. H.		H. H.	
	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.
1.	इआ		यो		यो		आ	
2.	इआ		यो		यो		आ	
3.	इआ	इआ	यो	यो	यो	यो	आ	आ

Plural.

	B.	O.	O. H.	E. H.	N.	S.	
	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr.	tr.
1.	इयाद्धि	इअद्धुं	ऐन्दि	आ	यूं	इआसी <sup>७</sup>	
2.	इयाद्ध	इअद्ध	ऐहु	यो	यो	वउ	
3.	इयाद्धेन्	इअद्धंति	ऐन्दि	इन्	या <sup>3)</sup>	इआ	इआ

	P.		G.		W. H.		H. H.	
	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.
1.	ए		या		ए		ए	
2.	ए		या		ए		ए	
3.	ए	ए	या	या	ए	ए	ए	ए

1) These B. term. are, ordinarily, pronounced एद्धि, एद्धे, etc.; thus करियाद्धि is pronounced करेद्धि *karechhi*, not *kariyáchhi*. In fact, the old way of spelling has been retained, though the pronunciation has changed; just as in English we still write „night“, but pronounce „nite“. The old past part. करिअ is contracted to करे (just as in E. H. the conj. past करिअ becomes करे, see § 491); and अद्धि curtailed into द्धि. The older forms इयाद्धि, etc. may occasionally be heard in solemn addresses (sermons, etc.). The cons. इ *chh* is always pronounced *ts*, or even *s* (as in M. and Mw., see § 11); e. g., करियाद्धि (or rather करेद्धि) is pronounced *karetsi* or even *karesi*. — Similarly the B. term. of the conj. part. इया is ordinarily contracted into ए; e. g., करिया *having done* is pronounced करे.

2) Or इओसि m., इआसि f.

3) Or ऐन् or ए com. gen.

In the fem. sg., N. यो, S. इओ, P. इआ, G. यो, W. H. यौ and H. H. आ are changed to ई; and S. has 1. इअनि, 2. इएँ or इअॉ; fem. pl., N. या, P. ए, G. या, W. H. and H. H. ए are changed to ईँ, and S. has 1. इअँमीँ, 2. and 3. इअँ.

*Note:* The plusperf. is a periphrastic tense in E. H. (see § 510, 7), exc. in Mth. which, like the B. and O., forms it by adding the past tense of the auxil. verb, Mth. इलोँ, B. आद्विलाम्, O. धेलि *I was*, etc. (see § 514, 6) to the past part. in इअ or इ. The part. termin. इअ is contracted in Mth. to ऐ. Thus 1. sg. Mth. पढइलोँ, B. पढियाद्विलाम्, O. पढियेलि *I had read*, etc. The resp. termin. are: 2. sg. Mth. ऐइलेँ, B. आद्विलि, O. इयेलु; 3. sg. Mth. ऐइल्, B. आद्विलि, O. इयेल; 1. pl. Mth. ऐइलोँ, B. आद्विलाम्, O. इयेलुँ; 2. pl. Mth. ऐइलोँ, B. आद्विले, O. इयेल; 3. pl. Mth. ऐइलाह्, B. आद्विलेन्, O. इयेले.

504. *Second preterite indicative.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the past part. in अल् or इल् (§ 302) in the following manner according to the gender, number and person of the subj.

Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1. अलोँ (or अल्योँ)	अल्युँ
2. अलेम् (intr.) or अले	अलिम् or अली
3. अल् (intr.) or अलेम् (tr.)	अल् (intr.) or अलेम् (tr.)
Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1. अली	अली
2. अलह् or अल (or अलयह्)	अलयु
3. अलेन् or अलैँ	अलिन् or अलीँ

In the 3. sg., trans. verbs take the suff. अलेन्, while the intrans. take अल्. Again in the 2. sg. masc. the suff. अलेम् is confined to intrans. verbs. The other suff. are common to both.

*Note:* In the eastern parts of the E. H. area the termin. are pronounced with इ, as इलोँ, इल्युँ, etc. — The forms enclosed in brackets are less usual.

505. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) This tense exists only in E. and S. Gd. It is made, like the first pret. indic., by

adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (see § 503) to the weak form of the past part. in अल् or इल्, except in M., which adds them to the strong form in अत्ता. It should be remarked, however, that B. and O. omit the suff. in the 3. sg. of all verbs, and E. H. in the 3. sg. of intrans. verbs. Again M. omits the suff. in the 3. sg. and pl. of intrans. verbs and in all persons, sg. and pl., of trans. verbs<sup>1</sup>). E. g., *he read the book* is in E. H. उ पायो पठलेस्, B. ओ पायो पठिल्, O. से पायो पठिला, M. त्या ने० पायो वाचिलो (Man. 65, 2, or exceptionally तो पायो पठला Man. 81, 133). On the whole the pers. suff. are added quite regularly. Thus a) 1. sg. उँ in E. H. and M.; e. g., wk. form, masc. पठल् + उँ = E. H. पठलोँ *I read*, fem. पठलि + उँ = E. H. पठल्युँ; here the final उँ is anomalous; it is possibly founded on the strong form पठलो = पठलिञ्च + उँ. Again strong form, masc. पठला + उँ = M. पठलोँ; but in the fem. M. adds the 1. sg. suff. इँ; this may be clearly seen in the pres. indic.; e. g., पठती = पठतिञ्च (Skr. पठन्तिका) + इँ = M. पठत्येँ or पठतेँ *I read*; similarly पठलो = पठलिञ्च + इँ = पठलेँ *I read*. In the neut., M. uses either उँ or इँ; thus पठलोँ or पठलेँ. O. shows the same 1. sg. termin. इ (a shortened form of अइँ), as in its pres. indic.; thus पठलि *I read*, just as अइँ or अइि *I am*. The B. has the 1. sg. termin. अम्, which appears to have preserved the original pres. indic. termin. अमि (see § 497, 2); thus पठिलाम् (= Mg. \*पठिदामि denom.). — Again b) the 2. sg. suff. सि or, shortened, स् occurs in E. H. and M.; thus wk. f. masc. रहल् + सि = E. H. रहलेस् with transfer of इ into the preceding syllable; fem. रहलि + स् = E. H. रहलिस् *thou remainedst*; or st. f. masc. पठला + स् = M. पठलास्, fem. पठलो + स् = M. पठलोस्, neut. पठलेँ + स् = M. पठलेँस् with an anomalous anunasika; for the suff. स् is anomalously added to the nom. sg. neut. पठलेँ instead of to the neut. base पठले

1) M. which constructs transitive verbs passively, like the W. Gds. (see § 487), not actively, like the E. Gds., follows the usage of the former languages (see § 503, 3, p. 348) in adding no suff. to the past part. of such verbs.

(= \*पठत्य = Mg. पठिद्य = Skr. पठितक). The 2. sg. हि is found in E. H. and B.; thus wk. f. masc. पठल + हि = E. H. पठले or (shortened) B. पठलि; fem. पठलि + हि = E. H. पठली *thou readst*. The 2. sg. उ is peculiar to O.; thus पठित्, just as in the O. pres. indic. पठु (see § 497, pp. 335. 336). — Again c) the 3. sg. मि occurs in the E. H. पठलेम्. But there is no suff. in M., B., O. or in intrans. verbs of E. H.; thus M. पठला m., पठली f., पठले n. *he read*, गेला m., गेली f., गेले n. *he went*, O. पठिला, गला c. g., B. पठिल्, गेल् c. g., E. H. गवल् c. g., but पठलेम्. — Again d) the 1. pl. उँ is found in M. and O.; thus M. पठलो c. g. or (shortened) O. पठलु c. g. *we read*. The E. H. shows the same 1. pl. termin. ई (but without *anunásika*) as in its pres. conj. (§ 497, 2, d, p. 336); thus E. H. पठली c. g. *we read* just as पठो *we read*. And the B. has preserved the original pres. indic. termin. ग्राम्; thus पठिलाम् (= Mg. \*पठिदाम् denom., or \*पठिदाम्). — Again e) the 2. pl. हु is preserved in the E. H. fem., thus पठलि + हु or, perhaps, st. f. पठलिग्र + हु = E. H. पठल्यू *you read*. Otherwise the 2. pl. ह or हं is used; thus wk. f. masc. पठल + ह = E. H. पठलह or (dropping ह, § 32) पठल *parhala*, O. पठिल c. g.; the B. पठिले c. g. apparently contracts final ग्रह *aha* to ए or stands for पठले, properly a 3. pl. form (see § 497, footnote and O. 3. pl. पठिले). Or st. f. पठला + हं = M. पठलाँ c. g. — Again f) the 3. pl. नि or, shortened, न् is preserved in E. H. and B.; thus wk. f. masc. पठल + नि = E. H. पठलेन्, B. पठिलेन् with transfer of final इ into the preceding syllable; fem. पठलि + न् = E. H. पठलिन्. The E. H. also shows the other 3. pl. termin. ऐ in the masc. पठलै *they read* and, slightly modified, in the fem. पठली, just as in the E. H. pres. conj. पठै *they read*. O. omits the *anunásika*, पठिले for \*पठिले. M. uses the strong form, but without any suff., पठले. — 2) As regards the E. H. optional forms, 1. sg. अल्यो and 2. pl. अल्यह, they contain probably the strong part. termin. अलय, with euph. य् for अलग्र; thus Skr. denom. \*पठितकामि (= पठितकोऽस्मि), Mg. \*पठिदग्रमि or \*पठिद्यमि, Ap. \*पठिद्यउं, E. H. पठिल्यो or पठल्यो. — 3) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

Singular.

	B.	O.	E. H.	M.
1.	इलाम्	इलि	अलो <sup>०</sup> m., अल्यु <sup>०</sup> f.	अलो <sup>०</sup> m., अले <sup>०</sup> f., अलो <sup>०</sup> or अले <sup>०</sup> n.
2.	इलि	इलु	अलेस् m., अलिन् f.	अलास् m., अलीम् f., अले <sup>०</sup> स् n.
3.	इल्	इला	अलेस् c. g., अल् c. g.	अला m., अली f., अले <sup>०</sup> n.

Plural.

1.	इलाम्	इलुं	अली c. g.	अलो <sup>०</sup> c. g.
2.	इले	इल	अलह् m., अल्यु <sup>०</sup> f.	अलो <sup>०</sup> c. g.
3.	इलेन्	इले	अलेन् m., अलिन् f.	अले m., अल्या f., अलो <sup>०</sup> n.

Note: The B. and O. forms are of common gender.

506. *Preterite conjunctive.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the pres. part. in अत् (§§ 298. 486) in the following manner, according to the gender, number and person of the subject.

Singular.

Plural.

	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	अतो <sup>०</sup> (or अत्यो <sup>०</sup> )	अत्यू	अतो or इत्	अतो or इत्
2.	अतेस् or अते	अतिस् or अतो	अतह् or अत (or अत्यह्)	अत्यू
3.	अत् or अतै	अत् or अतै	अतेन् or अतै <sup>०</sup>	अतिन् or अतै <sup>०</sup>

Note: The forms enclosed in brackets are more usual in Bs., than in Bh. — Occasionally this tense is used as a pres. indic.

507. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) This tense exists in all Gds., with the exception, apparently, of S. But while W. Gd. uses the strong form of the pres. part. without addition, to express the pret. conj., the E. and S. Gds. make it by joining to the same part. the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. These composite forms are made exactly on the same model as those of the second pret. indic., see § 505, where the matter has been fully explained. The E. Gds. use the weak, but M. the strong form of the part. Thus 1. sg. masc. O. H. पठतेडं or पठतडं, E. H. पठ्यो<sup>०</sup> or पठतो<sup>०</sup> (if) I read, B. पठिताम् (S. Ch. 147), O. पठन्ति (Sn. 32), M. पठतो<sup>०</sup> (Man. 60, 4. 73); but W. H. पठतो or पठतो, H. H. पठता (Kl. 167, a), P. पठदा (Ld. 37. 46, etc.), G. पठतो (Ed. 54); fem. O. H. पठतिडं or पठतेडं, E. H. पठ्युं, B. and O. like masc.,

M. पठते<sup>०</sup>, but W. H., H. H., G. पठती, P. पठदी; neut. M. पठतो<sup>०</sup>, but G. पठतुं, etc.; see the table of termin. below. The optional E. H. termin. इत् of the 1. pl. is, evidently, an intrusion from the B., where the pres. part. ends in इत, instead of in अत (see § 300). — It will be observed, that the M. termin. of the pret. conj. are nearly identical with those of its pres. indic.; the only difference being in the 3. sg. and plur. (e. g., 3. sg. masc. conj. अता, but indic. अतो; 3. pl. masc. conj. अते, but indic. अतात्) and in the 2. sg. masc. (viz. conj. अताम्, but indic. अतोम्). The indic. has more nearly preserved the old Pr. forms; and moreover, probably, uses the weak form of the part. Thus the M. 2. sg. indic. पठतोन् *thou readest* is the same as the Pr. पठतो सि; while the M. 2. sg. conj. पठताम् (*if thou readst*) is rather a denom. formation पठता + सि = Pr. \*पठतश्-सि; see the remarks in § 503, 1, p. 347. — In the other Gḍs. the pret. conj. itself may be occasionally used as a sort of indefinite pres. indic.<sup>1)</sup> Examples of this usage, of expressing the pret. conj. by means of the part. pres. with or without the auxil. verb अस् to *be*, are already found in Pr. (see Wb. Spt. 62. 63). Thus Spt. 26 इत् ज्ञाषांतोऽसि षा कुषांतो *if thou knewest, thou wouldst not do*. This would be in M. इत् ज्ञानताम् न कर्ताम्, E. H. ज्ञो ज्ञानतेस् न कर्तेस्. Of the two Pr. methods, that which dispenses with the auxil. verb appears to have given rise to the W. Gḍ. form of the pret. conj., while the other which uses that verb apparently led to the S. and E. Gḍ. denom. forms of the same tense. The fact that the Gḍ. pret. conj., and the analogously-formed tenses of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. and fut. indic., have different forms for the several genders, is thus explained by the Pr. For the part. with or without the auxil. verb, must, of course, agree with the subj. in regard to gender. — 2) S., apparently possesses no special pret. conj., but uses instead of it the ordinary pres. indic. (see Tr. 501). — 3) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

1) Called *indefinite imperfect* by Kl. 167, 323, *frequentative* by S. Ch. 147, *first present subjunctive* by Ed. 54.

Singular.

	B.	O.	E. H.	M.
1.	इतान्	अंति	अतो <sup>॑</sup> m., अत्यु <sup>॑</sup> f.	अतो <sup>॑</sup> m., अतो <sup>॑</sup> f., अतो <sup>॑</sup> n.
2.	इतिन्	अंतु	अतेन् m., अतिस् f.	अतास् m., अतीस् f., अतो <sup>॑</sup> स् n.
3.	इत्	अंता	अत् c. g.	अता m., अती f., अतो <sup>॑</sup> n.

	G.	W. H.	H. H.	P.
1.	अतो m., अती f., अतु <sup>॑</sup> n.	अतौ m., अती f.	अता m., अती f.	अदा m., अदी f.
2.	dto	dto	dto	dto
3.	dto	dto	dto	dto

Plural.

	B.	O.	E. H.	M.
1.	इतान्	अंतु	अती or इत् c. g.	अतो <sup>॑</sup> c. g.
2.	इत	अंत	अतह् m., अत्यु <sup>॑</sup> f.	अता <sup>॑</sup> c. g.
3.	इतेन्	अंते	अतेन् m., अतिन् f.	अते m., अत्या f., अती <sup>॑</sup> n.

	G.	W. H.	H. H.	P.
1.	अता m., अती f., अता <sup>॑</sup> n.	अते m., अती <sup>॑</sup> f.	अते m., अती f.	अदे m., अदीअ <sup>॑</sup> f.
2.	dto	dto	dto	dto
3.	dto	dto	dto	dto

508. *Future indicative.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the fut. part. in अत् or इत् (§§ 308. 486) in the following manner, according to the gender, number and person of the subject.

Singular.

Plural.

	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	अतो <sup>॑</sup>	अत्यु <sup>॑</sup>	अत्रै or अत्र	अत्रै or अत्र
2.	अत्रेस् or अत्रे	अत्रिस् or अत्री	अत्रह् or अत्र	अत्र्यु <sup>॑</sup> or अत्र
3.	इ	इ	इहै <sup>॑</sup>	इहै <sup>॑</sup>

With the part. termin. इत् precisely similar suff. are formed; thus इत्रो<sup>॑</sup> m., इत्र्यु<sup>॑</sup> f., etc. As to the manner of adding them to the root, see § 308.

*Note:* Optionally the masc. termin. may be used with a fem. subj. — Occasionally this tense is used in the sense of the imperative.

509. *Affinities and Derivation.* The fut. is formed in six different ways in Gd., the distinguishing marks of which are the following consonants: 1) ह्, 2) स् or ण्, 3) च् or व् or म्, 4) ल् or न्, 5) र्, 6) ह्. — 1) The first two types are derived from the old Skr. and Pr. fut. In Skr. the fut. is formed by the suff. इष्य (i. e., स्य with the connecting vowel इ), which changes in Pr. either to इस्स (Mg. इष्य) or to इहि or इह (Vr. 7, 12—15. H. C. 3, 166—169, see also Wb. Bh. 431. Ls. 349—353). The Pr. इहि or इह becomes in Gd. इहि or इह or अह, and the fut. of this ह्-type is preserved in O. H., W. H., and the 3. sg. and pl. of the E. H. Thus 3. sg. Skr. पठिष्यति *he will read*, Pr. (a) पठिहिद् or (b) \*पठिहद्, whence O. H. (b) पठिहद् or पठिहहि (with euph. ह् §§ 69. 503, 1, p. 345), Br. पठिहै, Mw. (a) पठ्हो, E. H. पठ्हो (contracted for \*पठ्हिद् for \*पठ्हिहो); 3. pl. Skr. पठिष्यन्ति *they will read*, Pr. (a) पठिहन्ति or (b) \*पठिहन्ति, whence O. H. (b) पठिहहं, Br. and E. H. पठ्है, Mw. (a) पठ्हो (for \*पठ्हो). The forms of the 2. sg. and pl. of this type also occur in E. H., but only in the sense of the precative (§ 498). — 2) The Pr. इस्स becomes in Gd. इम् or अम् (or ईम् or अम्), and the fut. of this स-type is preserved in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gth. CXXVI), Mw. and G. Thus 1. sg. Skr. पठिष्यामि, Pr. (a) पठिस्सामि (H. C. 3, 167) or (b) पठिस्सं (H. C. 3, 169) *I shall read*, O. P. (a) पठ्सा, Mw. पठ्स्सं (= Ap. Pr. \*पठिस्सं), G. (b) पठ्सा; again 3. sg. Skr. पठिष्यति *he will read*, Pr. पठिस्सद्, O. P. पठ्सा, Mw. पठ्सा, G. पठ्से. — The remaining four types of the fut. are purely Gd. formations; thus 3) the fut. of the च्-type is confined to the E. Gds. and is made by adding to the fut. part. the personal suff. of the old pres. ind. (§ 503), exactly on the same model as in the case of the second preterite (see § 505). In O. the च् or व् may be changed to न् (see § 134, note). Thus 1. sg. masc. E. H. पठ्चो *I shall read*, B. पठ्च (S. Ch. 146), O. पठ्चि or पठ्चि (Sn. 28); fem. E. H. पठ्च्यै, B. and O. like masc. In B. and O. the 3. sg. and pl. also are of the च्-type, while in E. H. they are of the ह्-type (see Nro. 1); thus 3. pl. B. पठ्च्रेम्, O. पठ्च्रे or पठ्चिमे, but E. H.



पङ्क्तिहे". A tense of the य्-type also exists in M. and G.; but it is used as a pres. conj., not as a fut. indic. Moreover it is constructed passively (see § 496, p. 333). Thus M. म्याँ सोडावा (Man. 73), G. मारे होडवो (Ed. 54) *I may loose* (lit. *by me he may be loosed*) = E. H. मै होडवो" *I shall loose*. There is apparently in Pr. an instance of a fut. (or imper.) of this type, mentioned by Ls. 422, देव् you will give or give ye; the same in E. H. would be देव् deba. — 4) The fut. of the ल्-type exists only in M., Mw. and N. (incl. Gw. and Km.) and 5) that of the ण्-type only in Br. (incl. Kn.), H. H. and P. Both types are formed on the same principle, viz. by respectively adding the past part. ऐल (wk. f.) or ऐलो (st. f.) come and गयो (or गया) gone to the old pres. indic. (= habit. past in M., and pres. conj. in the others, see § 496) and, for this purpose, curtailing ऐल् and ऐलो to इल् or ल् and लो respectively and contracting गयो to गो (or गया to गा). M. uses the weak form इल् or ल्, Mw. the strong form लो, and N. either of the two. Moreover, N. sometimes adds the personal suff. of the old pres. (§ 503) or the auxil. verb हूँ *I am* (e. g., पढ्नेहूँ we shall read); on the other hand M. omits the part. ल in the 1. pl. (e. g., पढ् we shall read). Lastly in both M. and N. the characteristic ल् is sometimes changed to ण्. A tense of the ल्-type exists also in E. H., but it expresses the pres. indic. (see § 500). Similarly the auxil. verb हूँ *I am* forms in Br., Kn. and P. a tense of the ण्-type with the sense of the pres. indic. (Kl. 200. 197, 367). Thus 3. sg. masc. पढे-ल् or -लो = M. पढेल्, Mw. पढैलो, N. पढला (with पढ for पढे, cf. § 501, 1, footnote, p. 342) *he will read*, but E. H. पढैला *he reads*; fem. M. पढेल्, Mw. पढैली, N. पढली *she will read*, but E. H. पढैले *she reads*; or 3. pl. masc. M. पढति + इल् = पढतील्, Mw. पढैला, N. पढलान् (st. f.) or पढलन् (wk. f.) or पढनन् (= पढ + ल or ला + ण्) *they will read*; fem. M. पढतील्, Mw. पढैली, N. पढलीन् (st. f.) or पढलन् or पढनन् (wk. f.). Again 3. sg. masc. पढे + गो = Br. पढैगो, H. H. and P. पढेगा *he will read*; fem. Br. पढैगी, H. H. and P. पढेगी; or 3. pl. masc. Br. पढैगे, H. H. पढेगे, P. पढपागे *they will read*; fem. Br. पढैगी, H. H. पढेगी, P. पढपागी, etc. But 3. sg. Kn. हैगो, P.

हैगा *he is*, 3. pl. Kn. हैगे, P. हनगे *they are*; fem. sg. Kn. and P. हैगी, pl. Kn. हैगी, P. हनगीयाँ; P. has optionally है *he is*, हन् *they are*; H. H. has है, है, etc.; but fut. H. H. होगा m., होगी f. *he (she) will be*, pl. होंगे m., होंगी f. *they will be*, Kn. होएगा, होएंगे m., ोगी f.; P. होवेगा, होएंगे m., ोगी, ोगीयाँ f., etc. Literally, these futures mean: पढ़ेगा *he is gone (that) he may read*, पढ़ेल् or पढ़ेलेो *he is come (that) he may read*, etc., compare the English: *he is going (or coming) to read*. — 6) The fut. of the ढ-type is confined to S., and is formed by adding to the pres. part. in अद् or ईद् the same termin., as are used for the first pret. indic. (see § 503, 3. 5). Thus 1. sg. masc. हलद् + सि = S. हलद्सि, fem. हलद्सि I shall go; 2. sg. masc. हलद्, fem. हलद्दि or हलद्सि; 3. sg. masc. हलद्दी, fem. हलद्दी. This fut. lit. means: *I may be reading*, etc. — 7) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

## Singular.

	G.	Mw.		Br.	E. H.	B.	O.
1.	ईग्	असू or अहूँ		इहोँ	अत्रोँ or इत्रोँ	इत्र	इवि
2.	अगे	असो or अहो		इहै	अत्रेस् or इत्रेस्	इत्रि	इवु
3.	अगे	असो or अहो		इहै	ई	इत्रे	इव्
	Br.	H. H.	P.	M.	N.	S.	
1.	ओँगी	उंगा	अंगा	एन्	उला or अनेहुँ	अद्सि	
2.	ऐगी	एगा	एंगा	असील्	अलास् or अनस्	अदेँ	
3.	ऐगी	एगा	एगा	एल्	अला or अनेह्	अदी	

## Plural.

	G.	Mw.		Br.	E. H.	B.	O.
1.	ईगूँ	असाँ or अहाँ		इहैँ	अत्रै or इत्रै	इत्र	इवा
2.	अगे	असो or अहो		इहो	अत्रह् or इत्रह्	इत्रा	इव
3.	अगे	असो or अहो		इहैँ	इहैँ	इत्रेन्	इवे
	Br.	H. H.	P.	M.	N.	S.	
1.	ऐंगे	एंगे	अंगे	ऊँ	उला or अनेहुँ	अदासीँ	
2.	ओंगे	ओंगे	ओंगे	आल्	अलउ or अनेहो	अदउ	
3.	ऐंगे	एंगे	अपांगे	अतील्	अलान or अनन्	अदा	

In the fem. sing., Br., H. H., P., N. final ओ or आ changes to ई, as Br. ओँगी, P. अंगी, etc.; plur. Br., H. H., N. ए or आ

changes to ई, and P. ए to ईअ, as Br. ऐंगो, N. उंली, P. अंगोअ, etc. For the E. H. fem. form see § 508. S. has fem. sg. 1. अंदिअनि, 2. अंदिअ or अंदिअ, 3. अंदी; pl. 1. अंदिउसो, 2. and 3. अंदिउं. In the rest, the forms are com. gen.

### 3. PERIPHRASTIC TENSES.

510. Ten additional tenses are made in E. H., by adding the pres. indic. or conj., or the pret. indic. or conj., or the fut. indic. of an auxil. verb to the pres. part. in अत् (§ 298) or to the past part. in अल् (§ 302). These tenses are the following:

1) The *definite or durative present indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pres. indic. to the pres. part.; as पढ्त् वाटे or पढ्त् होवै *he is reading*.

2) The *future conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pres. conj. to the pres. part.; as पढ्त् होय् (*if*) *he be reading*.

3) The *definite preterite or the perfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pres. indic. to the past part.; as पढ्ले वाटे or पढ्ले होवै *he has read*.

4) The *future exact conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pres. conj. to the past part.; as पढ्ले होय् (*if*) *he have read*.

5) The *durative or habitual preterite or the imperfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pret. indic. to the pres. part.; as पढ्त् रहल् *he was reading*.

6) The *durative present conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pret. conj. to the pres. part.; as पढ्त् होवै (*if*) *he were reading*.

7) The *pluperfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pret. indic. to the past part.; as पढ्ले रहल् *he had read*.

8) The *preterite conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pret. conj. to the past part.; as पढ्ले होवै (*if*) *he had read*.

9) The *durative future indicative or present dubitative*, made by adding the auxil. fut. indic. to the pres. part.; as पढ्त् होई *he will be reading*.

10) The *future exact indicative* or *preterite dubitative*, made by adding the auxil. fut. indic. to the past part.; as पढ़ले होई *he will have read*.

*Note:* For the purpose of expressing the *present conditional* the pret. conj. (§ 506) is used. Thus पढ़लै (*if*) *he read*. This completes the series of tenses of the condit. mood, which is merely a special application of the conj.

511. If the verb is a trans. one, the termin. of the past part. assumes the form अले, instead of अल्, in the formation of the additional tenses; but if the verb is intrans. the termin. is अल्, as usual; e. g., trans. पढ़ले बाटो° *I have read*, but intr. रहल बाटो° *I have remained*. The termin. of the part. never suffers any change; but that of the auxil. verb changes in agreement with the number, person and (where possible) gender of the subj.; thus 1. sg. masc. पढ़न् बाटो°, fem. पढ़न् बायूं° *I am reading*; 3. pl. masc. पढ़ले होवै°, fem. पढ़ले हई° *they have read*.

*Note:* The form in अले is really the adv. part. (see § 488), i. e., the loc. or obl. form of the past part. Thus पढ़ले बाटो° means lit., *on having read I am*. Similarly B. uses the adv. pres. part.; e. g., B. पढ़िते हि lit. *on reading I am*, i. e., *I am reading*; B. पढ़िते हिलाम् lit. *on reading I was*, i. e., *I was reading*.

512. *Affinities.* Periphrastic tenses exist in all Gds. and are made in the same way as in E. H. But while B., O. and, in the case of the past part. of trans. verbs, E. H. add the auxil. verb to the adv. part. (S. Ch. 135. 194. Sn. 30. 31, see § 511, note), N. and, generally, E. H. add it to the weak, H. H., P., G., S. to the strong, and W. H. to either form of the adj. part. (see Ld. 37 etc. Ed. 54 etc. Tr. 316 etc. Kl. 167 etc.). Again M. adds it to the weak or strong form of the adj. part. or to one of the ordinary tenses (Man. 92—96), somewhat analogous to the formation of the pres. indic. in E. H. and the W. Gds. (see § 501, 1). They also vary as to the particular auxil. verb which they employ (see §§ 513. 514). Thus 3. sg. masc. pres. definite: O. पढ़ु अइइ *he is reading*, B. पढ़िते हे or प° अहे; but E. H.

परूत् चाटै or होवै, N. परूद् इ, Gw. परूद् or परूदो इ, Br. परूत् or परूतो है, Mw. परूतो है, H. H. परूता है, P. परूदा है, S. परूंदो आहे, G. परूतो होयके; again M. परून् आहे or परूतो आहे or परूत् असतो (Man. 93, 1. 2. 3); fem. O., B., E. H., N. like masc.; Gw. परूद् or परू दी इ, Br. परूति or परूती है, H. H. परूती है, P. परू दी है, S. परूंदी आहे, G. परूती होयके, M. परून् आहे or परूती आहे or परूत् असती.

513. The auxil. verbs which are employed to form the periphrastic tenses are the following: 1) चाटै or वाटै *he is*, 2) रहल् *he was* and 3) होवै *he is*. The verb चाटै is defective; there exists only the pres. indic. The verb रहल् is the ordinary second pret. indic. of the regular verb रह्त् *to remain*; but it is used as the past tense of the defective चाटै. The verb होवै is a regular verb with a complete conjugation, from which the remainder of the defective tenses of the verb चाटै are supplied. Examples see in § 510.

*Note 1:* When the past tense रहल् is used as an auxil. verb, it expresses past action generally, „he was“, precisely like था in H. H. But according to circumstances, it may retain its ordinary meaning „he remained“, as the past tense of रह्त् *to remain*, and express past action as enduring, precisely like रहा in H. H. Thus E. H. कहल् रहल् *he had said* = H. H. कहा था, or *he remained saying, he kept saying* = H. H. कहा रहा.

*Note 2:* The past tense भूल् or भयल् of the verb होन्त् *to be* is never used as a mere auxil. verb, but always has its full meaning „he became“, and expresses the commencement and continuation of an action (§ 538, g). Thus E. H. कहत् भयल् *he began saying*, but कहत् रहल् *he was saying*. The corresponding Gd. forms are: W. H. भवौ (auxil. वो), M. काला (aux. होता or असे), G. हवो (aux. हतो).

514. *Affinities and Derivation.* The various verbs which are used as auxiliaries in Gd. are the following: 1) The verb चाटै. It occurs as a defective auxil. in E. H. and B.; in both only in the pres. indic.; but in M. and S. it is a *principal* verb with a complete conjugation, and is used to form compound verbs; viz.,

M. वाटणे<sup>०</sup> *to appear* (Man. 92; in W. H. in the denom. form वतानौ<sup>०</sup>), S. वतणु *to continue* (Tr. 344). It is derived from the Skr. R. वृत्, Pr. वत् or वट्. The B. pres. indic. (sg. 1. वटि, 2. वटिन्, 3. वटे; pl. 1. वटि, 2. वट, 3. वटेन्) is, as usual, identical with the old Pr. pres. indic. (see § 501, 4). Thus 3. sg. Skr. वर्तते, Pr. वट्ठ, B. वटे. From the other Pr. form वत्तद् comes the E. H. वाग् (for वाट्) or वा by the elision of त् (§ 153). As regards the other E. H. forms वाटे, वाटा<sup>०</sup>, etc. which are different for the two genders, it is more probable that they are denominatives, made by adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (§ 503, 1, p. 345) to the part. Skr. वृत्त, P. वट् (H. C. 2, 29) *existing* (of R. वृत्). Thus 1. sg. masc. Skr. वृत्तोऽस्मि, Pr. वट्ठिह्, Ap. Pr. \*वट्ठं, E. H. वाटा<sup>०</sup> *I am*; fem. Skr. (st. f.) वृत्तिकास्मि, Pr. वट्ठिआहि, Ap. Pr. \*वट्ठिआहि or \*वट्ठिअं, E. H. वायू<sup>०</sup>, etc. — 2) The verb रह् is used only in E. H. as an auxil., and only in the 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. indic. Otherwise it is in E. H. as well as in all other Gds. a regular principal verb, „to remain“. It is commonly (in E. H., W. H., P., S.) used to make a kind of (continuative) compound verb (see § 538, b). — 3) The verb होइव् *to be* occurs in E. H. as well as in all other Gds., both as an auxiliary and as a principal, with a complete conjugation. It is derived from the Skr. R. भू; thus 3. sg. pres. conj. E. H. होव्, Pr. होइ or हवद् (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति. As an auxil., however, it has in E. H. a special pres. indic., which is made by adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (§ 503, 1) to the part. Skr. भूत्, Pr. ह्विअ (§ 307, 7) *being* or *been*. Thus 1. sg. masc. Skr. भूतोऽस्मि, Pr. ह्विअहि, Ap. Pr. \*ह्विअं, E. H. हउओ<sup>०</sup> or हौओ<sup>०</sup> or हौवो<sup>०</sup> (§§ 122. 69. 28); fem. Skr. भूतास्मि, Pr. ह्विआहि, Ap. Pr. \*ह्विअं, E. H. हउउ<sup>०</sup> or हयू<sup>०</sup> (§ 123) *I am*, etc. On the other hand, as a principal verb, it has a regular pres. indic. होलो<sup>०</sup> *I am*, etc. (see § 500). There is in E. H. a peculiar pleonastic form of this verb, which may be used optionally for its simple form, both when it is an auxil. and when it is a principal. It is made by adding the increment ल to the root हो; and the pleon. R. होल, thus made, is conjugated regularly.

Thus infin. होख्त् to be; pres. indic. 2. sg. masc. होखेलेम् or °ले, fem. होखैलिस् or °ली; 2. pl. masc. होखैलह् or °ल, fem. °ल्यू, etc. (see § 517). There is also a peculiar negative form of this verb, which exists, however, only in the pres. tense and is the same for all three moods. It also shows the peculiar increment ख; thus 3. sg. masc. नैखै he is not, fem. नैखै or नैखो she is not, etc. (see § 518)<sup>1</sup>). The origin of these forms is obscure. Perhaps they are derived from the Skr. R. भू by means of the inchoative suff. त्त or स्क. Just as the R. अस् to be forms in Pr. an inchoative अच्ह (= अत्त = अस्क), so the R. भू or Pr. हुव or हव or हो (cf. H. C. 4, 60) might form in Pr. an inchoative \*हुवक्ख or \*हवक्ख or \*होक्ख (= भुत्त or भुस्क), in E. H. होख. The negative form नैख appears to have arisen by incorporating the negative particle न not. There are similar negative verbal forms in M., see Nro. 4. — 4) The verb अहै or अहे or है he is. It occurs in the S. Gd., N. Gd. and W. Gd. (exc. G.), but not in the E. Gd. (exc. Bs.); and it exists only in the pres. indic. (see Man. 88. Tr. 300. Kl. 201. Ld. 25), as shown in the following table:

Singular.

	O. H.	Bs.	M.	S.	Br.	Mw.	P.	N.	H. H.
1.	अहउँ or होँ	अहेउँ or होँ	अहेँ	आहियाँ	होँ	हूँ	हाँ	हुँ	हूँ
2.	अहनि or अहहि or है	अहेस् or अहे	अहेस्	अहेँ or आहीँ	है	है	है	हस्?	है
3.	अहर् or अहे or आहि	अहे	अहे	अहे	है	है	है	ह?	है

Plural.

1.	अहहिँ or हहिँ	अही	आहीँ	आहियूँ	हूँ	हूँ	हूँ	हूँ?	हूँ
2.	अहहु or हहु	अहह् or अहो or अहेँ	आहूँ	आहियो	हो	हो	हो	हो	हो
3.	अहहिँ or हहिँ or अहेँ	अहेन् or अहेँ	आहेत्	आहिनि or आहीनि	हूँ	है	हन् or हेन्	हुन्	है

1) Beames in J. R. A. S. III, 495 mentions a negative form नाखे he is not and an affirmative खे he is, and Kl. 199, 373 follows him. But my authorities deny the existence of either form.

The origin of this auxil. verb is uncertain. It is commonly identified with the Skr. R. अस् to be (e. g., Tr. 300. 304). This view must assume a change of स् to ह्, and also a change of class; for the Skr. R. अस् is of the II. cl., while the Gd. verb is of the VI. cl.; e. g., 1. sg. O. H. अहं represents a Skr. form \*असामि, Pr. \*अहमि, Ap. \*अहंते (see H. C. 4, 385); or Gd. अहं = Skr. \*असति, Pr. \*अहद्. None of the Pr. gramm., however, as for as I am aware, notice any such change in the R. अस्. There would be also a difficulty in accounting for the initial अ in M. and S. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to identify this Gd. auxil. verb with the pres. indic. of the R. भू to be. This root may become in Pr. ह्व (H. C. 4, 60) and in Gd. ह्व; thus 3. sg. Skr. भवति, Pr. ह्वद्, Mw. ह्वे (Kl. 232). The form ह्वे would easily become हे. On the other hand, instead of suppressing अ, it (or rather ह्, see § 132) may be transposed; thus the Pr. R. ह्व might become in Gd. अह्व and thence अह, with अ as compensation for the elided व्; e. g., 3. sg. Pr. ह्वद् = \*अह्वद् = Bs. अहे or M. अहे, etc. It may be observed, that the Skr. 3. pl. भवन्ति is even in Ap. Pr. contracted to भन्ति or हन्ति (H. C. 4, 406. 416), which would regularly become हे in W. H. (see § 497, 2. f, p. 337). The M. possesses a negative form of this verb. It is defective, occurring only in the pres. ind.; viz., sing. 1. नाही, 2. नाहीम्, 3. नाही; plur. 1. नाही, 2. नाही, 3. नाहीत्. There is an other defective negative verb in M., which occurs only in the pres. and pret. indic.; viz., pres. sing. 1. नव्हे, 2. नव्हेम् or नव्हस्, 3. नव्हे; plur. 1. नव्हां or नव्हे, 2. नव्हॉ or नव्हेत्, 3. नव्हेत् or नव्हत्; pret. sing. masc. 1. नव्हतो, 2. नव्हतास्, 3. नव्हता; plur. 1. नव्हतो, 2. नव्हता, 3. नव्हते. See Man. 88. 89. This negative form, however, really belongs to the verb होश्च् (M. होषो), see Nro. 3. Besides M. has a complete negative form of the verb असणे (see Nro. 5), which is made by changing the initial अ to न; e. g., inf. नसणे; 1. sg. pres. ind. नसतो I am not, from असतो I am, etc. See Man. 89. — 5) The verb अह् or अहे or हे he is. It occurs in the S. Gd. and N. Gd., in all W. Gds. (exc. Br.), and in all E. Gds. (exc. Bh.





The forms of the pres. have assumed in M. and P. the sense of the (habit.) past (see § 496); thus M. असे, P. साँ *I was* (Man. 84. Ld. 25). The forms of the pret. sg. Km. द्विया, Mw. द्वी, P. सा are masc. and change in the fem. to द्वी and सी; they are really past part.; those of B. and Mth. are of com. gen. and made according to the 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. ind. (see § 505). In M. the pres. ind. (also used as pres. conj.) is असतो, etc. (conjug. regularly, see § 501, 3. 5); the pres. conj. असावा, etc. (see § 496); the imper. असू, etc. (see § 496); the fut. असेन्, etc. (see § 509, 4. 7). I have observed in N. the 2. sg. fut. द्वेनस् = M. अससोल् (see § 509, 4. 7). The infin. is in M. असू or असपो (see § 313. 314); the pres. part. असत् (see § 486); the adv. part. असताँ, which I have also found in N. as द्वेत् *on being* (see § 489). — This verb also exists in Pr. (H. C. 4, 215. Ls. 346); e. g., 3. sg. अइह *he is*, etc. The R. अइ (= अन्न or अस्क) is probably an inchoative form of the R. अस् *to be* or (according to some MSS. of H. C.) अन् *to dwell, exist*. — The only remnant of the original R. अस् which has survived in Gd. is the S. 3. sg. and pl. अय = Pr. अत्यि, Skr. अस्ति. It is, however, used only in conjunction with pronom. suff. (Tr. 349), as अयनि *it is* or *they are to me*. Even in Pr., अत्यि is used for both numbers and all three persons (H. C. 3, 148); e. g., अत्यि अहं *I am*, अत्यि अहं *we are*, etc. — 6) The verb याच् or यिर् *he is*. It occurs only in the W. Gd. and O. In G. and S. it has a complete conj. (see Ed. 72—81. Tr. 305—312). In the others it exists only in the pret. indic. tense (or past part., see Sn. 26. Ld. 25. Kl. 200), as shown in the following comparative table:

*Preterite. Singular.*

	O.	Naip.	S.	Kn.
1.	थेलि c. g.	थिये or थे c. g.	थिउसे m., थिअसे f.	थो m., थो f.
2.	थेलु c. g.	थियेस् or थिस् c. g.	थिर् m., थिअर् f.	थो m., थो f.
3.	थेला c. g.	थियो or थ्यो m., थिई f.	थिअो m., थो f.	थो m., थो f.
		H. H.	P.	G.
1.		था m., थो f.	था m., थो f.	थयो m., थयो f., थयुँ n.
2.		था m., थो f.	था m., थो f.	थयो m., थयो f., थयुँ n.
3.		था m., थो f.	था m., थो f.	थयो m., थयो f., थयुँ n.

## Preterite. Plural.

	O.	Naip.	S.	Ku.
1.	थेल्लं c. g.	थिउं or थ्यं c. g.	थिअसो m., थिउंसो f.	थे m., थो f.
2.	थेल्ल c. g.	थियो or थ्यो c. g.	थिअउ m., थिउं f.	थे m., थो f.
3.	थेले c. g.	थियो or थे c. g.	थिअ m., थिउं f.	थे m., थो f.

	H. H.	P.	G.
1.	थे m., थो f.	थे m., थोअं f.	थया m., थयो f., थयॉ n.
2.	थे m., थो f.	थे m., थोअं f.	थया m., थयो f., थयॉ n.
3.	थे m., थो f.	थे m., थोअं f.	थया m., थयो f., थयॉ n.

The pres. conj. is: 1. sg. G. थाउं, S. थिअं; 2. sg. G. थाय्, S. थिरं or थो; 3. sg. G. थाय्, S. थिर; 1. pl. G. थये or थैये, S. थिउं; 2. pl. G. थाओ, S. थिओ; 3. pl. G. थाय, S. थिअन् or थोन्. The pres. indic. is in G. थाउं हूँ, etc., S. थिअं थो, etc. (see § 501, 1. 5); the fut. indic. in G. थैअन्, etc., S. थोदुसे, etc. (see § 509, 2. 6. 7); the imper. G. था or थाते, etc., S. थोऊ or थोते, etc. (see §§ 497. 499); the infin. in G. थवुं, S. थिअणु; the part. pres. in G. थतो, S. थोदो; the adv. part. in G. थते or थतॉ, S. थोदे. — The original of this verb appears to be the Skr. R. स्था *stand, exist*, which in Pr. becomes ठा or था (H. C. 4, 16); e. g., 3. sg. Pr. ठाड् (H. C. 4, 436) or थाड्, G. थाय्; 3. pl. Pr. थंति (H. C. 4, 395) or \*थाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), G. थाय्. The S. थिअणु *to be* is derived from the R. स्था, just as S. थिअणु *to drink*, from R. पा, S. डिअणु *to give*, from R. दा; i. e., it is founded on a reduplicated radical form \*स्थित (for the ordinary Skr. तिष्ठ), analogous to पिव, दद.

## THIRD CHAPTER. CONJUGATION.

## 1. THE DEFECTIVE AUXILIARY VERB.

515. There is only a pres. tense; the pret. is supplied from the verb रह्न् to remain and the rest from the complete auxil. verb होन् to be (see §§ 513. 516).

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. चाटो <sup>1)</sup>	चायूँ	चाटो	चाटो
2. चाटेम् or चाटे	चाटिम् or चाटी	चाटह् or चाट	चायू
3. चाटै or चाय् or चा	चाटै or चाय् or चा	चाटै <sup>०</sup>	चाटो <sup>०</sup>

b) Preterite tense: *I was*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. रहलो <sup>०</sup>	रहल्यूँ	रहलो	रहली
2. रहलेम् or रहले	रहलिम् or रहली	रहलह् or रहल	रहल्यू
3. रहल्	रहल्	रहलेन् or रहलै <sup>०</sup>	रहलिन् or रहली <sup>०</sup>

## 2. THE WEAK COMPLETE AUXILIARY VERB.

516. This verb is complete with the exception of the pret., which is supplied from the verb रह्च् to remain, to dwell; see § 513, note 2.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होवो <sup>2)</sup>	हयूँ	हई	हई
2. होवे	होवी	होवह् or होव	हयू
3. होवै or हो	होवै or हो	होवै <sup>०</sup>	हई <sup>०</sup>

b) Preterite tense: *I was*, etc.

This is the same as the pret. of the def. auxil. verb; see § 515, b.

c) Future tense: *I shall be*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. होवो <sup>०</sup> or होइवो <sup>०</sup>	होवै or होइवै or होव् or होइव्
2. होवेम् or होइवेम् or होवे or होइवे <sup>3)</sup>	होवह् or होइवह् or होव or होइव
3. होई	होइहै <sup>०</sup>

1) Throughout, the initial consonant may optionally be व् *v* or ब् *b*, and in the low forms of E. H. the medial cons. may be ङ् or ञ् (§ 145).

2) The masc. form may throughout be used also as fem.

3) Fem. also: होविम् or होवी or होइविम् or होइवी.

Conjunctive mood.

d) Present tense: *I be*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.		Plur. Masc. and Fem.	
1. हो <sup>ँ</sup>		हो <sup>ँ</sup>	
2. हो		हो <sup>ँ</sup> or हो	
3. होय		हो <sup>ँ</sup>	

e) Preterite tense: *I were*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होतो <sup>ँ</sup> or होयो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup>
2. होतेस् or होते	होतिस् or होते	होत <sup>ँ</sup> or होत	होत <sup>ँ</sup>
3. होत् or होतै	होत् or होतै	होतेन् or हेतै <sup>ँ</sup>	होतिन् or होतै <sup>ँ</sup>

Imperative mood.

f) Present tense: *let me be*, etc.; the same as pres. conj.

3. THE STRONG COMPLETE AUXILIARY VERB.

517. This verb is conjugated regularly throughout; see § 514, 3.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup>
2. हो <sup>ँ</sup> स् or हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup> स् or हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup> स् or हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup> स्
3. हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup>

b) First preterite: *I was*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup>
2. हो <sup>ँ</sup> स्	हो <sup>ँ</sup> स्
3. हो <sup>ँ</sup> स्	हो <sup>ँ</sup> स्

Or: Second preterite.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup>
2. हो <sup>ँ</sup> स् or हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup> स् or हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup> स् or हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup> स्
3. हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup>	हो <sup>ँ</sup>

c) Future tense: *I shall be*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होखत्रो <sup>१)</sup>	होखत्र्युँ	होखत्र् or ०त्रै	होखत्र् or ०त्रै
2. होखत्रेस् or ०त्रे	होखत्रिस् or त्री	होखत्रह् or ०त्र	होखत्र्यु
3. होखी	होखी	होखिहै	होखिहै

Conjunctive mood.

d) Present tense: *I be*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. होखो <sup>०</sup>	होखो <sup>०</sup>
2. होखु	होखह् or होख
3. होखे	होखै <sup>०</sup>

e) Preterite tense: *I were*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होखतो <sup>०</sup> or ०तो <sup>०</sup>	होखत्युँ	होखतो or ०खित्	होखती or ०खित्
2. होखतेस् or ०ते	होखतिस् or ०ती	होखतह् or ०त	होखत्यु
3. होखतै or ०त्	होखतै or ०त्	होखतै <sup>०</sup>	होखती <sup>०</sup>

Imperative mood.

f) Present: *let me be*, etc. Like the pres. conj.

Precative forms: 2. sg. होखिहे, 2. pl. होखिह or होखी.

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are formed like those of the regular active verb पढ़् to read, see § 521; e. g., मै<sup>०</sup> होखत् वाटो<sup>०</sup> *I am being*, etc.

Participles.

Adjectival: pres. होखत् *being*, past होखत् *been*.

Conjunctive: होखे के *having been*.

Adverbial: pres. होखते or होखतै *on being*, past होखले *on having been*.

Infinitives.

Nom. होखत्र् *to be*, acc. होखे के or होखवे के, etc.

#### 4. THE DEFECTIVE NEGATIVE AUXILIARY VERB.

518. This verb exists only in the present tense of the three moods; see § 514, 3.

1) Or: होखिओ<sup>०</sup>, होखिओस्, etc.

a) Present indicative: *I am not*, etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1.	नैखो <sup>०</sup> or नैखूँ	नैख्युँ <sup>१)</sup>	नैखो	नैखी
2.	नैखेस् or नैखे	नैखिस् or नैखी	नैखद् or नैख	नैख्यु <sup>१)</sup>
3.	नैखे	नैखी <sup>१)</sup>	नैखै <sup>०</sup>	नैखी <sup>०</sup> १)

b) Pres. conj. and imp. like the pres. indic.

### 5. THE REGULAR ACTIVE VERB.

519. There is only one conjugation. With the exception of a very few irregular verbs (see §§ 525—527), all verbs, whether ending in a consonant or a vowel, are conjugated precisely alike. One example, therefore, of an active verb, fully conjugated, is sufficient. For the sake of convenience, however, a list of the first persons sing. and plur. of a few typical verbs will be added; the remainder to be supplied by the student. It may be noted, as a practical rule, that an euphonic semicons. may be added to any verb which ends with a vowel; viz. *च्* to verbs in ई, and *ञ्* to verbs in ऊ or ओ. Thus every verb may be made to have a consonantal termination; and after the required verbal form has been made, the euph. cons. may be again omitted; and the resultant form will be that of the verb as ending in a vowel.

520. The elements.

पठ्च् to read; root पठ्; bases पठन्, पठल्.

The radical and participial tenses.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I read*, etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1.	पठैलो <sup>०</sup> or ल्यो <sup>०</sup>	पठैल्युँ	पठोला	पठोला
2.	पठैलेस् or ले	पठैलिस् or लो	पठैलद् or ल or ल्यद्	पठैल्यु
3.	पठैला <sup>२)</sup>	पठैले	पठैलेन् or पठैलै <sup>०</sup>	पठैलिन् or ली <sup>०</sup>

1) Or like masc.

2) Or पठलो<sup>०</sup>, पठलेस्, पठला, and so on throughout.

b) First preterite: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. पठ्यो <sup>०</sup>	पठ्वा
2. पठिम्	पठ्यौ
3. पठिन्	पठिन्

Or second preterite: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. पठलो <sup>०</sup> or ल्यो <sup>०</sup>	पठल्यु <sup>०</sup>	पठलो	पठली
2. पठले	पठलिस् or ली	पठलह् or ल or ल्यह्	पठल्यु
3. पठलेस्	पठलेस्	पठलेन् or लै <sup>०</sup>	पठलिन् or ली <sup>०</sup>

c) Future: *I shall read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem. <sup>1)</sup>	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. पठ्यो <sup>०</sup> 2)	पठ्यु <sup>०</sup>	पठ्य् or वै	पठ्य् or वै
2. पठ्येस् or वै	पठ्यिस् or वी	पठ्यह् or व	पठ्यु or वृ
3. पठ्यी	पठ्यी	पठ्यहे <sup>०</sup>	पठ्यहे <sup>०</sup>

## Conjunctive mood.

d) Present: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. पठो <sup>०</sup>	पठो <sup>०</sup>
2. पठु or पठ्	पठह् or पठ
3. पठे	पठे <sup>०</sup>

e) Preterite: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. पठतो <sup>०</sup> or त्यो <sup>०</sup>	पठत्यु <sup>०</sup>	पठतो or पठित्	पठतो or पठित्
2. पठतेस् or ते	पठतिस् or ती	पठतह् or त or त्यह्	पठत्यु
3. पठत् or तै	पठत् or तै	पठतेन् or तै <sup>०</sup>	पठतिन् or ती <sup>०</sup>

## Imperative mood.

f) Present: *let me read*, etc. Like pres. conj.

Precative forms: 2. sing. पठिहे, 2. plur. पठिह्.

1) Throughout the masc. forms may be used for the fem.

2) Or पठ्यो<sup>०</sup>, पठ्येस्, and so on throughout.



521.

The periphrastic tenses.

Indicative mood.

g) Durative or definitive present: *I am reading*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem. <sup>1)</sup>
1. पठत् प्राटो <sup>०</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> होवो <sup>०</sup>	पठत् प्रायू <sup>०</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> हयू <sup>०</sup>
2. पठत् प्राटेस् or प्राटे or होवै	पठत् प्राटिस् or प्राटी or होवी
3. पठत् प्राटै or प्राय् or प्रा or होवै or हो	पठत् प्राटै or होवै etc.
Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1. पठत् प्राटो or प <sup>०</sup> हई	पठत् प्राटी or प <sup>०</sup> हई
2. पठत् प्राट् or प्राट or होवत् or होव	पठत् प्रायू or हयू
3. पठत् प्राटै <sup>०</sup> or होवै <sup>०</sup>	पठत् प्राटी <sup>०</sup> or हई <sup>०</sup>

h) Durative pret. or imperfect: *I was reading*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1. पठत् रहलो <sup>०</sup>	पठत् रहल्यू <sup>०</sup>
2. पठत् रहलेस् or <sup>०</sup> ले	पठत् रहलिस् or <sup>०</sup> ली
3. पठत् रहल्	पठत् रहल्
Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1. पठत् रहलो	पठत् रहली
2. पठत् रहलत् or <sup>०</sup> ल	पठत् रहल्यू
3. पठत् रहलेन् or <sup>०</sup> लै <sup>०</sup>	पठत् रहलिन् or <sup>०</sup> ली <sup>०</sup>

i) Durative future: *I shall be reading*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. पठत् होवो <sup>०</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> होवो <sup>०</sup> <sup>2)</sup>	पठत् होवै or प <sup>०</sup> होवै
2. पठत् होवेस् or प <sup>०</sup> होवेस्	पठत् होवत् or प <sup>०</sup> होवत्
3. पठत् होई or प <sup>०</sup> होवी	पठत् होई <sup>०</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> होवी <sup>०</sup>

k) Definite pret. or perfect: *I have read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem. <sup>1)</sup>
1. पठले प्राटो <sup>०</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> होवो <sup>०</sup>	पठले प्रायू <sup>०</sup> or हयू <sup>०</sup>
2. पठले प्राटेस् or प्राटे or होवै	पठले प्राटिस् or प्राटी or होवी
3. पठले प्राटै or प्राय् or प्रा or होवै or हो	पठले प्राटै or होवै etc.

1) Optionally the masc. forms may be used for the fem.

2) Or प<sup>०</sup> होवो<sup>०</sup> or प<sup>०</sup> होवो<sup>०</sup>, etc.; in fact any of the forms given in §§ 516, c. 517, c may be used.

Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1. पठले वाढी or प <sup>०</sup> हई	पठले वाढी or प <sup>०</sup> हई
2. पठले वाढह् or वाढ or होवह् or होव	पठले वायू or ह्यू
3. पठले वाढे <sup>०</sup> or होवै <sup>०</sup>	पठले वाढी <sup>०</sup> or हई <sup>०</sup>

1) Pluperfect: *I had read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1. पठले रहलो <sup>०</sup>	पठले रहल्यू
2. पठले रहलेस् or <sup>०</sup> ले	पठले रहलिस् or <sup>०</sup> ली
3. पठले रहल्	पठले रहल्

Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1. पठले रहली	पठले रहली
2. पठले रहलह् or <sup>०</sup> ल	पठले रहल्यू
3. पठले रहलेन् or <sup>०</sup> लै <sup>०</sup>	पठले रहलिन् or <sup>०</sup> ली <sup>०</sup>

m) Future exact: *I shall have read*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. पठले होत्रो <sup>०</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> होखत्रो <sup>०</sup>	पठले होत्रै or प <sup>०</sup> होखत्रै
2. पठले होत्रेस् or प <sup>०</sup> होखत्रेस्	पठले होत्रह् or प <sup>०</sup> होखत्रह्
3. पठले होई or प <sup>०</sup> होखी	पठले होइहै <sup>०</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> होखिहै <sup>०</sup>

Conjunctive mood.

n) Future conditional: *(if) I be reading*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. पठत् हो <sup>०</sup> हुं or प <sup>०</sup> होखुं	पठत् होई <sup>०</sup> or प <sup>०</sup> होखो <sup>०</sup>
2. पठत् हो or प <sup>०</sup> होखु	पठत् होह् or हो or प <sup>०</sup> होखह् or होख
3. पठत् होय् or प <sup>०</sup> होखै	पठत् होय् or प <sup>०</sup> होखै <sup>०</sup>

o) Durative pres. condit.: *(if) I were reading*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1. पठत् होतो <sup>०</sup>	पठत् होत्यू
2. पठत् होतेस् or प <sup>०</sup> होते	पठत् होतिस् or प <sup>०</sup> होती
3. पठत् होत् or प <sup>०</sup> होतै	पठत् होत् or प <sup>०</sup> होतै

Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1. पठत् होइत्	पठत् होइत्
2. पठत् होतह् or प <sup>०</sup> होत	पठत् होत्यू
3. पठत् होतेन् or प <sup>०</sup> होतै <sup>०</sup>	पठत् होतिन् or प <sup>०</sup> होती <sup>०</sup>

p) Fut. exact condit.: (if) *I have read*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.

Plur. Masc. and Fem.

1. पढ़ले हो<sup>हुँ</sup> or प<sup>ो</sup> होखो<sup>ँ</sup>
2. पढ़ले हो or प<sup>ो</sup> होखु
3. पढ़ले होय् or प<sup>ो</sup> होखै

- पढ़ले होई<sup>ँ</sup> or प<sup>ो</sup> होखी<sup>ँ</sup>
- पढ़लें होह् or प<sup>ो</sup> होखह् etc.
- पढ़ले होयँ or प<sup>ो</sup> होखै<sup>ँ</sup>

q) Preterite condit.: (if) *I had read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.

Sing. Fem.

1. पढ़ले होतो<sup>ँ</sup>
2. पढ़ले होतेस् or प<sup>ो</sup> होते
3. पढ़ले होत् or प<sup>ो</sup> होतै

- पढ़ले होत्यूँ
- पढ़ले होतिस् or होती
- पढ़ल होत् or होतै

Plur. Masc.

Plur. Fem.

1. पढ़ले होइत्
2. पढ़ले होतह् or प<sup>ो</sup> होत
3. पढ़ले होतेन् or प<sup>ो</sup> होतै<sup>ँ</sup>

- पढ़ले होइत्
- पढ़ले होत्यू
- पढ़ले होतिन् or प<sup>ो</sup> होती<sup>ँ</sup>

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Participles.

- a) Adjectival: pres. पढ़त् *reading*, past पढ़ल *having read* or *read*.
- b) Conjunctive: पढ़ के or पढ़े के *having read*.
- c) Adverbial: pres. पढ़ते or पढ़तै *on reading*, past पढ़ले *on having read*.

Infinitives.

Nom. पढ़् *to read*, acc. पढ़वे के or पढ़े के *for to read* or *for reading*, instr. पढ़वे से or पढ़े से, etc.

Noun of agency.

Masc. or fem. पढ़निहार *reader*, or fem. पढ़निहारी.

## 6. LIST OF TYPICAL REGULAR ACTIVE VERBS.

523.

Elements.

- |   |                            |
|---|----------------------------|
| a) रह्य् <i> dwell</i> , root रह्,      | bases रहत् , रहल्          |
| b) पीय्य् <i> drink</i> , „ पी or पीय्, | „ पीयत् , पीयल्            |
| c) चूय्य् <i> drip</i> , „ चू,          | „ चूयत् , चूयल्            |
| or चूव्य्,                              | „ (चूय्), „ चूवत् , चूवल्ल |
| d) रोय्य्य् <i> weep</i> , „ रो,        | „ रोयत् , रोयल्ल           |
| or रोव्य्य्,                            | „ (रोय्) „ रोवत् , रोवल्ल. |

## a) Present indicative.

		Masc.	Fem.			Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	{	a)	रहैला	रहैले	plur.	रहैलेन्	रहैलिन्
		b)	पोयैला	पोयैले		पोयैलेन्	पोयैलिन्
		c)	चूरेला	चूरेले		चूरेलेन्	चूरेलिन्
		d)	रोरेला	रोरेले		रोरेलेन्	रोरेलिन्

## b) First preterite.

		Masc. and Fem.			Masc. and Fem.
3. pers. sing.	{	a)	रहिस्	plur.	रहिन्
		b)	पोयिस्		पोयिन्
		c)	चूइस्		चूइन्
		d)	रोइस्		रोइन्

## Second preterite.

		Masc.	Fem.			Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	{	a)	रहल्	रहल्	plur.	रहलेन्	रहलिन्
		b)	पियलेस्	पियलेस्		पियलेन्	पियलिन्
		c)	चूअल्	चूअल्		चूअलेन्	चूअलिन्
		d)	रोअल्	रोअल्		रोअलेन्	रोअलिन्

c) Future indicative <sup>1)</sup>.

		Masc. and Fem.			Masc. and Fem.
3. pers. sing.	{	a)	रहै	plur.	रहैहै
		b)	पो or पोई		पोहै
		c)	चूई		चूइहै
		d)	रोई		रोइहै

## d) Pres. conj. or f) Prés. imper.

		Masc. and Fem.			Masc. and Fem.
3. pers. sing.	{	a)	रहै	plur.	रहै
		b)	पोयै		पोयै
		c)	चूरे		चूरे
		d)	रोरे		रोरे

1) 1. pers. sing. masc. रहवो<sup>०</sup> or रहिवो<sup>०</sup>; पियवो<sup>०</sup> or पोवो<sup>०</sup>; चूअवो<sup>०</sup> or चूइवो<sup>०</sup>; रोअवो<sup>०</sup> or रोइवो<sup>०</sup>.

## e) Preterite conjunctive.

		Masc. and Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	
3. pers. sing.	{	a) रहत् or रहते	plur. {	रहतेन्	रहतिन्
		b) पीयत् or पीयते		पीयतेन्	पीयतिन्
		c) चूषत् or चूषते		चूषतेन्	चूषतिन्
		d) रोषत् or रोषते		रोषतेन्	रोषतिन्

## f) Precative forms.

		Masc. and Fem.	Masc. and Fem.	
2. pers. sing.	{	a) रहिहे	plur. {	रहिह
		b) पीहे		पीह
		c) चूषहे		चूषह
		d) रोषहे		रोषह

## g) Durative or definite present.

		Masc. and Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	
3. pers. sing.	{	a) रहत् वाटे or र <sup>०</sup> हाँवै	plur. {	रहत् वाटे <sup>०</sup> or हाँवै <sup>०</sup>	र <sup>०</sup> वाटी <sup>०</sup> or हई <sup>०</sup>
		b) पीयत् वाटे or प <sup>०</sup> हाँवै		पीयत् वाटे <sup>०</sup> or हाँवै <sup>०</sup>	पी <sup>०</sup> वाटी <sup>०</sup> or हई <sup>०</sup>
		c) चूषत् वाटे or चू <sup>०</sup> हाँवै		चूषत् वाटे <sup>०</sup> or हाँवै <sup>०</sup>	चू <sup>०</sup> वाटी <sup>०</sup> or हई <sup>०</sup>
		d) रोषत् वाटे or रो <sup>०</sup> हाँवै		रोषत् वाटे <sup>०</sup> or हाँवै <sup>०</sup>	रो <sup>०</sup> वाटी <sup>०</sup> or हई <sup>०</sup>

## 1) Pluperfect indicative.

		Masc. and Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	
3. pers. sing.	{	a) रहल् रहल्	plur. {	रहल् रहलेन्	रहल् रहलिन्
		b) पीयले रहल्		पीयले रहलेन्	पीयले रहलिन्
		c) चूषल् रहल्		चूषल् रहलेन्	चूषल् रहलिन्
		d) रोषल् रहल्		रोषल् रहलेन्	रोषल् रहलिन्

The remaining periphrastic tenses are made after the analogy of Nro. g and l.

524.

Participles.

Adjectival.		Conjunctive.	Adverbial.	
a)	रहत् रहल्	रह् के <sup>1)</sup>	रहते	रहले
b)	पीयत् पीयल्	पी के	पीयते	पीयले
c)	चूषत् चूषल्	चूय् के	चूषते	चूषले
d)	रोषत् रोषल्	रोय् के	रोषते	रोषले

1) Or: रहे के, पीरे के, etc.

## Infinitives.

a) रह्य्	Acc. रहै के or रह्ये के
b) पीय्य्	„ पीयै के or पीये के
c) चूय्य्	„ चूरे के or चूये के
d) रोय्य्	„ रोरे के or रोये के

## Noun of agency.

a) रहनिहार, b) पीयनिहार, c) चूयनिहार, d) रोयनिहार; fem. °री.

## 7. IRREGULAR ACTIVE VERBS.

525. There are three kinds of irregularities. *Firstly*; some verbs add the suffixes ल्, त् and य् instead of ऐल् or अल् (of the pres. indic.), अत् (of the pres. part.) and अय् or इय् (of the future). This is done by all verbal roots in आ and ए and by the root हो be. But the roots in आ and the R. हो may optionally take इय्.

*Secondly*; some verbs have a special form of the past participle (and of all tenses derived from it), of the conjunctive part., and of the first preterite tense. These are the verbal roots: कर् do, धर् put, आय् come, पाय् find, जा go, दे give, ले take, हो be.

*Thirdly*; the two verbal roots दे give and ले take add no suffix in the 2. and 3. pers. sing. pres. conj. and imper.

Note also, that आय or अय, आय or अय, आइ or अइ are often contracted into औ or ऐ respectively (see § 34).

The following verbs will serve as types: खाय् to eat, जाय् to go, देय् to give, होय् to be, करय् to do, आयय् to come. All other verbs in आ are conjugated like खाय्; लेय् to take is conjugated like देय्, धरय् to put like करय्, पायय् to find like आयय्.

526.

a) Present indicative.

	1. sing.	3. sing.	1. plur.	3. plur.
a)	जातो <sup>०</sup>	जाला	जाईला	जालेन्
b)	देलो <sup>०</sup>	देला	देईला	देलेन्
c)	होलो <sup>०</sup>	होला	होईला	होलेन्

## b) First preterite.

	1. sing.	3. sing.	1. plur.	3. plur.
a)	गयो <sup>०</sup>	गयिस्	गया	गयिन्
b)	दियो <sup>०</sup>	दिहिस्	दिया	दिहिन्
c)	भयो <sup>०</sup>	भयिस्	भया	भयिन्
d)	क्रियो <sup>०</sup>	किहिस्	क्रिया	किहिन्
e)	आयो <sup>०</sup>	आइस्	आया	आइन्
f)	खायो <sup>०</sup>	खाइस्	खाया	खाइन्

## Second preterite.

a)	गइलो <sup>० 1)</sup>	गयल् <sup>1)</sup>	गइली <sup>1)</sup>	गइलेन् <sup>1)</sup>
b)	दिहलो <sup>०</sup>	दिहलेस्	दिहली	दिहलेन् <sup>1)</sup>
c)	भइलो <sup>० 1)</sup>	भयल् <sup>1)</sup>	भइली <sup>1)</sup>	भइलेन् <sup>1)</sup>
d)	कइलो <sup>० 1)</sup>	कइलेस् <sup>1)</sup>	कइली <sup>1)</sup>	कइलेन् <sup>1)</sup>
e)	अइलो <sup>० 1)</sup>	आयल् <sup>1)</sup>	अइली <sup>1)</sup>	अइलेन् <sup>1)</sup>
f)	खइलो <sup>० 1)</sup>	खइलेस् <sup>1)</sup>	खइली <sup>1)</sup>	खइलेन् <sup>1)</sup>

## c) Future.

a)	ज्ञात्रो <sup>० 2)</sup>	ज्ञाई	ज्ञाब् or ज्ञात्रै <sup>2)</sup>	ज्ञाहै <sup>० 2)</sup>
b)	देत्रो <sup>०</sup>	देई	देब् or देत्रै	देइहै <sup>०</sup>
c)	होत्रो <sup>० 3)</sup>	होई	होब् or होत्रै	होइहै <sup>०</sup>

## d) Pres. conj. and f) Pres. imper.

	1. sg.	2. sg. <sup>4)</sup>	3. sg.	1. pl.	2. pl. <sup>5)</sup>	3. pl.
a)	ज्ञाव्	ज्ञा	ज्ञाय	ज्ञाई <sup>०</sup>	ज्ञाह्	ज्ञाय्
b)	द्यो <sup>०</sup>	दे	दे	देई <sup>०</sup>	देह्	दे <sup>०</sup>
c)	हो <sup>० 6)</sup>	हो	होय्	होई <sup>०</sup>	होह्	होय्

1) Or: गैलो<sup>०</sup>, गइल्, गैली, गैलेन्, ऐलो<sup>०</sup>, आइल्, etc.

2) Or: ज्ञात्रो<sup>०</sup> or ज्ञैत्रो<sup>०</sup>, ज्ञाइब् or ज्ञात्रै or ज्ञैत्रै, ज्ञाहै<sup>०</sup>.

3) Or: होइत्रो<sup>०</sup> or होखत्रो<sup>०</sup> or होखित्रो<sup>०</sup>, etc. The verb आव् *come* formes regularly अइत्रो<sup>०</sup> or ऐत्रो<sup>०</sup> or अउत्रो<sup>०</sup> or औत्रो<sup>०</sup>, आई, आइब् or आवब् or आउब्, अइहै<sup>०</sup> or ऐहै<sup>०</sup>, etc.

4) Or: ज्ञो; but not देउ.

5) Or: ज्ञा; यह् or य; हो.

6) Or: होहुं or होखो<sup>०</sup>, as in §§ 516, d. 517, d.

## c) Preterite conjunctive.

	1. sg.	3. sg. masc.	1. pl.	3. pl. masc.
a)	ज्ञातो <sup>१</sup>	ज्ञात् <sup>१)</sup>	ज्ञाङ्त् <sup>२)</sup>	ज्ञातेन् <sup>३)</sup>
b)	देतो <sup>१</sup>	देत्	देङ्त्	देतेन्
c)	होतो <sup>१</sup>	होत्	होङ्त्	होतेन्

## f) Precative forms.

	2. sing.	2. plur.
a)	ज्ञश्हे or ज्ञैह	ज्ञश्हं or ज्ञैह
b)	देश्हे	देश्ह
c)	होश्हे	होश्ह

## g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are made regularly by means of the pres. and past part. and the auxiliary verb; provided only, that trans. verbs use the past part. in ल्, and intrans. verbs that in ल्. Thus, 3. sg. pluperf. गयल् रहल् *he had gone*, but दिहले रहल् *he had given*.

527.

## Participles.

	Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
a)	ज्ञात्, गयल् <sup>४)</sup>	ज्ञाय् के <sup>५)</sup>	ज्ञाते, गैले <sup>४)</sup>
b)	देत्, दिहल्	दे के	देते, दिहले
c)	होत्, भयल् <sup>४)</sup>	होते के	होते, भैले <sup>४)</sup>
d)	कर्त्, कयल् <sup>४)</sup>	कय् के	कर्ते, कैले <sup>४)</sup>
e)	आवत्, आयल् <sup>४)</sup>	आय् के	आते, ऐले <sup>४)</sup>
f)	खात्, खायल् <sup>४)</sup>	खाय् के	खते, खैले <sup>४)</sup>

## Infinitives.

a)	ज्ञाय् <sup>६)</sup> , ज्ञाये के or ज्ञाये के
b)	देय्, देये के or देये के
c)	होय्, होये के or होय् के

## Nouns of agency.

a)	ज्ञानिहार, fem. <sup>०</sup> री
b)	देनिहार, " <sup>०</sup> री
c)	होनिहार, " <sup>०</sup> री

1) Or: ज्ञाते, देते, होते.

2) Or: ज्ञाती, देती, होती.

3) Or: ज्ञाते<sup>१</sup>, देते<sup>१</sup>, होते<sup>१</sup>.

4) Or: गइल्, गइले; भइल्, भइले, etc.

5) Or contr. ज्ञे के, दे के, कै के, etc.

6) Or: ज्ञाइय्, ज्ञाइये or ज्ञाइये के; होइय्, होइये के; आइय्, आइये or ऐये के, etc.



8. THE REGULAR COMPOUND PASSIVE VERB.

528. The forms of the pass. verb are composed of the past part. in ऋल् of the principal (i. e. active) verb and the tenses of the verb गच्छ् to go (§ 479). The formation of the past part. is explained in §§ 302—307; and the conjugation of the verb गच्छ् is given in §§ 525—527. The form of the past part. never changes, but the forms of the verb गच्छ् vary, as usual, according to the person, number and gender of the subject.

Present indicative.

Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1. पठल् गच्छोँ	पठल् गच्छ्यूँ
2. पठल् गच्छेस् or प° गच्छे	पठल् गच्छिस् or प° गच्छी
3. पठल् गच्छा	पठल् गच्छे
Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1. पठल् गच्छीला	पठल् गच्छीला
2. पठल् गच्छह् or प° गच्छ	पठल् गच्छ्यू
3. पठल् गच्छेन् or प° गच्छैँ	पठल् गच्छिन् or प° गच्छीँ

The rest of the tenses may be formed after the above manner.

Participles.

Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
पठल् गच्छ्, प° गच्छल्	पठल् गच्छ् के	पठल् गच्छे प° गच्छे
Infinitives.		Nouns of agency.
पठल् गच्छ्, प° गच्छे के or प° गच्छे के		पठल् गच्छिहार; fem. °री

9. IRREGULAR COMPOUND PASSIVE VERBS.

529. There are only two irregular verbs; viz. गच्छ् to go and होच् to be (§ 479, exc.). The former uses the participial form गच्छल्, instead of गच्छल् in the formation of the compound pass., the latter the part. form होञ्च् or, optionally, भयल्. All other active verbs, which form an irregular past part. (see §§ 527. 304), use the same also in the compound pass. Thus, क्यल् गच्छा it is done; दिहल् गच्छा it is given; but गच्छल् गच्छा it can go (lit. it is gone); होञ्च् गच्छा it can be, see § 530.

530. The pass. voice of intrans. verbs is only used in an impersonal and potential sense. Thus, मो से ब्रह्मल् नाहीं ब्राल्ता lit. *by me it cannot be sat*, i. e., *I cannot sit*; or मो से ब्र्ता नाहीं होअल् (or भयल्) ब्रत् ब्राटे *I cannot stand up*.

*Note:* The compound pass. verbs should be carefully distinguished from the compound intensitive verbs; see § 538, a.

### 10. THE POTENTIAL PASSIVE VERB.

531. The potent. pass. verb, as to the formation of which see § 482, is conjugated precisely like any other (active) verb in ऋ, e. g., like खाब् *to eat*, the conjugation of which is given in §§ 525—527.

a) Present: *I can be read*, etc.

	Sg. Masc.	Fem.	Pl. Masc.	Fem.
1.	पढालोँ	पढाल्यू	पढाईला	पढाईला
2.	पढालेस् <sup>1)</sup>	पढालिस् <sup>1)</sup>	पढालह् <sup>1)</sup>	पढाल्यू
3.	पढाला	पढाले	पढालेन् <sup>1)</sup>	पढालिन् <sup>1)</sup>

b) Preterite: *I could be read*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढइलोँ or पढेलोँ; 3. sg. पढायल् or पढाइल्, etc.  
There is no first preterite form of the potent. pass.

c) Future: *I shall be able to be read*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढइवोँ or पढेवोँ or पढावोँ, 3. sg. पढाइ; pl. पढइहैँ or पढेहैँ, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may be able to be read*, etc.

Sing.	1. पढाँवूँ	2. पढा or पढो	3. पढायूँ
Plur.	1. पढाँईँ	2. पढाहूँ or पढा	3. पढाँवूँ

e) Pret. conj.: *I would be able to be read*, etc.

1. sing. masc. पढातोँ; plur. पढातो or पढाइत्, etc.

Periphrastic tenses.

g) Dur. pres. 1. sg. masc. पढात् ब्राटोँ or प<sup>o</sup> होवोँ, etc.

h) Dur. pret. " " पढात् रहलोँ, etc.

i) Dur. fut. " " पढात् होवोँ or प<sup>o</sup> होवोँ, etc.

1) Or: 2. sg. m. पढाले, f. पढाली; pl. m. पढाल; 3. pl. m. पढालैँ, f. पढालीँ.

- k) Perfect 1. sg. masc. पढायल् वाटो<sup>०</sup> or प<sup>०</sup> होवो<sup>०</sup> or पढाइल् व<sup>०</sup> or प<sup>०</sup> ह<sup>०</sup>, etc.  
 l) Pluperfect „ „ पढायल् रहलो<sup>०</sup> or पढाइल् र<sup>०</sup>, etc.

## Participles.

Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
पढात्, पढायल् or पढाइल्	पढाय् के	पढाते, पढइले or पढैले
Infinitives.		Nouns of agency.
पढाव् or पढाइव्, पढाये के or पढैये के		पढानिहार, fem. ०री

## 11. IRREGULAR POTENTIAL PASSIVE VERBS.

532. There is only one anomalous case; viz. the verb खाव् to eat. It forms its potent. pass. root irregularly, viz. बिया; but the root, thus formed, is conjugated quite regularly. Observe also, that the verbs देव् to give and लेव् to take make their potent. pass. roots दिया and लिया (§ 482). The verbs आचव् to come, जाव् to go and होव् to be possess no potent. passive.

## 12. THE SIMPLE CAUSAL VERB.

533. The simple causal verb, as to the formation of which see § 474, is conjugated regularly like any other (active) verb in व्; provided that ०आवो<sup>०</sup> becomes आई (§ 33) and antepenultimate ०आव<sup>०</sup>, ०आय<sup>०</sup> become अउ or औ, अइ or ऐ (§ 34).

a) Present: *I cause to read* or *I teach*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढावैलो<sup>०</sup> or पढावलो<sup>०</sup>; pl. पढाईला, etc.

b) First pret.: *I caused to read* or *I taught*, etc.

Sg. 1. पढायो<sup>०</sup>, 2. and 3. पढाइस्; pl. 1. पढाया, 2. पढायौ, 3. पढाइन् .

## Second preterite.

1. sg. पढउलो<sup>०</sup> or पढौलो<sup>०</sup>; pl. पढउली or पढौली, etc.

c) Future: *I shall cause to read* or *I shall teach*, etc.

Sg. 1. पढइवो<sup>०</sup> or पढैवो<sup>०</sup> or पढउवो<sup>०</sup> or पढौवो<sup>०</sup>, 3. पढाई, etc.

Pl. 1. पढाइव् or पढाउव्, 3. पढइहै<sup>०</sup> or पढैहै<sup>०</sup>, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may cause to read*, etc.

Sg. 1. पढावो<sup>०</sup>, 2. पढाव् or पढावु or पढाउ, 3. पढावै.

Pl. 1. पढाई<sup>०</sup>, 2. पढावह् or पढाव, 3. पढावै<sup>०</sup>.

e) Pret. conj.: *I would cause to read, etc.*

1. sg. masc. पढउतोँ or पढौतोँ, 3. पढावत् or पढौते; pl. 1. पढाइत्, etc.

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are made regularly by means of the pres. and past part.; provided only, that causal verbs, being trans., use the past part. in ले. Thus 3. sg. masc. imperf. पढावत् रहल् *he was causing to read or he was teaching*; again 3. sg. masc. perf. पढौले चाटे *he has caused to read or he has taught, etc.*

Participles.

Adjectival.

Conjunctive.

Adverbial.

पढावत् पढावल्

पढाय् के

पढौते पढौले

Infinitives.

Nouns of agency.

पढाइच् or पढावच्, पढावै के or पढैचे के

पढौनिहार; fem. ०री

### 13. THE DOUBLE CAUSAL VERB.

534. The double caus. verb, as to the formation of which see § 477, is conjugated precisely like the simple causal verb (§ 533).

a) Present: *I cause to teach, etc.*

1. sg. masc. पढवावैलोँ or पढवावलोँ; pl. पढवाईला, etc.

b) First. pret.: *I caused to teach, etc.*

1. sg. पढवायोँ, 2. and 3. पढवाइग्; pl. 1. पढवाया, 3. पढवाइन्, etc.

Second preterite.

1. sg. masc. पढवउलोँ or पढवौलोँ, 3. पढवउलेस् or पढवौलेस्, etc.

c) Future: *I shall cause to teach, etc.*

1. sg. masc. पढवइच्योँ or पढवैच्योँ or पढवउच्योँ or पढवौच्योँ, 3. पढवाइ, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may cause to teach, etc.*

1. sg. पढवावोँ, 2. पढवाव् or पढवावु or पढवाउ; 1. pl. पढवाइँ, etc.

e) Pret. conj.: *I would cause to teach, etc.*

1. sg. m. पढवउतो or पढवौतोँ, 3. पढवावत् or पढवौते; 1. pl. पढवाइत्, etc.

Participles.

Infinitive.

पढवावत् पढवावल्

पढवाइच् or पढवावच्

#### 14. THE PASSIVE OF THE SIMPLE AND DOUBLE CAUSAL VERBS.

535. Causal verbs cannot form the potent., but only the compound passive! The latter is formed and conjugated precisely like that of any other (active) verb. Thus, simple caus. pass. infin. पढावल् ज्ञाच् to be caused to read or to be taught; and double caus. pass. inf. पढ्वावल् ज्ञाच् to be caused to teach, and so forth.

#### 15. IRREGULAR CAUSAL VERBS.

536. 1) The verb खाच् to eat forms its simple causal खियावच् to cause to eat or to feed, and its double causal खियावावच् to cause to feed. Similarly the verbs लेच् to take and देच् to give form खियावच्, खियावावच् and दियावच्, दियावावच् respectively (§ 474, exc.).

2) The verbs आवच् to come and जाच् to go possess no causals. Instead of them, the intensitive compound verbs लेआवच् to bring (= to cause to come) and लेजावच् to remove (= to cause to go) are used (see § 538, a). These two compound verbs are conjugated precisely like the two simple verbs आवच् and जाच्. Thus their infin. pass. are लेआवल् जाच् to be brought and लेजावल् जाच् to be removed.

3) Of the verb होच् to be there is no causal in use, whether simple or double, active or passive.

### FOURTH CHAPTER. COMPOUND VERBS.

537. Compound verbs are made by adding to the principal verb, which takes the form of the conj. part. (§ 490) or the oblique infin. (§ 485) or the adj. part. (§ 486), certain auxiliary verbs. In conjugating, the latter only are inflected, while the former remains unchanged.

538. The verbs most commonly used as auxiliaries to form such comp. verbs are :

a) For making *intensitives*; देव् to give (implying intensity), डालव् to throw (violence); आइव् to come and जाइव् to go (completion); पडव् (or W. H. पड<sup>०</sup>) to fall (chance); उठव् to rise (suddenness); लेव् to take (reflexiveness). In such intensitive comp. verbs the auxil. verb has no significance of its own, but merely serves to modify the meaning of the principal verb. The latter takes the form of the conj. part. Thus, फेकव् to throw, but फेक देव् to throw away; तोर डालव् to break into pieces, from तोरव् to break; बन आइव् or बन जाइव् to be made up, completed, from बनव् to be made; खाव् जाइव् to eat up, from खाइव् to eat; आव् पडव् to come accidentally, to turn up, from आव् to come; बोल उठव् to speak suddenly, from बोलव् to speak; काट लेव् to cut for oneself, from काटव् to cut; रख लेव् to place for oneself, to lay by, from रखव् to place.

b) For making *continuatives*; रहव् to remain and जाइव् to go. In composition with रहव्, the principal verb' may take the form either of the conj. or the adj. pres. part.; in conjunction with जाइव्, it may have only the form of the latter participle. Thus, बइ रहव् or बइठ रहव् to continue sitting; again पढ् जाइव् to continue reading.

c) For making *frequentatives*; करव् to do. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. infin. Thus, पढै करव् or पढ्ये क<sup>०</sup> to read often; आवै करव् or अइये क<sup>०</sup> or ऐये क<sup>०</sup> to be in the habit of coming.

d) For making *potentials*; सकव् to be able, जानव् to know. The principal verb takes the form of the conj. part. or, less usually, of the obl. infin. Thus, पढ् सकव् or पढै स<sup>०</sup> or पढ्ये स<sup>०</sup> to be able to read; खइये जानव् or खैये ज<sup>०</sup> to be able to eat.

e) For making *completives*; चुकव् to finish. The principal verb takes the form of the conj. part. Thus पढ् चुकव् to finish reading, खाव् चुकव् to finish eating.

f) For making *desideratives*; इहाव् (or चाहव्) to wish. The principal verb takes the form of the adj. past part. or the obl. infin. Thus, पढल् इहाव् or पढै इ<sup>०</sup> or पढ्ये इ<sup>०</sup> to wish to read.

Very often these derivatives are idiomatically used to express merely *immediate futurity*, as घड़ी बजल्ल् द्वाहत् बाटे the clock is about to strike; वेरू बिसवे द्वाहैला the time is about to pass.

g) For making *inchoatives*; लगव् to be applied and होइव् to become. The latter occurs only in the past tense भयल्ल् he became, and, in composition with it, the principal verb takes the form of the adj. pres. part., as पढ्ठन् भयल्ल् he began to read. With लगव् it takes the form of the obl. inf., as पढ्ठै लगव् or पढ्ठवे ल° to begin to read.

h) For making *permissives*; देव् to give. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. inf. Thus, पढ्ठै देव् or पढ्ठवे देव् to allow to read; आवै देव् or आइवे द° or ऐवे द° to allow to come.

i) For making *acquisitives*; पाइव् to obtain. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. inf. Thus, पढ्ठै पाइव् or पढ्ठवे प° to be allowed to read.

539. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) The form of the principal verb in intens., contin., potent. and complet. compound verbs is not, as sometimes said (see Kl. 188—191. Eth. 102. 103. Ld. 70), the root of the verb, but the conj. part. This can be clearly seen in E. H., especially in the case of verbs with vocal roots, where the root and the conj. part. have different forms; e. g., to eat up is खाव् (conj. part.) खाइव्, not खा (root) खाइव्; but also in others; e. g., फेके देव् or फेक् द° to throw away. In fact, these compounds literally mean to come after having eaten; to give after having thrown. Thus, लेआवै lit. means to come after having taken, i. e., to bring; पढ्ठे चुकव् or पढ्ठे च° to give up after having read, i. e., to have done with reading. The H. H., too, has preserved the full conj. part. form in its causals, where it optionally adds व् to roots in आ (see Kl. 188. 192); e. g., ब्रताव् देना or ब्रता द° to show. Again O. H. always uses the conj. part. in its original form in इ; as पढ्ठि चुकन् to have done reading. Finally M. uses in these compounds the conj. part. in उन्; e. g., टाकून् देणे° to cast away, घेउन् घेणे° to bring, lit. having taken (from घेणे° to take) to come (see Man. 92); and likewise B. uses the conj.

part. in *इया*, G. in *ई*, S. in *ई* or *ए*, O. in *इ*; e. g., B. खाइया चूकन् *to have done eating* (S. C. 193); G. नाखी देवुं *to throw away* (Ed. 113); S. वही वजणु *to take off*, करे चुकणु *to have done doing* (Tr. 339. 342), O. करि वाडें *I am in the habit of doing* (Sn. 42). In the ordinary P., as in H. H., the form of the conj. part. does not differ from that of the root; e. g., वाच् सकणा *to be able to read*, खा हटणा *to finish eating* (Ld. 70, d). — 2) As regards those compounds in which the principal verb takes the form of the obl. infin., the latter is the acc. case of the infin. governed by the auxil. verb. Thus पढै करव् *to read often* is lit. *to do reading*, मरवै इहव् *to be about to die* is lit. *to desire dying*. This is clearly seen from the O., which actually adds the acc. affix कु to the obl. inf. मरिवा कु चाहि *I desire to die*, करिवा कु लगि *I begin to do* (Sn. 41. 12). The termination of the obl. inf. is वा in G., इया in P., ण in S.; e. g., G. नोवा लग्यो *he began to see* (Ed. 51), P. पढिया करदा *he is in the habit of reading* (Ld. 70, e), S. रुघण लगणु *to begin to cry* (Tr. 344, 4). The B. alone forms an exception, in using the obl. form of the pres. part. in इते (or the adverbial part.) in the place of the obl. inf.; e. g., B. मरिते चाहि *I desire to die*, करिते पारि *I am able to do* (S. Ch. 192, 4. 5). Kellogg's conjecture (p. 192), that the H. H. form in या (as पढा करना *to be in the habit of reading*) is not the masc. sing. of the past part. but a „gerund“ (i. e., obl. infin.) and identical with the B. obl. inf. in या (S. C. 149), is quite true. — 3) In those compounds, where the principal verb is in the form of an adj. part., the latter really stands in the position of a *predicate* to the subject or object of the (auxil.) verb. Thus ऊ पढत् नात् वाटै *he continues reading* is lit. *he is going as a reader*, or ऊ मरल् चाहत् वाटै *he wishes to die* is lit. *he wishes (himself) as dead*. It appears, therefore, that, strictly speaking, none of these so-called compound verbs are really compounds, but in every case the part. or infin. of the principal verb is in ordinary grammatical construction of some sort with the (so-called) auxil. verb. — 4) These various comp. verbs occur in all Gd. languages, and are generally



formed in the same way, though sometimes a different auxil. verb is used. Thus B. and O. use पार् *cross* for सक् in potent. (S. Ch. 192, 4. Sn. 41, 2), B. थाक्, O. था *stand* for रह् in contin. and for कर् in frequent. (S. Ch. 191, 1. 192, 3. Sn. 42); P. has हट् with draw. S. वत् *take*, beside चुक्, in complet. (Tr. 342, c. Id. 70, d); S. वञ् *go* for ज्ञा in intens. (Tr. 339, a). One exception has been already mentioned in Nro. 2. — 5) Traces of these comp. verbs already occur in Prākrit. Thus there are desideratives in the *Bhagavatī*, made by constructing the R. इच्छ *wish* with the past part. pass. in इय; e. g., इच्छामि सयम् एव मुंडावियं सयम् एव सिखावियं सयम् एव धम्मम् आइक्खियं, i. e., *I wish myself to shave, myself to instruct, myself to teach the law*, E. H. इहो<sup>०</sup> आपही मूंडल् आपही सिखावल्ल आपही धाम् कै आयसु दिहल्. See Wb. Bh. 275. 433<sup>1</sup>).

## FIFTH SECTION. INDECLINABLES.

540. There are four kinds of indeclinables or words incapable of inflexion: 1) adverbs, 2) postpositions, 3) conjunctions, 4) interjections.

### 1. ADVERBS.

541. Adverbs may be either nominal, pronominal, numeral, verbal or original, according as they are derived from nouns, pronouns, numbers, verbs or from none of these. Again each of these classes may be divided into adv. of time, place and manner. Most adv. are native Hindī, but there are a very few of foreign

1) आइक्खियं may be derived from R. आ-दोन् (or आ-दिन्, for Skr. आ-दिग्, cf. Pr. देव = दृन्, for Skr. दृग्) „to instruct, to initiate“. — The E. H. root इह or चाह् may be better derived from the noun इच्छा, by the loss of initial इ and the transfer of the aspiration of ह् (§ 132). Thus Skr. \*इच्छायति, Pr. इच्छायइ, Gd. इहारे or चाहै or इहै. Accordingly § 173 should be corrected.

origin, whose native equivalents are obsolete. Again most adv. consist of only *one* word; but there are some that consist of a phrase or of a repetition of the original word. The following list of adv. lays no claim to completeness. The Sanskrit or foreign source of each is added in brackets.

542. *Nominal adverbs of time.* 1) नर्सौ<sup>०</sup> *four days ago or four days hence* (for चर्सौ<sup>०</sup>? Skr. चतुर्-ग्रस्); तर्सौ<sup>०</sup> *three days ago or three days hence* (Skr. त्रि-ग्रस्); परसौ<sup>०</sup> *the day before yesterday or the day after to-morrow* (Skr. पर-ग्रस्); काल् or काल्ह or काल्हि *yesterday or to-morrow* (Skr. कल्य); विहान् *to-morrow, at daybreak* (Skr. विभात); अतू or अतवा *to-day* (Skr. अद्य); अतौ<sup>०</sup> *hitherto* (Skr. अद्यापि); पर्यार *the past year* (Skr. पर-काल or पर-वार, cf. §§ 69. 30); तर्के or भिनुसार *at daybreak, at dawn* (W. H. तडके, Skr. तटक, भिन्-वासर); नित्र *always* (Skr. नित्य); आनू or आगे *before* (§§ 77, exc. 78, exc.); पाहू or पाहे or पाहै<sup>०</sup> *afterwards* (§§ 77, exc. 78, exc.); पुन् or फुन् or फिन् (§§ 61. 131) or बहुरि *again* (Skr. पुनर्, बहु); निदान् *lastly* (Skr. दतो). — 2) Adverbial phrases; ओ दिन् or परू के दिन् *yesterday* (lit. *that day or day of before*); लोहिया लागत् (lit. *becoming red*) or अँधसुधारे (lit. *on clearing off of darkness*) *at dawn, early*; दिन् चरू के (lit. *the day having risen*) *late in the morning*; सत्र् दिन् *always* (lit. *every day*); बहून् वेरू *frequently*; एकू वेरू *once* (etc., see § 409); आन् काल् or एन्हन् दिन् *now-a-days*. — 3) Repetitions; दिन् दिन् *every day*; कबही<sup>०</sup> कबही<sup>०</sup> or कब्रौ<sup>०</sup> कब्रौ<sup>०</sup> *sometimes*; बारू बारू *frequently*. — 4) Foreign; आखिर *lastly* (arabic آخر).

543. *Nominal adverbs of place.* 1) आगारे or आगारू *before* (§§ 210. 77, exc. 78, exc.); पडारे or पडारू or पडवारे or पिहू<sup>०</sup> *behind* (§§ 210. 77, exc. 78, exc.); उपरिया *above* (Skr. उपरि); नीचू or निचड्या *below* (Skr. नीच, of नि-अञ्च्); संमुहू or सामुहू *in front* (Skr. सम्मुख); बहिरि or बहिरू *without* (see § 217, p. 110); बीचू or बीचू *amidst* (Skr. वृत्, of वृ surround, cf. § 374, p. 223, or from वि-अञ्च् surround); नगीचू or नगीचै (see § 545) or नियरे or नेरे or नियरू *near* (Skr. निकट, cf. § 104); काँटू or लामे *far* (see §§ 172. 144); सबत्रू *every where* (Ap. Pr. सबत्र, Skr. सर्वत्र). — 2) Phrases; काले कोन् *far* (lit. *some*

*miles* = W. H. कित्ते कोस्, Skr. कियत्-क्रोश, Pr. काला, H. C. 3, 65, cf. §§ 438, 4. 464).

544. *Nominal adverbs of manner.* 1) अचानक् (Skr. अचेतनक?) or संतोग (Skr. संयोग) *accidentally, suddenly*; अलग् *separately* (Skr. अलग्न); बहुत् *much* (Skr. बहुत्र); हाली or हलदे or तुरत् *quickly* (see § 545); तावरोरू *very quickly*; साँचे *truly* (Skr. सत्व); अकार्य् (§ 545) or त्रिथी (Skr. वृथा) *in vain*; नीमन् (Skr. नियमन?) or नीके (persian نیک) *well*; निर्फुल् or केवल् *merely* (Skr. दतो); वत्र *very* (§ 145, exc. 2); सभिहै or सम्मै *altogether* (Skr. सर्व). — 2) Phrases; कर्म से *accidentally* (lit. *by fate*); आपुस् से *mutually*; similarly, by adding रीति से or भाँति से or तरह (arab. طرح) *in... manner*, adverbs may be formed from any adj., as भली रीति से *in a good manner, well*. — 3) Repetitions; अलग् अलग् *severally*; रसे रसे or गवै गवै or धीरे धीरे or कले कले *slowly, by and by*; साची साची *truly*; लग् भग् *almost*; कूँठ् मूँठ् *falsely*; सचे मुच् *surely*. — 4) Foreign; जरूर *necessarily* (arab. ضرور); जल्दी *quickly* (pers. خلدی); कम *a little* (pers. کم); खाली *only* (pers. خالی); अदब्द के *especially* (lit. *giving respect*; arab. ادب); आस्ते आस्ते or अस्ते अस्ते *slowly* (pers. آهسته).

545. *Derivation.* Adverbs in ए or ऐ or ई are modifications of the Ap. Pr. loc. sing. in अहिं, as explained in §§ 77, exc. 378. — Adverbs in ऊ are modifications of the Ap. Pr. abl. or loc. sing. in अहुं, see §§ 78, exc. 376. 378. — Adv. in इ are modifications of the Ap. Pr. loc. sing. in ए or इ, see §§ 45. 378; e. g., Skr. कल्ये, Pr. कल्ले, Ap. कल्ले or कल्लि, E. H. कालि or काहिह. — Adv. in *a* quiescent are modif. of the Ap. Pr. acc. sg. or loc. sg.; see §§ 41. 45; e. g., Skr. कल्यं, Pr. कल्लं, E. H. काल्; the latter, however, might have arisen by the quiescence of the final इ in the Ap. Pr. कल्लि or E. H. कालि. — The element ०सौ (in परसौ, etc.) appears to be the contraction of an Ap. Pr. abl. or loc. सुहुं (see § 376), of सो (Skr. प्रः), formed irregularly after the analogy of nouns (e. g., abl. दिवसहुं, of दिवसो *day*). — E. H. अतवा is derived with the pleon. suff. अवा from अत, and अतवा is contr. to अत, see § 199. — E. H. गिनुसार् contains an anomalous meta-

thesis of घा, if it is correctly derived from Skr. भिन्नासार „broken day“, „day-break“; whence Pr. \*भिषवसार or \*भिषोसार, E. H. भिनुसार. — In फिन् and फुन् the फ् and इ are, perhaps, assimilations to फिर् (§ 547); S. has regularly पिषि or पुषि or पुषु (Tr. 410). — E. H. बहुरि is formed by the addition of the pleon. suff. र् to Skr. बहु, just as in E. H. बाहिरि, see §§ 543. 217. — E. H. अगार, पहार, etc. contain the pleon. suff. अग्रउग्र (i. e., क + उ + क), as explained in §§ 210. 217. — E. H. उपरिया and निचर्या contain the pleon. suff. इया, see § 199. — E. H. नगीच् is, probably, a corruption of the persian نگرىك, which may be heard in Hindí as नगीक् (see § 21, 2), and whence by transposition (see § 133) would arise नगीन्; the क् being now medial, is regularly softened to ग्, see § 102. — E. H. हाली and हलदे are really W. Gd. adverbs; the former is the conj. part., the latter the obl. form of the pres. part. of the verbal root हाल् (M.), हल्ल् (P.), हल् (S.), हिल् or हल् (H.) *move, go*. Thus conj. part. S. हली (Tr. 313), pres. part. हलन्द (Tr. 313), P. हल्लदे. — E. H. तुरन्त् is the pres. part. of the verbal root त्वर् or तूर् *be quick*. — E. H. अकार्य is regularly derived from the Skr. अकृतार्थ *having one's object not done, unsuccessful*, Pr. अकृत्य or Ap. Pr. अकृत्य, whence contr. E. H. अकार्य or अकार्य (see §§ 137. 138).

546. The *pronominal* and *numeral adverbs* have been already enumerated in §§ 467—469 and in §§ 402. 417. 419 respectively.

547. *Verbal adverbs*. Many conjunctive participles may be used as adverbs; e. g., फिर् or फिर् के *again* (Skr. परि-इ *go round*), मिलि or मिल् के *together*, जान् के *knowingly*, हाली *quickly* (§ 545), etc. By the addition of the conj. part. क्य् के or कै के *having done* to nouns, adjectives and numerals adverbial phrases may be formed; e. g., खुसी क्य् के *gladly* (lit. *having made joy*); एक एक के के *singly* (lit. *having made one by one*), etc.

548. *Particles of affirmation and negation*. The former are तौ or तौ तो or तो or हौ or हौ *yes*, काह् or काहे lit. *why not*. The latter are न or नाह् or नाहि or नाही or नाहिन् *no, not*.

The prohibitive particle is *निन्* *do not*, used with the imper. only. Thus *ऐसन् निन् करह्* *do not act thus*, but *ऐ° न* or *नाँही°* *क°* *you do not act thus*.

549. *Affinities and Derivation.* *तो* is a contr. of the Pr. *ताव* (Vr. 4, 6), Skr. *तावत्*. — E. H. *तो*, S. *तोड* (Tr. 419) is the Skr. *तोव*, used (like Skr. *आत्मा*, E. H. *आप्*) as a term. of respect and, hence, of assent; cf. the English „sir“. — The other affirm. and negat. particles were originally various forms of the auxiliary verb „to be“. Thus E. H. *हाँ* and *हो°*, S. *हउ* or *हाँ* (Tr. 418), B. *हाँ* or *हुँ* (S. Ch. 218) are the 1. sing. pres.; see § 514, 4. The 3. sing. pres. occurs in S. *आँहे* (Tr. 418) and M. *होय्* (Man. 101). B. also uses the 3. sing. pres. *चटे* of the other auxil. verb, see § 514, 1. The particles *नाँह* or *नाँहि* are compounds of the negative particle *न* and the 3. sing. pres. *आहि* *he is* (§ 514, 4); similarly *नाँही°* and *नाहिन्* are compounds of *न* and the 3. plur. pres. *आहो°* and *अहिन्*; *नाहिं* occurs in Pr. (H. C. 4, 419). As to the *anunásika* preceding *ह्*, see § 67. All these particles, however, are now used without respect to the person and number originally expressed by their form. — Instead of the E. H. *निन्*, W. H. uses *मत्* or *मति*, S. *म* (Tr. 415), G. *मा* (Ed. 115); in Pr. *मा* or *मं* or *म* (H. C. 4, 418), Skr. *मा*.

550. *Particles of emphasis.* These are *ई* or *ही* *only*, *very* and *उ* or *हूँ* *also*. They are always used enclitically and often coalesce with the final *अ* of the principal word to *ऐ* or *ओ*. E. g., *क वायू एह् पारी खाली रात्रै अनवैत्र की गूरी*। i. e., *what, father! shall you, this time, make only syrup or also molasses*; here *रात्रै* = *रात्र ई*, and *गूरी* (or *गूरी*) = *गूर उ*.

551. *Affinities and Derivation.* *ई* is, perhaps, connected with the Skr. *एव*, Pr. *वेअ* or *विअ* (Vr. 9, 3); but as the true Pr. form is *चेअ*, *चिअ* (H. C. 2, 184), the derivation is doubtful. O. has *इ* or *हिँ* or *हे°* (Sn. 48), M. *ही* (Man. 101), H. H. *ही*. — E. H. *उ*, B. *ओ* (S. Ch. 237) are modifications of the Pr. *चि*, Skr. *अपि* (or *उपि*); Pr. has also *पि* (H. C. 2, 218); S. preserves both *चि* and *पि* (Tr. 410), and even aspirates *भि* or *भी* (Tr. 410); so also H. H. *भी*.

552. *Particles of interrogation.* क *what*; e. g., क बाबू! का करैल। i. e., *what, father! what are you doing?*

553. *Affinities and Derivation.* S. uses कि or की (Tr. 418), B. कि (S. Ch. 218), W. H. कि, क्यूँ. They are all connected with the interrogative pronom. base, see §§ 437, 5. 467, d.

## 2. POSTPOSITIONS AND AFFIXES.

554. Postpositions supply in E. H. (and Gd. generally) the place of what, in other languages, are prepositions. They are placed after the noun or pronoun which they govern; and the noun or pronoun takes the oblique form with or without the genitive affix कै or के. Postpositions constructed without a gen. aff. are *affixes* (§ 374, p. 222).

555. The following postpositions are commonly constructed without a gen. aff.; तरे *beneath* (Skr. तल *bottom*); पाही° (§§ 77, exc. 116. 375) or कने (§ 375) *at, near*; माँ or माँही° or माँक् *in, within* (§ 378); ले (conj. part. of R. लम् *take*) or तक् (dto of R. तक् *see*) *till*; संगे or संग् *with* (Skr. सङ्ग); काही° *towards* (§§ 375. 116).

556. The following postpositions are commonly constructed with a gen. aff.; लगि *near, at* (§ 374); साथे *with* (Skr. संख्य); सनती (often spelled सन्ती, cf. § 6, note) or पलटे *instead of* (§ 557); बाटे or बारे or बरे or बदे *for, by reason of* (§ 374); ओर (Skr. अवर) or मुहे° (Skr. मुख) *towards*; नाई° *like* (§ 557); besides many of the adverbs, enumerated in §§ 541—544. Also खातिर *for, by reason of* (arab. خاطر).

557. *Affinities and Derivation.* Most of these have mentioned in §§ 374 ff. — The origin of बाटे is obscure; it is probably derived from the Skr. वर्त्त *being*; cf. the Pashtu *vatah*; or perhaps it may be a corruption of the Urdú वास्ते (arab. واسطی), see § 143; it is peculiar to E. H.; the W. H. has लिये. — E. H. बदे is sometimes used like the arabic بدل *in exchange for*. — E. H. सनती lit. *sacrifice, substitute*, see § 18, p. 23. — E. H. पलटे is Skr. पर्यस्ते *in return for*, see § 143. — नाई° is probably connected with the root ज्ञा *know*; the Pr. has नाइ or नावइ (H. C. 4, 444).

## 3. CONJUNCTIONS.

558. *Copulative conjunctions*; अउरू or औरू or अरू (§§ 5, b. 26) or औ and; पुन् or पुनि or फुनि or किन् moreover; का — का as well — as.

559. *Affinities and Derivation*. E. H. औरू, अरू, Bs. ओरू or ओरू is the Pr. अवरं or Ap. अवह, Skr. अवरं; B. has आरू (S. Ch. 237), Br. अह, H. H. औरू, P. अरू (Ld. 71), N. रू. The latter rejects the initial अ (of अरू) and is used enclitically; e. g., उन् ले ज्ञाने — रू भन्या *he knew and said*, or उठ — रू माँक मा उमि *get up and stand in the middle!* — E. H. अउ or औ, B. ओ, also compounded आरूओ or आरूो (S. Ch. 237), O. आउ or ओ (Sn. 46), M. व (Man. 103), Br. ओ, S. अउं (Tr. 410), are, probably, the Pr. अवि (H. C. 1, 41), Skr. अवि or अविच. — S. has also अइं or रूं (Tr. 410), P. अति or ति, O. H. (Chand) ति = Pr. अइ or ति, Skr. अति. — M. has also आणि or अणाली (Man. 103), G. अने or ने (Ed. 117); they are probably the Pr. अण° or अण्°, Skr. अणत् or अणच्च lit. *another*. — E. H. पुनि, etc. (§§ 61. 131), O. पुणि (Sn. 46), S. पुणि or विणि or पुणु (Tr. 410), are the Pr. पुणो or पुणु (Spt. 276. H. C. 4, 426), Skr. पुनरू. — W. H. has क्या — क्या as well — as, S. तिअं — तिअं (Tr. 410).

560. *Adversative conjunctions*; अरूकि or बाकि or अरूक् (§ 561), लेकिन (arab. لیکن), परू पै, अरून् *but*.

561. *Affinities and Derivation*. अरूकि etc. are corruptions of the Persian بلكه, see § 143; W. H. अलकि, बाकि, अलुक (Kl. 276), P. अरूक् (Ld. 71). — E. H. परू is the Skr. परम्, Pr. परं; also W. H., P., S. परू; on E. H., W. H. पै see § 124; P. has also अपरू or एपरू (Ld. 71) = Skr. अपरम्. — E. H. अरून्, W. H. अरण, P. अरं is Skr. अरम् or अरणम्. — W. H. has also मगरू, P. मगरू<sup>1</sup> or मगो° (Ld. 71), S. मगरि (Tr. 412) = Pers. مگر. — O. has पुणि (Sn. 46), M. पण (Man. 103), G. पण (Ed. 117), S. पण (Tr. 412) = Pr. पुणु, Skr. पुनरू. — N. has तरू, also M. तरू (Man. II, 26), probably a corruption of Skr. तर्हि (or of तरम् *beyond across*). — S. has also तिमिरि (Tr. 412), a corruption of the arab. تبغیر; also हयू or हयो° (Tr. 413), apparently connected with Skr. हस्त. — H. H., H. B., etc. use the Skr. परन्तु, किन्तु, etc.

562. *Disjunctive conjunctions*; ओ or की or, *either-or*; e. g., क! ई लेव्ह की उ *will you take this or that*; बड़ेरा घो बड़ेरी *a coll or a filly*; न — न or न तो — न *neither-nor*; e. g., न तो ई लेव्हो न उ *I shall take neither this nor that*; चाहे — चाहे or की — की *whether-or*; e. g., चाहे ई ले चाहे उ *take either this or that* (2. sg. imp.) or *whether he take this or that* (3. sg. pres. conj.).

563. *Affinities and Derivation*. E. H. ओ is the Pr. व or वा (H. C. 1, 67), Skr. वा; H. H., H. B., H. O., etc. have वा, also अवा; the latter is preserved in O. अवा, contr. form Pr. अहवा (H. C. 1, 67), Skr. अवा. — E. H. की, B. कि (S. Ch. 240), O. कि or कि अवा (Sn. 46), M. की (Man. 103), W. H. कि, P. के or अके (Ld. 71), S. कि or की (Tr. 412), N. कि are probably the Pr. किं, Skr. किम् *what*. — E. H. चाहे is the 3. sg. pres. conj. of the verb चाह् to desire. — B. also uses ह्य-न्य *either-or* (S. Ch. 240), S. तोडे-न त or तोषो-न त or तौ-तौ (Tr. 412); B. ना-ना or न्य-न्य *neither-nor* (S. Ch. 240), P. ना-ना (Ld. 81). — S. has तौ or (Tr. 412). — W. H. and P. also use वा, arabic ل (Kl. 275. Ld. 71).

564. *Conditional and concessive conjunctions*; जो or जै *if*, तो *then*; जै *although*, तब्यो *yet, nevertheless*.

565. *Affinities*. 1) *Condit.*; B. जदि — तबे or तो (S. Ch. 238), O. तेबे — तेबे (Sn. 46), M. जरू — तरू (Man. II, 17), W. H. जो or जो — तो or तो, P. जे or जे करू — तौ (Ld. 71), G. जे or जो — तो (Ed. 117), S. जे or जे करू — त or तौ (Tr. 417), N. भन्या — ता. — 2) *Concess.*; B. जदिओ — तब्यो or तब्यो or तरू (S. Ch. 240), O. तेबे — तेबे or तेबेहे (Sn. 46), M. जरी or जरी — तरी or तरी (Man. II, 17), W. H. (Br.) जो हूँ — तो हूँ (Kl. 275), P. भावे — तौ भी (Ld. 71), S. तोड or तोषो or जे or जे तोड or जे तोषा — त or तौ or त बि or तडेही बि (Tr. 411), N. ता — तरू.

566. *Derivation*. 1) *Condit.*; a) Skr. यदि (or यदा), Pr. जइ (Vr. 1, 11), E. H. जै, P., S. जे. — b) Skr. यर्हि (Pr. जरि?), M. जरू; similarly Skr. तर्हि (Pr. तरि?), M. and N. तरू. — c) Skr. यावत्, Pr. जव (H. C. 1, 11) or जाम्व (H. C. 4, 395) or जम्व (H. C. 4, 401), E. H. and W. H. जो, G. जो or S. जौ (see § 563) or O. जेवे (§ 468, c); similarly Skr. तावत्, Pr. ताव or ताम्व or तेम्व, E. H., W. H. तो, B., W. H., G. तो or P. तौ, S. तौ or (shortened) त,



N. ता or O. तेब्रे, B. (shortening ए) तब्रे. — d) The N. भन्या is the conj. part. of the verb भननु to say (Skr. भणित्वा), and is always placed at the end of the conditional sentence; thus, वहाँ कल्याण को पुत्र इ भन्या, ता तिमिहेरु को कल्याण उस् मायि रहला है; न भन्या, ता फरू कि याउला, i. e., if (lit. having said that) a son of peace be there, then your peace will remain upon him; if not, then it will again come. — 2) The concessive conj. are made by adding to the condit. conj. some emphatic particle (see § 550); thus a) ओ or उ in B. तद्विओ, Ap. Pr. तद्विचि, Skr. यद्यपि; B. तब्रेओ = Pr. तेम्बइ वि, Skr. तावत्यपि (loc. sg.); B. तयु, E. H. तब्रेओ for तब्रे + उ. — b) हूँ in W. H. तौ हूँ, तौ हूँ. — c) ईँ or होँ in M. तरीँ or तरी for तरि-ईँ, तरीँ or तरी for तरि-ईँ. — d) चि or भी in S. त चि, P. ताँ भी, H. H. तौ भी. — e) The emph. particle is reduplicated in O. तेब्रेहेँ for ते-ब्रे-हेँ, S. तउहेँचि for तउ-हीँ-चि. — f) The P. भावेँ is the Skr. भावेन indeed, truly; similarly N. uses ता, E. H., W. H. etc. तौ or तो; e. g., N. म ता परमेष्वरू देखि उराउँदि न, तरू म दिउँला, i. e., I indeed am not afraid of god, yet I shall give.

567. Causal and final conjunctions; a) तौ or तहूँ से since, तौ therefore. — b) तेहूँ से or तेहूँ से therefore. — c) काहे की because, for. — d) तेहूँ से in order that, so that. — e) का जाने lest. — f) नाहीँ तौ else, otherwise (lit., if not, then).

568. Affinities and Derivation. a) B. ताइ — ताइ or ताइ ते (S. Ch. 239), O. तेणु — तेणु (Sn. 46), W. H. तिसू तेँ — तौ, P. तौँ — तौँ, S. तौ — सौ or तेलौँ — तेलौँ, etc. (see Tr. 414. 415); not uncommonly paraphrased, e. g., B. and O. ते हेतु — ते हेतु, M. त्वापत्तौँ — त्वापत्तौँ, N. तसू कारण — तसू कारण, etc. — b) B. एमत् से or एमन् से, O. एणु, एनिमन्ते, M. त्वास् or ह्यणुन्, W. H. तिसू तेँ or तिसू तेँ, P. तौँ, S. तौ (Tr. 415); or paraphrased, e. g., B. ए तन्ये, ए निमित्ते (S. Ch. 239), O. ते हेतु (Sn. 46), N. वसू कारण, etc. — c) B. केनना, M. काँकीँ, W. H. क्यौँकि or क्यौँकि, H. H. क्यौँकि, N. क्यान्; or paraphrased, e. g., B. कारण कि, M. कारण कीँ, etc. — d) B. एमत् से, एमन् से (S. Ch. 238), W. H. तिसू तेँ, P. तौँ. — e) B. कि जानि, O. कि जाणि, H. H. क्या जाने, lit. what do I or does he know; or B. पाइँ, lit. afterwards (S. Ch. 240); H. H. न हो कि, S. म ह्यणु or न ह्यणु, lit. may

*it not be that* (Tr. 415). — f) B. नत् तो or न तु वा or नहि ले or ने ले (S. Ch. 240), O. न तु, न तु वा, नोहि ला (Sn. 46. 125), M. नाहोत्तर् (Man. 103), W. H. नाहो तो, S. मतौ (Tr. 415). — Most of these conj. have a pronom. origin which has been explained in §§ 437. 469.

#### 4. INTERJECTIONS.

569. The following are some of the most usual interjections; हे or हो or ओ or अरे or रे in addressing; राम् राम् in greeting; झी झी *fie!* for shame, in remonstrance; थुरी थुरी (or थुजे थ<sup>०</sup>) or थू थू *fit to be spitted on*, धिक्कार *fit to be cursed or abused*, in disgust or abhorrence; हा हा or अह ह or वापरे *ah! alas!*, in surprise or grief; वाह् वाह् in admiration; हाँय् हाँय् in sorrow; भला or अद्दा *well!* in consent; दुत् or दुर् हो *be off!*; ले *lo!*

570. *Affinities and Derivation.* These interj. are common to all Gds. — Some occur in Pr.; e. g., हि हि and धिग् धिक् (H. C. 2, 174); थू थू (H. C. 2, 200), which, by adding the pleon. suff. री or जी, becomes थुरी थुरी; हा हा, अहह (H. C. 2, 217); अरे, रे (H. C. 2, 201); हे, हो (H. C. 2, 217?); हाँय् हाँय् is probably the Pr. and Skr. हा (H. C. 2, 192). — बापरे is probably बाप् रे *oh father!*

### SIXTH SECTION. SPECIMENS OF EAST HINDÍ.

#### 1. VOCABLES AND PHRASES.

571. The following nouns, current in E. H., are, I believe, not mentioned in any Hindí dictionary.

अदह्हा <i>weak</i>	इन्हन् <sup>1</sup> ) <i>fuel (of grass,</i>	उत्तर् <sup>1</sup> ) <i>white</i>
अहिवाती <i>wife</i>	etc.)	ओअद्द <i>wet</i>
इनारा <i>a well</i>	उत्तर् <sup>1</sup> ) or उत्तवक् <i>rude</i>	ओह् <i>soft</i>

1) Bate in his Hindí dictionary gives: इन्हन्, उत्तल, उकड.

कचलोह् <i>unripe</i>	नेवाव् <i>husband</i>	बोव् <i>wolf (tiger?)</i>
करवात् <i>sweepings</i>	कूर <i>dry</i>	भइन् <i>sister</i>
करिया <i>black</i>	ठउर् <sup>1)</sup> <i>place</i>	भकुग्रा <i>simpleton</i>
कुनह् <sup>1)</sup> <i>enemy</i>	ठंठई <i>coldness</i>	भयो <i>younger brother's</i>
कोहउडो <i>sweet pumpkin</i>	उरपोक् <sup>3)</sup> <i>cowardly</i>	<i>wife</i>
वनहन् <i>good</i>	उहर् or उाँडो <i>footpath</i>	भयने <i>sister's son or hus-</i>
खबोरर् or खबूर <i>glutton</i>	धूमीम् <i>dirty</i>	<i>band's sister's son</i>
खरखुद् <i>sweepings</i>	निउरा or नेओरा <i>finished</i>	भिद्वा <i>alms</i>
खरपात् <i>dried leaves</i>	निचाद् <i>solitary</i>	भीखार् <i>beggar</i>
गउदा or गबदा <i>fool</i>	नेवर <i>bad</i>	मुखइ <i>hungry</i>
गउहो <i>cavity</i>	पगडंडो <sup>1)</sup> <i>footpath</i>	मुलकइ <i>negligent</i>
गदहावसन्त् <sup>2)</sup> <i>fool</i>	पताई <i>dried leaves</i>	मंडवो <i>company</i>
गर <i>heavy</i>	परसिया <i>neighbouring</i>	मटमइल् <i>dirty</i>
गँवई <i>village</i>	पाकर् <i>clever</i>	मनई <i>man</i>
गोईठा <i>fuel of cowdung</i>	पराव् की वात् <sup>4)</sup> <i>nonsense</i>	मनसेट्ट <i>man</i>
गोहार <i>calling</i>	पालो <i>tree (branch?)</i>	मिर्कुटहा <i>weak</i>
घटिहा <i>worthless</i>	पीयल् <i>yellow</i>	रचिक् <i>little</i>
घमोच् <i>fool</i>	पूरा <i>village</i>	लउर् <i>long, heavy stick</i>
चउग्रा <sup>1)</sup> <i>quadruped</i>	पेटास् <i>glutton</i>	ललतहा <i>weak</i>
चिपरा or ०रो <i>fuel of</i>	पोका <i>wet</i>	लेनुरर् or ०री <i>cord, string</i>
<i>cowdung</i>	पोच् <i>bad</i>	संघत् <i>friendship</i>
चिर्ई <i>bird</i>	पोट्ट <i>hard</i>	संघती <i>friend</i>
चीगर <i>hard</i>	ब्रतोलिया <i>buffoon</i>	सधुअई <i>honesty</i>
चोक् <i>excellent</i>	बरधा <i>ox, bullock</i>	सुकाव् <i>sight</i>
झाईपोई <i>family, race</i>	बाबू or बापू <i>father</i>	सुबोता or ०भीता <i>convenient</i>
ज्ञावत् <i>all</i>	बिगत <i>individual</i>	सूखल् <i>dry</i>
ज्ञावत् जगत् <i>every body</i>	बिपत् मरुआ <sup>5)</sup> <i>miserable</i>	सेवर <i>unripe</i>
जूडास् or जूडे <i>coldness</i>	चिर्ई or बीरो <i>small plant</i>	हरीयर <sup>1)</sup> <i>green</i>

1) Bate in his H. dict.: कुन्ह, चौवा, ठोर, पगडंडो, हरियर्.

2) Lit., sitting on an ass.

3) Lit., wet with fear.

4) Lit., word of irrelevancy.

5) Lit., stricken with misfortune.

2. DIALOGUES<sup>1</sup>).

## a) Between two friends.

1. Q. कह भाई! कहाँ से आत्रत् बाट? A. परसिया गाँव से आईला. —  
 2. Q. उहाँ से कय चलल? A. भिनुसारे कै चलल हई. — 3. Q. काह बदे उहाँ गयल रहल? A. उहाँ एक हमार खेत बाय, ओके देख के. —  
 4. Q. ओमे का बोवले बाट? A. खाली<sup>1</sup> रहल बोवल् बाय. — 5. Q. कह, भैया, येह पारी के खेतो कै हव! A. येह पारी के खेतो कै हव का पूहत् बाट? दैव के बरसले<sup>2</sup> चिना बज हरन्<sup>3</sup> भयल. — 6. Q. आत्र काल तोहरे भाई नाही देखैलें<sup>4</sup> है? A. हमरे भाई आत्र काल किला<sup>5</sup> मे नोकर<sup>6</sup> बाटै; एहर बहुत कम<sup>7</sup> आवैलै. — 7. Q. तोहरे बजकी गैया के का खबर<sup>8</sup> बाय? A. बजकी गैया आत्र काल गाभिन् बाय; कोयर न मिलले<sup>2</sup> से दूट गइल बाय. — 8. Q. गाभिन् भैले<sup>2</sup> कै महीना<sup>9</sup> भयल? A. भयल तो आठ महीना, बाकि पेह कुइ उभरल नाही देख परत्. — 9. Q. कोरावत् बाय को नाही? A. हाँ कुइ कुइ ज्ञान परैला. — 10. Q. ई कौया चियान् हो ओ केतना दूध देले? A. ई अठवाँ चियान् होई; दूध एकवेर दुइ अछाई सेर देले. — 11. Q. हम के एक बकरी खरीदै<sup>11</sup> के बाय, से तोहरे गाव पर मिल सकी? A. हमरे गाँव पर तो बकरी बाटै, लेकिन<sup>10</sup> दान बज तज<sup>12</sup> बाय. — 12. Q. तोहार बकरिया काँ भइल? A. हम चरै के बदे ओके गाँव पर डोडले रहीला. — 13. Q. कुइ दूध देले? A. लडिकन् के पीये भर के मिल जाला. — 14. Q. अबकी उव बोवले बाट को नाही? A. उव तो बोवले बाटै, बरकि ओ मे कुइ फाइदा<sup>13</sup> नैखै. — 15. Q. तोहरे इहाँ से नार मोट मँगनी मिल सकी? A. काहे? भराई होय जाय, तब ले ल<sup>14</sup>. — 16. Q. तोहरे इहाँ के पुरवट चलैला? A. तीन् पुरवट नथले बाटै. — 17. Q. तोहरे आम् के बरिया मे कुइ फर होला को नाही? A. अबकी तो बदरी से पेठ मे लाही लग गइल; नाही तो बहुत् होत् रहल. — 18. Q. थोइ आम् हमड के अचार नाव के देत? A. जय तोहार मन् होय, तय आय के तोडवाय<sup>15</sup> ल्य. — 19. Q. तोहार लडिकवा कुइ पडैला को नाही? A. हाँ, गुर किहाँ<sup>16</sup> जाला; अच्चार<sup>17</sup> तो चीन्ह गयल बाय; आत्र काल पहाग पखत् बाय. — 20. Q. पाठसाले मे नाही बैठाय देत? A. कुइ पख

1) The following specimens of village-conversations were given to me by Paṇḍit Gopāl Bhaṭṭa of Benares. The spelling is his, excepting the *virāmas* and interpunctuations which I have added.

ले, तबू ब्रैठाय् दे<sup>१८</sup>। — 21. Q. हमहूँ अपने बेटोवा<sup>19</sup> के पाठसाले मे ब्रैठावलू चाहीला. A. अच्चा! हमरे लडिका के संगे ओहू के ब्रैठाय् दीरु.

Notes: 1) pers. *خامی*. 2) adverb. past part. 3) arab. *هرج*. 4) 3. pl. pres. ind. of the potent. pass. 5) arab. *قلعه*. 6) pers. *نوکیر*. 7) pers. *کم*. 8) arab. *خبیر*. 9) pers. *صهینا*. 10) arab. *لیکن*. 11) pers. *خرید*, treated as a denom. root. 12) pers. *نیز*. 13) arab. *فاید*. 14) 2. pl. imperative; or ले लहू or ले ल्यहू. 15) conj. part. of the double caus. 16) contr. for के इहाँ. 17) anomalous plur. of अच्कर, apparently made after Urdu (arabic) analogy, as हुकाम् orders, pl. of हुकम्. 18) 1. pl. pres. conj., used as future. 19) redundant form of बेटा.

#### b) Between master and servant.

1. Q. कालू लोहिया लागत् खेत् परू जाये के होई. A. काहे के बदे? का, खेत् निरावै के? — 2. Q. हाँ, खेतौ निरावै के अउरू बडके खेतवा मे हरी चलावै के. A. कै मन्नूरा<sup>1</sup> के काम् बाय्? — 3. Q. तैठे से सपरै, तैठे लगाय् दीहे. A. धान् के खेतवा भरूहू के न होई. — 4. Q. कै दिन् मे भरलू जाई? A. दुइ दिन् कै काम् बाय्. — 5. Q. लवहू कै दिन् तो आय् गयलू. A. अच्चा, तबू ले चारू पाँचू मेहरानू के ठहराय् रक्खीला. — 6. Q. गैयन् के कोयूरू दिहले, की नाही? A. घास् तो नाय् दिहले रहली. — 7. Q. भूसौ लेआय् के सानो चलाय् दे; साँक् भइलू. A. त्रेरू बिसवले, हम् घरे<sup>2</sup> रोटी खाये जाय्. — 8. Q. अच्चा, तबू खाय् के ऐहे, तबू गोहनू के ओसारी मे बाँधू दीहे. A. तोहरे बदे ई बेरा का खाये के होई? — 9. Q. माई से कहे<sup>3</sup> दीहे की रोटी पोय् रूखिहै. A. खाली<sup>1</sup> रोटियै खैय? — 10. Q. अउरू का? दूध के संगे खाय् लेवू. A. दालू न होखी? — 11. Q. राति के हम् के दालू नाही पचत्. A. जलदी खाये जैह! नाही तो रोटी जुआय्<sup>4</sup> जाई. — 12. Q. ज्ञा लेता, तै<sup>5</sup> तो जलदी<sup>5</sup> खाय् आय्; बिना तोरे ऐले हम् न जावै. A. हम् तो ज्ञातै चाटी; खाय् के हालियै आइय्. — 13. Q. भला, वीया के बदे कोठिला मे कुइ तबू बाय् की नाही? A. न होई, तो वीरे भरू के मोलू आय् जाई. — 14. Q. केतना चाही वीवै के? A. एकू इ पसेरी मे होय् जाई. — 15. Q. काँको न चाही वीवै के? A. काँक् तो चाहै तोहरे वखारू मे होय्. — 16. Q. ई घरी देवू जो चारू बुन्दी करू देतै, तो बडू अच्चा होत्. A. देख! मोसै<sup>6</sup>याँ कै मरती<sup>6</sup> होई, तो वरूस् जैहै. — 17. Q. अरे! हाँ, कालू फारू<sup>7</sup> के बदे बीरा लोहा खरीदै के बाय्. A. केतना लोहा चाही?

तोहरे घर मे नखै? — 18. Q. मतारी से पुछिहे तो. A. घाम् तो पियरायल्  
बतै मे; चाँक् भइल् चाहैले. — 19. Q. हो! देख! माई आवत् ब्राय्. A.  
एह बेरा आवै कै कौन् काम् रहल्? — 20. Q. ले! बेर तिसवै चाहैला;  
तै तलदी<sup>5</sup> तो! A. अच्चा, ले! तुहउं जा! दिसा तंगल् मे निपट् आव.

Notes: 1) pers. مزور. 2) old loc. 3) conj. part. 4) conj.  
part. of potent. pass. 5) pers. جلدی. 6) arab. مرضی.

c) Between two sisters.

1. Q. कह, बहिनी! एहवर कहाँ गइल् रहल्यु? A. रहिला कै सान्  
खौंटे. — 2. Q. एह पारी तोहरे खेतवा मे खाली रहिलै वोवल ब्राय्?  
A. नाही, मटर रहिला अउर बररै, तोन् चीन्<sup>1</sup>, बोवल ब्राय्. — 3. Q.  
तोहार दुलहा अन् काल् कही बाहर गयल् बाटै? A. नाही, बरही तो  
बाटै, लेकिन् खेत पर बहुत रहलै. — 4. Q. तू रसोइयां कय करैल्यु?  
A. दुपहर के करोला; अय् त्राय् के, तय् करय्. — 5. Q. तोहार चिटियवा  
तो नीके ब्राय्? A. हं, बाय् अच्चीतरह<sup>2</sup>. — 6. Q. तोहार गैयवा<sup>3</sup> कुइ दूध  
देले को नाही? A. का कही बहिनी? पहिले बियान् मे तो कुइ नाही दिहलेय्;  
अबकी बियान् मे देखी कुइ देले की नाही. — 7. Q. केतना दिन् बियैले<sup>4</sup>  
भयल्? A. अबही<sup>5</sup> तो अन् पंचवां दिन् हो; अबही<sup>5</sup> ओकर बइया अच्ची  
तरह<sup>2</sup> चल नाही सकत्. — 8. Q. खरी कराई पखेव अच्ची तरह<sup>2</sup> पाई, तो  
दूध देई. A. देवै कै तो बिचार ब्राय्. — 9. Q. ओहे घरवा मे तुहई<sup>6</sup> अकेल्  
रहल्यु<sup>5</sup> को औरो केह रहैला? A. नाही, हमही<sup>6</sup> अकेल् रहीला, लेकिन् चाहीला  
की और केह रह जात्, तो मनसायन् होत्. — 10. Q. एको कोठरी हमरे  
रहै लाइक्<sup>6</sup> होय्, तो हम् के ब. A. ब्राय्, लेकिन् छोट ब्राय्, तोहारु निब्राह  
ओ मे न होई. — 11. Q. भला! कब्रहू तोहरे परोस् मे होई, तो हम् के  
बतेह. A. काहे? जौने घरवा मे तू रहैल्यु, तौने मे कौनो दिकदारी<sup>7</sup> ब्राय्? —  
12. Q. दिकदारी कवन् ब्राय? भारा बहुत लगेला. A. अच्चा! तो आव, हमरे  
हो घर मे रह; कौनो तरह<sup>2</sup> से निवाह होय जाई. — 13. Q. भला बहिन्!  
अत् किरपा कैल्यु; हम् बहुत दिकदार<sup>7</sup> रहली ओहे घर से. A. अच्चा! तो  
कय से रहे के अइय? — 14. Q. अय् तो खरवांस<sup>8</sup> बितले ब्रादू<sup>8</sup> अच्ची साइत्  
देखवाय के आइय. A. जरूर<sup>9</sup> आवै कै बिचार रखिह; हम् अपने मनसेधू से  
कहे के घर सफा<sup>10</sup> करवाय रखवय. — 15. Q. न तानी, खरवांस<sup>8</sup> केतने दिन्  
रही! A. रह! हमरे परोस् मे एक पंडित रहलै<sup>10</sup>; ओन्ह से पूछ के, तय् तोह  
से कहव.

Notes: 1) pers. چيز. 2) arab. طر. 3) redundant form of

गाई. 4) adverb. past part. of potent. pass. 5) shorter form of 2. pl. pres. ind. fem., for रहैल्यु. 6) arab. لايق. 7) arab. لى دارير. 8) arab. بعد. 9) arab. ضرور. 10) arab. صغا.

d) Between parents and son.

1. Q. (Father speaks): बेटा! सबेर ही उठ के उख के खेत देखे के तैह! A. अन्न तो तोरहू के दिन् आयल्. — 2. Q. हाँ, लेकिन कोलहू के जाहू दूह गइल् बाय; से खरीदे के होई. A. केतने दाम पर मिली? — 3. Q. ओ कर तैसन् काह होय, तैसन् दाम लगै. A. कतरि बाय, की उही खरीदल् जाई? — 4. Q. कतरियो तो नाही बाय, लेकिन ओ करे भर के काह घर मे होई; बरई बलबाय के बनबाय लिहल् जाई. A. क बाय? येह पारी खाली राबै बनवैव की गुरी? — 5. Q. नाही, दूनौ बनवाइन्. A. अन्न हन् बाये जात् चाटी. — 6. Q. (Mother speaks): आव, बेटा, जलदी बाये के! A. आन् का रसोई कैले बाटिस? — 7. Q. आन् रसोई मे दाल रोटी अन्न को हउरि भइल् बाय. A. दूध बाय की नाही? — 8. Q. योर एक होई बाय; पूत बाँह के बाय लीका! A. अच्चा! गोड धोवै के पानी भेजवाय दे! — 9. Q. हे! इहाँ लोटा मे पानी रकखल् बाय; गोड धोव! A. बडकी थरिया मे हन् के परोसिहे! — 10. Q. अपने बापी के बलाय ल्य! A. अच्चा! बलाय लेआईला; आव बाबू बाये! — 11. Q. (Father speaks): बेटा! तू बाय ल्य, तन्न हम् पीइ से बाय. A. काँहे? — 12. Q. अबही अच्छी तरह से हम् के भूव नैखै. A. नाही! माई बलावत् बाय. — 13. Q. अच्चा ले! आवत् चाटी. A. हे! गोड धोवै के पानी धयल् बाय. — 14. Q. अच्चा! परोसवाव! A. माई! रसोइयाँ आन् कौन् करत ही? — 15. Q. (Mother speaks): तोहार मेहर. A. ओ के रोटी फुलावै नाही आवत्. — 16. Q. नाही आवत्; तब्यो कधी नाही रहत्. A. पीछा धै दे! — 17. Q. तू आव, तो सहो! पीछा तो ईहई रकखल् बाय. A. ले! बाबुओ ऐले, हमहूँ ऐली; जलदी परोसै के कह. — 18. Q. परोस दे रे! A. दुह थरिया, होटी बडै परोस!

e) Between mother and boy.

1. Q. माई! बाये के दे! A. का कइये? — 2. Q. का बाय बाये के? A. रोटी बाय; काहे से खइये? — 3. Q. दूध बाय की नाही? A. दूध तो कच्चा बाय, लेकिन नैनु बाय; कह, तो देई; ओही से बाय ले! — 4. Q. नैनु दूध के ही की दही के? A. नाही! आन् सबेरे दही गहे के निकलले

रहली. — 5. Q. लेखाय्. A. खाली नैनुयेँ, की ओ मे कोनो मोठा मिलेये? — 6. Q. कौन् मोठा चाटे? A. राय् लेखाई की गुर? — 7. Q. नाही! राय् लेखाय्! गुर हम् के नाही भावत्. A. अच्चा! ले! तै थैठु! हम् लेखाईला. — 8. Q. जलदी लेखाय्; नाही तो उ लरिकवा आय् जाई. A. तै गोड तो धोउ! हम् लेखाईला. — 9. Q. दुइयै रोटी ले ऐहे! A. ई काहे? पेट भरु खाय् ले! रसोइयाँ के अचही अयेरु होई. — 10. Q. अच्चा! तोन् दे! A. ले! खो!

f) Between two boys.

1. Q. का भाई! चलत्र खेले के? A. अचही हम् खेली नाही; खाय् लेई, तय् चली. — 2. Q. कय् खेव? A. माई आवैले, तय् खाईला. — 3. Q. तोहारु माई कहाँ गइल् वाय्? A. गोहन् के कोयरु देवे के. — 4. Q. तय् ले चल; खेल् आई. A. कौन् खेल् खेलय्? — 5. Q. लट्टू तोहरे पासु वाय् की नाही? A. लट्टू तो वाय्; लत्ती नैखै. — 6. Q. आव! लत्ती बनाई. A. कपडा कहाँ वाय्? — 7. Q. कपडा बहुत् मिली. A. ल्य! माइयो आइल्; अय् खाय् लेई; तय् सुचिन् से खेली. — 8. Q. तय् से हमहूँ घर से होय् आईला. A. तू काहे बदे धरु जात् वाट? — 9. Q. योरु एक दूध धयल् वाय्; से हमहूँ पी आई. A. तोहरे<sup>2</sup> दूध होला? — 10. Q. हाँ, वाकेन्<sup>3</sup> गैया के दूध हाँ. A. अच्चा! जा! जलदी ऐह! — 11. Q. हम् तो गैली को ऐलो. A. जा जलदी!

Notes: 1) 1. pl. pres. ind., for fut. ind. 2) old loc.; elliptic, for तोहरे पासु. 3) pers. بلك.

### 3. FOLKLORE.

a) The treasure in the field.

एक बडा आदिमी<sup>1</sup> अंगूर<sup>2</sup> के चारी ओ खेत चोवलेस्; ओके चारु बेटवा रहलै; तय् उ मरै लगल्, तय् बेटवन से कहलेस्; ए बेटा मोरे पासु जवन धन् रहल्, तौने क मै अंगूर के खेतवा भे गाडु दिहले खाटो; से तूलोग् खनत्र, तो पइवह; तय् उ आदिमी मरि गयल्, तय् ओकरु सय् बेटावा मिल के खेत के चारो ओरु से खनै लगलै<sup>3</sup>; लेकिन धन् के खोन् न मिलल्; बाकी<sup>4</sup> खेत अच्ची तरह से खोदल् गयल्; ओ से अंगूर के पत्रु खूब<sup>5</sup> पनलै; औरु खूब अंगूर के फल उपलै; तय् तो सय् बेटा मिल के ओके वेचलै, औरु बहुत् एक धन् पौलै; बडा खुस्<sup>6</sup> भइलै; एसे हमलोगन् के ई चात् सीखे के चाही, की बडा लोग् तौन् बात् कहँ तौने के जरूरु माने के चाही, टारे के न चाही; एही मे हमरे लोगन् के कल्यान् होई; ई लडिकन् के सीखे के बदे कहनी होवे.



Notes: 1) arab. آدمی. 2) pers. انکور. 3) shorter form for लगलै, 3. pl. 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. ind.; see § 26. 4) pers. بلکه. 5) pers. خوب. 6) pers. خوش.

b) The two wise Bráhmans.

कौनो एक ब्राम्हन् रहल; ओके दुइ बेटा रहलै; उ ब्राम्हन् कौनो जग्य करै लगल; ओ मे एक महरि के काम् परल; तब उ दूनो बेटौवन से कहलेस्, की बेटा! तू दूनो जने समुद्र के तीर पर जाय के एक महरि लेआवह; तब पिता के आग्या पाय के दूनो समुद्र के तीर पर गैलेन्; और उहाँ के मल्लाह से कहलेन्, की हम् के एक महरि के काम् बाय, से तै पकड़ दे; तब मल्लाह एक महरि बकाय के दुनुहुन् के आगे लेआय के धै दिहलेस्; तब ओन्ह मे से एक दुसरे के कहलेस् की तै काहे नाँही उठाय ले चलतेस्; तब उ बोलल की मै भोजनचतुर बाटो; मो के ए कर गंध आवैले; तब उ बोलल की मैहूँ सयनचतुर हौओ; ऐसे न उठवो; ऐसीही<sup>1</sup> उन्ह दुनुहुन् मे कगरा होवै लगल; आखिर<sup>2</sup> के दूनो लरत् लरत् राजा के पास गैलै और राजा के आपन् समाचार कहलै; तब राजा कहलेस्, की तू दूनो जने हम् के परिच्छा बह; तब हम् तोहर बिधा जानी; उ दूनो खडा<sup>3</sup> भइलै परिच्छा देवै के; तब पहिले राजा भोजनचतुर के परिच्छा लेवै बदे अच्ची रसोई<sup>4</sup> वाँ बनवौलै; ओ मे अच्ची से अच्ची तरकारी, अच्चे से अच्चे चाउर के भात, अच्चा से अच्चा पकवान् रिधवौलेन्; और भोजनचतुर के बलवाय<sup>4</sup> के बाये के बँठौलेन्; तब उ जैसे ही भात के कवर उठौलेस्, तैसेही ओ के ओ मे मुरदा<sup>5</sup> के गंध आयल; से उ बरिया होइ के उह गयल; तब राजा ओ के पुइलै, की तै काहे नाही खैले और उह गैले? उ कहलेस् की भात मे मुरदा के गंध आवैले; तब राजा किसान के बलाय<sup>4</sup> के पुइलेस् की चाउर कैसन् रहल और कहा से लेआय के तै मो के दिहल? किसान बोलल की आपन् खेत से; तब राजा पुइलेस् की उ खेत केकर हो? तब किसान कहलेस् की तिमोदार<sup>6</sup> से हम् मोल लिहले रहली; तब राजा तिमोदार के बलाय के पुइलेस्, की ई भूईं कैसन् रहल? तब तिमोदार बोलल, की ई भूईं मुर्दबट्टा पहिले रहल; तब राजा भोजनचतुर के कहलेस्, की तै ठीक भोजनचतुर होवै; फेर सयनचतुर के बोलाय के राजा एक अच्ची त्रिद्वनादार खटिया त्रिद्वाय दिहलेस्, और ओ के सूत के कहलेस्; उ सूतल; लेकिन ओ के राति भर नोँद नाँही आइल; एह कर वट से ओह कर वट, ओकर वट से एह कर वट करत रहल; सवरे राजा ओ के बलौलेस्<sup>4</sup>, और कहलेस् की तै राति भर सुख से मुतले? उ बोलल की महराज समस्त राति मोके नोँद नाही परल; राजा पुइलै काहे? उ बोलल कि त्रिद्वना के परत

मे एक चार बाटै से मोरे देह<sup>7</sup> मे गडत् रहल्; तय् राता अपने नोकर् से चिदावन् उठवाय् के देखलेस् तो ओ ने एक चार देवायल्<sup>8</sup>; तय् राता खुसी<sup>9</sup> होयके ओके कहलेस् कि तै<sup>5</sup> ठीक सयनचतुर होवे; ए करे बाद राता उन् दुनहुन् के बहती तरह से खातिरदारी के कं चिदा कैलै<sup>6</sup> ॥

Notes: 1) हूँ and हीं are emphatic. 2) arab. آخر. 3) lit. standing, here ready. 4) shorter form for चोलवाय्; see § 26. 5) pers. مرده. 6) pers. زميندار. 7) for देह, see § 67. 8) 3. sg. 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. ind. of potent. pass. 9) pers. خوشی joy; here used adjectively, through confusion with adj., formed like सुखो; see § 253.

### c) The unfortunate Bráhman.

कौनो एक ब्राह्मन् सोमशर्मा कुसुमपुर गाँव मे रहत् रहल्; उ आपन् बियाह देवस्वामी केहू अपने परोसिया ब्राह्मन् को चिदिया से कैलेस्; से एक दिन् की बात हो कि दूनो परानी अटारी पर सूतल् रहलै<sup>1</sup>; एतने मे एक कौनो चियाधर ओही ओर से अकास् मे विमान् पर चरुल् चल् जात् रहल्; से ओकरे ओहू ओहे मेहरारू पर पर गइल्; उ, ओकरे सुन्दरताई से मोहित होय, नीचे उतर, ओके उठाय लेगयल्; सवेरा भयल्, तय् सोमशर्मा अपने चिद्वीना के सून् देख अपन स्त्री के चारो ओर हेरै लगलै<sup>2</sup>, लंकिन् पता न पोलै<sup>3</sup>; तय् तो बौरहा के तरह एहर ओहर धूमै लगलै<sup>4</sup> और भुलैलै<sup>5</sup>; तय् केहू गिरस्य<sup>6</sup> के घर जाय कहलै<sup>7</sup> कि हम् के कुछ खाय के वदे ब; उ अपने स्त्री से कहलेस् कि ब्राह्मन् भुवायल् बाय, एके कुछ दे; उ रसोई<sup>8</sup> मे जाय, एक दोना भर खीर ले आय के, ब्राह्मन् के दिहलेस्; ब्राह्मन् उ खोर ले के एक नदी के तीर पर जाय, कौनो पेड़ के त्रु पर खीर के दोना धे के, हाय मुँह धोए के वदे नदी मे गयल्; तय् ले एहर ओहे पेड़ पर से एक करइत् साँप् उतर के, उ खीर थोरैक<sup>9</sup> खैलेस्, और ओ मे अपने मुह से तहर<sup>4</sup> उगिल् के, फर ओही पेड़ पर चरु गयल्; तय् ले उ अेचारा ब्राह्मन् भुवायल् तलदी से अये के ओहे दोना के सब खीर खाय गयल् और थोरी वर मे तहर से चियाकुल् होय के मुइ<sup>5</sup> गयल् ॥

अय् एह कथा ने ई चिचारल् चाही कि ओ करे मुअले के हया के के भइल्, ओहे गिरस्य के, कि ओकरे मेहरारू के, कि ओहे साँप् के ॥

Notes: 1) 3. pl. 2<sup>nd</sup> pret. ind. of potent. pass. 2) for गृहस्य. 3) or थोरैक, see § 291. 4) pers. تهر. 5) irregular conj. part. of the verb मरय् to die.

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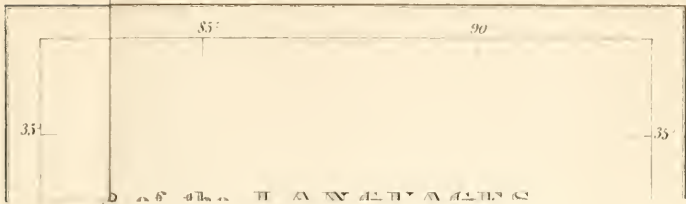
*Weak* conjuncts 75, forms see forms, past part. form 345. 348, auxil. verb 368—369.

## ERRATA.

- p. II. l. 20. extends *for* extents.  
p. III. l. 22. Kachchh *for* Kachh.  
p. III. l. 23. Kachchhi *for* Kachhi.  
p. IV. l. 29. however *for* howerer.  
p. VI. l. 2. eighthly *for* eightly.  
p. VIII. l. 14. XXXVII *for* XXXV.  
p. IX. l. 29. and the short *for* and of the short.  
p. XVII. l. 32. válakko *for* valakko.  
p. XXIV. l. 17. what *for* what.  
p. XXV. l. 33. Práchyá *for* Práchá.  
p. XXV. l. 34. Práchyá *for* Gaudí.  
p. XXXVII. l. 11. comes *for* come.  
p. XXXVII. l. 20. Prakás *for* Prakaṣ.  
p. 17. l. 28. difficulty *for* difficully.  
p. 56. l. 27. give thou *for* take thou.  
p. 57. l. 5. सगर् for सगल्.  
p. 61. l. 33. मोटल् *for* मोटल्.  
p. 64. l. 31. बर्हई or बर्हई *for* बर्हई or बर्हई.  
p. 65. l. 29. § 77 *for* § 74.  
p. 70. l. 7. add: E. H. बर्हल् or बर्हल्.  
p. 70. l. 10. दीन् *for* दीन्.  
p. 104. l. 34. बाउर् *for* बाउर्.  
p. 107. l. 6. पाहिल् *for* पाहिल्.  
p. 110. l. 24. चमोटा *for* चमोटो.  
p. 110. l. 26. हिरनोटा *for* हिरणोटा.  
p. 112. l. 23. गह्मर्हई *for* गह्मर्हई.  
p. 123. l. 34. चोलो *for* चोली.  
p. 124. l. 10. बेटा *son for* बेटो *son*.  
p. 141. l. 6. चलिय or चलिय *for* चलिय् or चलिय्.
-

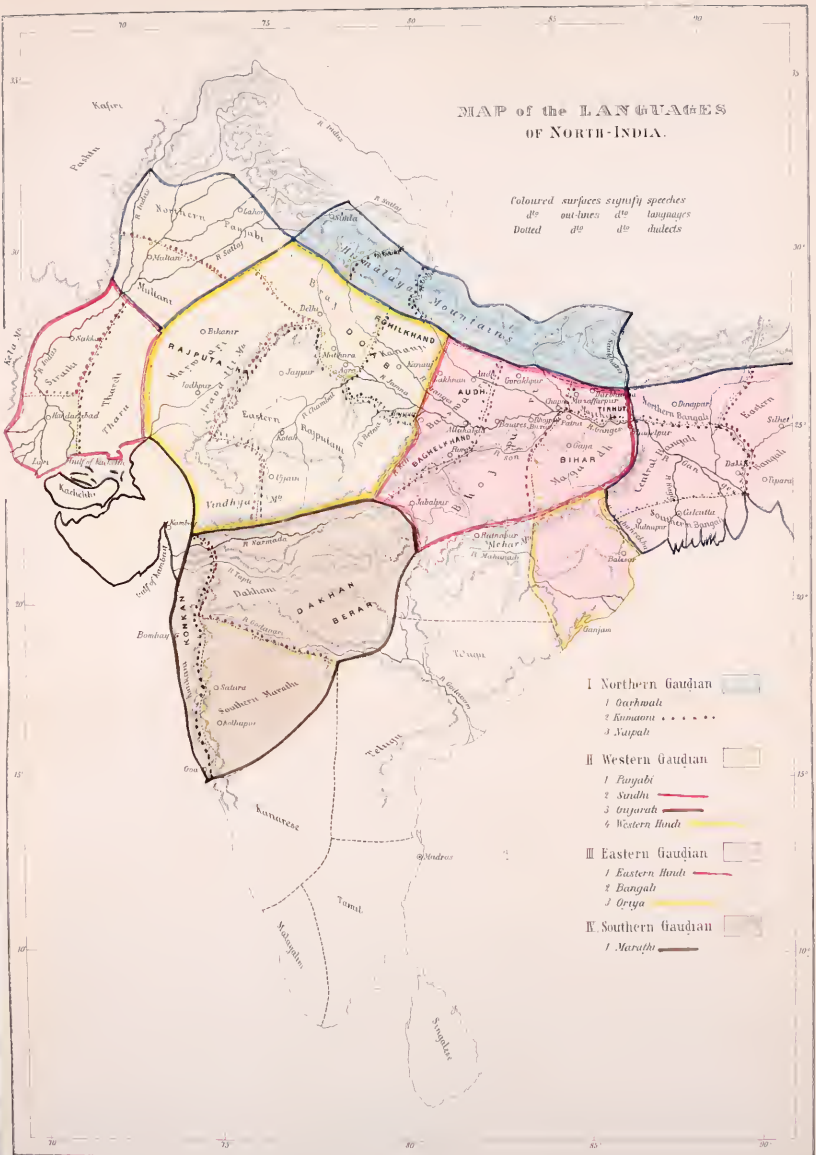
## ADDENDA.

- p. 67. rule 119, 2. W. H. होटा *three and a half* for Pr. अडोद्<sup>०</sup>, see § 416.
- p. 88. rule 160. ऋ becomes ॠ in S., P., Mw. अंदो for अंतो suffix of pres. part., see § 301. Also P., S. पंत *five* for Pr. पंच, Skr. पञ्च, see p. 256.
- p. 90. rule 172. W. H. होटा for \*अहोटा *three and a half*, see § 416.
- p. 90. add rule 172<sup>a</sup>. इ is elided; rarely; E. H. झाँ है or चाँ है *he desires*, Pr. इच्छाग्रइ, Skr. \*इच्छायति, see p. 389, footnote.
- p. 113. rule 227. The forms ऋ and तन are preserved in the O. H. of Chand; e. g. वृडन *old age* Pr. R. 28, 38; प्रीतन *friendship* Pr. R. 28, 56; कुमलतन *prosperity* Pr. R. 28, 38; वृडतन *old age* Pr. R. 28, 38.
- p. 117. rule 239. In O. H. the suff. is इत; e. g. रंगतेत *bloody* Chand Pr. R. 28, 39.



# MAP of the LANGUAGES of NORTH-INDIA.

Coloured surfaces signify speeches  
 d<sup>o</sup> out-lines d<sup>o</sup> languages  
 Dotted d<sup>o</sup> d<sup>o</sup> dialects



- I Northern Gaudian**
  - 1 Garchmal
  - 2 Kinnari . . . . .
  - 3 Niyabi
- II Western Gaudian**
  - 1 Panyabi
  - 2 Sindhi
  - 3 Gujarati
  - 4 Western Hindi
- III Eastern Gaudian**
  - 1 Eastern Hindi
  - 2 Bangali
  - 3 Oriya
- IV Southern Gaudian**
  - 1 Marathi









## TABLE OF ALPHABETS.

|                                       | a | i | u | e | o | k | kh | g | gh | ñ | ch | chh | j | jh | ñ | ! | th | d | dh | n | t | th | d | dh | n | p | ph | b | bh | m | y | r | ph | ! | r  | l  | v  | h | s | ś | sh |    |    |    |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|---|----|---|----|-----|---|----|---|---|----|---|----|---|---|----|---|----|---|---|----|---|----|---|---|---|----|---|----|----|----|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1. Pali 3 <sup>d</sup> Cent. B.C.     | 𑀀 | 𑀁 | 𑀂 | 𑀃 | 𑀄 | 𑀅 | 𑀆  | 𑀇 | 𑀈  | 𑀉 | 𑀊  | 𑀋   | 𑀌 | 𑀍  | 𑀎 | 𑀏 | 𑀐  | 𑀑 | 𑀒  | 𑀓 | 𑀔 | 𑀕  | 𑀖 | 𑀗  | 𑀘 | 𑀙 | 𑀚  | 𑀛 | 𑀜  | 𑀝 | 𑀞 | 𑀟 | 𑀠  | 𑀡 | 𑀢  | 𑀣  | 𑀤  | 𑀥 | 𑀦 | 𑀧 | 𑀨  | 𑀩  | 𑀪  | 𑀫  | 𑀬 |
| 2. Pali d <sup>to</sup>               | 𑀀 | 𑀁 | 𑀂 | 𑀃 | 𑀄 | 𑀅 | 𑀆  | 𑀇 | 𑀈  | 𑀉 | 𑀊  | 𑀋   | 𑀌 | 𑀍  | 𑀎 | 𑀏 | 𑀐  | 𑀑 | 𑀒  | 𑀓 | 𑀔 | 𑀕  | 𑀖 | 𑀗  | 𑀘 | 𑀙 | 𑀚  | 𑀛 | 𑀜  | 𑀝 | 𑀞 | 𑀟 | 𑀠  | 𑀡 | 𑀢  | 𑀣  | 𑀤  | 𑀥 | 𑀦 | 𑀧 | 𑀨  | 𑀩  | 𑀪  | 𑀫  | 𑀬 |
| 3. Pali d <sup>to</sup> (Girnar)      | 𑀀 | 𑀁 | 𑀂 | 𑀃 | 𑀄 | 𑀅 | 𑀆  | 𑀇 | 𑀈  | 𑀉 | 𑀊  | 𑀋   | 𑀌 | 𑀍  | 𑀎 | 𑀏 | 𑀐  | 𑀑 | 𑀒  | 𑀓 | 𑀔 | 𑀕  | 𑀖 | 𑀗  | 𑀘 | 𑀙 | 𑀚  | 𑀛 | 𑀜  | 𑀝 | 𑀞 | 𑀟 | 𑀠  | 𑀡 | 𑀢  | 𑀣  | 𑀤  | 𑀥 | 𑀦 | 𑀧 | 𑀨  | 𑀩  | 𑀪  | 𑀫  | 𑀬 |
| 4. Gupta 5 <sup>th</sup> Cent A D     | 𑀀 | 𑀁 | 𑀂 | 𑀃 | 𑀄 | 𑀅 | 𑀆  | 𑀇 | 𑀈  | 𑀉 | 𑀊  | 𑀋   | 𑀌 | 𑀍  | 𑀎 | 𑀏 | 𑀐  | 𑀑 | 𑀒  | 𑀓 | 𑀔 | 𑀕  | 𑀖 | 𑀗  | 𑀘 | 𑀙 | 𑀚  | 𑀛 | 𑀜  | 𑀝 | 𑀞 | 𑀟 | 𑀠  | 𑀡 | 𑀢  | 𑀣  | 𑀤  | 𑀥 | 𑀦 | 𑀧 | 𑀨  | 𑀩  | 𑀪  | 𑀫  | 𑀬 |
| 5. Valabhi d <sup>to</sup>            | 𑀀 | 𑀁 | 𑀂 | 𑀃 | 𑀄 | 𑀅 | 𑀆  | 𑀇 | 𑀈  | 𑀉 | 𑀊  | 𑀋   | 𑀌 | 𑀍  | 𑀎 | 𑀏 | 𑀐  | 𑀑 | 𑀒  | 𑀓 | 𑀔 | 𑀕  | 𑀖 | 𑀗  | 𑀘 | 𑀙 | 𑀚  | 𑀛 | 𑀜  | 𑀝 | 𑀞 | 𑀟 | 𑀠  | 𑀡 | 𑀢  | 𑀣  | 𑀤  | 𑀥 | 𑀦 | 𑀧 | 𑀨  | 𑀩  | 𑀪  | 𑀫  | 𑀬 |
| 6. Kutila 10 <sup>th</sup> Cent. A.D. | 𑀀 | 𑀁 | 𑀂 | 𑀃 | 𑀄 | 𑀅 | 𑀆  | 𑀇 | 𑀈  | 𑀉 | 𑀊  | 𑀋   | 𑀌 | 𑀍  | 𑀎 | 𑀏 | 𑀐  | 𑀑 | 𑀒  | 𑀓 | 𑀔 | 𑀕  | 𑀖 | 𑀗  | 𑀘 | 𑀙 | 𑀚  | 𑀛 | 𑀜  | 𑀝 | 𑀞 | 𑀟 | 𑀠  | 𑀡 | 𑀢  | 𑀣  | 𑀤  | 𑀥 | 𑀦 | 𑀧 | 𑀨  | 𑀩  | 𑀪  | 𑀫  | 𑀬 |
| 7. Kaithi                             | 𑀀 | 𑀁 | 𑀂 | 𑀃 | 𑀄 | 𑀅 | 𑀆  | 𑀇 | 𑀈  | 𑀉 | 𑀊  | 𑀋   | 𑀌 | 𑀍  | 𑀎 | 𑀏 | 𑀐  | 𑀑 | 𑀒  | 𑀓 | 𑀔 | 𑀕  | 𑀖 | 𑀗  | 𑀘 | 𑀙 | 𑀚  | 𑀛 | 𑀜  | 𑀝 | 𑀞 | 𑀟 | 𑀠  | 𑀡 | 𑀢  | 𑀣  | 𑀤  | 𑀥 | 𑀦 | 𑀧 | 𑀨  | 𑀩  | 𑀪  | 𑀫  | 𑀬 |
| 8. Mahajani                           | 𑀀 | 𑀁 | 𑀂 | 𑀃 | 𑀄 | 𑀅 | 𑀆  | 𑀇 | 𑀈  | 𑀉 | 𑀊  | 𑀋   | 𑀌 | 𑀍  | 𑀎 | 𑀏 | 𑀐  | 𑀑 | 𑀒  | 𑀓 | 𑀔 | 𑀕  | 𑀖 | 𑀗  | 𑀘 | 𑀙 | 𑀚  | 𑀛 | 𑀜  | 𑀝 | 𑀞 | 𑀟 | 𑀠  | 𑀡 | 𑀢  | 𑀣  | 𑀤  | 𑀥 | 𑀦 | 𑀧 | 𑀨  | 𑀩  | 𑀪  | 𑀫  | 𑀬 |
| 9. Devanagari                         | अ | इ | उ | ए | ओ | क | ख  | ग | घ  | ङ | च  | छ   | ज | झ  | ञ | ट | ठ  | ड | ढ  | ण | त | थ  | द | ध  | न | प | फ  | ब | भ  | म | य | र | ल  | व | श  | ष  | स  | ह | र | ल | व  | श  | ष  | स  | ह |
| 10. Panjabi                           | ਅ | ਇ | ਉ | ਏ | ਓ | ਕ | ਖ  | ਗ | ਘ  | ਙ | ਚ  | ਛ   | ਜ | ਝ  | ਞ | ਟ | ਠ  | ਡ | ਢ  | ਣ | ਤ | ਥ  | ਦ | ਧ  | ਨ | ਪ | ਫ  | ਬ | ਭ  | ਮ | ਯ | ਰ | ਲ  | ਵ | ਸ਼ | ਸ਼ | ਸ਼ | ਹ | ਰ | ਲ | ਵ  | ਸ਼ | ਸ਼ | ਸ਼ | ਹ |
| 11. Bangali                           | অ | ই | উ | এ | ও | ক | খ  | গ | ঘ  | ঙ | চ  | ছ   | জ | ঝ  | ঞ | ট | ঠ  | ড | ঢ  | ণ | ত | থ  | দ | ধ  | ন | প | ফ  | ব | ভ  | ম | য | র | ল  | ব | শ  | ষ  | স  | হ | র | ল | ব  | শ  | ষ  | স  | হ |
| 12. Oriya                             | ଅ | ଇ | ଉ | ଏ | ଓ | କ | ଖ  | ଗ | ଘ  | ଙ | ଚ  | ଛ   | ଜ | ଝ  | ଞ | ଟ | ଠ  | ଡ | ଢ  | ଣ | ତ | ଥ  | ଦ | ଧ  | ନ | ପ | ଫ  | ବ | ଭ  | ମ | ଯ | ର | ଲ  | ୱ | ଶ  | ଷ  | ସ  | ହ | ର | ଲ | ୱ  | ଶ  | ଷ  | ସ  | ହ |







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Renewals and recharges may be made 4 days prior to due date

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