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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

VOL. XI

GIPSY LANGUAGES

COMPILED AND EDITED BY

SIR GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., LL.D., VAGISA, I.C.S. (Retd.),
FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADemy; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE (ACADEMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS ET BELLES-LETTRES); HONORARY FELLOW OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF KOLKATA AND OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SCIENCE;
AND THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION; FOREIGN ASSOCIATE MEMBER OF THE SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE DU PARISS; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE KÖNIGLICHEN KOMMISSION
DER WISSENSCHAFTEN ZU SÜDTIROL; VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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

Vol. I. Introductory.
II. Môn-Khmer and Tai families.
III. Part I. Tibeto-Burman languages of Tibet and North Assam.
   II. Bodo, Nagā, and Kachin groups of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
   III. Kuki-Chin and Burma groups of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
IV. Munda and Dravidian languages.
V. Indo-Aryan languages, Eastern group.
   Part I. Bengali and Assamese.
   II. Bihārī and Oriyā.
VI. Indo-Aryan languages, Mediate group (Eastern Hindi).
VII. Indo-Aryan languages, Southern group (Marāṭhī).
VIII. Indo-Aryan languages, North-Western group.
   Part I. Sindhi and Lahnda.
   II. Dardic, or Pāşıcha, languages (including Kāshmirī).
IX. Indo-Aryan languages, Central group.
   Part I. Western Hindi and Pahārī.
   II. Rājasthānī and Gujurātī.
   III. Bhil languages, Khāndāsi, etc.
   IV. Pahārī languages.
X. Iranian family.
XI. "Gipsy" languages.
# CONTENTS

## SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

---

## GIPSY LANGUAGES

### INTRODUCTION

#### Name

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authorities</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of speakers at 1911 Census</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classification</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argots</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian argots</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### BENGALI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Specimen</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### BRIANTI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Specimen</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### BULDARI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Specimen from Birlichpur</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### GZAM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Specimen from Panch Mahals</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### GZAT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Specimen</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### KIPT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Specimen</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### KOR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi affinities</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati Rajasthani affinities</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other affinities</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specimen from Panch Mahals</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### LAIT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Specimen</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SEEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name of the tribe</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area within which found</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of speakers</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authorities</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary dialect</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specimens from Northern Punjab</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specimens from Kheri</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Lait</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Page vii
Page ix
CONTENTS.

KAMAVI
Name
Occupation
Number
Language
Authority
Dialect
Specimen
Argot
Specimen
GAMPAI
Specimen
MUNAWIR OR LEHI
Specimen
KANDARI
Name of the tribe
Number
Language
Specimen
Kumhasshi
Specimen
NATI
Number of Nati
Name
Language
Argot
Specimen of Basiya, Nati, Marapuri
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
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- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

DUH
Number
Name
Authorities
Language and argot
Specimen of Magahi
- - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - -

MALAB
QUEI
Name
Number
Authorities
Language and argot
Specimen
SITALAKHIT
Name
Number
Language
Connections with Sitalghiri
Argot
Specimen
GUDIGAL
STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES
LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION ADOPTED.

A.—For the Dèva-nāgari alphabet, and others related to it—

| अ | आ | इ | ई | उ | ऊ | ह | व | श | ठ | ड | ढ | छ | ज | झ | ञ | ड़ | त़ | ठ़ | ड़़ |
| a | a | i | i | u | u | h | v | s | t | t | t | c | j | j | n | t | t | t |

Visarga (ि) is represented by ɪ, thus नस्क्रि, kramaška. Anusvāra (ँ) is represented by ृ, thus तिन्द्र, tinḍra. In Bengali and some other languages it is pronounced ं, and is then written ं; thus रंग, bang. Anusvāra or Chandra-bindu is represented by the sign over the letter nasalized, thus मिल.

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

| । | । | । | । | । | । | । | । | । | । | । | । | । | । | । | । |
| ḍ | ḍ | ḍ | ḍ | ḍ | ḍ | ḍ | ḍ | ḍ | ḍ | ḍ | ḍ | ḍ | ḍ | ḍ | ḍ | ḍ | ḍ |

Tanwin is represented by ९, thus ḍ९ तनविन. Alif-e maqūra is represented by ॡ; thus द२ द२ द२ द२.

In the Arabic character, a final silent ḍ is not transliterated,—thus दन दन दन दन.

When pronounced, it is written,—thus दन दन दन.

Vowels when not pronounced at the end of a word, are not written in transliteration. Thus बन, not बन. When not pronounced in the middle of a word or only slightly pronounced in the middle or at the end of a word, they are written in small characters above the line. Thus (Hindi) देखता, pronounced dékhtā; (Kashmiri) धूष, pronounced dhūṣ; कर, pronounced kor; (Bihārī) देखि, pronounced dékhath.  

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

(a) The ts sound found in Marathi (१), Pashto (پ), Kásmiri (گ), Tibetan (ཐ), and elsewhere, is represented by त्स. So, the aspirate of that sound is represented by त्स.

(b) The dz sound found in Marathi (द्व), Pashto (پ), and Tibetan (ཐ) is represented by द्व, and its aspirate by द्व.

(c) Kásmiri (گ) is represented by گ.

(d) Sindhi (س), Western Pañjábi (and elsewhere on the N.-W. Frontier) (پ), and Pashto (پ) or پ are represented by پ.

(e) The following are letters peculiar to Pashto:—

- چ چ چ چ, گ گ گ گ, ڑ ڑ ڑ ڑ, ڪ ڪ ڪ ڪ, ڌ ڌ ڌ ڌ, ڌ ڌ ڌ ڌ, ڇ ڇ ڇ ڇ, ڪ ڪ ڪ ڪ.

(f) The following are letters peculiar to Sindhi:—

- ڪ ڪ ڪ ڪ, ڇ ڇ ڇ ڇ, ڪ ڪ ڪ ڪ, ڇ ڇ ڇ ڇ, ڪ ڪ ڪ ڪ.

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

- ං, represents the sound of the ɔ in all.

The semi-consonants peculiar to the Muñžá languages are indicated by an apostrophe. Thus k‘, t‘, p‘, and so on.

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

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

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

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

INTRODUCTION.

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

It has become customary to call these tribes Gipsies, but this designation does not imply any connexion between them and the Gipsies of Europe. The word Gipsy, which is, as is well known, a corruption of Egyptian, was originally applied to those well-known migratory tribes who began to make their name known and feared in Europe from the beginning of the 16th century, because they described themselves as coming from Egypt. The word has then also come to be used to denote other peoples of similar migratory, habitual, and this is the sense in which it has been used in this Survey. The Gipsy Languages are, accordingly, dialects spoken by the vagrant tribes of India.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of dialect</th>
<th>Estimated number of speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kowra and Yerukala</td>
<td>55,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalkári</td>
<td>3,239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burzání</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gétar</td>
<td>3,614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerauma</td>
<td>10,249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veldar</td>
<td>27,909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>104,783</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VOL. XI.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of dialect</th>
<th>Estimated number of speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ḍakti</td>
<td>43,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banjari</td>
<td>168,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chharaq</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍhurĩ</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḍarkāt or Ṭākuṅkārī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siyālqārī</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tārāmāt or Ghinaq (Vol. IX, Part ii)</td>
<td>1,069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>214,087</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of dialect</th>
<th>Estimated number of speakers</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhātār</td>
<td>5,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhunāt</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Đolin</td>
<td>13,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḏhūdī</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulgulā</td>
<td>833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamār (including Kachshulā)</td>
<td>7,085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khulaqî</td>
<td>2,367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lātī</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machariā</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālār</td>
<td>2,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myānwālā or Jhārī</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nātī</td>
<td>11,534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ökšī</td>
<td>2,814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peptāhārī</td>
<td>1,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qasāl</td>
<td>2,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sēl</td>
<td>51,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīkalgārī</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>101,971</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of these, Machariā was returned from the Kapurthala State as spoken by a tribe of fowlers who had come from Sind. It has turned out to be ordinary Sindhi with a slight admixture of Panjabi and need not occupy us any more in this place. The remaining Gipsy dialects named above will be described in the ensuing pages. This list is unfortunately far from exhausting the number of such languages. We know that the Chūhrās, the Dalāls, the Naqqāsh, and several other tribes and castes possess secret trade jargons of their own, and many criminal tribes have been described who freely mix their speech with slang words and phrases in order to prevent outsiders from understanding them. No new materials about them have, however, been forwarded for the purposes of this Survey, and I can therefore only refer to such authorities dealing with them as I have come across.
AUTHORITIES—

Muhammad Abdul Ghaffar.—A Complete Dictionary of the Terms used by the Criminal Tribes in the Punjab; together with a short history of each tribe, and the names and places of residence of individual members. For the use of the police and jail officers serving in the Punjab. Lahore: Printed at the Central Jail Press, 1879. Contains Slang terms of Gaddaris, pp. 20-30; Pindaris or Utahgirahs, pp. 32-40; Kalubas, Uchakka and Utahis, pp. 40-50; Sarais, pp. 41-51; Doonmas, pp. 52-54; Gandhills, pp. 54-56; Sweepers of Delhi District, p. 57; Sweepers of Punjab, pp. 57-59; Haris, pp. 59-60; Banaus, pp. 60-61; Mees, pp. 62-63; Ahrs and Gogrics, p. 64; Thugs, p. 65; Dakhaddias, pp. 66-66.

Leitner, G. W., LL.D.—A Detailed Analysis of Abdul Ghaffar's Dictionary of the Terms used by Criminal Tribes in the Punjab. Lahore: Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1885. This "Analysis" contains all, and corrects almost all, the words and sentences in Abdul Ghaffar's so-called Dictionary.


Leitner, G. W., LL.D.—Selection from the Records of the Punjab Government Section I. of Linguistic Fragments discovered in 1870, 1872 and 1873, relating to the dialect of the Maghids and other Wandering Tribes, the Argots of Thanes, the Secret Trade-dialects and Systems of native C Herbalogy in Kabb, Kasur, and the Punjab, followed by an Account of Shans-e-waun and of the Signs for the Numbers and Colours used in the Manufacture of Shirts, as well as an Analysis of a Shans Pattern, and by four Poems of Shans wisdom, illustrated by drawings of Shans and by Specimens of Colours chiefly in use in the Punjab and Kasur. Lahore: Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1882.

Leitner, G. W., LL.D.—Appendix to "Changars" and Linguistic Fragments. Words and Phrases illustrating the Riddles of the Send and Me as also of Dwaras, Morkhais and Bins. Lahore: Printed at the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1882.


(Keen K., M.)—Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency, with Appendices regarding some Foreign Criminals who occasionally visit the Presidency including Hints on the Detection of Counterfeit Coins. Bombay, 1885.

The various Gipsy tribes have not been distinguished in the language returns of the published Reports of the last Census of 1911. It is therefore difficult to compare the figures with the estimates made for the purposes of this Survey. The total returned under the head of Gipsy languages in 1911 was 23,294 distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of speakers at 1911 Census</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ajmer-Merwara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces and Berar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Provinces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baroda State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central India Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab States</td>
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<td>Rajputana Agency</td>
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INTRODUCTION.

The Gipsy dialects considered in the ensuing pages can be divided into two groups, ordinary dialects and argots. The former group comprises Beldar, Bhamati, Ladi, Oddi and Pendhari, the latter Dom, Garodi, Guigulia, Kanjari, Kolhati, Malar, Myawala, Naati, Qasa, Sasi and Sikalgari. The former group is of the same character as the Gipsy language described under the head of Bhili in Vol. IX, Part ii, the latter can be compared with argots such as those used by the Panjab gamblers, the Chulhars, etc. See Authorities, above.

Within the first of our two groups the Pendhars in some respects occupy a position apart, being composed of various elements without any common race or religion. Their dialect shows that they have lived for some time in Eastern Rajputana, and history corroborates this inference. Both the Pendhars and some of the Bhamatis speak dialects which can be described as a mixture of Dakhi Hindi and Jaipuri. Most Bhamatis, however, speak Telugu. Ladi is in all essentials a form of Jaipuri. The Ojas are probably related to the Vadars, who speak a dialect of Telugu, and they are probably originally Dravidian. Their dialect, however, points towards Malwa or perhaps farther west. The Beldars are described as a Dravidian caste. They usually state that they are Rajputs, and Dr. Crooke thinks that they are related to the Ojas. The traditions and dialects of all these tribes point to the conclusion that they belong to the same stock as the Banjaras, Habrars, and other tribes who now use a form of Bhili. The traditions of both Banjaras and Habrars point towards Rajputana. Ethnologists are, however, agreed that all these tribes are originally Dravidian, i.e., belong to the so-called Dravidian race. Their original home has perhaps been situated farther south. They have, however, become Aryanized at a comparatively early date, and philological considerations point to the conclusion that this occurred somewhere in Rajputana. Dr. Crooke is of opinion that these tribes are branches of one great nomadic race, which also comprises tribes such as the Sasis, Kanjars, Nats, and so on, i.e., such Indian Gipsies as possess an argot. Also here we find traditions which point towards Rajputana. Thus the Sasis were, according to one tradition, originally bards with the Chaubara Rajputs. Their first ancestor was, they say, Sisa Mal, and his brother Mallamur was again the ancestor of the Kolhatis, who seem to be very closely connected with the Sasis. They are also related to the Kanjars, whose traditions only point towards the jungle, and the Nats, who sometimes, likewise, maintain that they have come from Rajputana. The Suqalgars of Banaras assert that they were originally Rajputs from Marwar. The Doms are, according to their traditions, Nishadas, and their first ancestor is said to have sprung from the thigh of King Vana. Now Benhans is the name of a modern Rajput sept, which, according to Dr. Crooke, is of obvious Kherwar origin, and the country of the Nishadas is stated in the Mahabharsata (iii, 1058) to begin where the Sarasvati disappears in the sands. The Nishadas were, according to the Aitarinya Brihmanas, forest robbers, and Malchuram identifies them with the Bhillas. In the Agniputra they are mentioned together with “other dwellers in the Vindhya.” It will be seen that these traditions point towards Rajputana or Central India. It will now be of interest to see how far an examination of the dialects spoken by these tribes, i.e., of the dialects on which their argots are based, corroborates these indications. We cannot of course expect to find anything more than indications. The tribes in question are migratory, and, if they spend a long time in any district, they are likely to adopt its current vernacular.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

If we begin with Śāsān, it will be shown later on that the dialect varies according to the locality in which it is spoken, it being Hindostani in the East and a mixture of Hindostani and Pahari in the Northern Panjab, the stronghold of the tribe. Stray features such as the softening of hard mutes in the dative and genitive suffixes -{ṣu, ṣā} and in words such as {dā, dōth}, tooth, are such as are also found in Western Pahari. The same is the case with the oblique base ending in -{ā} in weak bases, just as in Marathi. Forms such as the ablative suffix -{tā}; the pronouns -{bhe, we}; -{tan, you}, remind us of Gujarati, but also of Western Pahari. The dialect of the Śāsān is closely related to Kōhārī. The termination -{ā} of oblique bases, which is well known from Gujarati and Western Pahari, is here common. Forms such as -{mārā-ku}, to me, remind us of Dakhini Hindostani, while the use of the relative base -{ja} with the meaning of a demonstrative in forms such as -{jēbā}, then, is in accordance with the practice in Rājasthān dialects.

If we now turn to Kanjars, we again find that the oblique base of weak nouns ends in -{ā} or -{ā}, as in Western Pahari. Strong: masculine bases often end in -{ā}, plural -{ā}, as in Rājasthān. Demonstrative pronouns such as -{ja, ji} that, are also in accordance with the usage in that language. Pronouns such as -{ārā, he}; -{yā, you}; verbal suffixes such as -{ār, ārā}, in the present and past; the frequent use of relative participles; the tendency to form a negative verb, and so forth, perhaps point to the existence of a Dravidian element in the dialect. Kanjars is a comparatively consistent form of speech and seems to possess less local varieties than many other Gypsy tongues. The Kanjars are ethnocentrically related to the Śāsān and Kōhārī, and also to the Habūras. Just as the latter speak Gujarati Bhilī in the Gangetic Doab, the language of the Kanjars reminds us of Gujarati, Rājasthān, and Pahari even in districts where these languages are not home tongues. The Magahiya Pōma of Saran and Champaran speak the current Bhōpuri of the districts. There is, however, also a tongue of Rājasthān, and the argot of the Pōma in so many points agrees with that in use among the Kanjars that it is impossible to separate the two. Naṭī also has some features which seem to point towards Rājasthān, though the dialect underlying the argot of the Naṭī varies very much according to district. Gāgōḍi is a mixture of Hindostani, Eastern Rājasthān and Marathi, and a similar position must be assigned to the so-called Myānwalī, while Qasā is based on Hindostani, Sīlāgārī on Gujarati, and Mālār on Nagpūrī. Guignola, finally, is too insufficiently known to allow us to say anything definite about its position.

There are accordingly also some philological reasons for supposing a common origin of many of the Gypsy tribes. It will be remembered that they are described as belonging to the Dravidian race and that some of them use Dravidian forms of speech. Most of them, however, so far as they come within the scope of this Survey, speak Aryan tongues. If they are of Dravidian stock, that must be a secondary development. Their original language cannot have been Aryan. Now the existence of a Rājasthān element in many Gypsy dialects may be taken as an indication that they have abandoned their old speech and adopted an Aryan tongue within an area where Rājasthān was spoken. It is a curious coincidence that the stronghold of the Bhils, who must have a similar origin, is found between the territories occupied by
Rajasthāni, Gujarātī and Maharāthī. Like many Gipsy languages some Bhil dialects also have weak nouns with an oblique base ending in ə. In Gipsy, and in Pahari, this ə is interchangeable with ə, which is common in Gujarātī. The theory might be hazardous that this use of an oblique base, of the kind elsewhere found in Maharāthī, in all these tongues must be due to the existence of a substratum different from Rajasthāni and connected with Maharāthī. There are also other philological indications that the language of Rajasthan and parts of Central India has once, in the times preceding the Rājput invasion, been more closely connected with Old Maharāthī.

The conclusion arrived at above that most of these Gipsy tribes have a common origin is further strengthened by a consideration of the artificial argots which some of them have developed. We here find so much correspondence in details that we cannot well refrain from inferring that there is some connexion between these Indian argots. All of them are artificial languages devised for the purpose of enabling those who know them to converse with each other without the risk of being understood by outsiders. Such methods of speaking are in use all over the world, and they are known under different names in the different countries. In England they are called 'cant,' 'slang,' 'thieves' latin,' 'pedlars' French,' 'Saint Giles Greek,' 'flash tongue,' 'gibberish,' and so on, in France argot, in Germany 'Rotwechsel,' in Italy 'gergo,' 'furbesca,' in Spain 'germanía,' and so on. Common to all of them is the extensive use of a peculiar vocabulary, and, in addition to this, the practice of disguising common words by means of transpositions and changes of letters. The vocabulary has usually been fetched from the most different sources, or else various figures of speech or associations of ideas lead to the use of well-known words with new meanings. Thus we find in the Spanish argot Germania guile, priest, taken from the Hebrew; dupa, ignorant, taken from the French; loundilla, which is derived from loun, salt, and properly signifies a saltcellar, is used with the meaning of 'parlour,' because Spanish sal, parlour, suggests sał, salt, and so forth. Examples of transpositions from the same argot are tueur for viste, view; greau for negro, a neger. Changes of letters are also quite common; compare Rotwechsel weiche instead of bitte, heat. In the Pyrenees we find a device of the same character as the so-called p-language. Thus, instead of jauna, sir, they say jau-pau-na-pa or jau-gau-na-pa. This of course is a very common way of producing an argot all over the world. Le Ducheat tells us of the existence of a similar slang amongst the children of Metz, who add dregue to each syllable; thus vaudregue cadregue uadregue foudregue, vous êtes un fou, you are a fool. Still more like our p-language is the Indian schoolboys' Zargari, where the letter r followed by a vowel is added to each syllable; thus tu-rum kaalā jaualtā hatā for tum kaha jate hat, where are you going? Dr. Leitner found this Zargari in use amongst the thieves of Peshawar, where he heard sentences such as u-zu-rak-ko bu-zu-ble-zā for ma-kō balā, call him. A similar s-language is recorded from Bengal, where we find sentences such as asamī bodbo deshibho for amī ko dībo, I will give a book. Sometimes we can observe how similar words play their origin in some new fashion. A certain class of society affects a peculiar way of pronouncing or transforming words, and the compliance with such whims becomes a kind of freemason's token, by which one shows himself as a member of fashionable society. Thus it was usual within certain circles in Paris, about 1830,
to add *mar* to every word, and to speak of *boulangemar* instead of *boulanger,* a baker; *cafemar* instead of *café,* coffee. That such a way of changing common words well deserves to be called an argot, is brought out by a comparison of the cant of the Yüsufzai badmashes mentioned by Dr. Leitner, where *miri* is added to every word.

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

In India there have probably been argots from the most ancient times. It is possible that they have to some extent their origin in sacrificial rites. It would often be necessary to veil the actual meaning of a ceremony in order to prevent rivals and enemies from perverting it by means of sorcery and counter-rites. The curious words *agyaya,* dark fortnight; *yavan,* bright fortnight; *sudha,* day; *sagara,* night; *yavaya,* month; *samēka,* year (Sátpátha-brähmana i. 7.2.25ff.) seem to belong to such a sacrificial argot. The transmutations and changes of words which are sometimes prescribed in the old Sátras, are perhaps of a similar kind, though the desire to avoid unlucky words also plays a rôle. The Indians, with their predilection for word-play and enigmatic language, must always have been especially qualified for devising means for disguising the meaning of their speech. An old example is found in the Mahábhárata (I. 575 ff.), where Vidura is represented as warning Yudhishthira, in the presence of a number of people, of impending treachery, in a jargon which only the speaker and his hearer could understand.

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

1 *Linguistic Fragments,* p. (xxv).
2 The commentator Nalakanāda says that this jargon made use of the language of outcasts (*ahātākṣara,* which resembled the language of the country, but was grammatical and contained words in which syllables were omitted, *wasted* or *deleted.* He then gives examples.
INTRODUCTION.

in different argots. Thus the word leg, to die, is used in Sāsī, Kōlāhi, Kanjari, Dōm, Nātī, Gārādī, Māyānālē, Culgulī, and Sikalgāri; dū, eat, occurs in the specimens of Sāsī, Kōlāhi, Kanjari, Nātī, Māyānālē, and Sikalgāri; khum, mouth, in Sāsī, Kōlāhi, Nātī, and Gārādī; khau, khenu, house, in Sāsī, Dōm, Nātī, and Sikalgāri, and so forth. Such instances add strength to the conclusion arrived at above that there is a common base in many of these forms of speech. Even if we were able to trace each of these words back to its source, this would not prove anything in regard to the nature of this base. We have seen above how the peculiar words of European argots have been collected from the most different sources. Thus the case in India. We cannot therefore infer that the Kanjars of Belgaum or the Qāsīs are of Arabic descent, because they use some Arabic numerals, or that the Sāsīs have anything to do with the Tibetans even if bārma, wife, could be proved to be identical with Sherpa bermi, or cheī, water, with Tibetan chia. The great number of Hebrew words in Rotwell's work warns us to be cautious in such matters. Still, considering the fact that ethnologists describe the most important Gipsy tribes as Dravidian, it is perhaps of some significance that several of the peculiar argot words seem to have a Dravidian origin. Thus we might compare Kanjari tu-khul, belly, with Kurukh bū; Sāsī lau, to best, with Kurukh lau; Myānālē pēlo, boy, son, with Yerukala gōrī; Kanjari and Sikalgāri pēlo, bull, with Tamil mādu; Dōm tīnā, eat, with Tamil tīnu; Sāsī pātī, fire, with Kanares bānī; Dōm khehū, fire, with Kurukh chīk; Kanjari ti, give, with Tamil tura, Śavaṃ ti; Kanjari kīdō, give, with Yerukala kīk; Myānālē bītō (compare Gīrīpāri Sirmāuri hōf), go, and ban, come, with Kanares bō, go, Tamil vara, come, respectively; Sāsī baumō, Kōlāhi bōn, Nātī bōn, Myānālē bōn, gold, with Tamil po; Sāsī kādré, horse, with Tamil kuḍāri; Sāsī khulō, Nātī kōllō, Sikalgāri kōl, Malār khulō, house, with Gūlār kōllī, room, Malayālam kuḷī, house; compare Malār khusū, husband, and Yerukala khusū, wife, the last syllable of which latter word should be compared with sī in tāṇgō, sister; Sāsī tūnō, Kōlāhi tūnō, Nātī tūnō, pig, with Tamil payrī; Sāsī bīnu, run, with Kurukh boīgu; Kanjari, Sikalgāri khēdī, Qasāi khēdī, Kōlāhi rīdī, house, with Kanares kēdū; Kōlāhi kōttī, wife, with Kanares kōnūti, and so forth. I feel no doubt that we should be able to compare many more words, if we had a fuller knowledge of the argots. In face of the fact that comparatively many of these parallels have been taken from Kurukh, it is perhaps worth while recalling the Kurukh tradition that they have come from the Karnatic and proceeded eastwards along the Narbhad, i.e., past the Vindhyas. It may also be of interest in this place to make a note of some few details which will be mentioned below when dealing with the individual argots, such as the interchange between hard and soft sounds in Sāsī, Kōlāhi, Nātī, etc., the dissipation of aspirates and aspiration of unaspirated sounds in several argots; the frequent use of relative participles, of a negative verb, of certain pronouns and suffixes, and so on, in Kanjari; the employment of kūrē, having done, or similar forms with the meaning of Tamil evar, Yerukala yada, Sanskrit iti, etc., after a direct quotation, and so forth, though many of these features are also found in Pahāri and elsewhere.

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

VOL. XI.
disguise, just as is the case in European argots. It is noticeable that the transposition of letters after the pattern of the English cant word icoelo, police, plays a comparatively unimportant rôle in the materials at my disposal. I may note instances such as Sāk kah-va = baktā, goat; chōmi = méchē, shoe-maker; fēp = pēf, belly; Gārodi jahā = bahā, big, and so forth. More common are changes by means of prefixed or suffixed syllables, which then often replace the beginning or the end, respectively, of the word. The details will be mentioned under each argot. In this place I shall only make some general remarks. The simplest way of disguising a word by means of a prefix is exactly the counterpart of the practice in the p-language and Zargarī. Thus in Sāk kha-kāl, famine; ḍha-gal, neck, the syllables kha, ḍha, respectively, have simply been prefixed to the ordinary word. It is, however, still more common to drop the old initial in such cases; thus, Sāk khas = das, ten; jhūkā = bhūkā, hungry. In some forms of Naṭī we find the initial added again at the end, thus, mēl-khā = kēt, field. In Malār chāhīna = bāhī, sister, we see the entire word in its original form added to the disguised word. These two last devices are of course more easily discovered, and they do not seem to be of common occurrence. With regard to prefixes I would add that we can, in a few cases, trace the existence of rules or rather tendencies which pervade all the argots. Thus k and kh are most commonly prefixed to words beginning with vowels; the palatals oh, ohk, jh and jh are almost exclusively used with such words as begin with labials; ah is a substitute for aspirated letters and also for s; and r is mostly used before or instead of gutturals. The fact that such is the practice in all our argots is a further indication that they have a common base.

The most usual state of affairs with regard to disguising suffixes is illustrated by words such as Sāk kauhgā = kahā, said, where a single consonant is added. Words such as Sāk, Kollāthi ḍhā-pā, father, where a consonant followed by a vowel has been added, are of a similar kind. There are, however, also more complex additions, somewhat like the Parisian cafémar = café. The most common are additions after verbs, such as sar in Sāk, Kollāthi, Natī a-sar, come, and sar, nār, bār, in numerous Kanjarī, Dām, Qaṣādī, Malār and Myānwālī verbs, and so forth. We can also here notice how the same additions are used in the same way in more than one argot. Thus k or y is common after verbs ending in vowels or in k in Sāk, Kollāthi, Kanjarī, Natī, Myānwālī, and so on; additions containing an r are, as already remarked, common in verbs in many argots; additions such as Dām khalā, Sikalārī khālā, Kanjarī dō, Myānwālī elī, Malār le, are clearly connected with each other. On the whole it seems certain that not only are the general principles the same in the different argots, but that their application in many cases follows identical lines in all of them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

They were distributed as follows:

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

To judge from the specimens Pendhāri is a mixture of rough Dakhini Hindōstāni with Marāthi and Rājasthāni. The particular dialect of the last mentioned language with which their Hindōstāni is mixed, seems to be Jaipuri. Compare pāthā, son; bāpā, father; chhē, is; chhā, was. It is not necessary to discuss this jargon at length. I give two short specimens, one from each district. They both agree in all essential points. Note the use of ni as a postposition of the locative, present forms such as uttarānu, I descend; marānu, I beat, where the final nu reminds us of the Dravidian termination of verbs, and the way in which kār-kē, having done, is used at the end of a quotation, like the Sanskrit iti and the Dravidian aadu, having said.
**GIPSY LANGUAGES.**

**PENDHARI.**

**SPECIMEN I.**

**DISTRICT DHARWAR.**

Kisē ek admi-kū do pūtā chhē. Us-nē-uī nhanā pūt āpēnā

_Some one was to two sons were. They-in-from younger son own_

bāp-kū bōlā, 'bāp, mēreh hīsē-kū āwattō māl-kū bātā mijē dā,'

_father-to said, 'father, my share-to coming property-of share-to me give.'_

Unē āpēn ājnīṛī un-kū bōt-diyā. Thōdē dīn-kē pichānē

_By-him own property then-to was-divided. Few days-of after_

nhanā sab milā-kē ēk dūr mulak-kū rasta liyā.

_by-younger all having-gathered one distant country-to way was-taken._

Whā unē dhundpanē-sē āpēnā māl kharāb-kar-diyā. Sah

_The next by-him luxury-using-with own property spoiled-was-made. All_

gamā-lē-kē nūgā o mulak-nē ēk bhadā dukāl pādā. Bhē unē

_spent-having then that country-in one big famine fell. And by-him_
garīl-nē rab-gāyā. Unē o mulak-kē ēk admi-kē pīs

_poverty-in it-was-lived. By-him that country-of one man-of near_
jā-kar un-kē mul-kē rab-gāyā. Unē āśe suwē

_gone-having him-to joined-having it-was-lived. By-him him swine_

charānē-kū āpēnā khētan-nē bhēj-diyā. O suwē khānē-kē bhūsē-sē

_feeding-for own fields-into it-was-sent. He swine eating-of henn-of from_

āpēn pēt bharne-kī khūś chhi, tab ṏī āśe ēk kūyī

own belly filling-of happiness was, then that-even to-him by-anyone_

diyā nāī. Unē ḫusār hō-kē, 'mēreh bāp-kē ketā

_was-given not. By-him sensible became-having, 'my father-of how-many_

majārdān-kū āpēn-kū bās hō-kē jāstī rahē ottē

_servants-to themselves-for sufficient become-having more remained so-much_

rōṭē rāhwē-chhē. Huwā-tō-hī mai bhūk-kē marī. Mai

_breads remained. Still I hunger-from die. I_

nikāl-kē bāp-kē taraft jā-kē usē kahūgā, "arē bāp,

_gone-out-having father-of direction gone-having to-him will-say, "O father,

mai tērē sāmnē bhī Allā-kē uppār gumā kārā. Is-kē nāgē

_because of thee before and God-of against sin was done. This-of after_

tērē pūt kavā-lēnē-kū mai lāyāk nāī. Tērē mājūri-kē jāwānān-nē ēk

_thy son being-called-for I worthy not. Thy hire-of servants-in one
kar-kē mijē bi rakh," kar-kē bānā, kar-kē bōl-lyā, 
made-having me also keep," said-having may-say," said-having it-was-said.

Uṭh-kē āpū āpū bāp-kānē āyā. Chhētō unē ahī rastā hīnā
Arise-having own father-near one. But for-him still now much

dūr chhū-tō us-kā āpū āpū dēkh-kē mēhār lakā-kē
far was-then his father him seen-having mercy applied-having

nāth-kē jā-kē gāle mil-kē āpū mūkā diyā.
run-having gone-having neck embraced-having to-him kiss was-given.
Pūt āpū, āpū Allā-kē uppar bhi tērā ākhā-kē sāmnē mai gunhā
Son to-him, 'father God-of against and thy eyes-of before by-me sin
karā. Ab āngō kadi-bi mai tērā pūt kawā-lyē sarīkā nāi,'
said-done. Now after ever-even I thy son calling-for fit not,'
kār-kē bōlā. Chhētō-bi āpū āpū mukhā-lōkā-kē, 'thai chōkāt
said-having said. Yet father-by own servants-to, 'very good

jhangā-kē bārā lakā-kē āpū pīrā bhi us-kē hāt-kē aṅgūṭi
cast out brought-having him dress and his hand-to ring

bhū-kē pāw-kē pāpā dēō. Bhi háman khā-kē khusī-se
put-having feet-on shoes give. And we eaten-having happily

ruhū. Kāy-kāyē-tō ē mēnā pūt mar-gāyā chhā-tō, phir-kē
should-stay. Why-said-then this my son dead-gone was, again

jītā huvā; gāyā-chhā-tō, phir-kē milā,' kar-kē bōlā. Bhi
alive became; gone-was, again was-found," said-having it-was-said. And

unān khusī kar-nē lāge.
they merry to-make began.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

PENDHARI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Dhúp kál-nē ék kólā balut pyās lág-kē jāngal-nē phir-kē
Heat time-at one fox much thirst fell-being wood-in rambling
pāpī dhunga, lēkin kā-bī naī mīlā. Pichhā-sē dōngā
water searched, but anywhere not it-was-found. At-last deep
thaḍḍē-nē thōḍā pāpī khād-rākē dēkh-kā agāth-kā dhyān nāī
pit-in a-little water standing seen-having future-of thought not
kār-kē us-kā bich-nē kudā. Whā khāth pāpī
made-having it-of the-midst-in he-jumped. There much water
pi-kē phir-kē uppār āṃā-kū wāstē chintā kāzā.
drum-having again up coming-for far-the-sake thinking was-made.
Usē rastā-ch naī chhi, ṣā-ulah whā-ch taṭṭ-kē
To-that way not was, (for-)that-reason there-inder being-in-a-fix
khād-rākē lhai phikir kāra. Ottē-nē-ch ık ḍagār wō-ch
standing much anxiety was-made. That-much-in one goat that-very
rāstē-sī pyās lág-kē ā-kē khādā-nē kōlē-kū dēkhā. Ṭab
road-from thirst felt-being coming pit-in fox it-was-seen. Then
ō ḍagār, ‘hör kólā bā, īū lai sānā, hāman sah pyās
that goat, ‘O fox father, thou much cleer, we all thirst
lág-kē maran; kise naī mālūm kār-kē ṭū ḍākha-ch
fell-being die; to-anybody not known made-having thou aloud-quite
ā-kē pāpī pānū; aucharhā, rhan-dē, maī bī tallē utarānu;
coming water drinket; well, le-le, I too down descend;
pāpī kāi chhē?’ kār-kē pichhā. Usē kólā, ‘dōs, keṭā
water how is?’ saying asked. To-that fox, ‘friend, how-much
mitṭā kār-kē bēū?’ É pāpī agāth amir sarkā chhē,
vātē saying mag-l-say? This water quite nectar like is.
Tū syā, balut chakōṭ huwā; jaldī ā-kē pāpī ph. bhi
Thou camest, much good became; quickly coming water drink, and
kop-to-bī āy-tō tuje milē-kē naī, kār-kē bōlā. É
anyone-else comes-if to-thee getting-off not, saying said. This
phasānā-kē bāt suṅ-kē wō diwānā ḍagār tallē kuldī-mār-kē
cunning-of word heard-having that silly goat down jumped-having.
FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The fullest accounts of the Bhāmṭās which I have seen are in pp. 464 and ff. of Part I of the Poona Gazetteer, in pp. 5 and ff. of The History of Railway Thieves with Hints on Detection, by M. Paupa Rao Naidu, Madras, 1900, and in pp. 16 and ff. of the Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency, by M. Kennedy, Bombay, 1908.

1 See above, Vol. IV, pp. 6872.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMṬI.

SPECIMEN I.

Koi-čč ādmā-kā do pāryā chhē. Us-mā-kā nānā pāryā
A-certain man-to two sons were. Then-in-of the-younger son
bābā-kā kahā-chhu, 'us-mā-kā mā-kō mērā hissa dē.' Phēr us-nē
the-father-to said, 'that-in-of mé-to my share give.' Then him-by
us-ko daunal-kā hissa bāt-diyā-chhē. Phēr thōḍē din hoyē-chhē
him-to the-property-of share was-divided. Then a-few days passed-had
nānā pāryā sab jamā lē-kē dūr dēs gayē-chhē. Aur
the-younger son all estate taken-having for country went. And
wahē jē-kē bēakkul-ė paisā khoīyā-chhē. Phēr sab
there gone-having indiscriminately money he-squandered. And all
kharch-nē-kē bād us dēs-mā badā kāl pādā-chhē. Iḥē
spending-of after that country-in great famine fell. Thereby
us-ko hipat pādā-chhē. Iḥē n kāi us dēs-kō hhalē ādmā-kā
him-to want befell. Then he some that country-of a-good man-of
jaurē rahā-chhē. Us-nē us-kō apnā khōit-mē ḍukar charānē-kō
near remained. Him-by him-to his-own field-in seine feeding-for
lagāyā-chhē. Iḥē ḍukar-kā bhusā khā-kē pēt bharun-kō
it-was-employed. Then the-seine-of hukks eaten-having belly filling-of
thought mode-was. Any-body-by him-to anything-not given-was.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHÄMȚI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

\[ No. 4. \]

Ek Birbal-kä bêțä chhâ, ek râjâ-kä bêțä chhâ. Un-ki bađî
One Birbal-of son was, one king-of son was. Them-oi great
döstî rahê. Dël-kä dil ëk chhâ. Un-në kahâ kë,
friendship existed. Both-of mind one was. Them-by. ët-was-said that,
'jie-kä bihâw pañilë hûgâ un-në apanihê bûkô dûsrê-kë ghar
'whose marriage first will-be him-by his-own wife other's house
pathâw-në.' Bûddhâhâ-kë bêtê-kä bihâw pañilë hû. Un-ki
is-to-be-sent.' The-king-of son-of marriage first become. His
barât bađô dhûm-sû aî-chhê. Phir un-kë ëk bistar-par
marriage-procession great pomp-with come. Them him-to one bed-upon
hô-kë döst-kë yad aî-chhê. Phêr ê apanihê mahârâ-kë
become-having friend-of recollection come. Then he his-own wife-to
kañt-chhê kë, 'pañilë tâ Birbal-kä yahâ jâ-kë aw; mërâ
said that, 'first thou Birbal's here gone-having come; my
kaul-bachan huñ-chhê.' O pher Birbal-kä yahâ hût-nê pachârti
promise becomes.' She then Birbal's here the-hand-in five-lamps
le-kë gañ-chhê. Un-kë rastê-mâ châr chôr mile-chhê. Un-kë
taken-having went. Her-to street-in four thieves met. Her
sab dägnâ utárânê. Un-nê kahi kë, 'tâ mërâ
all ornaments taking-off-they-were. Her-by ët-was-said that, 'thou my
dägnâ kë utärâ-chhê?' Mê-kë Birbal-kë ha-sû ëjn-jê;
ornaments why art-taking-off? Me-to Birbal's here-from get-go-and-come;
phir mërâ sab dägnâ utär-lë.' Chôr-nê kahî, 'yâ hî
then my all ornaments take-off.' The-thieves-by ët-was-said, 'the too
bês kat-chhê.' Yêk chôr waiñ bûithâ. Tîn chôr gayê chôri
well said.' One thing there sat. Three thieves went theft
karan-kë. Phir yâ gai Birbal-kë yahâ. Birbal-në us-kô
committing-for. Then she went Birbal's here. Birbal-by her-as-to
she-was-seen. A-bed-on she-was-made-to-sit. Seated-having his-own the-mind-in
söch kara kë, 'bûddhâhâ salmê-hë ûttêhî chhê sur gawâr-hî
consideration was-made that, 'the-king wise-also that-much is and a-fool-also
vol. xi. 2
Utthi chhē, kē apāi šēj-ki bāykō mērē yalā pathāi-chhē?

That-much is, because his-own bed-of wife my here sent-is.

Us-kō kahā, itinē din ō mērā bhāī rahā, ibhē tū
Her-to it-was-said, so-many days he my brother was, therefore thou

bān hui-chhē. Wō mērā bahinōi hwā. Wajir-nē
sister become-art. He my brother-in-law became. The-minister-by

us-kō lagā āngi pahērā-chhē, auri achenhē bhāri pāch dāginē
her-to a-veil a-bodice was-put-on, and best valuable five ornaments
diyē-chhē, kahā, bāi, tū jā. Bāi rastē-sū chalk,
were-gicōn, it-was-said, lady, thou go. The-lady the-street-by went.

Ek chōr mastā-mā bōthā rahā. Us-kō bāi-nē kahā, mērē
One thief on-the-road seated was. Him-to the-lady-by it-was-said, my

sub dāginē utār-lē. Makō pāch dāginē jāsti milē-chhē.
all ornaments take-off. Me-to five ornaments more have-been-obtained.

Uttī lat-chhit hō-rahī-chhē tō tin chōr āye-chhē. Un-kō
That-much conversation going-on-was then the-three thieves came. Them-to

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

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

lēs lāgō. Ham-kū chōri khub mili-chhē To ham-su
good has-been-proced. Us-to theft great obtained-was. Therefore us-from

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

bādāhā-ka jōre āi-chhē. Bādāhā-nē dil-mē sōsā kē, dil
the-king-of near she-came. The-king-by mind-in it-was-thought that, the-heart

chār-mā kis-kā bādā chhē?
the-four-among whose great is?
FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

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

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

The story is continued. It should be Birbal's son who acts as described. The king is also similarly confused with his son.
Beldâr literally means one who works with the bel or mattock. It is a general term for the aggregate of low Hindu tribes who make their living by earth work. The number of Beldârs returned at the Census of 1911 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>9,294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar and Orissa</td>
<td>86,612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>32,368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces and Berar</td>
<td>28,616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Provinces</td>
<td>33,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central India Agency</td>
<td>26,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>3,787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>265,420</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rajputana, Jaisalmir State</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amrodi</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellichpur</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buldana</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,754</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bombay Presidency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thana</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satara</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satara Agency, State Amulh</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Phaltan</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolhapur State</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Maratha Jughirs</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>3,153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Specimens of the so-called Beldâr have been received from Ellichpur and Buldana, from the Jaisalmir State, and from the Ramdurg State. Though the dialect differs in the different districts, being more or less influenced by the prevailing...
languages, there are some characteristic features which recur everywhere, and it is accordingly possible to speak of a separate dialect. Beldari is not, however, a fixed form of speech with consistent features. Like Odkt it is a mixture. The prevailing elements are Marathi and Eastern Rajasthani. To the former language belongs forms such as the plurals bôfê, sons (Ramurg); nôôe, tanks (Jaisalmir); dasê, a father (Buldana); manamô, a man (Ramurg); danat, in days (Ramurg); the oblique bases in ă of weak nouns such as dihâ-sê, from a direction (Jaisalmir); utthar-panâ-sê, in riotousness (Ellichpur); the genitive termination chô in the Jaisalmir and Ramurg specimens, the common termination la of the past tense, and so forth. Rajasthani elements are forms of strong bases such as pôrya, sons; chhôfo, small (Ellichpur); ghôrâ, horse (Jaisalmir) (but also kattô, dog; compare also ghôrâ, horses; ghôpîâ, mares); the dative suffixes -sê (Anraoti, Ramurg, Jaisalmir); -sê, sô (Jaisalmir); -kê (Buldana) and -ku (Ellichpur); compare Mâlvî -sê, -kê, -kô; the genitive suffix -kô, -kê, -k (Ellichpur, Buldana); compare Mêwâri, Jaipuri and Malvî -kô, -kê; the ablative suffixes -sê and -sô; compare Mâlvî -sê, -sô; the past tense in yê, o, which is used side by side with forms in -lô; forms such as marû, I die; kohô, I may say (Ellichpur); morê-kê, I am dying (Jaisalmir); kahuû, I shall say (Buldana) and so forth.

It would also be possible to compare some of the l-forms of the past with Oriya, and the common môr, mûrû, my, mine, seems connected with forms in Eastern languages. It is accordingly likely that there is also an admixture of Eastern vernaculars. The chief components of Boldari are, however, of the same kind as in Odkt. With that form of speech there are other points of agreement: thus the pronoun tâdá, thy; conjunctive participles such as karli, having done, and so forth. Note the curious form morê-kû, me, an idiom frequent in Dakhnî Hindusthani, and also finding parallels in Eastern languages, as in the Bihari kamara-kê, with the same meaning.

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

BELDÁRI.

Ek ñamul-kä do pöryä bhaye. O-më-kö ehhöò pöryä hâpë.
One man-of two sons were. Them-in-of younger by-son father-to.
kahyë, 'dädä, jë jingi-kö hisä ayë, o möhë dë.'
It-was-said, 'father, which property-of share comes, that me give.'
Phir ò-na sampat bâit-kë di. Phir thodë din-më ehhöò
Then him-by property deciding was-given. Then few days-in small.
pöryä sab jama kar-kë ddr des-më gayë, whî o-më
póy all together having-made for country-in went, there him-by
uthândpuna-se aplo paisë uða diyo. O-më sab kharche-par
riotness-in own money wanting was-given. Him-by all spent-on
önë mulak-më bahot dukal paço, o-më paisë-kì ațcha padan
that country-in much famine fell, him-to money-of want to-sell
laga. Phir òne dës-kë ek grïha-kë jëre jâ-kë
began. Then that country-of one householder-of near having-gone
rahyë, o-më ôbe òpnë khêt-më dukar charâ-në bhéjë. Tab
stayed, him-by him own fields-in weine feeding-for was-sent. Then
ôkara jë tarphal khât hëc, o-çë òpnë pëc bhâr-nö,
suine which husk eating were, than-from own belly should-be-filled,
asî o-kë man-më äi; o-më kachha kohë didâ nahië.
thës his mind-in came; him-to anything by-anone was-given not.
Phir o sad-par ân-kë bolo, 'more bâp-kì kitä rôjdrà-ku.
Then he sense-in having-come said, 'my father-of how-many servants-to
húrpur rott hai, aur mi bhûk-së marë. Më uth-kë òpnë
richly bread is, and I hunger-from die. I having-arisen own
láp-kë itë jàni aur ôbe kahë, 'ô dädä, më dëw-kë
father-of near way-go and to-him may-say, 'O father, by-me God-of
jëre aur tóre dëkhät páp karë. Abhir-së tóra pöryä kahë
near and thy in-sight sin was-done. Now-from thy son to-say
lâyak mi nahië. Ek mahindië sarikë mërë-ku rakh.'
worthy I not-am. One servant like me keep.'

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

Beldari.

Kôn ék duhrı̈ lăwdá hötă. Dunun-më-së lahanā
Some one-of they sons were. Both-in-from by-younger-one-

daus kahlā, 'daů, mărē hissā-kī jingi ma-kē dē,
father-to it-was-said, 'father, my share-of property me-to give.'

Mhanūn dañ-na jingi dunun-kē bāt di. Thora din-mē-
Therefore father-by property both-to dividing was-given. Few days-in-
lahanā āpli jingi le-kān dursė gāw-pē gēla. Yā-sē
small-one own property having-taken other village-to went. This-from

gēla āðna jingi chain-se udāi. Yē ritt-sē paia
own property merry-making-in was-wasted. This way-in money

chain-mē udāi, mang baďā kāl gira. Kāl girls
merry-making-in were-wasted, afterwards big famine fell. Famine fell

mæng pācihūl girls. Khă-kē mang jāy-kūn dursē-kē
then difficulty fell. Eating-for begging, having-gone another-of
gharē raħa. Wō-nē dukhar rākhē-kē ďhari. Wō-kē gharē
in-house remained. Him-by swine tending-for was-kept. His in-house

kōndā dukhar-kē khāēl u-ch ānē kōndā khāēl deēl tar ēt
husks swine-of ate that-even him-by husks ate gave them betty

bharē; wuhi 6-nē ďil nahi. Yē-lartā skh ughaď gayi,
filled; that-even him-to was-given not. This-for eggs opened went,
tabi ānē-kē kāh laga, ānē ānē dān-kē jōd mūnak paia
then himself-to to-say began, 'own father-of near servants money

ur-kan puri, mē yāsā upāst mārma. Āb jā-kan
ur-kăn puri, many to-martyred. Ah just-kan

being-do-spare was-filled, I this-like by-hunger die. Now having-gone

dañ-kē kahūs, "daů, dēw-kē tōra aprādē fār mē-nā karē.
father-to will-say, "father, God-of of-thee sin much me-by was-done.

Mē tōra lăwdā hoy-kān lēā-kē dayā nihē. Tē ānē ma-jūr
Mē tōra lăwdā hoy-kān lēā-kē dayā nihē. Tē ānē ma jūr
I thy son having-become taking-of mercy not. Thou own servant

sārkē ēgā."" Āse vichār kur-kēn ānē dān-kē attē
gō like consider."" So consideration made-having own father-of near

ālā. Wō ātā-ch dur-sē dān-nē dekha; wō-kē dayā āl,
ālā. Wō ātā-ch dur-sē dān-nē dekha; wō-kē dayā āl,
ename. He coming far-from father-by was-seen; him-to mercy come,
ename. He coming far-from father-by was-seen; him-to mercy come,

ānē lăwdā-kē garē-mē hāt ēli, wō-nē mukā ēli.

ovn son-of neck-on hands were-thrown, him-by kissen were-taken.

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

Kālōri kalhiān umāṭti, āla mū, bharī nāḍē nāḍiyē bharī
Black clouds overhanging, came rain, filled tanks small-tanks filled
Bhīm talāw.

Bhīm tank.

Sāāi sahīche jhūlī gōllī pānī talāw; sāāi sahī pūthit
Seven female-friends of in-company went winter tank; seven friends back
bhrūrī gōllī hēkāli rōli talāw.

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

Pachchhām diāshā-sū ājī āla.

Western direction from camel-rider came.

Bījō sahī ré kājāl tiḥiū, tūdē kā bringē
Other to-friends O calyrium forehead-ornaments, thy why dirty
bēsh?'

dress !'

'Bījē-jē sahābē gharē bāsē, mājō bāsē parāsē.'

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

'Gharā paṭak-dē tālā-mū, ā māchī lārē.'

'Pots throw tank-in, come of-me with.'

'Bālē-jālē tūdī āhān, māē nākhē sēmpī lūn.'

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

'Hak ōjī manī khūhē, māī sāsūjī 0-lō, "ā-ja māchī lār.'

'One camel-rider me-to said, my mother-in-law O, "come of-me with."'

'Kē sarīkā phūṭā, kē-chē unīār ?'

'What like beautiful, whose features ?'

'Māchē déwār sarīkā phūṭā, māchē mandal-chē unīār.'

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

'Bālē-jālē tūdī jīlī, tūdā, pariō-řā bhartār.'

'I-may-burn thy tongue, thy married husband.'

Vol. 51.
FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

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

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

(Sh[e] replied—)

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

(Then he said—)

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

(Sh[e] replied—)

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

(Sh[e] then returned home and said to her mother-in-law—)

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

(The mother-in-law asked—)

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

(Sh[e] replied—)

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

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

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

STATE JAISALMIR.

SPECIMEN II.

Har utk. mili-kē Bharat bhāū, Har ālā
Hari having-arisen having-embraced Bharata brother, Hari came
uth mili-kē.
having-arisen having-embraced.

Bāh pasārti mili duh bhāū, nēnā-nē rīg malakī
Arms having-extended embraced both brothers, eyes-in water rolling
ālā.
came.

'Kē nī re bhāū ban-khand-a-chyā bātā, kēri kēri hipat
'Sayst nōl O brother words-of tales, what what mishap
bhugatti ālā.'
having-suffered came.'

'Bān phal khādā pān bichhālā, ērī ērī hipat
'Forest fruits were-eaten leaves were-spread, such such mishap
bhugatti ālā.'
having-suffered came.'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

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

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

The Beldari of the Rambhurg State seems to be of a similar kind, though the Marālī element is somewhat stronger. It will be sufficient to print the beginning of a version of the Parable as illustration.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDÁRI.

Eké bá-né dén bête hilall. Vë-chi nënke bëte-né bá-né
One father-to two sons were. Them-of younger son-by father-to
kölë, 'jîngâni-ma mana bëtni da.' Dû-jamî bëtëyan bëtni
it-was-said, 'property-in me-to share give.' Two-persons sons-to share
kartî dîli. Kâ-ëk dânât nënke-në sagli jindgi hili
making were-given. Some days-in younger-one-by all property was

giti lambë mulkân gëlë. Ùda jàti manân wâtal jô-pâr
having-taken far country-to went. There going mind-to appeared as-far
dain këllë. Ùda jàti kâl padë. Vën kharçan nahi,
dinasting was-done. There going famine fell. Him-to to-spend was-not,
most chintam padîlë. Vë mulkâ-në ekë mëgsûn jàti vë mànsë
great anxiety fell. That country-in one man-to going that man-by
yên malkë giti vë mànsë-në õukrë rakhû-ña mållë. Vë
him appointing taking that man-by swine keeping-for was-sent. That
baktân vën õkukar khûnyû-ë-chô jìnns-jëku dëkhum nilal nahi

time-at him-to swine eaten hukû even was-not not.
ÖDKI.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malwa</td>
<td>550,106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>32,246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Provinces</td>
<td>9,071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajputana Agency</td>
<td>7,939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>10,977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>610,162</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The root meaning of the word Öd is uncertain. In the South it takes the form odda, and the Rev. F. Kittel compares Telugu odda, drudgery, oddavandha, tank diggers. As most Öds belong to the South, it is very probable that the word is originally Dravidian, and connected with the name of the Vadras.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzalpur</td>
<td>514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay Presidency</td>
<td>2,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutch</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panch Mahals</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thar and Parkar</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2,814</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branch</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bencos</td>
<td>715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaimur</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panah Mahale</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surat</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambay</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutch</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashinawar</td>
<td>929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahakantha</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palampur</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewa Kantha</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanach</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hylandabad</td>
<td>1,540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shikarpur</td>
<td>1,335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thar and Parkar</td>
<td>1,409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Sind Frontier</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalsepur</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>10,571</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The specimens of Odki printed below, and the Standard List of Words and Sentences on pp. 175ff. will give a good idea of the nature of the dialect. It will be seen that it is a mixed form of speech containing elements taken from different sources. As in the case of the Gipsy language of Europe these elements are important as showing the route by which the tribe must have wandered. They are, however, to a great extent so perspicuous that it is unnecessary to enter upon a detailed discussion. It will be sufficient to draw attention to some of the most important features. The Marathi element is particularly strong. Thus the neuter of strong bases ends in ə or ə as in Marathi; compare *talē*, rank; *kēlē*, it was said. Strong masculine bases end in ə, plural ə; thus, *ghōrē*, horse; *ghōrē*, horses. Note also the oblique bases in ə of weak and ə of strong masculine bases, and in the feminine bases; thus, *dēdā-mē*, in a country; *lērē-chē*, of a man; *māka-čē*, of the property. The termination ə in the past tense of verbs; thus, *gēlē*, went; *mēlē*, struck. Compare further the imperative plural in ə; thus, *āvē*, come; the infinitives in ə and ə; thus, *kēlē*, to say; *māru-čē*, to strike, and so forth. Such forms are found in all the specimens.

\[1\] No similar return is available for 1911.
and they gain in importance when we remember that they all hail from districts where Marathi is not a home tongue of the population.

Several of the usual terminations in Odi do not agree with Marathi but with Gujarati and Rajasthani. Such are the suffixes of the agent and of the dative, both of which are also found in Malvi; the ablative in *ti; the locative in *ma; forms such as *ka, 1 (compare Gujarati, Malvi and Marwari *ha); *rō, *sō and *kō, is; the conjunctive participle in *ta (Gujarati *ta) and so forth. The Gujarati element is strongest in Gujarati districts such as the Panch Mahals and Ahmedabad, but is also apparent in other districts.

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

ODKI.

DISTRICT PANCH MAHALS.

Ek guchhī mē dōn chhōyādē sale. Nē dhāyādē chhōyādē bāp-nē
One man-to two men score. And the-younger-by son-by father-to
kēlē kē, 'bāpē, pūńjiya bhūg amō-nē dē!' Nē onē
it-was-said that, 'father, property-of share me-too give.' And by-him
pūńji wahēchṭī dēī. Nē thōdēk dān pachhī dhāyādā
property having-divided was-given. And few days after the-younger
chhōyādē badhé gōtīnē dur dēhā-mā gēlā nē pādē
son all having-collected a-far country-into went and there
rang-hūg kartīnē pūńji pūńji uḍājī dēī,
pleasure-and-enjoyment having-made his-own property having-wasted was-given.
Nē onē bāhē kharnēthī nākkīlē tyār-pachhī ēr dēhā-mā
And by-him all having-expended was-thrown then-after that country-in
mēṭē dukāl pādā nē onē bājī taṅkāl pājāwā lāgī. Nē ēr
great famine fell and him-to great want to-fall began. And he
jātīnē ēr dēhā-chē wartāanī-mā-chē ēkā-chē pādē rēhā.
having-gone that country-of inhabitants-in-of one-of near remained.
Nē onē pōtā-chē kherā-mē bhūgōbānē chārle-sāru onē mēkāllā. Nē
And by-him his-own field-in swine grazing-for him was-sent. And
jō saṅgā bhūgā khātiē ēmā-thī pōtā-chē pēt bhārle-sāru ērī
which husks swine score-eating that-in-from his-own belly filling-for his
ichhāhā salt. Nē kēpt ēr onē dēlē manū. Nē ēr sawchē
which was. And by-anyone him-to was-given not. And he in-sense
hālā tyārē onē kēlē kē, 'māchē bā-chē kättā majūrō-nē
became then by-him it-was-said that, 'my father-of how-many servants-to
pushkāl bājā cēhā; pāp hē-ṭō bhūkhe mari-chē; hē-ṭō uṭṭhīnē
plenty bread is; but I indeed hunger-by dying-em. I having-arisen
māchē bāchē padre jatē, nē onē kahi kē, "hē bā,
my father-of near will-go, and him-to will-say that, "O father,
mē akāsā-mē nē tadhi āgāl pāp karle cēhā; nē hē-mē tam-chē
by-me heaven-in and of-the before sin done is; and this-in your
chhōyādē kēlē lāg hē nūthā; ma-nē tum-chē majūrō-mā-chē ēkā-chē
son to-be-called fit I not-am; me your servants-in-of one-of
jañ gañ." Nē ēr uṭṭhīnē pōtā-chē bā-chē pādē gēlā. Nē ēr
like count." And he having-arisen his-own father-of near went. And he
to ghané dur sala tyáre o-ché bá-o oné dekhla né o-né
yet very far was then his father-by him-to was-seen and him-to
diyá álli. Né o dochtiné o-chi kotti walahti padlá, né
compassion came. And he having-run his on-neck claying fell, and
o-né báchi kari. Né chhoydè-né o-né kóle ká, ‘bá,
him-to kisse was-done. And the-son-by him-to it-was-said that, ‘father,
mé akásti-me né tadhi ága] páp karié chhë; né hë-mé tam-chhá
by-me heaven-in and of-thee before sin done is; and this-in your
chhoydá kóle lag hë më-thá.’ Pan bá-o pótä-chhë
son so be-called fit I not-am.’ But the-father-by his-own
dá-si-né kóle ké, ‘awal óyá gól áwá né
servants-to it-was-said that, ‘good clothes having-taken come and
o-né andháwá, né o-ché háhla vëli ghálá, né pagá-mé
kin-to put-on, and his on-hand a-ring put, and feet-on
jhé andháwá. Né ápu khothine anand kari;
shoes put. And we having-eaten ammiment may-make;
káy-kë, à më-cha chhoydá martí gólá, né së pharti jyta
because, this my son having-died went, and he again alive
hála chhë; né gamati gólá, né o jaflá chhë. Né o
become is; and lost had-gone, and he found is.’ And they
anand karu láglé.
ammiment to-do began.

And o-chá mótshá chhoydá khétrá-mé sala. Né o wálá
And his elder son fields-in was. And he returning
ghári-chi pahé pahóchhá tyáre o-né nách né rang hámbhára.
house-of near reached then him-by dancing and music was-heard.
Né o-né chákra-mé-thi këi-né halawatíno puchhë ká, ‘káy
And him-by servants-in-from one-to having-called it-was-asked that, ‘what
hóya chhë?’ Né o-né chákra-né kóle ká, ‘tadhá
becoming is?’ And him-to the-servant-by it-was-said that, ‘thy
bháu álá chhë. Né tadhi bá-o ék hadi jáfat kari chhë,
brother come is. And thy father-by one grand feast made is,
káy-kë o oné khém-kušal-thi pushá málá chhë.’ Pan o-né
because he him-to in-good-condition back joined is.’ But him-to
ris chadli né mëhi álé-chi o-chi khuši né sala. Máté
anger rose and inside going-of his willingness not was. Therefore
o-ché há-o bahar áwtine o-né samjáwlá. Pan o-né
his father-by out having-come him remonstrated-with. But him-by
jáwb détá báp-né kóle ká, ‘dekh ané waras bë
reply while-giving father-to it-was-said that, ‘see so-many years I

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

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

1 Forbes, Rās Mālā, I. 1112.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

Sadrão Jēmhe Jāhmā-nē aśē kēlē kē, 'ēk danā-māy talē
Siddhrāō Jaisīngh by Jāsmā-to so it-vas-said that, 'one day-in tank
khanīnā pānyā-thā tāt-kt-rāt-māy talē bhar-dē,' Jāhmāē aśē kēlē
having-dug water-both one-night-in tank fill-give.' Jāsmā-by so it-was-said
kē, 'tījē dau bhar dāā.' Pachhē Jāhmā Kūwārkī pāhān
that, 'on-thīrd day fill will-give.' Afterwards Jāsmā Virgīn near
ghēl, hāth jōttē kargartē kē, 'bāī, hōy atal kāsī fū
twent, hands having-joined besought that, 'lady, this so great misery thou
mā-nē khowāī.' Kūwārkīē kēlē kē, 'hī āī, paṃ
e me cause-to-loose.' Virgīn-by it-was-said that, 'I shall-come, but
putē waitinā dēkhiē nāī.' Kūwārkīē dan ugtā tāī
towards having-turned please-look not.' Virgīn-by day opening tank
hār dēā. Pachhē Sadrāō Jāhmā pāhān ālā nē Jāhmā
filling was-given. Afterwards Siddhrāō Jāsmā near caīnē and to-Jāsmā
bhēgā hālā. Jāhmāē aśē kēlē kē, 'tū tadā māp-sar
joined become. Jāsmā-by thus it-was-said that, 'thou thy measure-following
putē wal.' Sadrāwē aśē kēlē kē, 'hī tadā kējā milēnā
back turn.' Siddhrāō-by thus it-was-said that, 'I thy way leave
nitē.' Tārē bāśē dhartē māhē-nē aśē kēlē kē, 'bō
not-am.' Then the-woman-by Earth Mother-to thus it-was-said that, 'O
mā, hī satī hōy, tū tī bhēgī māj ja.' Dhartē bhēgī
mother, I chaste am, then thou together joined go.' Earth together
halt. Tō Sadrāō rāē khēchē mādēlā. Pachhē Sadrāō bōlā
become. Then Siddhrāō ary to-raise began. Afterwards Siddhrāō said
kē, 'tū māchē bēn chēē.' Jāhmā bōlē kē, 'tadhā gamā māf
that, 'thou my sister is.' Jāsmā said that, 'thy sin forgiven
chēē; paṃ tadā wāsēlē nāī re.' Pachhē Jāhmā
is; but thy offspring not remains.' Afterwards Jāsmā
Khalikhōlwaē āwōtēnē badēō ēḏā-nē maṅī. Pachhē o
to-Khalikhōlwaō āwōtēnē hārdēō ēḏā-nē maṅī. Pachhē o
having-come all ēḏā-to was-joined. Afterwards that
hāl hūmē-kē hāth jētīnē aśē bōlē kē, 'mē tō māchē
woman sun-to hands having-joined so said that, 'by-me for-my-part mine
narōvēlē, paṃ māchē tachē āgilē jētnē rūp kō ēḏā-čhī dhūvē-nē
is-done-with, but my last on-finger as-much beauty any ēḏā-of girl-to
nā daā.'

not give.'
FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

1 A name of the river Sarawali, which is so called because its water is lost in the desert and does not join the Ocean.
2 A village near Jumla, where Jasmā's shrine is still worshipped by the Ods.
'Awa, bëa, Râm-Râm. Tamë kathë-thë awa sawa?'  
'Come, sit, Râm-Râm. You where-from come are?'

'Hë Chaprëyi-ti aë ëch.'  
'I Chaprëyi-from coming am.'

'Warsàt-më tamë ghaça hëran. hale sawa. Tamë sàrë  
'Rain-in you much troubled become are. You for'
sigri karë?  
'Thëpë war taphë to tamà-në
fire shall-I-make? Little time you-will-warm-yourselves then you-to
sukh havi. Tamë sàrë kai nasë karavë?'

'Sàcchë i poëpë kai khawë naite.'  
'Me-of this time anything to-eat not-is(wanted)?'

'Saw kai hale vigar chalë? Thëpë ghaça ju
Entirely anything eaten without om-it-do? Little much what
bhavë sa khawë.
May-please that eat.'

'I-më to ma-në tras lágli se. Fãñ pëwë  
'This-in indeed me-to thirst joined is. Water to-drink
dowà.'
give.'

'Tam-chë lugre thoçik wàr tirë. sukwa melë?'  
'Your clothes a-little time in-the-sun to-try may-I-put?'

'Bhale, melà.'  
'Well, put.'

'Tamë sàrë kai nasë karavë?'  
'You for what meat may-I-cause-to-be-made?'

'Më tamà-në kela see kë bhukh naî lagli.'  
'By-me you-to said is that hunger not is-got.'

'Thöçik khîchri në lâr khâtt gëwa.'  
'Little khîchri and bread eating take.'

'Tam-chë marji see ta hale, karaëwa.'  
'You-of wish is then well, let-it-be-prepared.'

'Tam-chë gharë badhë-y rûjî-khusi së?'  
'Your in-house all happy-glad are?'
'hadhē-y thīk sī, pān māchī dādi parma.
'All well are, but my grandmother the-day-before-yesterday
marti gōli.'
dying went.'
'Te-nē kāi halē?'
'Her-to what had-happened?'
'Chār dī, tāw āla.'
'Four days fever came.'
'Tam-chē khōtrā-mā mōl kīsēk halē sī?'
'Your field-in crops how became are?'
'Oū warsād jhājū-hā halā naitā, tē-thī jhājū-hā halē naitē.'
'This-year rain much became not, that-from much became not.'
'Tā dhagō-chē kītē mēnē dīlē?'
'These bullocks-of how-much money was-given?'
'Ma-nē sēmē chār sō kōrīā lēlā.'
'Me-to with-a-half four hundred kōris were-expended.'
'Tē dhagō tamē vēchā?'
'These bullocks you will-sell?'
'Pārē mēnē dūwā tō vēchēnē.'
'Enough money will-give then I-shall-sell.'
'Tamā-nē hē tīn sō kōrīā dīhē.'
'You-to I three hundred kōris may-give.'
'Tīn sō kōrīā-mā kāi vēchāy?'
'Three hundred kōris-in what can-they-be-sold?'
'Hē jāpē sē kē dhagō mōtē sī. Sū ḫirā kīmāt:
'I knowing am that bullocks old are. That so-much price
gāṇī sē.'
much is.'
'Tam-chē dhūi-chē vīwā kīsē mainē-mē kārā?'
'Your daughter-of marriage which mouth-in will-you-do?'
'Māchī. dādi-chē warsi warsi raigē tē wāsē
'My grandmother's anniversary over will-be that after-
kārī?'
'I-shall-do?'
'Aj-chī rāt am-chē gharē nujtī rēwā.'
'Today-of night our in-house sleeping remain.'
'Nā, māchē sīji Dharāṅg pōchnē sē.'
'No, mine to-night Dharāṅg coming is.'
'Pachhē-wari kē dī am-chē gharē āwjā.'
'Again some day our to-house come.'
Come and take a seat. Welcome. Whence are you coming?

I am coming from Chapuri.

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

I do not now want any food.

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

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

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

Yes, if you please.

What food shall I order to be prepared for you?

I have told you that I am not hungry.

Just take a little khesari and bread.

If that be your wish, get it prepared.

Are all well in your house?

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

What was the matter with her?

She had fever for four days.

How are the crops in your field?

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

What did you pay for these bullocks?

I paid four hundred and fifty köris.

Will you sell these bullocks?

I will if you give a good price.

I will pay three hundred köris.

How can they be sold for three hundred köris?

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

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

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

Rest in our house to-night.

No, I have to reach Dharang by sunset.

Come to our house some other day.

Very well. Adieu. I am off now.

Give my compliments to all in your house.
The dialect of the Ods of Hyderabad and of Thar and Parkar is said to be identical. The same is the case in Shikarpur, and it will be sufficient to print a short specimen, the deposition of a villager in a case of assault, as illustrating the speech of the Ods of all three districts. It will be seen that the influence of Sindhi, the prevailing language of the districts, is easily recognisable. Compare rati-jō, of the night; ghōr-kārāwā, house-doing, hawking; mājā, my, and so on. The Pañjabī termination of the dative wē has already been mentioned; compare khurī-nā, to the heel. An unpublished Standard List of Words and Sentences contains forms of an ū future, viz. mārū, I shall, thou wilt, he will, beat; plur. 1. mārū, 2. mārū, 3. mārū. Similarly we find tārū, you will warm yourself, in the specimen from the Cutcī State printed above. These forms seem to be comparable with the Mārwārī future. In this connexion I may also note the Rājasthānī negative particle kōnī, not (lit. kō-nī, not at all); compare kāhī uē-nā kō-śūnā-nī, anybody him-to not gave; kō-śēlā-nī, didst not give.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

OPKI.

Mai sâklie pari kahê. Mâjì nà obhê Hashâ. Mâjì bâ-ja
I oath on state. My name is Hashâ. My father-of
nà Thadâ. Mai Hindâ-dharam obhê, luhânâ obhê. Mâjì pûrliâ
name Thadâ. I Hindû am, luhânâ am. My profession
ghûr-karañu obhê. Mâjì umuri châlsai baras obhê. Mai Haidrâbâdi
knowing is. My age forty years is. I Haidrâbâdi
gàñ Haidrâbâdi taûlkê Haidrâbâdi jîlê bîhîlê. Mâjî sîryâdu
town Haidrâbâd in-taûqa Haidrâbâd in-district lie. My complaint
ebhê Wasanmalâ-par. Subbânê hekê baîjê râû-jo
is Wasanmal-on. Yesterday one when-struck night-of
bâh olde(-of-a-faqir)-in west. Home way on curds-seller-shop was.
Ú-kaddhû dûdhu ghêlê. Uthe jawâbudar âlâ; âlî siri mâjî
That-from curds were-taken. There accused came; come on my
sâjî khûrî-nû ðhûdà mûlî. Mai u-nû kahîlê, ‘kâ-nû
right heel-to stumbling was-struck. By-me him-to it-was-maid, ‘ichy
‘âdhà hula-hà?’ Jakâ-mâhê ma-nû lugâi aî dhû-pari gali
blind become-art?' This-after me-to wife and daughter-on abuses
dîhilîâ, thâshê olâr-tê larâ-kû âlâ. Mai darâ, nâtî-patâ
were-given, blow having-threatened fight-to come. I feared, far-off
hûlê. Òhû Nàrû Rîjhû vichhû nehhi-parlê. Tadhî jawâbêra
became. Òhû Nârû Rîjhê between come. Then accused-by
baai-kardî; ma-ta ma-nû mûrû-hâ. Jawâbêra-sû âgê
stop-was-made; otherwise me would-have-struck. Accused-with formerly
mâjî dushmanî koni.
my enmity not.
FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

Specimens of Oḍīki have also been received from Muzaffargarh, and a short popular tale from that district is printed below. It will be seen that in the main it agrees with the Oḍīki illustrated in the preceding pages. The cerebralisation of d in ḍō, two, etc., and forms such as mahā-kun, from me, point in the direction of Sindhi. There are also some Paṅjābī reminiscences such as raqē-nil, to the wife; ba-dā, of a father. On the whole, however, the Oḍīki of Muzaffargarh is of the same kind as in the Gujārāti districts,—a mixture of Marāṭhī and Gujārāti-Rājasthāni. The form ḍuttā, was, which does not occur in other specimens, is comparable to Marāṭhī bōtā.
Hék bâdshâh hutta. Ô-chê gharê öldâ kâi na hutta. Ô
One King was. His in-house offspring was not was. He
apût bâdshâhî ehrûr-lîli o hék rô màrgà âpar nît bèlâ. Fâkir
own kingdom having-left he one day went on going sat. Engir
having-turned smoke making sat. One day group fugirs-of come.
Ô-nû kehlê, 'ti itèhà màrgà-par kalî hàlî?' Bâdshâh
That-by it-was-said, 'then this song-on why sittest?' By-the-King
kehlê, 'tami bâlâ-kan kali na pûchba.' Fâkirê
it-was-said, 'you me-from anything not ask.' The-fugirs-by
kehlê, 'amî pûchhû.' Bâdshâh kehlê jo, 'mâchê gharê
it-was-said, 'we ask.' By-the-King it-was-said that, 'my in-house
oldâ kâi naû? ' Fâkirê kehlê, 'ô do tapâsê chhit.
offspring any not-is?' The-fugirs-by it-was-wid, 'two sweets break.
Hék áp khà, hék аппô rûndâ-ûn khûllâ. Vi-nû hék put paida
One self eat, one own wife-to cause-to-eat. Her-to one son borne
hôwû; mâthô-par chûd(38,555),(98,594)(102,552),(118,593)(121,549),(137,590) hûwû, chinchû-par târâ hûwû.
will-be; forefront-on moon will-be, little-fingers-on star will-be.'
Bâdshâh-chê gharê pût jâlã. Ô-chê gharê dô rûndâ hutûâ;
King-of in-house son was-borne. His in-ho we two wives were;
jisse möît hutti, vi-chê gharê pût jamû-palâ. Jissi dhûri rûnd
which elder was, her in-house son birth-got. Which younger wife
hutti, vi-nû bîhûrî-nû ' kehlê, 'ô bûr gütt de.'
was, her-by midwife-to it-was-said, 'this child killing give.'
Bîhûrî chhaj kôl-chê bhûrût-kê vi-chê gödhû mûhûlû geht. Bûr
Midwife's basket coat-of having-filled her-of near having-put went. Child
chattû-kê rûrî-par nák-ûn aû. Bâdshâh-nû
having-carried manuro-hoop-on having-thrown returned. King-to
kehlê, 'tâlîyâ rûndî kôlê jâlã.' Kuttî bhûhî
it-was-said, 'thy wife-by coats we-brught-forth.' Bitch standing
bâdshâh-chê hutti; bârû-nû chattî chhallî аппû bhûhûrî-mê
King-of was; child having-carried went own pit-in
nîtû nûkûlê. Hék dô sûl guarê. Ô bûr rûn läglû.
going was-thrown. One two years passed. That child to-ory began.
FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>11,781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces and Barar</td>
<td>5,283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baroda State</td>
<td>8,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad State</td>
<td>6,776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>1,192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>35,372</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It does not seem as if the Lâds generally have got a dialect of their own. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Lâdi was reported to be spoken by 500 individuals in the Ellichiopur District of Berar. A version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son has been forwarded as an illustration of this form of speech. The beginning of it, which follows, shows that the Lâdi of Ellichiopur is Eastern Râjasthâni, in most respects agreeing with Jaipuri.
Kōnī ēk mānuś-ka duī pṛōgā hōtā. U-kī māndhun laḥān pṛōgō
Some one man-to two sons were. Them-of midst-from small son
āplē bāp-kha kahiō, 'bāpā, jindgi-kō jō mārā wāṭō āwī, wō
own father-to said, 'father, property-of which my share will-come, that
dā.' Mag unē un-kha paisō hissō kari ṭākāō. Mag
give.' Then by-him them-to money share having-made was-thrown. Then
thādē diwās-na laḥān pṛōgō saglō paisō jāmā kari dūr dēs-ka
few days-in small son all money together having-made far country-to
gayō; ānī āplē dhatpānā-na rahāsan saglō paisō kharāb kari ṭākāō.
went; and own impudence-in living all money spoilt doing was-wasted.
Mag saglō paisō kharē karyā-war unē mulukh-ū̄ kāḷ padēyō. Urē
Then all money spent made-after that country-in famine fell. That
mulē u-kha phār adehān pāōt. Mag wō unē mulukh-ū̄ ēk mānuś-pās
for him-to much difficulty fell. Then he that country-in one man-near
rahan-kō gayō; un u-kha ḍukār charāwan-kha wāwar-mē pathāyāō. Mag
living-for went; by-him him wine feeding-for field-in was-sent. Then
ḍukār jē phātar khātō hōtō, u-kē-war u-kō pōt bhāram-kha u-kha
wine which hōktē eating was, that-on his belly filling-for him-to
wāṭāō, mag u-kha kōnī kāhī diyō nāhī. Mag hōs-mē
it-appeared, then him-to by-anybody anything was-given not. Then sense-in
āyīsan kahiō, 'mārē bāp-kha kīti naukar-kha pōt bhārisan
having-come said, 'my father-to how-many servants-to belly having-filled
rott bhētā-ehā, ānī mi upāśi marā-ehā,'
bread being-pot-is, and I hungering dying-am.'
SĀSI.

The Sāsīs are one of the best known criminal tribes. They commonly use the word bhāṭī (in the Panjāb) or bhāṭa (Sahāranpur) to denote themselves. I cannot suggest any etymology of this name, which is also used by other Gipsy tribes such as the Kōhātīs. The common denomination Sāsi is replaced by the longer form Sāsiyā in the United Provinces. It has been variously derived from Sanskrit śāsi, breathing, or from the base sra, to fall, to get loose. The former explanation does not give much sense, the latter would perhaps convey the meaning of a fallen, degraded caste, and etymologically sāsi might well be derived from an old participle sruṣa. It is certain that the Sāsīs are numerous in the Western districts of the United Provinces. Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot, and Gujrat. The total number returned at the last Census of 1911 was 32,481, distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area within which found</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Panjāb</td>
<td>20,990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi Division</td>
<td>3,957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jullundur Division</td>
<td>1,983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahore Division</td>
<td>14,574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawalpindi Division</td>
<td>2,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan Division</td>
<td>1,988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native States</td>
<td>3,083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Provinces</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>32,481</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is probable that many of these Sāsīs speak the language of their neighbours. Our information about the number of those who speak a separate dialect is very defective. This is partly due to the fact that there are in reality two different things which can be called the Sāsi dialect. In the first place we have a distinct vernacular, specimens of which have only been forwarded from the Panjāb. In the second place there is a criminal argot characterised by certain methods of disguising ordinary words so as to make them unintelligible to the uninitiated. Such methods can be applied to words taken from any dialect. Moreover, the returns from the Census of 1911 do not distinguish between the different Gipsy dialects. They seem, however, to show that many Sāsīs have been returned as speaking other dialects. Thus the total number returned for Gipsy languages from the Panjāb was only 5,640. The information collected for the purposes of this Survey, on the other hand, must in this case be used with considerable caution. It gives the
number of speakers in Ferozepur as 45,000, but only 369 Sasis were enumerated in the district at the Census of 1911. The details of this information are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Panjab</td>
<td>45,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferozepur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujrat</td>
<td>1,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sialkot</td>
<td>3,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54,650</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

AUTHORITIES—


Muhammad Abdul Ghafur.—A Complete Dictionary of the Terms used by Criminal Tribes in the Panjab; together with a short History of each Tribe and the Names and Places of Residence of individual Members. Lahore, 1878, pp. 20 and ff., pp. 40 and ff.


Kennedy, M.—Notes on Criminal Tribes in the Bombay Presidency with Appendices regarding some Foreign Criminals who occasionally visit the Presidency including Hints on the Detection of Counterfeit Coins. Bombay, 1908, pp. 345 and ff.

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

1 The preposition  taskId  refers us rather to the Skt. dialect of Rajasthâni than to Hindostani. We may also compare  kais, the preposition of the Delhi Maity. [G.A.G.]
common in the Prakrits, are treated differently in modern vernaculars. They are often retained and a preceding short vowel remains short in Pañjabí, while they are simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened in Hindostání and most Eastern languages. Compare Prakrit ekka, one, Pañjabí ikká, but Hindostání ikk; Prakrit pitthá, back, Pañjabí pitthā, but Hindostání pitth. The Sāsī of the Panjáb here marches with Pañjabí; compare êkki, one; edkkê, nose; êkthê, hand; pitth, back. In the United Provinces we usually find forms with simplified compounds and long vowels. In Saharanpur, however, we find forms such as mît, back; kanthá, ear; kek, eye, etc., which seem to show that the state of affairs is not quite the same as in Hindostání. The conditions in Sāsī do not therefore prove anything. More importance must be attached to the existence of a cerebral ī and a cerebral ū in Sāsī, for the use of those sounds is characteristic of western languages, such as Marathí, Gujaráti, Rājasthání and Pañjabí. Such cases of correspondence between Pañjabí and Sāsī are exactly what we would expect, considering where the stronghold of the Sāsī is situated. The use of an oblique form ending in ā of weak nouns, on the other hand, seems to show that there is in Sāsī an element, a substratum, which does not belong to the Panjab, but rather more to the south, where we approach the Rājasthání and Marathí areas.

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

Vowels are pronounced as in Pañjabí. Short vowels are sometimes so shortened as to be almost slurred. I have indicated this short pronunciation by means of the sign ~; thus, bhappá-mā, to the father. A short vowel before an old double consonant in monosyllabic words becomes half long, but usually remains short if new syllables are added; thus, ëkkh, eye; kómá, ear; bápp, father, but bhappá-mā, of a father. I have marked this semi-length by adding an accent above the vowel. The same accent is used with the sign of lengthening in forms such as étâ, coming; chugdí, to graze; êdêi, wishing. In that case it denotes a peculiar lengthening of a long vowel, which has no parallel in Pañjabí. A similar lengthening of an ë or ā occurs in forms such as bhieyá, done; diggá, given; hāvená, become, when the vowel is followed by a double ë or ā, respectively. The pronunciation of consonants is said to agree with Pañjabí. The principal point in which the two differ from Hindostání refers to aspirated letters in the beginning of syllables, the aspiration of such words being very guttural, almost like the Arabic ʾain. This rule applies to h, gh, jh, gh, dh, bh, ah and mh. Thus, hāvená, become, is almost ‘üwá; ghärá, horse, is almost ‘γêrâ, and so forth.

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

23440
nominate plural and to ə in the oblique plural. The common case suffixes are,—
dative ə; ablative əə; and genitive əə, feminine əə, plural əəə. The usual Hindo-
stani suffixes dative əə, ablative əə, genitive əə, ə, are used instead in the specimens
received from Gujrat, Gurdaspur and Sialkot, and in the United Provinces the inflexion
of nouns is the same as in Hindostani. According to Dr. Bailey the nominative, genitive,
and the case of the agent of əəə, father; əə, dog; and əəə, daughter, are as
follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular.</th>
<th>Plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>əəə</td>
<td>əəə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>əəə</td>
<td>əəə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>əəə</td>
<td>əəə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are apparently the regular forms in the dialect of the Sāhi of the Northern
Panjab. They are not, however, the only ones. Thus, a list of words received from
the Gujrat District contains forms such as əəə-əə-əə, to fathers, with the common
Panjabi genitive suffix.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>əə</td>
<td>əə</td>
<td>əə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>əə</td>
<td>əə</td>
<td>əə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.-Accusative</td>
<td>əə</td>
<td>əə</td>
<td>əə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>əə</td>
<td>əə</td>
<td>əə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>əə</td>
<td>əə</td>
<td>əə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The demonstrative pronouns are əə, this, oblique base əə, case of the agent singular
əə, plural əəəə; ə, əə, that, oblique base əə, case of the agent singular əə, plural əəə. There is
also a pronoun əəəə, the thing or subject under discussion, which is substi-
tuted for nouns in order to prevent a stranger from understanding what is meant.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>3.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. əə</td>
<td>2. əə</td>
<td>3. əə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The past tense is singular masc. əə, fem. əə; plural masc. əə, fem.
əə; or əə, fem. əə; plural masc. əə, fem. əə.
The verb substantive is largely used in the conjugation of ordinary verbs.

**Present Time.**—The old present is conjugated like the present tense of the verb substantive; thus, kaś māṛē, I may beat; bārē, he may enter; khākē, we may eat. The present tense is formed by adding the present of the verb substantive to the present participle; thus, ham māṛē hā, we are beating, we beat. Several compound tenses are used as a habitual present. Such are kaś māṛē hātā hai, I am being beaten; kaś māṛē karmā hai, I am doing beating; kaś māṛē rikā hai, I having beaten have remained.

**Past Time.**—The ordinary past tense is identical with the past participle passive; thus, kaś gāyā, I went; tām gāē, you went. The past tense of transitive verbs is a passive form, and the subject is put in the case of the agent; thus, hamē māriā, by us beaten, we beat. Similarly also mai mārīā thiygā (or sīygā), by me beaten was, I had beaten. Other forms of the past such as haś mārīā thiygā, I was beaten, are of course constructed actively.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. māṛēgā</td>
<td>1. māṛēgē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. māṛēgrā</td>
<td>2. māṛēgrē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. māṛēgā</td>
<td>3. māṛēgē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and māṛēgā, indeclinable for singular and plural.

Similar forms are found in Maṇḍealā, Saktē and Bilaspūrī. Compare Maṇḍealā mārēg or māṛēgā, I shall beat; Bilaspūrī māṛēggrē, I shall beat.

**Imperative.**—The imperative is formed as in Paṇjābī and Hindōstānī; thus, mārē, beat; māṛō, beat ye.

**Infinitive and Participles.**—The suffix of the infinitive is gā; thus, māṛgā, to beat. Compare Paṇjābī gā, nā, Hindōstānī nā, Sindhī nā. The present participle ends in tā as in Hindōstānī; thus, mārtā, beating. The past participle is generally formed as in Paṇjābī; thus, māriā, beaten; kohā, said; though Hindōstānī forms, such as gusā, gone, also occur. The conjunctive participle ends in ā, ā-kē; thus, jāi, having gone; māri-kē, having beaten. As in the suffix of the genitive the ē is often softened to ī, yē, having come; dēkē-gē, having seen.

**Passive Voice.**—Passive forms agree with Paṇjābī and Hindōstānī; thus, haś māriā jattā hai, I am beaten; haś māriā jattā thiygā (sīygā), I was beaten; haś māriā jāthāgā, I shall be beaten.

The two specimens which follow illustrate the ordinary dialect of the Sāis in Northern Paṇjāb. I owe them to the kindness of Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀŞI.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

SPECIMEN 1.

(Northern Panjab)

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

Ékki bandē-gē dō pūt thiyyē. Un bichēhā nīkē
One man-of two sons were. Them among by-the-little
bapā-gū kahā, 'bāpp, mālkiyā-gū jīhrā hissa man-nī
father-to it-was-said, 'father, property-of whatever part me-to
ātā hai, ma-nū de.' Un appā sārā māl mē-kō baṭi
coming is, me-to give.' By-him own all property them-to deciding
diyyā. Thōrē dinē-gū pīshhō nīkē mūnīgē sārā kujh
was-given. Few days-of after by-the-little boy all whatever
was-given. Few days-of after by-the-little boy all whatever
katthā kiyyā tē dūra-gē dēsā bichēh jāl rihā. Čēhē
together was-made and distance-of country in going stayed. There
sārā māl bhaiē kamē bichēh upāi dinā. Jād
all property evil works in causing-to-fly was-given. When
sārā khūch kari linā, us mālkhā bichēh bāra kāl pārā,
all spent making was-taken, that country in great famine fell,
tē ēh suṛū pārāhē laggā. Tad us mālkhā-gē ēkā ēdīmā-gē
and he narrow to-full began. Then that country-of one man-of
pās jāī appā. Un appā palto bichēh sār chungāā gharāā,
was, but anyone not giving was. Then sense in having-come
near going arrived. By-him own fields in pigs to-graze was-seen,
tē ēh chhāllā jīhrā sār khatte thiyyē appā pēṭ bharē-gū chātā
and he husks which pigs eating were own belly fill-to wishing
thīyyā, par kōi nāhī dētā thiyyā. Tad hōsā bichēh āigē
and he husks which pigs eating were own belly fill-to wishing
was, but anyone not giving was. Then sense in having-come
kahā laggā, 'mērē bappā pās kinnē majāṛē-gū bahut tūk
'father near he many to-many hired-labourers-to much food
to any began; 'my father near how-many hired-labourers to much food
hāi, tē naū bhukhā mārtā hai. Haṃ uttāge appā bappā pās
is, and I hungry dying am. I having-arisen own father near
jāṅgrā tē us-kō kahāṅgrā, 'bē bāpp, maṛi shamāntā-gā tē tērā gunāh
will-go and him-to will-koy, 'O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin
kiyyā, īw is jōgā maṛī ki bhi tērā pūt akhwāvē,
was-done, now this worthy not that again thy son may-call-myself,
ma-ní appé majure biechhā ekkī jīda banā.14" Tad uvehgē me-to own hired-labourers among one like make.15 Then having-arisen appé bappā pās tariā; te oh aje dūr hi thiyya ki us-kō own father near went; and he yet fur indeed was that him dekhīge us-kō bappā-gū tars ayā, te daurīge gal layā te having-seen his father-to pīty came, and having-run neck pressed and bāra chumīā. Puṭē us-kō kahīā ki, 'hē hāpp, maī much kissed. By-sun him-to it-was-said that, 'O father, by-me shamānā-gū te te rā gunāh kīyyā te iw hād is jōgī nāhī ki heaven-of and thy sin was-done and now I this worthy not that khu te rā pūt akhwāwē.' Bappē appē naukār-gū kahīā ki, again thy son may-be-called. By-father own servant-to it-was-said that, 'changā thō changi pushāk kadhā le-ōō te is-kō lāō, te five than fine raiment having-taken-out bring and him-to put-on, and is-kē haththā biechhē chhāp te pārā biechhē juttā, te pālē hūwā him-of hand on ring and feet on shoes, and rōared been wachchhā-gū le-āīgē halāl karō, ki khāhā te khushī calf having-brought killed made, that we-may-eat and merry manāwā; kū, mērā ēs pūt mari gayā thiyyā, iw jiwī we-may-make; wēy, my this son having-died gone was, wee come-to-life hai; gawān gayā thiyyā, iw lāhā parā, Tad oh khushi karā is; last gone was, now finding fall.' Then they merry to-make laggā.

bogan.

Us-kō bāra pūt paliā biechh thiyyā; jed gharā-gē nēko ayā, Him-of big son field in was; when house-of vicinity came, guṇā te nahānā-ga wāj aṇāi, te ēkkī naukārā thō pāchhīā ki, singing and dancing-of sound was-heard, and one servant from asked that, 'tē kōy hai?' Un us-kō kahīā ki, 'tērī dhātī ayā, tē this what is?' By-him him-to it-was-said that, 'thy brother come, and tērē bappē paliā hūwā wachchhā halāl kīyyā hūwā hai, is by-thy father reared been calf killed made been is, this wāstē ki rīdā-latī labhhā.' Un gūsē hōīgē on-account-of that safe-and-sound was-found. By-him angry hooing-become un chāhīā ki andar barā. Tad us-kē bappē bāhr not was-wished that inside may-go. Then him-of by-father outside aīgē us-kō manāyā. Un bappā-gū jāwāb dinā, having-come him-to it-was-peruaded. By-him father-to answer was-given, 'dākh innē warhē-gī haū tērī tāhī kartā hai, te kadhī tērē to so-many years-of I thy service doing am, and ever thy
hukmā-gē bār khilāf nahi turiā, par tuī kadhī ēkkī lōlā wī nahi
order-of against not went, but by-thee ever one kid even not
dīnā ki hāi appē yārē satthi khushi manāā; par jad tērā
was-given that I own friends with merry may-make; but when thy
dē pūt āya jīn tērā māl kanjīē bīchē udāyū, taf
this son came by-whom thy property harlots in was-wasted, by-thee
us-kē liyyā paliā hūwwā wachchā hālāli kiyyā.' Un
king-of for-the-sake reared been calf killed was-made.' By-him
us-kē kahā, 'he pūr, tuī sādā mērē pēs hāī; jō-kujjī merā
him-to it-was-said, 'O son, thou always my near ori; whatever mine
hai, sōi tērā hai. Par khushi manāē tē khush hōnā chāhīē
is, that-even thine is. But merry to-make and merry to-be wanted
thiyā; kū, tērā ēhāā mari gayā thiyāā, īw jiwiā
was; why, līy thy this brother having-died gone was, now come-to-life
hai; gawāū gayā thiyāā, īw labbā hāī.'
se; lost gone was, now found is.'
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SASI.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

SPECIMEN II.

(Dr. T. Graham Bailey.)

Northern Panjab.

Mharé dô pir lâge jâttâ thiyâ; âkkî gê
Our two saints going along going were; one village
mangî-gë gnâ; âkkî kajjâ pâsâ dûddh mangîâ; un
reg-ret went; one female-Jatt from milk was-asked; by-her
nâhî dînâ; uâ thârî gnâ, us-kâ dûddh lahû hîn
not was-given; they going went, her-of milk blood becoming
geâ. Un kajjâ dêkhiâ ki dûddh lahû hîn
went. By-that female-Jatt was-seen that milk blood becoming
geâ; uâ bhi magar dârî. Unâ kihâ, 'jâ
went; she then after ran. By-them it-was-said, 'go
bacheha, térâ dûddh usî tarah hîn jâgrâ.' Uh
little-one, thy milk that-very way becoming will-go.' She
gharé âî të dêkhiâ, të dûddh usî tarah hîn
home come and saw, and milk that-very way becoming
geâ thiyâ.
gone was.

Unî dô pirê âkk karâmât ki; âkkî
By-those-very two saints one miracle was-done; by-one
arkâ sâlâtth dôp̄h puṭṭî, bhi us-kô riddig e khiyâ,
elbow with ignus was-dug-up, then it having-cooked was-taken,
bhi up dôjî-gâ kahiâ ki, 'mâî puṭṭî, tân
then by-him other-to it-was-said that, 'by-me was-dug-up, thou
is-kô bhi sarâ-jît kar.' Bhi uâ bâlêkâ kaṭhîja kîyâ,
it again alive make.' Then by-him bones together were-made,
tê bâlîth phêrîga kahê lâggi, 'jâ bacheha, dârî
and hand having-covered to-say began, 'go little-one, running
jâ ;' bhi uâ dârî gâi tê sarâ-jît hîn gâyâ. Te
go ;' then it running went and alive becoming went. And
uâ dô pirê-gê nê Bhâlâd Bhagat tê Malâng thîyâ, tê
those two saints-of names Bhâlâd Bhagat and Malâng were, and
Bhâlâd Bhagat Malângâ-gâ mâmâ thîyâ.
Bhâlâd Bhagat Malâng-of mother's-brother was.
FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

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

SÅSIYÅ.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

Jănè-mô katyå bachyå pårê thê. Das rupå
Winter-in cows calves tending were. Ten rupees
chapwå-pè mågå thê. Ham-jur níkå náhå. Ham-kô
sub-inspector-by demanded were. Us-on were-found not. Us
pakar-kár Miråt pahêhå diyå. Wahå kaid
having-seized Meerat having-caused-to-reach were-given. There imprisoned
kar diyå. Barå hó gaë. Phir Súrtåpur-kô
making were-given. Acquitted becoming vacant. Then Sulta-npur-to
bhêj diyå. Súrtåpur-må char barns nathå. Súrtåpur-må
sending were-given. Sultanpur-in four years remained. Sultanpur-in
muñå aur råmbans kuiti thê. Hum-nå munśi-so yeh
muñå and aloë-fibres hammering were. Us-by Munshi-to this
kålå ki, 'hum-kô ek sëz arji, yahå-so likh do
was-said that, 'us-to one petition, here-from writing give
ki ham yå-së aur jagah basåë jáë.' Lårät-nå
that we here-from other place settled may-go.' Lord-by
yeh hukum diyå ki, 'yå-së níkå-ka bañ-må
this order was-given that, 'here-from having-gone-out forest-in
bañ-må jáë.' Ham bañ-må nå aur bañ-së ek
settled may-go.' We foreun-in came and forest-from one
måhinë-ki chhùtï la-kar appë bëtë-ko mînë-ko gaë.
month-of leave having-taken own son-to meeting-for went.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

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

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

The letters of a word are often transposed. Thus we find kābra instead of bakra, goat; khun, perhaps instead of mukh, face; chōmī, instead of mōchā, shoemaker; chhāmī instead of mōchā, a certain water-carrying ceste; tēp instead of pēt, belly; tēph instead of pīṭha, buck; bakat instead of batuk, duck, and so on.

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

k added before vowels. With a following a it becomes ku, kā, with a following a kā; thus, kūkhi, Panjahi akhi, eye; kōkkh, Panjahi akkh, eye; kandoor and akdar, inside; kugā, Panjahi aggā, in front of; kōṭṭā and āṭhā, flour; kōṣṭh-āṭh, eight; kōndā=ōmā, man; kōnā=ānmā, anna.

kā is also sometimes added before vowels; thus, khasā=assā, eighty; khāpar=āpar, above. More commonly, however, we find the syllable kha added before words
beginning with consonants; thus, khatia, three; khadand, tooth; khadas, ten; khanik, nose; khawala, nine; khapair, foot; khoma, by me; kharaj, Paid by me, pleased.

The additional syllable kha then often supersedes the initial syllable of the word; thus, khunai, an iron and wood instrument for digging, cf. Hinlatani, guna; khased, ten; khase, nine; khak nas, nose; khigalna, nikalna, to come out; khinn, twenty; khukt, mouth; khikhi, likhi, to write; khok, kath, hand.

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

ch only occurs as a substitute for b; thus, chatda = batana, to show; choti = bori, speech. It is, however, possible that it can be used instead of other labials. Thus, chah, water, may be for pani; compare Koli, chema. In Western Punjab, however, we find a similar word chhad, water.

chh is quite common; thus, chhakam = khan, ear; chhapair = pair, foot; chhabarai = barma, woman; chhabaita = bapta, father; chhabhuat = bhuta, brother; chhabhiin = bhin, sister. This chh often replaces the initial consonant; thus, chapti, chhopati and potti, son; chhakat = hatha, much; chhatt = hatth, a Sita man; chhakar = haker, outside; chhalk = halak, tomorrow; chhuth = thuth, door; chhatkai = nakhi, calf. In all these instances the original word begins with a labial, and Dr. Bailey restricts the change to such words as begin with b, and that is no doubt usually the case. In the materials received from Gurdaspur and Sialkot, however, we also find forms such as chhakaten, ear; chhangak = punah, sin; chhapar, house; chhaurat, woman; chhakanu, who? chhakya, what? chhaphat, ask, and so forth.

j and jh are used in the same way as ch and chh; thus, jude = hure, big; jhakh and chhukh = thuth, hungry.

gh is comparatively frequent; thus, ghagal = gal, neck; ghander = nered, near; ghabna = ban, sister; ghobaita = bapta, father; chhunali = nuh, country. In ghana, village, gh seems to have superseded an old g. D in dimna = dimna, to eat, is used in a similar way.

a is a common substitute for various sounds; thus, naali = hali, forty; nor = chori, thieft; nirmi = chiriyi, bird; nekla = chhekra, boy; nikaat = tikai, ticket; namb = tomba, a house-breaking instrument; nukkha = dekka, sea; naaj = paaj, five; narshu = pashu, read; naukh = poohka, ask; nair = pair, foot; nayn = pegg, turban; neph = pafi, belly; naho = baho, heap of grain; nati = laya, night; nakh = pandog, box; nabh = sakh, sakh; nait = ghahr, city; nuroj or nuroj = suroj, sun; naik = sith, with.

ah is often substituted for aspirated letters and for i; thus, ah = chh, six; nhog = chhogi, leave; nhutta = chhutta, gram; nhik = thik, right; nhonn = than, police station; nhola = tholu, brass vessel; nhibi = phitti, abuse; nhot = sat, seven; nhir = sir, head; nhikan = stikna, learn; nhis = saa, head, and so forth.

y does not seem to be much used in this way. I have found it in polda = shoda, to have sexual intercourse with, and perhaps in padi, fire; piri, oil, etc.
is often prefixed to words beginning with vowels, thus, bē̄ha = ē̄ha, this; bānc = in, now; bōthī = ē̄thi, there; bānur = var, and; bēk = ēk, one. Before consonants we find ē; thus, bogōlī, gram; bātī, rupee. In barāthī, stick, we have a double prefix bar. In other cases, b replaces an initial consonant; thus, bōrā = ēhrā, boy; bādī = ēādī, silver; bāndrā = ēndrā, lock; bīcār = jhīr, water-carrier; bānīthā = senāthā, male buffalo; bānd = sānd, house-breaking; bānī = sānī, gold; būnyārā = sānyārā, goldsmith; bīndū, Hindū, etc.

and r, finally, are often substituted for k, kh, respectively; thus, rāthī = kāthī, saddle; rāthā = kāthā, cut; rāg = kāl, famine; rājī = kānī, key; radā or rādārī = kālū, God; rōphā = khačā, angry; rōjmāt = khandmat, service; rājā = khet, field; rāj = khet, bed, and so forth.

It will be seen from the examples quoted that one and the same word often occurs in many variously disguised forms. Thus we find khaipār, chhaipār, mār and pār, foot; chhaibārā, dhaibārā, and bārā, father; bogōlī, nhōlī and kōlī, gram, and so on. There is not, so far as we can see, any principle according to which one or the other form is chosen. The use of different letters in order to make a word unrecognizable is, so far as can be ascertained, absolutely arbitrary, and it is impossible to detect any rules regulating the choice between them.

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

k in chukkā, to speak; cf. chōlī = bōlī, speech. A kk has apparently been inserted in the middle of a word in mikkīlā = mīlā, is being met with.

k is common after r in several pronominal forms; thus, mērgā, my; lērgī, thy; kērgā, which. It is further added after verbs such as kōhīnā = kāhānī, tell; raunā = raunā, remain; gāunā, to go; gāunā, went, cf. gāwā, went. It also occurs in several strata instances such as kādā, ever; kōgī, kā, anyone; chawg = khar, four; dhādā = dāhā, appeal; hukkā = kō, the command, and so forth.

th is added in nāfū = nā, name; dārthā = dār, far; nāllā = nāt, barber.
t occurs in forms such as bōptā, father; bhatā, brother; maktā, mother; and a double addition uthā is used in jāundā = jōs, barley.

p is added after vocalic bases; thus, dēphā, to give; lēpā, to take; hōpā, to become. Similarly nāhī, not. The use of an added b is more doubtful. I have noted lēbhā = lāghā, began; and in chāhrā = chāgrā, goat, b seems to have superseded g in the middle of a word.

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

More sporadic interchange of consonants can be observed in forms such as kumhālā = kumhār, potter; cf. neoltā = chālārā, boy; gani = gādā, ass, etc.

Abbreviated forms also occur; such are kōndā, the dark half of a month; khāyā = kōnā, to open; pāgg = pāgrī, turban.

The preceding examples will have shown that also the vowels are occasionally changed. Thus, a and ā become ē, o and ō, respectively, when a ē is prefixed; compare kugā, before; kōndā, man. When a ē is added a and ā often become au; thus, kauhā, to tell; gāngā, went; chawg, four. Compare also bhaatā, brother;
mother. In other instances an a-sound is changed to ē; thus, chāṅgāī=chaṅgā, good; bāṅghā=sorāī, male buffalo; lēṅbā=lāngā, begin; rēṅkānaī=rakīnā, place; rētī=koṭī, cat. I and u are sometimes interchanged; thus, būṅdā=bundā, carddrop; gypāī=ripāī, soldier; kharājā=rājā, pleased. An ē or ai may be changed to a or au; thus, khūntā=gaṅntā, pickaxe; waṅkāṅ=deṅkāṅ, see; ē is occasionally replaced by ae or ai; thus, bauṅā=soṅā, gold; amokā=chhākā, boy. Other instances of interchange are baleś=billā, cat; lēṅkī=leṅkī, wood; gādāw=gīdāw, jackal, and so forth. All such changes are apparently quite arbitrary. Note also double changes in words such as khadēmāgā=deṅgrā, will give; khunīīkā=pīṭhā, back; chalīkā=bīṁā, to speak; chhāṅgāī=pūnāb, sin; dhomkī=Kashmir; dhunalmān=Musalmān; jhūb=ūtth, camel, and so forth.

None of these changes affects the grammar of the dialect. The inflexional forms remain the same. The individual words alone are changed. Thus many of the pronouns appear in a new shape: compare khānā and mai, by me; khāmērā, khāmērā, mērga and mērā, my, and so on. The present tense of the verb substantive is hōpē, hōpē, hōpē, and so forth, or hōpē throughout; “I went” is gānghā or jāsīdā and so forth.

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

SÁSI.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

SPECIMEN I.

(With the kind permission of Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

Békki kódmiá-gé dhór böré thiyyé. Bun biechá khiké
One man-of two boys were. Them among by-the-little
bápté-gá kauhgiá ki, 'hé bápté, dhamálá-gá jihrgá khisas mérégá
father-to it-was-said that, 'O father, property-of what share mine
asra hopé, manf dépí nógr. Bun bun-kó khapá néhrgá
coming is, me-to giving leave.' By-him them-to own all
éhamál khabaál nodiá. Nóoré khrógr néchhé khiké böré néhrgá
property dividing was-left: Few days after by-little boy all
mál natthá küljégé khadur dhamulká biechá jàrgó ranhgiá,
property together having-made distant country in having-gone stayed,
te bothé nhargé naírén nhairén namí biechá khalá nodiá,
and there all piece evil works in expending left.
Jad nhargá nhareh kuhl liná, bus dhamulká biechá jadá
When all spent doing was-taken, that country in great
dhakal täviá. Bóh ehauhi táurá täviá. Tad bus dhamulká-gó
famine fell. He very narrow fell. Then that country-of
békki kódmiá-gé nás gaugá, bun bus-kó khaunjí naltí biechá tándé
one man-of near went, by-him him own fields in pigs
nhugané gholiá, tó bus kr kharjí thi bu táphrú-gó jihrgé
to-graze he-took sent, and him-of wish was those fodders which
thójé dimté thiyyé khapá níth nhiré; bus-kó kó nihr dépí
pigs eating wore own belly may-fall; him-to anyone not giving
thiyyá. Bhí náshá biechá asrígé kauhgiá lágá, 'mergó
tos. Then sense in having-gone to-say began, 'my
bépté-gó nás jadá khsüré-gó ehauhti timi hopé, te hin
father-of near many hired-labourers-to much food is, and I
ehuukká lugta hopé. Hau khaunjí bépté nás jarrángrá té
hungry dying am. I own father near will-go and
kauhggárá ki, 'hé bépté, mai namá-gá té jhrú jadá nasú
will-say that, 'O father, by-me leave-of and thy great sin
kūlā hōpē, bīwā ḫaŭ bīs khajōgā nahlī hōpē kī kōdmī manū tērgā
done ḫe, now I this worthy not am that men me thy
bōrā kauhē; ḫīmanū khajūrē āṅā ṛkhē ṭēd.
Bīh boy may-say; me hired-labourers like placing issues.

buthiṅē khapā ḫaptē nās gāṅa, tē bōh khajē khuṭār thīyyā,
having-arisen own father near went, and he yet far was,
ki bus-kō naukhiṅē bus-kē ḫaptē-gū ḫrahm aṛīā, tē bīṅṅīṅē
that him having-seen him-of father-to compassion came, and having-run
bus-kō dhangal layā tē chauhāt khachumā. Bōrē bus-kō
him-to neck was-pressed and much it-was-kissed. By-boy him-to
kauhēṅā kī, ‘bē ḫaptē, mai ḫhamūnā-gā tē tērgā maśā
it-was-said that, ‘O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin
kūlā, bīwā ḫis khajōgā nahlī hōpē kī bīhī tērgā bōrā
was-made, now this worthy not am that against thy boy
mauṅgē.’ Bāṅptē khapā khaukarē-gū khauṅgā kī, ‘nhaṅrē
may-remain.’ By-father own servants-to it-was-said that, ‘all
satīṅā chēṅnū ṛichē īn-gā tē bus-kō ḫhālāṅā, tē bus-kē khōthā-gū
than five clothes bring and this-of put-on, and this-of hand-to
nhāp tē nhaṅiṅ-gū paṅuṅī, tē tōṅē kāṅgālā-gū īn-gā ḥalāṅ
ring and feet-to shoes, and fat calf having-brought killed
kālō, kī dimā tē nūshī kūlā. Mēṅgā bēṅ bōrā
make, that we-may-eat and merry may-make. My this boy
lugī gāṅa thīyyā, bīwā khajīṅī ṭaṅwī; gawāṅ gāṅa thīyyā,
having-died gone was, now living fell; lost gone was,
bīw khalachhī ṭaṅwī; Bīh bōh nūshī kūlōṅ laggē.
now having-found fell.’ Then they merry to-make began.

Buskā jūṅā bōrā naiṅā bīchchh thīyyā. Jād khaṅlē sṛīṅā,
Him-of big boy field in was. When house-to came,
ḏhagumē tō khanaṇchē-gā khawāj nḥuṅā. Tād bēkēṅ
singing and dancing-of sound was-heard. Then one
khanaṇkariṅ-gū chulāṅgē mūṅhīṅā kī, ‘bēṅ kā ṛyā hōpē?’ Bus
servant-to having-called it-was-asked that, ‘this what is?’ By-him
bus-kō kauḥgā, ‘tērgā bhaṅtā aṛīā hōpē, tērgā bāṅtē tōṁā
him-to it-was-said, ‘thy brother come in, by-thy by-father fat
kāṅgāl halāl kūlā, khis nāṅṭē kī bōh chēṅnū
calf killed was-made, this on-account-of that he well
khalanā thwīṅā.’ Bōh kharṇįṅ hōpā tē bus-kī kharṇįṅ kundār
having-found felt.’ He angry became and him-of wish inside
jaṅṅē-gī nahlī thī. Bīh bus-kā bāṅptā chhar aṛīṅγē bus-kō
going-of not was. Then him-of father outside having-come him
khažė́jū kūlu nāngā. Buṅ bāptā-gū khwāb dōpā, 'mnukhī pleased to-make bēgān. By-him father-to answer was-given, 'seeing
lep, khrīnā narsē-gi tērī khaṭāhl kūltā hōpā, tō khadī tērā khākhā-
take, so-many years-of thy service doing ām, and ever thy saying
nāhī nōriā; tō tāi khadī bēk chāhāri nāhī dōpā, ki
not was-broken; and by-thee ever one goat not was-given, that
khappē' khōstē nāthi nūshī kūlē; jād tērā bēā bōrā asriā
own friends with merry may-make; when thy this boy come
jīn tērā dhamāl bōnjū. bichhā lāyā, tāi bus-kē
by-whom thy property horlots among was-spent, by-thee him-of
hiyyē tōmā kāngāi bulāl kūliā. Buṅ bus-kō kauhgiā,
for-the-sake fat calf killed was-made.' By-him him-to it-was-said,
'tāi nadā mērgā nās hōpā; jhāgā mērgā hōpā, tērā hōpā. Pāx
'thou always my side art; what mine is, thine is. But
naujā kūlu bēā tē nūsh hōpā chāhātā thīyyā; kyū, tērā bēā
merriments to-make and happy to-be proper wās; why, thy this
bhantā ingī guačā thīyyā, bīwkā jīwi (sāwī; gawān gaugā
brōther having-died gone wās, now living fell; lost gone
hiyyā, bīwkā khālhālī taωiā.'
sū, now finding fell.
(Dr. T. Graham Bailey.)

Gypsies a language.

Specimen II.

Mhargh dohr pîr nurâ jsartö thyâ. Bëkkâ nûdd
Our two saints going-along going were. One village

To-beg went. One female-jâft from milk was-asked.

Buñ mahâ dépoâ. Buh nurî gauâ, bus-ka khaddâdh

Buñ mahâ dépoâ. Buh nurî gauâ, bus-ka khaddâdh

Khalaâ hû hôpi gauâ. Buñ khejû nôkhû bhaî khaddâdh
Blood becoming went. By-that female-jâft it-was-seen that milk

Khalaâ hû hôpi gauâ. Buñ khejû nôkhû bhaî khaddâdh
Blood becoming went, she then after ran. By-them it-was-said,

'kara, jasar, tórgâ khaddâdh busi narâh hôpi jasengâ.' Buh khûnlâ
'Girl, go, thy milk that-every way becoming will-go.' She home

Assari tê nôkhû, tê khadâdh busi narâh hôpi gauâ thyâ, went and it-was-seen, and milk that-every way becoming gone was.

Buñ dhôr pîrê oâî bêkk karamât kuli. Bëkkî

Those-every two by-saints by-them one miracle was-done. By-one

ârkâ nôthâh ñôph mutû. Bhi bus-ka khrîddîgâ
eîbôw with ignaw war-dug-up. Then it having-cooked
dimâ. Bhi buñ rûsrê-gô kaubghû bhai, 'maî mutû,
it-was-eaten. Then by-him other-to it-was-said that, by-me war-dug-up,
tâî bis-kô bhi narâjit kül.' Bhi buñ kôjdû mutûthû
Then this again aice make.' Then by-him bones together

kûlî, tê kôsthâ nîrûgê kaubgûe lâggê, 'jasar khalsheca,
were-made, and hand having-caressed to-say began, 'go little-one,

biëgî jasar.' Bhi buñ biëgî gauâ tê narâjit hôpi

Biëgî jasar. Bhi buñ biëgî gauâ tê narâjit hôpi
running go.' Then it running went and alive becoming
gauâ. Tê buñ dhôrê pîr-gê nautûhê Bhalâd Bhagat tê

And those two saints-of names Bhalâd Bhagat and

Mhalâg thiyyâ, tê Bhalâd Bhagat Mhângâ-ga dhamâmâ thiyyâ.'

Mhalâg were, and Bhalâd Bhagat Mhalâg-of mother's-brother was.
**GIPSY LANGUAGES.**

**SĀSL.**

**CRIMINAL VARIATION.**

**SPECIMEN III.**

**DISTRICT GURDASPUR.**

Bēki mānkhē-tē dhōr chhabōhrē thē. Khikē-nē boppē-thūā
One man-to two sons were. Younger-by father-to
kangī pāi, 'b boppā, jō mērgī ālagālā aarti hai chhiāivy
it was said that, 'O father, which my share coming in dividing
de.' Jo kuchh thīā chhiāivy dinā. Thōrī dīhā pichhūā
give.' What ever was dividing was-given. Few days after
khikē chhabōhrē-nē mabh kuchh lépī-kē dūr dhamālkē-kō
younger son-by all whatever having-taken distant country-to
ehūpā gōgā. Bōthā jasri jāi raugīā; jērhā dhamāl
walked went. There having-gone having-gone stayed; what property
thūā, bō bothā dūnt īntā. Jāi mabh kuchh sharch kūτā
was, that there eating was-taken. When all whatever spent making
dépā, bus dhamālkē wiche chhant rāl tāūt gauā, hōr
war-given, that country in great famine falling went, and
chhākē āgūnē āgūā, ta bēki nārā khaṅlē jasri raugīā.
hungry to-die began, and one citizen in-house having-gone stayed.
Bus-kō ṭīyaḥ nāgē-nā nhējā. Bus-kō biyāhī maṭhāl thūā pāi
Him-to swine to-graze it-was-sent. Him-of this desire was that
'jō dhikkar ṭīyaḥ dimē bō ahikkar dim-kē nhēt nhar
'which hucks swine eat those hucks having eaten belly full
lēpīgā,' pai bus-kō kōt ēptā nāhī thīā. Nēr bus-nē nhurt
mār-dūkhē because him-to anyone giving not was. Then him-to seem
ārī gaṅgi baur kaṅgūṅē lēgā kī, 'mērgē boppā-kē khābāhūt khītē
coming went and to-say began that, 'my father-of much bread
mākhiē thā, haŭ chhākē āgūā āhī. Haŭ kūṭhī-kē āpē
being-eat was, I hungry dying om. I having-arisen own
bāptē-kē nūs jasūgā baur bus-kō kaṅgūgā pāi, 'ō bāptē, mai
father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that, 'O father, by-me
tērgā baur rhadhāt-kē chhāngāh kūīā, baur hi kholātē-kō nāhī	hy and God-of sin was-done, and this worthiness-of not
ki mungō tērgā chhabōhrā mānkhō kauṅgā. Mungō kuānpē rāmē
that we thy son men may-call. He von servant
khawleicha bēk khamjār chhanōwi lepp.'" I go kuānpē bappā
among one hired-labourer engaging take.'" Then own father
nīsās khaturī chulpī. Čh ajā dūrtī thāa, khabappā-kō khadēkhī-kē
near walking went. He yet far-off was, father-to having-son
khāmarīm āsā, baur ḍurkī-kō chhagā-kē nāthī lēpi lēpi baur
compassion came, and having-run neck-off with applying look and
khachumālā. Bōhrē-nē bus-kō kauṅgā, 'rē bāp, mai tērgā
kissed. Son-by him-to it-was-said, ' O father, by-me thy
ar rhadāt-kā dhagnāh kūlā. Is khalākī-kā khannaṅī khalāhī
and God-of sin was-done. This worthiness-of not-nor
tērgā bōhrā dhammannū kauṅgā.' Chhabappē kuānpē khanakrē-kō
thy son me they-may-call.' By-the-father von servant-to
kaugā pāi, 'koachchhi dahīṅā lēpi āsar baur bās-kē dāwā,
it-was-said that, 'good clothes taking come and this-on put-round,
baur khotī lāchēchī nāp chāngā kharkā dāwī dēpā, baur ham
and hand on ring on-feet shoes putting give, and we
khāmīṅē ar rhusi kūlā, pāi khamērā chhabōhrā lōgā
eating and merry let-make, that my son having-did
gangā, khaṅāri āwā; guachēgī gangā sān, khalīī thūwī āwā.' Bīl
went, alive fell; lost gone was, now found fell? Now
bōh rhusi kūnā leḡā,
they merry to-make began.

Jaālā chhabōhrā rhētā lāchēchī thā. Jaād khavālā nāsā āśā
Big boy field in was. When house near came
rochēma-kē khanačhēma-kē dhawāj ānūnī Khatnā khanakrē-kō
singing-of dancing-of sound was-heard. Then servant-to
chalēvī-kō nūchhiā, 'hī chhīā hōptī kauṅgā?' Bus-nē
having-called it-was-asked, 'this what becoming is?' Him-by
kaugā, 'tērgā bhāntā āsā, baur tērgē bappā-nē khitī dhammā pāt
it-was-said, 'thy brother came, and thy father-to font was-given that
khāṛā-jō khābhājā mīkhī āwā.' Bus-nē rēhāḥ hōpt-kō khanāhī
careful-sound being-not fell.' Him-by angry becoming not
khēchēhi pūi, 'kūndā jāsā.' Bus-kē bappā-nē chhāhār āsīke
wished that, 'inside I-note-go.' His father-to outside having-come
būk-kō chhamānāyā. Bus-nē bappā-kō khajāwāb dēpā āmā,
him-to was-entranced. Him-by father-to answer having-given was-given,
'khadēkhī, bitūnē nīsā tērgi rulīmat kūtā rīhā, baur khatāṛī
tī see, so-many years thy service doing remain, and thy
hukamga-kō kadeś khanahī makhopā. Pur khataī radi bēk
order ever not was-transgressed. But by-thee ever one
chhebrū-kā chhāunā khanahī dēpiā ki āpnē khadōstī nhāthī rhusī
she-got-of kid not was-given that own friends with merry
kūlā. Baur jud khaterā bīā chhabēhrā nariā khajis-nē khatērā
may-make. And when thy this son come whom-by thy
khamāl dhāchnā khawichch khadēwiā, khataī bus-kē khawāstē khlīṁ
property harlots among was-wasted, by-thee him-of for-the-sake feast
kūlī.' Bus-nē kaugā, 'bē chhabēhrē, khataū mērgē nhūs
was-made.' Him-by it-was-said, 'O son, thou my near
nhausāī hōpāi, baur jō khamērgā hai, só tērgā-i hai. Par
always art, and what mine it, that thine-also it. But
nhusi kālnī khachāhitī hōpāi, khakvū, ēh tērgā bhaūtā luggā
merry to-make proper is, why, this thy brother having-died
gaugā, khajivi taviā; dhaguchāi gaugā, baur lebhī i taviā.'
went, alive fell; lost went, and being-found fell.'
KOLHATI.

The Kolhati are a tribe of rope dancers and tumblers in Bombay, Berar and the Hyderabad State. They are said to take their name from kolhāt, the bamboo on which they perform. The corresponding Kanarese form of the name, however, is kolhatiga, which is a compound of kol-kol, a stick, a rod, and ojiga, a player. In the Bombay Presidency they are also called Dombari or Dounbhari, which word must have something to do with Dom, the name of another Gipsy tribe. According to Mr. Balfour they call themselves Bhaiti; compare bhaita, the name used by the Saisis to indicate a man of their tribe.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bombay Presidency</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bombay Town</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thana</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmednagar</td>
<td>588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khandesh</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasik</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poona</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sutar</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sholapur</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carried over</td>
<td>2,519</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 Bombay Gazetteer, xi, 1234.
2 Bombay Gazetteer, xx, 186.
3 Criminal Tribes, 867.
Specimens of a dialect called Kölhâți have been forwarded from Berar and also from the Chanda District of the Central Provinces. They all agree in so many particulars that we are justified in talking of a Kölhâți dialect, and there is no reason for supposing that the Kölhâṭis of the Bombay Presidency use a different form of speech. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Kölhâți was returned from the following districts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bombay Presidency—contd.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brought forward</td>
<td>2,310</td>
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<tr>
<td>Akalkot</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhor</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Satara Agency</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
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<td>Belgaum</td>
<td>409</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bijapur</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhavwar</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kukna</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolaba</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratnapur</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolhapur</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Maratha Country</td>
<td>473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savantwadi</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Bombay Presidency</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,081</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Berar—</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amravati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellichpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassej</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Berar</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hyderabad—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gilargah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nalaspar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirpur/Tandur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parshani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anmargbad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Hyderabad</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Grand Total**: **12,013**
A Kohlāti vocabulary has been published in the following work:


Mr. Balfour states that the names of the tribe are Bhatoor, Dooomur or Kollati.

Bhatoor is identical with the Sāsi word bhāttā, a Sāsi man.

The corresponding Kohlāti feminine bhāttāti means 'wife' and is identical with Sāsi bhātāgi, a Sāsi woman. It is tempting to infer a closer relationship between Kohlāti and Sāsi from this, and indeed, an examination of Kohlāti shows that it is a dialect of the same kind as Sāsi and connected forms of speech. With regard to phonology we may note the frequency with which consonants are doubled, while the preceding vowel often is long or half long; thus, ekha, one; vakki, keep; bhogga, house; raffi, bread; utthā, having arisen; gāḍāli, having taken out; sotta, seven; baddhā, were bound; ramma, ear; khunna, mouth; bhallā, much. Other phonetical features are of less significance. Such are the occasional change of ch to s in the Ellichpur specimens; compare khavē, spent; the change of f to y in Akoła, a common occurrence in the current Marathi of the district; compare rāy = kal, famine; muggē and muggē, on account of. The interchange of hard and soft sounds in words such as opā, from now; gādāli, having taken out, but kādē, draw, in the Akoła specimens may also prove of interest.

The inflexional system is mainly the same as in Pañjāhi-Sāsi. We may note the frequent ā-termination of the oblique form of masculine bases ending in ā or a consonant, and of feminines, an important point of agreement with Sāsi; compare khetā-mē, in the field; śrōpiyā-thā, near the accused; bhatāniyā-ne, by the wife. In Akoła we find the Gujarāti termination o in forms such as bāpā, fathers; bhoggo-mē-ō, from in the house; kuchārō-mē, in court.

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

With regard to pronouns we may note hā, I; hom, we, in Akoła. In Buldana, Ellichpur and Chanda, we find mē, mī, I; compare Marathi. In Ellichpur we also find the form mārō-kū, to me, which was also used in the Beldāri of the same neighbourhood. Note also forms such as jābū, them, in Akoła, which remind us of Bājasthāni.

The conjugation of verbs is mainly the same as in Pañjāhi and Sāsi. In the Akoła specimens forms such as kahēngā, said, are translated as past tenses. In the list of words, however, we find hōngā, I shall be; compare the Sāsi future suffix gra. The future of mārō, to beat, is stated to be mārāng throughout all persons and numbers in Akoła. In Ellichpur we find future forms such as jāṅgā, I shall go; bālēgā, I shall say.

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

KÖLHÄTI.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Yakki mankhâ-ku do chhôrê hure. Dônô-mê-kâ nhannâ hoppâ-ku
One man-to two sons were. Both-in-of younger father-to
bâlyâ, 'happa, jê jingî-kâ bâttî hai, o mê-rê-ku dê.' Majê
said, 'father, which property-of share is, that we-to give.' Then
un-mê jingî bâttî dî. Majê thoîgé dins-sê nhannâ
in-by property disdîling was-given. Then five days-after younger
chhûrâ sagal golâ kartî mulkâm-wâr gayâ. Aplê jingî
sou all together having-mode country-to went. Own property
mastiyê-si, mîrî dîi, kharî sari gai. Us mulkâm-mê
debanchery-in meeting was-given, spent all went. That country-in
baîj kâî padûyâ, us-sattî us-ku aîchhan paîyâ. Us waktê-kô us
haîg famine fell, that-for him-to distress fell. That time-at that
mulkâ-si yakki mankhâm-thânê nî râhyâ; unâ àpâm
country-of one man near having-gone stayed; him-by own
khâtâ-mê taángê charäwänê bhûjî diyâ. O tânîdê kôngê
field-in pigs to-told having-seat he-was-given. Those seine huska
khâtê thîyê, o khâtî pêî bharâm nisâ us-ku
eating were, those having-eaten belly should-be-filled thus him-to
bûtîyâ; us-ku kinê kâî diyâ nai. Majê o
fat-appeared; him-to by-anyone anything was-given not. Then he
suît-mê àisânê bâlyâ, 'mêrê hoppâ-kê sharâ-ku mankhâm-ku rûjî, pêî
sense-in having-come said, 'my father-of house-at men-to broad belly
bhartî rûjî; mî bhumkâ mûrtâ. Mî utthî mârê boppâ-kômë
filling is-got; I starving dîe. I having-arisen my father-near
jânôga, us-ku bâllâyâ, "ê hoppâ, bîndê-kê irud an têrê
will-go, him-to will-say, "O father, heaven-of against and of-those
agâ mî-nî pâp karyâ. Aâthnamâ-si mî têrê bêîxa saynê-kê liik
before me-by sin was-done. Now-from I thy sou saying-of worthy
nai. Aplê châkriyê-kê gâdiyê-wînî mêmê-ku rakha."' Majê utthî,
not. Own service-of labourer-like me keep."' Then arose,
usîî hoppâ-kômë gayâ.
having-arisen father-near went.

The few Kölhätis of Chanda use a similar form of speech. The usual past tense of
verbs, however, more closely agrees with Hindostâni; compare bôlâ, said; lagâ, began.
Other details will be ascertained from the version of a well-known tale which follows.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KOLHATI.

SPECIMEN II.

District Chanda.

Ekka ādmīya-kū dō nhanē laตกē thiya, ēk chhōrā an ēk chhōrī.

One man-to two small children were, one boy and one girl.

Chhōrī thiya, wō muwā-mē laตกā bāṅgā thiya, chhōrī aśā-ch thiya.

Boy was, he face-in very handsome was, girl common was.

Ekka dūn wō dū-jhanē chhōrē sinē-kē majik khālē thiya. Chhōrā

One day those two-people children glass-of near playing were. Boy

ehōriya-kū bōlā, 'āna, yē sinē-mē dīkā bhalā nikki kōn disti

girī-to saya, 'O, this glass-in we well good who is-appearing

ki.' Chhōrīya-kū wō nikkā nahi lāga. Us-kō samjhā

what.' Girī-to that good not appeared. Her-to it-was-thought

ki le-nē yē āplyā-kū hīnānē-kū bōlā. Pichhā unē

that this-by this herself lesser-for was-said. Afterwards her-by

bāpā-kē majik hūyyā-kē gārāhānē bōlē. Wō bōlē, 'bāpā,

father-of near brother-of complaints were-said. She said, 'father,

kōyē-nē khum dīkī khusē pānā, yē bāyā-kē kām; us-mē

glass-in face seeing satisfaction to-gel, this women-of work; that-in

ādmīya-nē man ghalnā nahi.' Bāpā-me, dū-jhanē-kō pētā-si pākādī

man-by mind to-be-put not.' Father-by both breast-to clasping

us-kō khusē kiyā. Wō bōlē, 'chhōrēnō, tum la decking na-kē.

her-to satisfaction was-made. He said, 'children, you fight not-should.

Ajjā-sī tum dū-jhanē-bhi dīnā-mā sinē-mē dekhtē ja.'

To-day-from you both-even day-in glass-in seeing go.'

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

Vol. xI.

I 2
The word kōyṇē-mē, in the glass, in the Chanda specimen, where a k has been added in front of the word aṁī-mē, reminds us of various methods of disguising words in Criminal Sāsi and similar argots.

The specimens received from Akola show that the Kōlāṭis know the use of an artificial language of the same kind. There are in the first place some peculiar words such as kōjī, woman; kōyṇā-pu; kōm, mouth, face; chēnā, water; fōma, head; sōnā, fall; tho, beat; fōća, rupee; fōkā, sit; dotā, eat; dēd, a Mahar (lit. a huge, burly, person); bhatāī, wife; hēfī, women, and so on. Common words are more over disguised in various ways, as in other argots.

A consonant is often prefixed or substituted for the initial. Gutturals are used in this way in words such as kajētā = beṭā, child; kōkka = adhā, cye; kōḥmī = ādēmā, man; kōhōt = ṛk, hand; kōhēt-āṭh, camel; khanākka = nāk, nose; khanjīk = nāk, near; khumbar = umar, age; khōm = harn, deer, and so forth. It should be noted that after k, k, an a-sound is often replaced by an a-sound, just as is the case in Sāsi.

As in Sāsi and similar argots a palatal is often used as a substitute for a labial. Thus, chālā = baṭā, big; chhutā = bhūt, devil; (ka)jētā = beṭā, boy; jōkōt = bakht, much.

Th and dh are prefixed in words such as ṭhamā, property; ṭhamarā, to die; dhōk, a dog.

Of dentals we find ṭh in thēr, three, and dh in dōr, two. Moreover n is a common substitute; thus, nāmā = chāḍ, moon; nhāv = chār, four; nōr = chōr, thief; nēt = āṭ, caste; ṭōn = jīth, tongue; ṭēṭā = ṛṭ, tooth; nūrā = ānūrā, other; nēt = pēṭ, belly; nāk = pāk, five; nōkka = bōkka, goat; nīṭē = liṭē, for the sake of. This n is sometimes aspirated, when it has been substituted for an aspirate or s; thus, nōt = khē, field; nōt = gōjā, tree; nāmā = sōmā, before; nūrīyā = suryā, sun.

R is prefixed in words such as bēk, one; hrīs, him; bēthē, suffix, from here. It replaces an old initial in words such as bōrā = chōrā, boy; bōmāgar = dhamgar, shepherd; bōnā = sōnā, gold.

R is apparently only used instead of an initial guttural; thus, riś-kā, whose? ṛētā, how much? rānā = kān, car; rāg = gāy, cow; rāc = gāc, village; rūp = khō, well; rōdā = gōdā, horse; rūdhā = ṛdhā, put.

Sometimes also words are disguised by means of additions at the end. Thus k̥ has been added in gōk̥ē, went; rōghā, stayed: a palatal has been suffixed in bōnā, sister; nūncī, small; nūncī, name; hōncī, is, etc. Other additions are tā in bōptā, father; bhāntā, brother; p in dēppā, give; lēp, take; r in dōr, two; v in ṭōcā, comes; s and sar in jāsā, go; āsā, comes, and so forth.

Further details will be ascertained by studying the specimens which follow. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable; the second is the deposition of a witness. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.
[No. 24.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

CRIMINAL KÓLHÁTÍ.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT AKOLA.

Kúí bék kódlú-kó dhño bóré hóche. Bus-ñá-ká nháñhá
Some one man-to two sons were. Then-in-of younger
bórá hoppá-ku kahángda, 'boppá, yó mérá thamáá-ká náttá mu-ku
son father-to said, 'father, this my property-of share me-to
ásarú, wó mó-ku déppó.' Jabó bus-né bún-kó nhampat nááki
comes, that me-to give. Then him-by them-to property dividing
déppó. Jabó nhóðé díná-sí nhamá bórá sab namá
was-given. Then few days-from small son all together
kariná dár nésá-mé góghá, aní wóthá khudádepaná-sí
having-made far country-in went, and there riotousness-with
lyá ahi kháplá nhampat khudá déppá. Jabó bus-ñé
was-taken and own property having-caused was-given. Then him-by
sab rharché-par bus mukhá-mé chañá ráy táwyá, bus-muyë
all spent-after that country-in big famine fell, that-on-account-of
bus-kú khudéchan tává. Jad ó bus nésá-mé-ká bekká rarnák-sí-ké
him-to difficulty fell. Then he that country-in-of one man-of
knáajík jálk róghyá. Bin-ñé bus-kú kháplá nhétá-mé nhúr
near having-gone stayed. Him-by him own field-in wine
naránwé natháyá. Jad sûr jó naphpal khútá thiyá bus-par
to feed was-set. Then wine which huaks eating were those-on
kháplá pet bharná éáa bus-ká nilá-mé áyá; ahhin
own belly should-be-filled thus his heart-in came; and
kin-né bus-kú káhi dëppá náli. Jad ó nhudí-par
anybody-by him-to anything was-given not. Then he sense-on
aíknáli kahéngda, 'méré hoppá-ké ìthé ríték nhálídá-ká
having-come said, 'my father-of with how-many servant-s-to
nhar-páí rétti miltí, áhhin hú bhúká-sí thamartá.'
holly-full bread to-got, and I hunger-from am-dying.
Utthá kháplá hoppá-ké bang jángda va bus-ké këhé, 'nó
Having-arisen own father-of near went and him-to said, 'O
hápté, mé-né néwá-ké khírdí va téré nhámmé náá karyá
father, mé-by God-of against and of-these before sin done
ī. Now—from thy son saying—of I worthy not.

Narantu happā-nē khāplē nakrā-ku kahyā, 'śāhut rapḍā
But fōther-by own servant—to ili-was—said, 'good cloth
lū bus—ku rhallō; ākhīn bus—kē kōhōtā—mē kāṅgōṭī wō
having—taken him—to put; and his hand—on ring and
gūḍā—mē jōdvē rhallō. Jab āpun khad nēn karaṅg.
foot—on shoes put. Then we having—eaten merry shall—make.
Kāran yō mērā chhōrā mari gaya thiyā, ā phiriknāī
Because this my son having—died gone was, he again
jiwā huwa; wō jattā rhiyā thiyā, ā mīlya.' Jab
living became; he lost remaining was, he was—found.' Then
ō harikh kārī rihē
they merriment making were.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

CRIMINAL KOLHATI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT AKOLA.

Jānu wala Hari, nāt Kolhāti, khumbar baras tis, basti
Jānu son-of Hari, caste Kolhāti, age years thirty, residence
Kāndi, nēwā-ki án. Li kāhetā kē ājmās, pandhrā dīn hu
Kōndi. God-of oath having-taken I-say that nearly fifteen days became
hōngē, rōj sūkharwār dīn mū ḥū ān bhatānī ān dhōr chhōre
may-be, day Friday day at-night I and wife and two children
īttē khōggē-mē suktē thī. Jāb dhōr pehērā-ke rāū-ke
so-many house-in sleeping were. Then two watch-of night-of
sumbārā-mē mēre bhatānīyā-ṇa mu-ku jāgā karyā ākhin kiē
approximation-in my wife-by me awoken was-made and saying
rīhi kē, 'khōggē-mē bhūngē bājī rihpe, ākhin kōdī-kē chāhāhy
shē was that, 'house-in pots sounding are, and man-of noise
āwē ḥē, jāb ṛē.' Bus-paṛ-sē ḏū ṛēthē ākhin bhītī-kē bēng
coming is, then rēcē.' That-on-from I rose and wall-of near
it-see-seen. Then hole me-to was-seen. That-on-from me-to certainly
wātyā kē kōl-to-hī khōggā phōjī mahāy ghūyā īē
it-appeared that somebody house having-broken inside entered is.
Khōggā-mō dīwā mātē thīyā. Mēre bhūchhāwān-tānhē angār-pēṭī thā
House-in lamp not was. My bed-nader match-box was.
Mā-nō lāṭēch gāddē ēa-bū-ko pēṭā. Īttē-mē yō ārōpi
Me-by at-once having-taken-out it was-lighted. This-much-in this accused
bhītī-kē pādēl bhōkā-thōk ājī-riyā. Bus-paṛ mēri nājar gāyē-harōbar
wall-of made hole-near going-was. That-on my sight gone-immediately
mā-nē ēa-bū-ku pākadyā, ākhī ēa-bū-kē kōhāt pākadyā. Ēa-bū kēhāngā
me-by him-to was-seized, and him-of hand was-seized. Him-to I-said
kē, 'arē nōrī, kaṭṭē ḍhālīyā?' Bus-paṛ-sē ēa-bū-ki ān mēri
that, 'O thief, where moved?' That-on-from him-of and of-me
jāmbām jōmbām khub hūi, wō mē-nē khōggō-mē-sī kālā karyā,
struggling much became, and me-by house-in-from noise was-made.
Bus-par-si khoggé-kē séjārĩ-lok Sitarām wō Ḥṭōbā ēːsē āyē. That-on-from house-of neighbour Sitarām and Ḥṭōbā these came.

Ittē-mē mēre bhātāniya-nē diwā lagaya, ākhin khoggé-kē māhāy-kī This-much-in my wife-by lamp was-lighted, and house-inside-of sakknyi gājēhī, wō uprē jō isam liklyē vē māhāy chains were-taken-off, and above which persons were-written those inside āyē. Jab mu-ku bhāllā jōr āyā; jab is ārōpiyā thō came. Then me-to much strength came; then this accused-near ādekhē, to pēch khanna nikeyē. Vē khanna thērā tire it-was-seen, then five bodices came-out. Those bodices three rupees kimmā-kē hē. Vē mēre hē, bhātāniya-kē gathōdē-mē thīyē. O worth-of are. They mine are, wife-of cloth-bundle-ins were. That gathōdā chakkīyā-thōkē utrāniyā-thō thīyā. Is-kē swāi nusā bundle grinding-stone-near-of jar-pile-near was. This-of excepting other māl guyā nāhlī. Ham-nē thērā-nē bus-kē kohōt haddē, ākhin property went not. Us-by three-by him-of hands were-bound, and lagech patēlā-kē bāng līči guyō, wō hū hākikat patēlā-kō at-once Patēl-of near having-taken sect, and happened account Patēl-to kāhlī. Bus-par-si patēlā-nē chaukidāra-kē wō ḍhejā-kē tabē-mē was-told. That-on-from Patēl-by watchman-of and mahār-of custody-in ārōpi-kē diyā, ākhin subērē-kē pēhēr pōlis thēssan Bārī-Tākīya-kē the-accused-to was-given, and morning-of time police station Bārī-Tākī-to pāṭhāyā. Ārōpi kis rāw-kē hē, bus-kē nāvchhā kyā hē, yō āwō-naent. The-accused which village-of is, his name what is, this mu-ku mālum nāhī, kāran-kē ē hamārē rāwā-kē nāhī. Diwā lagāwme-kē me-to known not, because he our village-of not. Lamp lighting-of nihe mē-nē aṅgār-pēṭi-kē kāḍī ḍōhī. Ittē-mē ē ārōpi in-order me-by match-box-of stick was-rubbed. This-much-in that accused bhōkkā-kē khanajik dikhāna. Bus-muḍē mu-ku diwā lagāwta hole-of near appeared. That-on-account-of me-to lamp being-lighted āyā nāhī. Bhītī-kē pāḍāl bhōkkā-mē-sē kōmā-kē aḍeheṭ-mō-sē jāna came not. Wall-of broken hole-in-from man-to difficulty-in-from to-go āwā awta. Kachēṛū-mē huwā khīda jīs khīḍē-sē bhīṭ-kē bhōk to-come comes. Court-in become nail which nail-by wall-to hole pāḍīyā, ē mu-ku bhōkkā-kē naṅkā-kē nāwāniyā-mē mīlyā, near-split; that me-to hole-of near-of bathroom-in was-found.
FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

The name Gărôdi or Gărôli is derived from gărōda, a snake-charmer. I have no information as to the number of Gărôdis in Belgaum.

Two specimens and a list of Standard Words and Sentences have been received from Belgaum as illustrating the dialect of the Gărôdis. It is a rather inconsistent form of speech, and it seems probable that several of the forms registered in the list are incorrect. Thus the future ingāvenāgo, shall beat, is stated to be used in both numbers. In the specimens, however, we find ṛṇmāgo, let us become. This latter form most closely agrees with Eastern Râjâstânil. On the whole it will be seen that Gărôdi is based on a mixture of Hindostâni, Râjâstâni and Marathi. Thus the nominative of strong masculine bases ends in ē in the singular as in Râjâstâni and Gujarâti, though we also find rāmā, goat, as in Hindostâni. The plural and the oblique base end in ō as in Hindostâni; compare lāti (but also lātō), sons; básucē-kā, a father. The genitive ends in kō as in Râjâstâni. Before an inflected masculine noun we also find kā. In the periphrastic present we find lōgā kē, I am dying, as in Mâvâri, Mâli, and Mêwâri. The past tense of the verb substantive is chēō as in Jâjûri; Marâthi forms are mé, I; tārō, a child; the common emphatic ch, and so on. In addition to all these elements there is also an admixture of Dravidian. It is seen in some words such as kōgā, here; nōgā, there; nirmā, water; nānd, house, village, etc., in the frequent use of adverbial and relative participles such as kāgūtā, when coming; kāgūlādē, coming; bētō, eaten, and so forth.

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

Like other Gipsy tribes the Gărôdis try to make their speech unintelligible by using strange words or else by disguising ordinary words in various ways. Some of the unusual words found in the specimens are aēlē, whip; bēt, cat; bōgā, gold; chiam, good; chenō, name; āhunukhē, belly; āhionē, slave; āhurē, iron; āhūyī, property; āhulēta, harlot; āhāmē, midnight; āhōngī, a bulbous root; gōndō, hand; gōndō, foot; gōhukū, swine; jachē, diagnose; kājā, man; kānēche, eye (cf. Tamil kāpa); khūnūdā, mouth; kāvē, bull; kāptē, aliment; lōgī, die; lōgī, heat; mālā, garden; minal, run, loose; nānd, house, village; nāthkā, wife; nirmā, water; panēchē, back (cf. 4 Vol. xii. pp. 224 & 4.)
Kanarese boma); tubél, health; top, fall; tāk, say; tōchā, head (cf. Kanarese tālē); thīg, sit; voōd, give, and so on.

Ordinary words are sometimes disguised by means of a simple transposition of the letters; thus, ṭabō, big; and perhaps top, fall. Occasionally we find aspiration or dissipation of consonants; thus, ghūgilē, they went; thailānū, having taken; nākyō, threw.

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

Ch is, as in many similar argots, used instead of h in words such as chulōna, to call; chōle, word, state. Note chōrānd, bind. In jītāi, cat, j has been used in a similar way, cf. bīkādi. Dh is a more common substitute; compare dghēchādi, behind; dghēkāyīl=thūkē, hunger; dghēsākāwā, having gone; dghēppī, shoe, sandal; dghēpār, afternoon (cf. dō pōkār), and so on. A t has been substituted for a p in jikōf, seize. The initial dh in ghamātō, belly; ḍhikū, slave, is probably of the same kind. The syllable tur in turēlē, hair, is apparently also an addition made in order to disguise the word, or else it may be a disguised sir, head. Other consonants used in a similar way are n in nēnāy-kā, to the fields; t in tōdō, clothes; and, cockney way, h in hōgél, come; hōsūf, camel.

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

k in bhōkā, brother; and y in bōngā, gold; compare, however, Kanarese baṅgāra; 
ch in kānēchā, eye; ānēchā, ear; chandāchā, moon; bhānechā, sister; nbanchā, small, etc.;

f in ghoṛtō, horse; t in khagāfī, before; kōmā, mouth; dājū, tooth; bhēkā, brother, etc.;

t in dghēkāyil, hunger;

p in rhapsēgō, was; kāpē, am not;

m in ek-nē, one; dū-nē, two; kītu, how many? bhūtu, devil; dēmō, god; tōjē, I broke; thūdē, few; karmē, do; sumet-kā, having heard, etc.

l in kōrēlō, did; karmē, do; ghōlē, put; ghōgilē, went; chalē, went; jagāyilo, wakēl; dghēlō, go; bōtāl-kā, dividing; rakhēlē, keep; samēl-hāgilo, hearing; came, was heard; sumet-kā, having heard; hāgīlō, came; dūmā, two, and so forth. Similarly we find l in words such as nēchān, dancing; mōkē, relief.

Finally we find s added in kharesā, ass.

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

GARÖPI.

SPECIMEN I.

District Belgum.

Ekmů kāja-kū dulūmah lawde chhō. Yē-kē mhaiyā nhanchō lawdō
One man-to two sons were. Thēm-of among younger son
āplyō bhāwutē-kā tōkyō, "bhāwute, tērō dhāyti-mā-sī mā-kū hāyilānē
own father-to said, "father, thy property-in-from me-to coming
hāṭō ma-kū wala.' Bhāwutō yē-kē mhaiyā āplyō dhāyti hātal-kā
share me-to give.' Father them-of among own property dividing
wala: Nhanchō lawdō āplyō hāṭō hail-kanā dūr mulūk-kū
gane. Younger son own share having-taken far country-to
dgāil-kanā bharkum din hoyilē-nā, o-mā-ch wō dund hō-kanā
having-gone many days become-not, that-in he riotous having-become
āplyō dhāyti sah ghalā nākyō. Ō hē karēlō wā
own property all throwing was-lost. He so doing that
mulūk-ma dabi dghāyinjī tāp-kā dūr kū wanwās hāyilē-yō. Ō
country-in big famine having-fallen him-to poverty become. He
wā dēs-kā ekmū khāmē kan tēskī rhapsāyō; ē khāmē
that country-of one man near in-service remained; that man
ō-kū ghuruknā chhānē-kū nūtā-kū lagā-dhāilyō. Ḫōgā dzhukāyit-sī
him swine feeding-for fields-to was-sent. There hunger-from
kalmāl hoyil-kan ghuruknā bētēū bhumā bī bēt-kō
exhausted having-become swine eaten husks even having-eaten
dhamūkā bharē-ehhō, lēbhā o-kū koyi-kan-si kūjī-ch mīlē-hē-nā,
belly filling-was, but him-to anybody-from anything-even was-got-not.
Aīsē thudmē-din ghyilē, āplyō dghichāh chōnā yād hō-kanā
So few days passed, own former state memory having-become
ō āplyō man-ma tōkyō, "mērē bhāwutē-kanā chhōtō kītūnā
he own mind-in said, "my father-near being how-many
tēskī tēlā-kā dhamūkā bharē-ēchhō jāstā hēnī mil-chhī; mū-to-
servants-to bellies having-filled more food got-is; I-on-the-other-
bi ēngā dzhukāyit-sī lagā-hē. Mi khit-kō-nā mērē bhāwute-kanā
hand here hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen my father-near
dghāyil-kē tōkyō, "bhāwute, mū dēmā-kā pāp bhāwute-kā pāp
having-gone said, "father, by-me God-of sin father-of sin
chirwänd-kä liyö. Më téé ländök kar-kö tókñê-kä chisam-

havîng-tied was-taken. I thy son having-said saying-for fit

happe-nä. Ma-kä téé-känä ekmä naukar-wäni rakhe-lä. "Ask

au-not. Më qf-thë-nërr one servant-like keep." So

tök-känä unga-si khut-känä ápîyô bhâwûç-känä häylyô-to bhâwûto

havîng-said there-from having-arisen own father-near come-when father

där-si ô-kä cherch-känä mayä häyil-känä nîmal-kä dghâyil-känä

for-from him having-seen pity having-come having-run having-gone

tikad-känä chumëi wollyô. Tâ ländök bhâwûto-tä tökyô,

having-embraced kiss was-given. Then son father-to said,

"bhâwûto, mi tère khangdët dem-kë khangdët chûk karëyô. Tâ

father, by-me of-thës before God-of before sin was-done. Thou

ma-kä tère ländök kar-kä chulawu happe-nä." O-kë bhâwûto

me thy son having-made to-call is-not." This-to father

ápîyô naukar-kë tökyô. "chisam lipâl häyil-känä mere ländök-wä wäla;

own servant-to said, "bel robe having-taken my son-to give;

gonë-ma khangtî ghalel, gomâl-ma dhaâyplî ghalel; bëni tayart

finger-on ring put, foot-on shoes put; dinner preparation

karmel; ham bêt-känä khuëi hapelungä; kàkëto yë méro ländök

make; we having-eaten merry shall-become; because this my son

lug ghâlyô chhô, phir-känä dâm häyilô; nîmal ghâlyô chhô-so,

dead gone was, again life came; last gone being,

milëyô." Yô sunel-känä sub khâmëi khuëi hapellogy.

was-found." This having-heard all men glad became.

Ya bakhät-kë ô-kë ðâbô ländô nàthma chhô. O nànd-känä

This time his elder son field-in was. He house-near

hâyilëto ô-kë gid haur nachlan sunel häyilô. O

coming-when him-to song and having-to-hear came. He

tëskriwâlë-ma ekmî-kë chulë-kän, "yô kë hapelë?" âsë tökyô,

servants-among one-to having-called, "this what is?" son said.

O-kë wa-nä tökyô, "tërë bhêkdë häyilô häy, ë chisam-si

him-to him-by it-said, "thy brother come is, he well

hâyilë kar-kä tère bhâwûto-nä bëni karell häyë." Ilmu

came having-said thy father-by dinner made is. This

sunel-känä wâ ðâba ländök ghûstî-kë häyil-kë mhayt ghâlë-nä,

having-heard that elder son anger-to having-come inside went-not.

O-kë wëstë ô-kë bhâwûto-nä bhâyir häyil-känä, "mhayt-hâyil;'

That-of for-the-rake his father-by outside having-come, "inside-come;"

kar-kä ta-kë bharkum nijji karellô. O-kë Ô ápîyô

having-said him-to much entreaty was-made. That-to he own
bhawutē-ki țokyō, 'mi itmū baras tak tēri ṭsākri karel-kanā
father-to said, 'I so-many years up-to thy service having-done-
tēri chółpi kabi tēdine-nā. Lēkli ni mērō dōs-kū lhaio-kanā
thy word ever broke-not. But I my friends having-taken
bētni karelē-kē wastō tū kabi ma-kā ekmū rēmā-hi
dinner making-of for-the-sake thou ever me-to one kid-even
walay-nā. Dzhalwātni-kā saṅgat karel-kanā tēro dhāyti sab
garest-not. Hariots-of company having-made thy property all
ningal-lyosō yū tēro lāwlo nānd-kū hāyilyō barābar tū o-kē
decourting-taking this thy son house-to came immediately thou him-of
wastō bētni karelyō.' Bhawutē-nā lāwlo-kā țokyō, 'tū
for-the-sake dinner modest.' Father-by son-to it-was-said, 'thou
har-gadi mere saṅgat rhayela; mērō-kan hapēlāsō sab tēro-ch
all-time of-me in-company art; of-me-near being all thine-alone
hāyil. Inggosō tēro bhākā, phir-kā dam bhārelyō; nimal ghailiyō-
is. Dead-being thy brother, again life filled; lost gone
chhösō, milelyō. Aisō hām khusī hōyīnē-kē chīsam hapelā,'
being, was-found. So we happy to-become good is.'
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

Gărōpi.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGUM.

Ajar dhāyilnē-kē bhōlo upāw. Ekmē nānd-ma ekmē dābō
Indigestion going-of simple remedy. One town-in one big
kājā ehhō. O har-gađī bharkum bēt-kanā thigyāso jāgā-pa thigyō
man was. He every-time much having-eaten sitting place-in sitting
ehhō. Kōsē-ch tauri-si kāshā kard ehhō-nā. O-ki wāstē o-ke
was. Any-even kind-of labour doing was-not. That-of for-the-sake his
ang-ma kāshā bi susī thāyil-ehhō. Ekmē ālin ē kājā
body-in-sometimes also indisposition coming-was. One day that man
āplō dōs-kē nānd-kē bōtnē-kū ghāilyō ehhō. Urā swā thā yhār kē
own friend-of house-to eating-for gone was. There much having-
kanā dūhām-tak jāgāyilnō. O-ki wāstē sakhā o-kē
eaten midnight-till waked. That-of on-account next-morning him-to
bharkum ājar hō-gālī. O lākhat-ku o tabēt church-kana hāyil
great indigestion become. That time-at he health having-examined come
kār-kē gādī-kē khūpar ehhān-kā khōyd-kē nānd-kē ghāilyō.
having-said carriage-of upon having-mounted doctor-of village-to went.
Khōyd-nā o-ke gōnō church-kana kāyil-kē jāchan kard-kanā
Doctor-by his hand having-examined disease-of examination having-made
tōkō. 'bāwā, īṅgā-si dulmē kōs-pa, ekmē māllē-ma yā kāyil-kē
sād, 'Sir, here-from two ki-in one garden-in this disease-for
walānē-kī dzhangī hapelā. Khūnā-kē īṅgā-tak hāyilō o khupād-kē
giving-of bulb is. Kindly there-to come-if that having-rooted-up
wulāl. O-ki wāstē dzhūpār-kē mhayā tārē kāyil dhāyil-kē
I-may-give. That-of on-account afternoon-of in thy disease having-gone
mōklō hapelāngō.' Itmē summel-kē kājā-nā tōkō, 'māro
relief will-become.' This-much having-heard man-by it-was-said, 'my
gādī tāyār hāyil-kē rhpēlē. Hāyil, īṅgā-tak dhāyil-kē
carriage ready having-become stūmā. Come, there-to having-gone-
hāyilnā.' Itmē tōk-kēnā, o wā khōyd-kē harāhar gādī-ma,
let-us-come.' This-much having-said, he tāt doctor-of with carriage-on

göê-mâ-kî alî huna-kar-kê tanâ nakhîl ûîyyû. Hand-in-of whip intentionally down throwing was-pêxê.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A simple remedy for indigestion.

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

The word Myànwàlë means a scabbard-maker. No information is available about the people who bear the name. Specimens of their dialect have been forwarded from the Belgauk District. The names given to this form of speech is Myànwàlë or Lhàrì. Myànwàlë is simply the plural form of Myànwàlë. Lhàrì probably represents a rapid pronunciation of Lohàrì, the language of the Lohàrs. At the last Census of 1911, 517 Lohàrs were enumerated in Belgauk. It is not, however, probable that the so-called Myànwàlë is the language of all the Lohàrs; it is probably only spoken by a small section.

The base of Myànwàlë is Dakhaní Hindóstâni and Râjâstâni-Gujaratì. Thus, strong masculine bases end in à in the singular as in the latter, and in ë in the plural as in the former. The distinction between singular and plural forms is, to judge from the conjugation, of little importance; compare létwàgò, he will beat, they will beat. Forms such as kîvàcàdyà, they went, show that the termination à is not the only one in the plural of strong bases; the Râjâstâni-Gujaratì termination à must be used as well. Of case terminations we may note dative kà as in Mâlvî and Dakhaní Hindóstâni, genitive kà as in Mâlvî or kà as in Hindóstâni; and locative mè as in Mâlvî and Hindóstâni, or mâ, cf. Gujarâtì mâ. There does not appear to exist a separate case of the agent, the nominative being used to denote the subject even if the verb is the past tense of a transitive.

"I" is mè as in Bundâli, and "we" is hamé, cf. Gujarâtì ané.

The conjugation of verbs does not appear to be correctly represented in the list of words, where we find forms such as kâ for all persons and numbers of the present tense of the verb substantive and lâtì for the corresponding forms of lét-wà, to beat. Forms such as lâwâlë, dying go, I die; phâbë, thou art; hâbrë, is, show that the present tense is formed like the old present in Mâlvî. The past tense ends in à or yà; thus, châvàcàdyà, said; lôtì, struck. The future is formed as in Hindóstâni but with the singular ending in yó as in Eastern Râjâstâni; thus, vhanàgà, I shall be; hábràuàgë, we shall become. In the list of words forms such as létwàgò, I shall beat, are used in all persons and numbers.

Other forms mainly agree with Hindóstâni and Râjâstâni-Gujaratì. Note the relative particle in sà as in dût-sà, eaten; kâbrë, being; the use of kârkë, kàrkë, having done, corresponding to the Sanskrit iti; and the negative jin in chûlànà jin, do not call; for the last, compare Kanaújì and Eastern Hindi.

Myànwàlë is, to judge from the specimens, an artificial argot built up on this base. There are some peculiar words such as kàrmañò, come; bèt, take; chàdë, preparation; chàwàmà, see; chàgë, run; chàrì, water; chàdàñì, ring; jhàmàlë, man; ñâmë, woman; dût, eat; gòlë, gòlpë, boy; jhûñàlë, dog; khëk, fire; khïkk, give; khâk, house; lügà, to break; lûpî, die; lôt, strike; mûd, village; nîtì, good; nûkàlë, man; kàkhë, brother. Some of these such as the base lûra, to come; nàmë, village (Kanarañà màrë), seem to be Dravidian. Others are comparable with similar words in other argots.

Ordinary Aryan words are, moreover, disguised in various ways so as to make them unintelligible to outsiders. Sometimes a vowel is changed or an aspirated consonant dissipated; compare pànsè=pàs, near; nûchë=pùchë, seek; rîpë=pîchë, behind. More commonly an initial consonant is changed or a consonant prefixed.
K is substituted in bhūṛa, swine; compare sūr.

Kh has been prefixed in words such as khāḍmī, man; khagōti, before; khāpo, own; khunāmē, in the meantime; khēk, one; khīdo, god; khirāf, harlot. In khulke, having said, it has replaced an old k, and so on.

A g has been substituted for other initials in gipō = kupā, clothes; and perhaps in gālō, boy, cf. bētā.

As in similar argots ch and dh are often substituted for labials. Compare chagō = barā, big; chāndō = bāndh, tying; chhi = bhi, filling; chhūk = bhūk, hunger; churghā = murghā, cock.

Dh is prefixed as in similar argots; compare ďhākō = kākā, uncle; ďhimālō = mālā, was got; ďhυvāb = kuṭā, a cultivator; ďhēyā, compare bhērā, a kid.

N is a very common substitute. It replaces a guttural in nukāl, mercy; nāriō, poverty; nāma, angry; a palatal in nākār, servant; nīk, sin; a dental in nōs, friend; a labial in noōr, falling; nāy, sin; nīs, again; nīrū, put on; nīrādē (fīrādē), complaining; nāvār, immediately; nūt, state; nūs, year; nīr, inside; nān, mind; an k in nākkē, facts. It has been substituted for an s in nābolō, all; compare sāb and sāga. Instead of s, however, we more commonly find ū; thus, nūkāt, difficulty; nūsā-ke, hearing; nūvījā, sun. Nā is also used as a substitute for aspirated consonants in nākō, field; nāsā, chaff; nākāb, small.

R has been substituted for l in bēlō, took; and for s in busakē, to be heard (note the Dravidian termination). A b has been replaced by an m in mānētō, father, probably under the influence of mānētī, mother.

R is also a common substitute, especially for labials; thus, rīkān, ear; rīto, share; rāṭ, hair; rīpyā = pīchā, behind; rōḥkā = bōhā, brother; rōvā, outside. Rōhēhō, brother, is, however, perhaps connected with the European Gipsy word rōkō, boy.

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

Thus a k is added in rōhē, art; nīkō, head; and a ku in nōkō = chōtā, small. If rōkō, brother, is derived from ḫō, a k has been added.

An additional g occurs in words such as gō, four; dū, far; dē, two, and so on.

Ch is used in a similar way in words such as kīchō, did; gōdchō, horse.

An addition jī is used in some intransitive verbs; thus, cīqīs, run; nākajō, lost; barjō, came; bājī, dead. A g is added in khajō, before. I may here add the suffixes ōd and wōd in verbal forms such as nātōd, dividing; rōkēd, keeping; gōhōd, put; barwādō, she came; rōkwoodō, stayed; hōvādō, they passed.

A t has been added in words such as bēt, takō; mānōtō, father, etc. The p in gelpō = gōlō, boy, must be a similar addition.

An i or l is apparently added or substituted for another final in words such as gēlō = bēlō (?), boy; ḫīsā, kid; compare bhērā, ram; chhi = bhi, filling; kōf = kār, doing (compare Sāsī kō); gauvānb, singing, and so on.

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

Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the second, a popular tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179f.
[No. 28.]

**GIPSY LANGUAGES.**

**MYANWALÉ or LHÁRI.**

**SPECIMEN I.**

**DISTRICT BELGAUM.**

Khëk ǰamoló-kú dóg gelpè bi, Wá-mé nhóknó gelpó
One man-to two son were. Them-among younger son
khëppó máwutó-kú khoñwádyó, 'máwutó, téřó jingáni-mé má-kú baróso
waun father-to said, 'father, thy property-in we-to coming
ráto ma-kú khoñé.' Máwutó wó-mé khëppó jingáni nañóñ-bata,
share me-to give.' Father them-among own property divided.
Nhóknó gelpó khëppó náto bét-ke dóg mulúk-kú hit-ke chhiot
Younger son own share having-taken for country-to having-gone many
díñ naí bòbré khuná-mé à duañ hó-bar-ke khëppó jingáni
days not became this-much-in he richous having-become own property
nahnó maráb kól köh jiehú, Ú wàsará kólí khápar wá
all evil doing was-done. He so having-done after that
díñ-má chajdó dukáñ náq-ke wá-kú narábi karañwañí. Ú wá
country-in big famine having-fallen him-to poverty came. He that
díñ-ká khëk ǰamoló khoñá nákri khoñwádyó. Ú ǰamoló wá-kú
country-of one man near in-service remained. This man him
kurná nárjpi-kú khëppó nhét-kú nándá-kejó. Úthó chhuké-ší
swine grazing-for own field-to sent. There hunger-from
iñhanká bóbar-ke kurná čutão nhús-bí dut-ke réptá chhil
panga having-become swine eaten house-when having-eaten belly full
bétó-tó, lakín wá-kú kun-ká pèsó-šó kuch-bí naí hímle-
taking-was, but him-to anybody-of near-from anything-even not was-pot.
Yesó thóké dân hitwádyá, khëppó répchañ nát ýad hóbar-ke
So few days passed, own former state memory having-become
ú khëppó nan-kú khoñwádyó, 'méró máwutó pèsó bòbrésó chhóñ
he own mind-in said, 'my father near being many
nák-ká répáñ chhil-ke jásti dúñá hímíñ; mé kóš chhuké-ší
servants-to belly having-filled more food is-pot; I here hunger-from
lugnáñó. Mé khoñwády-ke méró máwuté-kó pèsó hit-ke chholwádyó,
away-going. I having-arisen my father-of near having-gone said,
"mawutó, mê Khidéw-ká náp mawuté-ká náp chónb bétó. Mè té tèró
father, I God-of sin father-of sin tying took. I thy
gelpó kar-kó kénjé bétang-kú layakh ná. Mâ-ká khéjé nákari sarik
son saying anying taking-for worthy not. Mè one servant like
téró pêsó makłój bét. '" Yâtri khlú-ke whásí khlú-ke
of-thee near keeping take."' So having-said there-from having-arisen
khâpò mawuté-kó pêsó binate-kó mawutó wá-kú dúg-só ehuman-ké
own father-of near coming-on father him far-from having-seen
mayá barke chigít-hít-ke chiitrí lótke ehumma bétwájó.
pity having-come run-gone-having embrace having-struck him took.
Tab gelpó mawuté-kí chélo, "mawuté, mê téró khoagâj Khidéw-ká
Then son father-to said, 'father, I of-thee before God-of
khagâjí núk kolwájí. Mâ-ká téró gelpó kar-kú ehúlêvé
before sin did. Mè thy servant having-said should-be-called
jín.' Wa-âe mawutó khâpò nákár-kú khulwájó, "niró gigájá
not.' That-to father own servants-to said, 'good stress
bet-ke mèjó gelpé-kú nirâw; khoagâj-mé ehundaâj ghulód, gâjé-mé
having-taken my son-to put-on; finger-on ring put, feet-on
jéokkâ ghulód; dünpe-kú chhnéjé kójó. Hamé dút-ke nusál
shoez put; eating-for preparation make. We having-taken sorry
hôbrângé; kâ-cholé-tó yó mèjó gelpó húgîtó-tó, nirku jîk barò;
shall-become; why-say-then this my son dead-was, again life come;
nukító-hîtyâjó, qhímô. Yé nhabke nábë músh hôbré.
lost-gone, was-found.' This having-heard all glad became.

Yé bakhát-kú wá-kú chàddó gelpó nhéj-mé hôbró. Ú khôk-ké
This time-at his big son field-in was. He house-of
pêsó barawájó, tab wá-kú gawalunó meehannó húpakke baró. Yé
near come, then him-to singing dancing to-be-heard come. These
nákár-mé khéj-kú chólló, 'ká nált hôbré?' mawhatájó,
serants-among one having-called, 'what going-on is?' asked.
Wá-kú wá-né khulwájó, 'téró rhákîló barawájó; à nóró barke
him-to him-by it-was-said, 'thy brother came; he well having-come
qhimô. Wá-ké khâw-së téró mawutó dünkó kójó.' O
was-met. That-of reason-from thy father feast made.' That
bun-ke wá-kó chàddó gelpó nuss hôbar-ke nitar hító ná.
having-heard his big son angry having-become inside went not.
Wá-ké kháw-së wá-kó mawuto rhar barke, 'nitar barawájó.
That-of reason-from his father outside having-come, 'inside come,'
kar-ke wá-kú chhót khuló. Ú khâpò mawutó-kú khulwájó, 'mè
having-said him-to much said. He own father-to said, 'I
itnê narras tallakh têrô nákri kól-ke kabî têrô rhâyadi
so-many years up-to thy service having-done ever thy word
lugai naî. Nir-ke më mërô nûs-kû ëhimalâ-le-kê dütan kölmê-kê
broke not. But I say friends having-gathered feast making-of
khâw-sê tû ma-kô khêk ñhilyâ hi kabî naî khêchô. Nir-tô
reason-from thou me-to one kid even ever not gavest. But
hirând-kô naugât-mê na-ke têrô jingâni nab ningai-betësô
harlots-of company-in having-fallen thy property all devoured-having
yê têrô gelpô khôk-kû bare manâhar tû wá-kê khâw-sê dütan
this thy son house-to coming as-soon-as thou his sake-for feast
kôl betësô. Mawutô gelpô-kû chhôlwaêô, 'tû nabâlê dîo
making given-host.' Father son-to said, 'thou all days
mërô hyê rhêkê. Mërô pêsô hëbrôsô nab têrô-eh. Legoîsô têrô
of-me near art. Me-of near being all thing. Dead-being thy
rhâklo, nirkû jik harîto; nukëto hîtyâsg, dhîmlô. Yësô harô nuâî
brother, again life came; lost gone, was-found. So see merry
hôbarkô narrâher hôbrê.'
to-become proper is.'
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYANWALE OR LHARI.

SPECIMEN II.

District Belgaum.

Khâk nánd-mê dôg chângû péchôt nôs hôbrô. Khâk din-
One village-in two beggars much friends were. One day
dôgü quîmal-kê nar-lôs-kê hit-kê khâr-sê niehâr
both having-come-together other-country-to going-of sake-for thinking
kôl-ke khâppî pêso hôbrô-thô kokô lôkô khâk khîshwaâtô
having-made self near being little money one honest
chluđiki-kô nabhî-mê khîch-kê, "hâmê dôgü quîmal-kê
old-woman-of possession-in having-given, 'we both having-come-together
chôngû bâr-tô yê ham-kê khîchawâd,' yêsô chôl-kê nîmâ hit-hê.
asking-for come-if this us-to give,' so having-said many went:
Khâgâdî khôkô din-kê khîpar wâm-sê khêkla nîr-kê wâ
Then few days-of upon them-in-of one having-returned that
chluđiki-kô pêsô hit-kê, "mâwûtî, mêrô nôs rât-mel hugütô;
old-woman-of near having-gone, 'mother, my friend run-on died:
wa-kî khâr-sê hamârô lôkô khîchawâd,' yêsô khrâudô. I chôhôt
that-of sake-for our money give,' so said. She many
nabâb khrâudôji, lekin a bünkô nâî. Nhâwâtî i wâ lôkô
excuses said, but he heard not. At-last she that money
wa-kô khîchô. Thôkô din-kê khîpar dukrô wâ chluđiki-kî pêsô
him-to gave. Few days-of upon the-second that old-woman near
bâr-ke nôt chôngwâdî. Thab wâ chluđiki, 'râkôkô, thôkô
having-come pursè demanded. Then that old-woman, 'brother, few
din-kê ripchê têrô nôs bâr-ke, tê hugütô, yêsô chôl-kê
days-of behind thy friend having-come, than diedst, so having-said
lôkô chôngwâdê. Wâ-sê, "tun dôgü quîmal-kê barâwâd;"
money demanded. Him-to, "you both having-come-together come;"
yêsô chôhôt chôlwâdô. Ç mêrô rhaýadî mâi bünkê nulnô-sê
so much said. He my word not having-heard force-with
nab lôkô bêtêto. Wâ-sê u narkûr-kê pêsô nirâdê
all money took-away.' That from he government-of near complaint.
hitō. Tab narkār wā chhudikī-kā chula-kā bēt-kū nābahī went. Then government that old-woman summoning-for having-given all
nakhikat nchuō.
facts asked.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

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

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

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

No satisfactory explanation of the word Kanjar has as yet been given. It has been derived from Sanskrit kāmanachara, wanderer, in the jungle, but this etymology is hardly possible from a philological point of view. It is more likely that kanjar is a shorter form of the word kājarā or kājārā, man, which is used by many Kanjars, and which is related to Sānṣiya kañja, Naṭi kajja and Doṇ kajja. We do not know whether this word is Aryan or not. It is probably identical with Romani gajā.

The Kanjars are most numerous in the United Provinces in which, according to the Census of 1911, they numbered 18,345. Elsewhere there were 5,638, giving a total of 23,983.
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KIRKPATRICK, W. — *Folk-songs and Folk-lore of the Gehara (Kanjars)*, ibidem, pp. 637 ff. Other papers by the same author are found ibidem, pp. 69 ff. (Exogamous Sects of the Gehara Section of Kuchbandia Kanjars), and pp. 753 ff. (Oaths and Ordeal of the Gehara (Kanjars) of the Delhi District). They do not deal with the language.

We are very insufficiently informed about the language of the Kanjars, and it is possible that in most districts they use the dialect of their surroundings. During the preliminary operations of this survey a dialect Kanjari was returned from the following districts: —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Provinces</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agra</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farrukhabad</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sitapur</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kheri</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central India</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwalior</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>7,085</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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VOL. XI.
The inflexion of nouns in many respects differs from Hindostani. The oblique base of weak nouns sometimes ends in ō; thus, garā-ō, to the neck (Aligarh); garā-mā, on the neck (Etawah). Similarly the oblique plural ends in ō or ā; thus, naukar-chakrā-ō, to the servants (Aligarh); rāvār-ē, years from (Sitapur); naukrā-ku, to the servants (Belgaum). Such forms agree with Marāthi, the singular ones also with Bihāri and the plural ones with Rājasthāni.

An ō is often added to weak bases and kept in the oblique form; thus, ribā-ō, of the house (Aligarh, Sitapur); bhārā-ō, in the property (Etawah); dāmā-ō, of valne (Farrukhabad); bāpā-ō, by the father (Belgaum). This ō is different from the final ō of strong masculine bases, which becomes ō in the oblique form and in the plural; thus, chākhā, son; chākhā, sons; bāpā-ē, to the father, in the Sitapur specimens and similar forms in the materials forwarded from the other districts. Ordinary Hindostani forms are used as well. The Rājasthāni affinities acquire some significance if we remember that we find a similar state of affairs in other argots such as Dūm, Naṭi and Sīsi.

The case suffixes are mainly Hindostani. The dative suffix ku, kē, kō also reminds us of Dravidian. The ablative suffix is commonly se, in Farrukhabad, however, also sē as in Mārwāri, Jaipurī and Māly. In Belgaum we find dē, from, which perhaps has something to do with the genitive suffix dē, dē, which is used in addition to kā, kē, in Farrukhabad. It will be seen that this latter suffix is identical with the Pārijāti one. It is, however, possible that it has something to do with Tamil naṇaiya, Kanarese da.

In many of the specimens we will find that the final ō of adjectives is often kept before an inflected noun; thus, khuchākhā naṇaiā-ō, to a good man (Sitapur); chākhā bāpā-ō, by the younger son (Etawah); apū kaurī paśa, his money (Farrukhabad); bāro naukrā, thy service (Belgaum). Such instances point to the conclusion that the sense of gender is weak and that adjectives are not inflected, a state of affairs which would be natural if the Kanjars were not originally Aryans.

With regard to pronouns we may note the use of the base jō, ā, as a demonstrative pronoun, just as is the case in Rājasthāni, and, further, the curious forms urō-ō, by him (Aligarh); urō-kō, his (Etawah); igo, this matter; kō, what matter (Farrukhabad); ārā, bīrā, he; urō-kō, his (Sitapur); ūyā, thou; yurō-ō, urō-ō, to thee; urō-kē, to him. These and similar forms remind us of Dravidian; compare Tūma ārā, Kui and Old Telugu āru, you; Tamil Kanarese aussi Gōndī ārā, he, etc.

The conjugation of verbs presents some peculiar features. There are several additions to the base which do not appear to modify the meaning. Thus an r is frequently suffixed; compare hubbār rā-i, is going on (Aligarh); lingār-ō, he beats (Sitapur); rāh-rō, he remained (Aligarh); ār-ō, he came; sum-rō, he heard (Etawah); ār-ō, he came; lingār-ō, I had beaten (Sitapur); kui-ō, I struck; gaur-rō, I went; ādrār-ō, I said; hub-rō, I became (Belgaum). This r is sometimes followed by the termina-

1 Compare, however, the Western Pahāri ablative postposition dē, which is certainly Indo-Aryan.
tion of the past; thus, kai-ri, did; said; khãr-ri, ate; pãr-ri, drank; kari-guar-së, having done wentest, hast done, etc. (Aligarh). 2

Often the syllable wa'r or bãr is added; compare Myãnwãlã wãdã, Ñôm wa'r. Thus, bat-va'r, dividing; jibãr-ô, came to life (Sitãpur); saa-va'r-ko, having heard; kar-va'r-ô, hast made (Belgaum); bat-bãr, having divided; ãl-bãr-kã, having taken; ra-bãr-ô, wast (Aligarh), and so forth. In the Belgaum specimens we sometimes find wãdã instead of wa'r; thus, mil-wãd-ô hã, mil-wãd-dô, and mil-wãr-ô, he is found; tu-d-wãd-ô, broke; pad-wãd-ko, having fallen, and so forth. It seems probable that we should compare the Mârwãrî termination gô, which is so frequently added pleonastically. We may also compare the causal terminations Mârwãrî ãa, Jaipurî ãd, Gujarâtî ã, ã. Forms such as khadô karva'r hû, thou hast made a feast; ãharva'alô, grazing; karva'kãr lînô, I have taken having caused it to be attached to me, I have committed, in the Belgaum specimen, are perhaps actually causals. In most cases, however, the addition of wa'r does not seem to affect the meaning.

This use of added r, wa'r, bãr is accordingly perhaps another point in which Kanjari agrees with Rajasthâni. Broadly speaking the conjugation of verbs is the same as in that form of speech. In the past tense, however, the termination is d and not yô; compare karô, did; lagô, began (Etawah). Forms such as dinô, gave; lînô, took, are well known from Mârwãrî and Jaipurî. The l in mânâlô, entreated (Aligarh); pûchhô, asked (Etawah), may be comparable, or else it may be another form of the r mentioned above. The s which occurs in several forms such as dis, gave; les, took; manînîs, heard; takhars, said (Aligarh); lûhûs, took; dinis, gave (Etawah); lâkûs, said; riâchûs, asked; kaunûs, said (Sitãpur), on the other hand, belongs to Eastern Hîndi. Such forms are especially common in the Sitãpur specimen, and the prevailing language in Sitãpur is Awadhî. They are not met with in the Belgaum texts.

In the future we find s forms in Aligarh and Sitãpur and g forms in Farrukhabad and Belgaum. Compare kahâs, I will say; karüggô, we will do (Aligarh); takhâs, I will say; lunaqgâs, thou will beat, he will beat (Sitãpur); humû, it will be; jâmâgô, I shall go (Farrukhabad); hâmâs, I shall be; kûtûgô, I shall beat (Belgaum). Similar forms are found in Mârwãrî, but more properly belong to Eastern Rajasthâni. In Etawah we find forms such as jâmê, I shall go; kâmûs, I shall say. They may be compared with the Jaipurî forms ending in ã. Compare also Naiyâli.

So far as we have seen hitherto Kanjari conjugation broadly agrees with Rajasthâni, especially Eastern Rajasthâni. Another feature seems to point in a different direction. Kanjari seems to possess a participle the characteristic element of which is d. Compare ãldô, giving; ãnagadô, coming; ãnagadô, jôdô, gone (Aligarh); mûdô, dying; kado, doing; rûhûsû-ênô, among the inhabitants (Etawah); lûgadô, beating; ãna[gadô, going (Sitãpur); hûnô, being; mûhûdô, going; ãwdô, coming; mûrgûdô, dead (Belgaum). It will be seen that such forms are used as present and also as past participles. They are also contained in verbal forms. Some of these belong to present

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2 The termination wâr may also be a contraction of wâdû and re of ra[bû, both meaning 'made,' and the latter being the Awadhî form. In many dialects, especially in Western Pukhri, this is added to the conjunctive participle to form a past tense. Thus ãdô may be for ãwadô, and so for the others. According to native grammarians, ra[bû is the 'siter' of Râmô. G. A. B.
time; thus, chalnda, I go; dūdō, they eat (Aliargarh); tungō, I die; oonghaa, he is coming (Sitapur); mārda, I die; ēndō, I give; ēndō, I come; nikhārāi, we, you, they go (Belgaum). Others have the meaning of past tense. Compare: haudō, was (Aliagarh); jāndā, was sent (Etawah); ēndō, came; kānda, said (Farrukhabad); ēndō, was; ēngōdō, struck (Sitapur); haudō, was; bharār-lēndō, would have filled; gauāndē-gaudō, was lost (Belgaum).

It would be possible to compare the suffix ādō of the present participle of Sindhi and Naipūli. The fact, however, that these forms are also used in the past perhaps points in a different direction. It will be seen from my remarks on page 296 of Volume IV of this Survey that there is a d-suffix which forms the indefinite present participle in Dravidian languages, and that one of the forms of the corresponding suffix of the past participle in Tamil is āndu. We have already found other possible traces of a Dravidian substratum in Kanjari, and the d-suffix may be of the same kind. In this connexion I may also mention the verbal suffixes ār and gīr in forms such as laagārdō, began (Aliagarh, Etawah, Sitapur); āngārdō, came; oagārdō, came; oogārdō, went; tutugārdō, I have beaten; jaaagārdō, went (Belgaum), and so on, which look like compounds with the Dravidian āru, is; kārī, am. The r-suffix mentioned above may have a similar origin. The extensive use of relative participles and the apparent tendency to form a negative verb in Belgaum is of less significance, because the predominant language of the district is Kanarese.

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

Kanjari contains some peculiar words of the same kind as similar forms of speech. Such are lāg, die; lāgō, beat (Sitapur); chhō, son (Aliagarh and Sitapur); jīpā, bread (Aliagarh and Sitapur); jhābil, dog (Sitapur); dūl, eat (Aliagarh and Sitapur); thār, eat (Belgaum); jhāra, fire (Sitapur); gogālē, foot (Belgaum); gogārō, foot (Aliagarh and Sitapur); tiu, give (Sitapur); kōdō, give (Belgaum); ridō, house (Aliagarh and Sitapur); aandō, house (Belgaum); kājārō, man (Etawah); kājārō, man (Belgaum); nājā, man (Sitapur); tīg, see (Aliagarh and Sitapur); nimāni, water (Sitapur); nī, water (Belgaum), and so forth. Some of the words in use among Kanjars have a Dravidian look. Compare saadō, bull; asawārō, comes; kādō, give, in the Belgaum specimens, with Tamil mádu, bull; varu, come; kōdō, give, respectively, and tiu, give (Sitapur), with Tamil teva, give. Mr. Kirkpatrick mentions several more such words, such as dhimrō, bread; ghamālē, sun; khainch, thief; khutō,
night; kārch, drink; mākh, death; mānum, glue; rīkā, rupee; tīgro, see; tābargā, swim; tāārāk, sleeping, and so forth. Of these ghaumānā, sun, is of some interest, as being evidently connected with Roman gham, sun, lit. heat.

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

Such words appear to belong to the original vocabulary of the Kanjars, and many of them are no doubt unintelligible to outsiders. The case is a little different with the Arabic numerals which are used by the Kanjars of Belgaum, just as is the case with the Qasās of the Panjabis. The numerals in question will be found in the Standard List of Words and Sentences on pp. 150ff., and their Arabic origin is self-evident.

Like other tribes of the same kind the Kanjars use certain devices for disguising their words and making them unintelligible. The beginning of a word is often changed. Thus kō is prefixed in koāth, hand (Sitapur); kh is prefixed or substituted for another initial in many cases. Compare khachchā, good; khākā, famine; khāgākā, of the friends (Aligarh); khāmāt, property (Khuri); khāgālā, before; khāādi, man; khāsā, sound; khākāl, famine (Sitapur); khāntar, inside; khāpar, above (Belgaum). Ch, chh are apparently only prefixed to or substituted for labials; compare chhāāwā-kā, to fill (Aligarh); chārū, big; chābā, brother; chākā-sē, from hunger; chāātār, inside (Sitapur); chāit, sit; chāādō, big; chānā-kā, having called (Belgaum).

Cerebrals are used as disguising letters in words such as tūkmā, eye; dharā, poor; dālāg, against (Urdū khalāf); dāsā, merry (Sitapur); dharā, big (Aligarh).

X only occurs as a substitute for k or kh in the texts. Compare nēt, field (Aligarh and Sitapur); naujāt, man; compare kājārā (Sitapur).

Labials do not appear to be much used in this way. Compare pājlā, pull (Belgaum), which may be Tamil māṭṭu or Hindīstānī sābāl: bēk, one; bāur, and; bērō, that (Sitapur).

It is of more common occurrence. Compare rakhā-kō rakhā, a goat's young (Aligarh); rakhā, put on; rāmāsār, God; rūnāk, cloth; rāčhāā, asked; runāā, make; rākāt, much; rālāk, country; rāmgārā-kā, to the servants (Sitapur). In all these instances r has replaced an old labial. It is, however, occasionally also used instead of other sounds; compare rūdā, answer; rūmā, together; rārā, from years, all in the Sitapur texts.

An l is prefixed in lākhārā, I will say (Sitapur); lākhār, said (Aligarh), and it has been substituted for an n in likārā, bring out.

Words are also disguised by means of additions at the end, and such additions are very common in Kanjari, just as is the case in Dām. Some of them such as ṣ and ḍ have already been mentioned above. With regard to ṣ I may add that it is also added after nouns and adjectives. Compare gurā, foot; bharā, brother (Aligarh); chhāārā, small; ḍhārā, few (Sitapur); phālārā, fruit (Belgaum). Several other additions are used, and most of them are well known from similar
argots. The principal ones are, so far as we can judge from the materials available:

q or gh is used in words such as eogh, come; tiaqghis, took; haughe, is (Sitapur); gaugre, went (Belgaum). The initial consonant of the suffix qr (qhir) mentioned above is perhaps of the same kind.

An element efo or efhó is comparatively often added. Thus, papetó, sin; matéthó, property (Aligarh); hatéfo, hand; khanéfo, food (Belgaum).

A dental has been added in words such as ranütó, pity (Sitapur); chamakédé, lustre; bokutó, many (Belgaum).

A common suffix is elo; thus, khatélé-mé, on the hand; batéli, words (Aligarh); kiséló, share; papéló, sin (Sitapur); kkhélé, eye; jibéli, tongue (Belgaum). Instead of elo we also find bétó and hétó; thus, duhéló, two; tudéló, three; bub-hétó, father; bhut-héló, chaff; chum-hétó, kissed, all in the Sitapur specimens.

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

KANJARÍ.

SPECIMEN I.


One man-of two sons were. They-in small-one father-to

lakhāmdō, 'hāp-hālā, merō hīsēlā jō khujārā-sē niphāc, so tiur.'

said, 'father, my share which property-from comes, that give.'

Bīlā baṭwār, tiurīs. Thuṛārā din-hēlā chhāutāřā chāhkō

He having-ateied gave. Few days-in sawāl son

rāmā-kar-kē rālāk chūhē guaghīnō, haur apnō mahēlā

together-having-made country-to moved went, and own property

khūnō dīmhīs. Jab sab khurāō tiurīs, birō rōkō barō khakkāl

consumed gave. When all wasted gave, that in-country big famine

parghīnō, haur dharīb hō-gō. Tab us rōkō-mā bēk

fell, and poor becoming-went. Then that country-in one

ralakh khāmāi tir raughān lagīrō. Birō apnō nētā ghurghur

wealthy near to-live began. He own field mine

charāvīnā pathāhāis. Birō chhaghīrō bhūn-hēlā jō ghurghur dōtā-daī

to-feed sent. He wished husks which sawāt eating-were

dūt-kā pīt-hēlō bhuṅghis. Nakheḷā kōi na tiurīs. Tab

having-eaten belly may-fill. But anybody not gave. Then

khosō ān-kē lakhāsī, 'merē hāp-hēlā tir ranjārā-kē tipāī bahut

in-senses having-come said, 'my father near servants-to abroad much

moh-roughhīnō, haur maī chūhā-sē lugāālī. Mahī khumar-kē

servant-resumed, and I hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen

hāp-hēlā tir chhaghīnī, haur birō-sē lākhāwālī, "aī hāp-hēlā, maī-nē

father near will-go, and him-to will-say, "O father, me-by

khasīmān-o-kē dlāip haur tērē khāgēlō papēlō karōghis; maī tērō

heaven-of against end of-these before sin done-was; I thy

chūhō lakhābāwālō nāhī. Mōh-kē mārāhā-kē nā mānāī." Tab

son one-to-be-called not. Me servants-of like make." Then

bhīlī apnō hāp-hēlā tir guaghīnī. Abhāī woh durhālō, birō-kē

he own father near went. Yet he far-was; his

hāp-hēlā tik-kē rāmīs khīnīs, haur mārāt-kē upō-kē dlāip

father having-see pity did, and having-run him-to on-neck

lagāi lēghīs, haur rahūt chūmēlō. Chūhō kaughīs, 'hāp-hēlā,

-attaching took, and much kissed. Son said, 'father,
terō dhunā kinhaṅ, baṅ rāmāsaṅ-kō ḍhunā kinhaṅ; birā lāṅ-kō of-thee sin I-did, and God-of sin I-did; now worthy
nariṅ ki phir terō chūṅko lakkhaṅ.’ Bap-hēla aprē not that again thy son I-shall-be-called.’ Father own
nukarālā-kō lakkhaṅ, aición rūsāk uphār-lāṅ, baṅ urō-kū raṅmaṅ; servants-to said, ‘good robe taking-out bring, and him-to put-on;
urō-kō kōḥāṅ-mā khāṅtā guṇarā-mā guṇārī raṅmaṅ, Ham duteṅ him-of hand-on ring feet-on shoes put-on. We may-eat
baṅ ḍhūsī hōē, Mērō chūṅko lōgīro hūrō-thō, ah jibbāro; and merry may-be. My son dead become-was, now received;
khhāṅ tō kho-thō, ah mīlghīrō.’ Tab woh ḍhūsī karnū lāṅgīro. lost gone-was, now was-found; Then they merry to-make began.
Chibro chūṅko nēō-mā hūō, Jāb ribō-kō nāgīch-hēla aṅghīrō, Big son field-in was. When house-of near came,
gabāribō nach-hēla-kī khawājī sunghīro. Baur bēk nukarālā-kō music dancing-of sound heard. And one servant-to
rūkā-kō riṅchhīs, ‘yō kā haṅgū? ’ Wō us-sē lakkhaṅ, ‘terō having-called asked, ‘this what is? ’ He him-to said, ‘thy
chibhāṅ aṅghīro; terō bap-hēla-nē hāri rāfāt khīris, birā-zātē bīrō-kō-brother came; thy father-by big feasting made, this-for him
khaṅchhāṅ tō paṅgīs.’ Butwār raṅghīro chīłār jaṅghīro-na. Bīrō-kā well found.’ Angry got inside went-not. Him-of
bap-hēla-chīṅbīr ārō baṅ urō ḍhūsīnō lāṅgīro. Bap-hēla-kō rub father outside came and to-entract began. Father-to answer
tīrīs, ‘tīgō, itni rārā-sē mai tērī dhīmuṅ karō; tērō ḍhūṅkā-kō gaves, see, so-many years-from I thy service do; thy order-of
dhīlpā na chālūṅhē. Bēk rakaria-kā bāchhāṅ na tiūrō kī mai against not went. One; gout-of young-one not gaves that I
apreb ḍhūsālā-kē sāth ḍhūsī ḍhūsātō. Jāṅā terō chhūṅtāro chūṅkō own friends-of with merry might-make. As thy young son
ārō, jo tērō mālāhō ḍhūsīyā-mā khurāṅs, tē būṅhā-kī hāri came, who thy property harlots-among wasted, thou him-of big rāfāt kinhaṅs.’ Urō-kō ùr lakkhaṅ, ‘aṅ chūṅkā, khānēsā tū mērō feasting modest.’ Him-to he said, ‘O son, always thou of-me
tīr hājē; jō mērō haṅgū, sō tērō haṅgū. ḍhūsī near art; what mine is, that thine is. merry
raṅgū, ḍhūsī hūrō; tērō chībhaṅ lūgīro-thō, sō jibbāro; khhāṅ tō should-make, merry should-be; thy brother dead-was, he received; last
gayā-thō, phir mīlghīrō.’ gone-was, again was-found.

A specimen of Kanjari has also been forwarded from the Kheri District. It does not, however, represent any separate dialect, but is an attempt at writing ordinary Hindostani, as will be seen from the beginning of the Parable which follows.
[No. 38.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT KHERI.

Ek bāpā-kē dō nēkṛē thā. Lahaurē nēkṛē-nē apnē bāp-sā
One father-of two sons were. Younger son-by own father-to
kaha, 'ayē bāp; apnē khamkāl wis-mē-sē mērā bītā de, jō
it was said, 'O father, own property that in of my share give, which
mērē bātō-mē ṣē.' Tab mē nē dōnē nēkṛē-kō balwa bāği
my share-in may-come.' Then him-by both sons-to property dividing
diyā. Aur lahumē beṭō-nē apnā balwa lē-kār dūr-kē
was-given. And younger son-by own property having-taken far
mulkā-mē jātā rahā aur apnā balwa haram khaum-kē
country-to going stayed and own property forbidden wickedness-in
upāyā. Sab jaab ur-gayā as mulkā-mē kāl pareō aur
squandered. All what squandered went that country-in famine fell and
woh hō gayā naṅga. Us mulkā-mē ēk basindā-kē tārē
be becoming went naked. That country-in one resident-of near
jai lāgā. Us-nē usē sūr chugānē-kō kāt-mē
having-gone attached-himself. Him-by him pigs to-graze field-in
ghulāyā. Apnē dīlā-mē sōchā ki un chūhū-kō jō sūr khāllā
sent. Own heart-in thought that this husks which rice ate
un-par pēṭ bharē; us-kō kūr khāpā-kē dētā nāḥ thā. Apnē
those-on belly may-fill; him-to anybody eating for giving not was. Own
dīlā-mē tab akal kū kē, mērē bāpā-kē itnē ādān rētī
heart-in then sense was-made that, 'my father-of so-many men bread
khuṭī hāi, aur maē būkhō marīh-hū. Maē uṭhī-kē apnē
eating are, and I with-hunger dying-am. I having-arisen own
bāpā-kē dhaurē jāūl nur us-sē yeh khaṅgāra-hū ki, 'bāp rē,
father-of near may-go and him-to this saying-am that, “father O,
maē-nē bādār aur tērā bārā kāsūr kāriā. Is lēk hū ab
maē-by sky and of-thee big sin was-made. This worthy am now
nāḥ ki phir tērā bātā khaṅgāra, ki bāp rē, itnē majūr
not that again thy son shall-say, that father O, so-many servants
tērē lāgē hāi, ēk mujhē bhi lāgī jān.”'
thine appointed are, one me also appointing consider.’
The Kanjari of Aligarh contains a strong Rajasthani element. As has already been remarked there are, however, some features which seem to show the existence of a Dravidian element, while the -suffix of the past tense points towards Eastern Hindi.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARÍ.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT ALIGARH.

Kimú-ka dó chābbá thi. Irā-mē-so ehhū́tā-nē bāpā-sē
Some-one-of two sons were. Them-in-from younger-by father-to
kairs ki, 'bāpā, itthā-mē-sō tildā mēro! Uro-nē duhī-kū
said that, 'father, property-in-from give mine.' Him-by both-to
habār dis. Thāra dinā-mē ehhūto hátrō malēthō bikātīthō
having-divided gave. Few days-in small son property together
kairs, apnē lībbār-kē pur-dēs chalugar gaṅgārō. Hūn phāsāmb-
more, own having-taken other-country moved went. There riotousness
palle na raīro. Tab kimā bhagwān-ko hīllā-sir hūn
in-possession not remained. Then some rich-man-of employment-in there
ja lagīro. Uro-nē apnē nōsā-mē ghurair chūgānā bhījwārs.
goings attached. Him-by own fields-in seine to-tend sent.
Wuī chābbō thi. 'Jin kāātā pīgharair dūdō tho wuī maī bi khā
Hu wishing was, 'which hukka swine eating were those I all eating
ṭuṅkulō chīlaṅwā-kā hundū.' Ura-kō kā tildā lāy. Tab
belly filling-for am-(prepared). Him-to anyone giving not. Then
uro-kā khaos ā-guō, tab ura-nē kairs ki, 'tīgō ki mērā bāpā-kē
him-to sense came, then him-by said that, 'see that my father-of
bholūṭēra rahū tīpūū dūtāsā aur chūkārē pururāsē. Ab maī
manu servants bread are-eating and hungry I-aterne. Now I
chālguṇā bāpētā-kē thuār jāgūḷ āur ura-sē kahsā, "bāpētā, maī-nē
un-going father-of near will-go and him-to will-say, "father, me-by
tērē āgō Bhagwān-kō pāpeṭō kērō; ab maī tērō chūbbō kahwā
of-thee before God-of sin was-done; now I thy son to-say
lāk na raḥro. Apnā rahū-kutau-mē mō-kē rakhwāl-lō.'
worthy not am. Own servants-among me putting-take.'
Hūn-se wū chalugarā bāpō-kē thuār augiro. Dūrō-sē tigō dē bāpētā-kī
therefrom he moved father-of near came. Far-from seeing father-of
chāhī bhāriyār, wū-sē niphārū, urū-kā garā-sē lagā īs aur
breast was-filled; there-from went, him-to neck-io clasping took and
Uro ghariyey urô-kô bâpô batrô nEthî-mê thô. Uro augirô aur jah
That at-time him-of big son fields-in was. He came and when
ribô-kê thaurô pahêchîgirô, urô-nê gâwâ-kô aur niêchê-kô khabâs
house-of near came, him-by singing-of and dancing-of sound
sunigulis. Aur urô-nê êko nukrethâ bulâs aur lâkhařs ki, ‘ji
was-heard. And him-by one servant called and said that, ‘this
kâ hubbar raîrî?’ Auro urô-nê urô-së ji lâkhařs ki, ‘tërô cihnôthô
what going-on it?’ And him-by him-to this said that, ‘thy small
bhatyarî bagadî augirô. Tera bâpô-nê katari kari-girse, kit-kû-kî urô
brother returning came. Thy father-by feast done-was, because he
achehâniko å-gogirî. Tab urô-kû ris å-gogirî; bithi-së urô-kô bapêto
good well came.” Then him-to anger came; therefore him-of father
ribô-së likari-kê augadô rairô urô-kô manalô. Uro-nê lapatjâ-kû
house-from having-come-out come was him entreated. Him-by father-to
âtar dis, ‘tà bêp tîgi, itnâ barse-së mâ-nê tari khebâri
answer was-given, ‘thou father see, so-many years-from me-by thy service
kiri; kabhai tëri hatelî dhîrurî nê; tau-bi tënê êk rakri-kô
was-done; evar thy word was-broken not; still thee-by one goat-of
ruelhâ mo-kê nê tillo ki aparâ khyaars-kê sang rauj upûdô;
young-one me-to not was-given that own friends-of with merry might-sake;
pari jaisê ji têrô chhâkô âro, íro-nê hurikia-pêchô-mê malêthô sab
but when this thy son came, him-by adulatory-in property all
urâ dis, tënê urô-kê linî patêli dîni.’ Uro-nê
squanâdering gave, thee-by him-of for-the-sake feast was-given.’ Him-by
urō-sē lakhārs, ’ū chūhākā, tā sādā mērē ṭhaur rabbārō; jō mērē
hin-to said, 'O son, thou always of-me near art; what of-me
pastē hubhārē, sō sab tērō-ī hubhārē. Ham khusī karugaē, kitē-kē-kē
near is, that all thine-only is. We marry shall-make, because
tērō jī bhāiyārā marugirō, phēr jībār-kē; nur jī jālō raigor,
thy this brother dead-was, again having-come-to-life; and he lost was,
phēr ā-gōgirō.'
again came.'

The specimens received from Etawah are essentially of the same kind as the pre-
ceding ones. Note, however, the future forms jāmō, I will go; kāhā, I will say, and
the greater admixture of Hindūstānī.
**GIPSY LANGUAGES.**

**KANJARI.**

**SPECIMEN IV.**

District Farrukhabad.

Kiā kājarā-kē dō batrā thē. Óchhō batrā-nē dā-sē kahī

Some man-of two sons were. Small son-by father-to it-was-said

ki, 'arē dā, bihārō-mē jō mērō rīkā hai, mērō de-de.'

that, "O father, property-in which my share is, mine give.'

Tab na-nē un-kō apnī bihārō bāt dīnā. Bahut dīnā

Then him-by them-to own property, having-divided was-given. Many days

na hōgā ki òchhō batrā sah kuchh ikāttā kar-kē dāsē

[n] became that small son all whatever together having-made other

mulk-kō gawā aur apnī bihārō urāwā. Tab wā mul-kō

country-to went and own wealth was-squandered. Then that country-in

barō akāl pairō aur wah kātgāl hō gawā. Aur wā

big famine fell and he destitute becoming went. And that

mulk-kō rahānū-mē-sē ēk-kē yahā rihān lagō, jis-nē wē apnē
country-of inhabitants-in-from one-of with to-live began, whom-by him own

khetē-mē suar charīn jālō. Aur un chhūnīyō-sē jinē suar

fields-in mine to-tend was-sent. And those husks-from which mine

khatē thē apnō udrē bhar lindhē, sur kōi na dēnē tō. Tab

eating were own belly filling took, and anybody not to-give was. Then

wē chētānī huī, tab wā-nē kahī kī, 'mērē dā-kā

to-him senses came, then him-by it-was-said that, 'my father-of

kītē majūrdō-kō jāfāt-sē barh rōṭī hōtī hai, aur māi

how-many servants-to food-from more bread becoming is, and I

bhūkā maddō hē. Māi uṭkē apnē dā ḍhīg jānē aur

vilt-hunger dying am. I having-arisen own father near will-go and

wā-sē kahō kī, "hē dā, mai-nē baikūt-kē ultē ōp-kē sādēh

him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by heaven-of against you-of before

pāp karō hai. Māi phir ōp-kē batrā kahānē kām-kē nahī.

sin done is. I again your-Honour-of son to-be-called worthy not.

Mujhē apnē majūrdō-mē-sē ēk-kē barnabhar karvā."'

Me own servants-in-from one-of like make."'

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

KANJARI.

Specimen V.

Ikk chör kisū ghar-bich ghus-gayā sur andhērē-ūrā dhūdhnē laggā
One thief some house-in entering-went and darkness-in to-search began
ki, 'koi dāmō-di chīj bāth laggā, tō lai jāū.'
that, 'some value-ōf thing hand may-be-applied, then taking may-go.'
Achhānāk iк sandākh par thukkar laggā. Chör-nē uththā
Suddenly one box on stumbling was-applied. Thief-by having-lifted
li. Sandākh bhārī thā. Man-vich suchchā ki, 'i-mā
was-taken. Box heavy was. Mind-in it-was-thought that, 'this-in
māl huggā.' I-gal man-vich sōch ghar-sū bāhār āndā
property will-he.' This-matter mind-in thinking house-from out come
aur iк bagīyā-vich ḥārī-ūrī ḍō waith-kar kīl-sū tālā khōlāne
and one garden-in bush-ōf behind having-sat-down nail-with lock to-open
laggā ki, 'unā-dā māl nikāū.' I kartē
began that, 'that-ōf property I-may-take-out.' This doing
bājā-ūrī kāi kal chal-gal jī-sū bājā bājānē
musical-instrument-ōf some spring moving-went which-from instrument to-play
laggā. Chör-nē dar-ūrē mārē bājā pāṭāk-mārā sur sandā
to began. Thief-by fear-ōf from instrument was-thrown-down and own
jān le-kar huggā. I bāg-dā māl chör-ūrē paggān-dē
life taking fled. This garden-ōf gardener thief-ōf footsteps-of
āhat-sē jaggā sur dekhāne laggā ki, 'i-kē gal hai?'
sound-from awake and to-see began that, 'this what-matter is?'
Sarhī-dā jān pārā ki ḥārī-vich bājā-ūrī āwāj nikās
Him-ōf knowledge fell that bush-in instrument-ōf sound coming-out
rahi hai. Tō i-kō chōr-sē kam ğar nāth laggā.
remaining is. Then thief-from small fear not was-attached.
Dar-ūrē mārē māl bhi utthē-sū bhuggā sur bag-dā mālik-sē
Fear-ōf on-account gardener also there-from fled and garden-ōf wener-to
i-gal kānīādā ki, 'bagīyā-vich bhūt ā-gayō.' Ū-nē bagīyā
this-matter told that, 'garden-in spirit come.' Him-by garden
gher-lāi sur ḥārī-ūrī ğt khūē karāndū-ūrī.
was-surrounded and bush-ōf behind merriment made-is.
FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

KANJARI.

SPECIMEN VI.

District Belgium.

Ekkan kăjaro-ku jaudō baiđa handā. Unā-mā nunkō baiđo
One man-to two sons were. Them-among younger son
napō bāpō-ku sidāro, 'bāpō, tērō jindgi-mā mērō āwākō hisō
own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in mine coming share
own-ku kidō.' Bāpō-nē unā-mā apāṇi jindgi batwārrō. Nunkō
me-to give.' Father-by them-among own property divided. Younger
baiđo apāṇi hisō ēwar-ko dūr gaś-kō nikhar-ko bāhut āin
son own share taking far village-to having-gone many days
horā-nā ittā-mā ē ēnūdi hōwar-ko apāṇi jindgi sab
become-not this-much-in he riotous having-become own property all
lutwārrō. E nisē kārwār-ko khāpar wī mulkō-ma ehibādō dukāl
wasted. He thus having-done after that country-in big famine
girwār-ko urā-kō garibī āwārī. E wö mulkō-mā ekkan
having-fallen him-of poverty came. He that country-in one
kājarō-ke pāś naukri ṛhnārō. Wo kājarō urō-ku jukrē eharāwā-ku
man-of near in-service stayed. That man him swine feeding-for
apāṇi khatō-ku laga-dinā. Whī bhūkō-dē talma-kō jukrē
even field-to employing-gone. There hunger-from having-suffered swine
khāndāsū bhusū-bi thūr-ko pētō hārwār-lēndō, phir-tu urū-ku
eaten husks-even having-eaten belly filling-took, but him-to
kīrō-ke pās-dē kā-bi milwārō-nā. Aīsō-ch thōdā din
anybody-of near-from anything-even was-got-not. Thus few days
hūrā, apāṇi pichāwādē batēlī yād hōwar-ko ē apāṇi
become, own former state remembrance having-become he own
ji-mā dusārō, 'mērō bāpō-kē hyā aśā bāhutā naukri-kā pētō
mind-in said, 'my father-of with so many servants-to belly
bharwār-kō jāsti hōwār-ittō khāntō milwādō; phir-ṭu hyā
having-filled excess becoming-so-much food is-got; but here
mai-tō bhukā-dē mardō. Māī ḥuṭ-kō mērō bāpō-kē
I-on-my-side hunger-from dying-am. I having-urine my father-of
hyā nikhar-ko dusārō, "bāpō, māī māhābūb-kō pāp āwār
there having-gone say, "O-father, I God-of sin and
bâpô-kô pâp bandwâr hînô. Mâr térô baidô kar-ko bôl-jêwâ-ku
father-of sin attaching took. I thy son saying to-be-called
byâdik-mâ: mau-ku ekkan naukro-kê smrikô térô majik mkhwrâ-tê.";
worthy-not; mee one servant-of like of-thee near keeping-take.";
E' whâ-di khat-ko * apanâ bâpô-kê pâs awardô, bâpô-nê urô-ku
He there-from having-arisen own father-of near coming, father-by him-to
dûrû-dê dîkhwr-ko mayâ awar-ko bhugwâr-nikhar-ko chaukaã
far-from having-seen pity having-come running-going embrace-
lê-ko chummâ dinô. Tubi baidô bâpô-ku dusârô, 'bâpô,
having-taken kiss was-given. Then son father-to said, 'father,
amî mahâbêb-kâ sambôr térô sambôr takshîr karo-hê. Mau-ku
I God-of before of-thee before sin done-have. He
 térô baidô kar-ko dusarnô-nâ." Use bâpô-nê apanâ naukro-kê
thy son having-said to-be-said-not. That father-by own servants-to
sidârô, 'uochô libas lavar-ko mërô baidâ-ku pinâw; angalya-ma
was-said, 'high dress having-brought my son-to put-on; finger-on
angôl dâlvarô, guñale-mâ jâtâ dâlvarô; khantâ-ki tayâri
ring put, foot-on shoes put; dinner-of preparation
karwâr. Hamê thur-kô khusal hîwmgâ. Kalatû yô mërô
make. We having-eaten merry shall-become. Because this my
baidô mar-gôdô, phir jân award; gawânde-gaundô, milô-hê." Ye
son died, again life come; lost-gone, found-is." This
sunwâr-ko sârâ khusal hurâ.
having-heard all merry became.

Ye baktö-ku urô-ko chihadô baidô khêtô-ma hundô. E
This time-at his big son field-in was. He
nandô-kê pâs awarâsô baktö-mâ urô-ku gânô awar rang sunwâr
house-of near coming time-in him-to singing and dancing hearing
awarro. E naukar-mâ-dê ekkan-ku chaulla-ko, 'kâ chhallô
come. He servants-in-from one-to having-called, 'what going-on
hê?" dusar-ko puchhôrâ. Use e sidârô, 'têrô bhai
is ?" having-said asked. That-to he said, 'thy brother
awarô-hê, e khusât-de awar-ko polchharô, urô-ko wâsde térô
come-is, e he happily having-come arrived, him-of for-the-sake thy
bâpô-nê khanêtô karwârô-hê." Yô sunwâr-ko urô-ko chihadô baidô
father-by feast made-is." This having-heard his big son
khandar gaungrô-nû. Us wâsde urô-ko bâpô-nê hähr awar-ko,
inside went-not. That for his father-by outside having-come,
'khandar award; kar-ko urû-ku balut sidârô. Use e apanô
'inside come; having-said him-to much was-said. That-to he own

v. xi. q 2
bāpō-ku dusārō, 'maī itnā bars-laga tērō naukri karwār-ko kabī
tērō batell tuṣādānā. Phir-tō-bi maī mērō dōstōn-ku milwār-lē-ko
thy word broke-not. But I my friends-ko having-collected
khanētō karwār-ke wāsākā yō mau-tīt ekkān bakrā hit
feast making-of for-the-sake thou me-to one goat even
dānā. Phir-tu rājāha-ke sōbatī-mā padwād-ko tērō sāri jindigī
given-not. But harlots-of company-in having-fallen thy all property
mingal-līnādo yō tērō baidō mandō-ku ārō harōhar yō
having-decorated this thy son house-to coming immediately by-thee
urō-ke wāsākā khanētō karwārō-he.' Bāpō-nē baidā-ku dūstārā,
him-of for-the-sake feast made-is.' Father-by son-to said,
yō mērō sāngāt nit-rej rahēndō. Mārō pās hē, sō sāri
'thou of-me with all-days art. My near is, that all
tērī-ch hē. Mar-gauśō tērō hūnāi, phir-ku jīdē utrō hē;
thīne-only is. Dead thy brother, again arisen is;
gam-gauśō-so, milwādō hē. Aisō hāmē khuśī hōwār-ku byādik hē.'
lost-gone, found is. Thus we merry being-for proper is.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.
KANJARI.
SPECIMEN VII.

Baidô, mai kôm? mero nam kâ? urû-ku mâlum hê kâ? Mai
agarih-ô àndâ, awar mai ûró- barohar din nigarô. Yô utawâ-ko
em-from come, and I come immediately day come. You arising
bakhat hurrô-to mai mërô sunnâ-kâ sarkô bätêtô térô khôjki-ma-ô
tiène come-then I my gold-of like hand your window-in-from
lambô karwâr-ko yuro-ku utthândâ. Yô bichhâ-ô padwâj rhalô
stretched having-made you waken. You bed-on falling remaining
wâs-dë mai àndû-nâ. Yô utwar-ko nhawa-ku wâs-dë kitab padwâ-ke
for I come-not. You having-risen to-bathe for books to-read
wâs-dë sâî-ku nikharwâ-ke wâs-dë mai àndô. Mai nîrô chalwârnewâlô hî
come-to for I come. I good walker am-
Mai rastô chalwâr-ko asmân-mâ phir-ko awarwâ-ku ekkaq din
road having-walked sky-in returning coming-for one day
hômô. Mai kahî thagadû-nâ, rahât-bi-nâ. Mero âîr-pô jhalak
becomes. I ever get-tired-not, halt-also-not. My head-on shining
gold-of crown is. That-of light I four-directions throwing-am.
Niwâî-ô- pûnd-ô- ûzhdâ-ô pûro jhal phailândû. Mero chamakdê girrôsô,
Water-on houses-on trees-on my rays spread. My light fallen,
sah chijô khapsûrat awar rûsanî nujar àndî. Mai yuro-ku újâlo dêndû,
all things beautiful and shining sight go. I you-to light give,
awar dhûp bi mâî-ch dêndû. Mai phalâri awar anâj pakhûndû. Mai
and sunshine also I-alone give. I fruit and corn ripen. I
asmânô-mâ bahut khûñcêhô hû. Sabi ûzhdân-ô dôngâràn-ô abar-ô
sky-in much high am. All trees-than mountains-than clouds-than
mai khûñcêhô hû.
I high am.
FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

KANJARI.

KUCHRANDH DIALECT.

DISTRICT BAHRAICH.

Ek gihar-ké dui baṭrā rāhin. Arō-mātē chhōtkawā batrū aprē
One man-of two sons were. Thēn-in-from younger son own
bāpū-tē kahis ki, thē bāpū, kōhri-mā jaun hamrō hīsā hōē
'father-to said that, 'O father, property-in which my shore may-be
taun bāḥū dēā.' Tab-hī bēē ḍinhō. Thērē din bitrē
that dividing give.' Then dividing was-given. Few days passed
chhōtkawā batrū sab hīsā aprē jāmā kinhō ēk mulkō-rō
younger son all shore own together made one country-of
pardēsō chal gayō au uhē aprē mālō chalākī-mā urā
foreign-place going went and there own property wickedness-in wasting
dinhō. Jāh kauṣī nahī rah gayō tabē ē mulkō-mā
when a-country not remaining went then that country-in
soua-given. When a-country not remaining went then that country-in
bārō kāl pīrō. Tab ē garh hōnō lagrō sur ē mulkō-rō ēk
poor famine fell. Then he poor to-be began and that country-of one
basaā-kō ghar kām karnō lagrō. Ē arō-kō ē kahis ki,
inhabitant-of in-hone work to-do began. He him-to this said that,
'khētān-mā suar char ḍhōē.'
'fields-in swine tending take.'
NATI.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of NATI.</th>
<th>Assam</th>
<th>Bengal</th>
<th>Bihar and Orissa</th>
<th>Central Provinces and Berar</th>
<th>United Provinces</th>
<th>Central India Agency</th>
<th>Rajputana Agency</th>
<th>Elsewhere</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5,145</td>
<td>9,970</td>
<td>5,651</td>
<td>11,385</td>
<td>68,876</td>
<td>10,900</td>
<td>8,447</td>
<td>7,557</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

In such circumstances we cannot expect to find a separate language spoken by the Nats. In the information collected for the purposes of this Survey there figures a Nat language, returned under the name of natō-bēri, with or without specifying additions such as Brijbasi, Pastō, etc. The figures are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Assam</th>
<th>Bengal</th>
<th>United Provinces</th>
<th>Aligarh</th>
<th>Mainpuri</th>
<th>Etawah</th>
<th>Bijnor</th>
<th>Rampur</th>
<th>Khari</th>
<th>Bahraich</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,584</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,050</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The specimens received from the districts, however, show that there is no such dialect as Natā. The various clans classed together under the head of Natā speak the dialect of their neighbours. Like many other wandering tribes, however, they have a professional argot, made up by disguising ordinary words in the same way as in Criminal Sāśī. This argot has
nothing to do with grammar. The underlying dialect is either the ordinary vernacular or a mixture of forms derived from different dialects, such as we might reasonably expect in the mouth of travelling professionals who roam over a wide area and who are recruited from more than one tribe or clan. The specimens printed below will, however, show that the dialect of the Naṭ of the United Provinces contains an unmistakable admixture of Rājasthāni. Thus we find forms as baṭrā, son; baṭrā-nē, by the son, in addition to the regular baṭrā-nē, by the son; gaṅgā, went; and litā, went, in Mainpuri; and so forth. Some few details will be mentioned later on. If therefore seems as if those Naṭ whose speech is represented in our specimens have come from or at least spent some time in Rājasthān. The specimens will, however, also show that these Rājasthāni features are too few and too little thoroughgoing to justify us in classing Naṭ as even a debased form of Rājasthāni. What is meant under the denominations Naṭ and Naṭō ki bōli is not a definite dialect but the professional argot of the Naṭ.

As in the case of Śāşi the argot of the Naṭ contains several peculiar words such as bōrā, boy; bānā, chhāt, water; chhukar, day; chhilā, gō; dimā, dātā, cat; gōm, gān, thief; kājō, cultivator, squire; kholā, house; khum, mouth; laga, die; bō, nān, bull; nēl, night; tāyā, that (person or thing) concerned; tāpan, drink; tājā, pig, and so forth. Most of such words are known from other argots and dialects such as Śāşi and cannot yet be explained etymologically. Some such terms taken down from the mouth of some Tasmābēs residents of Cawnpore have been printed on pp. 314-316 of the Selections from the Government Records North Western Provinces and Oudh, Vol. i. 1892.

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

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

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

A k is prefixed in forms such as kōf, eighth (Rampur); kōdmā, man; and substituted for an initial k in kāf, share (Mainpuri). Kh is much more common. Compare kā-kālai, property; khimē, ny; khundar, inside; khakāl, famine; khōfā, small; kham, day; khējaj, belly; khāmāi, having put on; khādā, after; khunjē, me (all from Mainpuri); khachēla, water; khunadas, river; khapān, water; khakāl, big one, Sir; khabhējia, wolf (all from Bijnor); khānē, belly (Rampur), and so forth.

Ch is substituted for an old labial in words such as chakar, sieve, Hindūstāni pokar; chhachhēla, speaking, cf. Hindūstāni bōlā, in the Bijnor specimens. Chh is similarly used in words such as chhāka, hungering; chhulka = mukh, country (Mainpuri); chhōd = bāhun, much (Rampur), etc. The soft palatals are also used as substitutes for labials in jātā = kāthā, share; jārā = barā, big (Rampur); jhūmā = burā, evil; jhāgī = bhāgī, brother (Mainpuri), but also in cases such as jhēk, one; jhakāl, famine (Bhagalpur).
Of dental substitutes we may note thānā = sānā, before (Rampur), and the frequent use of ṇ, ṇk; thus, nēt = khēt, field; nātt = ckhātā, breast; nuṭal = mukhāya, wanting; nāmā = sāna, together (Mainpuri); niṭkhē = pikhē, after; naunēckāvar = parmēscāar, God; nāth = sāt, seven; nā = thū, thou; nē = thē, were; nē = ekhē, six (Rampur), and so forth.

Of labials we may note, ph in phēr, three (Rampur); ɔ in forms such as bēp, one; bātā, to him (Mainpuri); bōr = our, and; bāki, watchman (Rampur); and ə in words such as māhā = kahā, said; mȳ ə = kȳ, why? māhā = chhāntā, wishing; mār = pȳr, love; māt = bād, after, and so forth in the Mainpuri specimens. The form maruk, dead, is probably of another kind, the base mar being prefixed to the base lag, to die. In some of the Mainpuri specimens the old initial which has been replaced by ə is subsequently added at the end of the word; thus, māṭkhē = khēt, field; sunskhē = kānsi, merry; mōṭchāni-nē = chkōtā-nē, by the younger one; māṭbā = bātē, sons; māpē = bāp, father; mērātē = tērā, thy; muṇāvē = sāur, wife, and so forth.

Of other substitutions we may note ə in līppā = chalā, went; hitchā = bichāhlā, had condnet (Mainpuri); r in rān = kān, eat; rahāt = khēt, field (Rampur); rōkā = chhōta, small; rākā = sāb, all (Bhagalpur), and so on. It is also used instead of ə in the List of Words and Sentences from Rampur printed below on pp. 1906, in the word tiyārī rā, cow, where rā corresponds to Hindostani gāe, while tiyārī is a pronoun meaning 'that thing just mentioned.'

As in the case of other argots we also find words disguised by means of additions at the end. Note forms such as kheītā = pēt, belly; khinātā = māt, property (Mainpuri); labē = lab, direction (Bijnor), and several consonantal additions. Such are, ə and ə in forms such as kawghē and kāhē, said; gawghē, went; rōngā, stay; pongā, got (Mainpuri); cānā j in hōchā, was (Rampur); kuṭā, made (Bijnor); cerebrals in forms such as lāgāna, to apply (Bijnor); lāgōrā, to beat (Rampur); puchhāvar, asked (Mainpuri); ə in forms such as kheīptā, father (Etawah); ə in verbs such as deppō, give; līppā, went; līppā, applying; kārpā, made (Mainpuri), and so on. Note also akhrō = do, two; bēpēkē, of the father (Rampur); kānū, to do, and the curious forms jāturā, go; diwānā, come (Mainpuri); aśrē, came (Rampur); jāsarā, going (Rampur); aśrē, come (Bijnor), and so forth.

It will be seen from the figures given above on p. 121 that most speakers of Naṭ in the United Provinces have returned from the western part of the Province, from Etawah in the south to Bijnor in the north. We are comparatively best informed about the state of affairs in Mainpuri. There are several tribes in the district who make use of the Naṭ klang, such as the Baisiyās, the Banjāras, the Habūmas, the Kanjars and the Kalābās. The base is apparently everywhere the current Hindostān dialect with a tissue of Rājasthānī. This element has not been organically mixed up with the underlying Hindostānī, but Rājasthānī forms are occasionally used side by side with the ordinary ones. Thus we find instances of the nominative in ə, the oblique base in ə and the plural in ə of strong masculine bases; compare rājētō chēntā hoichēhē, there was a rich man, but commonly forms such as jāntō bōtā hoichēhē, the big son was (in the fields): bātrā-nē and bātrā-nē, by the son; əhōr bātrā hoichēhē, there were two sons, and so forth. The version of the Pamble of the Pradigal Son which follows well illustrates this form of speech. It has been taken down from the mouth of a Baisiyā.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BAISIYĀ).

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT MAINPUR.

Beg rajēṭṭa-kō dhōr batā ra hoichchā. Uṭhi-mē-thā khōṭē batā-ra-nē
One man-of two sons were. Tham-in-from small son-by
chhūra-thā kanga ki, "eyō chhūra, khimāli-kā khissa khimēra
father-to it-was-said that, "O father, property-of share mine
hoichchā hāi thō khujē depī depō, Tō tabi uthī-nē khimāli-kī
becoming is that we having-given give. And then him-by property-of
kāṭ kalī depā. Thōsē khimē-kē khād khōṭē batrē-nē sahi
shares having-made was-given. Few days-of after small son-by all
kucchā nama kāl-kē bēg dar-ki khul-kō lilā. Wāhā khapnā
whatever together having-made one distant country-to went. There own
khimāli kuchā khurē depē. Aur jābi sabi
property in-land-conduct having-wanted was-given. And when all
hoichchā gaunga uthī khul-kō jhārā khakal hoichchā, aur wāh
having-compass went that country-in big famine became, and he
nautāj hoichchā gaunga. Tabī uthī khul-kō bēg rajjō chūndā
in-want having-become went. Then that country-of one man rich
hoichchā, jīthi-kē wāh ligā jālūra. Aur uthī-nē uthī-kō khapnē
was, whom-of he employed went. And him-by him own
nēś-mē tāunī dimānā-kō khujāi depē. Aur wāh lugtā
fields-in swine feeding-for having-went was-given. And he dying
hoichchā ki uthī chhul-kō-thē jō tāunī dimānā hoichchā, khapnā
became that those husks-from which pig eating was, own
khētāi jhāri leppē, ki kōi uthī depētā khātī hoichchā.
belly having-filled may-take, as anyone him giving not was.
Jābi khās-mē ālūra, kanga, "khimēra chhūra-kē khītnē kōdmi
When sense-in came, it-was-said, 'my father-of so-many men(-to)
tāwāli hoichchātī hāi; maṅ chhūkāl lugta hū. Maṅ khutī-kē khapnē
bread becoming is; I by-hunger dying am. I having-arisen own
chhūraṁ pās lilēgā aur uthī-thē kanga kā, "eyō chhūraṁ, maṅ-nē
father near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by
khagās-kē aur tērā jhūra kālā; nāī uthī nāik khatī rāyō hoichhū
deaven-of and of-thee sin was-done; now this fit not remained am
ki téra batra kaugi deeper jáhrë. Khujhë khapnë
that thy son having-said having-given I-may-go. Me even
kòdmë-më-thë bëg-kë máfik khanë leppë.”” Talë khuth-kë khapnë
men-in-from one-of like having-taken take.”” Then having-arisen even
echuína pas lilpë. Aur wàh abë dër hoichëhë ki utth-kë naukhtë
father near went. And he yet far was that him seeing
khi utth-kë chhúra-kë màr alura, aur lilp-kë utth-kë náttí-thë
immediately him-of father-to love came, and having-gone him breast-to
lëppë leppë aur utth-kë khitnë khitë leppë leppë.
having-clasped was-taken and him-of so-many kisses having-taken were-taken.
Båtë-në utth-thë kaugë ki, ‘cyë chhúra, máñ-në khugas-kë aur
Sunday him-to it-was-said that, ‘O father, me-by heaven-of and
téra jhura kàllë, aur khatti ki plur téra batra kòi kaugë.’
of-the sin was-done, and it-is-not that again thy son anyone may-call.’
Chhúra-në khapnë kòdmiyë-thë kaugë dëppë ki, ‘ehínda chánda
Father-by own men-to having-said it-was-given that, ‘good good
tëkkë leppë alurë, aur utthi déppë dépë; aur utth-kë clothes having-taken come, and to-him having-given give; and him-of
khamgrë-në khangáthi aur utth-kë pëw-më réwiyë khainit déppë; aur
finger-on ring and him-of feet-on shoes having-put-on give; and
hami dimë-në aur nusi khamë-në ki yah mëra batra lugì jálurë
we may-eat and merry may-make as this thy son having-died gone
hoichëhë, thë ehínda álurës hura bë khatti hoichëhë jànë kiyë
was, he alive came; anywhere even not is to-know where
gaugë rë, abë alurë hoichëhë;’ Tahi nusi kùllë nauga,
having-gone stayed, now come is.’ Then merry to-make began.

Aur utth-kë jharpë batra nëthi-në hoichëhë. Jali khakán-kë-të álum
And him-of big son fields-ba was. When house-of-near came
aur khinch-ki khwaj nama, táh-bëg kòdmë-kë kaugë ki, ‘yë
dand dancing-of sound was-heard, then one man-to it-was-said that, ‘this
këy hoichëhë hai?’ Aur utthi-në bithë kaugë ki, ‘téra jhalyë
what become is.’ And him-by to-him it-was-said that, ‘thy brother
álum hoichëhë, aur téré chhúra-në jhari chëndi dimë-në-kë kòllë hai ki
come is, and thy father-by very good feasting-for made is an
bithë ehínda álum naukhtë.’ Utthi-në kìjhë hoichëhi gaugë ki
him well come was-seen.’ Him-by angry having-become went that
bith khákán-kë khandar khati jálurë. Tahi utth-kë chhúra-në biyë-thë
that house-of inside not will-go. Then him-of father-by there-from
álur-kë utthi namjáyë. Utth-në chhúra-thë cheòt-në kaugë,
having-come him it-was-entreated. Him-by father-to answer-in it-was-said,
The specimen which follows represents the same kind of Hindostani mixed with Rajasthani. Compare Rajasthani forms such as khur-ké haýo méñáh (i.e. bést), his younger son; máhpái, i.e. bápai, by the father; máṣúrd-kó, to the servant; bhág-chhá, had become; ranchhá, I remain; mahó and mahá, said, and so on. Most forms are, however, ordinary Hindostani. The specimen has been taken down from the mouth of a Baisiya. It differs from the preceding one in the common practice of suffixing the original initial of disguised words; thus, máñégá=gáné, singing; máñángá=júšt, shoe, and so forth.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAȚI (BAISIYA).

SPECIMEN II.

| District Mainpur. |

Khök makassë dōs mēṭēlē thr. Uni-mālā mékšēchē-nē
One maa-to two sons went. Them-in-from younger-by
mahā, 'māplē, khimāl-kā khissā khimānā mujhē dē' Tab
it-was-said, 'father, property-of share mine to-me give.' Then
us-nē khimāl unheh māti āiyā. Thēpāi din-kē māt
him-by property to-them giving was-given. Few days-off after
mōtēchē mēṭēlē sab-kō mahāj kar-kē khēk dūr-kē chhulak-kō
gōnger son all together having-done one distant country-to
mupārśē kīyā. Wahā apnā māl ladchātī kharpāyā,
journey was-made. There own property in-kind-conduct was-squandered.
Jab sab mīr-chukā-kir-chukā us chhulak-mē bārā khakāl parā.
When all had-been-squandered-away that country-in big famine fell.
Khus chhulak-mē khē̊ kūhāis-kē yahā khajā laga.
That country-in one square-of place having-gone was-emplayed.
Khus-nē khusē kharē mēkēh muarse charītan gēchā. Wah
Him-by him own in-fields mine to-feed it-was-sent. He
mahtā thā kē khūn mīrkāchē jō muarse mutēkhē, apnā
wishing were that those husa which mine evil, own
maṭpāyē bharē, khē kō khusē nā datā thā. Jab
hālly may-fill, that anyone him not giving was. When
bōsh-mē bānyo-chē, mahā kē, 'mere māplē-kē mējūrē-kō
sense-in become-had, it-was-said that, 'my father-of servants-to
bahut kharēti haī. Khimāi bīkāhī martā hī. Khimāi
much breads are. I will-hunger dying am. I
khēth-kē apnē māplē-kē pūs jāugā nūr khusē kahūgā, "ni
having-arisen own father-of near will-go and to-him will-say, "O
māplē, khaśmān-kē khūr mērētē munāgēi kīyā; ab is
father, heaven-of and of-these sin was-done; now this
lāk naithā rochē kē tērā mēṭēbē kahāyū; mujhē apnē
fit not am that thy son may-be-called; me own
majūrē-nē khēk-sā tanā," Tahkā khēth-kē apnē māplē-kē
servants-in one-like make," Then having-arisen own father-of
Nāṭi (Baisīṭa).

pās gayē-chhū. Wah abhī khudār hatō, khuse lakh-kē
near went. He yet far was, him having-seen
khus-kē māpbē khirahim khayō; khidaur-kē ussī malegō
him-of to-father pity became; having-run him to-seat
khilagāl layō aur bahut khimōmāchē. Mējēhē-nē khus
having-closed was-taken and much kissed. Son-by to-him
kōkā, 'nī māpbē, mē-nē agās-kē aur khitēr-kē munāgāi
it-was-said, 'O father, me-by heaven-af and thee-af sin
kiyā; is kahī naitē rauchhū kī tērī mētābē
was-done; this worth not an that thy son
kahliyē.' Māpbai apne nōkarō-kō mahā ki,
I-may-be-called. By-the-father own servants-to it-was-said that,
'achchhi achenhi mōsākāyō khanikās lāo, uṣē mahlāhē
'good good dresses having-taken-out bring, him putting-on
dō, khus-kē khāth-mē khaṅgūthī aur mābyē-mē mūtājā mahlāhē
gīre, him-of hand-on ring and foot-on shoes putting-on
do, aur ham mustikhe manāē, myō-kē mērō mētābē islāk
gīre, and see merry may-make, because my son dead
gayō hatō, ab muji gayō; mōkhē gayō, ah milē gayō.
gone was, now alive went; last went, now found went,
Tab wē mustikhe karnē lağē.
Then they merry to-make began.

Khus-kē barō mētābē mētakhi-mē hatō. Jab margbē-kē
Him-of big son field-in was. When house-of
nazālik āyō mānēgā aur ginech-bartō-kē awāz sulpi.
near came singing-of and dancing-of sound was-heard.
Tab kēhā khīnōkār būlākē puchhṇārō kī, 'yah kai
Then one servant having-called il-sens-asked that, 'this what
hai?' Khus-nē khuse mahō kī, 'tērā mahīhē āyō;
is?' Him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother came;
hus-kē tērā māpbē-nē hari māfat kari, is liyē kī
him-of thy father-by big feast was-made, this for that
bhalō matugōchi pāyō.' Mūsā kī, na chhalā khandar
good sound was-got.' Anger was-made, not wished inside
ki jāē. Tab khus-kē māpbē-nē khīnānāpāyā. Khün-nē
that may-go. Then him-of father-by was-renounced. Him-by
bāp-nē jawāb mēlō kī, 'lakh, īnē marasbē tērī
father-to answer was-given that, 'see, so-many years thy
mājhat karpātō, khāhhū tērē khūm-kē mularkhilāf na chalē
service doing-was, ever thy order-of against not went.
A third specimen from the Mainpuri District, which has been forwarded under the head of Naṭi, is of the same kind as the preceding one. It contains the statement of a Naṭi about a theft.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ.

SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT MAINFURL.

Mōrīch bhai; us-mā khāiq muṭīwā gaō chū. Khāiq māriwā

Theft was; that-in one kettle lost was. One jag
gal chū. Dō gamārī the gaiē. Phīr māṇē-thē-mē gayā.

lost was. Two plates were gone. Then police-station-in went.

Mē-nē rapē karī jāī māṇathdār āyā likh

Me-by report having-made having-gone police-officer came writing

likhāē-ka, phīr mārōgādī khaṇē māṇē-thē-kō chālē

having-consed-to-be-written, then the-inspector own station-to moved
gayē. Kākhālik nāyī mil-āyō. Mārōgādī-kāi māsthē char sipāhī
cent. Anything-not being-found-came. Inspector-of with from soldiers

in mānakfidēr āyē thē. Māndrāh wā sōlāh khūdī mārōgādī-nē

three watchmen come were. Fifteen or sixteen men inspector-by

khīkkīṭhē karpē tāmānā-ki talāshī layī ki, 'is nāt-ki
collective were-made house-of search was-taken that, 'this not-of

mōrīch hō gai yā nāīī.' Khāīk khūdī-nē un-mē-sē

theft having-become went or not! One men-by them-in-from

mahā ki, 'mē-rē mōrīch karta mēkhādē thē.

it-was-said that, 'men-by theft doing seen were."

Makasbāy-sē mīwālār-dāī khūdī phāī dayō,

Instrument-for-house-breaking-by wall-in hole having-broken was-given.

us wakat gaun karpē thē, sō bāllī bauchhē jag parpāī.

that time theft doing were, then young children awaking got-up.

Tab gaun bhāj gayē. Māṇathdār-nē mārā khīnāf nāīī

Then thieves running-away went. Police-officer-by of-me justice not

kiyē. Tahkhi mē-nē khūdiptī sāhab-kē yahā khārjī dāī,

was-done. Then me-by deputy sāhib-of with petition was-given.

Tab khūdīptī sāhab-nē magwā būlānē aur khun-kā izhār

Then deputy sāhib-of witnesses were-called and them-of statement

pangā, 'sach lōpt ki mōrīch hāī ki nāhī bhāī.' Khīnāf

war-got, 'truth tell that theft was or not was.' I

hilkulkhi lōt gayō. Khājūr mārā khīnāf nāīī karēgē,

wholly robbed went. Your-Honour of-me justice not will-make,
tō nāī nār jaūgā,
then I dying shall-go.
FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

NAṬĪ (Bēriyā).

SPECIMEN IV.

DISTRICT ETAWAH.

Kēhā tehā-kē khādē bōhrā thē. Uhi-mā-sē lahurā-nē
Some man-of two sons were. They-in-from younger-by
khabāptā-sē kahā, 'arē khabāptā, pūñi-māni-sē jō hamārā
father-to it-sons-said, 'O father, property-in-from which my
nāṭṭīli bōc uhm-kā bāṭbē.' Tab uh-nē uhm-kō apni māyā
share may-be that me-to divide.' Then him-by him-to own wealth
nāṭṭīli kar dī. Bōhit din nāḥi kāṭē kī lahurā
sharex having-made was-given. Many days not passed that younger
bōhrā sārī pūñi ikiṭhī kār anthā chhāē
son all property together having-made another-country having-gone
māyō.

stayed.

The Naṭ argot used in the Rampur State is known under the name of Pahārī Bhālar. The admixture of Rājasthāni forms in the specimens received from the State is comparatively small. Compare, however, the alternative genitive suffix i, ri, re; the locative suffix aḥ; forms such as mārā, māhrā, my; nō, i.e. thō, or thā, I was; forms such as rohā, rohā, and rohā, was; sīni, gave; sīni, made, and the future suffixes gā and rā. Note also the aspirated letters in pōghā, went; ḍuṅkṭē, eating; dhōr, two; thēr, three, etc. The character of this form of speech will be easily recognized from a perusal of the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable, the second a statement relating to a dacoity. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 180ff.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATÍ (PAHÁRÍ BHÁBAR).

SPECIMEN V.

STATE RAMPUR.

Bik kudmí-kē ḍhōr niklē rahā. Khalohrā-nē bāpsā-sē
One man-of two sons were. Younger-by father-to
kūkā ke, 'bāpsā, khatum-kā jaṭūp mohē dip-deō.' Bṛr
it-was-said that, 'father, property-of share me-to give.' And
bāppsā-nē dip-diyā. Nihorgā khadin nichhē kalāhrā niklē-nē ehhōd
father-by was-given. Few days after younger son-by much
bikhtā kōcā bōr khadār-kē niḍhwā-kā gōghā bōr khatum
together was-made and distance-of country-to went and substance
hināli-nē rahārāh hupi gōkē. Phin ōh niḍhwā-kē bik
riotousness-in spent becoming went. Then that country-of one
khamir-kē rohōlē gōghā. Oh-nē rahīt-nē ṭūndā nukānē rahā.
rick-man-of house went. Him-by fields-in pigs to-graze was-sent.
Bōr ōhē khapā rahī ke ōh kūbhā jō ṭūndā dūhē
desire was that those haaks-from which pigs eating
haṅ āpan khāntē thēkkē. Phin ōh-nē kūkā ke, 'mōhrē bāpsā-kē'
are own belly may-fill. Then him-by it-was-said that, 'my father-of
serants are; to-them breads are; and I hungry dying on.
Mēh āpan bāpsā-kē dhigē chhipāngā bōr ōh-sē kukāngā ke,
I own father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that,
"bāpsā, mēh-nē ḍhās bōr tōhrē thāmnē rādēr kēlī;
hū father, me-by heaven and of-thee before sin was-made;
ab mohē āpne chhintē sāhē karnō.""Oh "bāpsā-kē
now me own servant like make."" He father-of
dhigē chhipā. Bōr ōh khatār rahā kē ōhē nukh-kar
near went. And he far was that him seen-having
ōh-nē bāpsā-kū mōh āyā, bōr khatēg-kē ōhē richā
kis father-to affection came, and having-run his neck
lagē-liyā bōr ehhōd rīchhā kīlī. Bōr bāpsā āpan
was-clasped and much caressing was-made. And father own
chhintē-sē kūkā ke, 'kuchhe kuchhe riṭre kep-āō bōr
servants-to it-was-said that, 'good good clothes bring and
Bör öh-kä járë nílkä rahas-në rahas. Jab rölhe-kä dhigë
And him-of big son field-in was. When house-of near
äyä, bör khëchhë-kë chur mëhnë. Bik chhirtë-nu
came and dancing-of sound was-heard. One servant-to
kûkä ke, 'ë hüp hai?' Öh-në öh-së kûkä, 'tôhrä
it-was-said that, 'this what is?' Him-by him-to it-was-said, 'thy
bhaotä äyä hai, bör tôhrë bâpsä-në járë dûtnë këli.' Öh-në
brother come is, and thy father-by big feast was-made.' Him-by
rûsë hupi gôgë khâpiyänë ke rôhë na chilpë. Öh-kä
angry becoming went it-was-wished that house not may-go. Him-of
bâpsä-në khabâhär chilap-kar khamnâyä. Öh-në bâpsä-së
father-by outside having-gone it-was-remonstrated. Him-by father-to
kûkä, 'nûkh, chhôd khadin hupi gë ke tôhrë khamêtä
it-was-said, 'see, many days having-become went that thy service
kûl rahas; bör tôhrë kûkñë-së na chilpë. Tôh-në bik
doing remained; and thy words-from not went. Thee-by one
rôhîbrî-kä bâhchhâ bhi môbë na dîni ke khyàrë-kë hâth
goot-of young-one even to-me not was-given that friends-of with
rûsë râlpë. Bör jë tôhrë öh nílkä äyä jë tôhrë
mercy might-be. And when thy this son came by-whom thy
khâtum patnûyö-në rahareh hupi gôkî. Tôh-në öh-kë lîë
property harlots-to spent becoming went. Thee-by him-of for-the-sake
chhôd dîtnë kinn.' Öh-në kûkä ke, 'nîlkë, tô sadê
big feast was-made.' Him-by it-was-said that, 'son, thou always
môhrë dhigë hai, bör jë mëhrë hai, sô tôhrë hai,
af-me near art, and what mine is, that thing is
Phûa rûsë rôhönpë bör rûsë hônsë râhlë, ke tôhrë
But merry to-make and merry to-be was, that thy
bhâotë lögä râhlë, phin khajûmân hai; bör khajâtä râhlë,
brother dead was, again alive is; and lost was,
khamlë hai.'
found is.'
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAȚI (PAHÂRI BHÂBAR).

SPECIMEN VI.

Ther malinâ-sô chhōd khadin bhâe ki kôdhâ nîk-kâ mîhrê
Three mouths-from many days were that half night-at my
rîhâ bâlût bhaâ. Mêh rîhâ-sô khabâhâr nîppar-nê nîj
in-house daceity was. I house-from outside shed-in sleeping
rahâ thâ. Mêhri chhaban rîhâ-sô nîj rahi thî. Bik
staying was. My sister house-in sleeping staying was. One
kudnî mîhrê râhût-ki ñhi ñagatâ huâ mukhâ. Khôtîthôga,
man my bed-of near going become was-seen. I rose,
ô-nê núchhâ, tô kûkâ ke, 'tükî huî!' Mêh
White clothes put-on become was. Then twenty-five thirty burglars
kim-from it-was-asked, then it-was-said that, 'chaukâdâr am.' By-me
kûkâ ke, 'ôh bôr kudnî hâi.' Phin êh chilap-gâyâ,
it-was-said that, 'âhe another man is.' Then he going-went.
Khâdôrgâ rihaçre nêhrê hâm rôhâ. Phin anchia khûnâ bôd
Keth chul manâkâ-kê bhânê. Mêh gothic pura. Bik nohri
Eight fires guns-of become. I going fled. One knife
thi-sû lugâri bôr leuthâ lugâri. Mêh niżhht hupi gayâ ke
had-on struck and sticks struck. I quiet becoming went that
lôth dûrgâ. Phin bîk kudnî tikhni liyê mîhrê ñhi-ñî rehùrah
killing may-throw. Then one man sword taken of-me near standing
rahâ, bôr narwajjê-kâ rund nörnî lage. Nidhwê-kê ñambhâ chhôd
was, and door-of bolt to-break began. Village-of people many
bikhatâ hupi gaâ. To mîhrê ñhi-ñî sô bôl chîlpê gaâ.
together becoming went. Then of-me near-from burglars going went.
Phin mêh khînth-kê chîlpê gayâ, bôr nihwê-nê billâtâ phirâ
Then I hacing-run moved went, and village-in shouting went-about
ke, 'mîhrê rîhâ-sô bôl ärê, rîgh chîlpô!' Nêhmîthuânê
that, 'my house-in daceits have-entered, quickly come.' All-sides-from
bōl mandākē lohtē thē. Khāḍākē mārē uṭhē kōi na
dacoits guns firing were. Fear of on-account there anybody not
going was. Two hours for robbing were. Then moved vecul.
Bus-kē nīcchē mēh rūhā gōghā. nukhā ke khatālā nuṭā
That-of after I into-house went, it was seen that lock broken
huā hai, khamāṭi rūdhālā-rī, dāmatā-kē khatām khutāri
become is, earth dug-was, women-of property having-taken-out
li, bōr galma sab līpī gaē. Bikis
was-taken, and ornaments all having-taken had-gone. Twenty-one
hajār-kē khatām bulṭī-kē līpī gaē. Kāgaḍ
thousand-of property having-robbed having-taken had-done. Paper
dīpē dīyā hai. Richharā bōr nēthē jālā-kē
having-given given is. Quilts and stalks-of-fruit tree having-tightened
bōlā-nē khujīṭā kī thi. Mēhrā jadī-nē kāṭi kharīṭā nāhī
dacoits-by light made was. Of-me defendant-with any ill-feeling not
hai, na un-kē bhaṭṭē-śē. Mēhnē kīsē bōl-kē nāhī nechānē,
is, not him-of brother-with. Me-by any dacoit not was-recognized.
Mēh in bōl-kē ke kachāriyā-nē rāhē hai nāhī mahchāntā.
I these dacoits who court-in standing are not know.
Bōr jō khatām khoīkē lōkā āyā hai, mēhnā nāhī
d which properly recovered having-become come is, mine not
hai. Bēk rāhṛi tak mēhē thāmnē mēhrā rūhā bulaṭṭē rāhē.
is. One hour for of-me before my house robbing remained.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

More than three months ago there was a dacoity in my house at midnight. I was sleeping in a shed outside the house, but my sister was sleeping in the house. I saw a man coming up to my bed, and on my asking him, he said that he was the watchman. I then said, 'that is another man.' Then he went off. He was wearing white clothes. Then some twenty-five or thirty dacoits came and said they were dacoits. The night was dark. They had all sorts of weapons, pistols, swords, sticks and guns, and eight guns were fired. I then fled, but was hit on the head with a knife and with sticks. I then kept quiet lest they should kill me. One man was standing near me with a sword, and started to break the bolt of the door open. Now many of the village people came together, and the dacoits left me. I ran into the village and went about shouting, 'dacoits have entered my house, come quickly.' From all sides the dacoits were firing guns, and nobody ventured to approach. They kept robbing for two hours, and then went off. After that I entered the house and saw that the lock had been broken, the soil dug up, the property of the women taken and all ornaments taken away. They had robbed.
twenty-one thousand rupees' worth of property. I have given a list of it. The dacoits had burned quilts and straw and thus made a light. I have no ill-feeling against the defendant or against his brother. I did not recognize any one of the dacoits. I do not recognize those dacoits who are standing in court. The property which has been recovered is not mine. They were robbing my house in my presence for one hour.

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

NAŢI.

SPECIMEN VII.

District Bijnor.

Kisâ kûdmé-kó ñûbôdê thê. Chhôtê nûbdê-nê bâhâ-sû
Some man-of two sons were. Small son-by father-to
kahi ¿i, 'hamâra, bâta bôti da.' Us-nê apnê
it-was-said that, 'our share having-divided give.' Him-by even
jiûde-ji bôta diya. Ghanâ dinâ nahi hue, ehhôta nûbdê
least of share was-given. Many days not were, small son
sah khûbûnê le dûrê desâ nai gayâ, nai wakhê-sô
all goods having-taken another country going went, and there
sahô khûhâ khurâmarâ lagûdnê-mê lârâhad kár diya. Aur
all goods riotousness applying-in wasted making was-given. And
sah màngâ kár chukà, sô athane mulkâ-mê ghanâ akrâ
all spent making ceased, then there country-in mighty famine
bô gayâ. Jab lâchâr khûkhâ bône lagâ, tab us
having-become went. When helpless poor to-be began, then that
desâ-kê kisâ kûdmé-sê já bhêta. Tab na-nê usâ tûnda
country-of some man-ith going was-joined. Then him-by him mine
chuganâ bhejî dîyâ. Tab bôshâ-mê akê kôghâ,
to-graze having-sent it-was-given. Then venner-in having-come it-was-said,
'mère bûpâ-kê utnê mahntâ-kó bahutâ òti hat, mai bhâkâ
my father-of so-many servants-eto much breads ore, I with-hunger
mar chaîpâ. Mái úthi-kê bûpâ-kê pas jâgrâ aur nai-sô
dying went. I having-risen father-of near will-go and him-to
kôgânâ ki, "bûpâ, hamî-nê ñâmaû-kâ têrê hasâr taksîrâ
will-say that, "father, me-by heaven-of of-their presence fault
kara hai."'
done it."
[No. 45.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATİ.

SPECIMEN VIII.

Ek khunadi bādi na[pā thi. Uh-kē dhāṅgā-pā ēk-hē khabakū
One river very clear was. Tha-of bank-to one-only at-time
khabhēdā o khabhēdā-kā khubachēhē dōṇā khapānī pīnā āra.
wolf and sheep-of young-one both water to-drink came.
Garnū khahauvā tū rōgi. Khadōnē-kō khapyās lāgi
Heat much having-fallen was. Both-to thirst having-become-attached rōgi thi. Khabhēdā utō khadā khapānī tōgi rāhā thā,
being was. Wolf there standing water drinking remaining was,
uthē-sē thōdā dūrā-par khahāo-kē tarfā khabhēdā-kā khabachēhē
there-from little distance-at current-of in-direction sheep-of young-one
khopānī tōgi lāgā. Khabhēdējā-kē khunā khulhān lāgā hārā
water drinking began. Wolf-of in-month blood saturated become
thā, uh-kē khēdārāt-lā khumā-nē khabachēhē tāluk sāyā; us-kē
was, him-of on-seeing-even month-in water filled came; him-of
dūnā-kē liyā khajhagā khūbā. kiyā. 'Ō bē-sībā,
eating-of for-the-sake quarrel much was-made. 'Ō respectless-one,
tujē cēl kulnā chahiyē ki pōsō hīlāi hīlāi khopānī-kō gādīā
for-thee this to-do is-paided that feet-by moving moving water dirig
kultā hāi. jī-kē waṭhā-sē ham pānī na tōg-sāī, khapāyā-kō
making art, which-of cause-from -I water not drinking-aw, thirst-of
khambā māri chulpāt? Khubchārē khubachēhē-nē jawhāū
on-the-account dying say-go. Poor young-one-by answer
diyā, 'khabā, kyā huknā khadērē hō? Khabpānī-kā khahāo
was-given. 'Sīr, what order giving are? Water-of current
āpā-kē tarfā-sē mēri tarfā hāl. Mēri habā-nē
self-of direction-from my in-direction is. My direction-from
tērī labō-kē nāhī jāc saktaā. Tāb khahēdējā-nē kangible,
thy direction-to not go can.' Then wolf-by it-was-said,
'muhē-sāhī, tā bājo khumgrē hāl; khambē mēs hūō tin-nē
'never-mind, thou great uncommon art; six months become thee-by
muhē-kō bārā gāṇī dipī thi.' Khubachēhē-nē kangible. 'khabā,
me-to great abuses given were.' Young-one-by it-was-said. 'Sīr,
FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

The Nats of the Bahmain District call themselves Brijbasi and state that they have come from Braj. Their dialect seems to contain a larger admixture of Rajasthani than we have hitherto found. It is, however, possible that the speech of the different Brijbasi differs according to their last habitat, and it would be unsafe to base far-reaching conclusions on one single specimen. The first lines of a version of the Parable will be sufficient to show its general character. It will be noticed that the Rajasthani element is so strong that it can almost be characterised as the base of the dialect. The specimen does not, on the other hand, illustrate the artificial argot of the Nats with which we are here concerned.
[No. 46.]

GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATI (BRITISH).

SPECIMEN IX.

DISTRICT BBAICH.

Ek admā-rē dui chhōrā chhē. U-mhā-lē mānhikē chhōrā
One man-of two sons were. Them-in-from by-small son
bān-nē kahō, 'uhō bān, dhan jaun hamārō līhā chhē
father-to it-was-said, 'O father, property which my share is
han-nō daï-dōō.' Tābai ā dhan ā-thā bāt dinhō,
me-to give.' Then be property him-to having-divided was-given.
Ujī thōr doas bitē mānhikē chhōrā jāmā-jathrī lē-kō
And few days after small son property having-taken
pardēsāu chalō gāyō, ujī uttē aprō māl-jāl salt-sūphi-mān
to-a-foreign-country moved went, and there own property despatched-in
urā-dōō.
was-wasted.

The argot of the Nati of the Bhagalpur District is based on a mixture of Eastern Hindi and Hindustani with some Bengal forms. It will be sufficient to give the beginning of a version of the Pamhle in illustration of this jargon.1

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

NAŢI.

SPECIMEN X.

DISTRICT. BHAGALPUR.

Jhekē kudmī-kē dhūr rawāil rahē. Rōtē rawāil apnē-
One man-of two sons were. Small son own
dugwē-sē kutaś jē, sah tihā masil mērā jhakhrē
cothkhalāpē. Dugwē sah tihā masil dhūrō rawāil-kē jhēt
coth-āi sah tihā masil dhūrō rawāil-kē jhēt
diēdē. Father all wealth money two sons-of shares
dihis. Thōrēchā jhād rōtē rawāil aprā sah masil gagg
gave. Short after small son own all money pice
bō-kē jhari dūr rali gaśāi. Wāhē sah masil gang raḩūl-mē

having-token very far going went. There all money pice harlotš-in

ūrāh-kar diēdē. Jēb us-kē rahbē-mē mēchā hô grā, tab
spent-making gave. When him-of all spent becoming went, then

us dē-mē jhāri jhakāl parpāil, ā ā bāyitē-mē dhariē hō
that country-in great famine fell, and he food-in poor becoming.
gāil. Tab wah jhēkē kājā rangh rahēkē gāil. Kājā
sent. Then he one gentleman with to-remain went. Gentleman

us-kē aprē nēthā-mē rūkā chrānē-kō bhējā. Nāsā būkārē bēnti
him own field-in swine feeding for sent. Ḩūsā piggs-of food
bhī milpāit, to ā span chutkāl chūdāhā bhāt-kē
even would-hare-got, then he own belly glad having-become

laqūt. Jēb wah aprē khē dharāpē, aprē man-mē chhokē
would-hare-filled. When he own sense held, own mind-in to-say

lagē jē, hamāre dugwē-kē kitnē khōṭahā-kē ētā dōmkā hāi
began that, "my father-of how-many servants-of so-much bread is
ke wah aprē bāyitē hā ā dūsār-kē bāyitātē hāī, ā ā ham
that they self eating are and others-of feeding are, and I

bhūkān dīmī jāllā. Ham aprē dugwē rangh jāisi ā kutāisi
by-hunger eating go. I own father near will-go and will-say

jē, "ā dugwē, ham tērā khabut bējāē kiya, ā ā ham tērā
that, "O father, by-me of-thē many faults were-done, and I thy

rabūlā chhēkā jōkā māpī haśāil; aprē nāhār-mē khōṭā rakhpā,"
son to-be-called fit not became; own presence-in servant keep."
DOOM.

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

The Dōms are numerous in Assam, Bengal, the United Provinces and Kashmir. The following are the figures returned at the Census of 1911:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>39,412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>178,991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar and Orissa</td>
<td>241,093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces and Berar</td>
<td>345,525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjab</td>
<td>79,016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Provinces</td>
<td>52,929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir State</td>
<td>4,374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>925,830</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To these may be added the following, shown in the Census under the names of Bansphor and Basor:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces and Berar</td>
<td>52,947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Provinces</td>
<td>23,945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baroda State</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Ijilin Agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>126,516</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The common name of the caste is Dōm or Dōmrā, a word of uncertain origin. According to the Brahmavivartaparāṇa a Dōma is the son of a toṣa and a chāndāli, and Dōma is perhaps the same word as Dōma. The dōmas or dōmbas are mentioned in Sanskrit literature as living by singing and music. The form ḍōmba seems to be the oldest one. It occurs in Varāhamihira's Bhīṣmatanāḥkītha (lxxvii. 38), which belongs to the sixth century, and several times in Sanskrit works hailing from Kashmir such as the Kathāsaritsāgara of Somalava and the Rājaatāsaśāstras of Kāliṇa. There cannot be any doubt that these dōmbas are identical with the Dōms, and the name of the caste is accordingly old. The base from which it is derived is perhaps onomatopoeic; compare Sanskrit ḍam, to sound; ḍamara, drum. It is probably not Aryan.

The late Professor Hermann Brockhaus of Leipzig was the first to suggest that the word ḍom might be identical with the name rōm, which the European Gipsies use...
to denote themselves. This suggestion has been adopted by Charles G. Leland and Sir George Grierson, and it may now be considered as established, after we have learnt to know that the Nawar or Zutt, a Gipsy tribe of Palestine, call themselves Dôm and their language Dômâri.

AUTHORITIES—

MUHAMMAD ABDUL GHAFUR.—A Complete Dictionary of the Terms used by Criminal Tribes in the Punjab; together with a short History of each Tribe and the Names and Places of Residence of individual Members. Lahore, 1879. Civil Secretariat Press, pp. 211, 516.


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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saran</td>
<td>9,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Champaran</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>13,500</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

As shown by the specimens which follow Dômâ is an argot based on the current Bhôjpuri of the districts, with a tissue of Râjsthânî and Hindû. To the latter belong forms such as the case suffixes, dative kô, genitive kî, kê ;

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stray verbal forms such as kikuas-tā, to say; tikanē-sē, from eating; kalā, said; lagā, began, etc. Of Rājayāthāni reminiscences we may note the termination ā in the oblique singular and in the plural of strong masculine bases; thus, kaujā-kā du chēās, two sons of a man. Most verbal forms and, generally speaking, the whole grammatical system, however, are Bhājpuri. Compare forms such as khurē, am; karūñ, I did; kahōk, said; kahāb, shall say; birlārb, we shall become; sigarākā, they will see, and the common base bar, bār, to be.

As in the case of other similar argots there is a certain number of peculiar words. Such are: baunā, boy; jēpar, cloth; kājā, cultivator; rēpar, dead; tēgan, eating; tēwā, went; kārē, horse; gūlā, house; bhōth, chūkā, a Dōm; bhūkār, pig; gōmēgā, ēbān, rupee; gēm, thief, and so forth. Commonly, however, ordinary Aryan words are used but disguised by means of various changes and additions. Occasionally we find transposition of letters, as in dhahārphul—karaaphul, cardrop. More commonly we see that a consonant is prefixed or substituted for the beginning of a word. The gutturals k and qh are used in this way; thus, ḍōg = ḍāg, fire; kōhāth = ḍāth, hand; kōhā = ḍāthi, elephant; ḍēk = ḍē, one; ḍhākā = ḍēl, famine; ḍhīgār = ḍaṇḍār, red lead; ḍhēkār-kī = ḍīkāl-kī, having taken out; ḍhērā, ḍhērā = ḍvērā, man. It will be seen that the original word is sometimes also abbreviated and changed in other ways at the same time.

The pañals ch and ḍh are most frequently substituted for labials; thus, chāp-khaās = pāp, sin; chāgri, pagri; chēlā = lēlā, son; chākāth = bālkāth, heaven; chākāri = nāchhāli, fish; chābānū = bānū, forest; chārūrākā = phir, again, etc. Sometimes, however, ch is also used before or instead of other sounds; compare chābā = kābī, ever; chāyā = dāyā, compassion; chārkhānā = nākār, servant; chārē = rē, bread. ḍh is used as a substitute in words such as dhahārphul—karaaphul, cardrop; dhānālī = kāsālī, betel nut; dhābā = kālibā, harlot; dhēm = gēm, thief; ḍhāsī = ḍhāsī, gont.

a is used in several words such as: āt, cat; nākāth = kātē, fields; nuṭā = gōtē, cowdung; nuṭā = jūtā, shoe; nāri = dārī, carpet; nēcānī = pānī, water; nākar = akār, town, etc.

Finally we find r in words such as rōpī = lōpī, hat; rēśī = rē, oilman, and so forth.

In addition to such devices the Magahī Dōms show a marked predilection for changing their words by means of additions after them. The numerals two and following thus add an ān, and we get dulēm, two; tūrdēm, three; chārēm, four; pačēm, five; chakālēm, six; satēm, seven; chātēm, eight; navēm, nine; dōmēm, ten; bhīmē, twenty. Gō is also commonly added to numerals; thus, kēbhō, one; dulēmā, two; satēngō, hundred.

A common addition is also tu; thus, gōrtu, foot; jaṭātu, cold, winter; mirātu = chirīgā, lamp; Jašaṭtu, an answer; dhāntu, property; chēkārātu = chēkār, deliberation; bāptu = bāp, father; nālēkātu = nālāk, counsel. Compare Sālī tu.

Other common additions are khāsī, khāsē, khālā in the Saran specimen, and hālā, hātē in the Champaran texts. Thus, nēkhāsī = kēśē, field; chūmkharāsī = chūma, kissed; chōp-khāsī = pāp, sin; bōikhāsī, brother; saṃkharāsī, with; samankharāsī = sāmōsī.
before; chos-kha=pa, towards; bep-kha=la, father; chet-kha=la, sense; nek-kha=la, field; gar-kha=la, neck; juk-kha and nuk-kha=la, shoe; maq-kha=la, with; sun-kha=la, heard; saman-kha=la, before. Note the frequent abbreviation of the vowel of the original word in such cases.

Many different additions are made to verbal bases, and the conjugation of verbs therefore has a very puzzling appearance. If we abstract from stray forms such as kha-saita=la, comes; chosaita=barsaita, it rains; daphli=bar, gave; tigaungharavat, ate, and others, the most characteristic addition is a. This a can be added alone; thus, kha-ya, I will say; kar-ya, I did; kek-ya and kah-ya, asked; bir-ya, to make; kih-nu=ya, kih-ya=sa, kih-ya=sa, said.

In other cases it is preceded by an s; thus, di-su, gave; li-su, took; di-su-ya, gives; kha-su-ya, coming; kha-su=la, comes (with kh added in front); kis-su-ya, have done; a-su=na, a-su-sha, a-su=la, and kha-su-ya, came; cha=sa=ya, went; di-su=ya, had given; di-su=sa, gave; di-su=sa=sa, gave; di-su=sa=sa, gave; di-su=sa=sa, gave.

A very common addition is nar; thus, char-nar=ya, to graze; kah-nar=ya, to say; dekh-nar=ya, having seen, cha-nar (dieu), dividing (gave); rak-nar=ya, remained; ko-nar=ya, it may be; nar-nar=ka, I am dying; bir-nar=ya, I did; di-nar=ka, gave; cha-kha=lar=ka, he was wishing; rak-nar=va, rak-nar=va, stayed; rak-nar=ya, was; bakh-nar=ya, was saved; ing-nar=ya, began; tar-nar=ya, I transgressed; rak-nar=ka, was; chonk-mar=lar=ka, asked; nar=mar=sa, has beaten, and so forth; compare Kanjar=mar=ya, bar=ya, etc.

The s-suffix of many of these forms is the suffix of the past participle. It also occurs in the present-in forms such as bar=nu=la, is; howi-nar=ya, am, art. is; hoh=nar=ya, we are; rat=nar=ya, slept, and so on. Compare Bhopuri.

The preceding remarks only explain the most common Dom devices for disguising common words. There are probably numerous similar ones. Of those occurring in the specimens we may mention the addition of kr in pronouns; thus, khokre, by thee; kha=r=ma=ma=sa, from among them, etc. It should be noted that khu may stand for ti, thou, and also for a, he. In the case of verbs attention may be drawn to the frequent use of compound tenses formed with the base tan; to go; thus, hoh=ma=sa, became; rak=nar=man=sa, stayed; par=ma, fell; guvar=to=sa=la, fled; the occasional addition of rat in suna=rat, he heard, and so forth. Further particulars will be understood from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in the argot of the Magahiya Dom of Chapra in the Saran District. The two other ones have come from Champaran and have been forwarded as illustrating the slang of the Dompia. The first of them is a version of the Parable, the second a short Dom story.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MAGAIHYA DÔM.

SPECIMEN 1.

Khêk kajwa-kê òu cheṭa barnaral. Khôkrê-mê-sé chôchikâ-nê
One man-of two sons were. Them-among-from younger-by
bapkhaïla-sê khuâsâ, 'he bapkhaïla, darbhkaï jê hâmre chakra
father-to said, 'O father, goods which my shore
hôwrê, sê hâmre disu.' Tab u khôkrê khâpan darbhkaï
will-be, that to-me give.' Then he to-him own goods
chaitar disu. Kahut din nê chitaur êe chôchikâ chêta sab
deciding gave. Many days not passed that younger son all
chîkhâsê khôkhâ kar-kô châri chahre chalâvâ, khan khalâ
things together having-made far country went, and there
châdnâsî din chitarwâ, khâpan darbhkaï khûra disuwâs. Jâb
in-riotousness days spent, own goods wasted gave. When
wah sab kuchh kharâ disuwâ, tab us chahrê-mê châri khalâ-
he all whatever wasted had-given, then that country-in big sawin
parâwân, khûra wah dhaângal hûtâ, khûra khulâ tawâkê
fell, and he destitute became, and there having-gone
us chahrê khâmî-mê khêk admi râhuartâvâ, jêkê khôkrê
that country men-in one man to-live-went, who him
khâpan nêkhâsâ bluhur charuârê bhejwur-disuwâ. Khur khoukâ
own fields swine-to-graze went. And those
nédîlo-sê jinhê bluhur tîgân-ghărârê khâpan chêt bharuârê
nêdêwih-kêwhich swine eating-were own belly to-fill
châhuartarâhâ, khan hôur, kannô nê us-kô kuchh disumrânâ. Tab
wishing-was, and anybody not him-to anything giving-was. Then
khôkrê chêtkhâla hotâ, khur hôur khûmê khamartiô, 'khamre bapkhaïla-kê
to-him sense became, and he said, 'my father-of
chahut mûjrâ tîgûmar-sê chañhut pôpi hûkhurmê khan hâm
many servants eating-from much bread remained and I
khûkhehû marumartiô. Maî khot-kê khâpan bapkhaïla pâs chalâtwâ
with-hunger dying-am. I having-arisen own father near go
khûr khôkrê khumâ, 'hê bapkhaïla, khâm-nê chaîkûth khûtâ khan.
and to-him will-say, 'O father, me-by Heaven against and
khôkrê sâmam-khâlê châpinkâ kurmê; maî chûnearkê tâhûr chêta
these before him did; I again thy son

VOL. II.
Tab waḥ khrūkē khapnē bapkhālla chhātwa, like make.  
Then he having-arisen own father went.

Chāhī paukā mā, khōkro bapkhālla dēkhuār-kē chhāya kīruvasē, khaun 
For came not, his father seen-having mercy made, and 
narvār-kē us-kē garkhālla thiru-lisūvēs chhūmkhālla. Chētā-nē khōkro-sē 
run-having him-of week kept-took kissed. Son-by business 
kāhā, 'hē bapkhālla, khamrē-kē chākuṭhā khūltā khaun khanpē 
hit-was-said, 'O father, I (sic) heaven against and yourself 
soaṅkhaḷāchā chap-khālla kīruvātē, khaun chhīrūrakē tūbār chētā kahurē 
before sin did, and again thy son to-say.

Laxk nāl-khōrē. Chāki bapkhālla-nē khapnē chōka-rē kīruvēs, 'sub-sē 
worthy not-am.' But father-by own servants-to said, 'all-than 
khēhā tepur khurkē khāṅārī-dīswēs, khōkro kōlnā anguthē khaun 
good robe having-brought put-on-him, his hand rising and 
pair-māī nūtā pahinā, sur han tikumarkē khaun must biranbē, 
foot-on shoes put-sa, and seeing and merry lett-become, 
khanūl-bīnurāl hamār chētā ruārābārāb rāhunās, phir jhārīwā; 
because my son dead-like was, again alive-cont.

ehwlāwā, phir chhīrārēwā.  
Tab we khanand kīruvār liguwarē.
lost-went, again met-went.' Then they merriment to-make began.

Khałkār chārkā chētā nētkhaḷā-nē birurāl. Khaun chālā-khāsūtē 
His big son fields-in was. And going-coming 
niarkhālla khasūn, tab jukhālla khaun nachard khaŭāj sunārat. Khaun 
near came, then music and dancing sound heard. And 
khū hkhapnē chōkarkhāḷā-mē-sē khēk-kō chashkē chhōlawat chuchhuartē kī, 
he own servants-in-from one-to near calling asked that, 
'kā hawāral?' Khu khōkro-sē kihum, 'khanpē bhalikhaḷī asūnā, 
what becoming-is?' He him-to said, 'yourself-of brother 
khaur tūbār bapkhālla nīman tigumār, wēsā khēkhojkhaḷā-sē kī use 
and thy father good dinner has-given because that him 
khēkhalā chhārēsā. Chākī khōkro nīsān birurāl khaun ehīrā nā jwō 
well get. But he angry became ant inside not came. 
Khēkā khākā rālpaṭhā chahāri asū-kē chāhanā laga. 
Therefore his father outside having-come to-remonstrate began.

Khōkār bapkhālla-kē jawātntē dēkhuārē kē, 'dēkhuārē, mail bahut 
He father-to overseer gave that, 'see, I many 
charis-sē khōkā rōkhaḷī kīruvātē, khaun chhālū kha-kā hukumkhāḷī 
years-from thy service did, and ever thy order
nā taruuri. Khaur khokrē hamrē kahikhaiū khēk nakrī na, not transgressed. And thou to-me ever one goat not
diawēs kē khapne ohit sangkhaiū khānānā kirnt bīrpral. Chākī
guest that own friends with merriment making might-be. But
khāpar ē chētā jāswā khapnē sab-khāri darbhaiū tīgūn-tswān jānā
own this son who your-own all-whatever goods eating-went when
khāsān tyō-hē khapnē khokrē khaehā tikunār kirnāisū.'
came then-indeed yourself-by for-him good dinner have-made.'
Rapkhāla khokrē-sē khūswē, 'hē chētā, tu sab din hamrē sangkhaiū,
Father him-to said, 'O son, thou all days me with,
khāur kiehlu khamār hai, sē sab tōr hāwaral. Chākī khānānā
and anything mine is, that all thine is. But joy
kirwē khāur nōst hōtāw khaehā thā kākē-ki yah tōr baihkaaiū
to-make and merry to-be good was because this thy brother
ruharē barābar rahmānā, phir jiwartwā; chulātwa, phir miluwartwā.'<
dead like war, again alive-went; lost-went, again met-went.'
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DÖMRA.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHAMPARAN.

Khēk ādmi-kē dulem-gō chētā rahuarē. Chhōtā chētā kahulāk
One man-of two sons were. Younger son said
khaspā haptu-sē, 'hē haptu, ōban chubī hamār chakhra disu-disu.'
own father-to, 'O father, ruppes pico our share give.'
Tab chaṭuar disu. Chahu din nā bitural ki khaspā chakhra chubi
Then deciding gave. Many days not passed that own share pico
lisu-kē dūr destu chaṭoālā ō khaspā rāndatu-sē sab khurā disu.
taking distant country went and own misconduct by all squandered gave.
Tab u destu-mē khakali paraur-ṭośē, u naklit-mē hō-ṭośē.
Then that country-in famine fell, he difficulty-in becoming-fell.
Khēhu destu-mē khēgō ādmi-kē bā rahuar-ṭośē, bhumihur chaṭuarē
That country-in one man-of with living-became, mine for-tending
lisu-ṭośē-narāl. Kō jī bhumihur tikanē khēhu raujwā tikanē
was-deputed. Husks which mine ate that rascal to-eat
chaṭuarē; khōkēkā kēn nā disuē kichhuē. Khōkē khakil bhuaurē,
ished; him-to anybody not gave anything. To him sense same,
ē kahuarē, 'hamārā haptu kīhā chjurā-kē tikuṇā-sē bahit nōti
he said, 'my father with servants-of eating-than much bread
bhumihur, ham bhukhalē rughā-nē. Khaspā haptu-kē niar tēōch
is-saved, I with-hunger dying-em. Own father-of near will-go
khunkā-sē kahā ki, "ham Bhagwantū-kē samanahilē ō haptu-kē
khē-him-to will-say that, "I God-of before and father-of
samanahilē puptu kariū; ham tōhār chētā kahīwē laēk na barūli;
before sin did; I thy son to-be-called fit not became;
hamārā-kē chjurā māll januari."' Khutār-ke apnu haptu-kē niar
we servant like consider." Arises-having own father-of near
toālīn. Chētā-kē thiguar-kē haptu-kē chāyā lagunar, darur-kē
went. Son seen-having father-to compassion was-applied, run-having
garahilē thiru-kē chumanhilē lisunlak. Chētā-mē kahulak, 'hē haptu,
neck embraced-having kisses took. Son-by said, 'O father,
Bhagwantū-kē samanahilē ō tōhrā samanahilē puptu kirūli; chētā kihāē
God-of before and of-thee before sin did; son to-say
lack na biruali.' Baptu apná nákarhiilá sá kihulak ki, 'chahlii tápar jí not am.' Father own servants to said that, 'good clothes nákarwá-ké chéê-ká chenháá, o kóbáth-mé hónguñhá an goxtu-mé nótañhílá taking-out soon to put-on, and hand-on ring and feet-on shoes chenháá; o ham ikuná kushahilá kartári; hamár chéê lágail put-on; and we shall eat merry shall-make; my son dead mihurálal, jímañ-þoñal; nulá þoñal rahulálá, ab mihur-þoñal.' U-log iñás, living-became; lost gone was, now found-became.' They kushahilá hó-þoñal.

merry became.

Khó-kar náká chéê chhutumé mihurálal. Khéêtu-mé sá apná jadó
His big son field in was. Field-in-from own house chalasél, machtu howaran cháá chéjuañral smáñhílá. Aur nákarhiilá sá went, dancing going-on music beating heard. And servant-from cháñlá-ké cháñhurañralak, 'ká hóvarral?' Khun-ká sá kehulá ki, called-having asked, 'what is going-on?' Him to said that, 'kahun-ká bhadilá suñel barurallé; kahun-ká baptu chahlii tikanu-ké, 'self of brother arrived has-become; self of father big eating for kahurallé, kahun-ká ké chhumun páranallé-báñpá.' Tah u níllá
made has, because safe-and-sound found has.' Then he angry hó-þoñal o dání-mé rá þoñal. Baptu dání sá kúkalsúñel becoming went and house-in not went. Father house-from going-out-came khó-krá ké chháñwé lagurallé. Tah u baptu-ké jabatu disman, 'ham him to to entertain hōgyan. Then hí father to answer went,' 'I kahun-ká kata díntu sá súñhíla kihanl. Kabhi kahun-ké chahan self of how many days from service did. Eer self of word ná kharalaral. Mudá khamral-ké khéê chéthrí ná disu ké kahuná not transgressed. Eer me to one kid not gave that men dōstuké sañghilá mustí kartí. Bāki jhāshin-ké sañghilá friends of in-company merry might make. But khorlats of in-company raur i chéê sab dhantu kuñgí disu, to tah-hí suñel, tab-hí your Honour's this son all wealth spent gave, he then came, then nímat chahlii mōtíka chháá tikanu-ké disumín.' Baptu good big feast having-prepared eating for you gone.' The father khó-krá sá kihulak ki, 'chéê, hamar sāth tu khamáเส baruala, së him to said that, 'son, we with thou always eat, what barualal hamar, së þiñe birurallé. Bāki kushahilá kiruké chahurallá, is mine, that thing is. But merry to make it was wanted, kharar-ké for bhadilá róguar þoñal, phuer jiuar þoñal; nulá þoñal rahurallá, because thy brother dead went, again alive went; lost gone was, phuer mihural þoñal.' again found went!
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DOMRA.

SPECIMEN III.

District Champaran.

Khak rajahilā rahuarā. Khō-kō dhantu pañchēm dhēm gimāwē
gahuarāl. Gimātē gimātē narichhā hō tōāl. Pañchēmu
sent. Stealing stealing morning becoming sent. Five
khā̄pas-mē nālehatu chicharatu kiri-nilak, īnā na jantu bacherāi.
selves-among counsel deliberation made, now not living-being will-be-saved.
Natiā lisu, khōli par dhantu thirū, īēpar churdā lēkīā khōkhāwa disu.
.Bed bring, that on property place, cloth corpse likeness covering give.
Charēmu-gōrā chārā chauā khūtā-kē kandhatu-par thirā disu. Khēk
Four-of-us four legs having-lifted shoulders-on place give. One
ādmi nuithā-mē kīcha kohāth-mē thirū lisu, kandhatu-par nudār thirā
man cowuminum fire hand-in place take, shoulder-on hoe place
lisu. Khaśānu kirū-kē pañchēmu gēm gaṅgar tōāl.
take.' Thus having-done five thieves escaping went.

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

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

The number of Malārs returned in Chota Nagpur at the last Census of 1901 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ranchi</td>
<td>976</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palaman</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manibura</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chota Nagpur Tributary States</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,809</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Mr. Streafield has been good enough to send me a short Malār vocabulary. It fully bears out his statement that the language of the Malārs is a slang based on Nāgpuri. Thus we find the plural suffix *man* in *hī-man*, these; *bā-mon*, these; the genitive suffixes *kar* and *kēr* in forms such as *bā-kar*, his; *bā-mon-kēr*, their; verbal forms such as *tauti-rukhli*, going west, westest; *taulik*, he has gone; *tubalni*, we shall go; *tubād*, you will go; *tubalni*, they will go, and so on. So far as can be seen from the scanty materials the inflexional system is the same as in Nāgpuri throughout. The vocabulary also is the same as in Nāgpuri though there are several peculiar words such as *kurmu*, head; *khat*, house; *khalai*, husband; *chāvā*, hair; *tuai*, going; *bōmā*, neck; *gurkār*, forehead; *gurjār*, liver; *tulka*, temple; *dārpa*, old man; *vētrai*, blood; *nōkā*, man; *nōklin*, woman, wife; *nēpha*, breast; *pīpīmu*, eyelid; *hailini*, food; *lādarni*, stomach; *inulka*, wrist; *sepulmi*, foot. In other cases ordinary words are disguised in various ways. In words such as *chārmā* = *chawrā*, skin; *kandpalmi* = *kampati*, temples; *tarmā* = *tālā*, palate; *bochhā* = *bādā*, upper arm; *mis* = *mūkha*, moustache, we find sporadic instances of slight changes of various kinds within the words. The most common way of disguising words is by adding consonants and syllables in front or at the end, just as in numerous other argots.

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3 They do not appear to have been recorded in 1931.
A k is prefixed in words such as kőög=āg, fire; Kīrūchhū, Rāchhū; kō|hāt=hōth, forearm; kō|hr=hr, bone.

Kă is added in the front of some words; thus, kha|gneur, finger; kō|atk=sāk, eye; kha|nr=kha|nr, we; kha|mār=mās, flesh; kha|ri=vī, widow.

Ch and chh are, as usual, prefixed to or substituted for labials; thus, chī|ddhā, brother; chē|ttā=be|ttā, son.

Đē is used in words such as ā|ker, a seer.

N is used in a similar way in nōt=ha|ūl, bullock.

R is prefixed in pronouns and in the numeral ‘one’; thus, ṃ, this; bū, that; bau, yonder; bēk, one.

R is substituted for a p in rō|chū=pūch, five; rī|=pit, back; rō|kt|=pēt, belly; and l has been used instead of n in lāmb|hm=ō|kh, navel.

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

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

- kā, or khā, in rintikā, veranda; rō|kt|=pēt, belly; dur|kt=swār, door. Kh alone is added in raukhō, I was. A suffix kult occurs in dānt|kult=dūt, tooth.
- chō is a very common addition; thus, gēchō=gāl, cheek; jā|gkē=jā|gh, thigh; jīchō=jīth, tongue; bēbkt=ōyp, father, and so forth.
- chō is added in mōchā, my; tōchē, thy; cf. mōchē, I; tōchē, thou.

ōrō has been suffixed in konārō, ear.

mā, mē, occurs in khampā=khā|pā, tiles; thēhūmā=thēmā, knee; bhaumā= bha|ū, brow; pakhur|mā=pakha|vū, shoulder; bar|smā=rit, backbone; ērā|ērī, heel; lāmb|mā=ō|kh, navel, etc.

r has been added in nākurā=nāk, nose; kha|mā=mās, flesh; cf. also nar in verbs such as tapu|rek, to warm oneself; jōm|rek, to light a fire; īpu|rek, to whitewash.

l is suffixed in kharu|l=kara|l, ladle (also Hindi); dōl, two, and so forth.

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

### Numerals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>One</th>
<th>bōk (bōkāt=bō-tō)</th>
<th>Eight</th>
<th>khamāhē</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>dōl, dūmāt</td>
<td>Nine</td>
<td>nālū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>tūtā</td>
<td>Ten</td>
<td>dastū</td>
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<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>chārēhū</td>
<td>Eleven</td>
<td>gōmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five</td>
<td>sātchū</td>
<td>Nineteen</td>
<td>oai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six</td>
<td>chēmēhū</td>
<td>Twenty</td>
<td>bē</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seven</td>
<td>sātū</td>
<td>Forty</td>
<td>dōl kōrmē</td>
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</table>

### Pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>mōchē</th>
<th>Your</th>
<th>tohōrmēkēr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My</td>
<td>mōrēhō</td>
<td>Hē, that</td>
<td>bī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We</td>
<td>khamārē, khamārmē</td>
<td>His</td>
<td>bū-kar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our</td>
<td>khamārkēr, khamārmēmekēr</td>
<td>They</td>
<td>bū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou</td>
<td>tōchē</td>
<td>Their</td>
<td>bānākēr</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thy</td>
<td>tōrēchē</td>
<td>This</td>
<td>bō</td>
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<tr>
<td>You</td>
<td>tohōrmē</td>
<td>Yonder</td>
<td>bōu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Human beings</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Son</td>
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<tr>
<td>Man</td>
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<td>Woman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Old man</td>
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<td>Old woman</td>
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<td>Boy</td>
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<td>Girl</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
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<tr>
<th>Parts of the body</th>
<th>Thumb</th>
<th>Mid finger</th>
<th>Little finger</th>
<th>Chest</th>
<th>Breast</th>
<th>Back</th>
<th>Side</th>
<th>Stomach</th>
<th>Navel</th>
<th>Skin</th>
<th>Shoulder</th>
<th>Upper arm</th>
<th>Fore-arm</th>
<th>Wrist</th>
<th>Palm of hand</th>
<th>Finger</th>
<th>House and furniture</th>
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<td>Neck</td>
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<td>Shoulder</td>
<td>pakhurmûa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Upper arm</td>
<td>bûchhû</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fore-arm</td>
<td>kûhâtê</td>
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<td>Wrist</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palm of hand</td>
<td>tûrkôtê</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finger</td>
<td>khaîngur</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House and furniture</th>
<th>Cooking pot</th>
<th>Earthen pot for</th>
<th>carrying water</th>
<th>Leadle</th>
<th>Fire</th>
<th>Ashes</th>
<th>Broom</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>khaûl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tiles</td>
<td>khaparmâ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wall</td>
<td>bûûchê</td>
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<tr>
<td>Door</td>
<td>dûrkkôi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Space in front of house</td>
<td>kôngênô</td>
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<tr>
<td>Veranda</td>
<td>rûndikai</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to extinguish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to light a fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to sweep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to warm oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to whitewash</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vol. XI.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He goes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thou go</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
**Qašāi.**

Qašāi or Qašāb is the name of the butcher caste. The word is derived from Arabic qašāb, to cut. The number of Qašāis returned at the Census of 1901 was 369,833, distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andaman</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>11,063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>24,388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjab</td>
<td>123,444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Provinces</td>
<td>154,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baroda</td>
<td>851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central India</td>
<td>618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajputana</td>
<td>20,202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>369,833</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

**AUTHORITIES—**


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

* No Qašāis were recorded under that name in 1911.
Dravidian, and it is probably due to this influence that the case of the agent has been discarded and that the sense of the actual meaning of some verbal forms has been weakened. Forms such as *thārtā*, am, also occur in the second and third persons in addition to *thārta*, art, is, and *ghājuṇā*, I shall heat, is said to be used in all persons and numbers.

The orthography of the specimens does not seem to be consistent. Thus the word *tip*, see, which is written with a cerebral /t/ by Dr. Bailey and in the Belguama specimens, occurs as *tip* in the Karnal version of the Parable. The same text gives *dēvarṇa*, to give, while the second Karnal specimen uses *tevarṇa*, to take, with a cerebral /t/. The sound noted *th* is probably the sound of *th* in English "think." It had, however, been written *th* in a Nagari transcript which accompanied the Karnal texts. In *thārta*, eat, this *th* seems to represent an /t/; compare *ṭhāj*, eat, in the Belgaum list and *ḥādaṇā*, *ṭhāj*, to eat, to drink, in the vocabulary published by Dr. Bailey. The same is the case in *ṭhā*, six, where Dr. Bailey has *ṭhī*; compare Arabic *ṣidī*.

The peculiar appearance of the Qasāl argot is, to a great extent, due to the extensive use of strange words. As in the Kanjari dialect of Belgaum many of the numerals are Arabic. Thus, *ṭhallā* (Bailey *tala*), three, Arabic *ṭhallā*; *ṭbā*, four, Arabic *'arba*; *khammas*, Belgaum *khammis*, Bailey *khammas*, five, Arabic *kham*; *ṭtī*, Bailey *ṭī*, six, Arabic *ṣidī*; *ṣair*, ten, Arabic *'ashar*.

Numerous other peculiar words occur in the specimens and in Dr. Bailey's List. Such are *ọdā*, put; *ọkē*, one (Hindostānī *akēlā*, alone); *buṭ*, father, or, according to Dr. Bailey, a *Jāt*; *batāj*, rupee; *bhākkar*, cow; *bīγarnā* or *bīgharnā*, to die (cf. Hindostānī *bīγrāna*?); *chākī*, ring (cf. Hindostānī *chilkātā*, to glitter); *chākī*, application; *chuskō*, interest; *chabīnē*, tooth; *chhunakā*, boy; *dusumī*, to say (Belgaum, compare the Kanjari dialect of the district); *γōma*, to get; *γoamā*, foot (in Belgaum *γoamā*; in the Karnal specimens *γōma* is also used with the meaning of 'hand'); *γhāyaṇā*, *γhāuṇā*, to heat, to loose; *γuimb*, thief (Bailey); *kākīf*, swine (Karnal); *kājīf*, head (Belgaum); *kāp-kē-kōp* (for sab-ka-sah), all together; *hīday*, take; *kakēlā* (Belgaum), *kutā* (Karnal), son (compare *bāchēkā*?); *kanēlī*, bread (Bailey *kākēlī*); *kānēlī*, afternoon; *kātē* (Karnal); *kaiś* (Belgaum), rupee; *kasā*, to pay (perhaps English 'cash'); *kīd*, give (Belgaum, compare Tamil *koṇu*); *khaṣāta*, property; *khasa* (Karnal); *khasa* (Belgaum), belly; *khēlā*, village (Belgaum, Kanaresse *khēlā*); *ku*, go; *khām*, word, noise; *khuṃa*, starving; *lāvīnā* (Karnal), hundred; *mēkī*, goat; *mīnālī*, tongue; *nakāt*, young; destitute, lost, angry (according to Dr. Bailey the meaning of this word is 'bad', 'worthless', it is used in different senses in the first specimen); *nakāti*, sin; *nand* (Karnal), *nām* (Belgaum), house; *nadā*, water (Bailey); *n̄hāt*, ran; *nīrīa*, water (Belgaum); *pūdā*, bull; *phēkānā*, nose; *sīhām*, share; *sēbat*, good; *subāk*, younger brother (Belgaum); *subākēlā*, man (Belgaum); *sukālā*, good (Belgaum); *ṭaf*, eat; *ṭāikānā*, to become, to gather; *ṭhārta*, being; *ṭlr*, eat; *ṭhākanā*, hundred (Belgaum); *ṭīp*, see; *ṭulūk*, sleep; *ṭwa*, go away, and so forth.

In comparison with this extensive use of peculiar words, the disguising of common ones by means of additions in front or at the end plays a much smaller role in Qasāl.
Among prefixed elements we may note $k$ in $kāndā$, a Hindū (Bailey); $j$ in $jōrā=thorā$; $m$ in $māf$, village, cf. Sāsi $mād$; $māh$, twenty, cf. bīs; and $l$ in $lōprā$, cloth, cf. Hindustāni kaprā; $lānd$ and $nānd$, house.

Of final additions I have found $k$ in $bākā$, said; $l$ in $lōtā$, hand; $kōnōtyā$, ear; $a$ in $akōyā$, eye; $i$ in $bāndāl$, bind; $w$ in $dōwar$, come; $dīwar$, give, etc.; $wāf$ in $bāsōf$, sit; $bōセル$, call; $suṣonāf$, hear, and so forth.

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

QASAI.

SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT KARNAL.

Akål bui-kē jaur kadrē thē. Nakāt kadrē-nē but-sē bulkā
One father-of two sons were. Young son-by father-to it-was-said
ki, ‘ai but, khaštē-ka shām jē mujhē dēwārānā hai dēwār-dē,’
that, “O father, property-of share which to-me to-be-given is giving-gice.”
Phir khaštē mulsē dēwār-dīyā. Jhārā din pichhē nakāt kadrā
Then property to-them giving-now-given. Few days after younger son
lup-kē-lap khaštē dēwār-kē dūr-kē mulsē uks-gayā. Wahē
all property having-taken distant country-to going-away-went. There
thaik-kar apnē khaštē kakāyat-mē upā diyē. Jhā sārā uksā
having-gone own property luxury-in wasting was-given. When all spent
chukā us mulsē-kē khunsē bighar-nē lagē, aur wō kadrā nakāt
finished that country-in hungering to-die began, and that son low
hōnē laga. Phir us mulsē-kē akē jēdlē-kē thaik gayā. Jēdlē-nē
to-be began. Then that country-of one rich-of near went. Rich-one-by
kadrē-kē hakūk chārāus-kē uksāya. Aur wō hakūk-kē buche huā
son mine feeding-for was-sent-away. And he mine-of left been
gauś-sē apnā khūsā jēdlā karnā chaltā thē, ak kōl use
raja-suith own belly good-to make wishing was, but anybody to-him
dēwārē nā thē. Phir jēd bōkār khumsyāyā, “mārē but-kē
giving not was. Again sensible having-become said, “my father-of
bhalu-sē mazdurō-kē kāni-hai, aur mai khumsē bighrī. Mai uks-kār
many servants-to bread is, and I hungering die. I having-risea
apnē but-kē pās thaikgā sur us-sē bulkīgā ki, “ai but, maunē
own father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that, “O father, me-by
āśmaṅ-kē aur tērē buzhūr nakāt ki hai, aur ab is lāik nāth
heaven-of and of-thee in-presence sin done is, and now this fit not
ki tērā kadrē khumsyāyā jāu. Mujhē apnē mazdurō-mē-sē akē jaisa
that thy son called shall-go. Me own servants-in-from one like
bunā.”” Tah uks-kār apnē but-kē pās uks-gayā. Aur wōh
make.”” Then having-gone-away own father-of near went. And he
dūr thē ki us-kē tip-kār us-kē but-kē rāḥ num āyā, aur uks-kār
far was that him having-see his father-to pity came, and having-gone
galé lagūya sur bahut chūma. Kadre-nē usu khumyāya ki, 'ai neck was-closèd and much kissed. Some-by to-him it-was-said that, O but, āsmān sur tērē hurūr nakāti ki hai, nur is kābil nāthī father, heaven and of-thee in-presence sin douz ès, and this fit not ki tēra kadra khumyāya jān.' But-nē apnē naukār-kō khumyāya that thy son called shall-go.' Father-by own servant-to it-was-said kē, 'jēdlē jēdlē lipār lēwar-lāo sur usu déwar-dō; sur kadre-kē that, 'good good clothes taking-take and him giving-give; and son-of gaunū-mā chilkā déwar-dō sur gaunū-mā gaunīyā déwar-dō. Aur ham hand-on ring giving-give and feet-on shoes giving-give. And us thūrē sur jēdlē hōja, kyū-kī yah mērā kadra bighra thā, may-eat and well becoming-may-go, because this my son dead was, ah jīyā hai; nakāt hō-gaya thī, ah āwarā hai.' Tab woh now alive is; last become-gone was, now come is.' Then they jēd hōna lagē.
merry to-be began.

Aur us-kē jēdlā kadra khāt-mā thā. Jab land-kē pās āwarā, And his big son field-in was. When house-of near came; ganē sur nāchnē-ki khūm sumi. Tab akēl naukar-kō khumyāya singing and dancing-of sound was-heard. Then one servant-to it-was-said ki, 'yah kiya hai?' Us-nē usu khumyāya ki, 'tēra bhāi that, 'this what is?' Him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother uksāyā hai, nur tērē but-nē kānāli thūrēāvā hai, kāliyē usu back-come is, and thy father-by bread ceased-to-be-eaten is, this-for him jēdlā tipā.' Us-nē nakāt hō-kar nā chāhā ki ṭand-mē well eave.' Him-by angry having-become not wished that house-in āwarā. Tab us-kē but-nē land-āvē uks-kar kadre-kō jēdlā kiyā.
may-go. Then his father-by house-from having-gone-out son well made.
Kadrē-nē but-sē khumyāya, 'tipā, itān baras-sē maṉ tērī khidmat Son-by father-to it-was-said, 'see, so-many years from I thy service kartā hē; aur kabhi tērē bulk-kē nā uksāyā; par tānē kabhi doing am, and ever thy word not was-reversed; but thee-by ever akēl mēkā-ki kadrē nā déwar-dīyā kī apnē dōstā-sē jēdlā one goat-of young not giving-gave that own friends-with merry hē; aur jab tērē yah kadrē āwarā, jīs-nē tērō khāstā nakāt-mē might-be; and when thy this son came, whom-by thy property evil-in jhōrā kiyā, tānē us-kē liyā barī kānāli ki.' wasted was-made, thee-by him-of for-the-sake big dinner was-made.
Us-nē us-kō khumyāya, 'ai kadrē, tu suhā mērē pās hai, aur Him-by him-to it-was-said, 'O son, then, always of-me near art, and
jō-kuchh mera hai, sō tērā hai. Par jēllá bōna lazim thā,
whatever mine is, that thine is. But merry to-become proper was,
kya-ki yah tērā bhai bighrā thā, sō jiya hai; aur nakāt hō
due to this thy brother dead was; he alive is; and had having-become
gayā thā, sō ab awara hai.
gone was, he now come is.
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASÄT.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT KARNAL.

Binjhaul mǎj sudhta thā. Jataul-kē hirādar nur ham
Binjhaul village being-sold was. Jataul-of brothers and we
hap-kē-hap akēl jagah thāikē. Binjhaul-mē uhar-sē wuḥ āwarē,
all one place became. Binjhaul-in that-side-from they came,
aur ēdher-sē ham kūs-sē. Āpas-mē kūm kari ki
and this-side-from we again-went. Selves-among word was-made that
mēj lēwarā chāhiyā. Jataulwāli-nē kūmā karā ki, ‘mēth-
village to-take is-wasted. Jataul-people-by word was-made that, ‘twenty
bisvē-kē kahilē jinē hō rūbāē sāl-kī hakāyat-sē tum dēwar-dō,
bisvi-of rupees as-many-as are four years-of promise-on you giving-give,
aur hamāri taraf-kē bhi batē tum kās-dō. Un-kē chuskā aur
and our side-of also rupees you pay. Tham-of interest and
kahilē rūbāē sāl-mē dēwar-dēgē. Thisvē mahinē chuskā kas-dīyā
rupees four years-in giving-shall-give. Six month’s interest paid
kārengē.’ Hap-kē-hap-nē akēl jagah thāik-kar kūm kari.
shall-make.’ All-by one place having-gathered word was-made.
Ham madn-sē khammas lāg-wāṇē batē lēkār rūbāēvē din
We home-from five hundred rupees having-taken one-fourth day
sāl-kē batē kās-nē āē. Manjar sāhib-kē yahū
earnest-money-of money-to-pay came. Manager Sahib-of in-presence
sāl-kē batē kās diyē. Hakāyat kari ki, ‘āssar
earnest-money-of money paid was-given. Promise, was-made that, ’ten
aglē mēth din-mē āwar-kar bēwā īawā īyō. Sahē
and twenty days-in having-come information taking take. With-one-half
mēth hasār batē-mē tum-kō mēj dēwar-dēgē.’ Manjar-nē
twenty thousand rupees-for you-to village giving-shall-give.’ Manager-by
kūmā karā, ‘hamārā jādā vilāyat-mē thāikā hai. Mēd-kē sōdh
word was-made, ‘our master Europe-in seated is. Village-of sale
dēnē-kā āssar aglē mēth din mē khbār īawā īyō.’ Mēth
giving-of ten and twenty days-in information taking-take.’ Twenty
aglē āssar din-mē Bēri-kē ilāqō-kē kādā-nē purē akēl mēth
and ten days-in Bēri-of district-of byā-bāy full one twenty
hazar-më mëd lëwarnë-ki chishmi di. Hamë khabar thousand-for village taking-of application was-given. To-us information hui ki akël Bëci-kë Këdlû mëd lëwarë hai. Ham khammas became that one Bori-of banyë village taking is. We five lëgwërë bastë sul-kë kas-ä. Alsi hakayat na hundred rupees earnest-money-of paying-came. Such matter not bowë, mëd bhi gama na lage aur kahile bhi should-happen, village also to-get not should-succeed and money also ghare jawë. Hap-kë-hap khamë kar-kë Beri khis-gaë. Beri lost should-go. All-together word having-made Bori again-went. Beri thak-kar hap-kë-hap-kë thak-kar khamë kiya, 'tum hamare reaching all having-gathered word was-made, 'you our birädar. Këdlû tumhara hai, us-në mëd lëwarnë thap liya hai, brother. Banyë yours is, him-by village to-take resolve taken in.' Ham Jataul-së aware hai. Bhûchhëro-së këdlû-kë khumëgo We, Jataul-from come are. Brotherhood-on-account-of banyë-to say ki mëd na lëwarë.' Këdlû-së khamë karë, 'tä hamara that village not should-take! Banyë-to word was-made, 'then our lâl hai. Hamari hakayat mân-lo; hamare birâdrë-kë mëd respected-sir art. Our request obey; our brother-to village lëwarnë de.' Këdlû hakayat mân gäyë, mëd lëwarnë-së khis to-take give.' Banyë request heading went, village taking-from back gäyë. Ham birâdrë-ä-mëd lëvar-lyâ. went. We brother-by village taking-was-taken.
FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

1 A hiswâ is the twentieth part of a bigdâ.
2 The word Bâûdâ, here translated 'Banyâ,' usually means 'grain partner.'
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASÂL.

SPECIMEN III.

District Belgum.

Ekkaŋ khâdvâ-me Râmayâ kângâ-kâ ekkaŋ patel thârtâ-thâ. Une
One village-in Râmayâ called one patel was. He

ekkaŋ rôjâ bajâr-ku kâhu-huwâ-thiâ, taw whâ suwâla khammâs
One day bazar-to went, then there good free

Gôvê-kâ Âmb mîl-kâ-hidâp-kâ nan-kâ arâyâ. Us-kâ
Good-of mangoes having-bought house-to came. Him-to

arâbâ-jan kâchêlê thârté-thâ. Un-kâ nau Sânk Bâlâ
four-persons sons were. Then-of names Sânk Bâlâ

Bhûma Hâjâma. Patel âpâñi arâbâ jan kâchêlê-kâ bôlwâd-kâ
Bhûma Hâjâma. Patâl own four persons sons having-called

dusâryâ, *kâchêlê, hidâp, maî bajâr-mê-si yô khammâs
said, 'sons, to, by-me bazar-in-from these free

Âmb lèwârâ-hai. Tume arâbâ jan arâbâ hidâp-kê
four mangoes taken-are. You four persons four having-taken

khammâs-kâ Âmb tumâra âmmâ-kê kid.' E banat
fifth mango your mother-to give.' These words

supwâd-kê o kâchêlê-kê khuâ huwâdâ. Uno aîsâ
having-heard those sons-to pleasure become. By-them such

suwâlê Âmb-Phal kâb-bi tîpyâ-ch-natâ. Uno yô phal
nice mango-fruits ever-even seen-not-see. By-them these fruits

hidâp-kê kâhu-hû-kê dusârâ-waisa ba tôwâd-karwâd-kê stûdô.
having-taken having-gone said-as divided-made-having were-eaten.

Kajîlî-kê tułuł-te wakh-îl Râmayâ kâchêlê-kê bôlwâd-kê
Early-sleeping time-in Râmayâ sons having-called

-dusâryâ, *pyâr kâchêlê, tâwaçh kîdyâ-tiâ Âmb kôsa thârtâ-thiâ ?'
said, 'dear sons, them-only given mangoes how were ?'

Use Sânk kângâ-kê tuwâmâ kâchêlê uttar kîdyâ, 'bâbû, o
To-that Sânk called eldest son answer gave, 'father, that

Phal miye bahût eûtît diswâdâyâ. Õ bahût eûtît phal
fruit to-e-me much good appeared. That very good fruit
FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

The caste known as saīgalgārs, sīligars, sikligars, etc., are armourers and polishers of metal. The name is a Persian word, saīgal-pār, a cleaner, polisher, derived from the Arabic base saqal, to polish.

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

The number of Sikligars returned at the Census of 1911 was 5,322, of whom 2,096 were recorded in the Rajputana Agency, the rest being shown as 'elsewhere.'

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

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

To judge from these materials, Sikalgāri in most particulars agrees with Gujarāti. Compare forms such as dikarō, son; dikarā, sons; gasāyīgū, cows; the case suffixes dative -né; ablative -tō (Gujarāti -thō); genitive -nō; locative -mā; pronouns such as mārō, my; ham, we; tumē, you; verbal forms such as chhē, is; botō, was; lidgō, took; malyā, it was got; charācā-nō, to tend; thēl, become, and so forth.

Some few characteristics, however, point in other directions. With regard to phonology we may note the frequent doubling of consonants and the common dispiration of aspirates; compare chhukkō, hungering; chōllōs, to be called; dūtīnā, having eaten; mītē, always; gūtā, hale; ḍhukā, standing; sūtīnā, having searched; hatō, hand. Both features are found in other Gipsy languages. The former may point towards Pañjābī; the latter reminds us of Dravidian.

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

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

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

The substitution of a $h$ instead of an $s$ and also of other sounds in Sikalgārī mentioned above must be compared with the various devices for disguising words in other Gipsy dialects. Sikalgārī is not a simple dialect, but also an artificial argot. There are several peculiar words such as $kāyra$, people, men; $kālmāyē$, swine; $kāllē$, village; $khōl$, horse; $pār$, give; $chānē$, dress; $chōkō$, good; $chūnāwō$, horse; $dāl$, eat; $chōkāyō$, belly; $nikāf$, run; $nēkar$, die; $nikāfāyō$, thief; $pādō$, bull; $pēttō$, child; $ranbās$, wife; $sabādē$, rupee.

Moreover we find some of the common devices of disguising ordinary words by means of various additions. A $h$ is sometimes prefixed before words beginning with a vowel; thus, $khōkō$, standing; $khuppar$, above; $khektā-mā, in so much, in the meantime; $khōiśē$, having heard; $khō$ is also frequently substituted for an initial $s$; thus, $khat$, seven; $khamō$, before; $khārū, all; khāpūyō, he was found; $khē, hundred.

In $khaghārī$, a tradesman, it has replaced a $c$, cf. Gujarāti $cēpērī$.

$Ch$ and $chē$ are apparently only substituted for labials, as in other Gipsy argots; compare $chōlāwō$, to be called; $chāyō$, way, means, if this is derived from $upōy; chōmāwō$, having bound; $chōkkō$, hungering.

An $s$ has been substituted for an initial $p$ in $nāpyē, sin$.

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

Several additions contain a guttural. The simplest one consists of a $kh$, which is substituted for a final $s$; thus, $kaputē-kapūs$, cotton; $kkh$, twenty; $dakhalā, ten; menēkē, man; waraakh, year$. A $t$ is added to this $kh$ in forms such as $ukhtē, she came$; $tekhtē, tookest$. In $nikāf$, run, $kat$ seems to be used in the same way. The addition $gōf$ in $kāgōyō$, did; $ghāgōyō$, put, is perhaps also connected. An $s$ is also sometimes added to these suffixed gutturals; thus, $jēkān$, he goes; $gaknōyō$, went; $chēkōnō, boy; compare$ Gujarāti $chēhorē; rābān, he lives; rakhānō, he remained. We may add the suffix $gōl$ in words such as $ghagōl$, put; $jēgōl, go; dēgōl-wō-nē, of catching; phogōlē, again$.

It is tempting to compare these additions with the Mundā suffixes $kat$, $kan$, which play a great rôle in the conjugation of verbs.
A bāl or bāl has been added in words such as ekha, so many; kekholā, how many? khekīlā-nā, so-much-in, in the meantime.

A ca has been suffixed in words such as nāychā, sin; māchēr-lē, putting fake; compare Gujarāti mēlē.

Other additions are i, ē and p; thus, dēstā-nā, of God; jīveā, alive; nākōdā, nose; māḍū, mouth; anpū, food.

For further particulars the specimens which follow should be consulted. The first is a version of the Parable, the second a popular tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 181ff.
Ek manekh-né bô dákara hótà. Tiná-má nhâncâhon dîkarô
One man-to two sons weree. Them-among by-the-younger son
âpûo yahá-né kâdyô, "yahá, tàrl jingânil-mà ma-nû âkhyâwâno wàtò
own father-to it-was-said, father, thy property-in me-to coming share
ma-nû gûr." Yahó tinâ-má âpûo jîngi wàtînî
me-to give." By-the-father then-among own property having-divided
gàrû. Nhâncâhon dîkarô âpûo wàtò line dûr gûm-nà
weas-given. Younger son own share having-taken far country-to
jâkânê ghanà dûn thuyà nàî, kheklâ-mà to dhanhî thânînê
having-gone many days were not, that-in he riotous having-become
âpûo jingânil hál-kagôtyô. To im karinâ-par te gûmû-mà
own property wasted-was-made. He so having-done-on that village-ku.
jâlur dåkâj padinâ ti-nê garibî âkhi. To te gûmû-mà
mighty famine having-fallen him-to poverty come. He that village-in
èk manekh-kan tákài râkhañyô. È manekh ti-nê kûlmânyû
one men-near in-service remained. This man him seine
charâwâno khâr-nê wâlay gàrû. Tyô chhuikô kalwal
to-graze field-to sending weas-given. There hungry afflicted
thûsinê kûilmânyû dutwâno kûndî-bî dûtînî dhûtriyo
having-become seine eaten kûshë-ven having-eaten belly
bhâgîl-jêtô-tô, pûn ti-nê ki-kantû kâyi malyû nàî. Im
filling-was, but him-to anybody-from anything was-got not. So
thôkna dûn gakûyà, âpûo pâchâni wàt màlum padinâ to âpûà
few days passed, own former state known having-fallen he own
man-mà kâdyô, 'mâni yahá-kan rhayelû ghanà tûkryûwû-nê dhûtriyo
mind-in said, 'my father-near living many servants-to belly
bhûri-nê khpûpar anû pûçlû-tû; mî hyû chhuikû nikartaû;
having-filled above food obtained-was; I here hungry am-dying.
Mi khubhâ-thûrinê yahá-kan jâkânê kâdyô, "yahá mî dàwûta-nà
I having-got-up father-near having-gone said, "father, by-me God-of"
pāp yahō-nā pāp chūnānī līdū. Mī tērā dikarō karānī
śu fāther-of śu having-tied was-taken. I thy son having-said
chūlāwā jōgī nā. Mā-nē ek tākri dākāl tārā-kan
to-be-called worthy not. Mē one servant like of-thee-near
māhālavī-tō. Im kānī tū:tō tō khunbō-thārinī āpānā
keep.' So having-said there-from he up-having-arisen even
yabō-kan jākantō-tō. Pache yabō dūr-tō ti-nē dākānī mayā
father-near going-was. Then father far-from him having-seen pity
āvinī nīknīnī jāknīnī dhag-līnī māttī gārō.
having-comes having-run having-gone having-embraced kiss was-given.
Pache dikar yahō-nān kādyō, 'yahō, mā dōtā-nā khāmō tārā
Then son fāther-to said, 'father, by-me God-of before of-thee
khāmō nāpcē kagōtyō. Mā-nē tērā dikarō karānī chūlānu
before śn was-done. Mē thy son having-said to-call
nakō.' I-nē yahō āpānā tāsakarva-nē nādyō, 'chōkō chingū
to-not-filt. This-to father own servants-to said, 'good dress
lāvinī mārā dikarā-nē hāgōtō; nāpolā-mā khaŋōtī hāgōtō,
having-brought my son-to put-on; finger-on ring put,
pagō-mā jēdā hāgōtō; dutvwā-nō tāyānī kagōtō; ham duttā-nē
foot-on shoes put; dinner-of preparation make; ve having-eaten
santōs thanigā, sakarva-kāl-tō, yē mārō dikarō nikāryō-tō, phaṅlinē
merry shall-become, because, this my son dead-was, again
jītō āyō; nikīnē gaknyō-tō, khāpdōy.' Ė khaṅkīnē khārā
alive come; lost gone-was, was-found.' This having-heard all
santōs thāyā.
merry became.

Ye wakhāl-mā ti-nō mōtō dikarō khētar-mā hotō. Tō khō-pōnā
This time-in his elder son field-in was. He house-near
āwēkhā nā-nē gānū nāchānu khākō āyō. Tō tē tānkār-wālī-mā
coming him-to singing dancing to-hear come. He those servants-among
ek-nē chūlāyīnī, 'sū thāwā lāgū-ch?' kādyō. Tū:nō tō 'tārō
one-to having-called, 'what becoming is?' said. Him-to he, 'thy
bhāyī ākhyō-ch; tō chōkō ākhyō karānī dutwā kagōtyō,' im
brother came-even; he well come having-said dinner was-made; so
kādyō. Ye khaṅkīnē mōtō dikarō rek-khāynī māhī gaknyō
said. This having-heard elder son having-pol-angry inside went
nā, karānī ti-nō yahō bahārō śn āvinī, 'māhī ākhyāl,'
not. having-done his father outside having-come, 'inside come,'
kārānī ti-nē ghanō kādyō. Ti-nē tō āpān yahō-nē kādyō, 'mī
having-said. him-to much said. That-to he own father-to said, 'I
ekhla warakh tallakh tārō tākri kagōtinē kadi tārī wāt
so-many years up-to thy service having-done ever thy command
bhāgyō nāī. Pan mi mārā mhaitarnē maṅīṅē duṭwā
was-broken not. But I my friends having-gathered feast
kagōtawādē tū maṅī kadi ek bhakrō-bhī gārīō nāī. Pantū
making-for thou me-to ever one goat-even was-given not. But
rūndō-mō sangat paśāṁē tārī jingī khārī gali-gayō-tō
hāriots-of in-company having-fallen thy property all squandering-gone
yē tārō dikārō khūl-nē ākhyātaṅkāh tū tiṅō wālē duṭwā
this thy son house-to coming-on thou of-him for-the-sake dinner
kagōryo." Yabō dikārō-nē kadyō, tū mārā-kin nittē rhasī.
we-made." Father son-to said, "thou of-me-near always art.
Mā-kan rahelto khārā tārā-ch mayē. Nikarīō-tō tārī bhāyī
Me-near being all thine-alone is. Dear-was thy brother
phulinē jiyōtō ayō; nikāṅē gaknyō-tō, khāpēyō, karinē ham santōs
again alive came; last gone-sons, was-found, having-said we merry
thuxānū bārābar ekhē." to-become proper is."
GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGÁRI.

SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ujápur-má ék khyápar-yó kápukh-nó ghaná khyápar kágōtō-tó. Ék Bijápur-in ék merchant cotton-of large trade doing-was. One
din tē gam-má-tú káyi nikliyá máliné wakat sídiné
day that village-in-from some thieves having-gathered time having-sought
tē khyápar-yá-nó khól-má-nú ghan kápukh-ná gattá nikdi kariné
that merchant-of house-in-of many cotton-of bales stealing having-made
li-gayá. Pachá to khyápar-yó bánáhá-kan jákniné anpó khól-má
took-away. Then that merchant king-near having-gone own house-in
nikdi-théél wāt kadyú. 'Im nikdi thawání ghaná sarmundá
theft-committed story told. 'So theft to-become very disgraceful
wāt ehhá; aj-nú din dhariné chár din-má tū tē nikdiyá-né
matter is; today-of day including four days-in thou those thieves
nāi dhaglyó-tó tārā mātú níkárángá; im ti-né hukum kagótyó. Yē
not caught-hast thy head will-cut-off; so him-to order made. This
wāt khálkiné kotwál níkliyá-né patiyó kádwáné wáló għantál
word having-heard kotwál thieves-of way tracing for much
khástpat kagótyó, pān tē khápelya nāí.
labour did, but they were-found not.
Kheklá-má bánáhá-nó gārāl chár din khariné páchmó din
This-much-in king-of given four days having-expired fifth day
day ákhtyó. 'Kotwál-nó mātú níkárángá;' kariné gam-má dánogó
came. 'Kotwál-of head will-cut-off;' having-said village-in drum
khojádyó. Yē khálkiné khārā kóyrá talmalyá; sakarwákaitó
was-beaten. This having-heard all people were-grieved; because
kotwál khárā-né chūkó hótó. Yē khabar khálkiné tē gam-má-nó
kotwál all-to dear was. This news having-heard that village-in-of
ék sýānó manekh bánáhá-kan jákniné hato jōdíné màgí
one clever man king-near having-gone hands having-joined begging
lidyó.
was-taken.
FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

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

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

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

At the Census of 1911, 833 Gulguliás were returned, 824 from Bihar and Orissa and 29 from elsewhere.

No information about the language of the Gulguliás is available in Census Reports, and no such dialect was reported during the preliminary operations of this Survey. At the Census of 1901 it was, however, reported from the Hazaribag District that the Gulguliás do not ordinarily speak a separate dialect, but that they make use of a kind of argot when they intend to prevent others from understanding what they say. Three short sentences in this jargon were forwarded to Sir Edward Gait, the then Superintendent of the Census operations in Bengal, and he has been good enough to place them at the disposal of this Survey. They show that this argot is of the same kind as other secret jargons. In the first place there are some peculiar words such as tebigô, fell; lugiô, died; kutáchhi, have eaten; liér, tempest; némur, bullock; nákht, in the house. Some of these are well known from other argots, compare Sási lânsâ, fall; lugiô, die; diâra, eat; saâ, village; Garôfí nând, house. Besides this, ordinary words are disguised by changing their initials. Thus kh is substituted for b in khââh=bìyah, wedding, and for p in khââh=pââh, five; jh for f in jhín-gâ=tin, three; n for g in nââhâ=gââhk, tree, and so forth. I now give the sentences themselves with an interlinear translation.

Kôrâêt lié r tebigô; jhín-gô nââchhi tebigô, khââch-gô némur

*Last-nights* tempest fell; three trees fell, five bullocks

lugiô, died.

Jhátu-setí nôôpi kutáchhi, nââhkât konâgí nôôpi chhâhâlâô.

*Yesterday’s* not eaten-hence, house-in food (?) not is.

Hmar pânhr khââh bhêkhaligô, jamaâ nââhkât chhâhâlâô.

*My daughter’s* wedding became. son-in-law house-in is.
STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE GIPSY LANGUAGES.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Gikai (Cebu)</th>
<th>Sinó (Ordinary)</th>
<th>Sinó (Criminal)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. One</td>
<td>Ek</td>
<td>Ek</td>
<td>Bék</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Two</td>
<td>Don</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Dîître</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Three</td>
<td>Tin</td>
<td>Tín</td>
<td>Thår</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Four</td>
<td>Chárc</td>
<td>Chár</td>
<td>Châng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Five</td>
<td>Pîch</td>
<td>Pâj</td>
<td>Nâch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Six</td>
<td>Chhs</td>
<td>Chh</td>
<td>Nhâe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Seven</td>
<td>Sât</td>
<td>Sût</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Aţh</td>
<td>Kôt'h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ten</td>
<td>Ïas</td>
<td>Dàe</td>
<td>Khas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Twenty</td>
<td>Vîs</td>
<td>Wî</td>
<td>Khîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Fifty</td>
<td>Pachâs</td>
<td>Pâjâh</td>
<td>Naţâh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Hundred</td>
<td>Sô</td>
<td>Sût</td>
<td>Nhûu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. I</td>
<td>Hî</td>
<td>Haât</td>
<td>Haît</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Of me</td>
<td>Mâchâ</td>
<td>Mârôë</td>
<td>Mârû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Mine</td>
<td>Mâchâ</td>
<td>Mârôë</td>
<td>Mârû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. We</td>
<td>Amîî</td>
<td>Hâm</td>
<td>Hâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Of us</td>
<td>Am-châ</td>
<td>Mârôë</td>
<td>Mârôë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Our</td>
<td>Am-châ</td>
<td>Mârôë</td>
<td>Mâróë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Thou</td>
<td>Tîh</td>
<td>Taît</td>
<td>Taît</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Of thee</td>
<td>Tidhâ</td>
<td>Têrô</td>
<td>TêrôGâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Thine</td>
<td>Tidhâ</td>
<td>Têrô</td>
<td>TêrôGâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. You</td>
<td>Tamîî</td>
<td>Tam</td>
<td>Tam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Of you</td>
<td>Tam-châ</td>
<td>Tahârôë</td>
<td>TahârôGâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Your</td>
<td>Tam-châ</td>
<td>Tahârôë</td>
<td>TahârôGâ</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

178—Gisay.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ḳolōkō (Ḳolā).</th>
<th>Gārēḇ.</th>
<th>Ṣāyūn.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Bāk</td>
<td>Emā</td>
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<td>Dār</td>
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</table>

Giypay—179
2 a 2
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kanjari (Shagar)</th>
<th>Kanjari (Belgum)</th>
<th>Naři (State Kanjari)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bek; khašša</td>
<td>Ekkał</td>
<td>Bek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dukā</td>
<td>Jänj</td>
<td>Dher</td>
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<td>Dhalā</td>
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<td>Arahă</td>
<td>Chunak</td>
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<td>Nāch</td>
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<td>Thī</td>
<td>Nē</td>
</tr>
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<td>Khāmsi-janj</td>
<td>Nīth</td>
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<td>Khajālā</td>
<td>Khlarīma-īshīllā</td>
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<td>Āśir</td>
<td>Khālu</td>
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<td>Mi</td>
<td>Khi</td>
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<td>Khašō-thokāp</td>
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<td>Thokāp</td>
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<td>Hamā</td>
<td>Kham</td>
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<td>Hamārō</td>
<td>Khāmārā</td>
</tr>
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<td>Taṭ; tā</td>
<td>Yō</td>
<td>Nī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Yūrtō</td>
<td>Tīrē</td>
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<td>Tūrē</td>
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<td>Taṭ; tā</td>
<td>Tumō</td>
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<td>Tumārō</td>
<td>Numhārā</td>
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<td>Tumārō</td>
<td>Numhārā</td>
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<td>English</td>
<td>Gipsy lang. (Dolgara)</td>
<td>Gipsy lang. (Belgara)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>13. Hundred.</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. I.</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Of me.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>17. We.</td>
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<tr>
<td>18. Of us.</td>
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<tr>
<td>20. Thou.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>22. Thine.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. You.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Of you.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Yours.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Gujar (Common)</td>
<td>Gujar (Oriental)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. He</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>Uh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Of him</td>
<td>Tē-chā</td>
<td>Uskā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. His</td>
<td>Tē-chā</td>
<td>Uskā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. They</td>
<td>Sa, (awō)</td>
<td>Uh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Of them</td>
<td>Tē-chā, (awē-chā)</td>
<td>Uskā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Their</td>
<td>Tē-chā, (awē-chā)</td>
<td>Uskā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Hand</td>
<td>Hāth</td>
<td>Hāth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Foot</td>
<td>Paś</td>
<td>Paś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Nose</td>
<td>Nak</td>
<td>Nāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Eye</td>
<td>Ākāh</td>
<td>Ākāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Mouth</td>
<td>Mō</td>
<td>Mōh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Tooth</td>
<td>Dāl</td>
<td>Dand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Ear</td>
<td>Kān</td>
<td>Kānn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Hair</td>
<td>Wār</td>
<td>Bal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Head</td>
<td>Thor</td>
<td>Sir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Tongue</td>
<td>Jīth</td>
<td>Jīth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Belly</td>
<td>Pēṭ</td>
<td>Pēṭṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Back</td>
<td>Pīṭh</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Iron</td>
<td>Lōdhā</td>
<td>Lōdhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Gold</td>
<td>Sōnāl</td>
<td>Saunā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Silver</td>
<td>Bāṭā</td>
<td>Chāndi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Father</td>
<td>Bā</td>
<td>Bāpp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Mother</td>
<td>Aţ</td>
<td>Mē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Brother</td>
<td>Bhānu</td>
<td>Bhāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Sister</td>
<td>Bāg</td>
<td>Bāg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Man</td>
<td>Māaga</td>
<td>Banda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Woman</td>
<td>Bāypt</td>
<td>Jamānt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kikuyu (Acoma)</td>
<td>Gikuyu</td>
<td>Myanwili</td>
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<td>--------</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Pàw; gëñá</td>
<td>Góóñá</td>
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<td>Khasákka; nökka</td>
<td>Nukóocht</td>
<td>Khinak</td>
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<td>Káméro</td>
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<td>Kòndìch</td>
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<td>Gàndìgì</td>
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<td>Khàndìt, or kàjì</td>
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<td>Kàjìt; bàjìt</td>
<td>Kàjìt</td>
<td>Dàmì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnjab (Shahpur)</td>
<td>Karnjab (Bulguin)</td>
<td>Na'i (State Rampur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Uroko</td>
<td>Nuw-kä</td>
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Gîpûy—187
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190—Gipoy.
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<th>Myısavići</th>
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<td>Sakarwâ</td>
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<td>Bî-yabê</td>
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<td>Yahê</td>
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<td>Dēl-gū</td>
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<td>Dōn dēmē</td>
<td>Dō dēmē</td>
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<td>116. Of daughters</td>
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<td>Dēmē-gū</td>
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<td>Dēmē-gū</td>
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196—Gipsy.
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200—Uipay.
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<td>Kutē</td>
<td>Kutrē</td>
<td>148. Dogs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuttyē</td>
<td>Kuttrēyē</td>
<td>149. Bitches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekčan tākakā</td>
<td>Ek tākrcē</td>
<td>150. A he goat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekčan chhdē</td>
<td>Ek tākrcē</td>
<td>151. A female goat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bokārē</td>
<td>Bārē</td>
<td>152. Goat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekčan mer harrāp</td>
<td>Ek harrpō</td>
<td>153. A male deer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekčan mādī harrāp</td>
<td>Ek harrū</td>
<td>154. A female deer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrāp</td>
<td>Harrē</td>
<td>155. Deer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māl ḍhārīnāā</td>
<td>Māl čhīhō</td>
<td>156. I am.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tē ḍhārīnā</td>
<td>Tē čhīhō</td>
<td>157. Thou art.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uwe ḍhārīnāā</td>
<td>Tē čhīhō</td>
<td>158. He is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ham ḍhārītē</td>
<td>Ham čhīhō</td>
<td>159. We are.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tēmu ḍhārītē</td>
<td>Tēmu čhīhō</td>
<td>160. You are.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Ọfí (Gikọ́kọ́)</td>
<td>Sàá (Ordinary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161. They are .</td>
<td>Sn si</td>
<td>Uh lai .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162. I was .</td>
<td>Hē sülk</td>
<td>Hāu thiyyā (or styrā, stc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163. Thou wast .</td>
<td>Tā sülk</td>
<td>Tāu thiyyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164. He was .</td>
<td>Sn sülk</td>
<td>Uh thiyyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165. We were .</td>
<td>Aam sülk</td>
<td>Ham thiyyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166. You were .</td>
<td>Tam sülk</td>
<td>Tam thiyyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167. They were .</td>
<td>Sn sülk</td>
<td>Uh thiyyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168. Be .</td>
<td>Hā</td>
<td>Hō (sing.), hōwā (plur.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169. To be .</td>
<td>Hōsā</td>
<td>Hōgā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171. Having been .</td>
<td>Hōtśe</td>
<td>Hōtśe</td>
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<tr>
<td>172. I may be .</td>
<td>Hē hōwē</td>
<td>Hāu hōwē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173. I shall be .</td>
<td>Hē laiā; adī haviāb .</td>
<td>Hāu hoŋgūa .</td>
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<td>174. I should be .</td>
<td>Mācō-halē kūpē .</td>
<td>Hāu hōgā</td>
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<td>175. Beot .</td>
<td>Mār</td>
<td>Mār, mānō</td>
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<td>176. To beot .</td>
<td>Māyōsō</td>
<td>Mānō</td>
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<td>177. Beating .</td>
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<td>Mārti</td>
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<td>178. Having beaten .</td>
<td>Mārtišē</td>
<td>Mārtišā</td>
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<td>Hāu mārtā lai</td>
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<td>Tā mārti sī</td>
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<td>Ut mārtā lai</td>
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<td>Ut mārē lai</td>
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<td>185. I beot (Past Time) .</td>
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<td>Mañ mārēa</td>
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<td>187. He beot (Past Time) .</td>
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<td>Və hē</td>
<td>Və hapēh</td>
<td>Və hē</td>
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<td>Mē chihe</td>
<td>Mē hē</td>
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<td>Tō thiyyā</td>
<td>Tō chihe</td>
<td>Tō hē</td>
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<tr>
<td>O thiyyā</td>
<td>Wō chihe</td>
<td>U hē</td>
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<td>Ham chihe</td>
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<td>U lōi</td>
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<td>Nal (State Banpur)</td>
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<td>O hò</td>
<td>Wà hëchì</td>
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<td>Mañ hando</td>
<td>Khò nò</td>
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<td>Ò hando</td>
<td>Khamà hëchà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Hòkar</td>
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<td>Mañ hëwunço</td>
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<td>Khò rògà</td>
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<td>Mañ lounèb</td>
<td>Mij-kò. hòpnà chòbèpò</td>
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<td>Kujwàr</td>
<td>Lòtòhò</td>
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<td>Lòtnòh</td>
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<td>Kujwàrèdò</td>
<td>Lòtòhiè hòsò</td>
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<td>Kujwàr-kò</td>
<td>Lòtòh-kàr</td>
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<td>Mañ lugaòù</td>
<td>Mañ kútwarè</td>
<td>Khò lòtìà yò</td>
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<td>Tañ lugaòù</td>
<td>Yo kútwarò</td>
<td>Tòl lòtèhò hòi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wò lugaòù</td>
<td>È kútwarò</td>
<td>Wòli lòtèhò hòi</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Hamò kútwarò</td>
<td>Kham lòtìè hòchàfè</td>
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<td>Tumò kútwarè</td>
<td>Num-lòtìè hò</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Ò kútwarò</td>
<td>Wò lòtìè hòliè</td>
</tr>
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<td>Mañ lugàddò</td>
<td>Mañ kùtènò</td>
<td>Khò-sò lòtnìà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tañ lugaughùis</td>
<td>Yo kùtènò</td>
<td>Num-sò lòtnìà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wò lugaughùis, lunai</td>
<td>È kùtènò</td>
<td>Ua nò lòtnìà</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quen.</td>
<td>Shaugari (Belgana)</td>
<td>English</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Uno Ḟḥărte</td>
<td>Tē echer</td>
<td>161. They are.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maí Ḟḥărṭā-thē</td>
<td>Mi hēte</td>
<td>162. I went.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta Ḟḥārtā-thā</td>
<td>Tā hētō</td>
<td>163. Thou went.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Une Ḟḥārtā-thā</td>
<td>Tō hētō</td>
<td>164. He went.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ham Ḟḥārtā-kha</td>
<td>Ham hētō</td>
<td>165. We went.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tane Ḟḥārtā-thē</td>
<td>Tum hētō</td>
<td>166. You went.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uno Ḟḥārtā-thē</td>
<td>Tē hētā</td>
<td>167. They went.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thak</td>
<td>Tēat</td>
<td>168. Be.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakekya</td>
<td>Thatwēnē</td>
<td>169. To be.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakōko</td>
<td>Tēāmō</td>
<td>171. Having been.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maí Ḟḥakungā</td>
<td>Mi thanāgā</td>
<td>172. I may be.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maí Ḟḥakungā</td>
<td>Mi thanγō</td>
<td>173. I shall be.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maí Ḟḥak-nā</td>
<td>Mi thanch</td>
<td>174. I should be.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghād</td>
<td>Nīkār</td>
<td>175. Beat.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ghād-ku</td>
<td>Nīkārōnē</td>
<td>176. To beat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghādōko</td>
<td>Nīkārōnē</td>
<td>178. Having beaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maí ghādtnā</td>
<td>Mi nīkārā</td>
<td>179. I beat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta ghādtnā</td>
<td>Tē nīkār</td>
<td>180. Thou beat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Une ghādtnā</td>
<td>Tē nīkē</td>
<td>181. He beat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ham ghādtnō</td>
<td>Ham nīkārō</td>
<td>182. We beat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tane ghādtnō</td>
<td>Tum nīkār</td>
<td>183. You beat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uno ghādtē</td>
<td>Tē nīkār</td>
<td>184. They beat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maí ghādyā</td>
<td>Mi nīkārōyō</td>
<td>185. I beat (Past Tense).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta ghādyā</td>
<td>Tē nīkārōyō</td>
<td>186. Thou beatest (Past Tense).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Une ghādyā</td>
<td>Tē nīkārōyō</td>
<td>187. He beat (Past Tense).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Odi (Czech)</td>
<td>Söl (Ordinary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
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<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188. We beat (Past Tense)</td>
<td>Amf měřtě</td>
<td>Häm márič</td>
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<tr>
<td>189. You beat (Past Tense)</td>
<td>Tam mářší</td>
<td>Tam mářší</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190. They beat (Past Tense)</td>
<td>Tǎčy máťší</td>
<td>Ugů můř mářší</td>
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<td>191. I am beating</td>
<td>Hů mářší sē</td>
<td>Hů mářší játťa hůi, or hů mářší rǐňá hůi</td>
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<td>192. I was beating</td>
<td>Hů mářší sǐlē</td>
<td>Hů mářší játťa thíyš (or sǐyš)</td>
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<td>193. I had beaten</td>
<td>Mě mářší sǐlē</td>
<td>Mě mářší thíyš (or sǐyš)</td>
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<tr>
<td>194. I may beat</td>
<td>Hů mářší</td>
<td>Hů mářší</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195. I shall beat</td>
<td>Hů mářší</td>
<td>Hů mářší</td>
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<td>196. Thou wilt beat</td>
<td>Tů mářší</td>
<td>Tů mářší</td>
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<td>197. He will beat</td>
<td>Sů mářší</td>
<td>Uh mářší</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198. We shall beat</td>
<td>Amf mářší</td>
<td>Häm mářší</td>
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<tr>
<td>199. You will beat</td>
<td>Tam mářší</td>
<td>Tam mářší</td>
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<td>200. They will beat</td>
<td>Sů mářší</td>
<td>Uh mářší</td>
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<td>201. I should beat</td>
<td>Múčtě mářší khapě</td>
<td>Hů mářší</td>
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<td>202. I am beaten</td>
<td>Hů mářší sǐlē</td>
<td>Hů mářší játťa hůi</td>
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<tr>
<td>203. I was beaten</td>
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<td>Hů mářší játťa thíyš (or sǐyš)</td>
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<td>204. I shall be beaten</td>
<td>Hů mářší</td>
<td>Hů mářší</td>
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<td>205. I go</td>
<td>Hů játťa sē</td>
<td>Hů játťa hůi</td>
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<td>206. Thou goest</td>
<td>Tů játťa sē</td>
<td>Tů játťa hůi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207. He goest</td>
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<td>Uh játťa hůi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208. We go</td>
<td>Amf játťa sē</td>
<td>Ham játťa hůi</td>
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<td>209. You go</td>
<td>Tam játťa sē</td>
<td>Tam játťa hůi</td>
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<tr>
<td>210. They go</td>
<td>Sů játťa sě</td>
<td>Uh játťa hůi</td>
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<td>211. I went</td>
<td>Hů gelě</td>
<td>Hů gaňá (pronounced gaňá)</td>
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<td>212. Thou wentest</td>
<td>Tů gelě</td>
<td>Tů gaňá</td>
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<td>213. He went</td>
<td>Ō gelě</td>
<td>Uh gaňá</td>
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<td>214. We went</td>
<td>Amf gelě</td>
<td>Ham gaňá</td>
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206—Gipsy.
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| ከህ-
ምያ-y | ከህ-
薅-y | ከህ-
㈱-y |
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kanjari (Shigar)</th>
<th>Kanjari (Belgama)</th>
<th>Nafl (State Rampur)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hamā kūṭā</td>
<td>Kham-nā lōthā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tumā kūṭā</td>
<td>Num-nā lōthā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ō kūṭā</td>
<td>Uāhā-nā lōthā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māl lugaird</td>
<td>Māl kūṭā lōhē</td>
<td>Kūh lōthā rē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māl lugālā</td>
<td>Māl kūṭō lāndō</td>
<td>Kūh lōth rāhā thā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Māl lugaihīrd; māl lugaird</td>
<td>Māl kūṭō dō</td>
<td>Kūh-nē lōthā thā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māl kūṭā gō</td>
<td>Hōγō ke kūh lōthā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māl lugasā; māl lugaihīrd</td>
<td>Māl kūṭā gō</td>
<td>Kūh lōthāgā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taī lugasāghāl</td>
<td>Yo kūṭāgā</td>
<td>Khamā lōthērā</td>
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<td>Ō kūṭāgā</td>
<td>Woh lōthērā</td>
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<td>Kham lōthāgō</td>
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<td>Num lōthērō</td>
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<td>Wē lōthēs</td>
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<td>Mojī-kā lāmā chāhāsīyē</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Māl kūṭwār-līnū</td>
<td>Kūh lōthā gayā rē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māl lugaird goghīrd thā</td>
<td>Māl kūṭwār-gāw</td>
<td>Kūh lōthā gayā thā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Māl kūṭwār-lōwāgō</td>
<td>Kūh lōthā jēīgā</td>
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<td>Māl nikhārāngō</td>
<td>Kūh jāsurā</td>
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<td>Yo nikhārāngō</td>
<td>Nu jāsurā hāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We jaoghāsēl</td>
<td>Ō nikhārāngō</td>
<td>Woh jāsurā hāi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hamā nichhardā</td>
<td>Kham jāsurā lōchē</td>
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<td>Tumā nichhardā</td>
<td>Num jāsurā hō</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ō nichhardā</td>
<td>Wō jāsurā lōchē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Māl gawā</td>
<td>Kūh gayā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taī jaoghīrd</td>
<td>Yo gawā</td>
<td>Nu gayā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We jaoghīrd</td>
<td>Ō gawā</td>
<td>Woh gayā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hamā gawā</td>
<td>Kham gayā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

208—Gisay.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Queāl</th>
<th>Sīkalgīrr (Bēksoom)</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ham ghādyā</td>
<td>Ham nikhāryō</td>
<td>188. We beat (Past Tense).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tume ghādyā</td>
<td>Tum nikhāryō</td>
<td>189. You beat (Past Tense).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uno ghādyā</td>
<td>Tē nikhāryō</td>
<td>190. They beat (Past Tense).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maī ghāchtā-hai</td>
<td>Mi nikhārtā</td>
<td>191. I am beating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maī ghādtā-hattū</td>
<td>Mi nikhārtēs</td>
<td>192. I was beating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maī ghādyōtā</td>
<td>Mi nikhārtōtā</td>
<td>193. I had beaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maī ghādēngā</td>
<td>Mi nikhārēngā</td>
<td>194. I may beat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maī ghādiruṅgā</td>
<td>Mi nikhārdōngā</td>
<td>195. I shall beat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tū ghādrēngā</td>
<td>Tē nikhārēngō</td>
<td>196. Thou wilt beat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uno ghādrēngā</td>
<td>Tō nikhārēngō</td>
<td>197. He will beat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ham ghādiruṅgā</td>
<td>Ham nikhārdōngā</td>
<td>198. We shall beat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tume ghādiruṅgā</td>
<td>Tum nikhārdōngō</td>
<td>199. You will beat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uno ghādrēngā</td>
<td>Tē nikhārdōngō</td>
<td>200. They will beat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maī ghāchē</td>
<td>Mi nikhārtē</td>
<td>201. I should beat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maī ghāchē-khāl</td>
<td>Mi nikhārtōngō-chhē</td>
<td>202. I am beaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maī ghāchē khēa</td>
<td>Mi nikhārtōngō-tōa</td>
<td>203. I was beaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maī ghēj khānuṅgā</td>
<td>Mi nikhārdōntōngā</td>
<td>204. I shall be beaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maī khōωaṭā</td>
<td>Mi jākan</td>
<td>205. I go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tē khōωaṭā</td>
<td>Tō jākan</td>
<td>206. Thou goest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uno khōωaṭā</td>
<td>Tō jākan</td>
<td>207. He goes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ham khōωaṭ</td>
<td>Ham jākan</td>
<td>208. We go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tume khōωaṭ</td>
<td>Tum jākan</td>
<td>209. You go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uno khōωaṭ</td>
<td>Tē jākan</td>
<td>210. They go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maī khōωaṭā</td>
<td>Mi gaknūtō</td>
<td>211. I went.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tē khōωaṭā</td>
<td>Tē gaknūtō</td>
<td>212. Thou wentest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uno khōωaṭ</td>
<td>Tē gaknūtō</td>
<td>213. He went.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ham khōωaṭa</td>
<td>Ham gaknūtō</td>
<td>214. We went.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Odia (Ostch.)</td>
<td>Odi (Ordinary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>215. You went</td>
<td>Tam'i gośa</td>
<td>Tam goę</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216. They went</td>
<td>Su gośa</td>
<td>Uu goę</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217. Go</td>
<td>Jā</td>
<td>Ja, jā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218. Going</td>
<td>Jātā</td>
<td>Jattā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219. Gone</td>
<td>Gōtā</td>
<td>Gaąā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220. What is your name ?</td>
<td>Tam-chō nām kā?</td>
<td>Tulātrā nā kā hái ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221. How old is this horse ?</td>
<td>Hā gośa kawpāk a?</td>
<td>Le gheręōt nō kā le hái ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223. How many sons are there in your father’s house ?</td>
<td>Tam-chō bāi-chā gharā-mā ēśūkūt háit ?</td>
<td>Tulārē bāppā-gōt gharā bīch kitri dūr hái ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224. I have walked a long way to-day.</td>
<td>Āj nō ēmābā path kārā ēśū</td>
<td>Mērē bāē-kōt gōt nākā bānā sātā bāhā hái</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.</td>
<td>Māgā bāē-chō gōt tē-chō bīstā nā pāūtā ēśū</td>
<td>Bāggē bōgōgē-kētāt gharā bīch hái</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.</td>
<td>Gharā-mā bōgō-goē-chā kāhā ēśū</td>
<td>Kāhē uktā pūtāt ērāh hōk bāhē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227. Put the saddle upon his back.</td>
<td>Te-chō pētānā mālē kētā ēśū</td>
<td>Mał uktā pētā-gōt bāpē kōṭē (bānā or sētē) mārē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.</td>
<td>Mō tē-chō pētā-gōt gāhanā phuchē mārē ēśū</td>
<td>Uū pāhūpū-gōt bōtā ērāh dūrā dāgār slūgālā hái</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.</td>
<td>Sē ṣāṁgrā māthō chōpē chāsāvē ēśū</td>
<td>Uū us gūkū-gōt kā tē gheręōt gōt dūrā tāsētā hái</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.</td>
<td>Sē ṣō tēppā ṣēōsū māthō bēlē ēśū</td>
<td>Uū us gūkū-gōt kā tē gheręōt gōt dūrā tāsētā hái</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231. His brother is taller than his sister.</td>
<td>Eōtā bōgōkā sātō-cō-chā kāhā fēkē ēśū</td>
<td>Tākā bā hàt uktā bāgō saētē ēmām ēśū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.</td>
<td>Eōtā kitnā asētē rūpē ēśū</td>
<td>Iktā mōlī bātā rūpāyē hái</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233. My father lives in that small house.</td>
<td>Mūchā bā sī bākhē gāhrā-mā ēśū</td>
<td>Mērā bōpē usatē gāhā bīch rātā hái</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234. Give these rupees to him.</td>
<td>Hō rūpē tē-nē gōwā</td>
<td>Uktā tā rūpāyē yē tē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235. Take these rupees from him.</td>
<td>If ērūpō tē pāē-tē gōwā</td>
<td>Uktā pāśā uh rūpāyē yē tē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes.</td>
<td>Ēō cā kēbhā mārā nēŚ gājāvē tē bōbē</td>
<td>Uktā uāchētē tārō mārō tē rāśē sīttē bāgō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>237. Draw water from the well.</td>
<td>Kūwā-nīyōt tē pūtā kāhā</td>
<td>Us bākhā bīkhā bōtā kādēbē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238. Walk before me.</td>
<td>Mēt nātē cālē</td>
<td>Mēvē aggē tācō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239. Whose boy comes behind you ?</td>
<td>Tāmē wōŚ hē-chō pēt ēvē ēśū</td>
<td>Tulārēkē tēkē kōktē pēt tōt aēt hái</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240. From whom did you buy that ?</td>
<td>Tāmē kāwē kē pāēt tēcē tē mēēē gōwā</td>
<td>Tulārē kē-chōhū mōēē līyē yē</td>
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<tr>
<td>अक्षर (काहे)</td>
<td>ग्रंथार</td>
<td>मुखारा</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>तुम गयो</td>
<td>तुम गायलो</td>
<td>तमेहे कियो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वो गयो</td>
<td>यो गायलो</td>
<td>वो कियो</td>
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<tr>
<td>जा</td>
<td>दहात</td>
<td>दणुळ</td>
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<td>चालू</td>
<td>चालू</td>
<td>चालू</td>
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<td>गाया</td>
<td>तेरो चैनो का</td>
<td>तेरो नाकोडा का</td>
</tr>
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<td>तेरा नावूला क्या हो</td>
<td>तो गौरवुळा कितुणु बार</td>
<td>तो गौरवुळा कितुणु बार</td>
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<td>ले उद्धो-कट हुमार रेडी हक्कोह</td>
<td>उवा-से क्षीर मीतुणु हृदी दर</td>
<td>यो खालीमा नेडे नाडी बार</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हेथे-से क्षीर मीतुणु दर</td>
<td>तेरो रड़ौटुका-से नंदू-मा कितुणु लवड़े</td>
<td>तेरो रड़ौटुका-से नंदू-मा कितुणु लवड़े</td>
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<td>तेरा धारात-कसे खोजो-कही चोहरे ही</td>
<td>मि आँखरुका काही चालू धारे ही</td>
<td>मि आँखरुका काही चालू धारी</td>
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<td>वोका धारे-कही माँही काली-को लवड़ी-का बाहो</td>
<td>वोका धारे-कही माँही काली-को लवड़ी-का बाही</td>
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<td>मेक कक्ष-के आरे-की मनो-को धारी हक्कोही</td>
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<td>उस खोजो-कहिली रोधा-डोधा कही हक्कोही</td>
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<td>उस कक्ष-के हो जौह खाती घायो</td>
<td>उस कक्ष-के हो जौह खाती घायो</td>
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<td>ओ नासे-पसे धृत मरत रेडी रूया</td>
<td>ओ नासे-पसे धृत मरत रेडी रूया</td>
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<td>उस म्याजु-को नाने रेडी-पर रूषिता रोशीही</td>
<td>उस म्याजु-को नाने रेडी-पर रूषिता रोशीही</td>
</tr>
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<td>उस-का भान्ना नौ-का हान्ना-का कहौला ही</td>
<td>उस-का भान्ना नौ-का हान्ना-का कहौला ही</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>बस-का मेल कोटाल सीड़ी ही</td>
<td>बस-का मेल कोटाल सीड़ी ही</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मेरा भाकु बुजनाय खोज़े-को वाहला रोशीही</td>
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<td>बस-का मुख्तु-को ने त्युवी-की लीपी</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>तेरो निशोलहा री-का बोला सारा</td>
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<td>तेरो निशोलहा री-का बोला सारा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बोल रेखमो-से मोह लोग्र</td>
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</tr>
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<td>बस रक्षिये को मुंदीरूध्री-रुपी</td>
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<td>बस रक्षिये को मुंदीरूध्री-रुपी</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cipoy—211 2 x 2
तमें गवाघर
भूमि
गंगांगरें
तें का मो-हेलो?
इह गुहाने किते रुपरे हाँ?
इहे-से शाकशरी किते दुर्गे हो?
तें हस-हेला-के रिंडे-माई का हूहेला हो?
मै जी दुस-हेला गाउनीला?
मेरे का का का हूहेला लेके का रुनिले हो?
हूडे-माई रुपै गुहाने-का जिन-हेली हौ?
बिरो-की भिपोली-पर जिन-हौली भिकले?
मै बिरो-का का हूहेला-का रुनिले चालुक लगिले?
बिरो रुहे-की कीता र मुहला चार्गहुडी?
बिरो परेलिक दर गुहाने वर चाहेला हौ?
बिरो-की भिकला बराबे-का रुनिले लम्बी हौ?
बिरो-का दम-हेला कहानी गोल हौ?
मेरो तप-हेला बिरो चहुटारे रिंडे-माई हौ?
जू गोल बिरो ती?
मा गोल बिरो-से ला-लौगू?
हूडे-का बहुत लागत छोटे जिन-हेला-से चालुह?
धूल-से नैमांन निकार?
मेरो चाहेला चालुह?
तें निचा किस-का हूहेला आहुसरे?
किने से ताल मुलाह ले लिखि?
गुलाब-ले हे लमो-से?
अदेहवर-के एकम दुर-ङ्गर खाने-को पास-से
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qawil.</th>
<th>Zacharia (Bengali).</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uno khâkâwâ . . . .</td>
<td>Te gaknuô . . . .</td>
<td>216. They want.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khat . . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>Jâkân . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>217. Go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khââwâtâ . . . . . . .</td>
<td>Jâkânâ . . . . . . .</td>
<td>218. Going.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khâwânâ . . . . . . .</td>
<td>Gaknuâ . . . . . . .</td>
<td>219. Gone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tôch naun kyi ? . . .</td>
<td>Tôch naun sô ? . . .</td>
<td>220. What is your name?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ê ghojâ-ku kette sâl ? .</td>
<td>Yô chhînâ-mô kokhâlâ warakâ ? .</td>
<td>221. How old is this horse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyât Kâsmir kette âér ? .</td>
<td>Hyât Kâsmir kokhâlâ dêr ? .</td>
<td>222. How far is it from here to Kâsmir?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tôch bââ-kâ nam-me kettâ kuchôi ? .</td>
<td>Tôch yâkkâ-nâ khot-mô kokhâlâ dîkârâ chhînâ .</td>
<td>223. How many sons are there in your father's house?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maâ aj bahnâ dîrâ bâk châlwaâdâku awârây .</td>
<td>Maâ aj gâmmâ dîrâ wâl châlîy .</td>
<td>224. I have walked a long way to-day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ên bhaâr, mîra, chichâhâ-kâ kaalâkkâ-kâ nîlêyattâ .</td>
<td>Tôn bheân nîlê kakhâ-nâ kâk-katâ nîlêyattâ .</td>
<td>225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ên nam-me nhâle ghojâ-ku chhôgu ñag-kYYY .</td>
<td>Tôn khot-mô chhînâ-kôm khitîn-kô khotîn chhînâ .</td>
<td>226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usî pî-kêt uppar khatrî sô . . . . .</td>
<td>Tôn pî-kêt-kêt khotîn chhôgu gâgôl . . . . .</td>
<td>227. Put the saddle upon his back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maâ nîkâ kuchêm-kê bahn-mî kokhâ-ka-ka .</td>
<td>Mi nîkâ chhînâ-kôm ghanûtê hîmîyô .</td>
<td>228. I have beaten his men with many stripes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usî o châgê-ku uppar gîrê chawwaâdâ laï .</td>
<td>Tôn têkùdà-par dërîn chawwáldî .</td>
<td>229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usî o ñâbô-kê têle ghojô-ku uppar hîsâwê .</td>
<td>Tôn dëkùdô-kêt khotîn chhînà-kêt bakhîyô .</td>
<td>230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usî bhai nîkâ hîsâ-ko umu-khâ hîsînâ ? .</td>
<td>Tôn hîsînâ-tôn khîtê umu-khî nîkâ hîsînâ .</td>
<td>231. His brother is taller than his sister,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usî kînên chawwê kallâ . . . . .</td>
<td>Tôn kînên khatî kînên hîsînâ .</td>
<td>232. The price of this is two roupas and a half.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mêrî bâkâ o abuk nam-me ñagtañ . . . . .</td>
<td>Mêrî yô khotâ-kêt khîm-kêt khatîn-kêt hîsînâ .</td>
<td>233. My father lives in that small house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usî o kallâ kù . . . . .</td>
<td>Tôn yô kînên kînên hîsînâ . . . . .</td>
<td>234. Give this rope to him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ê kallâ nuke pêss-tê mângûlê . . . . .</td>
<td>Tôn kînên kînên hîsînê khîwê khîân . . . . .</td>
<td>235. Take those roupas from him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bâwâdî-mô-nê ni ngâ khàkâhêl . . . . .</td>
<td>Ê-mô-tê pûtê kàgôt . . . . .</td>
<td>237. Draw water from the well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mêrî kînên chawwê . . . . .</td>
<td>Më khâmë khîgûlê . . . . .</td>
<td>238. Walk before me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tôch pichêlî kîs-kê chhankâ awarassê ? .</td>
<td>Tôn pìkê Chhôgê hîkêm-kê akhiyô ? .</td>
<td>239. Whose boy comes behind you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kîs-kê pât-ko tume o maan-kê hîdêyyya ? .</td>
<td>Tôn tê kî-kámê kîkëkê-tê khîgûlê ? .</td>
<td>240. From whom did you buy that?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>