A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES
OF INDIA: TO WIT,
HINDI, PANJABI, SINDHI, GUJARATI, MARATHI,
ORIYA, AND BANGALI.

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VOL. I,
ON SOUNDS.

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FREDERICK EDEN ELLIOT,

BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE,

IN MEMORY OF OLD HAILSBURY DAYS,

THESE FIRST-FRUITS OF THE STUDIES THERE BEGUN

ARE DEDICATED

BY HIS AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.
PREFACE.

It is with much hesitation, and with a deep sense of its many imperfections, that I now lay this volume before the public. Begun in 1866, it has for more than five years occupied my leisure hours; and if it should be remarked, as in justice it might, that the result is somewhat meagre for so long a period of preparation, I would reply that the duties of a magistrate and collector in Bengal are not only onerous, but so multifarious, and often so urgent, that he is never safe from interruption at any hour of the day or night. On an average, two hours a day has been the utmost time that I could devote to my amusements or private pursuits of any kind. Constant journeys, repeated attacks of sickness, and the “mollis inertia” inseparable from the climate during at least six months of the year, must also be taken into consideration. It may be asked, why under these circumstances I undertook the task at all? To this I answer, that to a hardworked brain change of labour is often a greater relaxation than absolute idleness, and that having always been a student of languages from my childhood, I had adopted this form of amusement in preference to any other, and had collected and grouped together many examples of the most salient peculiarities in the languages which I heard spoken round me long before any idea of writing a book entered my head.

It was, I think, in 1865 that I first saw Dr. Caldwell’s
Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, and it immediately occurred to me that a similar book was much wanted for the Aryan group. It was evident that no scholar in Europe could do the work, because the written productions in the modern vernaculars and the few dictionaries and grammars procurable are not only frequently quite wrong and utterly misleading, but are also very defective, so that no one could merely from books get a firm and certain grasp of all these languages. It is necessary to be able to speak all or most of them, and to live among the people and hear them talking daily. When, therefore, I turned to scholars in India, it did not appear that any of them contemplated undertaking such a task. Then I thought that it would be well for me to try; if I could not make a perfect book, I could at any rate gather together and set forth in order the main rules, and could give copious examples and illustrations, so that, while waiting for some Bopp or Grimm to arise, students might have a handbook of some sort to guide them, and might no longer be misled by the astoundingly false etymologies which occur in the ordinary grammars and dictionaries. I have, therefore, not called this book by any mock-modest title, such as "an introduction," or "contributions to," or "notes on," or anything of the kind, because I have done my best to cover the whole ground of the subject; and whether I have done well or ill, the book was meant to be a Comparative Grammar, and I have called it so accordingly.

A residence of upwards of twelve years in India, during which I have held official posts in the Panjab, Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa, and have made long visits to
various parts of Hindustan Proper (the North-western Provinces), has rendered me familiar with Panjabi, Hindi, Bengali, and Oriya, all of which, at different times, I have had to speak, read, and write. The western languages, Marathi, Sindhi, and Gujarati, I only know from books and from such information as I have obtained from kind correspondents in Bombay, among whom my thanks are specially due to Mr. Flynn, translator to the High Court, whose notes have been of great value to me, and whose knowledge of the languages of his Presidency is both accurate and profound.

A great difficulty has been the want of good books of reference. Living in this remote wilderness, I have had only such books as my own scanty library contains; my best book has been the peasant in the fields, from whose lips I have often learnt more than I could find in dictionaries or grammars.

Such as it is, then, volume the first is now about to make its voyage home to be printed,

"Parvo, nec invideo, sine me liber ibis in urbem."

I dismiss it with the hope that it may prove useful to those for whom it is intended.

My learned friend, Dr. R. Rost, Librarian of the India Office, has kindly undertaken to give this volume the benefit of his superintendence while passing through the press, thus conferring an inestimable favour, not only on the author, but on the public, by preventing the book from being disfigured by errors of printing; for all other errors I must remain responsible.

This volume contains only the Phonetics of the group. A second volume, on the noun and pronoun, is already on
the stocks, but I cannot say when it will be ready for the press. I hope, if life and health are spared, to complete the work by a third volume, containing the verb and particles; but our official work seems to get heavier, and leisure to be more unattainable, day by day. My progress is therefore of necessity slow and uncertain, and many years must elapse before my task is finished.

BALAHORE, ORISSA, September, 1871.

John Beames.

NOTE.

A list of the works which I have consulted is here inserted. Although, as I have said before, I have had comparatively little help from books, yet it is due to those living authors from whom I have derived any assistance to acknowledge the same.

Bopp: *Comparative Grammar.*


Grimm: *Deutsche Grammatik.*

Grimm: *Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache.*


Two most valuable essays. I have taken some examples from them, but most of those which are identical with Dr. Trumpp’s I had already collected for myself before I became acquainted with his works.


My thanks are due to the learned author for the immense benefit I have derived from the study of these two important treatises.

Cowell: *The Prākrita Prakāsa of Vararuchi.*

This admirable edition of the leading work on Prakrit has been the basis of the present volume.

Bopp’s *Glossarium Comparativum,* Westergaard’s *Radices Sanskríticas,* Banerji’s *Sanskrit Dictionary* (I could not get Böhtlingk and Roth’s), Monier Williams’s *English and Sanskrit Dictionary,* Muir’s *Sanskrit Texts,* vol. ii., and numerous articles scattered through the pages of the Journals of the various Asiatic Societies, have also been constantly referred to.

It is unnecessary to specify the dictionaries and grammars of the modern vernaculars. They are those in ordinary use, and for the most part very bad and defective, except Molesworth’s splendid work and Shamacharan Sirkar’s very complete and useful Bengali grammar.
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ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 12, line 5, omit the semicolon after "pronunciation."
Page 14, line 25, for fucinus read fuciones.
Page 20, line 13, dele semicolon, insert comma.
Page 20, line 19, the second d in churad, bajad, etc., not to be in italics.
Page 20, line 3 from bottom of page, for dya write dya.
Page 25, line 18, for bascanda read bassanda.
Page 36, note, line 6 from bottom, for Duld write Duld.
Page 85, line 11, for (their) read (its).
Page 89, line 17, for Kabir and other read the early Vaishnavs.
Page 96, line 28, for Bhagulpur read Bhagalpur.
Page 112, line 12, for mon read sunt.
Page 112, line 13, for its, it, tem, to, read it, i, am, o.
Page 112, line 3 from bottom, for so, ad, read so ad (dele comma).
Page 130, line 2 from bottom, for shore read shere.
Page 138, line 26, for मागिनी read मागिनी.
Page 139, line 22, for रेत read रेट.
Page 142, line 25, for रचाद्या read चारवा (kh).
Page 142, line 25, for चे के read चे (kh).
Page 142, line 29, for जागे read एगे (egge).
Page 146, line 7, for गिद्ध read शिक (singh).
Page 147, lines 13, 14, dele the "after rain and the " before blood.
Page 153, line 14, for faces; read faces, (comma for semicolon).
Page 153, line 15, for matter, read matter; (semicolon for comma).
Page 162, lines 5, 6, for ultt, pullt read ultt-pultt, and so in all the couples of words which follow, as ds-pds, etc.
Page 176, line 9, for S. भिज read भिज्जु.
Page 182, line 19, dele दिवाला: | दिवाला is from दीपावली, and is
Page 182, line 20, dele दीपावल्ल: | not a case in point.
Page 184, line 2, for चः read चः.
Page 187, line 7, for with read into.
Page 199, line 5, for शृंग read शृंग.
Page 199, line 15, for G. वच read वच.
Page 201, line 4, for atirijuka read utirijuka.
Page 201, line 22, for गद्वलो read गद्वलो.
Page 204, line 13, for rokhtho read roketha.
Page 210, line 22, for कप, कप read कप, कप.
Page 211, line 17, for derivatives read derivations.
Page 214, line 22, for टपात read टपात.
Page 215, line 3 from bottom, for बृद्धि read बृद्धि; (semicolon for full stop).
Page 215, line 3 from bottom, the words The भ is still preserved in B.
Page 223, line 4, for court did to the road day did of being.
Page 225, last line, and page 226, line 1, for peas read peas.
Page 229, line 7, for thrashing read threshing.
Page 231, lines 20, 22, for Brinjaries read Brinjaras. (The former is
Page 234, line 2, for दिः read दिः (dvi).
Page 237, line 25, for ठट्टरा read ठट्टरा.
Page 240, line 2, for वेशता read वेशता (kshed). (semicolon for full stop).
Page 243, last line but one, for ताज read पाल.
Page 244, line 6, for B. read M.
Page 250, line 26, after identical put a semicolon.
Page 250, line 27, after द delete semicolon, put a comma.
Page 273, line 8, for महाद read महाद.
Page 286, last line but one, for खानो read खानो.
Page 316, line 6, for उपविष read उपविष.
Page 322, last line but one, for पल read पल.
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES
OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.


§ 1. On analyzing the vocabulary of the seven languages which form the subject of this work, we observe at the outset that a large number of words are common to them all. In all, with slight modifications, ho means be; kar, do; a, come; jā, go; khā, eat; pl, drink; mar, die; mār, strike; sun, hear; dekh, see; and among nouns a still greater number is found.
with but minor differences in each member of the group. Inasmuch as it is also clear that all of these numerous words are found in Sanskrit, we are justified in accepting so far the native opinion that Sanskrit is the parent of the whole family. By the term Sanskrit is meant that language in which the whole of the religious, legendary, and philosophical literature of the Aryan Indians is written, from the ancient hymns of the Vedas down to the latest treatises on ceremonies or metaphysics. That this language was once the living mother-tongue of the Aryan tribes may safely be conceded; that it was ever spoken in the form in which it has been handed down by Brahmanical authors may as safely be denied. If then the word Sanskrit be, as in strictness it should be, applied only to the written language, the statement that Sanskrit is the parent of the modern vernaculars must be greatly modified, and we should have to substitute the term Middle-Aryan to indicate the spoken language of the contemporaries of Vālmīki and Vyāsa, the reputed authors of the two great Indian epics, Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata. To do this would, however, be to draw too fine a distinction, and might lead to confusion. We shall, therefore, use the word Sanskrit; but in order to make perfectly clear the sense in which it is used, and the exact relation which Sanskrit, both written and spoken, bears to the other languages, whether contemporaneous or subsequent to it, some further explanation is necessary.

Let it then be granted as a fact sufficiently proved in the following pages that the spoken Sanskrit is the fountain from which the languages of Aryan India originally sprung; the principal portion of their vocabulary and the whole of their inflectional system being derived from this source. Whatever may be the opinions held as to the subsequent influences which they underwent, no doubt can fairly be cast on this fundamental proposition. Sanskrit is to the Hindi and its brethren, what Latin is to Italian and Spanish.
The next point, however, is that, even to a casual observer, it is clear that the seven languages as they stand at present contain materials not derived from Sanskrit, just as Italian and French, without ceasing to be modern dialects of Latin, contain many words of Teutonic origin. These materials may be classed under two heads. First, those which are Aryan, though not Sanskritic. Secondly, those which are neither Sanskritic nor Aryan, but something else. What this something else is, remains to be seen; it is, in fact, the great puzzle of the whole inquiry: it is the mathematician's \( x \), an unknown quantity.

§ 2. First, then, we have to explain what is meant by the term, "Aryan, though not Sanskritic." It may be accepted as a well-established fact, that the Aryan race entered India not all at once, nor in one body, but in successive waves of immigration. The tribes of which the nation was composed must therefore have spoken many dialects of the common speech. I say "must," because it is contrary to all experience, and to all the discoveries hitherto made in the science of language, to suppose otherwise. All the races of the great Indo-European family, whether they migrated into India, Persia, or Europe, have been found, however far back they can be traced, to have spoken numerous dialects of a common language; but this common language itself only existed as one homogeneous speech, spoken without any differences of pronunciation or accent by the whole race, at a time far anterior to the earliest date to which they can be followed. Indeed, so much is this the case, that writers of high repute have not hesitated to declare that no such homogeneous speech ever existed at all; that, in fact, there never was one original Iranian, or one original Celtic or German language. I am inclined to give in my adhesion to this view, holding that the idea of one common language is the creation of modern times, and the effect of the spread
of literature. But leaving this on one side, the most probable hypothesis is, that the Aryans from the earliest times spoke many dialects, all closely akin, all having the same family likeness and tendencies common to all, perhaps in every case mutually intelligible, but still distinct and co-existent. One only of these dialects, however, became at an early period the vehicle of religious sentiment, and the hymns called the Vedas were transmitted orally for centuries, in all probability with the strictest accuracy. After a time the Brahmans consciously and intentionally set themselves to the task of constructing a sacred language, by preserving and reducing to rule the grammatical elements of this Vedic tongue. We cannot tell whether in carrying out this task they availed themselves of the stores of one dialect alone: probably they did not; but with that rare power of analysis for which they have ever been distinguished, they seized on the salient features of Aryan speech as contained in all the dialects, and moulded them into one harmonious whole; thus, for the first time in their history, giving to the Aryan tribes one common language, designed to be used as the instrument for expressing thoughts of such a nature as should be deemed worthy of preservation to all time.  

It is strenuously denied by many that Sanskrit ever had any dialects, but it seems to me that their arguments refer only to the written language. In Vedic, or even pre-Vedic, times it is probable that dialects existed, though of course there is nothing that can be called proof of this supposition.

I have explained my views more concisely in another place as follows: "It is a highly probable theory that the old Aryan, like all other languages, began to be modified in the mouths of the people as early as the Vedic period, and that the Brahmans at a subsequent date, in order to prevent the further degeneration of their language, polished, elaborated, and stiffened it into the classical Sanskrit. We cannot, however, suppose that they brought any new material into the language, but simply that they reduced to rule what was till then vague and irregular, that they extended to the whole of the language enigmatic laws which had previously been only of partial application, and so forth; all the while, however, only working on already existing materials."—From a paper on the Treatment of the Nouns, Journ. Royal Asiatic Society, vol. v., p. 101.
INTRODUCTION.

All this was anterior to the introduction of the art of writing; but when that art was introduced, it was largely used by the Brahmins for the reproduction of works in the sacred Sanskrit, that is, the purified quintessence and fullest development of the principles of Aryan speech.

But though Sanskrit had, by the labours of Pāṇini and others, become an historical fact, so that now at length there existed a standard, and purists might condemn, as in fact they did, all departures from it as vulgar errors and corruptions, it is beyond a doubt that the local dialects continued to live on. Sanskrit was not intended for the people; it was not to be endured that the holy language, offspring of the gods, should be defiled by issuing from plebeian lips; it kept its place apart, as the appropriate speech of pure Brahmins and mighty kings. But the local dialects held their own; they were anterior to Sanskrit, contemporary with it, and they finally survived it. Nevertheless, Sanskrit is older than the dialects. This sounds like a paradox, but it is true in two senses: first, that as the ages rolled on the vulgar dialects developed into new forms ("corrupted" is the common way of putting it), whereas Sanskrit remained fixed and fossilized for ever, so that now, if we wish to find the earliest extant form of any Aryan word, we must, in the great majority of instances, look for it not in the writings in the popular dialects which have come down to us, but in Sanskrit; and secondly, that although Pāṇini lived in an age when the early Aryan dialects had already undergone much change from their pristine condition, yet among the Brahmins for whom alone he laboured there existed a traditional memory of the ancient, and then obsolete, form of many words. They would remember these archaic forms, because their religious and professional duties required them constantly to recite formulæ of great antiquity, and of such sacredness that every letter in them was supposed to be a divinity in itself, and which had consequently been handed down from primeval
times absolutely unchanged. In teaching his pupils the true principles of speech, Pāṇini would naturally use these archaic words in preference to the corruptions current around him, and thus the language which he to a certain extent created was in great part a resuscitation of antiquated terms, and thus literally older than the popular dialects which in point of time preceded its creation.  

Still there are words, and those not a few, which can be traced back to the Prakrits, as these popular forms of speech are called, though no signs of them exist in Sanskrit, and this is especially the case where two words of like meaning were current in the mouths of the people; one of which, from the accident of its being a popular form of some word in use in the Vedas, or from some other cause, was selected for refined and scholarly use, while the other was branded as vulgar, rejected, and left for the service of the masses. This class of words it is which I have classed as Aryan, though not Sanskritic.

To complete this branch of the subject, it is next necessary to describe briefly the position and relations of the Prakrits.

The Prakrit dialects are theoretically supposed to be those forms of the speech of the Aryans which were commonly used by the masses. In the earliest records we have, they are grouped under five heads, representing the local peculiarities of five provinces. First is the "linguas precipum," or Mahārāṣṭrī, spoken in the country round the ancient city of Ujjayini, or Avanti, in Malwa. How far this language ex-

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1 Many words occur in the Vedas in a Prakrit rather than a Sanskrit form. I quote at second-hand a remark of Weber's which summarizes the whole matter neatly:

2 The principal laws of Prakrit speech, viz., assimilation, hiatus, and a fondness for cerebrals and aspirates, are prominent in the Vedas, of which the following are examples: kατα = kṛita; khαtα = kṛta; gαha = griha; guggula = gṛgulu; viriṣṭyā = vicēṣṭyā; krikāda = kṛkāda; purodāsa = purodāsa (comp. datra = lācryma); pādībh = pādībh; kāhullaka = kāhadraka; etc."—Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. ii., p. 139. (1st Edition.)
tended is not clear, but it may be assumed roughly to have included the south of Rajputana, and a considerable portion of the present northern Maratha country. Next the Sansasic, spoken in Surasena, in modern times the country round Mathura. Thirdly, the Māgadhī, the vernacular of Behar. Fourthly, the Paisáchí or dialect of the Paisáchas, whose exact locality is not defined. And fifthly, the Apabhraśa, or "corrupt" dialect, which is perhaps to be found in Sindh and western Rajputana. That this division is artificial, and a mere grouping together of a mass of local dialects, is apparent from the fact that no two writers agree in their arrangement, and the total number of Prakritis is by some authors put as high as twenty or twenty-two. Be this as it may, it is sufficient for our present purpose to note that these dialects were numerous, and that they were in most cases designated by the name of the province where they were spoken. In the Sanskrit dramas, however, a still more artificial distinction prevails, a different dialect being attributed to each class of characters. Thus kings and Brahmans speak Sanskrit, ladies of high rank Maharashtri, servants, soldiers, buffoons, and the like use one or other of the inferior dialects. That this custom represents any state of things that ever existed is highly improbable. The ordinary business of life could not have been carried on amidst such a Babel of conflicting tongues. Perhaps the best solution of the difficulty is to suppose that the play-writers mimicked the local peculiarities of the various provinces, and as in India in the present day great men fill their palaces with servants drawn from all parts of the country, so it may have been then. A Bengali Zamindar employs men from the Panjab and Hindustan as guards and doorkeepers; his palanquin-bearers come from Orissa, his coachmen and water-carriers from Northern Bengal, and so on. Similarly an ancient Indian king drew, we may suppose, his soldiers from one province, his porters and attendants from another, his dancers and buffoons from a third.
These all when assembled at the capital would doubtless strike out some common language by which they could communicate with each other, just as in the present day Urdu is used all over India. But just as this Urdu is spoken incorrectly by those whose mother-tongue it is not, so that the Bengali corrupts it by an admixture of Bengali words and forms, and speaks it with a strong Bengali accent; so in ancient times these servants and artificers, collected from all corners of a vast empire, would speak the common *lingua franca* each with his own country twang; and the Prakrit of the plays would appear to be an exaggerated representation, or caricature, of these provincial brogues.

But there are works of a more serious character to which we can refer for a solution of the problem of the real nature of the Prakrits. In the sixth century before Christ there arose in Behar the great reformer Sakyamuni, surnamed Buddha, or "the wise," who founded a religion which for ten centuries drove Brahmanism into obscurity, and was the prevailing creed of almost all India. The religious works of the Buddhist faith, which are extremely numerous and voluminous, have been the means of preserving to us the Magadhi Prakrit of those days. Buddhism was imported into Ceylon in 307 B.C., and the Magadhi dialect under the name of Pali has become the sacred language of that island.

It is a characteristic peculiarity of India, arising from want of means of communication, that trades and professions are still confined to particular localities; one town produces wares, and nothing else; another is entirely devoted to silk-weaving, and no other town but that one presume to rival it.

It must however be stated that there are reasons for doubting whether the Pali of Ceylon is really the same as the Magadhi. Some authors are inclined to doubt this, and state that the Pali corresponds more closely with forms of Prakrit spoken in Western India. It matters little or nothing to the present inquiry whether this be so or not. We are only indirectly concerned with Prakrit in this work. It is sufficient to say that the Pandita of Ceylon use the words Pali and Magadhi as convertible terms. Pali in fact means only "writing."
Similarly another religious sect, the Jains, have used the Maharashtri Prakrit as the medium for expressing the tenets of their belief. There are also some poems in other Prakrit dialects.

Without going into details, which would be out of place here, it may be stated in a general way that the scenic Prakrit and that of the poems differ from Sanskrit more particularly in the omission of single consonants, and that this omission is carried to such an extent as to render one half or more of the words used unintelligible and unrecognizable; whereas in the religious works this practice, although it exists, is not allowed to run to such an extreme. As this subject will be reverted to further on, it need not be more than touched on here. It may be added that all the Prakrits are, like the Sanskrit, synthetical or inflectional languages.

§ 3. Next comes the class of words described as neither Sanskritic nor Aryan, but \( x \). It is known that on entering India the Aryans found that country occupied by races of a different family from their own. With these races they waged a long and chequered warfare, gradually pushing on after each fresh victory, till at the end of many centuries they obtained possession of the greater part of the territories they now enjoy. Through these long ages, periods of peace alternated with those of war, and the contact between the two races may have been as often friendly as hostile. The Aryans exercised a powerful influence upon their opponents, and we cannot doubt but that they themselves were also, but in a less degree, subject to some influence from them. There are consequently to be found even in Sanskrit some words which have a very un-Aryan look, and

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1 Last it should be objected that this description of the Prakrits is too brief and scanty, I must remind the reader again that our business is with the modern languages only, and that the subject of Prakrit, though frequently introduced for the sake of completing the range of view, is after all quite secondary throughout.
the number of such words is much greater still in the modern languages, and there exists therefore a temptation to attribute to non-Aryan sources any words whose origin it is difficult to trace from Aryan beginnings.

It may be as well here to point out certain simple and almost obvious limitations to the application of the theory that the Aryans borrowed from their alien predecessors. Verbal resemblance is, unless supported by other arguments, the most unsafe of all grounds on which to base an induction in philology. Too many writers, in other respects meritorious, seem to proceed on Fluellen's process, "There is a river in Macedon, and there is also moreover a river in Monmouth, and there is salmons in both." A certain Tamil word contains a P, so does a certain Sanskrit word, and ēryō, the latter is derived from the former! Now, I would urge that, in the first place, the Aryans were superior morally as well as physically to the aborigines, and probably therefore imparted to them more than they received from them. Moreover, the Aryans were in possession of a copious language before they came into India; they would therefore not be likely to borrow words of an ordinary usual description, such as names for their clothing, weapons, and utensils, or for their cattle and tools, or for the parts of their bodies, or for the various relations in which they stood to each other. The words they would be likely to borrow would be names for the new plants, animals, and natural objects which they had not seen in their former abodes, and even this necessity would be reduced by the tendency inherent in all races to invent descriptive names for new objects. Thus they called the elephant haśṭa, or the "beast with a hand," and gua, or the "roarer"; the monkey kapi, or the "restless beast," and tānara, or the "forest-man"; the peacock badara, in imitation of its cry. A third limitation is afforded by geographical considerations. Which were the tribes whom the Aryans mixed with, either as friends or foes? Could the bulk of them have
come into frequent and close contact with the Dravidians, and if so, when and how? These are questions which it is almost impossible to answer in the present state of our knowledge, but they are too important to be altogether set aside, and it may be therefore pointed out merely as a contribution to the subject, that the tribes driven out of the valley of the Ganges by the Aryans were almost certainly Kola to the south, and semi-Tibetans to the north. It is fair to look with suspicion on an etymology which takes us from Sanskrit to Tamil without exhibiting a connecting series of links through the intervening Kol tribes.

If the above limitations are rigidly applied, they will narrow very much the area within which non-Aryan forms are possible in Sanskrit and its descendants, and will force us to have recourse to a far more extensive and careful research within the domain of Sanskrit itself than has hitherto been made, with a view to finding in that language the origin of modern words.

§ 4. Having thus noticed the three classes of materials which have entered into the composition of the seven languages, I now proceed to examine the question as it were from the interior, in order to attain to a certain amount of precision in estimating the relative proportions of each of these elements. For this purpose it will be convenient to use the familiar native divisions, which go to the root of the matter as far as their lights enable them. Words in any of these seven languages are divided into three classes:

1. Tatsama तत्सम, or "the same as it" (i.e. Sanskrit).
2. Tadbhava तद्भव, or "of the nature of it."
3. Desaja देशज, or "country-born."

This division will be used throughout the following pages, and may be thus explained.

Tatsamas are those words which are used in the modern lan-
languages in exactly the same form as they wear in Sanskrit, such as द्रम्यन्, राजा, किन. The only change which these words have undergone is that in pronunciation; the final अ, अं, of the Sanskrit masculine and neuter are rejected, and we hear दर्शन, निरंत्रम्, for दर्शनम्, निरंत्रम्.

Tadbhavas are those words which, though evidently derived from Sanskrit, have been considerably changed in the process, though not so much so as to obscure their origin. Such are H. आंख “eye,” from Skr. अंक्षः; कोंकी एकुकू, “cuckoo,” Skr. कौकिल; गही an “ase,” Skr. गर्भ.

Desajas are those words which cannot be derived from any Sanskrit word, and are therefore considered to have been borrowed from the aborigines of the country, or invented by the Aryans in post-Sanskritic times; such as पक्षी a “turban,” डां अन “unripe cocoa-nut,” भीम a “canoe,” and the like.

This classification supplies an additional method of arriving at a determination as to the proportion of these various elements in the seven languages. Tatsamas are all Sanskrit: even if the Sanskrit word were originally borrowed from non-Aryan sources, it has become, as far as the modern Aryans are concerned, pure and classical. Tadbhavas too are all Aryan, either Sanskriti or not; but there is so much to be said about these Tadbhavas later, that they may be passed over for the present as Aryan. We have then only Desajas left; and in considering them, it must be borne in mind that these seven languages have never been subjected to close scientific scrutiny; it is not yet known what are their laws and principles of derivation. A long string of writers, from Vararuchi downwards, have enunciated certain general rules which guide the transition of words from Sanskrit into Prakrit, but no step has been taken beyond this. Indian Pandits will not often waste their time on the vernaculars, and, if they do, are content to note such words as afford examples of any of the rules of Vararuchi or his successors, and to set down all words which cannot by the
operation of these rules be at once transformed into Sanskrit as Desaja. European scholars also have got no further than Prakrit, and seem to believe that the modern dialects are merely corruptions of Prakrit forms. It is therefore not presumptuous to say that further research, and a better acquaintance with the laws of development of these languages, will probably enable us ere long very much to diminish the number of these Desajas by tracing them back through newly discovered processes either to Sanskrit or Prakrit. Even as matters stand at present, if all the Tatsamas and all the Tadbhavas be Aryan, there is only a very small proportion left which can be non-Aryan.

§ 5. Of the three classes into which all the languages have been divided in the preceding section, Tatsamas are the least interesting to the student. This class consists of pure Sanskrit words which had long been dead and buried, so to speak, when in comparatively recent times they were resuscitated and brought into use by learned men, partly to supply real wants, but still more to show off their own learning. They have not been current in the mouths of the people long enough since their new birth to have undergone any of those processes of change to which all really living words in every language are constantly subjected; and a great many of them, especially in Bengali and Oriya, are not likely ever to be used colloquially. They ought certainly to be excluded from dictionaries.

It is to the Tadbhavas that we must turn if we would become acquainted with the secrets of the phonetic machinery of the Aryan Indians. Of these there are two sorts, so distinguished from one another that it is impossible to mistake them. The one class consists of those words which were in use in Prakrit, and in which the Prakrit processes have been carried one step further. The other contains words which apparently have not come through Prakrit, as they exhibit a more perfect form, and
a nearer approach to the Sanskrit than the Prakrit form does. The problem which has to be explained is this, whence comes it that words in the modern languages preserve a greater degree of resemblance to Sanskrit or old Aryan, than the Prakrits do? How is it, for instance, that Hindi has ṛāṭi, ṛāg, nāgarī, guj, for Sanskrit vāṭi, vāga, nāgar, guja, where Prakrit has only ṛāṭ, ṛāū, udārī, gujā? If these modern languages were regularly descended, in respect of such words as these, from Sanskrit through Prakrit, the letters which had been lost in the latter could never have been restored. The masses speak by ear, and by habit. Even in India, where people perhaps think more about the languages they speak than we do in Europe, the majority of speakers, after ṛāṭ had been in use for several generations, would not be aware that the letters tr had dropped out; and even if they became aware of this fact, no one would go about to restore them. How many Englishmen know that a g has dropped out of such words as say, day, nail, sail, rain, and how many, if they knew it, would care to make the innovation of putting them back again? In the Spanish of Cervantes, when Don Quixote, in one of his lofty flights, used the then rapidly obsolescent forms formosa, fazañas, hacienda, amabades, and the like, for the more usual hermosa, hazañas, hacienda, amabais, he is held up to ridicule, even though some of his hearers were educated men, and must have known the Latin formosa, fucinas, hacienda, amabatis.

There is, it appears to me, only one way of accounting for the presence of words like ṛāṭ and the rest in the modern languages, and that is, deliberate purpose on the part of some person or set of persons who had sufficient influence to effect what they desired. This set of persons can be no other than the Brahmins. In this instance history, usually so silent in ancient India, steps in to help us. We know that the Buddhists

1 Anglo-Saxon, or Old English, has wegna, dag, nagri, nogle, weg. Gothic dagis, nagle. Modern High German wegna, dag, nogle, weg, weg.
were finally extirpated by the Brahmins about the ninth or tenth century of our era, just before the dawn of modern Indian literature. Brahmanism then resumed its sway, and gradually crushed out the hostile sect, though they still lingered on in some parts of India for a long time. Sārang Dev, son of Bisal Dev, King of Ajmer, in the ninth century, embraced Buddhism, but was argued back into the orthodox faith by the contemptuous remonstrances of his father, who urged that this मह यान, mahta gyaan, or, as we should say, "exploded theory," was not a becoming religion for a Rajput prince. At this time the

He ascended the throne Samvat 821.

The passage occurs in the first book of Chand, and the story is probably historical, though, as usual with Chand, mixed up with much that is extravagantly legendary. Sārang Dev's foster-brother, a brahmin, had been killed by a tiger while travelling through a forest, and the prince was so grieved that he turned Buddhist. The words are—

चति दुःखित भयी मारांश देव ।
भिति मति करें थरिहत सेव ।
भुध भ्रम लंगी बाङ्धि न तें ।
सुनि घरम राज मन भी चदिया ।
हुँदार कुङेर समराम कीन ।
विहि काज तुम रह भ्रम कीन ।
तुम कंदि सरम हस कही चत ।
बानिका पुष्क इस ते दुःखित ।
इह नष्ट घान सुचिके न काज ।
परमतान मघे बिनी हात ।
तुम राज वर्ष राजमह संग ।
मुग्या सर बेचनो वन दुरंग ।
परमोध तवो बौधव पुराण ।
रामाधुन भुजप भारप विदान ।

Very grieved was Sārang Dev, constantly he worshiped the Arhat, he embraced.
Saiva form of Hinduism was being singularly mixed up with the newer and more attractive Vaishnava creed, and the Brahmans were rapidly resuming their long-lost sway over the popular mind. Now Buddhism had specially selected the vernaculars of the day as the vehicle for its teaching, and the Brahmans, in resuscitating their religion, naturally brought back the sacred Sanskrit. In the passage above cited Bisal Dev exhorts his son to have the Ramayan, Mahabharat, and Puranas read to him, and in the same poem the bard recites the names and number of verses of the eighteen Puranas as a means of purifying the souls of his listeners. The public readings and recitations of Sanskrit works must have familiarized the minds of the masses with the ancient forms of words, and no doubt the Brahmans did their best to foster the use of these ancient forms, as they do at the present day, so that gradually a large class of words in their pure Sanskrit shape got into circulation. These words, when once more current, naturally began to undergo the influences which are always at work upon human speech, and developed by degrees into the forms in which we now have them. This process, once begun, has continued to the present day.

The words resuscitated from Sanskrit in the post-Buddhistic period do not appear to have been changed according to the same general rules as those which prevailed in times when the Prakrits were spoken. In those earlier times the elision of single consonants in the middle of a word seems to have been almost universal, and even initial letters are sometimes rejected. But in the modern words a more manly and vigorous

the religion of Buddha, he bade not on his sword; hearing the news, the king's mind was disturbed; he called his son, the head of his house, he addressed him (said), Why have you embraced this religion, abandoning shame tell me, are you grieved at the death of the king's son? Do not listen to this destroyed science, (by which) manliness flies away, fame is destroyed. You are of royal race, with kings hunt the deer in the far-stretching forest, abandon this delusion, he the Puranas your guide, listen to the Ramayan and Mahabharat." — Chait, i., 72.
pronunciation obtained, and these elisions are not so frequent. It is unadvisable here to anticipate remarks more properly belonging to Chapter III., and I content myself therefore with noting the fact.

We have, then, a continuous succession of layers or strata of words, from those which have come down through the Prakrites, and which I call, for the sake of distinction, early Tadbhavas, to those which were revived from Sanskrit at the time of the reaction against Buddhism; and after these a constant series of words, to be called modern or late Tadbhavas, less and less removed from the pure Sanskrit form in proportion as the date of their revival is more and more recent; till at last we reach words which have only been dug up by Pandits in the present century, and have not yet had time to become changed in any way. Some of the early Tadbhavas have been exceedingly altered, so much so that all resemblance to Sanskrit has been lost, and the Pandits have therefore classed them together with non-Aryan words as Desaja.

§ 6. It may now be asked, how do we distinguish between early and late Tadbhavas in cases where the word is not found in any Prakrit writer? To answer this, an analogy must be drawn from the Romance languages of Europe, whose relation to the Latin is so strikingly parallel to that which our seven languages bear to Sanskrit. It is not intended here to carry out the comparison to its fullest extent. Deeply interesting and fascinating as the task would be, this is not the place for it, nor are sufficient materials available. But it may be stated as a general proposition, that in the whole realm of linguistic science there exists no more remarkable similarity than that between the history of the development down to its minutest particulars of the
Romance group of languages, the Provençal, Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, and the indications, we cannot call it history, of the origin and growth of the Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, and Sindhi.†

It is observable in French that there are often two forms of the same word—one ancient, the other modern: The ancient word, though often very much corrupted, invariably retains the accent on the same syllable as in the Latin. And the reason of this is plain: in the days when those words were adopted into common use by the inhabitants of Gaul, they were taken, as it were, from the lips of the Romans themselves and accented naturally just as the Romans accented them. They became current colloquially long before they were written in many instances, and could not fail to be pronounced correctly. But the modern forms of these words were resuscitated by learned men from Latin authors where they occurred, just as the Pandita do and have done with Sanskrit words. In borrowing these words the savants of later times did not know how they were pronounced, and did not care; they merely cut off the Latin termination, and pronounced the word as seemed best to themselves; as the modern and medieval French accent differs considerably in the place of their incidence from the Latin accent, the result is that in no case does the modern

† I have placed these four languages alone, because, down to the fifteenth century, the Punjabi and Gujarati are little more than dialects of the Hindi; and the Oriya, till the time of Upendra Bhanj and Dinkirnai Dās, has no literary existence, and we cannot tell what the spoken language was like, because poets always wrote a language of their own, having no care to keep their works on the level of the spoken dialects. The poems of the earliest Bengali writers also present very few of the grammatical peculiarities of modern Bengali; they, like Chand, and even like much later writers, Tulsī Dīk and Bhānsī Lal, resemble the writings of the Troubadours and Traveurs, in which the old synthetical languages with their array of inflections have fallen into decadence and disuse, while the analytical system of modern times has not yet obtained its full development.
or scientific term bear the accent on the same syllable as in Latin. 1

Now in Sanskrit there is also a system of accentuation, though not yet, I believe, entirely understood, and consequently an analogous procedure to the above may be traced in the case of the Indian languages also. Acting upon this assumption, if we find a word retaining, in spite of various changes in its form in other respects, the accent on the same syllable as in Sanskrit, it will not be altogether unreasonable to conclude that it was derived from that language, at a time when it was still spoken among learned men, or, at all events, when a knowledge of its true pronunciation had not died out, and we may, therefore, ascribe to it an antiquity of no mean kind. In some cases, however, though the principle is the same, the method of expression of it is slightly varied; in other words, the Sanskrit accent is reproduced and perpetuated by lengthening the vowel on which it fell and by shortening adjacent long vowels. This is especially the case, to take a common example, in oxytone nouns, which always, if early Tadbhavas, end in ą—ı, or ę—ı, as the proclivity of the language may incline; an oxytone noun, when it becomes a late Tadbhava, neglects the accent, and ends with the consonant. Thus, we find from Skr. गुरु ”knife” (oxytone), H. वृक्ष; while from Skr. तुष “field”

1 The following list of words will exemplify what is meant:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Old Tadbhava or popular French words</th>
<th>New Tadbhava or scientific words</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alāminum</td>
<td>alān</td>
<td>alumin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angelus</td>
<td>ange</td>
<td>angen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blāphīnun</td>
<td>blāne</td>
<td>blaphēne</td>
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<td>cancer</td>
<td>chānco</td>
<td>cancert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>débīnun</td>
<td>dīnse</td>
<td>débit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exānun</td>
<td>esānun</td>
<td>examen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mobilis</td>
<td>mobilis</td>
<td>mobile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organum</td>
<td>organ</td>
<td>organum</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Drachet, Grammaire Historique Francaise, p. 72.
(oxytone), we get H. न, M. न, and a consonantal ending in all the languages. We should therefore set down the first of these words as an early, the second as a late, Tadbhava. So also when we see that Skr. शीर "milk" (oxytone), makes, not क्षिर, but शीर khir, in all the languages, we have grounds for holding that the word has been resuscitated in comparatively modern times; and in the case of this particular word, we are supported in this idea by the fact that khir is not the ordinary word for "milk." In all the languages, the common word is दृष्ट शीर an undoubtedly ancient Tadbhava from Skr. दृष्ट शीर khir is rather an affectation of modern times, and in some of the languages has a secondary meaning; while to सूध is reserved the simple primary signification; khir is used for a preparation of boiled rice and milk.

Another instance is the causal verb in Sanskrit, which has the accent on the first syllable of the characteristic, as in चर्च्यति chordyati. The Hindi in all its pure causals is followed by Bengali, Oriya, Punjabi, and Gujarati in retaining a long ā in the same position, as chordā, bajāndā, milāndā, karāndā. This long ā is not produced by rejecting the y of ये, and contracting the two vowels into one, as is proved by the fact that in old Hindi the last ā of the two has gone out, leaving the y changed into u, as karāndā, dikhāndā, bujhāndā, forms still in use in many rustic parts of India. Moreover, though the first syllable of the verb in Sanskrit takes ये, yet we find in the moderns that its lack of accent subjects it to be shortened, as in the examples above given. In Marathi the causal verb is formed by the insertion of the syllables शि, or शि, or शि, as मार्नेस, "to kill," mārvine, "to cause to kill"; khānes, "to eat," khāvine, "to cause to eat"; sodnes, "to loose," sodvine, "to cause to loose." In the first of these forms the y of ये is changed to e, just as in Hindi it becomes a, and though both the short vowels remain, yet the influence of the accent operates in retaining the accented vowel
as a, while the unsounded vowel is weakened to i. In ceri we have the same form, but with a c prefixed, and the form ics is a mere modern corruption, which is rejected in many cases by good authors.

Although, however, I think sufficient proof is obtainable of the fact of accentual influence, I am far from being in a position to push the theory to its full length. In truth the accent is always a difficult and obscure matter, and it is the more so in the modern languages, because they have passed through a period, a very long period, of their existence without a literature.

§ 7. It is this absence of written memorials by which to trace the current popular speech which constitutes, and probably always will constitute, the main difficulty of the inquiry. The great value to philologists of the Romance group of languages consists in the fact that they originated in historical times, and the various stages of their growth and development lie before our eyes in a long series of documents. “The language of the native population, the changes which took place in their political condition, the races and languages of the invaders and of the other foreign nations with which they came in contact, are all certainly known; and although the early stages of these Latin dialects, when they were merely barbarous and unfixed jargons, formed by the intercourse of natives and strangers, spoken chiefly among illiterate persons, and used neither as the language of the Government, of legal instruments, nor of books, are not only (with the exception of a few words) wholly unknown, but lost beyond hope of recovery; yet the events which accompanied and occasioned their origin are matter of historical record; and if we cannot always say with certainty to what precise cause the changes which the Latin underwent were owing, our information enables us at least to obtain negative results, and to exclude undoubtably
many hypotheses which might be tenable if we had merely the languages without a contemporary history of the times when they arose." It is precisely in this respect that the Indian languages are wanting. In early Indian literature we have Sanskrit and the Prakrits only, and though these latter by exhibiting certain phonetic changes help us very much in tracing the origin of modern words, yet in the inflectional department, so to speak, they afford very little real assistance, because they remain still purely synthetical. Moreover, those Prakrits which contain the greatest amount of literature lie under the same suspicion as Sanskrit, namely, that they do not represent the spoken language of their day. It seems, unhappily, to have been the fate of every Indian language, that directly men began to write in it, they ceased to be natural, and adopted a literary style which was handed down from one generation of writers to another, almost, if not entirely, unaltered. Thus not only has the Sanskrit remained fixed and unaltered through all the ages, but the Buddhists have fossilized one dialect of Prakrit, and the Jains another; so that whatever may be the date of any works either in Sanskrit or the Prakrits which have been, or may hereafter be, discovered, we cannot accept even the most recent of them as exhibiting the real contemporary condition of any vernacular. In point of development, we do not get lower down than about the first century of our era; for even if we get a Jain book written in the fifth or sixth century, we shall find it composed in the language of the first or second, just as a Sanskrit work written yesterday is composed in a form of speech which has not been current for twenty-seven centuries. The curtain falls on Indian languages, then, about the first century, and does not rise again till the tenth; and when it rises, the dawn

1 Sir G. C. Lewis, "Essay on the Romance Languages," p. 9. This clever little work gives an admirably condensed and lucid epitome of the whole question of the Romance languages.
of modern literature and speech-formation is already breaking, and our Indian "morning-star of song," Chand Bardai, is heard chanting the gestes of Prithiraj in a dialect which, though rude and half-formed, is still as purely analytical as the common familiar talk of the Indians of to-day. How are we to throw light on this long night of nine centuries, how fill up the details of the changes that occurred in these languages during the time when

\[ \text{Illachrymable} \]
\[ \text{Urgentur, ignotæque longt.} \]
\[ \text{Nocte, carent quis vesta sacro?} \]

We may get as near to the brink of this vast gap on either side as we can, but I very much doubt if the intervening space will ever be filled up; the materials seem lost for ever. Buddhism is our only chance, but if the Buddhistic literature which remains to be disinterred prove, as almost certainly it will, to be no more faithful a representative of current speech than those works which have already been made accessible to the public, there seems to be nothing more to hope for, and these nine centuries must remain for ever a sealed book.

In the absence therefore of strict historical data, we are driven to fall back upon the argument derived from analogy, and especially the analogy of the Romance languages. The accent affords one example of the method in which this analogy may be made useful. The Sanskrit accent is not in all cases known, but here again, arguing from the analogy of those words in which it is known, as well as from the great similarity of the Greek accent, which has fortunately been preserved, trustworthy results may be obtained. I now pass on to the mention of another point which it is necessary to bear in mind in taking a survey of the whole subject. A Desaja word may, like an early Tadbhava, be derived from a word which though not Sanskritic is yet Aryan, and such a word may not be found either in Sanskrit or in Prakrit. It would be then necessary
to search for it in all the branches of the Indo-Germanic family before giving it up. This undertaking lies beyond the scope of the present work, but the modern Aryan languages will not have been completely investigated till some one works out this portion of the inquiry. Such a word, though not used in Indian literature, may have been in use in the mouths of the people, and may be current under some slight disguise in the mouths of Lithuanian peasants even yet. To refer once more to Latin, it is well known that most of the words forming the present Romance languages are derived from what is called "low Latin," which is merely the speech of the vulgar as distinguished from that of the higher classes and from the literary style. Thus, to take one instance out of many, the word for "horse," cheval, cavallo, caballo, is from the Latin caballus, a word used by the peasantry, and only occasionally admitted into the higher style. The classical equivalent equus has left no direct descendant, though in modern times the words "equipage," "equitation," and so forth, have been coined from it. We are not so much concerned with the general fact as with the reasons of it, and these are so important to our subject that they must be noticed in full. The first reason is this. It is well known that the modern French, Spanish, etc., were originally mere colloquial languages, and took their rise from the corruptions introduced into the Latin spoken by the lower classes in Italy by the barbarous Teutonic tribes, who invaded and overran the countries which owned the Roman sway. The inability of Lombards, Burgundians, Goths, and Franks, to accustom themselves to the correct use of the inflectional terminations of the Latin arose, not, as some have thoughtlessly said, from their newness to the system of synthetical construction in the abstract, because we know that the inflections of the early Teutonic languages were in some respects even more complicated than those of the Latin, but from their rudeness and the as yet undeveloped state of their mental powers. They were
too rough and careless to substitute the Roman grammatical system for their own, in spite of the close resemblance between the two. Men in a low state of civilization see distinctions sooner than resemblances. They differentiate more readily than they generalize. The difference between their own language and that of the Romans struck them forcibly, while it has been reserved for a much later generation to discover the fundamental unity of both. They therefore not only made havoc of the inflectional terminations of the Latin language,—in doing which they were doubtless aided by the tendency already beginning to develop itself among the Romans themselves towards an analytical form of speech,—but they also rejected such Latin words as they found any difficulty in pronouncing, substituting for them their own German words. It must also be remembered that for centuries before her fall Rome had been propped by foreign spears. Briton, Spaniard, and Gaul had fought in her legions, and guarded the palaces of her capital. Juvenal's "barbara qua pictis venit basanida Britannis" is only a type of a large class of words familiar to the later Romans, but which were quite unknown to writers of the Augustan age."  

Just as we English have borrowed loot,

1 The word "Romans" here does not mean inhabitants of Rome. In the ages immediately succeeding the German invasion, all the conquered races of France, Spain, and Italy, whether they were Gauls, Italians, or Iberians, were called Romans, in distinction from the conquering tribes of Teutonic.

2 A few examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classical Latin</th>
<th>Vulgar Latin</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verberare</td>
<td>barbariae</td>
<td>bateau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pugna</td>
<td>batalia</td>
<td>bataille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decemvirati</td>
<td>basilare</td>
<td>baiser</td>
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<tr>
<td>felix</td>
<td>catus</td>
<td>chat</td>
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<td>adesce</td>
<td>manducare</td>
<td>manger</td>
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<td>ignis</td>
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<td>vertere</td>
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<td>iter</td>
<td>viaticum</td>
<td>voyage</td>
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<tr>
<td>villa</td>
<td>curtit</td>
<td>leur</td>
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Some of these words, as focus, victiae, are in use in classical Latin, but not in the sense in which they are employed in French.
punctah, jungle, and the like, from our great dependency of India, so the Roman picked up words from Asia, Egypt, Northern Europe, and far-distant Britain. The language thus composed was undoubtedly, when tested by the standard of classical Latin, very uncouth and barbarous, and was in consequence for many centuries despised by learned men, who continued to write, and even to speak, Latin. It was not till the thirteenth century that some great minds broke through the prejudices of their age, and, influenced by a strong desire of being intelligible to the mass of their countrymen, commenced timidly and half apologetically to write in the vulgar tongue. If then this was the case in Southern Europe, we are justified, by the known analogy between the Romance processes of development and those of the modern Aryans, in believing that the same thing took place in India. The assumption is so much the more reasonable in the latter class of languages, because the Brahmins were animated by an openly avowed and steadily pursued design of keeping their writings sacred from the intrusion of the people, and, believing or professing to believe their language to be of divine origin, were more earnest and careful in preserving it from being polluted by the introduction of "low-caste" words, than the Roman poets and historians, who had no higher motives than a search after grace and euphony. Moreover, works continued to be composed in Sanskrit long after the rise of the modern vernaculars, and it is a singular coincidence in point of time, that Chand, the earliest writer in any modern Indian language, is very nearly contemporaneous with the predecessors of Dante; so that the human mind in India broke itself free from the shackles of a dead language very much about the same time as in Europe. The parallel of course does not hold good as regards the invasion of foreign races, because the Greeks, the only early invaders of India whom we know of, appear to have left little or no traces behind them in respect of language. The astrological
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terms borrowed by Sanskrit writers were not obtained from Alexander or his soldiers; and the influence of the Muhammadans was not felt till much later in the day. But it holds good in so far that there was evidently a vulgar speech and a polished one. The former has perished, except that much of it which Buddhism has preserved for us; the latter continued to be written long after it had ceased to be intelligible to the masses.

The second reason is a somewhat Darwinian one. There seems to exist among words, even as among living beings, a struggle for existence, terminating in the "survival of the fittest." It is clear from all that has hitherto been discovered in linguistic science that the progress of development of all languages is from the harsh and complicated to the smooth and simple. The words in ancient languages are cumbered with a mass of letters, sounds, and combinations, which in the course of ages wear away by use, leaving short simple words behind. Tenues slide into medie, gutturals soften into palatals, compound letters melt into simple ones, single consonants drop out of sight altogether, sometimes carrying with them adjacent vowels.

Now it is evident that a word which at first starting is well provided with plenty of good stout consonants and broad clear vowels has a better chance of surviving through the various processes of clipping, muting, and squeezing, which it is fated to undergo in its passage through the ages, than a word which starts ill provided and weak.

Such words as osis, aris, we see at once, have no chance; deprived at an early period of their termination, as superfluous, they sink into oss, ars, and then into os, ar, words too slight and weak for ordinary use. It is this cause which probably led to the survival of the hard, strong words in use among the sturdy peasantry, and of the diminutives in -culus and -cellus, which give a good working basis. Thus, we find from aricellus,
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Ital. uccello, Fr. oiseau; from auricula, Ital. orecchio, Span. oreja, Fr. oreille; and thus the weak os, ors, has given way to the coarse and strong bouca, Fr. bouche, Ital. bocca, Span. boca.

That the same process took place in Indian languages is proved by the fact that we find in the earlier Hindi poets weak words in a great state of dilapidation, just as we do in the early Provençal Troubadours. These words have now dropped out of use, and are replaced by stronger and more enduring words, which, though in their turn they have been subjected to the usual laws of development, yet retain sufficient stuff and substance to make them practically useful.

§ 8. Hitherto I have been writing as though the proportion of the three classes of words were the same in all the languages. This is, however, so far from being the case that it is necessary to enter on some details to show how the matter really stands. The point is one on which it is very difficult to come to a definite conclusion. It is characteristic, though little to our credit as a nation, that after a century of rule in India we should have produced so few good dictionaries of this group of languages. In Hindi we have Shakespear and Forbes, but neither of these works is more than a very copious vocabulary, and both are derived almost exclusively from the written language.1 In Bengali Dr. Carey's huge quartos are a Sanskrit dictionary in Bengali characters, and Mendies's is merely a vocabulary. Sutton's Oriya dictionary is meagre, incorrect, and full of Bengali and Sanskrit words, instead of pure Oriya. The Indians' missionaries' Panjabi work is a meritorious and accurate performance, but it can scarcely be called a dictionary, and the same may be said of Captain Stack's vocabularies of Sindhi. Shahpurji Edalji's Gujarati dictionary is a very inferior and scanty contribution to our knowledge, and I am driven, by comparison with works written in that language, to

1 In addition to which Forbes' is a mere plagiarism from other writers.
doubt its accuracy in more than one instance. By far the best of the whole set is Molesworth's Marathi dictionary. This is really deserving of the name. The words are classed and distinguished, as literary or colloquial, full examples are given to show the way in which they are used, and meritorious, though sometimes mistaken, attempts at derivation are also supplied.

The materials being thus defective, an opinion can only be given with some hesitation; but in a general way it may be said that the proportion of Tatsuma words is greatest in Bengali, Oriya, and Marathi; less in Hindi and Gujarati; and least in Punjabi and Sindhi. In the latter language, in fact, a pure Sanskrit word in its original shape is hardly ever met with. This position is easily explained by geographical and historical considerations. The first province of India which was conquered by foreigners was Sindh, the next the Punjab. These provinces, especially the former, adopted the Muhammadan religion at an early date.

Brahmans are, and have long been, comparatively scarce in both places. The Prakrits in use in both, especially in Sindh, were always noted for their extreme corruptness. A soil, for the most part sterile, and more suited to a pastoral than to an agricultural people, was left by the main stream of the Aryan immigrants to the cattle-tending Abhiri, or Ahirs, and to the Gujarats and other rude tribes, to whom supervened the Jats, a branch of the great Kshatriya or Rajput caste, who had been excluded from fellowship for some reason which has not yet been fathomed. With so rude a population as this it is not wonderful that the language became debased, and that the constant state of warfare and turmoil in which the people lived for ages, the perpetual sieges of their towns, pillagings of their humble dwellings, wholesale slaughter of their cattle, and the other annually recurring horrors with which they were visited, should have left them

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"In A.D. 717.—Elliot's History of India, ed. Doran, vol. i., p. 12."
neither opportunity nor inclination for literary pursuits, by which alone their language could have been polished and continually renewed by resuscitations of pure Sanskrit words.

In the case of Hindi and Gujarati (which is after all little more than a dialect of Hindi) we find considerable similarity to that of Sindhi and Panjahi. In Hindi there are more Tadbhava words than in any other language, and it is in this respect the most useful and instructive of all of them to the philologist. The Hindi area was, as is well known, overrun by Muslims as much as any part of India; but there and in Gujarat the final settling down of foreigners in the country did not take place till the end of the twelfth century, more than four hundred years later than in Sindh and the Panjáb, and the language, starting as it did from a tolerably pure form of Prakrit, had time to carry out a system of regular and legitimate modifications of Sanskrit words, which it would be unfair to call corruptions. Such a large number of Sanskrit words underwent developmental changes, and became thus fit and useful elements of practical daily speech, that the demand for new words to express novel ideas was reduced to a minimum. It must be remembered also that such new ideas came from the Muslim invaders, who, with the idea, also brought in a word of their own to express it; so that, except in the case of the old Hindu poets, who, as their verses turned chiefly upon points of the Brahmanical religion, had occasion fre-

1 For many generations after the victories of Kombul-din Alhak, the first Muslim sovereign of Delhi, the conquerors retained their own Persian, and the conquered their Hindi. Mr. Böckmann, whose knowledge of the Muhammadan court of Delhi is singularly extensive and accurate, is of opinion that Hindi did not begin to be impregnated with Persian words, and the Urdu language consequently did not begin to be formed, till the sixteenth century—see "The Hindu Rajas under the Mughals," Calcutta Review, April, 1871. The Muslims had long been accustomed to speak pure Hindi, and it was not they who introduced Persian words into the language, but the Hindus themselves, who, at the epoch above mentioned, were compelled by Todar Mal’s new revenue system to learn Persian.
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quently to recur to Sanskrit, there was in the nation at large no general demand for the Tatsama class of words.

§ 9. I must here express my views on the Hindi language in general, and I do so thus early in the dissertation, as it may be that there will be found to be some novelty in them, and perhaps they will not be readily accepted by those who are interested in supporting the claims of other languages of the class. For I should here mention, for the benefit of European readers, that there exists in India a sort of rivalry between the Aryan languages, or rather between the three principal ones, Hindi, Marathi, and Bengali, each considering itself superior to the others, and my Bengali and Marathi friends will probably not agree with me in giving the palm to Hindi until they read my reasons for so doing, and perhaps not even then.

Hindi is that language which is spoken in the valley of the Ganges and its tributaries, from the watershed of the Jamná, the largest and most important of them, as far down as Rajmahal, the point where the Ganges takes a sudden turn to the south, and breaks out into the plains of Bengal. This area is the centre and principal portion of Aryan India. It includes the Antarbed or Doab between the Ganges and the Jamná, the "inner hearth" of the nation. It is therefore the legitimate heir of the Sanskrit, and fills that place in the modern Indian system which Sanskrit filled in the old. Under the general head of Hindi are included many dialects, some of which differ widely from one another, though not so much so as to give them the right to be considered separate languages. Throughout the whole of this vast region, though the dialects diverge considerably, one common universal form of speech is recognized, and all educated persons use it. This common dialect had its origin apparently in the country round Delhi, the ancient capital, and the form of Hindi spoken in that
neighbourhood was adopted by degrees as the basis of a new phase of the language, in which, though the inflections of nouns and verbs remained purely and absolutely Hindi, and a vast number of the commonest vocables were retained, a large quantity of Persian and Arabic and even Turkish words found a place, just as Latin and Greek words do in English. Such words, however, in no way altered or influenced the language itself, which, when its inflectional or phonetic elements are considered, remains still a pure Aryan dialect, just as pure in the pages of Wali or Sandâ, as it is in those of Tulâi Dâs or Râhârî Lâl. It betrays therefore a radical misunderstanding of the whole bearings of the question, and of the whole science of philology, to speak of Urdu and Hindi as two distinct languages. When certain agitators cry out that the language of the English courts of law in Hindustan should be Hindi and not Urdu, what they mean is that clarks and native writers should be restrained from importing too many Persian and Arabic words into their writings, and should use instead the honest old Sanskrit Tadbhavas with which the Hindi abounds. By all means let it be so, only let it not be said that the Urdu is a distinct language from Hindi. By means of the introduction of Arabic and Persian words, a very great benefit has been conferred on Hindi, inasmuch as it has thus been prevented from having recourse to Sanskrit fountains again and again for grand and expressive words. This resuscitation of Sanskrit words in their classical form—a process which has been going on in the modern languages for ages, and is still at work as vigorously as ever, just as the resuscitation of Latin words has always been and is still going on in French—has done a serious injury to some languages of the

1 The most correct way of speaking would be to say "the Urdu dialect of Hindi," or "the Urdu phase of Hindi." It would be quite impossible in Urdu to compose a single sentence without using Aryan words, though many sentences might be composed in which not a single Persian word occurred.
Indian group, inasmuch as it has led them to drop their Tadbhavas, which are the most valuable class of words that a language can possess, not only on account of the light they throw on the philological processes which the language has undergone, but because, having cast away all that was difficult of pronunciation, cumbrous, and superfluous in the ancient language, they possess the perfection of flexibility, neatness, and practical usefulness. In some languages, notably in Bengali, Tatsama words have been borrowed from Sanskrit, and employed in written works, in cases where there already existed good serviceable Tadbhavas. The result has been that the unfortunate peasant who knows no Sanskrit finds it more and more difficult every day to acquire knowledge, and the education of the masses is thus retarded. In respect of Tadbhavas, Hindi stands pre-eminent, whether it be that form of Hindi which relies principally upon indigenous sources for its words, or that other widely employed form which has incorporated the flower and grace of Persian and Arabic nouns, and which is called sometimes Urdu, sometimes Hindustani.

All the other languages of the group were originally dialects of Hindi, in this sense that Hindi represents the oldest and most widely diffused form of Aryan speech in India. Gujarati acknowledges itself to be a dialect of the Sauraseni Prakrit, the parent of Hindi. Panjabi, even at the present day, is little more than an old Hindi dialect. Bengali, three centuries ago, when it first began to be written, very closely resembled the Hindi still spoken in Eastern Behar. Oriya is in many respects more like Hindi than Bengali. There remain only the Sindhi and the Marathi. The former of these has always been very distinct from the rest; nevertheless it shades off in some respects imperceptibly into Panjabi on the one hand, and the wilder Hindi dialects of the great Rajputana desert on the other. I am half afraid to speak about Marathi, as some of the Bombay authors who have written on that language proclaim it
to be the noblest, most perfect, most eloquent, and so on, of all Indian languages. Molesworth, however, who is remarkable for the sobriety of his judgment in linguistic matters, derives a considerable proportion of the words in his Marathi dictionary from the Hindi; although he guards himself by stating that he only introduces the Hindi word because it is the same as the Marathi, and may therefore be the origin of it. It is rather hasty to assume that modern Marathi is the lineal descendant of the Maharashtri Prakrit. There is quite as much of the Magadhi and Sauraseni type in the modern Marathi as there is of the Maharashtri; and in the long period which intervenes between Varnaruci and the rise of the modern languages, so much confusion took place, and such a jumbling together and general displacement of dialects, that it is absurd now-a-days to attempt to affiliate any modern Indian language as a whole to any Prakrit dialect. Maharashtri and Marathi have little in common except the name.

§ 10. I now return from a long digression to take up the thread of my remarks. In Hindi, as I have said, the number of Desaja and Tadbhava words is much larger than that of Tatsamās. In Bengali and Oriya it is not so. These languages delight in Tatsama words, and the learned in those provinces are proud of having such words in their language, being or pretending to be under the impression that they have always been in use and have come down to the present day unaffected by the laws of development to which all languages are subject. This is an obvious error. If the Pandits' idea were true, these languages would be real phenomena, absolute linguistic monstrosities. That a language should have preserved two-fifths of its words entirely free from change or decay, while the remaining three-fifths had undergone very extensive corruption, and that many of the uncorrupted words should be such as are of the commonest daily use, would indeed
be marvellous. Such a fact can only be admitted under the following conditions. Either the word in its original Sanskrit form must have been short, strong, and simple, so that it offered no encumbrances to be got rid of, and no difficult combinations to be simplified—such as राजा, जन, जुल, which could not be made easier or simpler than they were: or the Sanskrit word must have embodied some ceremonial, religious, or political idea which has preserved it intact, and apart from the current of general usage, as महान, दर्शन, प्राचा: in which case there are often two forms of the same word in existence—the Tatsama form used in a religious or special sense, and the Tadbhava in an ordinary sense; thus, we have दर्शन वर्णा, used to express the act of visiting the shrine of an idol, and दर्शनां, for the general act of seeing. In English the same thing occurs in the case of words derived direct from the Latin, which correspond to the Indian Tatsamas, and the same derived through the medium of the French, which are like Tadbhavas. Thus, we have the Tatsama legal, regal, hospital, and the Tadbhava legal, royal, hotel, both sets of words coming from lega0s, regalis, and hospitalis, respectively. In French the instances are still more numerous. A few have been given in § 7.

The excessive number of Tatsamas in Bengali and Oriya, so far from indicating a high standard of preservation, points rather to great poverty in the language. These two forms of speech were in use in the two remotest provinces of the Indian empire. The arts and sciences and the busy movements of the world centred at first in the Antarbed, or country between the Ganges and Jamná, and round the great Hindu capitals, such as Dilli, Kanauj, Ayudhya, Kasi, and in later ages round the first-named, by that time corrupted into Delhi, and its twin capital, Agra. In these places, therefore, Sanskrit words expressive of a variety of ideas remained alive, and underwent gradual simplification from constant use. The
language spoken in those places, the Hindi, thus became rich in Tadbhavas. In the remote marshes of Bengal and the isolated coast-line of Orissa the Aryan pulse beat but feebly. Life was ruder and less civilized, and non-Aryan tribes mustered in great force in the plains as well as in the hills. The extremities lagged behind the heart, words which had a meaning in the courts and cities of Northern and Western India were not known to or required by the nearly naked Bengali crouching in his reed hut in those outlying regions.

What the colloquial languages of Bengal and Orissa were like previous to the sixteenth century we have no means of knowing. The only literature consisted of a few poetical works, whose authors did not care to keep close to the popular speech. We may, however, assume that in a country where the civilization was defective, the language would be poor. When the English came into India by sea, instead of, as former conquerors had come, by land, they were forced by circumstances to fix their capital in Bengal, thus reversing the whole system of

*Although in the present day Bengali surpasses all the other cognate languages in literary activity, yet the fact of its comparative rudeness until very recent times admits of no doubt. Even within the memory of Bengali gentlemen now living there was no accepted standard of the language, the dialects were as numerous and so varied. Since the vernacular literature has received such an immense development, the high-flown or semi-Sanskrit style has become the model for literary composition, but no one speaks in it. I think it is not too much to say that for spoken Bengali there is hardly yet any unanimously accepted system. Among recent works there is a class of comic productions, such as novels, farces, ballads, and satires, in which the spoken language is imitated. The writers of these works, like our own comic writers, attempt to seize the peculiarities of the various classes whom they introduce. Such works would not be intelligible to foreigners who have only studied the classical Bengali. Bahur Piari Lal Mitra, in his admirably clever and spirited novel, \textit{All której gho\textasciitilde{e}r Dalal}, \textit{The Spirit Child of the House of Allah}, puts into the mouth of each of his characters the appropriate method of talking, and thus exhibits to the full the extensive range of vulgar idiom which his language possesses. In the cheap newspapers, which are now sold for a pice about the streets of Calcutta, much of this edifying stuff may be seen. It would puzzle most Europeans sadly to understand its meaning.*
Indian government, whose centre had hitherto always been in the upper provinces. The language of the province adjacent to the new capital naturally attracted the attention of the ruling race. The discovery of the existence of the Sanskrit language, which occurred at a time when the English were imperfectly acquainted with the great Gangetic valley, excited the imaginations of the few learned men who at that time resided in Bengal, and they readily gave credence to the assertion that this glorious and perfect language, which they had recently found to be the sister, if not the mother, of Greek and Latin, was also the mother of Bengali. The science of comparative philology was then in its cradle. Bopp's first work did not appear till 1816, and Jacob Grimm's a little later. Our Indian philologists had no means of testing the relationship between Sanskrit and Bengali; and even if they had possessed any such means, it is doubtful if they would have used them. The early inquirers in Bengal seem to have been very much ruled by their Pandits, and swallowed, with a credulity which amazes us, the most audacious assertions of the Brahmans.

Of course, in the matter of languages, the great Brahmanical theory was, and among the orthodox still to a great extent is, that Sanskrit, a divine invention, is the only true and correct Indian language, and that all deviations from Sanskrit observable in the conversation of the masses are corruptions arising from ignorance; and that to purify and improve the vernaculars —Bengali, for instance—every word should be restored to its original Sanskrit shape, and the stream be made to run upwards to its source. Unfortunately for them, but fortunately for the world at large, this could not be done in the spoken language; but it might at least be done in books, especially in the numerous educational works which the English were then causing to be written. So completely did this idea prevail, that the honest old Tadbhavas were entirely banished from books, and a host of Tatsamas dug up from their graves, and
resuscitated for daily use. That the Sanskrit, like every other language, was subject to the laws of development, and that Bengali, like every other language, was merely the natural result of those laws, never occurred to Carey, Yates, and their brethren; and if such an idea had crossed their minds, it would have been banished as a heresy by the Pandits. Orissa at a later date followed the lead of Bengal, and from the causes above mentioned it has resulted that in both provinces the national speech has been banished from books, and now lives only in the mouths of the people; and even they, as soon as they get a little learning, begin to ape their betters and come out with the Tatsamas with which both languages are now completely flooded.\(^1\)

In Marathi the preponderance of Tatsama words, though sufficiently marked, is not so much so as in Bengali. The Marathi country was not invaded by the Musulmans till a comparatively late period, and as the Brahmans of that province have always been distinguished for learning, their efforts to retain a high type for their language, originally one of the rudest of the group, took the direction as usual in India of resuscitating Sanskrit words, and the process has not been carried so far as in Bengali only because the vernacular was richer. Marathi is one of those languages which one may call playful—it delights in all sorts of jingling formations, and has struck out a larger quantity of secondary and tertiary words, diminutives, and the like, than any of the cognate tongues.

\(^1\) Yates's *Bengali Grammar* initiates the student into all the mysteries of Sandhi as though they were still in use, and his distress, when he is obliged to give a genuine vernacular form instead of some stilted Sanskritism, is quite ludicrous. Thus, in introducing the common pronouns *saut, tut*, which are of course the real original pronouns of the language, he says, "It would be well for the first and second of these pronouns, and for the verbs that agree with them, to be expunged from the language." (1) One feels tempted to ask why he did not try to expunge *I and thee* from English, and to substitute the much more elegant phrases, "Your humble servant" and "Your worship."
§ II. In order to make the statement as to the constituent elements of the seven languages as clear and complete as possible, it is necessary to notice the influence of Arabic and Persian. Although Hindi is a richer language than Bengali or Oriya, it would not be just to say that the amount of Tasaama words in the latter is in exact proportion to its poverty as compared with the former. That is to say, Hindi itself was to a certain extent poor also, and the reason that there are less Tasaama words in it than in some other languages is that it has had recourse to Arabic and Persian instead of Sanskrit to supply its wants. By a curious caprice, Hindi, when it uses Arabic words, is assumed to become a new language, and is called by a new name—Urdu; but when Panjabi or Sindi do the same, they are not so treated. It is not advisable here to stop to examine why this is; it is enough to say that where Bengali, Oriya, and Marathi have recourse to Sanskrit, Hindi, Panjabi, Sindi, and Gujarati in a great measure recur to Arabic and Persian; but as the proportions of the Hindu and Musulman population are more evenly balanced in the area occupied by Hindi than in that of any other language, the tendency to borrow from Arabic has not, as in the case of Sindi and Panjabi, where the Musulman population is greatly in excess of the Hindu, quite superseded the practice of borrowing from Sanskrit; nor on the other hand has the Hindu population, as in the case of Bengali and Oriya, where the Hindus largely preponderate, forced Sanskrit words into the language, to the exclusion of Arabic.

This is one of those cases, many more of which will occur

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*For the information of readers in Europe it may be necessary to explain that the word "Hindu" is always used in India as a religious term denoting those Aryans who still adhere to the Brahmanical faith, and who in most parts of India constitute the majority of the population. "Hindi," on the other hand, expresses the language spoken by the Hindu population of the country from Delhi to Rajmahal, Hindustan proper, or, as Chalm calls it, "Hindooon than."
in the course of this essay, in which we observe a regular gradation from west to east. In the extreme west we have Sindh and the Panjab, with a vast majority of Musulman inhabitants, and a large amount of Arabic words, contrasted with a very scanty allowance of Tatsamas. Going east we come into the great central Hindi area, where the balance between the two races is more even, the numerical superiority of the Hindus being balanced by the greater intelligence of the Muhammadans, and here we find consequently the habit of borrowing from Persian kept up side by side with recurrence to Sanskrit, such recurrence, however, being less frequent in consequence of the already existing abundance of Tadbhava words. Further east again, in Bengal and Orissa, there is an immense majority of Hindus, and as a natural result a maximum of Tatsamas. In this scheme, Gujarati and Marathi stand nearly in the same place as Hindi, the former being rather more Persian, and the latter rather more Sanskrit than it. The whole seven languages may be thus grouped, the left hand indicating the Arabic pole so to speak, and the right hand the Sanskrit, and the position of the languages on the page their degree of proximity to the respective poles.

Sindhi.  Gujarāṭi.  Marāṭhi.  Oriya. 1

With regard to the Arabic and Persian element, however, it must be observed that in all the languages it is still an alien. It has not woven itself into the grammar of any of them. All the Arabic words in Hindi or any other language are nouns, or participial forms used as nouns. They conform to their own grammatical rules as strictly in the mouth of a correct speaker, as though the rest of the sentence were pure Arabic. Rarely, and quite exceptionally, occur such words as tahsilnā, kabūlnā,

1 This position of the languages on the page is, as will be seen at a glance, nearly identical with their position on the map of India.
dāghanā, where Arabic and Persian nouns have been adorned with a Hindi termination, but the usual form is tāhī dāhanā, where the Hindi verb does all the grammatical work, and the Arabic noun is unaltered and uninflated throughout. When they are used as nouns, they take the usual postpositions indicative of case, but as these postpositions are merely appended to them without causing any internal change in their structure, it cannot be said that they are at all affected. In those changes which indigenous nouns undergo in the preparation of their base or crude form for receiving case appendages, the alien Arabic or Persian word is only affected in very few and exceptional instances. The rules for the preparation of the base are most intricate in Sindhi, Gujarati, and Marathi, in the first of which Arabic words, as I have said, are very numerous.

We cannot therefore take these words into consideration at all in examining the internal structure and constitution of the seven languages, though it may be proper to do so when treating of their external garb, and of the construction of sentences.

§ 12. Passing from the consideration of the constituent elements of this group of languages, to that of their structure and inflexions, we are again met by the question of non-Aryan influence. It has been said that contact with the savage races of India had on the Aryans the effect of breaking down their rigid inflectional system, and causing them to substitute, for case-endings in nouns and verbs, distinct particles and auxiliaries, and that under this influence the Sanskrit gradually became modified into the present forms. There are, however, some difficulties in the way of accepting this theory, and in order to explain what they are, it will be better to state the whole argument from the beginning.

Languages, like trees, grow and develop, and their stages
of growth are well marked in the abstract, though we cannot point to any language which has gone through all the stages within historical times. The first stage is that in which all words are monosyllables without inflections or power of internal modification; and when strung together to make sentences, the same word is at one time a verb, at another a noun, at a third a particle, according to its place in the sentence. This is the syntactical stage, and is exemplified by Chinese.

The second stage is that in which some words have lost their power of being used as nouns or verbs, and can only be employed as particles, in which capacity they are added to nouns to form case-endings, and to verbs to form tense- and person-endings. This is the agglutinative stage, so called because these particles are agglutinated, or glued on, to the word which they modify. Turkish is such a language.

The third stage is that in which the aforesaid particles are no longer separable, but have become incorporated into the word which they modify, merely producing the result of varying the terminal syllable or syllables. This is the synthetic or inflectional stage, and is seen in Sanskrit.

The fourth stage is that in which the particles are not even recognisable as constituent elements of the word with which they were incorporated, but from long use have been worn away, so that the word stands almost bare and without terminations, as in the first stage, and new auxiliary words have to be brought in to express the necessary modifications of sense. This is the analytical stage, the stage in which English and French are at present.

It will be observed that the fourth stage comes round again to the second in some respects, notably in that the words are not altered in any way, but merely have the subsidiary particles placed before or after them, so that position in the sentence becomes once more the guide in many instances to the meaning of the individual word. Thus the English words of, to, in, for,
etc., correspond exactly to the Turkish in, lah, dan, and the rest, in that they have no meaning when standing alone, and though perfectly separable from the word which they modify, nevertheless cannot be used without it. The two classes are therefore very much alike, and might by inexperienced persons be easily mistaken one for another. In fact, to settle the question in which of the two stages any given language is, we have to inquire into its past history, and to ascertain what family it belongs to. Moreover, it will always be found that no language is purely analytical. The most advanced languages, such as English, still retain traces of the synthetical phase through which they have formerly passed. Thou goest, he goes or goeth, went, gone, though much altered from their original form, still exhibit the inflectional or synthetic type. On the other hand, agglutinative languages having not yet got so far as the synthetic stage, naturally cannot possess any traces of its system, though, to complicate the matter, there are found some languages of this stage whose agglutinative system, aided by the working of the laws of euphony, has advanced so far as to be almost synthetical,—that is to say, their particles have become so much altered by use, and are so habitually written as parts of the word modified, that they may almost be taken for inflectional terminations. So that while on the one hand we may have agglutinative languages almost entering the synthetical stage, we have analytical ones which have not quite left it.

§ 13. To apply the above remarks to the Indian languages, The Aryan dialects remained purely synthetical for many centuries after the race entered this country. When it first came here, it found the land covered with non-Aryan races, and it is almost certain that it came more into contact with them during those early ages than it did in later times, because these alien races were after a time either driven out altogether,
or remained and were absorbed into the conquering body, where they took rank at the bottom of the social system as Sudras, and learnt the speech of their conquerors, which speech in those days was Prakrit in some form or other. Now, all the forms of Prakrit are synthetical, and remained so as long as we have any definite trace of them, that is, till long after the absorption of the majority of the non-Aryans. The Bharas, Cherus, and other tribes, it is true, made a stand, and retained their individuality till a late period, and the Sonthals and Kols do so to the present day. Still the mass of non-Aryans residing in the valley of the Ganges who were absorbed at all, must have been absorbed not only many generations, but many centuries, before the Aryan languages began to show any signs of a tendency to analytical construction. It is my belief that the Indian languages did not begin to be analytical till about the ninth or tenth century, much about the same time that the European languages began to be so. Chand, though his structure is analytical, retains much that is synthetical still, and his particles and auxiliaries are in a very crude and unformed state. For the modern का, के, कत्र, he chiefly uses an obscure का, which does not vary with the governed noun, and is more often left out altogether. छ, the ordinary substantive verb, is unknown to him; छा is still only छन्न, three stages earlier than its present form. If then the non-Aryans were the cause of the Sanskrit changing its structure from synthetical to analytical, they must have taken an uncommonly long time about it, and, oddly enough, must have succeeded in effecting the change at a time when they had for centuries adopted the synthetical structure of the Aryans.

But even apart from the improbability of this theory, it is superfluous. We want no non-Aryan influence to account for a natural and regular process in all languages of Indo-Germanic build. When, by lapse of time and the effect of those

1 For a further examination of this point, see § 30.
numerous changes which words necessarily undergo in transmission from generation to generation, the terminations of nouns and verbs have been worn down, so that they no longer afford sufficiently clear indications of time, person, or relation, some other means of marking these necessary distinctions silently grows up. In the case of European languages there were prepositions for the noun and auxiliaries for the verb. In the Indian languages postpositions took the place of the European prepositions; but in other respects the process was precisely identical in both. It is not pretended that the European languages were subjected to non-Aryan or any other external influence to make them undergo these changes; it is admitted that they grew naturally out of the course taken by the human tongue and the human mind. The flower of synthesis budded and opened, and when full blown began, like all other flowers, to fade. Its petals, that is its inflections, dropped off one by one; and in due course the fruit of analytical structure sprung up beneath it, and grew and ripened in its stead. If this was the natural course of development in Europe, may we not suppose it to have also been the course in India? The ancient Indian languages are exact structural parallels to the ancient European languages; the modern are also precisely parallel to the modern of Europe: does it not seem to follow, as a logical consequence, that the method and process of their change, from the one stage to the other, was also parallel, and, in both cases, due to internal rather than external influences?

§ 14. But there are stronger arguments still. The non-Aryan languages could only affect the Aryans by means of some quality which they possessed, not by means of those which they did not possess. If the Kol, Dravidian, or other groups of languages were analytical, it is conceivable, if we put aside for a time the historical and geographical considerations, that they have imparted to the Aryans a tendency to
make their speech also analytical. But if they were not themselves analytical, they could not have done so.

Now it is very certain, as certain as anything can well be, that all the non-Aryan languages of India are still in the agglutinative stage. If, then, they exercised any influence on the structure of the Aryan speech, such influence would tend to make that also agglutinative; in other words, the Aryans would have had to go backwards, and try and find out what were the agglutinated particles from which their own inflectional terminations had arisen; and having found them, would have been led to use them, no longer conveniently incorporated into their words, but disintegrated and separate. Thus, a vulgar Aryan who said homi, for "I am," would have had to re-construct out of his inner consciousness the older form bharāmi; and, not content with that, to further resolve bharāmi into its component elements of bhar and mi, and henceforth to use these two words adjacent to each other, but unincorporated. This we see at once is out of the question, and absurd. What our vulgar Aryan really did was in course of time to drop the final i of homi, and to nasalize the m, at the same time imparting a broader and more rustic pronunciation to the vowel, thus producing əhāun. He also changed homi, "thou art," and holi, "he is," both into ho: and thus having got two words of similar sound, he had to use the pronouns tū and ruk to distinguish them: which is precisely the opposite process to that which imitation of the Dravidians or Kols would have led him to follow, and precisely similar to that which his brother the vulgar Roman followed when he changed sum into sono, and sump also into sono; so that, getting two sonos, he had no means of distinguishing between them except by constantly prefixing the pronouns io, "I," and egino, "they"; and just that which the Englishman followed when he changed ye, gath, and gath, all three into go, and then had always to prefix I, he, we, ye, they, to make his meaning clear.
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It must, therefore, be always remembered that though the modern Aryan verb presents in its structure certain similarities to the Dravidian or Kol verb, and some analogies also with the Tibetan and Himalayan verb, as well as with the noun of both, yet this very similarity to two such widely sundered groups reduces us to the necessity of admitting that the connexion is not one of family, but of stage. Tibetan and Dravidian alike are in the agglutinative stage; and, as mentioned before, the analytical stage, in which the modern Aryan languages are, resembles in many particulars the agglutinative stage, though the difference is generally to be detected by a close scrutiny.

It is not my intention here to go into the details of the non-Aryan system of inflection, or agglutination. I am very imperfectly acquainted with the non-Aryan languages; and with those which impinge most closely upon the Aryan area, very few persons can pretend to be familiar. But it seems advisable once again to raise a warning voice against the rash speculations which are the bane of philology more than of any other science, and which have so frequently been the cause of the science itself being turned into ridicule. We can only move slowly, slowly, establishing our feet firmly on one point before we pass to another. Data are scanty, and facts hard to get at. In the above remarks all that has been done is to show how great is the a priori improbability of the theory that the present structure of the modern Aryan tongues is in any great degree due to non-Aryan influence. It has been said languages borrow words but never grammar. The methods of expressing ideas seem to be inborn and ingrained into races, and seem rarely to be varied, whatever be the materials employed, so that even resemblances should be shunned as dangerous, and must, unless supported by historical or other proofs, be set down in the majority of cases as accidental. To take an instance, a great deal has been made, or tried to be made, of the resemblance between the sign of the dative in Tamil,
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ku (kku), and that of the Hindi, ko, and Dr. Caldwell in particular seems to have gone quite wild on the subject (see pp. 225-227 of his Grammar); but leaving aside all the Dravidian, Scythian, Ostiak, Russian, Malay, and all the rest of the jumble of analogies, it is demonstrable from actual written documents that the modern Hindi ko is a pure accusative or objective, and was in old Hindi kauŋ कौं, which is the usual and regular form of the Sanskrit कृं kṛm, the accusative of nouns in kuh; so that there does not appear to be the slightest reason for connecting it with anything but the cognate forms in its own group of languages.

For the reasons above given, I am of opinion that there is nothing in the structural phenomena of the modern Aryan vernaculars which may not, by a fair application of reasonable analogies, be deduced from the elder languages of the same stock; and though not prepared to deny the presence of non-Aryan elements in those languages, I do strenuously deny that they have had any hand in the formation of the analytical system which the Aryan tongues at present exhibit.

§ 15. Looking upon the change from a synthetical to an analytical state as progress and development, not as corruption or decay, it may be interesting to institute a comparison between the several languages in this respect. And here, as might be expected, we find in most instances that those languages which are most prone to the use of Tatsama words are also most backward in development.

The most advanced language is the Hindi, which is closely followed by the Panjabi and Gujarati. In Hindi the noun has lost nearly all traces of inflection; the only vestiges remaining are the modification of the base in the oblique cases of nouns ending in ã or ah, as ghóra, oblique base ghóre, bandah, oblique base bánde, and the terminations of the plural en, áy, en; and in common talk the plural is very little used,
a paraphrastic construction with *r̥abh* or *log* being generally preferred. The pronouns exhibit a slight advance upon the Prakrit forms, but have evidently come down to modern time through Prakrit, and therefore retain more of an inflectional character. In the pronouns, each case must be derived from the corresponding case in Sanskrit, just as in an Italian verb each person of each tense is a distinct corruption of the corresponding Latin person and tense. But with the Hindi noun the case is different. The noun owes to Sanskrit merely its base, or crude form. All its cases are formed out of its own resources, resources perhaps themselves of Sanskrit origin, but put together and employed in a way quite foreign to Sanskrit ideas. Thus when a Sanskrit noun exhibits three base forms, the Anga, Pada, and Bha, all differing from each other, as राजन्, Anga base राजान्, Pada राव, Bha रास्, the Hindi rejects all these niceties, and takes the simple nominative राजा for its sole base, declining it by means of postpositions राजा को. etc.

In the verb Hindi has still more markedly thrown away the Sanskrit inflectional system. The Hindi verb is an arrangement of participles conjugated by means of the substantive verbs, derived from the roots *as* and *bhū*. Only one tense is synthetical, the indefinite present, corrupted from the present indicative of the Sanskrit.

Panjabi follows Hindi as regards its nouns, having the same simplicity of declension and the same absence of inflection; although the particles used to denote cases are different from those used in Hindi, yet the method of their use is precisely the same; only bases ending in *a* are subject to modification, all others remain unchanged. The verb is identical in structure with Hindi, and the differences of form are hardly more than dialectic. The pronouns are also nearly the same as Hindi: The claim of Panjabi to be considered an independent language rests more upon its phonetic system, and its stores
of words not found in Hindi, than upon any radical difference in its structure or inflections.

Gujarati is somewhat less developed than the two preceding languages. It retains the needless and troublesome arrangement of three genders, whereas the Hindi and Panjabi have but two, and in common use wisely ignore to a great extent the existence of even those. The noun retains one inflectional case, the instrumental, only the noun ending in a undergoes any change of termination previous to the application of the postpositions; and these postpositions, though different in form, are used in the same manner as those in Hindi. The pronouns are almost identical with Hindi, especially with those dialectic forms of Hindi spoken in Rajputana, on the northern frontier of Gujrat.

The verb, as expounded by its unphilosophical grammarians, Messrs. Leckey and Eduljee, appears to possess a bewildering variety of forms; but a little examination shows that the five presents, seventeen preterites, and three or four futures, are really nothing more than instances of that subdivision and amplification in which grammarians so much delight. We find here again the present indefinite, an inflectional tense derived from the Sanskrit present indicative. It may be as well to state that this tense, though often most ingenuously disguised by grammar-writers, exists in all the languages of this group, as will be shown in the chapter on verbs. Gujarati has, however, another inflectional tense in the future house from the Sanskrit bharishyami, Prakrit bharissam, etc. The rest of the tenses of a Gujarati verb are merely neat and varied combinations of participles with each other, and with the substantive verbs.

Sindhi ranks next in the matter of development. It is a rough language, loving Thorny paths of its own, but there hangs about it, to my mind, somewhat of the charm of wild flowers in a hedge whose untamed luxuriance pleases more
than the regular splendour of the parterre. Even as early as Prakrit times the dialect of the Indus valley shook itself free from trammels, and earned for itself from the pedantic followers of rule and line the contemptuous epithet of Apabhramsha, or vitiated. There is a flavour of wheaten flour and a reek of cottage smoke about Panjabi and Sindhi, which is infinitely more natural and captivating than anything which the hide-bound Pandit-ridden languages of the eastern parts of India can show us. I have not yet been able to procure Dr. Trumpp's Sindhi Grammar,1 and am obliged to work with Captain Stack's book, the deficiencies of which strike one at every step.

In Sindhi the preparation of the base for reception of the case particles assumes great importance, there being in nearly every case three separate base-forms in the singular, one for the nominative, a second for the oblique, and a third for the vocative; and three in the plural, the plural forms being in addition various and numerous for the oblique and vocative. That these forms result from a partial retention or half-effaced recollection of the Sanskrit inflectional system is apparent, and this fact places Sindhi in an inferior stage of development to that of the fore-named languages. The cases are formed, however, analytically by the addition of particles; that indicative of the possessive relation is so multifariously inflected as to raise that case into a pure adjective agreeing with the governing noun in gender, number, and case, whereas Hindi is satisfied with three forms of the genitive particle, Panjabi with four, Gujarati requires nine, and Sindhi twenty. The subject of postpositions is not properly worked out by Stack, and I labour under some difficulty in putting it clearly to myself, and consequently to the reader. The adjective is also subject to the same multiplied changes of termination as the substantive. The pronouns, as in Hindi, retain more traces

1 I hear that it is shortly to be published at Leipzig, if this unhappy war will permit. September, 1879.
of an inflectional system, and closely resemble those of that language. The verb is, as in other languages, composed chiefly of participial forms combined with the three auxiliaries, but, like Gujarati, the future, as well as the indefinite present, shows signs of the synthetical system of Sanskrit, and in some other respects also is less purely analytical than Hindi. The passive in particular exhibits a system of combination in which a tendency to analytical treatment is not fully emancipated from synthetical ideas.

Marathi, which I place next on the list, is, like Gujarati and Sindhi, more complicated in its structure than the other languages. These three languages of the Western Presidency, perhaps from political reasons, and the less frequent intercourse between them and the northern and eastern members of the group, retain a type peculiar to themselves in many respects, notably so in the greater intricacy of their grammatical forms. In Marathi we see the results of the Pandit's file applied to a form of speech originally possessed of much natural wildness and licence. The hedgerows have been pruned, and the wild briars and roses trained into order. It is a copious and beautiful language, second only to Hindi. It has three genders, and the same elaborate system of preparation of the base as in Sindhi, and, owing to the great corruption that has taken place in its terminations, the difficulty of determining the gender of nouns is as great in Marathi as in German. In fact, if we were to institute a parallel in this respect, we might appropriately describe Hindi as the English, Marathi as the German of the Indian group,—Hindi having cast aside whatever could possibly be dispensed with, Marathi having retained whatever has been spared by the action of time. To an Englishman Hindi commends itself by its absence of form, and the positional structure of its sentences resulting therefrom; to our High-German cousins the Marathi, with its fuller array of genders, terminations, and inflections, would probably
seem the completer and finer language. The pronoun is very little removed from pure Prakrit, combining inflectional peculiarities of a distinctly Prakrit nature with the postpositions which it possesses in common with its cognate languages. The verb is to a certain extent participial in its formation, but retains the indefinite present, though in modern usage in a preterite sense, and an inflectional future. It has also a partially inflectional subjunctive. Its combinations are fewer and simpler than those of the Gujarati; and in all its tenses the auxiliary verb, especially in the second person singular and third person plural, is so intimately bound up with the participle as to exhibit a pseudo-inflectional appearance. Though sutatos, "thou dost get loose," and sutatāt, "they get loose," look like inflections, they are really combinations of sutato aui and sutatā santi respectively.

In the Bengali noun we have a purely inflectional genitive, the legitimate descendant of the Sanskrit termination -asya. Bengali and Oriya are like overgrown children, always returning to suck the mother’s breast, when they ought to be supporting themselves on other food. Consequently the written Bengali, afraid to enter boldly on the path of development, hugs the ancient Sanskrit forms as closely as it can, and misleads the reader by exhibiting as genuine Bengali what is merely a resuscitation of classical Sanskrit. In the peasant-speech, however, which is the true Bengali, and for which the philologist must always search, putting aside the unreal formations which Pandits would offer him, there is much that is analytical, though in the noun the genitive, dative, locative, ablative, and instrumental are synthetical, as is also the nominative plural. The rest of the plural, and sometimes the nominative also, is formed by the addition of particles expressive of number, as gas, dig, and others, to which the signs of case are appended. There is no preparation of the base in Bengali, or very little. Gender is practically neglected.
The verb is simple, and formed as in other languages on the participial system. The indefinite present and the future may, however, be regarded as inflectional, as also the imperfect dekhitām and the conditional dekhitām. The pronouns are very little removed from Prakrit.

Oriya is the most neglected member of the group, and retains some very archaic forms. The repulsive and difficult character in which it is written, the rugged and mountainous nature of the greater part of Orissa, and its comparative isolation from the world at large, have combined to retard its development. In the noun the genitive and ablative are inflectional, and the locative is probably the same. Its verbal forms still require fuller analysis, but there is much that is inflectional apparent on the surface, though the universal participial system is also in use. In the indefinite present several of the forms retain their pure Prakrit dress, as the third person singular in aś and plural aṣāī.

Both in Bengali and Oriya the singular of the pronoun and verb has been banished from polite society and relegated to the vulgar, and the original plural has been adopted as the polite singular, and been supplied with a new plural. Thus, in Oriya the singular mū, "I," is considered vulgar, and māhe, the old plural, is now used as a singular, and fitted with a new plural, amheṇāc. In Bengali they have gone a step further, and made two new plurals,—one morā, for the now vulgar singular mū, and another, amāryā, for the plural turned singular āmi.

§16. Having thus briefly generalized the structural characteristics of the seven languages, the character in which they are written next demands attention. The Hindi and Marathi use the ordinary Nāgari in printed books, and their written character, as also that of Gujarati, does not vary from it more than is natural under the circumstances; the written character in all these languages being merely a rounder and more flowing
variety of the printed. Sindhi has remained till modern times almost unwritten. The rude scrawls in use among the mercantile classes defy analysis, and were so imperfect that it is said no one but the writer himself could read what was written.¹ The abandonment of the mātrā or top line of the Devanāgari letters, is a common feature in all these cursive alphabets. It is either dropped entirely, as in the Kayathi character used in Behar, or a series of lines are ruled across the page first, like a schoolboy's copy-book, and the writing is hung on below as in the Modh or "twisted" current hand of the Marathas. Gujarati, for some reason, has taken to printing books in this cursive hand, without the top line, which gives it at first sight the effect of a totally different character. The letters are all, however, pure modern Nāgari, and on showing a Gujarati book to a native of Tirhut, I found he could read it perfectly, and, what is more, very nearly understand most parts of it; and he was by no means an exceptionally intelligent man, rather the reverse.

The Mahājanī character differs entirely from that used for general purposes of correspondence, and is quite unintelligible to any but commercial men. It is in its origin as irregular and scrawling as the Sindhi, but has been reduced by men of business into a neat-looking system of little round letters, in which, however, the original Devanagari type has become so effaced as hardly to be recognizable, even when pointed out. Perhaps this is intentional. Secrecy has always been an important consideration with native merchants, and it is probable that they purposely made their peculiar alphabet as unlike anything else as possible, in order that they alone might have the key to it.

¹ There are some twelve or thirteen different alphabets current in Sind, some of which differ very widely from the others. Of late, however, the Arabic character, though very ill adapted to express Sindhi sounds, has come into common use, and a modification of the Devanāgari is proposed for adoption, though I believe it is not actually employed by any class of Sindhians.
In the mercantile and ordinary current hands, the vowels are only partially indicated, a or i in its full or initial form generally does duty for the whole. This is of no great consequence in ordinary correspondence where the context, as in Persian, supplies the key to the meaning. Sometimes, however, difficulties arise, as in the well-known story of the merchant of Mathura, who was absent from home, and whose agent wrote from Delhi to the family, to say his master had gone to Ajmer and wanted his big ledger. The agent wrote Bābā Ajmer gayā bāri bāhi bhej dījīye. This was unfortunately read Bābā dī mar gayā bāri bāhū bhej dījīye. “The master died to-day, send the chief wife”! (apparently to perform his obsequies).  

It would be waste of time to analyze all these current hands, even if the resources of modern European printing-presses permitted us to do so. They are not calculated to throw any light upon the historical development of the art of writing among the Indian races, being the results merely of individual caprice.

§ 17. The three languages which use a peculiar character are the Panjabi, Bengali, and Oriya. Panjabi employs the character called Gurumukhi, a name probably derived from the fact that the art of writing was at first only employed on sacred subjects, and was practised by pupils who recorded the oral instruction of their Gurus instead of, as had been the case in earlier times, committing his teachings to memory. The alphabet consists of thirty-five letters only, omitting the grammatical abstractions ख्, च्, छ्, ज्, as also व and श्; व is retained, but with a different pronunciation, as will be shown hereafter. छ does duty for all the sibilants. There is a special character

1 This story is told by Baba Rajendra Lal Mitra, in vol. xxxiii., p. 508, of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. There is much that is good in his article, though I entirely disagree with the greater part of it.
for that harsh aspirated r-sound which in the other languages is indicated by Ꞧ; and the Vedic ꦛ is expressed by the dental l, with a stroke like a virāma attached to its lower right-hand limb.

In tracing the origin of this alphabet, it appears that initial ꦠ, ꦡ, ꦢ, ꦣ, ꦤ, ꦥ and ꦦ are almost identical with the Kutiṣa character in use from the ninth to the eleventh century A.D., which is only a development of the still older Gupta character of the fifth century, which again leads us back to the forms used in the inscriptions of Asoka in the third century B.C. The ꦡ and ꦢ exhibit the same form as the ꦥ for their fulcrum or initial form, though they possess the modern forms ꦣ and ꦨ for medial use. These latter are of later introduction. Originally, as is proved by the older alphabets, ꦠ was indicated by three dots, or circlets, forming a triangle with the apex downwards. These three dots being connected by lines represented the derived vowel ꦢ, to which a small tail was afterwards added, but, as the Oriya still shows, the medial ꦡ was originally expressed by a semicircle over the letter it followed, thus, ꦢ ꦥ. This is still retained in the Tibetan ꦨ ꦥ. In the Kutiṣa character this semicircle was lengthened downwards on the left hand or before the letter to express the short sound, or on the right hand or after the letter to express the long sound: ꦦ ꦧ. Previous to this, in the earlier inscriptions the long ꦡ is distinguished by inverting the semicircle, thus ꦢ. Medial ꦥ was expressed in the alphabet of the fifth century B.C. by a small horizontal stroke on the right of the lower portion of a letter, thus ꦥ, and ꦦ by two such strokes. From these have arisen the Panjabi ꦥ and ꦦ. ꦧ was at first indicated by a short horizontal stroke attached to a letter at the top and drawn leftwards. This gradually raised itself into the slanting position

1 This section and the following should be read with the tables of alphabets in the second volume of Princep's Indian Antiquities at hand for comparison. The modern alphabets will be found in a table at the end of this chapter.
it now holds, \( \Rightarrow \). At was written with the horizontal e-stroke and a vertical one at right angles to it, which gradually came together as \( \Rightarrow \). O was expressed by two horizontal strokes forming one cross-line, either at the top or through the middle of a letter. In the beginning of a word this stroke used the letter \( o \) as its fulcrum. By degrees these two strokes got raised into a sloping position, and from the Gupta inscriptions of the fifth century down to the tenth century they were so written. The form is preserved in a more elegant shape in the Tibetan, which dates from the seventh century, thus \( \tilde{\mathfrak{f}} \, ko \). The Panjabi rejects one of the two strokes and gives that which remains a wavy shape to distinguish it from \( o \), thus \( \tilde{\mathfrak{c}} \, ke \), \( \tilde{\mathfrak{c}} \, ko \); while in Nagari the right-hand stroke has been turned downwards like an \( o \), thus making \( T \). The \( \mathfrak{w} \) in the fifth century consisted of three strokes, thus \( \mathfrak{w} \). Panjabi has contented itself with giving an extra half-stroke to the \( o \), thus \( \tilde{\mathfrak{u}} \).\( \mathfrak{kam} \).

Panjabi consonants are generally of the Kutila type, though many of them are older still. Of the Kutila type are the characters for \( g, t, th, dh, y, d, dh, p, bh, y, l \). It will be observed that these letters in Panjabi approach more nearly to the exact form of the Kutila than the corresponding Devanagari letters, which have been subjected to modifications from which the Gurumukhi letters have escaped.

\( K \) preserves something more like the form on the Vallabhi plates found in Gujarat, as does also the Gujarati \( \hat{\mathfrak{b}} \), almost the only letter in that alphabet which would seem strange to one familiar with the ordinary Devanagari.

The sign for \( kh \) is the Nagari \( \hat{\mathfrak{b}} \, sh \), but left open at the top. This character is also used for \( kh \) in western Hindi; thus for \( \text{मुख} \) we find \( \text{मुँ} \) for \( अँख, चाँच \). The Nagari sign for \( kh \) \( \hat{\mathfrak{b}} \) has unfortunately a close resemblance to \( \mathfrak{r} \, rar \), and by the addition of a small horizontal stroke it may be made into \( \mathfrak{r} \, rra \). These resemblances have probably led to its disuse, combined as they are with certain phonetic peculiarities noticed in
Chapter IV., § 80. The gh is older than the Kutila in so far as it is open at the top, whereas the Kutila is closed. This letter has retained its form more exactly than any other. From Asoka's time downwards it has the form of an English capital E lying on its back, \( \text{II} \). This ancient form is retained by the Panjabi and Kashmiri alone.\(^1\) The Devanagari \( \text{A} \) follows the Kutila in being closed at the top, but has deviated from it in making two of the strokes horizontal instead of vertical. The Panjabi form for \( \text{A} \) is omitted from Prinsep's table. It resembles the Kutila, but has added a loop at the foot.

The \( \text{F} \) and \( \text{E} \) are both older than the Kutila, and closely approach the Gupta and Vallabhi types. The earliest form of this letter was a vertical stroke with a loop at the bottom on the left for \( \text{ch} \), and two loops one on each side for \( \text{chh} \).

The \( \text{J} \) is more Kutila than anything, though it has become simpler than its prototype. The Kutila itself bears very little resemblance to the more ancient form, which is that of the English E, and is retained in Tibetan \( \text{E} \).

\( \text{J\text{h}} \) is not found in Kutila, nor is palatal \( \text{a} \). The Panjabi forms for these sounds bear no resemblance to anything in the ancient alphabets, and are probably local inventions or combinations.

Panjabi \( \text{d} \) is the Gupta letter with a curl to it, and does not at all approach the Kutila.

Panjabi \( \text{f} \), like the Bengali \( \text{B} \), has the form appropriated in the other languages to \( \text{a} \). This arises from the older form being \( \text{A} \). In writing this and other letters, the variations of form depend upon the course followed by the pen in making the letter. If you begin at the top, and go down the left limb, and then bringing the pen back up the same limb go down the

\(^1\) The Kashmiri character is very similar to the Panjabi, though in several instances its forms are even more archaic still.
right one, you will find the tendency to give a curve to all written lines will gradually result in a form similar to the Panjabi letter; whereas, if on the contrary you follow down the right limb first, and then taking the pen off, make the left limb separately, the result will be the Kutila \( t \), from which come the Nagari and others.

The \( t \) is apparently a modification of the Kutila, due like the last letter to a different way of writing. In the Kutila the little top loop is first formed, and then, without taking off the pen or graver, the larger loop, and then the upright stroke. The Panjabi scribe, however, formed the large loop first, and taking off his pen, made a stroke across it, separating it into two parts, in order to produce the effect of the two loops, in which attempt he has signally failed, turning out something more like a \( \mathfrak{H} \) than a \( \mathfrak{B} \).

There is a curious similarity between \( dh \) and \( p \) in Panjabi. The former is written \( \mathfrak{H} \) with the character used in Nagari for \( p \), while the \( p \) is indicated by the same character with the top open. In this it adheres closely to the Kutila, which adds a small side stroke to the \( dh \), which in early alphabets is an oval, grape-shaped letter, and thus produces a character closely resembling \( \mathfrak{H} \); the double semicircle of the Nagari \( \mathfrak{H} \) is quite modern.

In \( n \) again Panjabi preserves an archaic form, and the same remarks apply to this letter as to \( t \). The Panjabi \( n \) is that of Asoka's inscriptions, with the horizontal footstrokes sloped downwards and curved. The Gupta, Vallabhi, and Kutila forms arose from trying to form the letter by one continuous stroke without taking the pen or graver off. The Tibetan exactly reproduces the Kutila in its \( \mathbb{N} \).

In \( ph \) we have another piece of antiquity. The form of this letter is identical with the Nagari \( \mathfrak{H} \) \( dh \). In the Asoka character the \( dh \) and \( ph \) are almost the same; the former having a curved downstroke, the latter a straight one. This is re-
produced in Panjabi, and the difference marked by an extra curve in the $dh$, while the $ph$ is indicated by the simple $\&$. Kashmiri squares the corners of the $dh$, and exactly follows the Gupta in its $ph$. Kutila has adopted a very different type in its $\&$, which has been followed by all the other alphabets. The Tibetan $\&$ shows how by a different order of making the strokes the $\&$ of the earlier alphabets might pass into the Bengali $\&$, and thence into Nagari $\&$: so much depends upon the order followed by the pen in forming the letter. Let any one who doubts this try the experiment of forming the Sanskrit letters backwards, beginning where the pen generally leaves off, and after writing the letter quickly half a dozen times he will be surprised to see how far it has deviated from its original shape.

$dh$ is the Kutila form rounded and written as though the central curve were a loop; $m$ differs only in having the top open, to distinguish it from $\&$, which in Panjabi is written like the Nagari $\&$, owing to the Gupta character from which it is derived not having the little tail which marks the $\&$.

$R$ also lacks the tail, and thus approaches the Gupta rather than the Kutila type.

The $τ$ assimilates more to the Vallabhi form than any other; and the $k$ is Gupta.

In a large number of instances the Kutila differs from the Gupta type only by the addition of a little tail at the right-hand lower corner. This tail being regarded as the continuation of the right-hand line of a letter has resulted in the vertical straight line so characteristic of Devanagari letters, such as $प$, $च$, $क$, $क$, in none of which has the Gupta character any tail, or consequently anything to give rise to a straight stroke. The Panjabi character probably took its rise from the Gupta, or it might be more accurate to say that the earlier character of Aseka underwent modifications, the type of which is uniform throughout India, down to the Gupta era, but that
after that the various provinces began to make local variations of their own. The Kutila inscriptions date from about 800 A.D. to 1100 A.D., and as far as we know the history of those three centuries there was no one paramount sovereign during that time whose authority extended over all Aryan India, as there had been at various times in the preceding ages. We may suppose the Panjab to have been politically sundered from the Gangetic provinces during a great portion of that time, and to have entered upon a distinct course of linguistic development. This will account for the archaic character of many of its letters.

§ 18. The Bengali is the most elegant and easiest to write of all the Indian alphabets. It is very little changed from the Kutila brought down from Kanauj by the Brahmans whom King Adisur invited to Bengal in the latter part of the eleventh century. Such slight differences as are perceptible arise from an attempt to form a running hand, in which it should not be necessary to lift the pen from the paper in the middle of a word. This attempt has been to a great degree successful, and the modern Bengali character can now be written with greater rapidity and ease than any character derived from the ancient Indian alphabet. Even compound letters of some intricacy have been provided with neat and simple forms, and since the introduction of printing presses into Bengal the type has much increased in elegance. A printed Bengali book is now a very artistic production in typography.

§ 19. The same praise cannot be awarded to the Oriya character, which is of all Indian characters the ugliest, clumsiest, and most cumbersome. Some of the letters so closely resemble others that they can with difficulty be distinguished. Such for instance are the following,  תוכל, ��, where only the
slanting end-stroke distinguishes the letters, and to make it worse, the medial e is often so written as to be precisely like the ch. Then again, ta, and dha, only differ by the size of the lower loop. a, and da, are also closely similar; & ga, & kha, & châ, & râ, as also & e, and & a) puzzle the reader by the slightness of their difference, which if troublesome in print, where all the proportions of loops and strokes are rigidly preserved, is still more so in manuscript, where no attention at all is paid to the subject; and a knowledge of the language is the only guide in determining which letter is meant.

The Oriya characters in their present form present a marked similarity to those employed by the neighbouring non-Aryan nations whose alphabets have been borrowed from the Sanskrit. I mean the Telugn, Malayalam, Tamil, Singhalese, and Burmese. The chief peculiarity in the type of all these alphabets consists in their spreading out the ancient Indian letters into elaborate mazes of circular and curling form. This roundness is the prevailing mark of them all, though it is more remarkable in the Burmese than in any other; Burmese letters being entirely globular, and having hardly such a thing as a straight line among them. The straight angular letters which Asoka used are exhibited in the inscriptions found at Seoni on the Narmadâ (Nerbudda) in more than their pristine angularity, but adorned with a great number of additional lines and squares, which renders them almost as complicated as the Glagolitic alphabet of St. Cyril. The next modification of these letters occurs in the inscriptions found at Amrâvati on the Kistna, where the square boxes have been in many instances rounded off into semicircles. From this alphabet follow all the Dravidian and the Singhalese; probably also we may refer to this type the Burmese and even the Siamese, and the beautiful character in use in Java, which is evidently of Aryan origin, as its system of Pasangans, or separate forms for the second letter of a nexus,
and Sandangana, or vowel and diacritical signs, sufficiently testify.

Whether the Oriyas received the art of writing from Bengal or from Central India is a question still under dispute. The probabilities are strongly in favour of the latter supposition. In the flourishing times of the monarchy of Orissa, the intercourse with Central and Southern India was frequent and intimate. Raja Chûranga (or Sâranga) Deva, the founder of the Gangavansa dynasty, which ruled from A.D. 1131 to 1451, came from the south, and was said in native legends to be a son of the lesser Ganges (Godâvari). The princes of that line extended their conquests far to the south, and their dominions at one time stretched from the Ganges to the Godavari. Kapilendra Deva (1451–1478) resided chiefly at Rajmahendri, and died at Condapilly on the banks of the Kistna, having been employed during the greater part of his reign in fighting over various parts of the Telinga and Karnata countries. This monarch also came into collision with the Musulmans of Bahar. In fact, the early annals of Orissa are full of allusions to the central and southern Indian states, while Bengal is scarcely ever mentioned. Indeed, the Oriya monarchs at one time did not bear away beyond the Kânsââns, a river to the south of Baleshwar (Balasore), and there was thus between them and Bengal a wide tract of hill and forest, inhabited in all probability, as much of it is still, by non-Aryan tribes. The changes and developments which have brought Oriya into such close connexion with Bengali appear in very many instances to be of comparatively recent origin.

Assuming then that the Oriyas got their alphabet from Central, rather than from Northern, India, the reason of its being so round and curling has now to be explained. In all probability in the case of Oriya, as in that of the other languages which I have mentioned above, the cause is to be found in the material used for writing. The Oriyas and all the popu-
lations living on the coasts of the Bay of Bengal write on the Tālpatra, or leaf of the fan-palm or Palmyra (Borassus flabelliformis). The leaf of this tree is like a gigantic fan, and is split up into strips about two inches in breadth, or less, according to the size of the leaf; each strip being one naturally formed fold of the fan. On these leaves, when dried and cut into proper lengths, they write with an iron style or Lekhāni, having a very fine sharp point. Now, it is evident that if the long, straight horizontal Mātrā, or top line of the Devanagari alphabet, were used, the style in forming it would split the leaf, because, being a palm, it has a longitudinal fibre going from the stalk to the point. Moreover, the style being held in the right hand and the leaf in the left, the thumb of the left hand serves as a fulcrum on which the style moves, and thus naturally imparts a circular form to the letters. Perhaps the above explanation may not seem very convincing to European readers; but no one who has ever seen an Oriya working away with both hands at his Lekhāni and Tālpatra will question the accuracy of the assertion: and though the fact may not be of much value, I may add, that the native explanation of the origin of their alphabet agrees with this. With the greater extension of the use of paper, which has taken place since the establishment of our rule, especially in our courts of justice, the round top line is gradually dying out, and many contractions have been introduced, which it is to be hoped may be by degrees imported into the printed character.

The Oriya letters have departed, however, less from the early type than those of their neighbours, the Telengas. The vowels have much of the Kutila type, though the practice of carrying the style on from the bottom of the letter to the Mātrā has caused a peculiar lateral curve which disguises the identity of
the letter. Let, however, र be compared with र (i.e., र without the मःत्रा), ड with ड (ड), and the connexion will be at once visible.

Like the Bengalis, the Oriyas have adopted the custom of writing the top stroke of medial ऐ and ऐ before the letter to which it is attached, instead of above it, as Bengali के, ते को. This practice is, however, found in some Devanagari MSS., and is sometimes used in Gujarati. Being also a high-polite Sanskrit sort of language in the eyes of its expounders, Oriya has been duly provided with symbols for the grammarian’s letters च, छ, अ, and अ, and has also some very formidable snake-like coils to express the various forms of nexus. Some of these are as clumsy as Sinhalese, and take as long to execute as it would to write a sentence in English. Moreover, the forms used in conjunctions of consonants are not the same as those used when alone. Thus, the character which when single is read ऐ, when subscribed to ए or ए is read ऐ (ऐ); that which alone is थ, when subscribed to ए is ए.

Without going through the whole alphabet letter by letter, it may suffice to say in general terms that the Oriya characters show signs of having arisen from a form of the Kutila character prevalent in Central India, and that its love of circular forms, common to it and the neighbouring nations, is due to the habit of writing on the Talpatra, Talipot, or palm-leaf, with an iron style.

§ 20. Next to the alphabets comes the question of the pronunciation of the various sounds. The vowels, with one or two exceptions, appear to retain the same sound as in Sanskrit. I say appear, because although the Devanagari character affords

1 Those letters being pronounced रा, रा, ड, थ, respectively, the common people often use them for र, र, छ, अ, and अ; thus, we see during “I gave,” written रा, properly रा, and रा, “form,” रा, properly रा.
a very accurate vehicle for the representation of sounds, yet we cannot be certain what was the exact pronunciation of the Aryan letters; and in one or two instances, both in consonants and vowels, there is reason to believe that the ancient pronunciation differed considerably from that of to-day.

The short с, which in Sanskrit is held to be inherent in every consonant not otherwise vocalized, is pronounced by the western languages and Hindi—in fact, by all except Bengali and Oriya—as a short dull sound like the final с in Asia, or that in woman. Bengali, however, is peculiar in respect of this sound, which is only exceptionally used. That is to say, the character с and its equivalent, the unwritten inherent vowel, is pronounced с only in certain words, such as the word সাধन “crowd,” when used to form the plural of naun, sounded gan, not gon; at least, so says Sharacharana Sirkar, in his excellent Grammar, and no doubt he is correct to the rule, but in practice one hears gon constantly. In some cases the с is pronounced as a short с, just as in English not, thus তাত্‌তস, not tāt; তির্ক্ষার tirōk (not tirū) kār. Puriats, however, affect to pronounce it as in Sanskrit, and would read চন্দন anāt, not onāt.

The same rule holds good in Oriya, but not to the same extent as in Bengali. In the former language there is much less fondness for open broad sounds than in the latter. In short syllables, especially when unaccented, the с is sounded с, thus, বৃষ্টিব কু (not কু) dāch. Also in syllables where the с is long by position, as মণ্ডল mandal, চক্রা chakā. Before র or ়, however, it is sounded с, but this с is not such a deep full sound as the Bengali; thus, চর is boro, but often it sounds বৃষ্টিব, the с here being an attempt to represent a sound halfway between the short с in woman and the deep short с of the Bengali.

The sound of с is omitted from consonants in many instances where we should expect, on the analogy of the Sanskrit, to
find it. Strictly speaking, the absence of this sound should be indicated by the virāma or by a combination of two consonants. In the more Sanskritizing of the languages, such as Bengali, Marathi, and Oriya, the latter method of expression is frequently resorted to; but in the other languages it is practically neglected. It becomes, then, necessary to lay down rules when to pronounce this sound and when to omit it.

In Hindi it is never pronounced at the end of words, as बाज, जान, bāj, jān, not bāj, jān. This rule is absolute and unvarying, and is not violated even when a word ends in a nexus, the difficulty of pronunciation being in such cases solved by inserting a short a between the two consonants; thus रतन, शाबद would be pronounced ratan, shabad, and be generally so written also, as रतन, शब्द.

The root or crude form of a verb being by virtue of the above rule monosyllabic, inflectional additions to it do not render the final a audible; thus, मानता “he obeys,” is मानता, not मानत; सुनकर “having heard,” sunkar, not sunakar. So also in compounds; thus, मंगलवार, mungalvār, “Tuesday,” not mangalawār.

All the other languages cut off the final a in the case of words in which a single consonant precedes it; but in the case of a nexus, or combination of consonants preceding, the final a is sounded in Bengali, Marathi, Oriya, and occasionally in Gujarati. Marathi, however, does not sound it if the first member of the nexus is व. All three languages agree in giving the a a short sound after व, but this sound is very slightly heard. Marathi does the same after व; thus, भीव, भीव, प्री, not भीव; प्री प्री. Priya.

Besides this, in the majority of Tatsamas Bengalis would consider it proper, in reading at least, to sound the final a, though colloquially it would not generally be heard. Bengali, however, in certain of its inflections requires the final a to be heard; as in the second person singular of the present in-
dicative and imperative, कर् "thou dost," करा, or करो; चल "go thou," चलो; also in the third person singular of the preterite करिष्ट करिलो, "he did," and the conditional करिल करिलो, "if he did." In this latter case the short vowel is a corruption of an older e arising from ai.

In Bengali adjectives the final a is sounded, as बडं बड़ा, कोट्ट chotto, where the final a arises from the Sanskrit visarga, through Pr. o, and the word should consequently be written बड़ा, as in Gujarati. In this, as in some other cases, the Bengali having imparted an o sound to the a, makes it do duty for a long o ची. Thus, it writes चन, and pronounces bolo, for वोलो bolō, "speak"; and गम, pronounced gem, for गोभम. Skr. गोभम "wheat." In this respect Oriya follows the example of Bengali.

Hindi writers often, from carelessness or ignorance, write that which is a combination of consonants in Sanskrit as so many separate letters, thus, दर्शन for दर्शन, युक्तिः for युक्तिः; this is merely an irregularity of spelling, and does not affect the pronunciation, which remains the same as in Sanskrit, दर्शन, जुड़ति.

On a review of the whole matter, the position of the short final a is exactly parallel to that of its linguistic counterpart the final short e of early English, which we have in the modern language everywhere discarded in pronunciation, and in most cases in writing also. We have retained it as an orthographical sign in words such as gate, line, hole, where its presence indicates a shade of pronunciation.

The inherent a in the middle of a word is retained in the modern languages wherever its omission is absolutely impossible, but is omitted wherever it can be slurred over or got rid of.

§ 21. There is little to remark on the pronunciation of any of the other vowels except च. Hindi generally, and Panjabi always, ignore this grammarian's figment, and write it plain and
simple क which saves a great deal of trouble and confusion. Marathi and Oriya, in their desire to be very Sanskritic, introduce this letter; but the vulgar have turned it into र in pronunciation, and in Oriya the character for this sound is used for र and र। In Gujarati also र is substituted for र। Inasmuch as e in Bengali has become o, so at आ becomes ौ, and ौौ becomes ौौ। It is almost impossible to convey by any written symbols the exact sounds of these vowels to the ear. Oriya has the same peculiarity. The two sounds are fairly represented by the accent of an Irishman in speaking of his native country as "Ould Oireland;" that is to say, there is a graveyant or half-drawing tone in their pronunciation. This, however, is not considered correct by purists, who prefer to sound these vowels as in Sanskrit, and would say ौौ, वी ह, not, with the vulgar, ौौह। In some instances in Bengali the vowel ऐ e has a short harsh sound, like that of English a in 'hat.' Thus ऐ “one,” sounds yack or ack.

§ 22. In the pronunciation of the consonants there are a few peculiarities of a local and dialectic sort, which require notice. The palatal letters, as might be expected, display many diversities of pronunciation. It is strange that these sounds so simple to an English mouth, the plain ch च and t त, should apparently present such difficulties to other nations. In Europe the Germans, having used their j for ज, and their ch for च, or for a sound not representable by English letters, have had to fall back upon all sorts of combinations to represent ज। They write it dech and च tech; and of late they have got to k for ी and \_ for च, a characteristically logical, but I fear I must add also a characteristically unintelligible, method of expression. The French have turned their j into a half-
- or j, and to get ज they have to write dj; so also, having turned ch into च- च, they are obliged to write tch for च। The Italians,
to express the palatal media, have prefixed a $g$ to their $i$, and pronounce $g\dot{i} = \mathfrak{g}$; for $\mathfrak{g}$ their $c$ does duty before $e$ and $i$, but before $a$, $o$, $u$, they are obliged to intercalate an $i$, and $\mathfrak{c}d\breve{r}$ would be $cia\breve{r}d\breve{r}a$. The Spaniards have the true $c\dot{h} = \mathfrak{c}$, but their $j$ is $\mathfrak{c}$; so for $\mathfrak{c}$ they must write either $y$, which is a fainter sound than the true $j$, or some other combination of letters.

Similar in degree, though different in the turn which it has taken, is the confusion as to $j$ $\mathfrak{c}$ in some of the Indian languages. The Hindi, truest and most central type of all, holds fast the correct pronunciation; but Panjabi rather finds it a stumbling-block. When a Panjabi says $\mathfrak{m}a\breve{r}$ majh, "a buffalocow," the sound he produces is something very odd. It might be represented by $me\breve{r}h$, a very palatal $y$ aspirated; perhaps in German by $m\ddot{o}\breve{c}h$, or rather, if it may be so expressed, with a medial sound corresponding to the tennis $\ddot{e}h$.¹ The Bengalis, again, are fond of inverting $j$ and $z$, especially in words borrowed from the Arabic: thus, they say $Ez\breve{a}r\breve{a}$ for $\mathfrak{z}j\breve{a}r\breve{a}$, but $\mathfrak{h}d\breve{r}j$ for $\mathfrak{h}d\breve{r}j\breve{a}r$.² This is the more strange as there is no $\breve{z}$ in the Sanskrit alphabet; and, consequently, our modern high-pressure improvers (English this time, not Pandits), who are for ever fidgetting and teasing at the unhappy Indian vernaculars, and trying in an irritating, though happily ineffectual, way to twist and bend them according to their own pre-conceived ideas, have adopted the bright device of using a $\mathfrak{sc}$ with a dot to it for $\breve{z}$. All the dots in the world will never made a Hindi peasant say $\breve{z}$; our friends may write $\mathfrak{h}d\breve{z}j\mathfrak{r}$, $\mathfrak{g}d\breve{z}l\mathfrak{m}$, and will probably continue to say so long after our

¹ This remark is more exactly applicable to the western Panjabis. I find it in my note-book made at Gujrat and Jhelum in 1859.

² They do so also in words of Sanskrit origin in many instances. I believe, however, this is more of a personal and individual characteristic than a law of the language, as I have heard some persons pronounce it more as $\breve{z}$ than others.
dot-makers are forgotten. But they have never, oddly enough, thought of dotting the Bengali ब, ब, which is really often pronounced a without the help of dots.

Marathi has two methods of pronouncing the palatals. In Tatsmas and modern Tadbhayas and before the palatal vowels ऊ, ऊ, ऊ, and ऊ, ऊ is ch, and ऊ j; but in early Tadbhayas, Desajas, and before the other vowels, ऊ sounds ts, and ऊ dz. This peculiarity is not shared by any of the cognate languages, while, on the other hand, the ts and dz sounds, so to speak the unassimilated palatals, are characteristic of the lower state of development of the non-Aryan, Turanian, or what-you-will class of languages. Tibetan on the one side, and Telugu among the Dravidians on the other, retain them. Marathi, from its juxtaposition to Telugu and other non-Aryan forms of speech, might naturally be expected to have undergone somewhat of their influence, and this pronunciation of the palatals is probably an instance in point.

By the expression "unassimilated palatals" I mean that, whereas in the Aryan palatals the dental and sibilant of which they are composed have become so united into one sound that the elements can no longer be separately recognised, in the Turanian class the elements are still distinct. The earlier languages of the Aryan and Semitic families knew no palatals. Even Hebrew has got no further than ג Tsade; Greek and Latin probably had not these sounds either. They are then of late origin, and though as regards the formations in which they occur they must be considered as sprung from the gutturals, yet they are so derived not directly, but through the often observed change from k into t; so that by adding a sibilant to the guttural we get from ब + ज into ब + झ; this change being facilitated by the fact that in Sanskrit at least the sibilant employed is a dental, and naturally, as will be shown in Chapter IV., draws over the guttural into its own organ, thus, बाच + झ (= बाज + झ) = बाच.
The cerebrals are pronounced very much like the English dentals. At the beginning of a word, or when forming part of a nexus, ष and स are sounded श and श्व respectively; but in other situations they take the sound of hard र and र्ह. This is not the case, however, in Panjabi, which, having invented a new character for the sounds of र and र्ह, retains the श and श्व sounds for ष and स in all cases. In Hindi, on the contrary, the र sound predominates, and is often written र, especially in the early poets, so slight is the difference between the sounds. The र sound also prevails in Bāngali and Oriya; thus, बर is pronounced बर or बोर in all three. गद्दी is in all three गद्दी, but in Panjabi गद्दी. Marathi also adopts the र sound, but pronounces it more harshly than in the above-mentioned languages, so as to approach more closely to the श sound. Sindhi has special eccentricities with regard to these letters. The श and र sounds of ष are both used on the same principles as in Hindi. The श sound and the letter ष itself are very much used in Sindhi, etymologically often replacing र. There is besides a sound expressed by this letter which has a very Dravidian look about it. It is a sort of compound of श and र; चन्द्र "the moon," is said to be pronounced chandr. The letter र has also the same sound of र mixed up with it; thus, पुत्र "a son," is to be pronounced putra. In these cases the Dravidian aspect vanishes, and we see merely a careless method of writing, which makes र and ष do duty, by custom, for र and ष respectively. As the European has been at work on the Sindhi character, it is a pity he did not write these words with र and ष instead of falling into the favourite maze of dots which always distinguishes artificial and exotic labours in linguistics.

The dentals and labials call for no remark; with regard to the former a detailed examination of their origin and pronunciation will be found in Chapter III.

§ 23. The semivowels ष and स have much in common. In
the western languages, Sindhi, Gujarati, and Marathi, थ is quite distinct from ध. This latter has a more liquid sound, and is often dropped at the beginning of words. Panjabi and Hindi turn the Sanskrit ध into ढ in most cases, and express it in writing by the ढ. Bengali and Oriya use the character ধ, but sound it ঢ in nearly all cases. Thus, the Sanskrit word দোজন would be pronounced in M., G., and S. যোজন. In P. and H. it would be written যোজন, and pronounced yojan. In O. and B. it would be written যোজন, or even যোজন, and pronounced yojan. So completely has থ acquired the sound of j in these last two languages that when থ is intended to retain the sound of y, as in Tatsamas, a dot is placed under it to distinguish it. In Oriya ordinary writers even go so far as to write with the থ words which have a ध in Sanskrit, as चन्द्र for चन्द्र.

Similarly with regard to ध, we find G., M., S., and in this case also P., keeping it quite distinct from ध. The former sounds ध or ढ, the latter ढ. Panjabi is rather uncertain on this head, writing the same word indifferently with either ध or ढ. Hindi writes every ध as ढ, and pronounces it so also. Bengali and Oriya have but one character for both sounds, and people of those nations are unable to pronounce ध or ढ. They might come under the same head as those Neapolitans of whom it was said, “Felices quibus vivere est bibere,” were it not that, instead of the generous juice of the vine, the Bengali drinks muddy ditch-water in which his neighbours have been washing themselves, their clothes, and their cattle.

1 The cases in Hindi in which ध is retained are chiefly in the terminations of Tatsamas used in the early poets, as वानोव वानीया, where the Skr. pronunciation is preserved; and in the pronounal forms वह, वहे, वहाँ, the first and last of which are often written and pronounced रह, रहा.

2 Hindi retains the Sanskrit pronunciation of ढ in old Tatsamas and in बह, बहे, बहा, and such words. Here again we often hear and see उह, उहा, etc.
In those cases where  is the last member of a nexus, it is not heard, but has the effect merely of doubling the preceding letter: thus दार is to the B. and U. द्वार,† pronounced with a dwelling on the  and a slight contraction of the lower lip, as though the speaker would, but could not, effect the contact required to produce the full s sound. Thus also वष is asha'ta, बालवर is Balavar.

These peculiarities may be thrown into a little table, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masnaiti, Bengali</th>
<th>Panjabi</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>थ</td>
<td>थ</td>
<td>थ and ष</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध</td>
<td>ध or धे</td>
<td>ध and ष</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब</td>
<td>ब</td>
<td>ब and ब</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भ</td>
<td>भ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to  Bengali and Oriya again get into difficulties, often confounding this letter with न. Thus, at times they will write फ and say न, and at others they will do the reverse. Examples of this confusion will be found in Chapter III.  exhibits no peculiarities of utterance.

§ 24. The sibilants appear to have altered very much from Sanskrit. Panjabi gives itself no trouble on the subject, but abandons थ and ध, and retains merely  for all sibilation. This language, however, is averse from this class of sounds, generally altering them into ।

Sindhi equally rejects थ, and ध is used in the mercantile scrawls as an equivalent to ध. In other writing it is, where it occurs, pronounced as  , though it is used in transliterating the Arabic ।. In Bengali and Eastern Hindi the same phenomena will be noticed.

† This little o at the top is meant to express a sort of half-buried fleeting labial tone, like a labial झर, if such a thing could be.
Hindi varies in its treatment of the three sibilants. In the eastern part of its area, in Tirhut, Purnehor, and Bhagalpur व is the character used in writing by the Kayaths and mercantile classes, and in the extensively employed system of revenue accounts kept by the Patwars and other local revenue and rent-collecting agents. It is written generally as in Gujarati, without the Mātrā or top line. The letter व is, however, in those districts looked upon as equivalent to, and pronounced in the same way as, श. In fact, the people seem unable to pronounce the sound of श. In Arabic words, which occur frequently, as the population is mostly Musulman, the श is pronounced श. Thus, we hear सेक्क for shekh, सामिल for shāmil, and the like. Towards the centre and west of Hindustan, however, this inability disappears, though in Sanskrit words of all classes there is very little क to mark the difference between the two letters. व has long been appropriated to express श both in Hindi and Panjabi.

Bengali reverses the whole series. It has in use all three sibilants, but pronounces them all as श. Thus, शकल is to a Bengali, not sakal, but shokol; शशि shashito. To compensate, however, it treats the Arabic श as श, saying, as noticed above, सेक्क, सामिल, for shekh, shāmil. Arabic स and श become श; साभ in sahib. Purists pronounce श and श as श, when they form the first member of a nexus in which र, ख, or न form the second, as ग्रहन srobon, गुरान srigā; but this refinement is overlooked by the vulgar.

Oriya retains in its alphabet the three characters, but except in the so-called high style, व and श are not much used. Both in Orissa and Bengal the inquirer is met with this difficulty that the learned classes persist in using Sanskrit words in their writings, without regard to the usage of the mass of their

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1 Hindustan must throughout these pages be understood in its literal and restricted sense of the area from Delhi to Rajmahal, within which the Hindi and its dialects are the mother-speech.
countrymen; and even when using words which are commonly current among the people, our Pandits will alter the spelling back again to what it was in classical Sanskrit, thus ignoring the changes made by time; and baffling the endeavours of those who wish to seize the language as it is, by presenting it to them in the guise which the Pandits think it ought to wear. In no part of India is it more necessary to go amongst the people, and try to find out from their own lips what they do really speak. Often, however, when a witness in court has used some strange and instructive Tadbhava, and I have asked him to repeat the word, that I may secure it for my collection, some Munshi or Pandit standing by will at once substitute the Tatsama form, and rebuke the peasant for using a vulgar word; so that all hope of catching the word is gone for that occasion.

Gujarati uses व in preference to व, though there is some confusion in the employment of these two letters, and in many parts of the province the peasantry, as in the Panjab, evince a tendency to reject the sibilants and substitute for them व.

Marathi employs व and व indifferently, to such an extent that even the learned and careful compilers of Molesworth's Dictionary are often puzzled to decide which to use. Especially is this the case in early Tadbhavas and Desajas, where Molesworth and his Brahmans are often widely wrong in their ideas of derivation. In Marathi व is not quite व, nor yet quite व; it inclines more to the former than to the latter, inasmuch as the palatal nature of व renders it necessary to pronounce it with somewhat of that clinging of the tongue to the roof of the mouth which is characteristic of the letters of that organ. Of the two principal dialects into which Marathi is divided, the Dakhani, or that spoken on the high table-lands above the Ghats, inclines more to the use of the clear, sharp, dental व, while the Konkani, spoken in the low line of country fringing the coast, prefers the softer and more clinging व. So also Bengali, the language of a low-lying country on the sea-shore,
makes  sound as  . It is an interesting question, whether the influence of climate has been at work, but one which cannot be gone into here.

§ 25. The nasals of the five organs are even in Sanskrit somewhat affected and over-refined letters. ह and  have characters to express them in all the languages except Gujarati, which, not possessing any of the “pruritus Sanskritizandi,” so to speak, does not use characters for sounds which it does not require. Nor does Hindi. In all the other languages, except Sindhi, these characters are only used in Tatsuma words as the first element of a nexus. Sindhi, however, has two sounds, ng and ny, for which these two characters are used. They stand alone as pure guttural and palatal nasals respectively. Thus, in सिन्ग या, “a horn”; अंग-अम्, “a court-yard”; अंग अम्, “a coal”; we have derivatives from Skr. पुनः, चालन, and चहं. In Hindi and most of the other languages these words are written with the anusvāra विं, विंग, and विंगार. The sound of the Sindhi ह is that of ng in sing, ring, which is one homogeneous sound, and as such differs from the Hindi न with anusvāra, which is the ng in finger, linger. In dividing the syllables of these words we should write sing-ng, but fing-ger. The latter is really fing-ger.

Similarly ह in Sindhi is ny, the Spanish n in Señor, extraño, which are pronounced “Senor, extravag,” and in which the n is, like the Sindhi ह, a compendium scripturae, or simpler way of writing as or m, as in the Latin senior, extraneus. It is, however, not unfrequently for double n, as in año = annus; or for mn, as in dano = damnum, duña = domina (low Latin for domina); or for ng, as in uña = unguis; or gn, as in signa = signum. Thus, कन्हा kany-ā, “maiden,” is Skr. कन्हा; धान्य या, “grain,” Skr. धान्य; वांग वांग् अन्य, “to go,” Skr. वांग. It is therefore, less strictly palatal than ह is guttural,
as it embodies only the semivowel of its organ, whereas the ɛ embodies the media.

ɛ is in use in all the languages, and its sound is clearly distinguishable from that of ɯ in most provinces. In many parts of Hindustan and the Panjab, however, I do not think any ordinary observer would notice the difference, particularly in the countries bordering on the Ganges, where contact with Musulmans has softened down, with good effects, many of the asperities of the old Aryan utterance. So much so is this the case, that in ordinary Hindi ɯ does duty for all nasals. In Sindhi ɛ has a deeper sound than in the other languages, and embodies the semivowel of its organ, producing a sound like ur, or the Pashto ɹ, as stated by Dr. Triumpp. It in this way presents an analogy to ɛ, which also embodies the semivowel of its organ.

ɯ and ɛ call for no remarks, being pronounced as in other languages a and er.

§ 26. In the pronunciation of the compound consonants the various languages exhibit greater power than Sanskrit, in so far as, with a few exceptions, the modern Indians are able to pronounce every imaginable combination; while Sanskrit requires that the former of two consonants shall be modified so as to bring it into harmony with the latter. Whether this rule arises from inability to pronounce a nexus of dissimilar consonants, or was deliberately introduced with a view to produce euphony, need not here be discussed,—the result is the same in either case. But Hindi, by rejecting the final short a of all its words, obtains an immense variety of words ending with consonants; and as these words, whether as nouns or verbal bases, have to be followed by inflectional particles which begin with consonants, every conceivable combination of consonants occurs. Thus, we have a media followed by a tenuis in समता, which is
not lagátā, but lagā; बीजक bījkā; an aspirate media preceding a tenuis in बृजक bṛjkar; and many others which would be inadmissible in Sanskrit. Such a process as altering the final consonant of a verbal base to bring it into harmony with the initial consonant of a termination, is quite unknown to the modern languages.

In those combinations which I have in Chapter IV. called the mixed and weak nexus, Bengali betrays some weaknesses. One of these, in which the semivowel व follows a consonant, has been noticed in § 23. Another is seen in compounds whose last letter is न. In this case the न is not distinctly heard, but gives a subdued nasalization to the preceding consonant, which is pronounced as though double. Thus, धरण is in Hindi ṭhāran, but in Bengali it sounds ṭhōron; भजन is not Lākshmi, but Lākhhī; पद्म is not padma, but podda. It is almost impossible to express the exact sound of this nexus—it must be heard to be understood. In the words कृष्ण, विष्णु, the Bengalis and Oriyas in speaking substitute ट for त, and the former add an anuswāra after the final vowel, so that these words sound in Bengali कृष्ण Kṛṣṭan, बिष्णु Bāṣṭan, and in Oriya Kṛṣṭha and Bāṣṭa. Thus, too, the Sanskrit वैष्णव a “Vaishnavas,” a sect very common in Orissa, is corrupted into Boishnōb, Boishtnōb, Bāstah, and even Bāstām.

§ 27. Sindhi has four sounds peculiar to itself, or, to speak more accurately, it has four characters, ग, ज, ढ, च, which are not used in any other language. Dr. Trumpp is of opinion that these four characters represent four simple sounds (einfache Laute); it is, however, evident from his own remarks that they are only methods of expressing ग, ज, ढ, and च respectively, and the analogy of the Bengali pronunciation in the examples of nexus given above helps us to understand how these letters have come to be written with a single character, namely by the stress laid on the first in the effort to give its full value and
strength to both. There, however, exist many instances in Sindhi in which ब or ब do not represent a double letter.

Thus, we have Sindhi बग्ज, बग्ज for Shr. बस्त world.

and many others. It is only fair, however, to explain that Sindhi is one of the languages which I only knew from books, and have only once heard spoken, and that I take the above words from Stack, while the theory of the origin of these sounds comes from Trumpp. It is possible that the latter author would not write the above words with the dotted letter, as he generally condemns Stack for inaccuracy. The remark therefore must be taken with this modification. Trumpp's description of the sounds certainly confirms the view he takes. He writes, "You shut your mouth and express a dull sound, then open the mouth, and allow the (b, d, or b) to sound forth."

This is just the way in which the Italians pronounce "M. poggo, maremma, with a dwelling on the first of the two letters. ebb-bi, posj-jo, maremm-ma." He adds in another place, "These four sounds, which are originally doubled, have now, however, established themselves more or less as single independent sounds. They are found consequently in many words in which..."
etymologically its reduplication can be proved to exist, but the hardness of the pronunciation can be explained by adjacent circumstances, e.g. गाडु "a village," Fr. नादू, Sr. नातू. This is the same remark as has been illustrated above, though, in the absence of properly spell dictionaries, it is difficult for one not resident in the country to determine in which cases the dotted letter should be used.

It is often found to be the case, especially in unwritten languages, in which consequently there is no universally received standard of spelling, that when any peculiar pronunciation has established itself in the popular speech, it is extended through carelessness to cases where it ought not properly to occur, and it is readily conceivable that this may have taken place in a wild and uncultivated language like Sindhi. At the same time it is to be hoped that those who take this language in hand will not fall into the common error of all Indian linguists, of representing the words, not as they are, but as they think they ought to be, remembering that it is the popular practice and custom, "usu," as Hornes says,

"Quas possis arbitror, et in me, et in manu legis," and not the Pandits or would-be reformers.

28. Some remarks on the literature of these languages may now be offered, though to give a full and complete review of this subject would occupy many volumes, and would be beyond the limits of my task. All that will here be done is to give such brief general statements as may afford to the reader a tolerably accurate idea of how the various modern languages stand in this respect. Although the majority of the written works in the Indian vernaculars are to the European mind very tame and uninteresting, yet it is by no means accurate to say that there is nothing worth reading in them. Religion has
always been the chief incentive to writing in India, whether ancient or modern; and the vehicle chosen has been until quite recent times verse, and not prose. The earliest writings of the modern period, with one notable exception, are religious poems. This exception is the first of all in point of time, the Prithiraj Raso of Chand Bardai, in which the ancestry, birth, heroic deeds, and final overthrow of Prithiraj of the Chauhan tribe of Rajputs, the last Hindu King of Delhi, are recited in many thousand lines of doggerel verse by Chand Bardai, a native of Lahore, who was attached to that monarch’s court in the capacity of Bhât or bard, and who was an eye-witness of the historical scenes which he relates. But even in this professedly historical work the influence of tradition is too strong for the poet, and his opening canto, a very long one, is occupied by hymns to the gods, catalogues of the Purans, and legends taken from them; throughout his book the customary intervention of celestial beings occurs; on every joyful occasion the gods assembled in their cars shower down flowers; after every battle Shiva with his necklace of skulls dances frantically among the corpses, drinking the blood of the slain; birds and beasts talk; sacrifices produce magical effects; and penances are rewarried by the appearance of the god to the devotee, and by gifts of superhuman skill or power. So that here again religion, the old deeply rooted Hindu religion, asserts itself, and a legendary and miraculous element comes in side by side with accurate history and geography. The date of the composition of the poem is probably about A.D. 1200. Subsequent Hindi literature consists almost entirely of long, tiresome religious poems, together with some of a lighter type, translations or rather refacement of older poems, such as the Ramayan of Tulsi Dasa, none of which are particularly worth reading, except for the light they throw on the gradual progress of the language; and even this light is often obscured by the arbitrary changes and corruptions which the authors permit themselves to use to
satisfy the exigencies of their rhythm. The reiterated employment by them all of a certain set of stock words and phrases deprives their works of any appearance of individuality or originality, which, added to the extremely dull and uninteresting nature of the subject-matter of the poems themselves, makes them on the whole about the least attractive body of literature in the world. Still, there are, as I have said before, some exceptions; the seven hundred couplets of Bihari Lal contain many pretty, though fanciful, conceits, and are composed in extremely correct and elegant verse; and here and there among the religious poems may be found meditations and prayers of some merit. The Ramayana of Tulsí Dás is probably only admired because the masses are unable to read the original of Valmiki. In modern times a perfect cloud of writers has arisen, amongst whom, however, it is impossible to single out any one deserving of special mention. The introduction of the Persian character, in supersession of the chumay Nagari, has rendered the mechanical process of writing much easier and more rapid, while many good lithographic presses in all parts of the country pour forth books of all descriptions, the majority of them undoubtedly pernicious trash, but some here and there of a more wholesome tone, which, though probably not destined to live, may pave the way for productions of a higher style.¹

Bengal, however, has now far distanced all her sister provinces in literary activity. The rise of modern Bengali literature is due to the great reformer Chaitanya in the fifteenth century. The litanies or Kirtans which, though they had existed before his time, he rendered popular, may still be collected, and I believe some Bengali gentlemen have made collections of them, with a view to publication. One, attributed to Vidyāpati,

¹ Those who wish to pursue this subject further should read M. Guarin de Taeys’s Histoire du littérature Hindoustanee, in which an immense amount of information is collected. The learned author is an ardent admirer of Hindi literature.
the most celebrated, and probably the first in point of time, of
the old Bengali poets, runs as follows:

जब सबधि हम हप अहार न नाचन नातिरित भेज
सोह सवप्रद बेच अबाज गुलामु व्यालि पचे परश न नेल
कत मद्व वां हरे यासर नातिरित बोसी नाह वेकर नानेल
लास नाय गुल हिये हिये राखनु तबु हिया जजन न नेल
यत यत रसक जन रसे अलमान अलमाव जाक नादेह
विसारित कहे प्राण जुड़ते जानी नाम मिलज एक।

"Since my birth I have gazed on (his) form, (yet) my eyes have not
been satiated,
Friend! that sweet voice I have heard with my ears, (their) touch has
not left the passage of hearing.
What sweet nights in love have I spent, and knew not what happened.
For millions of ages I have kept heart to heart, still my heart has not
cooled.
Many, many lovers pursue (their) love, the true lover no one sees;
Vidyāpati saith, to cool the soul in a lakh not one can be found." 1

Here तिरिति = दूर ; मोहायरु a causal from गम ; वेकर is
merely a Bengali way of writing म (see Chapter III., § 58).
The language of this poem closely resembles that spoken at
the present time in Tirhut. The pretorites भेज, नेल, and वेकर
are still in use there, though the first and last are now obsolete
in Bengal proper. Such forms as अहार नातिरित बोसी
are still heard in conversation, though now banished from
books.

The language of these poems differs very little from early
Hindi, as will be seen from comparing it with the extract from
Chand given in § 5 (note). Kabi Kankan, who lived about
1670, and the author of the Chaitanya Charanāmrita, are also
celebrated early Bengali writers. The Bengali poets Kasidās

1 For this hitherto unpublished poem I have to thank my friend Babu Jagdajjuna
Rai, who has also procured for me others of the same kind. Vidyāpati's date is fixed
as early as A.D. 1220; but I am disposed to doubt this.
and Kritiñaka wrote modern versions of the Mahabharat and Ramayan. Raja Krishna Chandra of Nadiya collected round him a small circle of poets, whose works are still very much admired, amongst whom Bhārat Chandra Rai holds the foremost place, though it is stated that his popularity is on the wane, in consequence of the rise of a sounder and more wholesome literature. A species of Fescennine verse called Kabī (probably for Kabīt) was also highly popular in the last generation; these verses were recited by two companies of performers, who lavished the most pungent abuse and satire on each other, to the great delight of their audience. Following upon the poets of this school comes Iswar Chandra Gupta, a sort of Indian Rabelais, who enjoyed considerable reputation fifty years or even less ago. But Bengal has advanced so fast during the last generation that all these old-world authors are already left far behind in the dimness of a premature antiquity. And it is well that they should be. Bengali literature was not in their hands progressing in any definite or tangible direction, unless it were in that of filth and folly. Modern Bengali writers, all of whom are of the present age, may be divided into two classes, the Sanskritists and the Anglicists. The former are chiefly responsible for the solemn pompous style, overloaded with artificial Tatsamas, which they, and they alone, are able to understand, and which make the literature which they produce more like bad Sanskrit than good Bengali. The frigid conceits, the traditional epithets, the time-honoured phraseology, recur over and over again ad nauseam, and the threadbare legends of the Hindu creed are worked up into fresh forms with a "most damnable iteration." Opposed to these is a school of young writers, who pour forth novels, plays, and poems in considerable abundance, and of very unequal merit. Babu Piāri Chand Mittra, who writes under the nom de plume of Tekchand Thākur, has produced the best novel in the language, the Allāter gharer Dulā, or "The Spoilt Child of the House
of Allāh." He has had many imitators, and certainly stands high as a novelist; his story might fairly claim to be ranked with some of the best comic novels in our own language for wit, spirit, and clever touches of nature. Michael Madhusūdan Datt, a Christianized Hindu, has also written a great many works, some of them very good. And "Hutam," as he calls himself, or Kāli Prasanna Singh, must be mentioned as a vigorous and clever, though occasionally coarse, painter of the manners of his countrymen. There are many more, too many perhaps for a country which has so recently emerged from semi-barbarism; but civilization, or a curious imitation of it, is a plant of fast growth in India, and all we can do is to hope that much that is worthless may die out, while what remains may be strengthened and pruned. That the Bengalis possess the power as well as the will to establish a national literature of a very sound and good character, cannot be denied, and it is to be hoped that the ponderous high-flown Sanskrit style will be laughed out of the field by Tekhānd Thākur and his light-armed troops, so that Bengalis may write as they talk, and improve their language, not by wholesale importations from the dead Sanskrit, but by adopting and adhering to one standard universal system of spelling, and by selecting from the copious stores of their local dialects such vigorous and expressive words as may best serve to express their thoughts. If the style of any one writer were taken as a model by the rest, a standard would soon be set up, and Bengali would become a literary language.

The immense activity of the Calcutta press should also be possible, a little slackened. It is impossible that more than one-tenth of the heaps of books which daily appear should be really worth the paper they are printed on. Less works and better ones, more care and thought, and less of the froth of empty heads, are wanted to produce a solid and enduring literature.1

1 For the majority of the facts contained in this paragraph on Bengali I must
Oriya literature begins with Upendra Bhanji, who was a brother of the Raja of Ganjam, a petty hill-state in the south of Orissa, which even to the present day is celebrated as the home of the purest form of the language. This voluminous poet composed a great number of religious works, many of which are still highly esteemed. His date is not exactly known, but he is supposed to have lived about three hundred years ago. I have a list of thirty of his productions, two of which are rhyming dictionaries, the Sabdamala and Gilhikama, the rest are episodes from the ancient Pauranic legends, erotic poems, and panegyrics on various gods. They are stated to be generally disfigured by gross indecency and childish quiblings about words, endless repetitions, and all sorts of far-fetched rhetorical pazzles. Dinkrishno Dās, a poet of the same age, is the author of the Rasakalloja, the most celebrated poem in the language; the versification of which is in chief merit, being fluent and graceful; the subject-matter, however, is obscene, and contains very little that is new or original. There are also numerous paraphrases of well-known Sanskrit works, such as the Bhagavadgīta, Ramayana, Pālama Purana, and Lachhmi Purana.

A few lines are given from Dinkrishno Dās's popular poem the Rasakalloja, as a specimen of his style:

उण्णा कपार जार सिह गाहिः
काक संतानकु देष्रट सिह
बाद इवारे से पान होम
कह संतानकु बेसह पारम
कहर उणा ब्रापकु बठा
किवरि होइब गाहिः चन्या।

Rasak. iv. 31.

acknowledge my obligations to the article on Bengali Literature in the Calcutta Review for April, 1871.
INTRODUCTION.

"He who takes no pleasure in the story of Krishna, beholds Fate face to face, and shall be smitten with the punishments of Fate, a fearful death he shall obtain. (Om) Krishna relates the story of Krishna, never shall it be otherwise."

In modern times a few prose works have been composed of considerable merit, but no originality, being either translations or adaptations from the English and Bengali. The Oriyas are beginning to wake up, but none of them have yet received sufficient cultivation to make them really good authors. Nor is there much demand for vernacular literature—the Oriya seldom reads, and not one man in a hundred can write his native language without falling into the grossest errors of spelling and grammar at every turn.

The Marathas have also a copious literature. Namdeva, the first poet, whose date is uncertain, but probably about 1290 A.D., drew his inspiration, as was the case with so many poets of his time, from the writings of Kabir and other reformers. Contemporaries with him were the celebrated Dnyanoba or Dnyanadwya (Gyanideb, we should call him in the other provinces), who wrote a religious poem called Dnyaneshwari. Then follows a long string of more or less obscure poets, among whom Sridhar (A.D. 1671) deserves notice on account of his voluminous Panamic paraphrases. Tukaram, the most celebrated Marathi author, was (A.D. 1609) a contemporary of the illustrious Sivaji. An admirably printed edition of Tukaram's poems has been produced at Bombay recently by two Pandits, Vahuna Paramarat Shastri and Shankar Pandurang. The poems are called Abhangas, or "unbroken"; probably from their being of indeterminate length, and strung together in a loose flowing metre. Tukaram was a half-crazed devotee, such as we see so commonly in India, who began life as a petty shopkeeper, but being

1 Literally, "the association of Yama," considered as Fate; kshaya in the second line is in the sense of association, or propinquity; in the fourth, in that of killing or death. This verse is almost identical with the modern spoken language, which has in the only urdu. 
Oriya literature begins with Upondro Bhanj, who was a brother of the Raja of Ganasar, a petty hill-state in the south of Orissa, which even to the present day is celebrated as the home of the purest form of the language. This voluminous poet composed a great number of religious works, many of which are still highly esteemed. His date is not exactly known, but he is supposed to have lived about three hundred years ago. I have a list of thirty of his productions, two of which are rhyming dictionaries, the Sabdani and Gitabda, the rest are episodes from the ancient Phurans, legends, erotic poems, and panegyrics on various gods. They are stated to be generally disfigured by gross indecency and childish quibblings about words, endless repetitions, and all sorts of far-fetched rhetorical puzzles. Dinkriahno Dasi, a poet of the same age, is the author of the Ramkallola, the most celebrated poem in the language; the versification of which is its chief merit, being fluent and graceful; the subject matter, however, is obscure, and contains very little that is new or original. There are also numerous paraphrases of well-known Sanskrit works, such as the Bhagavadgita, Ramayana, Padma Purana, and Lakhmini Purana.

A few lines are given from Dinkriahno Dasi's popular poem the Ramkallola, as a specimen of his style:

\[ \text{कणा चंदरी तार लेह नाहिं।} \\
\text{वाहु संघाततुं देशर सेहि।} \\
\text{काक दुष्परं ते चारा होरं।} \\
\text{कह संघाततुं सेहि प्राम।} \\
\text{कहर इवा कहाके कहं।} \\
\text{केचिद इदं नाहिं अन्यं!} \]

\[Rama., iv., 34.\]
INTRODUCTION.

"He who takes no pleasure in the story of Krishna, beholds Fate in hand; he shall be smitten with the punishments of Fate, a dreadful death he shall obtain, (Dvi)krishna relates the story of Krishna, never shall it be otherwise."

In modern times a few prose works have been composed of considerable merit, but no originality, being either translations or adaptations from the English and Bengali. The Oriyas are beginning to wake up, but none of them have yet received sufficient cultivation to make them really good authors. Nor is there much demand for vernacular literature—the Oriya seldom reads, and not one man in a hundred can write his native language without falling into the grossest errors of spelling and grammar at every turn.

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Lately, "the association of Yama," considered as Fate; and death, in the sense of association, or predilection, in the fourth, in that of killing or death. This verse is almost identical with the modern spoken language; later to date is the only archaism.
unsuccessful, devoted himself to the worship of the idol Vithoba or Vitthal, whose chief shrine is at Pandhar�pur. At the temple of this idol at Deoraha near Puna, Tukaram spent the greater part of his life improvising these endless Alhanas, which were collected by his disciples. He eventually started off on a pilgrimage, and as he never returned, having probably died on the road, his followers chose to believe he had ascended to heaven. His doctrine is a reiteration of the Vaishnavite creed, popularised in Bengal by Chaitanya a little before Tukaram's time; and the name of the idol Vithoba is a corruption of the vulgar pronunciation Baka or Bhat of eastern India. There is nothing very original or striking in Tukaram's poems, which are very much like the ordinary run of religious verses in other Indian dialects. The following may be quoted as a specimen of his simplest style:

उसका वरी गीता (हे नी पवित्र स जी) १५१

तुम्हारा पाक फलक नाम, सब मलिमी कामया (हे नी सभी फेला) १५२

अग्नि रखिये देवा (हे नी सीखने शरीरा) १५३

Shiva, umbrella, horse—these are of no value, why not, O Lord of the earth, that these entangle me in them? How can people, alone, die at these pitiful dates. Tula says, O god, listen to deliver me."

No perhaps, unfair for a foreigner to give a judgment on such works as these, which certainly enjoy immense popularity in their own country, being "household words" to men of all classes.

After Tukoba, as he is more familiarly called, the chief author in Marathi, of Morya's time (A.D. 1720), who is by some considered as superior to Tukoba, and whose poems are highly esteemed. The Marathi have also a famous Aryanotic literature, which perhaps ought better be called Babalian, without the wit, and with twice the amount of impurity.

चूड़िया, -- (Chore) ; it is repeated after each verse.
INTRODUCTION.

Of prose works this literature has but few and insignificant specimens. The chief are the Bakhars, or Chronicles of Kings, in which, as usual in India, so much that is legendary and impossible is mixed up with actual history as to detract greatly from their value to the student.

In modern times the English writers, which have fallen under their sway, a new spirit of learning and this movement will remain an exotic, fostered by the ruling princes, like roots into grow alone, and how far it will, as in Bengal, as the Marathas the soil and bear fruit. Up to the present date the style. Of have not produced any original works in the new course the manufacture of endless religious poems goes usual, but this is not progress. Prose works of a solid enduring nature seem as yet to have appeared only rarely and at long intervals. Newspapers, of course, there are, but the people seem to have been rather overdosed with translations and adaptations from English, executed by well-meaning but rather obtrusive officials and missionaries. It may be denied whether any, or at least more than a small fraction, of these works are really suited to the popular comprehension.

We look in vain for spontaneous productions of the native mind, for works which seize hold on the national taste in the way that the old religious poems did, for works which do not betray the guiding and correcting hand of the English schoolmaster on every page. Until we get such works as these there will be no national literature.

Gujarati literature begins with Narsingh Mehta, who lived in the fifteenth century; the exact date of his birth is not known, but he was alive in 1457, and is considered the best poet in the language. His poems are chiefly short, something like sonnets, and of course religious. Some sixty poets are mentioned, but of these only ten or twelve are esteemed, as Viahnn Daz, Sair
Introduction

Des, Sambhul Bhatt, and others. In modern times the Gujaratis, though rather a backward people as things go, have been stimulated into activity. There are a good many newspapers in the language, some of which, from the specimens I have seen, possess considerable merit, though others, again, are as bad as they can well be. Under English influence also, translations and original works have been produced, though it is stated that a shelf of moderately dimensioned volumes would accommodate all the published prose works, translations included, which have yet been written by Hindu Gujarati authors. Some societies are expected from among native literary efforts, but not much is to be valued much from them. The literature of a nation to be of any

value must be a vigorous spontaneous growth, not a hot-house

translators of goody-goody children's stories, or
tales of India, dialogues on agriculture, Robinson Crusoe,
and the like, though useful for schoolboys, do not form a
national literature; no Tezkhand Thakur appears yet to have
craved in Gujarati. To show how little the language has
changed since it was first put upon paper, I give a short piece
from Narasingh Mehta, the earliest poet, and an extract from
a modern Gujarati newspaper.

Narasingh's poem is as follows:—

पैठो रे पीठ पत राम चसी हींता पड़ती॥
प्रांमर वेण्टे मुखे राम जमाबे॥
पीठ पत तारे बारसे बीना बांग चढाये॥
लेख चांडी पीठ पत पाँच नीरा राम चढाये॥
पीठ पत तारे बारसे बीं की स्थोर चढाये॥
शाकरसे करी वरुससे चपराके पीरसाई॥
प्रांमर पीलीने पन पाँडरा कीट मेंढो बाझे॥
रसाई ना स्तामों मतो राम ताली यमलो।।

"Recite, O parrot, by leave of Ram, may Sita the virtuous teach thee,
Beside thee having built a cage, cause thee to mutter 'Ram' with thy mouth.
Parrot, for thee I weave green bamboos;
Of them I am making, parrot, a cage—I join jewels and diamonds.
Parrot, for thee what food shall I cook?
On pieces of sugar I shall sprinkle thee.
Thus of yellow wing, white foot, black neck,
Worship the lord of Nasai (Narsingh), trolling a pleasant song."

From the Gujarati Shañòpatra, for March, 1863:

आम नी गाडी
आम नी चचवा रैलवे नी गाडी चलवा लाम्याने पुरा पोहोचो ने वरस पण चया नली. एटला मार मनात लगात वधू वधू गडू बे के रूंगांड मा घचवा भागमा एक गाडी जो लाली बे. एटली चोरे मुदून मां ए गारीयो की देख मास पण केटली एक ज्ञात चलवा नाली बे. योहा वरस मा बारी कलकतारी जबो सुधरी, चचवा सुंबर सुधरी नाडी बंटे बारी आयण चण चार दिवसमा कलकते बार श्रवण.

"It is less than three quarters of a century since the Fire-carriage, or railway, began to run. In this interval its use has been so extended that these carriages now run in most parts of England. In this short time these carriages have begun to run in several parts of this country also. In a few years, when the trains run from Calcutta to this place or to Bombay, we shall be able to go to Calcutta in three or four days."

Of the other languages it cannot be said in strictness that they have any literature, if by that word we mean written works. In most Aryan countries in India there has existed from the earliest times a large body of unwritten poetry. These ballads or rhapsodies are still sung by the Bhattas and Chàrans, two classes corresponding somewhat to our European bards, and the antiquity of some of the ballads still current is admitted to be great. The poems of Chand, to which I so often refer, are nothing more than a collection of these ballads;

a collation probably made by the poet himself, when in his old age he bestowed upon the gallant master, whom he had so long served, and who had died in the flower of his manhood in that last sad battle before Delhi. Throughout all the country of the Rajputs, far down to the mouths of the Indus and the confines of Baluchistan, the Indian bard wandered singing, and a considerable quantity of their poems still lives in the mouths of the people, and has in these latter times been printed. This, as far as I know, is all that Sindhi can show of ancient literature. And the case is not far different in the Panjabs. In that province the language is still very closely connected with various forms of western Hindi. Though Nanak, the great religious reformer of the Panjabs and founder of the Sikh creed, is generally pointed to as the earliest author in the language, yet few writings of his are extant, and in the great collection called the Granth, made by Arjan Mal, one of his disciples, in the sixteenth century, there is nothing distinctly Panjabs. It is stated to be for the most part an anthology called from the writings of Hindi poets, such as Kabir, Namdev, and others, and consequently the language is pure old Hindi. It is to be observed that in all Western India there is a large number of ballads, stanzas of songs, and other unwritten poetry current, which if it could be collected would form a considerable body of curious ancient literature. One circumstance, however, detracts much from the value of collections of this sort, namely, that the genuine old language, with its archaic or provincial expressions, is seldom found except in the reciters of these poems habitually changed the words they recited, substituting for the ancient form which they no longer understood modern words of similar meaning, so that we are continually being disappointed in our hope of picking up transitional fifteenth century phases of language which undoubtedly did exist in these poems in their original state. Even in written works this has taken place to
some extent. I am informed by Babu Rajendralal Mittra, a very high authority in such matters, that the printed editions of the Chaitanya Charnamrita, and similar early Bengali works now to be procured in Calcutta, have been so altered and modernized as no longer to present any trustworthy picture of the genuine language of the poem. I also notice that in some extracts from a pseudo-Chand printed recently in the Bengal Asiatic Society’s Journal, the language is very much more modern than that of the authentic MSS. of the poem which I have seen. Thus, as an example, it may be noted that some twenty or thirty lines end with the word ति “is.” The real Chand never uses ति; it had apparently not come into existence in his time. With him the substantive verb is almost always left to be inferred, and when expressed is generally indicated by the old Prakrit form होिरे from खंति, whereas ति is merely an inversion of आि from खंति, through a form खंसि; whence also the Marathi आि. But the mischief is not confined to the substitution of modern synonyms for archaic words; often the archaic word not being understood, a current word of nearly similar sound has been substituted for it, thus altering the whole meaning of the sentence. Still, in spite of these drawbacks, there is much to be learnt from these rustic songs and plays, and good service has been done by the Rev. J. Robson, of Ajmer, in lithographing four or five of the Khiyals or plays which are frequently performed in Marwar. The Marwari dialect is faithfully represented in these interesting works, in which many a word of Chand is retained which it would perhaps be impossible to find elsewhere.

This rapid and imperfect sketch of the present available literature of our seven languages will show that religious poetry constituted the bulk, if not the whole, of it till the influence

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Footnote: I have not read all through Chand, but I believe I have read as much as, or more of his poem than any living Englishman, and in all that I have read I have never yet come across ति.
of European ideas began to be felt, and that since that time a copious literature has come into existence, of which much is mere ephemeral trash, obsolete, pointless, and utterly contemptible, but which has already produced some few works worthy to live, and will doubtless in time produce more. Bengali is decidedly in advance of the others, next come Hindi and Marathi, then Gujarati and Oriya, last of all Panjabi and Sindhi; the former of which will probably not be cultivated as a literary language, being superseded by Hindi in its Arabicized form of Urdu.

129. The extent of country over which each of these languages is spoken is so large, and there has been so little commmunication between one province and another until comparatively recent times, that it is not surprising that dialects should abound; indeed, I have often been disposed to wonder that there are not more. Hindi is spoken over 948,000 square miles. In its extreme eastern part, the districts of Patna and Patna, there is great confusion of speech. On the banks of the Mahanadi rivet both Bengali and Hindi are spoken, and both equally badly. The Bengali of the Sajjapole ParExperience is quite unintelligible to a native of any other part of Bengal or Hindustan. In the central part of the district Bengali forms are very rarely heard. As to, Asko, for the pure Hindi Asko, Asko: and chhe, "5," for 50, are the most marked peculiarities. Crossing the Jamu river, and going westwards, we come into the region of Mirzaba, the modern Tihuta, where the language is purely Hindi in type, though in many of its phonetic details it leans towards Bengali. On the south side of the Ganges, in Bhagalpore, almayer (Humphrey), and Gaya, the dialect is called Magadh, from the old name of the country. Adjoining the Maimul and Magadh, and stretching from the Himalayas to the uplying spurs of the Vindhyas, is the Bhogpur dialect, so strongly marked with features of striking individuality as to be almost
worthy to be called a separate language, and retaining many fine old Aryan forms which have dropped out of classical Hindi.¹

When we get beyond the Bhojpuri area, about Benares, we come into Central Hindustan, and from Benares to Delhi the dialectic differences are not so very great as to call for special remark. It is true that there are many diversities in the words, and occasionally also in the inflectional forms used in various parts of this wide tract, but there is no very striking divergence from the central type. To the south, however, in the vast regions of Rajputana, strongly marked dialectic peculiarities again meet us, and there is a large number of provincial forms of speech. The Marwari, which I have alluded to before, merges gradually into Gujarati, which is conterminous with it on the south, in such forms as the infinitive in दी (दीक्षा = दीन), but दीन (G.), and the form of the future in दी, as होती "shall be," दोहा (अविनयति). It still retains the ancient genitive signs रो, री, रे, and many other distinctive marks. Some of the Rajput dialects again exhibit a tendency to approach to Marathi, and others more to the west modulate gradually into Panjabi and Sindhi.

Panjabi is spoken halfway through the country between the Sutlej and Jamna. It is impossible to say where it begins. In these regions it is generally observable that if you address a man in Hindi, he answers you in Panjabi, and vice versa, both languages being spoken with equal fluency and equal incorrectness, just as an Alsatian speaks French and German, both equally badly. Throughout the Panjab and Sindh the most important tribe in point of numbers is that of the Jats, who under the name of Jats also spread far into Rajputana and the Deob. Panjabi, Sindhi, and Western Hindi, regarded as the mother-tongue of this great race, appear to us as almost one

¹ I have contributed a sketch of this dialect to the Royal Asiatic Society. It will be found in vol. iii. (new series), p. 483, of their Journal.
language, with a regular series of modifications extending in waves from the Persian Gulf, up the Indus, across the five rivers, and far on into the deserts of the Rajputs. Thus, the present participle in Hindi ends in \textit{da}, in Eastern Panjabi this is softened to \textit{da}, with an \textit{a} inserted when the root ends with a vowel, thus \textit{taada}, "doing," but \textit{adhada}, "eating." As we get further into the country going westwards and southwards about Shahpur and Jhang, we find this \textit{a} always used, even after bases ending in a consonant, thus \textit{surarda}, "beating." When, however, we get right down into Sindi, the form in \textit{a} and has become the regular classical termination in universal use, and is fortified by a long vowel; thus, \textit{surinda}, "beating," which takes us back to the Prakrit \textit{vare} and Sanskrit \textit{varam}.

There are so many dialects in Panjabi that it is impossible to enumerate them. In every district, nay, in every peasant, a difference is perceptible; and on arriving in a new station, the English official almost always finds himself confronted with a new local "boli," by which term I mean to imply a distinction something less than that conveyed by the word "dialect." The general features are the same throughout; but there is a trug, a customs, or so of inflections, several scores of words, quite peculiar to that one place, and not understood out of it. In fact, in all the parts of India with which I am personally acquainted I have noticed something of the same peculiarity, namely, that the words which the peasant uses to express the objects around him, the different descriptions of cattle, toots, seeds, grasses, crops, diseases of crops, grain in various stages,

\footnote{Conclusively proving that the form of the present tense in Hindi is not derived from that of the agent in Sanskrit, as some say; though it \textit{had}, "does," is the same root in form as San \textit{jaya}, "a door," yet it is derived from a Prakrit form \textit{dhada}, "to knock."}

\footnote{We know an English word, "membrane," which exactly conveys the idea I wish to express in the text.}
soils, waters, weathers, and the like, differ in every district I go
to. Going from Gujar to Jhelam, and from Jhelam to Rawal
Pindi, the whole of the ryot’s surroundings change their names
completely twice over. Perhaps the only exception is the
plough, which I only know by two names,—kat in Upper
India, and nángal in Bengal and Orissa. The cow may be
perhaps cited as another exception, and in truth guz and goú
would perhaps be understood in most places, and the generic
term goúna for cattle in a good many—but the peasant is not
content with this. His cow is red, or dun, or grey, or white,
or fertile, or barren, or has had one calf or two, or is milch or
dry, or has its horns bent forwards or backwards, or straight,
or of uneven length, and each of these peculiarities has a name,
and that name is used, to the exclusion of the generic term
“cow,” and differs in every district; so that to the superficial
observer, or perhaps even to a careful student who judged
from this class of words, there would at first sight appear to
be more dialects in the language than there really are. Still,
after making all due allowance for these peculiarities, I am of
opinion that, owing to the absence of any written standard, our
brave Panjabi peasants possess a number of bona fide dialects
which is considerably in excess of that possessed by most
languages spoken over an equal area of level country in any
other part of India.

Sindhi, according to Trumpp, has three dialects,—Sirai,
spoken in Siro, or the north of Sindh; Vicholáí, in Vichölé,
the middle part of the country; and Lari, in the southern
districts along the sea-coast. But it is evident from an ex-
amination of the published grammars that this threefold
division does not exhaust the variations of the language.
Perhaps it would be more strictly correct to say that the
numerous dialects fall into three groups. It is impossible that
in the whole of Lar only one uniform speech should prevail.
We know, for instance, that in the eastern part of that pro-
vince, towards Thar and Parkar and about the Rinn, the
dialect called Kachhi begins to be heard. This dialect I am
uncertain whether to class with Gujarati or Sindhi; as simi-
larly the Uch dialect, on the north of Siro, is by some con-
sidered a dialect of Panjabi, by others of Sindhi. Thus the
various cognate languages of Aryan India melt into one another
so imperceptibly that it is a question of much difficulty how to
define their limits. But it is not only with regard to border
dialects that there exists a difficulty. In the heart of each
province the same local variations exist. When we are told
that "there" is expressed in Sindhi by ताइँ, ताइँ, ताइँ, ताइँ, ताइँ, ताइँ, ताइँ, ताइँ, ताइँ, ताइँ, ताइँ, ताइँ, ताइँ, ताइँ, and that these forms mean also
"thence," what are we to understand? Is it meant that the
Sindhis in all parts of Singh use all these thirteen forms
indifferently, or that the pronunciation of the language is so
indistinct that in consequence of its being for the most part
unwritten a foreign dictionary-maker finds it impossible to
decide on the exact way of writing the word? or, thirdly, has
he grouped together a whole mass of variants drawn from
different parts of the country? If we consider the matter a
little, it will appear improbable that so great a variety of forms
should be used in one town or district without any distinction
of meaning, and the abundant diacritical marks which have
been invented to express slight shades of modulation in sounds,
forbid the supposition that the author was baffled by the in-
distinct utterances of the people. The third supposition, then,
forces itself on us as the true one, and the more so when we see
that so indispensable and hourly-recurring a word as "I"
exhibits the same redundancy of forms, being written आॅ, आॅॅ,
and मी; of the last form we are indeed told expressly that it is
peculiar to Shikarpur, in Northern Sindh. "Ye" is written
मी, ताइँ, चाहिँ, थाहिँ, थाहिँ, बाहिँ and बाहिँ. Many other pro-
nouns and common inflections have also the same multiform
character. Judging also from my experience of the Punjab, I should think it almost certain that every ten miles in Sindh a new dialect or sub-dialect would be met with.

Proceeding onward into Gujarat to the south-east, and leaving the transitional Kachhi to be affiliated either to Sindhi or Gujarati, or half to one, and half to the other, as may be finally decided when more is known about it, the same confusion, or rather multiplicity of shades, is found to exist. "In the north-western parts of Kathiawar it is to some extent modified by Sindhi. As we pass to the north and north-east of Gujarat, it merges into Vraj, or Marwari, and Hindi. Analogous modifications occur on the eastern side of Gujarat. On the south a sharper boundary appears to separate it from Marathi. In the centre of Gujarat a broad accentuation of some vowels prevails. In Southern Gujarat inequalities in orthography and in the sounds of some letters, with an influx of Persian vocables, has resulted from the residence of the Parsis there. In Northern Gujarat there is perceptibly a peculiarity in some sounds, such as the य in the imperative mood. The speech of Vanyas, Brahmans, aboriginal tribes, etc., is marked by some peculiarities. The province of Kachch has a dialect, sometimes reckoned a distinct language; yet Gujarati is there generally understood. Thus the general hue of the language shades off, in different parts of its field. I have heard natives lay it down as a maxim, that in every twelve kos there is a variation."1 In conformity with the saying mentioned in the last sentence, there is a Gujarati proverb, बार मात्र बोली बदले तथवर बदले साखा. "Every twelve kos the language changes as the branches differ on trees."

Gujarati does not, however, shade off into Marathi in the

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1 Introduction to Shapurji Edalji's *Dict. Dissertations on Gujarati*, by Dr. Glasgow, p. 8. I have taken the liberty of correcting the writer's grammar in one or two instances.
same imperceptible way as it does into other languages. On the contrary, a native author states, "The Gujarati language agrees very closely with the languages of the countries lying to the north of it, because the Gujarati people came from the north. If a native of Delhi, Ajmer, Mārwār, Mewār, Jaypūr, etc., comes into Gujarāt, the Gujarati people find no difficulty in understanding his language. But it is very wonderful that when people from countries bordering Gujarat on the south, as the Konkan, Maharashtra, etc., come to Gujarat, the Gujarati people do not in the least comprehend what they say; only those words which have been imported from the north are intelligible to them."  

And yet the Marathas too must have come from the north, just as the Gujaratis did. What the author probably means is that the inflectional system of Marathi differs so widely from that of its cognate languages, and especially so from Hindi, as to be quite unintelligible to the simple Gujarati peasants, to whose minds the idea of one common Aryan stock is not so constantly present as it is to the scholar, and who, therefore, are not always on the look out for resemblances. This is not to be wondered at when we reflect that even in our own country people may be met with who have learnt the German language, and know it well, without having been once struck by its similarity to their own.  

Gujarati is also largely used beyond its own area in the city of Bombay as a mercantile language, though in this position, as might be expected, it is largely mixed up with foreign words, and its grammar has become very corrupt. It is used by the following classes of persons:

2 I met a remarkable, and in other respects intelligent, person once who not only had not noticed the similarity of the two languages, but refused even to admit it when pointed out to him. It is to be feared there are many such.
1. Musulmans from Kachh, among whom are the Mihmans and Khwajas (vulgo Khojas), well-known traders; the latter of whom are met with in trading towns all over Northern India, where, however, they speak Urdu.

2. Wohorās (vulgo Boraś), another class of traders.

3. A few Maratha Musulmans from the Konkan.

4. The various castes of Gujaratis, Brahmans, Vānyas (Bāνīas), Rajputs, etc.

5. Seths and Bhātiās, Hindu merchants and bankers from Kachh.


7. A few Hindu Marathas from the Konkan.

8. Parsis.¹

In this fact we see another instance, like that of Hindustani, in which the simpler language prevails as a lingua franca over the more complicated. Nothing tends to restrict the use and currency of a language so much as an intricate grammatical construction, while nothing conduces to its wide-spread popularity, so much as absence of inflectional forms, gender, case, and the like. The language spoken by the greatest number of human beings at the present day, the English, is also that which is least encumbered with grammar of any sort.

Marathi has undoubtedly, as I have before remarked, a very decided individuality, a type quite its own, arising from its comparative isolation for so many centuries. The Vindhyā range of hills, during those times when India was split up into many petty kingdoms, must have acted as an effectual barrier to communication with the other Aryan nations. For all that, however, it has close links with Gujarati, though the Gujaratis fail to perceive them.

The two great divisions into which Marathi falls are called Konkani and Dakhani; the former spoken in the long narrow

¹ For the above facts I have to thank Mr. Flynn, of the Bombay High Court.
strip of country between the mountains and the sea, the latter in the high table-land of the Dakhan, or south of India as the northern Aryans called it. Central India as we ubiquitous English more truly designate it. From the circumstance of my personal experience being confined to Northern and Eastern India, I have less data for Marathi than any other of the languages; a circumstance the more to be regretted as Marathi is a very leading member of the group. As far as I can learn from books and private information, the dialectic distribution of the language is somewhat on this wise:

The dialect of the district lying round Puna seems to be considered the most correct form of the language, as it is generally called Deshi, or the language of "the country" par excellence. The Konkani dialect differs not very strikingly from the Deshi, and some of its forms are considered as more in harmony with the general analogy of the language than those in use in the Dakhan. The Konkani peculiarities resemble in a few important particulars those of the Bengali, and in both cases there is reason to suspect that their proximity to the sea and the low swampy nature of the country may have had a tendency to thicken and debase the pronunciation. Thus, it is said that the anuswara is more clearly heard in the Konkan than in the Dakhan; just as it plays a more prominent part in Bengali than in Hindi; the former prefers long a to short, ओ to ओ, ग to ग, and retains a final ओ in some terminations where the latter rejects it. All these are points in which the Bengali differs in precisely the same way from Hindi.

The city of Rajapur and its neighbourhood offers several divergences from both the principal types, and the same is observable in the small territory of Wadi. In the southern part of the Dakhan, about Sattara, the language again changes, and forms which resemble both those in use in the Dakhan and those of the Konkan are used convertible. In Kolhapur there is much Canarese (Karnataka) spoken, and the Marathi of the
neighbourhood naturally becomes impure and incorrect from the admixture of this foreign idiom. The native Christians in this part of the country also mix up much corrupt Portuguese with Marathi. In addition to these disturbing elements, the wandering predatory tribes of the Ramusis, Mangs, Bagwans, and others use a patois of their own; some of the words which are quoted by my authority\(^1\) are semi-Dravidian, and others seem to be mere gibberish. Of the former class are उख "a village," Dravidian ār; मीडन•" water," Dravidian alen; though this latter word is also claimed as Aryan. Of the latter are कीचडा "eye," ज्यङ "come here," and the like.

Passing from the Marathas to their ancient victims the Oriyas, a much more homogeneous language is found. In the north of Orissa, about the Subarnarekhâ river and along the Hijli coast, and even to within a short distance of Midnapur (Medinipur), a corrupt form of Oriya is spoken, mixed with an equally corrupt form of Bengali. Even in this region, however, many among the peasants are found who speak pure Oriya, and others who speak fairly good Bengali. The position is parallel to that which I have noticed as existing in Ludiana and Amballa, where Hindi and Panjabi are mixed up, so that one is never sure in which of the two languages to address any man. From the Subarnarekhâ all down the coast to Puri the ordinary Oriya is spoken with hardly any perceptible differences. The people of the hill-states, however, speak with a clear distinct utterance which contrasts pleasingly with the low muttering and indistinct articulation of the residents of the plains.

It is said by the Oriyas themselves that the language is spoken in its greatest purity in the hill-state of Gumsar, the birthplace of the first national poet, Upendra Bhanj. As, however, Gumsar is very far to the south, closely adjoining areas peopled by Dravidians and Kols, this assertion seems rather doubtful. I notice no difference between the speech of those who live in

Balasore and those who come from the extreme south of Puri or Cuttack; nor do the natives of the province seem able to point out any such differences, though the Balasore people say that they of Cuttack and Puri laugh at them as imperfect speakers. This may arise from the extraordinary and altogether unparalleled slovenliness of utterance in vogue here. A native of Balasore will not open his mouth or speak clearly and distinctly; a dull hoarse rumbling is all he is capable of. Some few Bengali forms have been naturalized here, as, for instance, kiso = "what," for kono or keno; korite hebo = "it must be done," for koribaku hebo, where the real Oriya form is so much longer and more unwieldy than the Bengali, that the people have readily thrown it aside for the shorter and simpler expression.

Finally, with regard to Bengal itself, there is much difficulty in making any accurate statement. The crowd of dialectic forms which occurs on all sides is absolutely bewildering. It may be said that, apart from the Calcutta standard of the language in use among educated persons, there exists among the peasantry of the various parts of the province no common standard at all. A peasant of Tipperah or Sylhet would probably be quite as unintelligible to a resident of Murshidabad as he would to a Maratha or a Sindhi. The language commonly spoken in Central Bengal or Rārl (রাঁহ) i.e. রাঙ্গ) may be taken as the truest type, and the rest may be classed under the general heads of Eastern, Northern, and Southern Bengali. The former of these is spoken over a wide area, and as we saw in Gujarat, so also here, every twelve kos a difference is noticeable. The principal feature is the substitution of $h$ for $s$ and of $s$ for $chh$. Thus, suiniyāchhi, "I heard," becomes hunisi. In Northern Bengal corruptions just as great, though of a different kind, occur, and the same may be said of Southern Bengal. No one, however, has yet taken the trouble to make a collection of the local forms in use in the various districts,
and till this is done all that can be said is, that very numerous
divergences exist, and several striking local peculiarities are
known to be current, concerning which we await further in-
formation. Even in Calcutta till quite recent times people
spoke in twenty different ways, and no one was sure which was
the correct way.

On reviewing the whole question of Indian dialects, several
important points attract attention. The first is, that as each
of the seven languages, except Oriya, possesses many dialects,
and as none of them until recent times and the rise of literature
had any central type or standard, each one of the dialects into
which it is divided has as much right as any of the others to
be considered a genuine Aryan form of speech, and any one of
them might have been chosen, as one of them actually was, as
the basis on which to found the central type. Further, as some
of the dialects spoken on the frontier between two languages
partake almost equally of the characteristics of both, so that
the various languages melt gradually one into another, without
any of that harshness or confusion which marks those countries
where two heterogeneous languages come into contact, we
are justified in pointing to a time when there was no such
distinct demarcation between the various languages as we see at
present. We thus can raise for ourselves a picture of a bygone
age, in which all the Aryans of India spoke what may be fairly
called one language, though in many diverse forms, 
\(\sigmaιλλ\lambdaω\ ιν\epsilonυ\不高ινον \\muορ\phi \nuια\); and can see that the so-called seven
languages of modern India have arisen from a process of
crystallization, so to speak, the atoms consisting of the various
dialects having been attracted to and grouped themselves
round seven principal points or heads. The intrinsic and
essential unity of the whole Aryan family in India thus
becomes a natural result of the researches of philology, as it
does of those of history.

Secondly, insomuch as until the rise of literature no one of
these numerous dialects had the pre-eminence over any of the others, we must not be contented with taking for the basis of our researches or arguments merely such words and forms as are to be found in the literary dialect of each language, because every one of the spoken dialects is presumably of equal antiquity and equal authority with the one written dialect. There is thus a most important and most valuable task waiting for hands to perform it. In every part of Aryan India there are now highly-educated English officials, who take a real and earnest interest in the people over whom they rule; it would be an easy and to many, it is hoped, a pleasing task to collect the words and forms current in their neighbourhood. The pages of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal are always open to contributions of this kind, and have already received many such; but many more remain to be done: will not those who can save these rare and curious words from perishing rouse themselves to do so ere it be too late? Before the spread of education local dialects are already beginning to die out, and will doubtless disappear more and more rapidly as time goes on, taking with them into an oblivion whence they cannot be recovered, words which might throw invaluable light upon dark places in the history of the development of the language to which they belong.

§ 30. The whole of these languages, including all their varied dialectic forms, exhibit at every turn marks of a common origin, and the changes and developments—I cannot call them corruptions—which they have undergone are all in the same direction, though in different degrees. There is hardly any special peculiarity in any one of them of which traces may not be found in a greater or less degree in all or most of the others. As regards mutual intelligibility, which has been proposed as the test whereby to distinguish languages from dialects, there is much divergence. An Oriya can generally understand what
is said to him in Bengali, and many Bengalis, for political purposes, insist upon regarding Oriya as merely a dialect of their language. A Bengali peasant from the south of Bengal would understand much, if not all, that was spoken in Oriya, but a native of Northern or Eastern Bengal would not. Again, in Furneesh, on the frontier between Bengal and Hindustan, the two peoples did not appear to understand each other readily; though they managed to communicate with each other, it was more because every man spoke both languages, and was quite aware that they were two distinct languages; indeed, the difference between the two was better appreciated than the similarity, as is often the case on such linguistic frontiers.

Panjabis for the most part understand Hindi readily, and very quickly learn to speak it correctly, abandoning the peculiarities of their own language as mere dialectic vagaries. The Hindustanis, from their superior cultivation, take high tone with the simple Panjabis, and laugh them out of their pronunciation and local forms, insisting, as do certain Bengalis with regard to Orissa, that these latter are mere vulgarisms, to be shunned by correct speakers. Of course in the wilder parts of the Panjab Hindi is not well understood, and in the very wildest not at all.

With regard to Sindhi, the reverse is the case; while it is fairly intelligible to the wild wandering Jat and Gujar tribes of the desert, and to the southern Panjabis generally, it is quite unintelligible to the more settled and cultivated population. I have known a Sindhi come to my court at Gujrat, in the northern part of the Chaj Doab, lying between the Chenab and Jhelam rivers, and not a single person could make out what he said; we even sent for a man celebrated for his knowledge of Panjabi and its dialects, but he could do no more than tell us that the language the stranger spoke was Sindhi, he could not understand it; and I strongly suspected at the time that he
only found this out from the word "Sindhi" which the man uttered repeatedly.

Sindhi is stated to be intelligible to natives of Gujarat, and in Kachh both languages are spoken. I have already quoted a remark from a native of Gujarat as to the difficulty his countrymen experience in understanding Marathas. In Southern Rajputana the three languages, Hindi as well as the two last mentioned, are mixed up; even there, however, Marathi is regarded as a distinct and only partly intelligible language.

Oriya is separated from Marathi by a long tract of wild hilly country, peopled by non-Aryan races. For fifty years, however, Orissa was under the sway of the Bhonslas of Nagpur, and even after seventy years of British rule the country still bears traces of their capacity and oppression. From all that I can learn of the traditions of those times, the two peoples found no difficulty in communicating with one another. Of course the Oriyas had to learn the language of their conquerors, and a few Marathi words have thus passed into their language; in the present day, however, they are widely sundered, and it is probable that if they came into contact, they would find it quite impossible to carry on any sustained conversation.

Although somewhat has been already said about the dates of the earliest written works in the modern languages, yet it is advisable, in order to make the general review of this group of languages more complete, to discuss the question of their chronological sequence more at large. In working out problems of Indian etymology, sufficient attention is not paid to the historical elements of the calculation. Especially is this

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1 It must be mentioned, however, in fairness to the Bhonslas, that they were very active in public works. Their tanks, roads, bridges, and dykes are still in existence, and were constructed on a princely scale, though, as they were not hampered with any scruples about paying their work-people, it was as easy for them to execute lordly designs as it is for the Khedive of Egypt in the present day. This little point should be remembered by those who reproach the English for the inferiority of their public works. Whatever we do is paid for.
the case in the works of European scholars, who, being generally better versed in Sanskrit than in the modern languages, are apt to attribute too much influence to the former and to write as if they thought that it was still a living and well-known tongue. Now without going into the question of how long Sanskrit remained a spoken language, it may be assumed as a fact, accepted by most scholars, that it certainly ceased to be a vernacular in the sixth century B.C., and remained as the language of religion and literature only. From that time the Aryan people of India spoke popular dialects called Prakrits. It is from these latter therefore, and not directly from Sanskrit, that the modern languages derive the most ancient and distinctly national and genuine portion of their words and grammatical inflections.

The point which concerns us more particularly is not the rise and fall of either Sanskrit or the Prakrits, but that of the rise of the modern Indian vernaculars. It may be as well here to repeat that the presence in any language of words in their pure Sanskrit form is not a proof that those words have remained in that language from the beginning and come down the stream of time unchanged; some few words may have done so, but they are very few. On the contrary, a pure Sanskrit or Tatsama word is almost certainly one which has been introduced into the language in modern times by learned men. When did the modern languages cease to be Prakrits, and assume something like their present form? which of them first definitely assumed that shape which, with few modifications, has lasted to the present day? To answer these most interesting questions it will be necessary first to ascertain what stages of speech are ancient and what modern, to state which is that particular point of development which may be considered

1 Those who wish to see the whole argument clearly drawn out and explained in a lucid and readable form are recommended to refer to the second volume of Dr. Max Müller’s Sanskrit Texts, than which nothing can well be more full and complete.
homogeneous with all subsequent stages, and heterogeneous as regards all past stages. A few illustrations from modern European tongues will help in this inquiry.

The Romance languages, Italian, Spanish, French, Provençal, Portuguese, and others, are derived principally from the Latin by the process of gradually wearing away and confusing the terminations of verbs and nouns till they no longer sufficed to distinguish cases and tenses. Then by degrees additional words had to be introduced to mark these distinctions, and thus grew up the modern analytical method of construction. In Latin, novis, novis, novi, novem, &c., are words in which the original idea novus = mountain is modified by the terminations s, is, is, is, in such a way that they suffice of themselves to indicate the relation which the idea involved in the word bears to the rest of the sentence. To make this idea clearer it had become customary in Latin to prefix certain particles, called prepositions, to the noun in those cases where the verb or noun which had relation to the idea of the object did not express the action sufficiently by itself. Thus, in oculis montes, "I see the mountain," the verb oculos suffices to express fully the action which takes place; but in ad montem, "I go to the mountain," the verb "I go" does not suffice. A man may go up a mountain, or down it, to it, from it, or round it; hence the preposition is necessary to show what sort of going is intended with reference to the mountain; ad, trans, circum, = to, across, round, all modify the primary idea in different ways. In the prime and noonday of Roman speech the syntactical sentiment, or tendency to put together leading words and their subsidiary particles, was so strong that it was customary to prefix the preposition to the verb, and incorporate it with it; accordingly they said ades, transes, circumcrescentes, in preference to add, on, etc. In Sanskrit this tendency is so powerful that the prepositions are almost always used in this way, and so also to a great extent in Greek. In later times, however, all
the terminations noted above became abraded, and for all of them, including even the nominative, the one form monte was substituted in Italian. Then came in the more extended use of the prepositions, which were now necessary in every case to distinguish the relation, and the noun was modified accordingly, del monte (de illo monte), ad monte (ad illum montem), supr monte (super illum montem), dat monte (de ab illo monte), and so on. This process did not of course take place all at once. The first step was to confuse the Latin terminations. A Roman of the time of Augustus would say ad montem with the accusative, but a monte with the ablative case. His descendants in the fifth century have left behind charters and other documents in which ab montem, ad die, and the like occur.⁠¹ In the case of verbs also the distinctive tense endings being confused and worn away, a more constant use of the personal pronoun became necessary, as well as a recourse to the verbs to have and to be, in order to make the exact meaning clear and unmistakable. Without wasting more time on these well-known matters, it will be seen that synthesis, or putting together, is the keynote of the ancient languages, as analysis, or dissolving, is of the moderns. When, therefore, we get to that point in the development of languages where the analytical system is fairly established and in full working order, and whence all traces of synthesis have either disappeared or become subordinate and casual instead of universal and regular, we may take that point as the commencement of the modern language. Thus, though the language of Ælfric is our true old English speech, yet it is ancient English still very largely synthetical. Modern English strictly speaking begins about 1265, when the Normans had become thoroughly amalgamated with the Saxons and Angles.

⁠¹ "Ab pollinum die, ubique alia sola aut viva, ad die praevae, ante valsum et ortus (balanum et hortum) contra hacte barbaro, cum omnis res ad se pertinenties." are a few more instances which I take from no more recondite source than Lewis's Romance Languages, who quotes them from Raynouard.
and ceased to use their own French as a language apart from the Low-Dutch of the masses. Modern French begins a little earlier, about the end of the tenth century, when the rise of the dynasty of Hugh Capet, himself ignorant of Latin, and the extinction of the Frankish Karlings with their Teutonic speech, led to the general use of the Romance Langue d’oil, even among the higher classes. If we now turn to the parallel group of languages which in distant India was developing itself at the same time and under the impulse of precisely the same instincts as those which prevailed in Europe, we shall find the coincidence in point of time fairly maintained.

Chand, the earliest writer, though he mangles his words with more than poetic licence, may still be adduced as the best evidence we have of the state of the language in his own times, the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. Chand’s poems are in the same stage of linguistic development as those of his contemporaries, the trovatori, troubadours, and trouvères of Europe. The old synthetical structure has been broken up and thrown into confusion, but not quite lost, while the modern auxiliary verbs and prepositions are hardly fully established in their stead. This gives an air of great confusion to the language, especially in the Indian poet, who is particularly fond of stringing together long lines of words without inflections of any sort, and leaving the reader to find out what relation they bear to each other.

Thus, in the second line of the poem occurs the phrase,

नम सुन नितिनि र्यस हुष दृषन

literally, “Wickedness quality stands lord—wicked burning.” Here the pure Sanskrit नितिनि which the poet has dragged in to show his learning, is the only inflected word in the sentence, and the reader may supply the connecting links as he pleases.

¹ Modern High-Dutch, or, as we call it, German, is of much later birth, but we cannot here enter into this question.
Probably the poet means, "The quality of wickedness stands (i.e. is put a stop to) by the lord burning up the wicked."

Again,

पति वसंतमधि "
कोंकनं रंकार चम सम करये "
चर वाकुर रति करये ""1
कपोतय नैच कलयति ""

Here the poet is perhaps under the impression that he is writing Sanskrit, of his knowledge of which he has been boasting a few lines before; and he certainly has collected a good number of Sanskrit inflections; thus, the first line, "When the mouth of spring falls (i.e. ceases)," is pure Sanskrit, but the next line is nothing, neither Sanskrit, Prakrit, nor Hindi, "The koil chirping mango forest make (or making)," कोंकनं may be either singular or plural for all the indication given by its form; and as to करये, beyond the fact that it is connected evidently with the root चर "to make," nothing can be predicated of it one way or the other. The third line means, "Sheltered from the sun by the bamboos"; चर may be a hundred things, probably here it is put in, as it is in so many other places, merely to complete the metre, and may be vaguely translated "good" or "best." We must not try to get too accurate a meaning out of lines which were never meant to be subjected to the microscope of science. रचन is like करये, and conveys a general idea of being preserved or sheltered. In the fourth line कपोतय perhaps, dropping the च, which is stuck in to eke out the line, shows us the transition from the Sanskrit neuter ending जनि, which gradually superseded all other terminations, to the universal Hindi plural termination चन and जनि for all genders, the nasal being here written as anuswara. The concluding words of the line again are pure

1 i.e. rakshas, च = च always in MSS.
Sanskrit. This use, however, of Sanskrit inflections is confined to the introductory rhapsodies; in the historical portion of the poem such forms occur very rarely, if at all. But throughout the long poem there is very little sense of the exact meaning of Sanskrit or Prakrit verbal forms; those few forms that are used are purely modern. They are distinctly Hindi, not Prakrit. The present is expressed by the participle, as रहित “streaking,” सेंभत “shining,” etc. The past tense is not a corruption of a Prakrit form of any of the Sanskrit preterites, but the past participle; मधि m., भरि f., मधि pl. m., भरि pl. f., “was,” लगनि or जलगनि “stuck,” and others. The most frequent method of expressing a verb, however, is to put the indefinite participle in र for all tenses and moods indiscriminately, मुख राखि दन मंदिर श्रापर “Having heard it, the king prepared inestimable gifts.”

The future has not yet quite fixed itself, and is often expressed by the indefinite present of later times; as यथि घाए एव पाए “As he shall think, so he shall obtain,” i.e. “Whatever he shall wish for he shall have.” Postpositions are occasionally used to indicate cases of nouns, though their use was apparently not quite settled, as they are sometimes used as true case-signs, and sometimes as prepositions governing the case. Of the first-named usage, which is chronologically the last, the following are examples:

प्रभु घटि शिव उपर कीर्नि
They poured a thousand water-pots upon Siva.

देयति नूपरि वसि नीद्रा माहि
Seeing the king sitting in sleep.

सब मारिन की शोच उपनी
To all the women fear arose.
Of the second, which is chronologically the earlier of the two, the instances are much more rare, and are chiefly confined to such phrases as ताके माही "in (the midst) of it," and the like.

It is evident from an examination of the poem that the Hindi language, regarded as a modern and analytical form of speech, had just begun to be formed, and was in its first infancy; perhaps in about the second or third generation previous to Chand it had been still mainly synthetical.

We may therefore fix upon the eleventh century, or about one hundred years before Chand, as the epoch of the rise of Hindi, or the principal modern language of the group. At the same time with Hindi, Gujarati and Panjabi, neither of which were yet separated from it, took their rise.

Turning next to the eastern languages, Bengali and Oriya, there exists in the present day an active controversy between the literary heads of the two provinces. The Bengalis assert that Oriya is merely a dialect of Bengali, and has no claim to be considered an independent language, and they mix up with this assertion a second to the effect that if it is not it ought to be, mainly because they wish it was, and secondarily because the population of Orissa is so small as compared with that of Bengal that they think it useless to keep up a separate language and written character for so small a province. They further urge that the maintenance of a separate language prevents the Oriyas from learning Bengali and profiting by the vast stores of valuable literature which they consider the latter to contain. Much of this chain of arguments is purely
political, and may therefore be very briefly dismissed by the
following remarks. If Oriya is to be suppressed because it is
only spoken by a few millions of people, it might also be urged
that Dutch, or Danish, or Portuguese, should be obliterated
also. Basque should also be stamped out, and the same argu-
ment would apply to Romanic or Modern Greek, and would
justify the Russians in trying to eradicate Polish or the
Austrians in annihilating Czech. But when the case of Oriya
comes to be considered, it must be remembered that it is spoken
not only by five millions in the settled and civilized districts
of the sea-coast, but by an uncounted and widely dispersed
mass of wild tribes in the vast tract of mountains which covers
hundreds of miles inland, and extends as far west as Nagpore
and as far south as Telingana. In these regions it is rapidly
supplanting the old non-Aryan dialects; and from its having
absorbed into itself much of the non-Aryan element, it affords
a far better medium of civilization than Bengali. Moreover,
it is far beyond the power of the handful of English and
Bengalis settled in Orissa to stamp out the mother-tongue of
all these millions, and it may be added that any forcible
measures of repression would be entirely foreign and repugnant
to the spirit of our policy. The result of teaching Bengali in
our schools, to the exclusion of the local vernacular, would only
be that the small proportion of Oriya boys who attend these
schools would know the former in addition to the latter, that
they would learn to despise their mother-tongue, and that a
gap would be created between the mass of the peasantry and
the small body of educated persons. This result is just what
the Bengali would consider proper: from the earliest times in
India there has been a chasm, studiously kept open and widened
by every effort, between the higher and educated classes and
the lower and uneducated,—"this people that knoweth not the
law is accursed." Bengalis would like to maintain this, because
it throws all influence into their hands, and delivers the
wretched peasant, bound hand and foot by the chains of ignorance, into the power of his oppressors. If we wish to see this huge seething mass of ignorance, vice, and superstition permeated by the light of truth and knowledge, we are bound to fight tooth and nail against the Bengali theory, and, by upholding the speech of the land-folk and helping them to purify and improve it, to render it impossible for interested persons to establish any barrier between the free intercourse of all classes of society. Philology in this case has a vital and practical importance. Looked at from the purely linguistic side there is no doubt that Oriya has ample proof of its individuality. The poems of Upendro Bhanj and his contemporaries are written in a language which hardly differs in a single word or inflection from the vernacular of to-day, and every word of which is distinctly intelligible to the meanest labourer. These poems, written three hundred years ago, exhibit a perfectly settled modern language, partly analytical and partly synthetical, but the analytical element of which has been so long in use as to have already undergone modifications of a secondary and even tertiary character. It retains unchanged forms which are older than the oldest Bengali or Hindi, and others which can only be compared with Bengali forms of three centuries ago, but which have long since died out from that language. Bidyapati, the contemporary of Upendro, writes, as we have seen, in a language more akin to Hindi than to modern Bengali. At a period when Oriya was already a fixed and settled language Bengali did not exist; the inhabitants of Bengal spoke a vast variety of corrupt forms of eastern Hindi. It is not till quite recent times that we find anything that can be with propriety called the Bengali language.

Sindhi and Marathi remain to be placed. For the former we have no data. Of the latter it may be said that its earliest poets exhibit a language less advanced in analytical develop-
ment than Hindi by about a hundred years, and which therefore must yield in point of antiquity to its northern sister.

In chronological sequence, therefore, we may place the Hindi with its subsidiary forms, Gujarati and Panjabi, first, fixing their rise and establishment as modern languages, distinct from their previous existence as Prakrits, in the eleventh century. Second comes Marathi, which remained a Prakrit till the twelfth or even thirteenth century; and third Oriya, which must have quite completed its transformation by the end of the fourteenth. Bengali was no separate independent language, but a maze of dialects without a distinct national or provincial type, till the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century. It was not till the gradual decay of the central Muhammadan power of Delhi enabled the provincial governors to assume an independent position that Bengali severed itself from Hindi and assumed the characteristics which now vindi-
cate for it a right to be considered a separate language. Sindhi having very little literature and no fixed system of writing remains a mystery. Its rise and development were independent of all the other languages, and I cannot determine its place in the sequence.

It is difficult to prophesy the future of this group, so much depends upon political changes which no man can foresee. It may, however, with much probability be surmised that the immense extension of roads, railways, and other means of communication, will result in the extinction of Panjabi and the dialects of Rajputana, and the consequent general adoption of one uniform language, the Persianized form of Hindi, from the Indus to Rajmahal, and from the Himalayas to the Vindhya. The language will then be spoken by upwards of one hundred millions of human beings; and from its vast extent and consequent
tently preponderating importance, it cannot fail greatly to influence its neighbours. Gujarati will probably be the first to be assimilated; in fact, the difference is even now but slight,
and the relation between it and Hindi is similar to that between Icelandic and Norwegian. Gujarati, separated by political circumstances from the rest of Hindustan proper, has retained archaic words and forms which have died out from the mother-speech, but no violent changes would be required to re-assimilate it. Sindi on the west, Bengali on the east, will resist absorption much longer; the former owing to its fundamental divergence of type; the latter by virtue of its high cultivation and extensive literature, though it may be mentioned that Hindustani is already much spoken and generally well understood over a great part of Bengal. Oriya and Marathi may probably continue to hold their own to a more distant time, though in both provinces the number of persons, even among the lowest classes, who are acquainted with Urdu is already considerable, and is daily increasing. In short, with the barriers of provincial isolation thrown down, and the ever freer and fuller communication between various parts of the country, that clear, simple, graceful, flexible, and all-expressive Urdu speech, which is even now the lingua franca of most parts of India and the special favourite of the ruling race, because closely resembling in its most valuable characteristics their own language, seems undoubtedly destined at some future period to supplant most, if not all, of the provincial dialects, and to give to all Aryan India one homogeneous cultivated form of speech,—to be, in fact, the English of the Indian world.
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CHAPTER II.

ON VOWEL CHANGES.


§ 31. In order that the examination of the vowel changes may be something more than a mere enumeration of facts, it is necessary, first, to consider the vowel system of the Sanskrit, and, secondly, to specify certain peculiarities of vocalization in the forms of speech which surround the present modern Aryan area.

(1.) As contrasted with Greek, Latin, Gothic, and other early languages of its own family, Sanskrit is remarkable for its preference for the a sound. Thus, Skr. septan = hepta, septem, sibun, septyi, etc.; Skr. agni = ignis, ugnis, ognt, anhun; Skr. aham = ego, ik; Skr. antar = inter, undar, indir, entor; and many others. The same principle runs through the whole of
the inflectional system of the language. This assertion may
not appear at first sight correct, but it must be remembered
that in the case of nouns ending in *es, et, am*, the whole of the
terminations, except four or five, have *a* or *â* for their principal
vowel, and that this class of nouns constitutes a very large
majority of those actually in use. The pronouns also exhibit a
great preponderance of *a* terminations, and in the verbs the
endings of the conjugational tenses, especially in the Bhû class,
which embraces nine-tenths of the verbs in the language,
display the same tendency.

In addition to this favourite and predominating *a* sound,
there are the other two pure vowels *i* and *u* with their re-
spective long vowels *ï* and *û*, and this trilogy of pure sounds
maintains itself with peculiar constancy. There are none of
those broken or impure vowels, in which other languages so
much abound, with the exception of *e* and *o*, *æ* and *æ̆*,—the
two former produced by prefixing a short *a* to *i* and *u* respec-
tively, the two latter by prefixing *â* to the same. These latter
vowels, however, are almost entirely restricted in their use to
derivatives and secondary forms, the dependent or complex
meaning being thus philosophically brought into harmony with
the broken or impure vowels. *E* and *o*, moreover, are always
long, and thus preserve the consciousness of their diphthongal
nature. The Keltic races appear first to have introduced a
complicated system of broken or impure vowels, and Grimm
thinks that through their influence a similar tendency grew
up in the languages of the Teutonic family which lay nearest
to the Keltic area, as the Anglo-Saxons, Frisians, and Franks.
The Kelts, however, must have parted company with the
Aryans at a very early date, and the latter consequently have
not been affected by their disposition to corrupt the vowel-

1. "Wie in der sprache überall waltet auch für das vowelses triologie. Aus
drei: vowels stammen alle übrigen."—Grimm, *Deutsch. Sprache*, p. 194
(376, 1st ed.).
sounds. The modern Aryan languages retain many of the characteristics, in this respect, of their parent speech, and their vowels are still, as in ancient times, chiefly pure and simple.

It must, however, be further noted that Sanskrit permitted no hiatus, that is, no vowel could follow another without the intervention of a consonant; such forms as mens, tus, would be foreign to its genius. The principal expedient adopted to prevent a hiatus was the hardening or thickening of the first of two vowels into its corresponding consonantal utterance, and in this manner many forms have been built up. In the spoken languages of early India, however, no such delicacy was felt, a consonant standing singly in the middle of a word was often dropped, and the two vowels thus brought into juxtaposition were allowed so to remain without any compunction. Nay, so far from finding this objectionable, the Prakrit poets reject consonants to such an extent that their words are often mere floating masses of pulp from which all the bones have been removed. Thus, prakrita becomes pâwa; suabhaga, suhâs; uñyaga, uñâ. In some instances the modern languages have retained Prakrit forms, but in so doing have kept the vowels quite distinct, so that no difficult or complicated vowel-sounds have arisen from their amalgamation. The foreigner, therefore, experiences no such difficulty in pronouncing the Indian vowels as he does in the French combinations œu, eût, or the German öe, öe, nor are there any instances of two different sets of vowels having the same pronunciation as in the English, where weak sounds precisely the same as week; meat, beat, as meet, beet;¹

¹ In Old English the distinction was clearly marked. Our fathers from the fifth to the twelfth century, and even later, said œu=weak, and œœ=weak. In many cases, however, our combination œœ, pronounced as œ in machine, is a corruption of Old English œœ, as œorr = œorr, bœan = bœan, bœating = bœating, erðæ = earð, bœat = bœat, cœl = cœl, kneorte = kneort, etc. To this day our Wessex paentry in Hampshire and Dorsetshire pronounce œœ as two syllables, saying œœit, bœœat, œœik, and the like. See Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, vol. i., p. 239, compared with p. 541 (1st ed.).
nor are there any instances where the same combination has
four or five different sounds, as in cough, rough, bough,
dough, hough, through, pronounced cauf, ruff, bow, do, hock,
three.

(2.) Although, however, the vocalism of the Aryan group
is singularly pure and simple, yet the area occupied by it in
the present day is surrounded by peoples whose languages are
remarkable for the excessive intricacy and difficulty of their
vowel sounds. In the Chinese and its cognate dialects not
only are the vowels in themselves complicated, but there exists
a system of tones like those of music, by virtue of which a
single vowel may have several distinct methods of utterance,
and unless the word be pronounced correctly, not only as to
sound, but also as to tone, the meaning is entirely changed.
As the languages of this group or groups touch the Aryan
region along a great portion of its northern and eastern
frontier, it may be suspected that their influence has been felt
more or less; the more so as many of the races now located in
the northern and eastern mountain-ranges have been driven out
of the plains of India by the immigrants. Moreover, the low,
tangled mass of hills which occupies so large a portion of
Central India still harbours races of whose origin we know
little more than that it is not Aryan, and whose vowel-system
is essentially opposed to that of Sanskrit. Succeeding to these,
on the south, are the Dravidians, even yet a puzzle to philo-
logists, amongst whom broken, half-uttered, and impure vowels
are frequent.

1 I had several proofs of the difficulty of pronouncing these languages when
travelling in Sikkim. I sat for some hours on a hill-side trying to pronounce the
words sans', ddr, or something to that effect, meaning "hot water," in the Lepcha or
Limbu language, I forget which, and had eventually to give up the task in despair.
Frequently, too, in trying to say some of the few sentences of Bhutia which I knew,
I found all around me convulsed with laughter; and on inquiry learnt that by giving
the wrong tone to some unlucky moneystone, I had converted "break" or "fire"
into something quite different, and generally very indecent.
I am not in a position to point out how far or in what direction Aryan vocalism has been influenced by these alien races; but that some sort of influence has been at work is almost beyond a doubt. It may, however, be conjectured that the pronunciation has been affected more than the written language, because the latter is always by conscious and intentional efforts kept up to some known standard. To one who has spent some years in the Panjub or Hindustan, the ordinary pronunciation of the Bengalis and Oriyas certainly sounds uncouth and foreign, and as these two races are surrounded by and much mixed up with non-Aryans, it is probable that the contiguity of the latter will eventually be found to have had much to do with this peculiarity. Unfortunately, however, pronunciation is one of those things which it is very difficult to express in writing, and we are thus deprived of the advantages which might arise from the study of this question by European scholars, who have access only to printed or written books. The question is therefore one which probably will not soon be settled.

The above remarks will have prepared the reader for the assertion that the modern Aryan vowel-system is practically identical with that of Sanskrit. There is little more to be done, in fact, than to note the few and unimportant changes which have taken place, and these are rather individual instances than examples of any generally operating laws. Certain peculiarities occur in this or that language, and the tooth of time has gnawed here and there at unprotected vowels, but little more than this can be said. The Prakrits have mostly wandered further from the Sanskrit type than the languages of to-day, because these latter, always conscious of the existence of Sanskrit and of its position as the parent and type of their speech, have in more recent times frequently had recourse to their common ancestor, and have corrupted the words resuscitated from it in a way peculiar to themselves, and often less violent than that adopted by the various forms of Prakrit.
§ 32. च into छ.¹ This change does not occur so frequently or in the same way in the modern languages as it does in Prakrit or Pali. Of the examples given in Vararuci (Pr. Pr. i. 3), isi, pikkam, visno, vediso, viano, muingo, ingulo, for Skr. ishat, pakwa, svapna, retusa, vyajanana, uridanga, angara, very few are found in modern tongues. G. has पिकन्डु but also पिकन, and देहारी but also and more commonly देहारो; M. पिकज़ि, पिका, etc. All the other words, in so far as they are used at all in a Tadbhava form, retain the a in all cases.

The Bhagavati supplies sa[l]dhim=sardham, purvam=purba, isi=ishad, mijja=majjā, mitthi=masti, and chikkha, chikkha=chaksha, chaksha, together with those mentioned above, and one or two instances where च and छ have been melted down into the palatal vowel, and which therefore do not come under this head.

In the Saptasataka some more examples are given: kirina for kripana, “miser”; putthi for prishtha, “back”; dippana for atarpana, “dedicating”; cinam for cinayam, “modesty,” with others which do not come within our present scope, as they are inflectional peculiarities only.

छपण occurs only as a Tatsama in all except G. कर्पण and M. करपण. The G. form is, however, less corrupt than the Pr., and is therefore to be set down as a modern Tadbhava.

ष्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङ्ङु

¹ In this and the other chapters on Phonetics the examples given are drawn entirely from the crude or uninflected forms of words. No illustrations from the inflections, or from prefixes, suffixes, or particles are added. All such will be noticed in their proper places, and references will in those places be made to the laws laid down in this and the two following chapters. This arrangement is rendered necessary by the method followed in compiling this work; and, it is hoped, will lead to greater clearness and simplicity.
The modern languages have in this matter followed generally a different course from the Prakrit. The examples now given are exceptions rather than instances of a rule.

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<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
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<td>शब्द</td>
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Many more isolated instances may be found, but few which run through all the seven languages. It cannot be laid down as a law, that the a of Sanskrit undergoes any regular or systematic transmutation into in any dialect or in any particular class of words. The Sindhi, however, and in a lesser degree the Gujarati and Punjabi must be excepted from this remark. In the Introduction it has been stated that amongst those peculiarities of the seven languages which seem to depend on their relative geographical position, is the preference exhibited by the western languages for the palatal vowels and  

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In the following list Sindhi conforms exactly, and stands alone in so doing; the other languages retain the . I give the Hindi alone as proof of this,—noting the other languages only when they do not conform to the Hindi in respect of this vowel.

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Eastern H. तीसी
Here it will be noticed that this substitution of \( i \) for \( a \) occurs chiefly in short, open unaccented syllables, such as kān-ki-ro, kā-ki-dī, kā-ki-ro; more rarely in closed and accented syllables, as rīn-gu, il-ni. The same practice occurs in Punjabi, where \( i \) is put for \( a \) in the short, open unaccented penultimate of infinitives; thus, Skr. rahānam, sahānam, dahanam, kathanam, rahanam, lekhanam, become H. rahān, sahān, dahān, kahanā, bahānā, lehānā, but P. rahinā, sahinā, dahinā, kahinā, bahinā, lehinā. In līhinā from lekhanam M. has followed the same course, but this is a solitary instance. H. does the same in nūtinā for khānā.

In many instances the P. puts in a short \( i \) after \( a \) following a short vowel, as

नहर, wave. Skr. नहरी H. नहर.
पहर, watch. पहर, but also पहिरा.
पहिला, first. पहर, पहिला, also and more commonly पहिला.
नहर, canal. Ar. नहर.

बांगख, bangkh, Skr. बहड़ .. बहड़ी.

In words of this class in Hindi, though the \( i \) is not always written, yet in vulgar usage it is pronounced, and the \( a \) is dropped. Thus, the words above mentioned are generally sounded in talking, pālā, pālā, and the like. There exists a tendency to substitute the \( i \) for the \( a \) sound in words derived from the Arabic and Persian. Thus we have nirāk for निराक, “salt”; kāhīz for काखेज, and others. In these cases Bengali sometimes goes further and gives \( e \), as चेसाख़।

1. A pole for carrying burdens.
Perhaps also, by the operation of this rule, we may trace back the numerous group of words, of which फिर and फिरणा are the most used, to the Skr. root कर "to tremble," on the analogy of H. तिरणा "to swim," Skr. तरणः.

§ 33. The next change is that of च into च. As we find the substitution of the ज sound most frequent in the western languages, we must look to the eastern for the ज sound. Varanuci gives no examples of this change. The obscure indications of such a change, which Lassen has picked up from ch. viii. of Var. (viii. 32, 68), are—(1) जुखः and जुखप for नसज, in which example we are not to consider जुख and जुखप as derived from नसज, which would be impossible; rather we have here two vulgar words which in Prakrit are used instead of the classical नसज. जुख is the origin of the common modern word जुखना, and reversed जुखणा "to drown"; of जुखप there seems to be no trace. (2) Var. viii. 32, उद्धमः, उद्धमः. An उ is interpolated in the word उद्धम, making it उद्धमः. But this is not a substitution of उ for औ, but an introduction of उ in the middle of a nexus. (3) Var. viii. 23, मुमर=मुम्बि may be a genuine instance of this change, but if so it is a solitary one. The word मुम्बि "a sage," is classical Skr., and it is strange that the classical verb should have the औ, while the vulgar one has the उ, from which alone मुमर could have been derived. It is more probable that the original root was मुन, where the औ has been correctly preserved by the people, but softened into औ by the Pandits. (4) viii. 18, मुमर for कर is again an interpolation of उ, not a substitution of it for औ. H. मुमरन = करण rests on this form. (5) पड़म for प्रचम occurs, but less frequently than पड़म.

Other examples are सर्वानुर्ग=संवर्ग, विनुर्ग=वर्ग (९), अयुक्तमुन्त=अयुक्तमुन्त, अत्यकनमुन्त, अत्यकर्मण्डः; मार्ग=मार्ग, हुयाकनु=हुयाकनु (Bhāg.); in most, if not all, of which the presence of a labial consonant or vowel in the
original word has probably operated to produce the change. Instances in Bengali and Oriya are as follows:

Skr. कृक्कुड़ cucumber, B. बाकुड़, O. कांक्कड़ी, but II. कटही.
- पकड़ी *a tree,*
- पट्टा *a cloth,*
- पुच्रा *doll,*
- पूँखर *tank,*
- वासा *calf,*
- [सलक्षार] *turning,*
- बुम्बा *gimlet,*
- ब्रजन *briar,*
- चेवार *fig-tree,*
- दिम्बर *second watch,*
  (noon).
- मसुर *lentils,*
- मसूर *pigeon,*
- मथुल *peel,*
- चालन *winnowing,*

It will be observed that in nearly all these cases the *u* is introduced in short unaccented syllables. In fact, in all those syllables in which from their extreme shortness the vowel is indistinct, the natural tendency of the Bengali is to give it a labial sound, just as that of the Sindhi is to give it the palatal. The Bengali short *u* sounds at all times so like a short *o,* that in obscure syllables it naturally glides into *u,* and many words which in writing have an *a* might, if we followed the vulgar pronunciation, be written with *u.* The same holds good to a certain extent of the Oriya. In many cases, too, the fact of one short syllable in a word having the short *u* as its vowel

* *From sautaria, the beautiful large shady tree known to Europeans in India as the pakan or "pucker" tree.
* Most of these words are vulgar Bengali in constant use among the lower orders, though they are not all to be found in dictionaries.
seems to have exercised a sort of attraction over the neighbouring vowel, making that $u$ also.

§ 34. When a syllable having $a$ for its vowel is followed by one having $i$ or $u$, these latter sometimes exercise an influence over the former, either by entirely superseding it, or by combining with it into the corresponding guna vowel. This proceeding is analogous to that discovered by Bopp with respect to the Zend and Old High German. Thus in Zend we have $havaiti=Skr. bhavaiti, dadvati=Skr. dadāti, keronu=Skṛ. kṛṇu; and in Old High German unst “grace,” makes in certain cases esti, where, under the influence of the $i$ of the termination, the preceding $a$ has been compounded with an $i$ also into $e$.

In the case of $u$ we have in Zend the forms haurova=harva=Skr. sarva; tauruna=Skr. taruna.¹

Examples in the Indian languages:

Skr. चाँच्या "tamarind," H. प. चाँची, B. चँची.


Skr. चाव "beak," H. चौँच, M. id., B. चोँट.

Skr. संधि "hole made by burglars," H. संध, S. संधि, संधो, B. and U. संध.


Skr. चाव "eye," B. चौँच, चाँच, or चाँच (vulgar).

There are even instances where the vowel of the last syllable supersedes that of the preceding one when it is other than $a$, as $i$, or $u$.

¹ Bopp, Gram. Comp. ed. Béral. §§ 41-46-73. I quote from the French edition as being the latest and best form of this great work.

² In the sense of "friendship, connexion," which is one of the meanings of sansā in Sanskrit.
Thus:

Skr. विन्द "drop," H. वृद्ध, वृद, M., P., G. id., S. वृद्धि, वृद्ध.
Skr. द्रु "sugar-cane," Pr. दुज, H. द्रु.

These instances, however, are rare.

By the aid of this law we can see our way to the affiliation of several words which have hitherto been obscure. Thus:

Skr. यत्री "a tree" (पत्री), H. पेड़, M. id., P. पेड़.
Skr. पग "cattle," H. पोळे (dialectic in Gaugetic Duab and Oudh).
Skr. सन्यास "beard," Pr. संसू, समू, H. मूळ "moustache," B. मोळ, G. मूळ, P. मूळ, S. मूळ.

For the consonantal changes involved in these derivations the reader is referred to the chapters on the single and compound consonants (nexus).

We have traces of this process in Prakrit, though Vararuchi (i, 5), as usual, merely states the fact without attempting to give a reason for it. His examples are स्कन्ध, सुंदरम, उक्कर, तेतहो, अच्छ्हरम, परुंतम, वॉूली, for Skr. स्वयं, सांडर्य, उक्कर (?), trayodaśa, अश्चर्य, परयात्म, वॉूली. Some of these words occur again in iii. 18, where he states that the य, as the last member of a weak nexus, is lost, showing how far he was from grasping the real facts of the case. In the first two examples of the latter passage तराम, धिराम, for तुळ्‍‍य, धार्या, there is no trace of the influence of the rejected य on the vowel of the preceding syllable, because in the first case the preceding vowel is उ, which will not in the Indian languages amalgamate with, or yield to, the i, and in the second case if there were no य, if the word were धाराम, it would become in Prakrit धरम; the influence of the य in धार्यम is shown in retaining the long i in the Prakrit धिराम.

1 Udd is in use in Eastern Hindustan; the word used in Western Hindustan is इ. This difference rests on the preference for the अ- sounds in the western area, and that for the ए- sounds in the eastern.
With regard to the other words, the modern languages carry on the Prakrit form in three cases, thus


Skr. चपोद्य, Pr. तेरह "thirteen," H. तेरह, P. तेरह, S.तेरहे G. तेर, M. तेर, B. तेर, O. id.

Skr. पक्ष, Pr. पार्श "creep," H. बेल, तेकी, and so in all.

In the other cases the य is hardened to ज in writing as well as in pronunciation, and does not affect the preceding vowel. Saundaryam is not in use.


In the example ukkero we have not an instance of the influence of the ś or ॉ on a preceding vowel, if Vararuchi be right in deriving it from उक्कर; but this is doubtful. The root is क्रि, "to cast," and we might perhaps refer the Prakrit word to a form such as uktramanam. In the modern languages we find as follows:—

M. उकरी, उकरल, उकीर, उकिरका, all with various modifications of the sense of heaping up or collecting.

G. उकरिडी, उकरिरी, उकरिरी.

P. उकडू, S. उकिरयु, उकी, उकिरयु, उकिरयु.

Bopp, in the passage quoted above, seeks to ascertain whether the intervening consonant has any effect in hindering this reflexive influence, or epenthesism of ī and ॊ. He finds that this influence is arrested by a nexus, except ॊ, which sometimes

1 The modern languages do not, like the Prakrit, treat ī as a short vowel, and they therefore reject one of the two ī's, a double consonant being inadmissible after a long vowel.
does, and sometimes does not, hinder it. He also observes that many consonants, the gutturals including ⟨k⟩, the palatals, the sibilants, and ⟨m⟩ and ⟨n⟩, arrest this influence; ⟨a⟩ arrests it if the vowel be ⟨a⟩, but not if it be ⟨o⟩; ⟨b⟩ generally arrests it. The examples hitherto procured of this process in the Indian languages do not afford sufficient data for determining this point, but a law may be detected which decides in what cases the epenthetic vowel shall combine with the preceding vowel, and in what cases it shall entirely supplant it. It may be thus stated:—when a nexus intervenes, the epenthetic vowel supplants, when only a single consonant intervenes, it amalgamates with, the preceding vowel. The reason of this is that the modern languages do not treat ⟨e⟩ and ⟨o⟩ as short vowels, as the Prakrit does, and they cannot endure to have a long vowel followed by a double consonant or a nexus. When, therefore, either of these two occur, the vowel must be short, and the ⟨e⟩ consequently supersedes and destroys the vowel whose place it has taken. Thus in ⟨amikā⟩, ⟨unghō⟩, the nexus ⟨ml⟩, ⟨ng⟩, demand to be preceded by a short vowel, consequently in ⟨inīt⟩, ⟨unghī⟩, the ⟨a⟩ is entirely rejected; but in ⟨patit⟩, which had first become ⟨patt⟩, and in ⟨pātī⟩, there is only a single consonant, and the ⟨i⟩ and ⟨u⟩ therefore amalgamate with the preceding vowel into ⟨e⟩, and ⟨o⟩, ⟨per⟩, ⟨pōkī⟩. In ⟨chanchu⟩ and ⟨sāndhi⟩ the nasal is treated as an anuswārā, because in the first case we have merely a reduplicated form from a root ⟨chom⟩; in the latter the word is compounded with the preposition ⟨sam⟩, and in both cases the ⟨a⟩ is regularly replaced by the anuswārā, which is not strong enough to form a nexus, and the ⟨ṛ⟩ and ⟨ṝ⟩ are each, therefore, regarded as a single consonant, and the long or ⟨ṣana⟩ vowel can stand before them.

§ 35. The change from ⟨ṝ⟩ to ⟨ṛ⟩ is rare in bases, though more frequent in inflections. Of the latter it is not here my intention to write. It will be found discussed in the fifth chapter.
Of this change among the modern languages Gujarati gives many instances. It must here be remarked that the spelling of most of these languages, owing to the want of a literary standard, is very irregular, and in the cases now about to be noticed, it is probable that the spelling has been made to conform to the pronunciation. If this had been done in Hindi and Panjabi, they too would to the eye seem to have changed the $a$ into $e$. Thus the Skr. words quoted in § 32: rahanam, sahanam, kathanam, rahana, labhanam, become in Gujarati रेखू, बेखू, बेखू, बेखू, लेखू. But, as has been shown, the Panjabi introduces an $i$, saying rahinā, and the Gujarati $e$ seems to be only the amalgamation of this $i$ with the preceding $a$, a process facilitated by the weakness of the $h$ which separates the two vowels. In P. also, before $h$, the careless ordinary pronunciation results in a similar $e$ sound. Thus we hear rehā, sehā for rahinā, sahinā, though the latter word is not frequent, and even in H. rehtā, behtā, is a not uncommon vulgarism in towns. In the verb lēnd, from labhanam (Pr. lahanam), P. lānā, G. levan, the $h$ has dropped out from constant use, leaving only the $e$.

It amounts almost to a rule in G. that a preceding $h$ is replaced by $e$, and a second $e$ is even inserted after the $h$, especially in cases where in Skr. an $i$ stood in that place. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H. जहर</th>
<th>P. जहिर</th>
<th>G. जेहिर  wave,</th>
<th>Skr. जहरी.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>पह्ना</td>
<td>पहिणा</td>
<td>पेहन्यु first,</td>
<td>प्रथर.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बहिण</td>
<td>बेहिण</td>
<td>बेहिण sister,</td>
<td>भाग्नी.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बहिरा</td>
<td>बहिरा</td>
<td>बेहिरो deal,</td>
<td>बिघिर.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same takes place in words borrowed from Arabic or Persian. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arab. الدخشات fear,</th>
<th>G. रहशत.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>رحم pity,</td>
<td>रहम.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Vowel Changes.

Arab. تّحبيل collection, G. तेहरी.
.... حبر poison, तेरे.
.... حبر severity, तेरे.¹

It is not, however, only in G. that traces of this process can be found. Marathi has also instances of the same character. Thus, शंसी "constantly," from Skr. निद्रस: पंगो, पंगूतो "to limp," "to go wearily," from Skr. पंकुल "lame." Perhaps also पट "a town," from Skr. पट्टन. So also छो "to take," Skr. तह, from which also is H. चेता, M. चरण "to inclose," "surround"; रो a "spring" or "jerk," Skr. रो: रोहा "flag," H. द्रोधा: दूर "a belch," H. दृक्कर, P., S., G. id., but B. also दृक्कर, O. दृक्कर, Skr. वहऱ.

Instances also occur in the other languages, in which not only ə but even ə is thus modulated, as

Skr. पंकवु "weasel," H. निवला, P. नेक्का, O. and B. नेक्का.

Skr. ड्र "to give," H. द्रा, and so in all; similar to which is M. मनो "to measure," from Skr. मात. M. corrupts also Arabic and Persian words in this manner, as वरिष्ठ, Ar. خریض; तेकी, Pers. تاریخ; तरोश, Ar. تاریخ; हिसेब, Ar. جاسب.

This process, which is irregular and capricious, resembles our own English habit of turning ə (शा) into e (ए); thus, we pronounce case as केस, male as माल, rate as रैट, instead of क्राग, माल, राट, as do all other European nations.² The ə in the modern Indian languages is never short, as in Prakrit, but is constantly long.

¹ On the subject of the effect of ə on vowel-sounds, and its tendency to associate with itself the broken vowels (== in Sanskrit the पता and सत्ता series), see Grimm, Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache, vol. 1., p. 216 of the 3rd edit., p. 265 of the 1st and 2nd.

² Grimm, Deutsche Gramm., vol. 1., p. 541; where our modern ə is written a, and as he says, "lautest bald a, bald ə, bald ə; dem angelsächsischen ə (hochdeutsch eu) entspricht es nirgends mehr."
In addition to the instances mentioned above may be noted the case of चय अया, which sometimes contracts into श, just, as will be seen further on, as चय अति contracts into ओ.

Examples:—


Skr. निधय "certainty," H. निधि, S. निधि, निधि.

Skr. समय "time," H. समे.

This process, however, is rare, and such forms are not used by correct speakers or writers. निधि or निधय, समे, समद, समय are all more accurate, as well as more usual methods of writing. The चय, which is the characteristic of the causal verb in Sanskrit, is never changed into व in the moderns, but undergoes a peculiar treatment of its own.

The breaking down of अ and ओ into ओ seems to be one of those points where non-Aryan influences have been at work. The Sanskrit admits of the modulation of ओ into ओ by the addition of an ओ-sound, but it does not include within the range of its phonetic system the opposite process of flattening अ into ओ by the appendage of an ओ-sound. This transition is foreign to the genius of the ancient language, in which ओ is always long. The Dravidian languages, however, possess a short ओ as one of their original simple vowel-sounds, side by side with the ओ corresponding to Skr. ओ. The Tamil further substitutes for the Skr. ओ, i.e. ओ + ओ, a sound ओ, i.e. ओ ओ. This short ओ of the Dravidians is often found in Canarese to replace the ओ and ओ of Sanskrit, and in Tamil ओ corresponds thereto. Thus, Skr. काब "crow," becomes in Tamil काके, in Telugu काकि (probably for काके), in the Kota and other forest dialects of the Nilgiris काकि. Skr. धोटक (seemingly a non-Aryan word) is traceable in Tamil कुद्रे, Canarese कुदुर, Kota कुदुर, etc. So also "the long final ओ of Sanskrit abstracts becomes in Tamil ओ, e.g. अक, 'desire,' Tamil அகை; Chitrā, 'April-May,' Tamil செல்லை. The same ओ becomes ओ in Canarese, e.g., Gangā, 'Ganges,' is in
Canarese Gange or Gangeyu. The first trace of the adoption of this short \( e \) by Aryan populations is found in Prakrit, and takes the form, not of a distinct sound from the long Sanskrit \( e \), but of a shortening of that sound itself. Thus, words which in Sanskrit exhibit long \( e \) followed by a single consonant occur in Prakrit with \( e \) followed by a double consonant. As Prakrit is always very careful to preserve the quantity of Sanskrit words, it is apparent that the common people who spoke Prakrit, having come to regard \( e \) as a short sound, felt it necessary to double the following consonant in order to preserve the quantity, the vowel which in Sanskrit was long by nature becoming thus long by position. Thus, we got Pr. घ्यम for Skr. ग्यम “love,” एक्क for Skr. एक्क “one,” एस्व for Skr. एस्व. These words were pronounced with a short \( e \), as in English get, bed, and the barrenness of invention of the persons who reduced Prakrit to writing is shown by their omitting to provide a separate character for this new sound, as the Dravidians have done. It would be rash, in the present imperfect state of our knowledge on the obscure subject of the relations between the Dravidians and early Aryans, to lay down any definite law on this point; but it is noteworthy, that the Aryan tribes who came most closely into contact with Kols and Dravidians exhibit the greatest proclivity towards the use of these broken vowels. Oriya and Marathi have long been spoken in tracts partly peopled by non-Aryans: in the case of the former by Kols and Telingas; in that of the latter by Gonds, Bhils, and Canarese. The Aryans of Gujarat also displaced non-Aryan tribes, and may from them have caught this trick of speech, as may also the Bengalis from the numerous wild tribes on their frontiers.

1 Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar, pp. 98, 99.

2 The Bengali language, as actually spoken by all classes, from the highest to the lowest, differs in many respects from the language as written in books. Especially is this noticeable in the treatment of the vowel \( \ddot{a} \), which in colloquial usage is
In this way we may account for the common M. word ठंड "to place," as from Skr. खापन. The universal word ठंडना "to prop" is also thus referable to खा; as is ठंडना "to shove," used in all the languages, deducible from खन्. Many more examples will probably occur to the reader, of words the origin of which has hitherto been uncertain, but which, by the operation of this tendency, may be traced back to familiar Sanskrit roots.

To be distinguished from this class of words is that where the two syllables, both vocalized by a, of a Sanskrit word are replaced by a single syllable bearing 

Skr. कमल "goat," O. कैली, B. id., S. कैली.

Here we see the result of the Prakrit habit of eliding the single consonant and replacing it by य, so that we get kasya, chhaya, bayara, which, as in the case of नयन and similar words, is contracted into ।. Bengali shows the word still in a transitional stage. The rules regulating the treatment of those vowels which are brought into juxtaposition by the elision of an intervening consonant are exhibited in § 46.

frequently, in fact almost universally, corrupted into ।. The following are familiar examples:

दिस्राम "I gave," colloquially दिलेम.
व्यार्य "having eaten," र्येके.
कादिया "having left," दे.
मातिया "having survived," व्येके.
चादिया "having moved," र्येके.
पा "before," बा.
पाक "behind," र्येके.

This Bengali । is pronounced more like the English । in sat, eat, etc., than like the full Italian । in sono, avete, etc., and seems to be a linear descendant of the short य of Prakrit.
It will not have escaped notice, that many of the remarks in this section refer rather to a change from ə to ɛ, than from ə to ɛ. The reason of this is that the treatment of the two sounds is so exactly the same that it was found impossible to keep them apart. Another remark is, that though the short ə of the Dravidians seems to have had its influence on the modern Aryan languages, yet the ɛ of the latter is always long, and the short ə-sound, wherever it exists, is represented in writing, not by ʋ, but by reement, as in Sindhi. In languages which are so careless and capricious as these, in their methods of expressing sounds in writing, some confusion is inevitable. It may, however, tend to simplify the matter, if we lay down the rule that ʋ always in all the languages expresses a long sound, even though it repre- sents a corruption from Sanskrit ʋ or ʋ, brought about by the influence of the non-Aryan short ə, which originated in all probability the short ə of Prakrit.

The whole matter, however, is very obscure at present, and deserves to be made the subject of a separate investigation, both from the Aryan and non-Aryan points of view.

§ 36. ʋ into ʋ. This change is very rare. Vararuchi's instances are not to the point. They are coram, lonam, nomāli, mora, moho, chothi, choddhi, for badara, laranā, narnammāli, mayuṇa, mayukha, chaturtha, chaturdāhi. In all these words what has taken place is either elision of a consonant, by which two vowels are brought into contact, or softening of the semi-vowel ə into ɑ, in both cases giving rise by contraction to ə. The syllable əə, except when initial, in all cases in Prakrit is shortened into ə, though not unfrequently so in the modern languages.

ववसाय "labour," "trade," H. ववसाय, कोमाव, O. वचूसा.
ववहार "custom," H. वोरा, P. वोरा.
ववझ "clove," Pr., H. वग्र, P. वाग, S. वाग, O. वंग (longō).
Here may also be introduced the H. and P. चूटना or चोटना, "to cut out clothes," which would be from a word ब्यक्तिनाम or something of that sort. The words beginning with च्यास, such as च्यास्थ्र, च्यास्थाय, and the like, are written in a great variety of ways in the modern languages. See Chapter III. § 53, and Chapter IV. § 90.

(1.) Of the words given above, चोर is used only in M. The forms वेर and वेर have been explained in the last section. O. has वेर, pronounced हर्द, probably a shortening of the Pr. वीर.

(2.) लोष: In this word the syllable अ generally appears as आ. H. लूष, नूष, and only rarely नूष, B. नूष, G. दूष, P. दूष, S. दूष, O. दूष. M. uses लोष as the name of a plant growing in salt soil, probably contracted from लावणक, where स = स्त्र.

(3.) Nemanīlā, not in use; the ordinary name for the flower is chameli—chamkakeli.

(4.) मोर, so in all the modern languages. Here we have elision of y and coalition of a=a=о. I am inclined to think that मोर is the original word derived from the cry of the bird, and that मद्ध्रा is a piece of Brahmical euphemism.

(5.) मोह, not in use, except in the poets.

(6, 7.) चोलो, चवलि. All the moderns have forms in o or au, the natural result of the coalescence of a and a after the elision of e, but no true change of a into o. The words are—


Isolated instances are M. चोकड, Skr. चक्कर, "goat," where the Prakrit form would be चक्कर, and the modern चकर; the influence of the labial consonant having produced the still further change to o. Bengali has कुमोर "potter," from कुमकर; कुमार "carpenter," from मुक्तार; जोगर "anchor," from Persian लंगर, and a few others. In all these cases the tendency appears
to be more towards lengthening ś into ś, than ś into the same.

§ 37. ś into ś. Varuruchi's examples (i. 13) are pākh, halādā, satīrt, for pāthin, karūr, prithivī. Pākh is probably the Prakrit form of Skr. pāth. Pāthin is only one of several forms, and it is not therefore fair to bring this example in here.

Halaadā is H. O. eśādī, M. ējād, P. ējāde, ēkāde. B. characteristically introduces its favourite labial vowel hājād. S. has thrown the ś forward, where it amalgamates with and strongly coherolizes the ś arising from ś, at the same time the two vowels coalesce into a, thus ōjād, hājād.

परिर्ष्टी is also परिर्ष्टी, and is not therefore a fair example. The word is little used in the moderns, and either as a Tāmāma or as a Dāmaiva in the form परिर्ष्टी.

H. वाद्य “cloud,” if inverted from वायद्य, may be an instance, but the derivation is not quite satisfactory. In M. वाद्य means “a dust-storm,” which would suggest the Skr. बायद्य, बायद्य, or बायद्य. In H. P. B. and O., however, the word means “a rain-cloud,” not “a dust-cloud.”

Pr. ś ś is not in use in the moderns.
Skr. कातिक “difficult,” P. कटत, S. बटत, G. कटत.
Skr. निकु “diet,” M. कट, वाय.
Skr. नामिकी “pregnant,” P. नासिक, स्न्याय G. सामक, M. 1d.

Even long ś is thus changed in:
Skr. निम “to meet,” becomes in G. only मांड, in the rest it is निमाण.

*Of these pairs of words the first means taking-renin to see if it is good before eating it at a bake, etc., the second, a master or titer of coin. The exception is almost invariable, and the Turks have esteemed almost magical inantry.
§ 38. र into च. Skr. वृषि “scorpion,” Pr. विष्वी. H. विष्म, M. विष, P. विष्म, S. विष्, but B. and O. विष्म. Var.’s other example, Skr. रुचि—Pr. रुचि, has already been explained by openthesis (§ 34). Vinchhau is probably to be explained as contracted from a form विष्म, which is quite as possible a derivative from root विष, as विष्मिका.

Skr. चिर “to smell,” H. चूँताना.
Skr. चिरिक “red chalk,” H. चेक, M. id., O. चेक, G. चेक.
✓ Skr. चुड़ि “bawd,” O. चुड़ि.
✓ Skr. चूतिकृ “tamarind,” O. चूतिकृ.

With regard to these last two changes, as well as that from अ into ई, the modern Indians embarrass the student by the obscurity of their pronunciation, which is such that these three short vowels are with difficulty distinguishable from one another. In dictionaries and printed works the vowel which ought to be pronounced is shown, but it cannot be said that this is the vowel which is pronounced in all provinces. The proclivity of the western languages for the ई and उ sounds, as also that of the eastern dialects for the अ and ए sounds, introduces confusions which are not fairly exhibited in their literature.

Consequently, changes in these vowels which are authorized by writers are comparatively rare.

§ 39. च into च and र. Here also instances are few, and Vararuchi has had to resort to some doubtful words, as मुदाम, मौलम, for मुक्ता, मुक्ला, where Skr. has also मुक्ता, मुक्ला. U becomes ० in Pr. in parise for गुम्ब, but the moderns use पुरस्वा.

U is changed to a in Skr. कुड़ “variegated,” H. काबर, कंडर, G., M., P., id.; कुड़क “family,” H. कुटम, S. कुटम, G. कुटम. S. has also कुटिम. H. विजयनी from Skr. विजयन “lightning;” so also in B., M., G., and P.; O. has विजयनी. The common M. जचण “to collect,” is by Molesworth derived
from Skr. युक्त; H. and G. have the substantive जगत्व, जड़ो 
“a company.” Skr. मुष्ट्वा “a mine,” changes to मुर्ग H., 
मुर्गस B., but सिमै सु. मुद “anus,” becomes मांड in H., P., 
G., M., and O., unless, which is most probable, the older vulgar 
word was मांड, of which मुद is a softening.

U is altered to i in some finals, as Skr. वायु “wind,” H. बार. 
B., G., S., id., in the sense of “rheumatism,” which the Indians 
believe to be caused by wind, though several languages have 
also forms in u or o, as H. बाँधा, B. ी, M. वात, P. and S. वात, 
O. वाय, but this form means “wind” simply. So also विन्दु 
“a drop,” becomes H. विन्द्र, P. ी, S. विन्द्र, O., M., G. विन्द्र, 
in the sense of “a dot over a letter,” such as that used to in-
dicate anuswara, while in the general sense of “a drop of rain,” 
“blood,” etc., it retains the u. In O. the Skr. बाणम “sand,” is 
बाँ, S. वारी, B. बाणी, but in the others with य.

§ 40. Changes in the quantity of vowels are twofold—the 
shortening of long vowels and the lengthening of short ones.

The long vowel is shortened in the case of all three vowels.

Examples:—

(1) आ becomes आ, primarily in unaccented syllables. In a 
word consisting of two syllables, both of which are open, that 
is, end with a vowel, if one syllable contain a short accented 
vowel, while the other has a long but unaccented vowel, the 
latter not unfrequently becomes short; thus, Skr. यथा, तथा, 
become in Pr. जता, ताता, optionally, as well as जता, ताता. It is 
difficult to decide whether the Hindi obtained its forms श्री, नी 
from the former or the latter of these, or from some other form 
altogether; the modern languages, in the majority of the very 
numerous pronominal and adverbial series which they contain, 
appear to have received from the old Aryan little more than 
the radical parts का, या, सा, ता, and to have evolved the various 
formations from their own resources. There are found cases 
where a long vowel is shortened without any assignable organic
cause; probably in such cases the metre is the reason. Thus, 
*dvarya* = *dehāya*, *pajjva* = *paryāya*, *gahie* = *gṛhitah*. Before a 
double consonant or nexus, also, the vowel is shortened, as in 
*kantam* = *kāntam*, *sahāna* = *asāna* (which paves the way for 
the modern भाणा), *appā* = *āṭmā*, and others (Bhāg.). From 
Vararuci come the following:

Skr. पत्थर “a bed,” oxytone. Pr. *pattharo*, *patthāro*. Here 
the organically long syllable coming immediately before the 
accent is naturally liable to be slurred over. There is, however, 
a special inconvenience in shortening this word, as it becomes 
thereby identical with *pattharo*, from पत्थर “a stone.” S., how-
ever, has both पथ्य “a bed,” and पथ्य “a stone.” M. has 
पथ्य “a bed,” and पथ्य in the second; the other 
languages have only the latter.

Skr. ताँजळवस्क “a fan,” Pr. ताँजळवस्क, not in use in the 
moderns.

Skr. चामर “a chowrie,” Pr. चामर and चार, but the form 
with the short vowel is also in use in Skr. The moderns have 
H. चौरी, P. *dā*, S. चौर, G. चौरी, M. चौरी and चामर, O. चौर, 
B. चमर; *chauri* and the rest give no clue, as they may come 
equally well from च अ or चा.

Skr. पाहर “a blow,” Pr. *paharo*, *pahdre*; in poetry the 
quantity varies according to the exigencies of the metre,—in 
Saptas. 7 it is long, in ḍō 28 short. The word is now seldom 
used.

Skr. चादु “flattery,” Pr. *chaḍu*, *chaḍu*; not in use.

Skr. हालिक “belonging to a plough,” Pr. *hālia*, or *hālia. 
O. हलिक “a plough bullock,” M. हली. The words of this 
kind in the modern languages are rather recent formations from 
हल “a plough,” in which, according to usage, the system of 
gunā has been neglected.

There is also a very numerous class of words in Sanskrit 
which have a long vowel preceding two consonants, i.e. a nexus. 
Prakrit assimilates the first of these two consonants to the last
and shortens the vowel. Hindi and the others, except Panjabí, reject one of the two consonants, and as a compensation restore the preceding vowel to its original quantity; as a type of this class may be taken Skr. मां ग् "a road," Pr. माणी, H. माण. This change in the vowel depends on the succeeding consonants, and is discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

As additional instances of real vowel shortening, the following are to be noticed:

Skr. माण "delusion," H. मणा, S. id.; the last syllable here is not only long by nature, but is also accentuated.

Skr. मंजर "polishing," H., P. मंजरा; in the rest, however, मा, which is also a common form in H. In मंजर "tooth-powder," the short vowel is retained.

Skr. महां "dear (costly)," H. महं, but M. महाग, S. महंगो, P. महंग, G. मंघः.

Skr. संघार "snake-catcher," H. संघरा (i.e. संघिरा), संघा, P. संघाठा, संघा.

Skr. देवालय "temple," Pr. देवल्स, S. देवल्स, H. देवल, M. देवलक, B. देवल, but P. देवाला.

Skr. वासीस "vitriol," H. कसीस, P. id., S. कसु.

In all the above cases it may be laid down as a general rule that the contraction of the long â into a is due to a long or accented vowel following; an accented vowel, whether long or short, universally retains its quantity more accurately than an unaccented one, even though it be long.

(2.) र into र. Prakrit examples with their modern equivalents, where there are any, are as follows:

Skr. पाणी "water," Pr. पाणी. This is the common word for "water" in use now. It is written in all पाणी or पाणी, universally with long e.

Skr. चली "false," Pr. चली, but H. चलीक.
Skr. ज्वलिन "painful," Pr. वलिन and विलिन.
Skr. तद्रामी "then," Pr. तद्रामि.
Skr. कोरिय "cowdung," Pr. जरिसि.
Skr. द्वितीय "second," Pr. दूरि, P. दूरिए, दूरिया, G. दूरियो, S. दूरियो, द्वितीया. Not in use in the rest.
Skr. गभीर "deep," Pr. गदहरि, so H. गदहरि or गहरि, and so in all. The Tatama form गभीर is also in use.
Skr. गीतकाल "cold weather," Pr. गीत्थात्र, S. गीत्थारि.
Skr. गीत्थि "spleen," H. गिठ्ठ, गिठ्ठि, M. गिठ्ठा, P. O. गिठ्ठा, ग. पोळ्या; but गिठ्ठि also in Skr.

(3.) ढ into ध: The only Pr. instance is मधुक for मधुक "a tree" (the Bussia latifolia). H. restores the quantity मह्या, but G. uses a diminutive with a resulting short vowel, मधुः; P. मध्या.

Modern examples are:

Skr. ध्वप "a well," S. ध्वप, M. ध्वप, G. ध्वप; In the rest it is long.
Skr. दूप "leaping," S. दूप, G. दूप.

In the majority of cases, however, the modern languages preserve the quantity of the Sanskrit vowel with great fidelity before a single consonant. The two main disturbing elements are the accent and the nexus. The Prakrits being dead languages, we only know concerning them that which has been handed down in writing, and it cannot be too often repeated that Indian writers of all ages are untrustworthy guides to the spoken languages, as they all consider themselves entitled to alter or "improve" words at their will.
Considerable difficulty arises in some of the languages from the careless method of writing employed, by which, especially in \( i \) and \( u \), the long vowels are often written where short ones should be, and vice versa. Gujarati, for instance, may be said to make practically no distinction between \( i \) and \( i \), \( u \) and \( u \). I have seen the same frequently in Oriya correspondence, where बीमापन is written for विमापन, बीकी for बिक्षि (बिकिर्षि). In the more accurate Marathi, also, the same practice occurs, as in साप्पत्र, सापिंद्र, for सप्ती, सपिष्क्र. This is, it may be said, mere vulgar corruption, but it must be remembered that vulgar corruptions are the cause of nine-tenths of the changes in language. Pandite, of course, in writing restore the vowels to the quantity they bear in Sanskrit, so that we cannot always tell how far the lengthening or shortening has become an established colloquial habit, or how far it is merely misspelling.

Inasmuch as the shortening of a long vowel is generally due to the presence of another long or accented vowel immediately following, so a word containing a long vowel shortens that vowel when it becomes the first member of a compound, or in derivatives where a heavy termination is added. Thus, पानी "water," becomes यन in the II. words पनमाना (पानी and अत) "water and boiled rice," पञ्चही (पानी and तूमना) "a diver," पञ्चाणा (पानी and तृणा) "a watering place," पञ्चकुड़ी "a water-hen" (पानी and कुड़की), पञ्चहारा "a water-carrier"; बात "a word" becomes बत in बतवृद्धि "proximity," बतवाना "a great talker," बतवहार "loquacity," बतवळ "talkative"; बाण "a road" becomes बट in बटोहो "a traveller," बटव "a highwayman," बटवार "a road-tax" or "toll," बटिया "a narrow passage." From बीज "seed" come बिना "a stallion," बिवाना "seedy," बिवार "seed-corn." From पूल "a flower," पूलारी "a garden," पूलाज "an oil scented with flowers" (पूल + तिल), पूलारी "flowered cloth," पूलावड़ी "a kind of firework," पूला "to blow" or "be inflated."

This rule is more fully carried out in Hindi than in the
others. Instances, however, from the other languages are here given:

Marathi घृप incense, घृपकारी, घृपाङरा, घृपारती, घृपेश, etc.

- घृङ्ग dust, घृङ्गवन, घृङ्गवंडे, घृङ्गकार, घृङ्गकार.
- मृग list, मृगा, मृगाका, मृग.
- मृग urine, मृगबंद, मृगरा, मृगरी.
- मीट begging, मिनारी, मिनाबाजी, मिनाक.
- मीट straight, मिट्टे, मिटावणे, मिटस.
- काम work, कमाच, कमावणे.
- नाक a lakh, नाकपत, नाकमाल.

Gujarati पाणी water, पाणघट.

- पुल flower, पुलकुंड, पुलवारी, पुलदार.
- भीम begging, भीमारी, etc.

Punjabi पाणी water, पाणकपड़ा, पाणवाही, पाणचांद, also पन०.

- बीज seed, बिजारे, बिचारणा, बिचार.

It has been thought advisable to introduce these modern examples in this place, because they afford proof that there does exist a tendency to make the quantity of the foregoing vowel subservient to that of the following, and this tendency explains the instances of real shortening of Sanskrit long vowels. The modern examples are not, as regards Sanskrit, true shortenings, inasmuch as the vowel now shortened had in many cases only become long by some process in the Prakrit period, and had been short in the Sanskrit. I must not be understood, however, to express a belief in a Sanskrit period prior in point of time to a Prakrit one; by the words "Prakrit period" is meant that stage of the language in which the rules of Vararuchi and others were in sole operation, as contrasted with that in which Sanskrit forms were in existence either alone or side by side with more popular ones.

§ 41. The short vowel in Sanskrit is lengthened in the
moderns when the nexus by which it is followed is dissolved, and one consonant only remains, as समन = सम, चन्द्र = चाँद्र.

This depends on consonantal laws, and will be found discussed in Chapter IV.

The cases given in Var. i. 2, are not found in modern times, and probably owe their existence to metrical exigencies. The same cause may with probability be assigned to such forms as क्षिप्तम् = क्षिप्रम्, गाहारति = ग्रिहापति, वियताहि = वियतिपाति, and others (Bhāg.).

The geographical gradation from west to east of certain tendencies has already been mentioned. One example comes under the present head. Sindhi and Panjabi prefer short vowels, but P. generally follows them up by a double consonant, while S. does not. Hindi has two faces; as usual, in this matter, in its western area it inclines to the short vowel, in its eastern to the long. Bengali prefers the long vowels, and puts them in unnecessarily, just as often as Sindhi does the short ones. Thus we have

Skr. बल “young of an animal,” B. बाच्चा, Eastern H. बात्ता, Western H. बत्ता, P. वत्ता, S. बत्ति. Of course in these western words the influence of Persian बल is to be allowed for. कच्चप “tortoise,” H., P. कच्चु, S. कच्छ, but B. कच्छम.

वर्ष “portico,” B. वराष्ट्रा, H. वर्षा; most of our wise-acre litterateurs in Hindustan now-a-days consider this word to be derived from Persian वर्ष, and write it accordingly. It is, however, good Sanskrit.

The following list exhibits a long vowel in Bengali, where as a rule the other languages have the short; Hindi, as the most central in this respect, being neither too prone to shorten nor to lengthen, is shown as a contrast.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bengali पत्थर stone</th>
<th>Hindi पत्थर</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>पाटा a lease</td>
<td>पट्टा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पाका ripe</td>
<td>पक्का</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bengali पाड़ब्रें turban, हिन्दी पाड़ब्रें
" पाहार hill, " पाहार
" काठान to burst, " काठाना
" बाती candle, " बाती
" बाटखारा weight, " बाटखारा
" बाटूचा purse, " बाटूचा
" बाटोर quail, " बाटोर
" भाटी distillery, " भाटी
" भाष्कार granary, " भाष्कार
" माचां scaffold, " माचां
" हाल्का light, " हाल्का

In some of these instances the other languages agree with Bengali, and in such of them as are of known derivation the long vowel arises from the desire of compensating for the loss of one of two conjoined consonants following. This desire is felt and expressed by most of the other languages. It is, however, not given effect to in them when a long vowel occurs in the subsequent syllable, or when there is a long heavy termination which removes the pressure from the initial syllable. Thus, H. पाहार, बाटखारा, बाटूर. In these places the Bengali retains the long syllable in writing, though, owing to the peculiarly harsh pronunciation of the lower orders in Bengal, it is difficult to decide whether they mean to say बाटी or बाट, and the like.

But apart from these peculiarities of Bengali, there do exist cases in which a short vowel in Sanskrit becomes long in modern languages.

Thus, (1.) च is lengthened to चा in

Skr. सहने "bearing," M. साह्ने.
Skr. चसने "swallowing," M. चासने.
Skr. ट्रहै "burning," H. वाहिन, and so in all, in the sense of burning with anger, etc.

Skr. चलन "going," M. चाधिय, O. चाणिरा.

There may be a few other verbs of this sort in the other languages; but it is in Marathi that most examples of lengthening the root vowel of the infinitive are to be sought for. In संहने, ग्रासने, चलने, there seems no reason for the change.

(2.) र is lengthened to र in


Skr. चिंरि "thirty," H. तीस, M. तीस, P. तीह, S. तीह.

Skr. विणा "tongue," H. वीष, and so in all except S. विष.

Skr. जटिन "hard," M. जहीण.

M. lengthens the र of र्नी in Sanskrit feminines from adjectives in र्, as शक्नि "she-elephant," M. श्लोष, Skr. शक्नि, M. बहीण, Skr. सुबंदोकारिणी, M. सोनारिण, where H. has शहिण, सोनारिण. Such words generally bear the accent on the penultimate in Skr., which accounts for the vowel being lengthened in M. Skr. शिचय च loose," rejects the first syllable, and becomes H. ढीका, through Pr. झिक (Var. ii. 28); here the lengthening is apparently compensative. P., however, has झिका, S. झिकी or झिरो, and B. and O. write occasionally झिं as well as झीं.

(3.) द is lengthened to द in

Skr. कुल "a family," M. कुळ, though also कुल.

Skr. सुषम "pestle," H. सुसह, B. सुपल.

Skr. पूर "town," H. पूर, and so in all.

In this last instance पूर in Sanskrit bore the accent on the first syllable, and was a disyllable पू-रा; but when the modern languages rejected the final a, and made the word a monosyllable, the weight of the accent naturally lengthened the vowel.
is accented on the first, mū-sama-la; here also the rejection of the final ā throw more weight on to the first syllable. M. कुक्त is the same, kūl for kā-la. In fact, in most of the above cases the lengthening is due to the rejection of some termination or final syllable, which throws the accent on the syllable that remains, just as the cases of shortening were seen to be caused by the addition of heavy formative syllables. These languages are for the most part very sensitive in this respect, except Oriya and Bengali, where, especially in the speech of the lower orders, long vowels are shortened and short ones lengthened without any regard to the origin or etymology of the word.

§ 42. Those peculiar forms of augment called Guna and Vriddhi in Sanskrit come next to be considered. Being entirely absent from Prakrit, they can hardly be expected to occur in modern Indian dialects. In Prakrit e and o are simple vowels, often considered short, as ē, ō, and followed by a double consonant. Thus, ē is used as equivalent to i in pendam, pindam; nedā, niddā; sendūram, sindūram; for Skr. pīḍa, niḍra, sindūra, and other words. E is also substituted for i in neddam, ápela, keriso, for nido, ápida, hādiś. In the first of these words the consonant is doubled, making the e short, but in the rest it is long. Similarly o is written for a in tanḍam, mottā, pokkharo, potthao, for tanda, muktā, pushkara, pustaka. But we sometimes find the reverse, i being put for e, as in viṇā, diaro, for vedanā, devara; evanā, diaro, are, however, also in use. Owing to the inherent brevity of e and o in Prakrit, this process is not uncommon. E is shortened to i in inam=enam, iyānām=etānām (eteshām), and sometimes the following consonant is doubled, as in ikka=eka, chittījja=tishthet (through chittīyā). O is similarly shortened to u in uya=ōja, patineśuṇi =palyopama, appussu=ālhotsukas, etc.

In the Vriddhi forms bālā, bālita, airāvata, trailokayā, the a is softened into ē: sealo, seethcham, ercayo, tellokkam; in other
cases the diphthong is split into ai, i.e. एः = छड़, as दौचो, Chaitto, for daitya, chaitra. Parallel to this, au is softened to o in jocvanam, komi, for yauvanam, kaumudi, or dissolved into चर in pauro, paurio, for paura, paurusha.

Lastly, i is given for ai, and u for au. Instances are sindhavam for saindhavam, sunderam for saundaryam. In this case we may perhaps merely say that the vulgar formed these words by adding the necessary terminations without making use of the grammatical process of Vriddhi.

Something analogous to the Sanskrit Gunṣa occurs in cases where, from consonantal corruptions, a short vowel has to be lengthened, but instead of performing this lengthening by the corresponding pure vowel, the Gunṣa vowel is resorted to. Thus, कूस "leprosy," would by the ordinary rule become कूट, and by a further step कूढ़. It does, however, become H. कोड (kord), S. कड़ह, G. कोड, and कोड, M. id. So also the adjective कुड़ि "leprosy," becomes H. कुड़ी, M., O. id., G. कुड़ि, S. कोड़ि. Skr. कुङ "bully," is H. कुङ. Skr. कुंठल "a hoe," S. कूड़र, G. कूड़ा, G. कूड़ा, O. कूड़ा. Skr. कित्ता "the bel tree," H. केत, and so in all. Skr. मुखा "a pearl," H. मोती, and so in all. Skr. विल्र "a bean," H. वेम. In these cases a mere lengthening in the direction of the original vowel would have produced कुङ्च, कूटर, वीच, मूटी, and वीम. Looking to the remarks made in § 35, it seems probable that in this case also there are indications of a non-Aryan principle at work. It is clear, however, that the vowels e and o are in these instances, and all similar ones, long, and not, as in the Prakrits, short.

I have very little to say about the forms which words take which have already undergone Gunṣa or Vriddhi in Sanskrit. Such words most frequently occur as Tatsamas or very recent Tadbhavas. Except in Tatsama, Vriddhi vowels are of rare occurrence in all the languages, ai being generally turned into e, and au into o. Thus, चरित्र "red chalk," becomes चैर, as quoted above. क्रियक "a fisherman," H. क्रिष्ट; गीर "pale," H.
Vowel Changes.

The vowels *ai* and *au* arise, however, in the modern languages from contraction. Especially is this the case with *au*. When, therefore, it is said that the Vṛiddhi vowels are rare, it is not meant that *ai* and *au* are rare; what is meant is that, except in Tatsamas or pure Sanskrit words in their strict Sanskrit shape, words which have been derived from primary nouns, by lengthening the root-vowels *i* and *u* to *ai* and *au* respectively, do not occur. Thus, from पुत्र “a son,” comes पौत्र “a grandson,” but Hindi, followed by most of the others, says पोता. Oriya sometimes in such cases uses only the long pure vowel, as in श्री, and sometimes only the short, as in पुत्रा “nephew,” from पौत्र.

We may perhaps conclude from this, that the system of derivation by Vṛiddhi, though not altogether an artificial one, was not carried out in all its perfection by the vulgar, and that the elevation of a vowel to its second or Guna power was all that took place in practice. The long diphthongs take their origin from very different causes, such as the softening of ॅ in the middle of a word into ृ, and subsequently into ृ, thus coalescing with a preceding *u*, not as in Sanskrit into *o*, but *au*; e.g. कपड़ा “cowrie-shell,” makes first कपड़ु, and in H. कोड़ा, whence our English corruption of “cowrie”; or from the absorption of ॅ in a similar manner, e.g. वासन “dwarf,” H. बोगा, where B. more fully exhibits वाजनिया. ॅ does, however, occasionally melt into *o*, as बोगा “to sow,” Skr. बपन्.

In बैल, मिला, ईला, from बली, मली, खली, we have instances of the retrospective influence of the *i* noted in § 34; while in ऐला, वैला, तैला, and the like, the diphthong has arisen from elision of the *r* of Prakrit forms प्रेला, केरला: for Skr. द्रष्ट्र, कोष्ट्र, or perhaps rather from some such colloquial forms as आद्रि, काद्रि, so that the Prakrit would form आरा, कारा, whence by elision of the *r* there would naturally result आ-सा,
VOWEL CHANGES.

kā-īndā; for to deduce ai from e+i is a proceeding for which there is no analogy in any of the languages, and which seems prima facie unnatural and improbable.

§ 43. उ and its changes. The Prakrit treatment of this Protean vowel had better be kept separate from its later developments, as the utmost care is necessary to prevent inextricable confusion.

(1). It becomes a in tanam, ghanam, maam, kaam, vaddho, rasaho, for trina, "grass," ghriṇā, "pity," mrita, "dead," krita, "done," tridhi, "old," erishabha, "a bull." Bhāmaha says this and the following changes only occur when उ is initial.

In Bhāg. occur tachcha=trītya, āhačcha=āhrītya, haya= krita, mac=mritah, kado=krita.

(2). It becomes i in ist, viś, giśthi, ditthi, sīthi, rīngāro, miṅka, bbingo, bhingāro, hinam, rīṅko, viṅham, kīsaro, kīchhā, vinchhuo, siālo, kiī, kīst, iṅvā, for rīshi, viśthi, griśthi, drīśthi, sirīthi, śrīngāro, vrīgānka, brīnga, bhīngāro, hriyāya, vīṛkhīna, vṛīṃhkīta, kriyāka, kriyād, vṛīchikā, śrīgāla, kriti, kriśi, kripā.

(3). It becomes u in udā, munālo, pṳḥaţ, vundāvanam, pāṳso, pāṳttī, ciudam, sauvudam, etc., preahuo, māvo, jāmāvo, for rītu, mrinālo, prithiet, viṁdācana, prāerish, prāṇriți, ecvīta, samerīta, etc., parabhīta, mātīka, jāmātrīka.

(4). It becomes e in talavanäm, geha, genhadi, for tālarrintaka, griha, grihimāti. Geho occurs even in Sanskrit. This change is not noticed by Vararuci.

(5). It is written रङ in rinam, riddho, richchho, for rinam, riddha, rikṣha; and in the compounds eriso, sariso, tāriso, and the like, for tārica, vadhikā, tādițka; and especially when initial, as riuvada=riyveda, rissaha=rishabha.

(6). In वृन् "a tree," it is changed into ṛu, becoming रक्ती.

As regards modern times, there are practically two उ. The first is that grammarian's letter which, as Bopp has shown, represents a rapid pronunciation of a radical ar, and the i of
which is merely indicative of a light, half-heard vowel-sound. Accordingly, in his last edition of the *Comparative Glossary*, the illustrious author writes *kar, mar, darā, bhar*, for ख, म, ढ, म, etc. The second, though of similar origin to the first, has completely superseded the form from which it arose, and has firmly established itself in the language at an early date; such is the च in चच, चन, चर, etc. With regard to the first रि, the probability is that it never had any real existence in popular speech, and in discussing the modern words arising from roots in रि we cannot say that we have examples of a change of that letter. It would be incorrect, for example, to cite *karaṇa, marna, bharna*, as instances of the change of रि into a, parallel to that in Pr. *tavan* from *trāṇa*, because in reality *karaṇa* is from *karaṇam*, *bharna* from *bharanaṃ*, and there has never been any question of रि in the matter.

The actual च which became a living fact, and not merely a grammatical fiction, was apparently pronounced precisely in the same way as रि, and accordingly in those languages which have not had their alphabets remodelled by Pandita, this artificial च has no existence. Hindi, Panjabi, Sindhi, and Gujarati know nothing of it, and always write the words where it occurs with रि, as रिंग, रिं, etc., whenever they occur in a Tatsama or modern Tadbhava (i.e. a very slightly altered) form. In early Tadbhava words, however, this real रि undergoes many changes; by far the most frequent of which is that into रि of which the following are examples:

कालित “a husbandman,” H. किसान, P. किसाण.  
मूढ “vulture,” H. मिठ, मिठ, M. मिठक, मिठ, मिठ, G. id., B. मिठ, S. मिठ, P. मिठ.  
नुस “grass,” H. निताका, P. निसा, S. तीसी, M. रन, B. निसाका, निसाका.  
वृषिक “scorpion,” H. विषुक, etc. (See § 38.)
VOWEL CHANGES.

Many more instances might be given, but the above will suffice. As an additional proof that this vowel was from an early date regarded as identical with र may be adduced the fact that in many cases it becomes long ī, because the र of ṛ, under the operation of the rules of the nexus (see Chapter IV., § 83), becomes assimilated to the preceding consonant, which necessitates the lengthening of the vowel.

The root द्र is the parent of many modern words. It is probable that this root was originally written with य, and was, in fact, द्र, or द्र; traces of this form survive in some tenses of the verb, as द्वार्ष, by an irregular गुन, for दृष्टि, द्वार्ष, द्वौद्र, द्वौद्र, and in the cognate Greek ἄπθω, Lith. zerkūnas, Russ. zerkalo, Irish dearcain (Bopp, Gloss. Comp., s.v. darr).

When or how the य was softened to य cannot be, of course, distinctly stated, but it was evidently after the formation of the Pr. देख, The य or य of the older form leads back to चग, रे, and other verbs of seeing, and renders it unnecessary to suppose with Weber that Pr. देख is derived from the desiderative form ṛḍirikāḥ (Bhāg., p. 414, note 3). From this form, which I suppose to be the oldest, as well as the most used, come H. देख, and the similar verbs in the others, B. देख, M. देख, G. देख, P. देख, S. देख, O. देख.

Another form of this root dates from the time when the form ṛḍi had become finally fixed.—Pr. देस, देस, H. देस, P. देस, S. देस, G. देस, M. देस, O. देस. In all but S. this word is neuter, and means “to be visible,” “to be in sight,” a less simple and original meaning than that of देख, which latter therefore, by this consideration, also establishes a claim to be looked upon as the earlier form. It is perhaps worth notice that in scenic Prakrit a very frequent word for “seeing” is
pekkh, for प्रेष, and that possibly the existence of this verb may have had some influence on the creation of the somewhat anomalous form dekkh. The idea is based on the well-known fondness of the Indians for jingling words of similar sound; so that dekk, pekk, would be a similar form to uttā, pullā; bāt, chāt; aghal, baghal; ās, pās; dhakkām, dhukkā; jhāth, māth; and many others in Hindi and Marathi, as well as in the other languages. To return, however, to other developments of the root: the third and latest series is that with the base dars, which has given in all the languages the Tatsama substantive dārisa. O. and B. have also simple verbs दर्शिति, दर्शिता, and causals दर्शाति, and दर्शायता; M. दर्शाविष्णु, and poetical दर्शाविष्णु “to hint,” “insinuate” (causals in form). G. दर्शावृ, “to see,” S. दर्शावृ “to point out,” should apparently be also referred to this series. The substantive दर्श “sight,” becomes Pr. दिदृ, H. दीद, दीदत, also दीद, P. दिदृ, S. दिदित, G. adverbially दिद or दिद, meaning “at,” “per head,” “each”;

M. दीद.

Similar in treatment to दिद are the following:

पृष्ठ “back,” H. पीठ, B. पृथ, O. पिठि, P. पिठित, G. पिठि
पृष्ठ “to beat,” H. पीठित, B. पीठित, O. पिठित, M. पिठित, G. पिठित, P. पिठित, S. पिठित
मृष्ठ “to rub,” H. मिठिता “to efface,” B., O. पृथ, G. मिठित, M. मिठित, P. मिठित, S. मिठित

In some instances M. prefers the a sound, which is even lengthened to ā, as in पाठ = पृष्ठ, दर्शाविष्णु, “to show,” H. दिष्ठान, etc.; माती “earth,” Skr. मृति; B., G., and O. have here also माती; and H., though मिठी is the usual form, has also मटी, and in some rural dialects मटी. In cases like this we should perhaps be justified in referring to Vriddhi forms मार्ति.

1 By this fortunate change all confusion is avoided between this word and पीठ “floor,” from Skr. पीठ.
Vowel Changes.

Other instances of \( \text{ ₹i} \) going into the \( a \) sound are 

"thirsty," M. तहाण, for तान्ध or ताह्य; but the western languages and Hindi hold to the \( i \) as H. तिरखा (through तिरखा), P. तिहा, S. दिहार, दिह्ल, etc.

क्रुणा "Krishna," Pr. कलो, कंडो, H. ऊण्ड, कन्हार, कन्हैया, P. id.,
S. जानु, G. कंढो "a boy," कन्हैया "playful," (from the character of Krishna), M. कन्हैया (क्रुणपति).

मुख "a chain," Pr. सिकलो, H. संकर, P. संघर, S. id., G. सोंकल,
M. id. B., however, has सिकल, O. सिकल, and H. also सिकर and शीर.

In Pali \( \text{₹} \) nearly universally appears as \( a \); thus, तन becomes 

कट, हड़य हड़य, and a hundred others. The antiquity of Pali, as compared with other species of Prakrit, is additional confirmation of the assertion that \( \text{₹} \) was originally regarded as 

or \( \text{र} \).

The root वृण is sometimes treated as सरिथ, at others as सरिथ.

In the former case it naturally retains the \( a \) sound. Thus, 

वृण, when regarded as a participle, meaning "increased" or 

"large," is treated as though it were वृण, and by rejecting the 
aspirate forms H. बड़ा "big," P. बड़ा, S. बड़ो, B. O. बड़, G. बड़ो; but when regarded as an adjective in the special sense 
of "old," we find the \( \text{₹} \) fully recognized as an established fact, 

and, owing probably to the influence of the labial, it passes into 

\( \text{a} \). Thus, H. बड़ा and बूढ़ा "an old man," बूढ़ी and बूढिया 

"an old woman," P. बुढ़ा, बूढ़ो, S. बुढ़ो, B. बूढ़ा, बूढ़ी, O. बूढ़ा, 

बूढ़ी, G. बूढ़ी, बूढ़ी.

बृण is another root which has widespread ramifications. In 

Prakrit the derivatives of this root generally appear to have 
exhibited the \( a \) sound, as पूड़ी, चिवड़ा, सैमुड़ा, गिवुड़ा, 

सुतुन्तो, for pravṛtti, cīvīḍa, samurīḍa, aśurīḍa, cīvīḍā (Var. i.

29); but in the Jain Pr. of the Bhāgavati the Sanskrit forms 

cīvīḍa, pravṛtti, are found, and the ordinary form cīvīḍa goes into
vaff, as cait± for cartate. So in Saptāš, with a further loss of v, we find niattā, niattante, and once niventta (sl. 156). In the modern languages there are, first, a number of words of the form बट or बट, derived from various parts of the root. Thus:

H. बटा “discount,” “exchange,” P. बट, बट, S. बटो, बटा,
G. बटान, M. बट, O. बट, B. बटा, perhaps from Skr. बांत, in the sense of trade, business.

H. बटा “to twist,” P. बट, S. बट.

There are very numerous derivatives in all the languages from these forms; also in the form बट, बट, as H. बट “a road” (Skr. बांत), and so in all.

Peculiar to Bengali is the verb बट, meaning literally “it is,” बलित, but ordinarily used as an emphatic affirmative, “yes, truly.” It is conjugated in all three persons:

| Singular | बट | बटै | बटै
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>पुरुष</td>
<td>बट, बटो, पुरुष बट</td>
<td>पुरुष बटै</td>
<td>पुरुष बटै</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नाम</td>
<td>बटै</td>
<td>बटै</td>
<td>बटै</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Oriya has बट or बट for “it is,” which may have arisen from rejecting the ब, though I feel inclined to give another origin to this word. The Marathi verb बट, in its sense “to seem,” “appear,” is also to be brought in here. Thus, अपि पाहि पापि द अटाटो = “It seems likely that rain will fall to-day.”

Secondly, the moderns take the forms बट, बट, as in H. बट, “a word,” Skr. बांत. And finally there are strings of Tatsamas, as बुनाल, and the like; but on the whole this root appears always to have been treated as क्रि, and seldom or never as क्रि.

Rt goes into the u sound somewhat rarely, and generally after labials; but it must be remembered that this vowel is in several provinces pronounced by the vulgar rv, where it occurs in
current Tatsamas; this is especially the case in Orissa, Maharashtra, and Gujarat.

Skr. पावस् “rain,” M. पावस. It is rare in H., and is sometimes written पावस.

Skr. सृवति “memory,” H. सूति, P. id., S. सृवति.

Skr. पृष्ठ “back,” S. पृष्ठ, P. पृष्ठ. P. has also पिष्ठ, and all the others except M. have the t sound.

The common nouns of relationship पितृ, मातृ, सातृ, become in Pr. पिया, माया, माया, and in P. पिया, माया, माया, मोघा, S. पिल, माल, माल. This must not be regarded as a change from ri to a, as these words really ended in ar. It seems probable that even in Prakrit a nominative pitarō was formed, from a desire of avoiding the multifarious Sanskrit declensions and reducing them all to the simplicity of the ordinary declension. The o in Pr. corresponds to the masculine termination a, of Sanskrit, and in Sindhi is shortened to a. The long a in P. is also a trace of this Pr. o. Similarly in old Hindi a long a is often found as a termination, though in modern Hindi very few traces of this form can be found.

The past participle मृत, from मृ “to die,” becomes in Pr. मृत, मृत, मृत; in H. मृत, P. मृत, S. मृत, G. मृत, but M. मृत, O. मृत.

Skr. भान्त्रि “brother’s wife,” H. भावर, भावर, भाव, भाव, etc., P. मायी (=भान्त्राय), S. मायार, B., O. माया, M. मायार, where the place of the ri is occupied by an, o, u, etc.; but, on the other hand, भान्त्रि: “nephew,” becomes H. मतीरा, P., G. id.; S. मार्यार.

Here there are two different treatments of ri: in bhūṣi it becomes a, in bhatṭā, i. The cause appears to lie in the relative antiquity of the two words; bhatṭā, though now a word in daily use, has a suspiciously modern look; when we find bhrātrī alone had at an early age lost its t and become bhāḍ, bhā, and bhā, we are led to ask how bhatṭā can have retained
that letter; and following the analogy of the languages, we
are forced to conclude that it is a modern Tadbhava, formed at
a time when bhrātri with its grammatical termination ri no
longer existed, except in books. Two arguments aid this
theory: one is the conversion of the ri into r, showing that
this letter must have become fixed and identified with रि;
and the other is, that in the cognate languages, except P. and
G., which are in many respects little removed from dialects
of Hindi, the word has no existence. In vulgar Bengal the
term in use is मात्र गुप्त bhāī pūc, i.e. भातूरुच. In Oriya pūrurā,
i.e. पूरप. In Marathi we have only the Tatsama. S. bhāityo
is evidently inverted from मात्रियो, where, the ri being regarded
as रि, the र has cerebrilized the dental.

Cases where the ri is actually written as रि are numerous in
H. and P., and to a less extent in S. and G. M., B., and O.
are too Pandit-ridden to allow of this. Instances are गृहका
बृज "tree," H. ब्रिज (rare), दृढ "firm," P. दृविह (drieh).

As words of this class are mostly Tatsamas or very recent
Tadbhavas, the method of writing them here given may be set
down as a mere instance of bad spelling. Far more common is
the transfer of ri into र or चर—as

Skr. बृद्रि "maintenance," H. ब्रिरि "a religious endowment," P. ब्रिरत,
चिरत, S. चिरत (for चिरि) "rations."

Skr. बृज "aged," P. ब्रिह.

Skr. तृष "satisfied," Old H., P. तिरपत (tirpat), but also तिपत, Old B. ति.

A mass of words in which तृ "three," forms the first element are
indifferently written त्रि, तिर, तर, and ति, in H. and P.
Much of this is mere ignorance or carelessness. तृ "a house,"
becomes even in Skr. चौ, and this form continued in use till
the twelfth century. It is now universally replaced by घर;
which takes us back to a form गई, probably the real original
form of गृह. In this case the modern languages have preserved the more ancient and popular form. That this form was in use to a certain extent in early times is proved, not only by its occurrence in Prakrit, but also by the compound words बेहर, पिउहर, etc. पिउहर or पीहर is for बिँड़हर, i.e. पिउहर “father’s house.” बेहर is also written गहिहर and गाहिर, but the first is the true spelling and is apparently from बिंड़हर, i.e. निम्बुह “own house.”

§ 44. Other vowel changes. Short a, though not an ambiguous sound, having always the same value as our English a in but, is nevertheless a very brief dull sound, and is easily in pronunciation modified by an admixture of other sounds. Especially is this the case with a short dull ai sound in M. and P. Both of these, though in exactly the opposite way, confuse this sound with a. Thus Panjabi changes the ai of certain words into a, as in Skr. वेदनी “a beggar” (स्व-दिसात ‘religions!’), P. वेदनी “the river Baitarni,” P. बलया. Ar. خبرت “alma,” P. खिल. This peculiarity is one of speaking rather than of writing, and correct writers would probably restore the ai to its place. It arises from the influence of the long vowel following; even in the case of Baitarni the vowel which was short in Skr. becomes long by position, through the elision of the second a, by which the r and a are brought together and form a nexus. To return now to the converse change, by which a short a is replaced by ai: the M. gives a good typical example in संड “slow,” Skr. मंड. Other instances are—

Skr. बुड “egg-plant,” M. बेगन, so also H. बेगन, B. बेगन, P. वेगन, O. बेगन.

Skr. वसन “sitting,” M. वसन, so also in rural H. वसन.

Skr. गुँठ “town,” M. गुड़ा, “name of a certain town.”

Married women of the lower classes in India are perpetually running off to their fathers’ houses, either to pay a visit or in a fit of anger with their husbands. These two words are thus in constant requisition.
Skr. परं, "but," M. चै, so also H. and P.
Skr. परं "beyond," M. चै (for परल as in P. परल्), चैत, चैलाद and many derivatives. H. also चै, "upon."
Skr. परसरण "spreading," M. परसव (= परसाव).

A similar process may be noticed in H. in the forms "पञ्चिस," पञ्चाजीस "forty-five," पञ्चत "sixty-five"; the first element of which is च्छ; so also in चौदौस "thirty-seven," and the rest of the series. Another instance is चौदा "a road," from पञ्चा: In all these examples it is not the extra-long diphthong of the Sanskrit that we have to deal with, but an obscure sound which has probably crept into the speech of the vulgar from Dravidian or Kol sources; and the चिस is thus connected with the Tamil சி, and belongs to the same series of processes as those noticed in § 35, where the च and च of Aryan utterance has been corruppted into a short almost inorganic च. It will be observed that the shortness of this sound is shown by its constant use before a long vowel.

Other changes may be dealt with separately, as they do not yet seem to point to any systematic law or rule, but, as far as investigations have gone, appear to stand alone. Thus, for instance, there is the Skr. पुस्पम "lungs," Pali पुष्पमसि, Pr. probably पुष्पम. This undergoes the following changes: H. पुष्परा or पुष्पद्रा, B. पुष्पद्रा, पुष्पस्या, and पुष्पद्रा, O. पुष्पद्रा and vulgarly पुष्पद्रा, S. पुष्पद्रा, M. पुष्पस्या. Here we have every imaginable variety of vowels, and the changes are peculiar to this word, giving hardly any analogies to any others. The only solution appears to be that in Sanskrit even there existed more than one form of the word, which is to a certain extent onomatopoetic, and derived from some root imitative of the sound of breathing or blowing. In classical Sanskrit, as usual, only one of the various forms in use among the people has been retained. Another anomalous change is that of मुरु "an

anklet," into पूर. This change of ू into े occurs as early as Prakrit. The substitution of े for sounds with which it has apparently no relation is seen again in Skr. गोधूम "wheat," H. गोह्र, S. इद., B. sometimes इ. In some parts of Hindustan the more regular form गोह्र is, however, heard also.

To complete this collection of paradoxes may be adduced M. and G. बायूस "cotton," Skr. कपास; M. बौरीप, also भौरीप, भौरपी, "a juggler," Skr. वृग्ध्य; M. भाजाली "jugglery," Skr. भाजाली. M. contains a great number of these irregular forms, and the other languages will doubtless be found to do the same when they shall have obtained the advantage of being set forth and explored by observers as diligent and accurate as Molesworth.

I do not attempt to account for the changes noted above beyond the allusion to the probability of a non-Aryan element in them. It is so very difficult in the present elementary state of the comparative philology of the group under consideration to determine what is, and what is not, really a form in general use, that there is an ever-present risk of wasting time in discussing a form which may turn out hereafter to be nothing more than an error of the dictionary-maker. In the languages where I am from personal knowledge of them protected to a certain extent from this risk, I frequently find methods of spelling in dictionaries which do not at all tally with my own experience, or with the method in which I have seen the words written by natives of education and intelligence; and this fact throws a haze of doubt round very many forms for which I have no better guide than the dictionary. In fact, no man ought to attempt to write a dictionary whose ear is not gifted by nature or training with the power to distinguish the minutest shades of sound. Moreover, the hard and fast lines drawn by the Devanagari alphabet, and the imperfectness of the Arabic character as a vehicle for the expression of Aryan sounds, make it impossible for the purely native writer to give
indications of dialectic varieties of utterance. The ten vowel symbols of the former are in many cases inadequate to the task, and in the Arabic character there is hardly any provision at all for anything beyond the simplest vowel-sounds, and it is hard to see how any diacritical marks could be introduced into either alphabet which should be at the same time in keeping with their natural characteristics and readily intelligible to the reader. Those few that have from time to time been suggested fulfil neither of these essential requirements. For the present, then, we can get no further than we have already advanced.

§ 45. When a nexus, or combination of two consonants, is dissolved by the introduction of a vowel between them, it is sometimes found that a short ə is inserted, sometimes i, and sometimes u. In giving the name of diacesis to this process, there is a departure from the usual application of the term, but as no diacesis of vowels can take place, owing to the abhorrence of the hiatus in Sanskrit, no confusion can arise. If Sanskrit were written in Roman characters, the term diacesis might be applied to the custom of writing ए and जो as चर and जव respectively, which is not uncommon in the modern languages, because this proceeding would be expressed by saying that ai and as were written as ai and au; but keeping to the native character, it appears that this is merely a careless way of writing, and does not affect the pronunciation; thus, in old Hindi कैलास is written कहलाव, and even बहलाव, but it is in all cases spoken कैलास; so also we have जो, जख्‍, and जख्‍, all alike sounding as one syllable जख्‍; कों, कठन, and कवन, all कवन. This, therefore, demands no special investigation, though the fact is one useful to be known to those who may have to read old Hindi manuscripts. Thus, the line from Chand—

पूजुय गावरि संकर समाय।
Book xx., 33.

"Having worshipped Gauri, having reverenced Sankara,"
must be read "pañjiya gauri (not gacari) sankara madya," as the metre shows.

Leaving this question, then, as unimportant, and passing on to the insertion of the vowel between the two members of a split nexus, we have to endeavour to discover, first, what is the rule which determines whether the vowel to be inserted shall be a, i, or u; secondly, whether it is possible to insert a long vowel, a, i, or u; and, thirdly, whether the insertion of e, o, ai or au, can ever take place.

(1.) The most usual proceeding is to insert a.

Skr. भक्त "devotee," H. भक्त, and so in all.
Skr. रक्त "red," H. रक्त, रक्त, in all.
Skr. क्षेत्र "rite," H. खेत्र.
Skr. जन्म "birth," H. जन्म, P. id., so in all in speaking, though written जन्म.
Skr. धर्म "religion," H. धर्म, ditto.
Skr. यत्न "endeavour," H. यत्न, ditto.
Skr. रत्न "jewel," H. रत्न, ditto.

Especially when r is the last letter of the nexus, as जन्म, H. जन्म, and so in all; Skr. चोर and याच "a yoke," G. चोर; धोर, G. धोर, P. id. Also when it is the first letter, कम्म = Old H. करस, कर्स = करस, परस = परस, in all except S.; सिर्जन = परस, H., P. कार्जन = कार्ज.

With र as the last member:

Skr. ध्रुव "trouble," H. कलेस, P. कोलेस.

The use of i is less frequent. Instances are—

Skr. ध्रुव "trouble," S. द्रुशस्, M. क्लेस, क्लेस.
Skr. चित "woman," तिरिया, P. तिरिया, O. तिरी, and vulgar तिका.

Also the vulgar M. corruptions गिरास "an eclipse," for ग़िरा for ग़िर and its compounds गिराधक, गिराधक, and गिराधुन.
Sindhi, however, exhibits its fondness for \( i \) in this particular also. Thus, we have पिर्रिं, पिर्रिंति, पिर्रिंशी, पिर्रिंसन, पिर्रिं, पिर्रिंत, पिर्रिंश, पिर्रिं for प्रिं; पिर्रिंति, पिर्रिंशी, प्रिंग, प्रिंजन, पिर्रिं, पिर्रिंश, पिर्रिं, and many others. So also Panjabi has पिर्रिं, पिर्रिंसन, पिर्रिं, पिर्रिं, पिर्रिं, पिर्रिं, पिर्रिं for प्रिंच, प्रिंचिं, प्रिंचिं, प्रिंचिं, प्रिंचिं, and the like. In many of these instances the splitting of the nexus, and the consequent introduction of a vowel, has had the effect of suppressing the vowel following, as in Sindhi पिर्रिं for पिर्रिं, for पिर्रिं; or the following vowel if long is shortened, as in पिर्रिंति for पिर्रिंति, for पिर्रिं; or weak letters drop out, as in पिर्रिंजन for पिर्रिंजन, for पिर्रिंजन. In the cases cited from Panjabi there has been elision as well as insertion, for the words must be pronounced पिर्रिंति, पिर्रिंति, पिर्रिंति, so that not only has an \( i \) been inserted between the \( p \) and \( r \), but the final \( i \) of the preposition प्रिंति has been elided, and in the last word the insertion of \( i \) is counterbalanced by the elision of the \( a \).

Just as the Sindhi and Panjabi have recourse to their favourite \( i \), so do Bengali and Oriya to their \( u \) (see §§ 32, 33). Thus, B. उमु from उमि, O. उमुरा from उमित. This \( u \) is, especially in Orissa, pronounced so lightly and softly that to a foreigner’s ear it is hardly, if at all, audible. Thus, we find Sanskrit मूर्ति written in Oriya in three ways, मूर्ति, मूर्ति, and मूर्ति, but it would ordinarily be pronounced in the last way of the three. मूर्ति is in O. मूर्ति; सपिच्छिन्या "a snake-catcher" = Skr. सप्तचा, where the other languages have सपिच्छिन्या, etc. उमु "heat," O. उमु, here probably owing to the labial character of the \( m \), which has been elided.

(2.) With regard to the insertion of a long vowel, the instances are very rare, and are only to be looked for in the very lowest class of words, which the vulgar have distorted and twisted out of all shape. Marathi affords some examples, as उस्त, Skr. उस्त; हहूँ, Skr. हहूँ; उस्त, Arab. حَنْكَم; पाकार, Skr. पाकार; खूब, Skr. खूब; रेगिन, Pers. ریست; जागी, Skr.
VOWEL CHANGES.

कप, in the sense of "marriage"; वरीस, Skr. वर्ष, H. वर्ष, but Pr. वरिस, वरिष्. I have not noticed examples in the other languages, and it would seem to be a peculiarity of Marathi to lengthen the vowel of final syllables, as we saw in §§ 41, 42. It is difficult to fix any rule for the vowel to be inserted—it is at one time i, at another a, without any special reason derivable from the character of the adjacent vowels or consonants. In jugul and rehilm we have, it is true, a labial vowel following a labial, and a palatal following a palatal, respectively, but no reason is apparent for inserting a in harish and i in lagta. Probably vulgar caprice, or a habit of rhyming with some other word, is to be charged with these peculiarities. That they rest on no intrinsic law of development is perhaps evident from the fact that Aryan and Semitic words are alike corrupted.

In H. भूका, from Skr. भूक्ता, a similar process may be supposed to be in operation, but I am disposed to regard this as simply an inversion of the letters च and च.

(3.) The diphthongs do not ever appear to be inserted between two consonants; in fact, their extreme length would render such a proceeding almost impossible.

It results, then, from the above remarks, that diphthongs are never inserted; long vowels very rarely, and then only in certain popular corruptions; so that the case rests with the three short vowels. It would at first sight seem most consonant to the genius of these languages to insert a after gutturals, i after palatales, u after labials, or even before letters of those organs respectively. Varanasi, as usual, is here vague, and merely strings together a number of instances without any attempt at making a definite rule. His Sutra iii. 60 is perhaps not open to this objection, as it lays down that when two consonants forming a nexus suffer disjunction, the former of them having no vowel of its own, takes the same vowel as the latter, e.g. क्लिष्टा = क्लिष्टम, क्लिष्टा = क्लिष्टम, रुम = रुमा (through
\textit{vāhana}, \textit{kriyā=kriyā}, \textit{sānga=sānga}; but he immediately afterwards (iii. 62) gives a list of words in which this rule is not observed; these latter are rather more numerous than the former. They are \textit{ski=siri}, \textit{hri=hiri}, \textit{kri=kirta}, \textit{kānta=kilanto}, \textit{kile=kilea}, \textit{sulāna=sulāna}, \textit{swapna=sirino}, \textit{sparśa= pharośa}, \textit{harsha=harisa}, \textit{arha=arībo}, \textit{garha=garībo}.

In the first three of these the rule is so far kept that the inserted vowel, though short, is of the same organ as the following vowel, and the same may be said of \textit{kileso}. In the next Sūtra (63) we have \textit{khamā=khamā}, \textit{kūgha=sulāha} (though \textit{sulāha} is also found), and in S. 65 \textit{padma=pauna} (\textit{padama}), \textit{tanet, lagnel=tanul, lāhui}. The labial \textit{m} perhaps accounts for the \textit{u} in \textit{pauna}, and in the other two words; as also in \textit{ṣid} for \textit{ṣyd} we have merely a solution of the semivowel into its corresponding vowel, and not an insertion at all.

May it not be that the real solution of the question rests in the comparative lightness and heaviness of the vowels themselves? Where the syllables following the divided nexus are not of any great length and weight, the natural tendency to insert a vowel similar to that borne by the nexus when yet undivided can have full play; but when the following syllables are long and heavy, the lightest of all the vowel-sounds is preferred, and thus we get \textit{kilanto}, instead of \textit{kulanto}, from \textit{klabā}; while in \textit{ski}, \textit{hri}, the usual, and so to speak congenial, insertion of the \textit{i} is practicable. The question lies entirely between \textit{a} and \textit{i}; \textit{u} is never used in this respect, unless there is some labial influence at work.

If this be accepted as the law for Prakrit, it may be transferred to the modern languages also, due allowance being made for the disturbing element of provincial peculiarities, such as the fondness of Sindhi for the \textit{i} sound, and of Bengali and Oriya for the \textit{u}. The examination of this class of words will also be much complicated by the extreme laxity of writing and pronunciation, whereby \textit{a}, \textit{i}, and \textit{u}, become in unaccented
syllables so mixed up that it is often hard to tell which is really uttered.¹

§ 46. Elision.

(1.) The elision of initial vowels, or, as it is called by grammarians, apheresis, occurs in the case of words which are compounded with the prepositions बाद “beyond,” अधि “over,” अनु “after,” अप “off,” अपि “on,” अधि “towards,” अव “down,” अन “up,” अनि “below.” Although all of these words, except आवि, bear the accent on the first syllable in Sanskrit, still we may justifiably conjecture that the vulgar accentuated them on the last syllable. In Greek the corresponding prepositions ἄντι, ἄναι, ἀνα, ἐπί, ἀμφι, ἕπο, are all oxytone, and perhaps if the Sanskrit prepositions were allowed to stand alone so frequently as the Greek do, they also would show themselves to be oxytone; but standing as they do almost always as inseparable prefixes to verbs and nouns, they fall under the influence of the tendency to throw the accent as far back as possible, which appears to be characteristic of Sanskrit. The frequency, however, with which they reject their initial vowel is hardly compatible with the supposition that this vowel was, in popular usage at least, strongly accented.

In classical Sanskrit some examples are found of this rejection of the initial, especially in the case of अपि; such are अप, अधिवान, अनद, अपन, for अपि, अधिवानि, etc.; बनोक for बनोतौ; अष्टि for अधिवानि; गुप्त for गन्धपुर (perhaps from गन्धु + अप + वर for बनन्ध), and others.

By the application of this process to the modern languages,

¹ Some violent anti-Urdu writers in the north-western provinces, whose real erudite knowledge, mistakes this neglect to distinguish between the three short vowels and the introduction of the Arabic characters in our courts. They forget, or are possibly not aware, that this confusion exists in the writings of the earliest Hindi poets to even a greater extent than it does in modern times, when, owing to the more general study of Sanskrit, people are more careful about their spelling than they were six centuries ago.
some very curious etymologies have been brought to light, by
which several words whose origin has hitherto defied detection
are successfully affiliated to Sanskrit. Thus:
Skr. भागनारे "inside," H. भीतर, B., M., O. भितर, G.
भितर.
Skr. भाग "near," H. भीड़ा "to approach," भीड "a crowd,"
and so in all.
Skr. भाग "anointing," H. भीळ, H. भीळा "to be wet," M.
भेड़, G. भेड़, S. भेड़. There is another form of this word
in most of the languages, whose root terminates in ग, as H.
भीळा "to be wet," भीळा, भीळा "to wet," G. भेड़, which
may perhaps be referred to the passive participle भाग.
All this group of words may, however, with equal proba-
bility be derived from भागित, भागित "wetting," by elision
of the sibilant. In either case there is no doubt about the अभी.

Another strangely contracted and corrupted set of words is
H. तुळा and तुळा "to extinguish a light," with their
respective neuters तुळ and तुळा "to be extinguished." These
are derived from Skr. तुळित. In Saptak. 280
occurs the form तुळितमात (Skr. तुळितमात) with a varia-
lectio abhentlantie (read अभीत), from which, by rejection of the
initial अ, and a very anomalous absorption of the ब, we get a
root तुळास्, whence तुळा. The parallel form तुळा is ex-
plainable on the supposition that in some other dialect of
Prakrit the double न was elided and the ज aspirated. Anyhow,
these words exhibit considerable irregularity, and have conse-
quently been hitherto reckoned as Desajas. In M., B., and O.,
the word is तुळ with the lenis ज. Perhaps the aspirate in H.
arose from the existence of the word तुळा "to explain" (बुध),
with which it was confounded by the vulgar. The S. विसार, विसार, and विसार, are still further modifications, the second
of which appears to be from उतिं, without the अभी.
Skr. चयाचन "overlooking," H. चाकान "to peep," G., P. इत.,
B. शाकान.
VOWEL CHANGES.

This derivation rests upon the fact, to be demonstrated in Chapter IV., that च passes into च. From this consideration it may be deduced that a great number of words beginning with च, which some writers put down wholesale as non-Aryan or Desaja, are really developed from Sanskrit words beginning with adhi or before a vowel, adhy; thus, झाड़न “to sweep,” in all but B. and O., which have झाँटन, is for झाड़न (compare सारण for सरण, बाजना for बजाना=भजनते), softened from झटान, a trace of which stage remains in B. झाँटन. The Sanskrit original appears to be चधि, with the causal form of चट “to go,” so that चध्यत्वानि would mean “I cause to pass over” (a broom or brush understood). So the obscure word शरोधा “a window,” is probably for झण्डा, from चधि “above,” and लच् “to see”; windows in the East being always high up in the wall. झप “a mat-covering,” and झण्डा “to cover,” are from Skr. पिघान, from चपिघा, where an inversion has taken place, giving धण्ड, the word occurs in all but S. The above examples have been added because they seem tolerably well supported. The rule may, however, be pushed too far, and care must be taken lest examples in which च is, as is often the case, derived from a Skr. च, through च, be mixed up with those under this head.

चधि gives several well-proved cases, of which the following is one: Skr. पिघा (चधि) “clothed,” Pr. पिघान, O. पिघाना, B. पिघाने “to clothe”; the cognate words in the other languages are derived from another part of the verb, पिघान (the verb is घान with चधि), by inversion; thus, H. पिघाना for पिघाना, P. घान; but H. has also a form पिघराना, which is followed by S. पिघर and G. पिघर. This is, I think, entirely a different word, and comes from पिघान (or पिघान, by the usual process of resolving the घ into घ, so that we get पिघरान, whence by inversion पिघराना “to clothe.” This verb having a causal form, a neuter form पिघराना was, as usual, created in the sense of “to be cloathed,” “to wear clothes.”
"alone," becomes in Pr. वि, and in H. भी, meaning "also," "even," where there is probably an emphatic वि added, so that विभि = भी.

चन्द्र loses its initial in Panjabi, and appears under the form of न or न, as the sign of the accusative case.

The case of चन्द्र is rendered difficult by its close similarity to वि, चिंप, and चप. The p of the two last is so constantly softened to व; while the distinction, on the other hand, between व and व is in all but M., G., S., and P. so entirely ignored, and in them even, through ignorance, so frequently misplaced, that in the case of words beginning with व or व we cannot tell whether they have sprung from अपि, असा, or अपा. With regard to रि, the carelessness in the employment of the short vowels adds an element of difficulty; thus, Chand uses चगास्मा "to blow," or "expand" (of a flower), which, however, is from विभिन्न, not चवः; so also चगास्मा "to declare," "expound," is from विभिन्न, not चवः. 1 Genuine cases of the use of this preposition are the following: Skr. चवन्ति "rescuing," H. चमान, M. चचांस, R. चचांन, O. चचांन, etc.; चवन्ति "abode," H. चदान, G. चचांन, M. चदान. In the former case र् has been treated as व, and passed by the natural process into व (see Chapter IV., § 85). It might be thought that as the prepositions mentioned above have all separate well-defined meanings, and vary the original idea of the verb according to those meanings, there would be no difficulty in determining by this test which of the prepositions was the parent of the modern word. But unfortunately so many metaphorical and secondary senses have crept into use that this method of fixing the derivation becomes quite impossible; and as the gap in the history of our languages prevents us from tracing the gradual alteration in the sense of words, any effort to settle this difficult and obscure point would be at present premature and unsuccessful.

1 See also § 36, where non-initial र् is contracted into र्.
Elision of व in उप may be illustrated by the case of उपवि/"seated," which becomes in Prakrit उपवि/"seated"; from this word has been formed a verb विद्यार/"to seat oneself."1 In those languages which admit of the formation of different parts of the verb from the corresponding tenses of the Sanskrit a double form exists. Thus, G. वेदङ्ग from वेदङ्ग, but p.p. वेदो from विद्यार, where the उप may have been entirely rejected, or the two व absorbed into one व. Similarly, S. विखु प. वेदो, to which may be added Kashmiri विखु, the past tense of which is not given in the meagre article from which I have taken it. In some rustic dialects of Hindi a form विद्यार may be heard which is उविद्यार = उविद्यार: व in इट is elided in Skr. उवि, "belch," H. उवि, P., S., G. id., where M., B., and O. make वड़क, वड़क, and वड़क, respectively. I am not quite satisfied with this derivation, as उवि also means "spitting," in which sense it becomes उवि, चिपक, and the like; perhaps वड़क and its fellows may be mere onomatopoetic words, or even non-Aryan.

Elision of the initial व occurs also in the following words:

Skr. रहट "forest," Pr. रण; Old H. रण, H. रण, S. रण, रणु, G., M. रण.
Skr. बर्मो "elbow," M. रंटा, "a shove with the elbow," रंटो + "to elbow."
Skr. नाम "linseed," Eastern H. नीसी, B. निशी, O. नेसी.
Skr. अपाप "a cake," H. पुप, पुपा, M., O. id.

1 Not, as is generally stated, "to sit"; the difference is that the H. word विद्यार expresses the act of passing from a standing or lying into a sitting posture; thus, "Sit down!" or "Take a seat!" is विद्यार, but "He sat there all day" is विद्यार दिन भर विद्यार, not विद्यार; विद्यार means to remain sitting, or, as we use the word, "to sit." The same distinction prevails in all the languages where this word occurs.
Instances of \( \text{ṛ} \) are hardly to be expected. I have not noticed any. Very few words begin with this letter in Sanskrit, and those that do are short words with the accent on the first syllable, so that elision is not likely to occur. The words \( \text{ṝnti} \) and \( \text{ṝtv} \) lose their first letter in some Prakrit works, and become \( \text{tti} \) and \( \text{rei} \) or \( \text{reio} \), but neither of them are in use in the modern languages. The S. words \( \text{ṝṣ} \) and \( \text{ṝṣu} \) given above may possibly be derived from S. \( \text{ṝr̄ś} \), instead of from \( \text{ṝṝś} \), though I prefer the latter, looking upon the \( \text{i} \) as another instance of the preference of S. for that sound.

Instances of \( \text{ṛ} \):


Skr. उन्नत "flame," H. ़ूक "burning grass," though some would derive this from Skr. चोक "to shine;" and even if it be not so, it is rather an inversion than elision.

\( \text{ṛ} \) is elided in एरिश "castor-oil tree," H. एरिऔ; here again we have a case of inversion.

(2.) Medial vowels do not often appear to suffer elision singly. That is to say, a vowel alone seldom disappears; when it is elided, it is almost always in consequence of the consonant to which it is attached going out, and this class of cases will be more appropriately considered under the head of consonantal elision. Perhaps this fact is due to the peculiar structure of Sanskrit words; in which two vowels cannot come together without the intervention of a consonant. In Latin, where two vowels frequently occur together, the dropping of one of them becomes possible; thus, \( \text{meos, tuos, suos} \), become in Spanish \( \text{mis, tus, sus} \), when they precede a substantive, as in \( \text{mis amigos} = \text{meos amicos} \); but where they stand alone the double vowel is retained: thus they say \( \text{su padre y sus hermanos = suum, patrem et suos germanos} \), "his father and his brothers"; but \( \text{hermano menor mio = germanus minor meus} \), "my younger brother"; \( \text{esta albarda es mia} \), "this saddle is mine," with emphasis on the pronoun. The French drops the first vowel in the singular,
making mon = mun, na = neo, but the second in the plural mes = mes, mce. This instance shows that the force of the accent alone preserves the second vowel in Spanish, but not in French, and leads to the explanation of a frequently recurring case in Hindi, which amounts to a regular law of the language, namely, that in the formation of the infinitive from the Sanskrit noun in -anam, the short e of the penultimate invariably drops out; thus, from karanam, varanaam, rahanam, come karu, मार, मार, rahu. Here the accent in Sanskrit is on the root syllables kar, mår, etc.; and as the final -am gets changed, by a process to be explained hereafter, eventually into a, the weight of the two syllables on either side of it—the one by virtue of its accent, the other by its length—fairly crush out the middle a, which is both short and unaccented. This elision is also common in Panjabi, but not entirely so in the other languages where the a is sounded, though so rapidly as to be almost imperceptible to European ears.

The same takes place in Hindi occasionally in cases where the final a of a Sanskrit word is lengthened to ə; thus, from दुबा durbala comes H. दुबा duba, not duba; or where a heavy termination has taken the place of a light one, as from विजुत vidyut, H. विजुली bijü, not, as in some other languages, bijul, or bijalt.

(3.) Cases of elision of a final vowel are very common. The final short ə of all Sanskrit words is elided unless it bears the accent, in which case it is generally lengthened to ə in Hindi. (See § 20.)

Other elisions of final vowels depend upon the rules of formation of the base of nouns, and are structural rather than phonetic. The rule holds good of i and e as well as of a. All three vowels are commonly dropped when final and unaccented, and the modern languages in a great majority of instances make their nouns to end in a consonant. Thus:

Skr. चाँँ "arm," H. बांँ.
Skr. विपाति "misfortune," H. विपत.
Skr. विकः "person," H. बिकत.

Hindi and Panjabi adhere to this rule firmly; the other languages admit of some exceptions, which will be discussed in their proper place. It must be remembered that in all the languages except B. and O. words are often written with two separate consonants instead of a nexus, as in the case of विकल्प, which would be more accurately written विकल्प, but this is mere carelessness, and will not mislead any one who has heard the language spoken.

The final vowel, together with the consonant which precedes it, and sometimes even the vowel preceding that again, is elided in the case of words ending in या.

Thus, Skr. आय "abode," becomes आय in compounds, as H. सुसूजः = Skr. सुमूरहाय "father-in-law's house"; दिमाल "whore," = Skr. दिमाला. More frequently, however, आय = Skr. आय = आय. More frequently, however, आय = Skr. आय = आय. More frequently, however, आय = Skr. आय = आय. More frequently, however, आय = Skr. आय = आय.

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Other instances are:


Final ा is elided in many Sanskrit feminines, as—
Skr. नंदा "sleep," H. नंद, M. नंद, नंद, P. नंद, S. नंद.
Skr. द्रा "vise," H. द्रा, P. ि, S. द्रा.
Skr. दू ा "a grass," H. दू, B., O. दू, दू.
Skr. द्वार "shadow," H. द्वार, P. ि, S. द्वार, द्वार.
Skr. परट "examination," H. परट, and so in all.
VOWEL CHANGES.

Skr. धोनि "relm," H. धाम, and so in all.
Skr. जिङ्ग "tongue," H. जीम, and so in all.
Final ı is also elided in the feminines in रणी, as—
Skr. भगवी "sister," H. बहुन (see § 53).

Numerous feminines of trades are formed in this manner, even in cases where it would be hard to find the termination inl in Sanskrit; thus:

H. धोनिन "washerwoman," from धोनि "washerman."
H. चमारिन "shoemaker-woman," from चमार "shoemaker."
H. सोमारिन "goldsmith's wife," from सोमार "goldsmith."

Sindhi does not entirely elide the रे, but shortens it to रे. M. lengthens the first ı (see § 41). The other languages elide the ı entirely, except of course in Tatsamas. Final ı is not very common in Sanskrit, and where it occurs it does not suffer elision like the other long vowels,—at least, no instances have come to my notice. Such words as भू "earth," भू "eyebrow," being monosyllables, are from their nature incapable of elision.

In the case of लू there are H. लह, B. लह, M. लह, G. लह, P. लह, S. लह, O. लह, where the ı is retained, though in some languages in a shortened form. In most, however, the word is pronounced more like लह, or लहा.

E is elided in a class of words derived from locatives in Sanskrit, and which are used adverbially by the moderns. Thus:

Skr. पाँच "beside," H. पाय, P. id., but on the contrary M. पाँच, पाइन (which are independent Marathi formations from a noun पाय, and therefore post-Sanskrit), G. and S. पाय.

Skr. निकट "near," H. निकट, and so in all. It is to be observed, however, that these words may after all come from the nominative निकट: of the Skr. adjective.
§ 47. It remains to point out the treatment of vowels which are brought into contact by the elision of an intervening consonant, a practice which is extremely frequent in the Prakrita. Vararuchi is, as usual, unsystematic on this point. The text from which Cowell has edited his work is confessedly corrupt, so that there are unusual difficulties in the way. The general rule may, however, be laid down that the two vowels are allowed to stand in contact without undergoing the process of Sandhi. Thus:

Skr. यमुनातटत "bank of Yamuna," Pr. जमुनव or जमुनव।
Skr. नदीश्वरतम "current of a river," Pr. बहसीतो or बहसीतो।
Skr. कलापुर, a tree so called, Pr. कलावरे or कलावरे।

Here the long vowel of the Sanskrit is sometimes shortened, but we cannot build any theory on this fact because so much of Prakrit literature is in verse that changes in quantity are in a majority of instances merely made metri gratid. Vararuchi's instances are taken from compound words only, but a large number may be adduced from other sources, where elision has taken place in a simple uncompounded word, and where in consequence the influence of the laws of euphony might be expected to be more apparent. In the following list the order of the vowels is followed throughout.

(1.) a + a. Pr. kadaa, kaamba, guana, jaalacahi, paa, paawi, for Skr. kataka, kudama, gagana, jayalakshi, pada, padavi.
(2.) a + a. Pr. aala, padavai, laa, hutsai; for Skr. akala, prajapati, laa, katashaayaa.
(3.) a + i. Pr. kāi, gāi, jāi, pairikka, maɪrā; Skr. kāi, gāi, yadi, pratiṁkta, maɪrā, and in the 3rd pers. sing. of the present tense parasmaipada of all verbs.

(4.) a + t. Pr. nati, paɪra, bhaavati, sati, Pārevat; Skr. nadi, pratipta, bhagavati, sati, Pārevat.

(5.) a + u. Pr. chaɪjāmā, paɪrā, maɪlā, lāu; Skr. caturyāmā, prachura, makula, lughu; and derivatives of catur = chaɪ, universally.

(6.) a + á. Pr. maɪtha, maɪra; Skr. mayākha, mayāra.

(7.) a + ē. Pr. kaɪ, jae, vachhāe, tanuṇāe; Skr. kṛite (through kade), jāyāti, vrajate (?), tanukāyate; and in 3rd pers. sing. present of ātmānepada and passive verbs in general.

(8.) a + ē. Pr. uaa, yaɪo, paɪosa, paɪocha; Skr. udakā, gajah, pradovaha, payovihara.

(9.) á + a. Pr. āara, āva, kāa, gāai, ehhāa; Skr. ādava, ātapa, kāka, gāyāti, ehhāya, at the end of a compound.

(10.) á + á. Pr. áasa, ehhāā, jāā; Skr. ákāā, ehhāyā, jāyā.

(11.) á + i. Pr. áhjāi, jāi, jampiāi; Skr. akhiyla, jāi, jalpiāi.

(12.) á + t. Pr. gāt, rāt; Skr. gāt, rāti.

(13.) á + u. Pr. āu, āula; āyus, ākula.

(14.) á + ē. Pr. vāei, lāei, pahiajāā; Skr. vādayati, lāgayati, pathikhyāyāyāh. The forms do and ēi are extensively employed instead of the Sanskrit forms ayā, āyai, and āyāh of the instrumental, dative, and genitive of feminine nouns in ē.

It is perhaps unnecessary to go through the whole of the long array of vowel combinations possible in Prakrit. From the above instances it will be clear to the reader that any two vowels may thus be brought into contact without being forced to combine according to the Sanskrit laws of Sandhi. In looking over the above list it will be noticed that the combinations in which a short vowel precedes a long one are rarer than those in which the long vowel holds the first place. This leads to a second rule of Vararuchi's, namely, that one of two
vowels so brought into contact may be elided, in which case, when a nexus follows, the elided vowel is always the first, and never the second. Thus, he gives as illustrations certain alternative forms, in one of which elision occurs, in the other both vowels are retained. Thus:

Skr. राजकुञ् "royal family," Pr. rāśālam or rāśālam.
Skr. तवाद "half of thee," Pr. tuḥaddham or tuḥaddham.
Skr. सनाधि "half of me," Pr. mahaddham or mahaḍḍham.
Skr. पदापति "falling at the feet," Pr. pāṇḍāṇam or pāṇḍāṇam.
Skr. कृष्णकार "potter," Pr. kumbhārav or kumbhāra.

In these instances it is naturally the long vowel which is retained, whether it precede or follow. Such elision is, however, rare in Prakrit, which does not as a rule shrink from the juxtaposition of any number of vowels. Three vowels occur, for instance, in rādi, brādi, chori, lihi, bhūd, pinam, uva, māṇā; and many other words; and even four vowels are not uncommon, as in pasāde, tanuḍa, tanuḍae, though from the nature of the case these are less frequent than the others.

I have dwelt at some length on this point in order to bring out in fuller relief the peculiarities of Prakrit in this respect, and in order to show that the modern languages do not follow the lead of the Prakrits in every detail. It is a mistake to suppose that the living vernaculars are merely further developments of Prakrit, formed on the same principles and carrying out the same laws. On the contrary, in post-Prakritic periods many new principles, some of them quite opposed to those in vogue in Prakrit, have been introduced, and have largely influenced the common speech. In this very particular of the hiatus there is much divergence from Prakrit rules. I do not say that the modern languages in any way abhor the hiatus—far from it; but in respect of that particular form of hiatus which arises from the elision of a consonant, they do not generally leave the two vowels side by side without further
euphonic changes. These changes do not, it is true, regularly follow the Sanskrit laws of Sandhi in all cases, though they not unfrequently do so, but a change or amalgamation of some sort does in the majority of instances take place.

As a general rule for the modern languages the following may serve:

a. When the two vowels are homogeneous, they coalesce with the corresponding Guna or Vṛddhi vowel.

β. When they are heterogeneous, they either remain side by side, or are separated by an interposed consonant.

By “homogeneous vowels” are meant such as in Sanskrit are capable of combining, as \( a + i, a + u \); by “heterogeneous,” such as will not combine, as \( i + a, i + u \); the former combine into \( e \) and \( o \), but the latter will not combine; the first of the two is hardened into its semivowel, as \( ya, yu \).

In the first of these two rules the Sanskrit system is by no means regularly followed; thus, makula becomes Pr. maūla, and should in H. consequently become by coalition of the vowels not mōḷ; it does, however, become maul mōḷ.

The subject is treated as regards the consonants in Chapter III., § 53 (3.), and numerous examples will be found there. The following may be noticed as illustrations of the above rules:

a. nakula, Pr. naulo; G. noliyun, S. noru. Here the other languages insert an \( e \), as H. neucal, B. neul, and this \( e \) being dissimilar to the \( u \) which follows cannot coalesce with it.

bhagini, Pr. bhaini, P. bhain, S. bhenu.

kata, Pr. sao, H. sau (through a shortened form saū śaṭ): ghāta, Pr. ghāo, H. ghāu.

β. pītā, Pr. piā, H. piū.

śūchī, Pr. sūt, H. sūt.

pīpāśā, H. pīyāśā; insertion of \( y \) to prevent the hiatus.

kōkila, Pr. koīlo, H. koīl, but G. kōyaʔ, O. kōyil.
Sometimes an irregular process occurs, as where from दुग्ध we get H. and P. दौध, through Pr. दुग्ध. Here उ + उ are heterogeneous, and could not coalesce; the result, आ, must have arisen from inverting the vowels of the Pr. form, and saying सुन्द्धा, instead of सुन्द्धा.

A short vowel following a long one is generally dropped altogether, as in दुना for दुन्ना, Skr. द्विगृह, रोन्ना for रोन्ना, Skr. रोदननम्. In the case of verbs like रोन्न the process is facilitated by the ease with which the penultimate उ in nouns of the form रोदननम् goes out, owing to its position following an accented and generally gunatized syllable.

Many irregularities must of course be looked for in a process like this, where the modern languages have in a great measure abandoned the earlier phonetic rules and followed the changes incidental to a wide use of this class of words by the common people. As a provisional rule, however, and as one which appears to point in the right direction for future more extensive inquiry, that above given will I hope prove correct.

There is not much, after all, as far as investigations have yet been made, either very striking or very important in the consideration of vowel changes. The principal interest of the phonetics of the Indian languages is to be found in the consonantal changes, to which I now proceed.
CHAPTER III.

CHANGES OF SINGLE CONSONANTS.

whole seven languages undergo positional changes; while in the case of organic changes, on the other hand, the individual peculiarities of the several languages stand out in strong relief. Positional changes are more universal in their application, organic ones more restricted to special instances; the former are based upon general principles, the latter on the various and sometimes irregular developments of provincial pronunciation.

§ 49. Positional changes follow the general principle which rules all the languages of the Indo-European family, and which has been thus concisely stated by Grimm: "Initial consonants retain the grade of each organ in the purest and truest way, medial consonants have a tendency to soften, finals to harden."¹ By the expression "grade" must be understood the two classes of tenues and medie ; and it is thus laid down as a rule that tenues k, p, t, etc., in the middle of a word have a tendency to soften into their corresponding medie g, b, d; while medial g, b, d, at the end of a word have a propensity to harden into k, p, t. In the Indian languages the rule holds good in the main, and although a great variety of modifications is observable, they can all be traced by careful examination to the operation of this law, either in the exact method stated above, or in the still more advanced developments of it.

Initial consonants remain undisturbed, whether in Tatsamas or Tadbhavas.

a. In Tatsamas, as कमल, कन्या, गुहसा, गिरि, चक्र, चन्द्र, जीवन, दूरी, मान, निधि, सिन्धु, चवि, हार. Here are instances of tenues, medie, semivowels, nasals, sibilants, and छ. In fact, from the very nature of Tatsamas, which are words in their

¹ Geschichte d. Deutschen Sprache, vol. i., p. 231, "Anlaute hält die stufen jedes organs am reinsten und treuten, inlaute ist geneigt zu erschöpfen, auslaute zu erhärten." We have unfortunately no equivalents for anlaute, inlaute, or auslaute. These words, meaning on-sound, in-sound, and out-sound, respectively, are also applied to vowels, but in the passage quoted only consonants are referred to.
pure Sanskrit form, it follows that no change can have taken place, otherwise they would cease to be Tatsamas.

3. In Tadbhavas, as कडाही, चौदी, कोरल, बोंक, तिरछा, नेव, नंगा, सट, रोना, बोंग, सूई, हाव, from कटाह, कप्रु, कोकिल, बाल्क, तिरुङ्, नेम, नप, मुंट, रोदन, लब्ह, मूव, हस, where, in spite of violent changes in the interior of the word, the initial letter remains unaltered. A very large number of these words may be found in every page of the dictionaries of these languages. When initial changes do occur, they are generally found to be due to some organic disturbance in the body of the word, which has exercised a retrospective influence on the initial letter. Such changes are, however, altogether exceptional, and comparatively few in number. The most prominent and common of them will be noticed below. To be omitted from the present section, however, are all those words which in Sanskrit begin with ष and स. The former generally appear with an initial भ, the latter with घ or घ. The aspiration is due to the influence of the sibilant, and, as we are here considering single consonants only, this process does not fall within our present subject.

There are, however, instances where the sibilant forms the first member of a nexus in the middle of a word, and in going out has affected, not only the letter to which it was joined, but also the initial. Thus, Skr. पुष "flower," becomes in Pr. पुष, but in Old H. पुष, and finally पुष or पुष. Skr. कषूरी "civet," S. कषूरी; Skr. वाष "vapour," H. भाष, and the same in P., B., and O., where both letters are aspirated. The form वाष also occurs in B. and H., and in S., G., and M. It is the only form in use. The Skr. कषु "a scab," is perhaps the origin of H. चाष "itch"; also खुशण "a diminutive," where there has been epenthesis of झ, as described in § 34; S. खानी, M. खाजण "to scratch," B. खानु. Skr. कूप "a well," is S. कूप and कूप; Skr. कृष "saffron," =S. कृषणिया; Skr. कांस "cough," H., P., and S. चांसी, चांसना, चांसु.
In some cases an aspirate in the middle of a word is thrown back to the initial and amalgamates with it, as Skr. गृह “house,” original form गृह, still preserved in Kashmiri गरह. This becomes in all the modern languages घर.

Skr. बहिता “daughter,” becomes in Pali धिति and धीति, and even in Skr. a form धीति is in use. The word is oxytone, and the coalition of the two short toneless syllables into one is therefore natural. Pr. धीति, धूति, H. धी, धीया, P., G. धी, S. धि, धि, B. धी, O. धिष्ठ (धिय); the two last forms have arisen from the close connexion between घि and दि, which, especially when followed by a palatal vowel or semivowel, is very frequent. To the parallel connexion between घि and घ् may be ascribed the isolated H. form जमार, Skr. जमाता “son-in-law,” where all the other languages have घ, as M. जमात, B. जमार, O. घमार and घार, G. घमार, S. घाटो।

The Skr. फलस “the Jack-tree,” becomes in Pr. फलस, H. फलस, but in this case it may be assumed that in Skr. also the original form was फलस, derived from फल “the expanded hood of the cobra,” to which the leaves of this tree bear a close resemblance. Sindhi has फलु and फलनी, from Skr. जगन, in which irregularity it stands alone, unless the name of the Panjab town Jhang be derived from the same, which is highly probable, as it stands in the centre of a vast desert.

Skr. महिप “buffalo,” becomes H. भेष, fem. भेस, G. भेस, B. भार, O. भेस. In many parts of Hindustan भेस is commonly used. M. has only भेस, while P. preserves the initial म in महिप; so also does S. in महि and महि. The form in म has of course arisen from a corruption of महि. The reverse of this process is seen in M. स्मरणि, from Skr. महि “to speak”; similar to it is Pr. सरण “remembrance,” for स्मरण, from स्म. In Prakrit writings changes of initial consonants are more

1 The Hindi word is borrowed immediately from the Persian مام, which accounts for the change; Skr. घ often becomes घ in Persian through an intermediate घ.
common. The total rejection of an initial consonant occurs with frequency. Especially is this the case in the effeminate dialect of the Saptaśatākā, where, however, it must be noted that the examples given by Weber, muhaanda=mukhachandra, kuḍumvātthi=kuṭumbakrishthi, nahaala=nabhasala, are not cases in point, inasmuch as the words chandra, krishti, stala, being the last members of a compound, their initial letter is no longer an initial, but becomes subject to the laws which rule medial letters. The supposition that the Prakrit root achat is from gachh (gum), by rejection of the initial, is directly opposed to Vararuchi, who explains it by as. In all the passages where this word occurs the context requires that it should be translated by "stay," "remain," "stop."—precisely the reverse of the idea of gachh. The modern languages exhibit two forms of the substantive verb, or perhaps two separate verbs: वच and अच; the latter of which seems to point to वच. But reserving the discussion of this question to a more suitable place, the Magadhi of the Jains, as well as the language of the Saptaśatākā, presents instances of rejection of initial consonants; thus, a=cha, uno=panur, ādham=gādham, aunda=chatur, and the like. This process is absolutely unknown in the modern languages, and it may be doubted whether it was ever really in vogue even in Prakrit beyond the limits of literary composition.

The softening of initial tenses into medias, or, in the case of the labials, into the semivowels, is found to occur in instances where the modern languages retain the letter in its original Sanskrit grade. Thus evi=pati, eva=pada, vanu=pānde, calla=patra, vadād=patākā. The process appears to have been almost confined to p, a letter which, as we shall frequently see in this chapter, is peculiarly weak and liable to change.

On the whole, however, Grimm's law is observed faithfully, and the instances where it is not followed may be regarded as exceptions, in each case of which some special reason exists for
the change; and it may be further observed that the modern languages in no single well-authenticated case follow the Prakrit custom of entirely rejecting the initial or softening it into its corresponding media.

§ 50. It is in medial consonants that the greatest variety of change takes place. They are either retained unaltered, or weakened into softer sounds, tenues to medie, medie to semi-vowels and vowels, or they disappear altogether. In the latter instance the consonant sometimes carries away with it the following, and sometimes even the preceding, vowel, so that a whole syllable disappears.

In Prakrit it is stated that there are instances of hardening of medial consonants. This is so opposed to all analogy, and so unsupported by the example of the modern languages, that it may be as well to examine the instances adduced before proceeding to inquire into the three regular processes mentioned above.

Weber expresses himself as doubtful whether the instances of hardening found in the Bhagavati be really genuine, or mere errors of the writer of the manuscript. The instances are *jati-yadi* and a whole series of words in which it is dimly and indistinctly conjectured that the corruption of a certain Sanskrit word would have produced a media, whereas it is found in the text with a tensia. These are not decisive proofs; though ingenious, they are based upon conjecture. *Jati-yadi* is the only *boud fide* instance, and that appears to be an error of the scribe, who has a partiality for *l*, and sticks it in where it has no right to be. In Saptaśatakā, too, there are only conjectures; as *dhakki* for *ahagāti*, where the modern धातुः अंगिता and धातुः अंगिता "to cover," seem rather to point to a separate root. It does not follow, because a Prakrit word is interpreted in Sanskrit by a somewhat similar word, that it should be connected therewith: *lukka* is supposed to be either for *lagna* or *yukta*, but there is a
root *huk* which will answer the purpose better than either. From Vararuci are quoted *vachhai* for *vrajati*, *ruchhai* for *rudyate*, *chakha* for *yakha* (*jukha*). These are also vague, and the affiliation of the Prakrit words is not certain. Upon the whole, then, it appears that there are only a few instances of this process, and the majority of those few are doubtful, so that no rule can be founded on them. The analogy of the languages is against it; and where the manuscripts are so carelessly written, and the forms of some of the letters differ so much from those in use in printed works as to mislead the reader, it is safer to suppose a mistake in writing than a systematic violation of analogy.

§ 51. (1.) Proceeding then to the first class in which a single letter is retained unaltered, we find that च is the most tenacious of all the tenuis. We find पचनं, रचनी, बचनं, मोचनं, नोचनं, याचनं, नैचनं, रचि, in the modern languages, though in Prakrit they all lose the च. Thus, *ruñanam* appears for *ruchanam*, though it also represents *radanam*, or even *ratan*.* The confusion introduced into Prakrit by this omission of consonants renders it very difficult to believe that these dialects were ever really spoken languages.

Vararuci's rule (ii. 2) is to the effect that the lenes of the four organs, excluding the cerebrals, are elided; but Bhâmaha's comment infers from the use of the word *prajas*, or “generally,” that where euphony is satisfied there need be no elision, and he addsuces the following words in proof of his inference: *sukunnam*, *piyagamanam*, *sachāram*, *sujalem*, *utulam*, *udaro*, *apāro*, *ujaso*, *sahumānam*, for *sakusuma*, *priyagama*, *sahupa*, *apajala*,

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1 Even if it be conceded that the instances quoted are real cases of hardening, it must at the same time be admitted that they are too few to establish a rule, and the discussion of these has therefore been abbreviated in this work, which, as before mentioned, deals only with Prakrit as a secondary subject in so far as it throws some, though often a confused and misleading, light on the modern languages.
atula, adara, apara, ayakas, sabahumana. But all these words are compounds, and it is observable that there is much irregularity in their case. Sometimes the first consonant of the latter part of a compound is treated as though still an initial, and escapes elision; while in other cases it is treated as no longer an initial, but a medial, and is elided accordingly. The decision seems to depend on the degree of amalgamation attained by the two elements of the compound; in a word which is well known and frequently used the consonant is elided, showing that though a compound it had got to be treated as a single word; but in those words whose two elements have not so coalesced, as, for instance, in occasional compounds, a sentiment of the separate existence of the two words has operated to preserve the initial of the second from elision. Thus, in a common compound like superusaha, a word of every-day occurrence, the p is elided, and we have svara; whereas in the less commonly used compounds quoted above the initial is preserved. I do not think euphony has anything to do with it, because superusaha is quite as easy to pronounce as sukusuma.

Apart from compounds, however, we find instances of retention. Thus, (a) tenues: kulaññi, kapalam, tita, satama, sata, apela, satar, samiti, and a few others, for kutakalami, kapala, iti, patana, sata, apidal, kata, samiti; (b) medius: jugachha, gogana, for jugupana, gogana, and the like. But these are exceptions. The language of the Bhagavati, like Pali, retains single consonants much more frequently than scenic Prakrit, or works written in imitation of it.

In the modern languages, even in Tadbhayas, retention is to be found; as in—

Skr. चित्रि “earth,” H. P. चिति.
Skr. चेंप “moving,” चेंप, in all.
Skr. सट “matted hair,” चटा, in all.
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Skr. खमण "covering," H. उनणा, and so in all.
Skr. व्रजमान "a client," H. व्रजमान, in the rest जजमान.
Skr. खारिक "alum," H. फिटकरी, M. फटकी, S. फिेटकी, the rest फटकरी or फिेटी.

Although these words are classed as Tadbhavas, yet it is observable that they differ very little from the Sanskrit form, and are in many cases modern, though not universally so.

I am disposed to think that a single consonant is more often preserved when followed by a long or accented vowel and preceded by a short or unaccented one, than when the reverse is the case. This supposition will be reverted to when all three forms of treatment have been reviewed, and is introduced here in order that the reader may bear it in mind through the next few pages.

It is curious that the letters which we should suppose to be the weakest and most liable to rejection are precisely those which keep their ground most persistently. The nasals, semivowels, sibilants, and ः are almost always retained: Thus, in Prakrit kāla, komala, kumma, kula, pavana, pauri, pathama, palasa, mahila, gaha, exhibit these letters in their original state, while if any of the letters of the four vargas had been in those situations they would have been softened or rejected, or in some way or other changed, as will be seen in the next two sections. The modern languages follow the Prakrit lead in this respect with but few deviations. The nasal is the most ineradicable of all; so much so that the insertion of an anusvāra even will generally suffice to preserve a single consonant which would otherwise have disappeared. Compare such words as ताचि, तारा, ताचि, with

1 Literally a man who gets Brahmanas to hold a sacrifice for him and pays for it, but in modern times applied to any one who has a right to certain services, as those of the barber, shoemaker, etc.
and it will be seen that while the former preserve their semivowels and nasal unchanged throughout all sorts of compounds and derivatives, the latter change their medial consonant in many ways. Thus, from ताम "hand-clapping," come H. ताम, तामी, and so in all; but from ताव "heat," we get either ताव or ताश. It may be surmised that in the effeminate speech of those days, or rather in the fantasticaly refined utterances of that particular school of writers by whom the plays and Prakrit songs were written, the strong consonants seemed too harsh and grating, and were therefore omitted, while the soft liquid semivowels were retained as not being too stiff or hard to break the delicate warbling cadences in which they so much delighted; and even in the speech of the masses somewhat of this feeling must have prevailed, as we find it to a certain extent true of prose works which are written in a severer style and without any great seeking after euphony.

The changes which the nasals, semivowels, and sibilants undergo are of an organic, not of a positional nature, and will be discussed in their proper place.

§ 52. (2.) The softening of tenues to media is a very frequent characteristic of genuine Tadbhavas, but it occurs more regularly in some letters than in others; ल, त, थ, go regularly into ल, ठ, थ, but changes from च into छ are rare, and those from ट into ड nearly equally so. Examples are—

क into ग.


Skr. गाक "pothierb," Pr. गाचो, H. गाय, P. id., S. सागु.

Skr. गट "cart," Pr. गच्छो, H. सग्र, but B., O. गक्को, and vulgo गक्को "hackery."

Skr. बेंकाण "skeleton," H. बंगाळ "starring," and so in all.
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Skr. कंकण "bracelet," Pr. कंकणी, H. कंगन, and so in all.
Skr. पर्च "bedstead," Pr. पर्चची, H. पर्चन, and so in all.

च into च.

Skr. कुंच "key," H. कुंजी, P., S., M. id., B. कुली, O., G. कुंची,
O. also कुंजी.
Skr. काच "glass," M. काच (vulg).

ट into ढ.

Skr. कड "worm," Pr. कड़ी, H. कडा, B., O., P. id., M. कड़ी,
कड़ा, G. कड़ी, S. फड़ी.
Skr. कप्प "cloth" [Pr. कप्पो], H. कपड़ा, P. id., S. कापड़ी,
G., M. कापड़ा, B., O. id.
Skr. कढ़ "pan" [Pr. कड़ो], H. कडाही, P., S. id., G. कड़ा
(कढ़ा) कड़ू, O. कराह, कहार, कहर, B. कड़, कढ़ारे.
Skr. झट "banyan-tree," Pr. झड़ी, H. झड़, and so in all, but M. and
G. झड़.
Skr. माट "hire," H. मांडा, S. मांडा, in all as H.
Skr. घट "jar," Pr. घड़ी, H. घड़ा, M. घड़ी id., B. id., and so in all.
Skr. घोट "horse," Pr. घोड़ी, in all घोड़ा.

त into त.

बामाजा "son-in-law," Pr. बामाच, H. बामाद (but through Persian
दामाद).

प seldom stops short at व. It would appear that व itself
differs very little in sound from व in most parts of India.
प therefore modulates into व, and still further into ढ, and
sometimes combines with a preceding a or d into ढी, or ढी.

Thus:
Skr. स्लप्तम् "sleeping," Pr. सिपिं, सिपिं, H. सोंमा, P. सोंमा,
S. सुन्धिय, G. सुप्रय, B. सोळचे, O. सोळचा.

1 I use this form, and not स्लप्तम्, because the latter contains a mixed nexus, and the
nasal would consequently disappear; the words in the text could not come from such
a form.
Skr. वपन “sowing,” H. चोगा, B. व्राचन, O. चोढा.
Skr. र्याप “oath,” Pr. सवहो, H. सौंह, P. सौङ, S. सुङ.
Skr. चेपन “moving,” Pr. इपर, H. खेवना “to row,” P. id., G. खेवा;
M. खेवा “rowing.”
Skr. रपढ “cowrie,” H. कीडी, M. कवडी, and so in all.
Skr. ताप “heat,” H. ताव, ताउ, and so in all.
Skr. शपनी “co-wife,” Pr. शवनी, H. सेतिण, सेत, M. सव.
Skr. शपारिक “with a quarter,” H. शवा, and so in all.

Vararuchi does not make this rule general in Prakrit, but confines its operation to t, p, and t, giving as examples udu, raudam, dada, nirditi, and others, for ritu, rajatam, dgata, nirviti, etc. He makes transition from p to s general, and gives instances: saro, sacaha, ularo; masyagga, for šapa, sapatha, utapa, upasarga. Upa is universally changed into uca, and even u (see § 53). The change of t to d is illustrated by nado, vidavo, for naha, vitapa, but there are hundreds of instances to be found in Prakrit works.

§ 53. (3.) Elision is in Prakrit the rule; retention and weakening, to a certain extent, the exceptions. Vararuchi’s rule (ii. 2) is very sweeping, and includes all the unaspirated letters of the four organs, except the cerebrals, as stated before (§ 51). य and व are added probably because they are so closely connected with य and व respectively. The instances given are maulo, maolo, sāro, naaram, vañam, sāl, gao, raudam, kaum, vidam, gua, mao, kaé, viulam, rāunā, naamam, jian, for nakula, nakula, sāgara, nagara, vañamam, sāchi, yaka, rajatam, krita, vidam, gāda, mada, kap, vijula, rāyanā, nayana, jina.

The confusion arising in Prakrit from this constant elision is extraordinary; thus, vañam stands for vañamam, vadana, vañama; ra for pada, rayas, and Vraj; rá for rája, rátri; ra for raya,
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rajas, rata; and the accumulation of vowels with no intervening
c consonant is in striking contrast to the Sanskrit, which tolerates
no hiatus. *Juatijana* जुतीजनाः = *yuvatijana*, उजजाराथ उद्रा =
अपकारक, नाद = उदका, निरहाः = अभिरातक, निग्यु = अत्यर्जुका;
so that we seem to be listening to some Maori or other Polynesian
dialect, rather than to anything Aryan; and I cannot
bring myself to believe that the people of India at any stage of
their history ever spoke such a form of speech as this.

In the modern languages instances of elision are tolerably
frequent, but they do not result in hiatus to such an extent as
in Prakrit. Either one of the vowels goes out with the con-
sonant or the two vowels which are left behind coalesce into
one, or hiatus is avoided, as it is also in some kinds of prose
Prakrit, by the insertion of च, व, or even ह. For the treat-
ment of vowels in hiatus see §

क.

Skr. बोकिल “koll,” Pr. बोइलो, H. कोइल, P., S. id., G. कोयलः,
O. कोयल.

Skr. सुवर्णकार “goldsmith,” Pr. सोवाराश्र, H. सोनार, मुनार, P.
सुविजार, S. सौगाराणि, M. सोनार. Similarly are all names of trades
ending in बार treated, as कुबारक “potter,” and others.


S. मौक.

Skr. नारिकेल “cocoa-nut,” Pr. नारिकेलो, H. नारिकेल, M. नारक.
G. नारिकेल, P. नेलू, गौद, S. नैरलू and नाइल.

म.

Skr. द्वियुक्त “twofold,” Pr. द्वूगो, H. दूगा, P. id., S. दूगा, M. दूग.
Skr. नगर “city,” Pr. नागारो, नगरी, H. नैर, 1 G. नैरी.

1 In Old H. नगर. The word is seen in the terminations of a few names of
towns, at Bikaner, Bhatner.
Skr. सुगंध "fragrant," Pr. सुगंध, H. सुगंधा, P. id.

च.
Skr. बाँच "glass," S. बाँची.

अ.
Skr. राजा "king," Pr. राजा, H. राज, राज in all, so also in राजकुल = राज, राजकुमार = राजवत, राजपुत = राज, राजपुत्र = राजू.

Skr. पिता "father," Pr. पिता, H. पिता.
Skr. माता "mother," Pr. माता, H. मा, मात्र, मात.
Skr. भात "brother," Pr. भाता, H. भाई.
Skr. भाग "wound," Pr. भाग, H. भाग, भाग, so in all.
Skr. शत "hundred," Pr. सत, H., P. सी (सौ) है.

द.
Skr. रोदन "weeping," Pr. रोधा, H. रोधा, P. रोडा, S. रोधा, G. रोदु, B. रोडेत.
Skr. ब्रम "heart," Pr. हिंदा, H. हिंदा, P. हिंदा, हिंदा, S. हिंदा, M. हिंदा.
Skr. बदनी "plantain," H. केला (केला), P., S., B. id., S. केळ, (diminutive), G. केलू, केल, M. केल.

प.
CHANGES OF SINGLE CONSONANTS.

Skr. कूप “a well,” H. कूण, P. कूप, S. कूङ, G., M. कूण, B., O. कूण.
Skr. पिपाश "thirsty," H. पिपासा, so in all.
Skr. दीप “lamp,” H. दिया, P. दीचा, M. दिवा, G. दिवा.

 anda व are never elided; in non-Aryan words they would naturally hold their own, and in Aryan words they would generally spring from व, व, or व, व, and so being already, as it were, on the second step of development, they would not ordinarily be any further corrupted, except in the case of व, which being now in the majority of cases pronounced as a harsh r, is not unfrequently confounded with र; its further change into व comes under the head of organic changes.

With regard to व, it must be observed that in Prakrit there is much difficulty in distinguishing between it and व. It is not correct to say that they are quite identical, however, as some words are always written with व, others always with व. Cowell, in his edition of Vararuchi, makes no distinction, putting both letters under व, and he is to a certain extent justified in this course by his author, who is very hazy on the subject. Bengali and Oriya among the moderns are the only two languages which make no distinction between these two letters, but they make them both into व. The only notion the Bengali or Oriya peasant has of व is that it is the same as व, which again is to him only a pronounced quickly between the two vowels (see what has been said on this subject in Chapter I. § 23). If we wish really to know which words ought to be spelt with व and which with व, we must go to the Marathi and Gujarati, which keep the two sounds distinct.

Thus, Sanskrit has वद्र, and not वद्र; though Cowell gives वौर as the Prakrit, it clearly ought to be वौर, and M. has accordingly वौर, and not वौर.

It is probable, however, that though the distinction undoubtedly exists even in Prakrit, it was not very carefully observed, and if the harder व was softened into a vowel, it is
not likely that  would escape. Examples are not to be looked for so much in Bengali and Oriya as in the western languages.

when elided leaves its mark behind in the labial vowel o, and similarly in the palatal vowel e, in cases where they are both preceded and followed by a, as in ava, asa.

Prakrit vāra=avatāra, oasa=orakāka, oinna=avatirna, ohi=avulhi; but ava, arising from softening of asa, does not undergo further change, as uvasana=apaśakuna, avarāha=aparādha=. avarauka=aparāhna.

Prakrit occurs most frequently in the causal verb; thus:

rochemi rochemo,
rohesi rochetho,
rochidi rochenti,

for Skr. rochayāmi, rochayasi, rochayati, etc.

In other positions, however, asa not unfrequently becomes a by simple elision of the ; examples are jād=jaya, jad=+jāyā, uasa=ayašas, uā=aysas. In these cases it was probably pronounced as j, just as it is in the present day in many parts of India. In the moderns no such process as this is to be found.

§ 54. It is now necessary to inquire why these three processes—retention, weakening, and elision—exist side by side, and what is the law which decides in every case which process shall be followed. It is easy to talk, as some authors do, of the "lawless licence" of Indian etymology; but this is only a confession of ignorance; it amounts to saying that because we cannot find the reasons for any particular change, therefore there are no reasons at all; the blind mole says there is no sun because he cannot see the daylight. Reasons there must be, and it is our business to try and find them out; or at any rate in this early stage of inquiry into the elements of the modern Indian languages, we may perhaps be satisfied if we can point out some slight indications which, if followed up hereafter, may lead
later inquirers to a discovery of the full and perfect system. The following hints are given in this hope, and do not pretend to be anything more than hints.

The cases of retention from their form are nearly all seen to be Tatsamas, or such very late Tadbhavas that they have not yet had time to make any great divergence from the Tatsama form. The principal difficulty lies between weakening and elision. The Prakrits may be cleared away at once by saying that they always elide, and we may further get rid of the cerebrals, which are never elided. The inherent weakness of व, which leads it almost always to be softened into the semi-vowel, places this letter also on a different footing from the rest. When it has become व, and by a step further ची, ची, and ची, its total elision becomes rather a question of vowels than of consonants. Thus, प्राप्त having become पावया, the further change to पावया is a matter of vowels, and more especially in those languages where the verbal base ends in a vowel, while the termination begins with one, as in the case of Bengali उे, उा, or Sindhi इं, इंडे; where, to avoid too great a clash of vowels, the ु naturally disappears. The same remarks apply in a still greater degree to व, as has been pointed out in the preceding section. The semivowels, nasals, sibilants, and ह, do not come within the scope of this inquiry, as they are seldom if ever elided, except व and व, for which we should probably understand व and व, and they cannot be weakened, as they have no corresponding weak letters, being in fact mediae themselves; consequently their changes are not positional but organic.

Having cleared the way somewhat by getting rid of the above-mentioned classes, there remain त, न; च, च; त, and द; and in the case of these six letters the rule appears to be that they are generally elided when preceded by a long or accented vowel, generally retained if mediae, or weakened into mediae if tenues, when preceded by a short or unaccented vowel.
Contrast कोिला, क्षड्णाम, रोिनाम,—where the preceding vowel is long, and in which therefore the consonant is elided, sometimes even together with the following vowel, as कौि, क्षणि, रोिद,—with कपोि, कदि, चकोि, which are followed by a long vowel, and in which, therefore, the consonant is retained, as कपोि, कदि, कुि, चकोि. By the operation of this rule क्रिदय, कुिति, प्रपुिनाम, कुि, रिि, निि, रिाि, lose the single consonant altogether, as shown in the last section. It would further appear that when two long or accented syllables come together, the intervening consonant goes out. Thus, in the class of words expressive of trades, कुिभाकार, नििवािहार, become कुिभाि (through कुिहाि), चकोि; and even where a short vowel intervenes, as सुिरपाकार = सोिर, लोिकार = लोिहाि. Again, there are cases where the word having been in existence in Prakrit has elided its consonant in accordance with Prakrit rules, such as मकुिला = मौि, मौि, सुिगंिथा = सौिगंिथा. Even here there is sometimes a tendency to revert to the rule above, as in मकुिल, “a weasel,” which should by rule retain its consonant; having, however, lost it in Prakrit, the preceding vowel is lengthened, and we have नूिवल, नूि, etc. The words पिि, मिि, are oxytone, but having lost their त in Prakrit they remain without it in modern times. There might seem to be an exception in रििगुिा, but दः has first become दः; thus, दःगुिा is like कोिला, and the consonant goes out. Further instances are सिकार = सिार, कका = कक्वा (i.e. का + का, the form कक्ग given in § 52 is rare and well-nigh obsolete), श्लिकार = शिारो, 8., (i.e. शिारो), where the त is elided through the preceding long vowel, and the क through Prakrit influence, जििरािन = जिङ्गऽ.

On the other hand, the consonant is retained in a number of words derived from Sanskrit causals because the accent is on the first vowel of the causal characteristic: भेदायति, रोियति, मौियति, form भेयि, रोि, मौि. In the causal verbs which retain still a causal signification, the causal characteristic
appears as long ḍ, as in chaṭāṇa; in the above verbs it does not appear, though it leaves its mark behind in the retention of the consonant, which would otherwise be rejected, because preceded by a long vowel. Compare ṛona, from ṛodanam, with ṛopnā, from ṛopūy-, also ṇhōṇā, from ṇhāḍanam, with ṇājṇā, from cāḍāy-.

The difficulty in this theory is that it was formerly stated (Chap. I., § 7) that early Tadbhavas—i.e. words which had come down through the medium of Prakrit—were distinguished by the fidelity with which they retained the accent, and it is part of this hypothesis that Prakrit also retained the accent. Yet here we find words retaining the accent, that is, showing traces of having felt its influence, and, therefore, having been in existence at a time when the Sanskrit accent was still known and heard, and which should, therefore, agree in form with Prakrit words, which yet do not agree in form with Prakrit. The words in § 53, where elision is practised, do, it is true, agree, but not those in § 52, where the consonant is merely weakened. Such forms, for instance, as H. vāgar, Pr. vaudha; H. sāg, Pr. sāo, seem to militate against the above theory. To this it may be replied, that the fact of the divergence of Prakrit in this respect from the modern languages is an additional argument in favour of the theory of the unreal and merely literary character of the constant elisions in that language, and that it is chiefly in Prakrit poetry that these elisions are found; in Prakrit prose they are much less frequent, and in Pali and the earlier forms of Prakrit they are almost unknown. Still, I must confess that this theory of the effect of the accent and the relation between long syllables and the preservation or elision of consonants, though it will probably eventually turn out to be correct, is at present in rather a crude state, and will require to be worked out at greater length when fuller materials are available.

§ 55. The rejection of the final inherent ə in the very large
class of Sanskrit nouns which end with that vowel, has had the
effect of producing a great number of words with consonantal
endings in the modern languages; and, following Grimm's law,
we should expect that Sanskrit words ending in *gu, ja, da, ho*,
would have the consonants hardened to *k, ch, t, p*, respectively.
The fact is, however, the reverse. Occasionally we find in-
stances where this does take place, as in Marathi छाप for छाव,
but these are not numerous. The cause of this appears to be
that the final *a* was retained till very recent times. In poetry
it is even now required to be pronounced, and in Bengali and
Oriya, though not heard in ordinary rapid talking, directly
a man speaks slowly and distinctly, the short final *a*, there
changed to *d*, becomes audible. Thus, it has happened that
these letters have always been regarded as medials, and treated
as such, with a tendency to weakening rather than strengthen-
ing. On the other hand, in those Sanskrit nouns which end
in a consonant, it is generally only the nominative case to which
the description applies; the other cases having vocalic case-
endings lose the consonantal type, and in Prakrit (Var. iv. 6)
we have the absolute rule that a final consonant is always
elided. Thus, Skr. सरित *a river,* becomes in Old Hindi सरिता.

The majority of instances of consonantal endings wherein
a soft or sonant letter has been hardened is to be found in
Panjabi, where Persian and Arabic words have been so long
in use. These words having in those languages a true con-
sonantal ending have in some instances been hardened. It is
true that in Arabic the nouns have technically their vowel
case-endings in the shape of *tanwin*; but, as is well known,
tanwin has for many centuries been a mere grammarians's
fiction. No Arab ever says *rajula*, *rajul*, *rajulun*, in con-
versation, whatever he may do when reading the Kur'an; so
that practically these words met the ear of the Panjabi as true
c consonantally terminated words, and he has hardened the final
consonant in some cases. Thus, he says खिताप for किताब, मसीत for मसिद, महित for महद, and the like. The same practice is also occasionally found in Aryan words, as पत "dignity," from पत्र शेव "service," from शेव (i.e. शेव). The same process exists also in Sindhi, in spite of the fact that in that language all nouns without exception end in a vowel. This vowel is often so short and light as hardly to be audible.

But on the whole the hardening of final consonants is rare and not sufficiently regular to constitute a rule, though we are justified by analogy in supposing that if consonantal endings were more frequent the process of hardening would be more often evident.

§ 56. Organic changes for the most part operate without reference to position, being found nearly as often in initial as in medial consonants. They are also in many cases confined to particular languages or dialects.

In the case of the gutturals there appear to be no organic changes in the Prakrits or modern languages, with the exception of the compound च (क + च). In Sanskrit a connexion appears to exist between the letters of this organ and the palatals. When a verb beginning with a guttural is reduplicated, the corresponding palatal is used, as कृत "to sever," = कुकृत; गम "to go," = बगम. It is probably this practice, taken in connexion with the similar custom in nouns of changing च when terminating a base into च before certain case-endings, as वाच, etc. वाचे, that has led to the commonly received idea that the genitive postposition in Marathi, चा, is derived from or connected with the corresponding Hindi खा. If this be so, we should expect to find that च was regularly replaced by च in Marathi. After considerable search, however, I am unable to find any such instance. If, then, the above supposition be correct, it must be an isolated case.

It must be remembered that the modern languages have
almost entirely abandoned the Sanskrit verbal system, and form their verbs from one or two tenses only of the Sanskrit verb, chiefly from the present tense and certain participles and verbal nouns, so that the reduplication of the ancient verb would not be reproduced in modern speech. Similarly the noun takes for its base one form, and that generally the nominative case of the Sanskrit; so that here also the euphonic changes required by the structural peculiarities of that language would not be reproduced.

The solitary instances of H. काका and चाचा “uncle,” and O., B. चास = झापि, are all that can be brought forward, and काका, though an Aryan word, comes into the modern languages through the Persian.

§ 57. In connexion with the palatals, however, there is another and, at first sight, less explainable tendency. In a considerable class of words they modulate into cerebrals or dentals, that is to say, into one or other of the departments of the lingual range of sounds. The instances of जामाता, H, दामाद, and धी = धी, have been mentioned above (§ 49). A more widespread example is afforded by a class of words meaning “to press,” “stamp,” and the like. The earliest type of this group is perhaps the Skr. root चप्प, or चप्प, which is said to mean “to go”; but after making all due allowances for the copiousness of Sanskrit, every third root in that language can hardly mean “to go,” though the lexicographers calmly assert that it is so. Perhaps this root is only a dialectic form of चप्प, the causal of चि “to strike,” which would well enough agree with the modern meanings, “to stamp,” “press,” “tap,” etc., in this way that stamping would naturally be defined as the act of causing a seal or stamp to strike the paper or other article. This idea will not appear unreasonable or far-fetched to those who remember how constantly ideas which in European languages are expressed by simple verbs
are in the Indian languages rendered by causals, or rather by words which still retain a causal form; thus, "to call," or "summon," चुनना, causal of चुनना, i.e., "to cause to speak," as उनको चुनने "call him," in full, "cause him to (come and) speak (to me)"; चुनना "to drown anything," causal of चुनना "to sink," i.e., "to cause anything to sink"; चुनना "to rescue," causal of चुनना "to escape," "be saved," i.e., "to cause one to escape"; समझना "to explain," from समझना "to understand," i.e., "to cause to understand"; and very many others.

With the palatal initial, then, we have: Hindi खाय "a stamp" or "seal"; खाय "a stamp," "an edition of a work," also the sectarian marks stamped by Hindus on various parts of their bodies; खाय "to print"; खाय "a seal" or mark made of cowdung and put on a heap of grain to prevent its removal; खप "a splash," or the sound made by an object striking the water, and derivative खप "a splash," "squash"; खप the same; खप "to dash or splash water"; खरी "a puddle"; and other words.

As one of the senses of चि is "to disappear," the causal would mean "to cause to disappear," i.e., "to hide," hence with the s-sound comes चि "to hide," चि "to lie hid," चिप चिप or चिप "concealment." These words are also written with a; from the cognate idea of "covering" comes चप "a thatch" or "thatched roof," चप "a bedstead with curtains," चप "a lizard," from its hiding in crevices of walls, etc.

With rejection of the aspirate, by no means an unusual process in the vulgar speech, we get a long array of words, which may, however, be referred also to Sanskrit चाप, causal of चि "to heap," "to collect." This चि, however, is probably even in Sanskrit connected with चि, and some of the meanings

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1 From this word comes the now vulgar expression, "first-chop," meaning the best kind of any article, that which bears the highest stamp.
of the following words agree better with the latter than with the former. It is easy to see the connexion between all these meanings. To strike, press down, press a covering down over anything, cover, conceal, hide; from pressing down by another turn of thought come the ideas of pressing down into a vessel, heaping up and pressing tight together, collecting in a heap, squeezing, and the like. From one primary idea the Aryan mind runs off down many radiating lines of thought, so that derivatives widely apart in meaning now-a-days may often be clearly traced to one central root.

चाप "a bow" (also in Skr.): चापरा "cake of cowdung," made by stamping and flattening the dung between the hands. चापरा "to stuff," "press," "squeeze." चाप "the lock of a gun,"—that part, to wit, which is pressed down on the nipple. It also means the stocks, or other instrument of punishment. चपाती "a chapatty," or thin cake of unleavened bread, made by patting and flattening dough with the hands. चपटा or चिपटा "flat." चपटाना "to flatten." Then a string of words with the meanings of being pressed close to, adhering, clinging. चिपटा "clammy," "viscous." चिपटाना "to stick to," चिपटाना the same; also "to be compressed." चिपटा "tongs." चिपटाना "to cling to" (you say to a child, मत चिपटो "Don't tease!"). चपर "a tightly-fitting coat or cassock" (the French soutane). चपराम "a buckle," subsequently "a badge." From the idea of repression comes चपना "to be abashed" or "shamefast," "to be silent"; चप "silence!" चपरहूँना "to be silent." I omit a vast host of derivatives which would occupy several pages.

Marathi has चाप, चापले, चापा, कपर, कपर, कपाल; and with च, चाप, चाप "squat," "dumpy"; चापरी "to flatten by beating"; and the usual quantity of derivatives. With चिप, चिप, चिप "crush," "squeeze"; चिपडा "a mass of pulp"; चिपडाणी the same as in M. क regularly reappears as क; we
may here perhaps affiliate ग्लेप्षी “to thatch” (H. कपड़े), which should be kept distinct from ग्लेप्णे “to sew,” which is from Skr. सीवचं. ग्लेप्णे “to sprinkle,” is probably from Skr. ग्लाप “to throw”; but this root also may be no more than an ancient causal of ग्लि “to strike.” To follow up this thread would, however, lead us too far away from the present subject.

In Panjabi most of the words quoted under Hindi occur. It is useless to repeat them.

Sindhi gives कपड़े “eyelid”; also the cognate sense of “thatch,” which is probably the primary one, that of “eyelid” being secondary and metaphorical; कपड़े “the crouching of a beast of prey,” as in कपड़े गारि चिंडण “to lie in ambush”; कपड़े, कपड़े, कपड़े; and with च: चापड़े “to press or shampoo the limbs,” चापड़े “a knot” or “lump,” चापड़ो “a trouser,” चापड़ो “a flat clod of earth or plaster,” चपड़े “a wedge,” चपड़े “a chapar,” चपड़े “a lever,” चिपड़े “to press,” “mash,” चिपड़े “flat,” चिपड़ो “tongue.”

Gujarati has the principal words given under Hindi, and perhaps the whole of them, if the dictionary-maker had only put them in his book. In Bengali are found चपड़े, चापलिति, चाप, चाप, चाप, चाप, “to conceal”; चाप “suppressed,” “concealed,” चिपू “a cork” or “stopper,” चिपू “to hide,” चिरा “pulp”; and with च: चबराल, चर “the open palm of the hand,” चर “a blow with the palm,” “a slap,” चर “a chapkan” or “cassock,” चर “to weigh down” or “press in a vice,” चि “a clod,” “block,” “lump,” “burden,” चि “to print,” चि “curdled,” “coagulated,” चि “clod”;

with इ: चिय, चिय “to squeeze,” “express juice,” “wring out water,” चिय “to cling to,” and derivatives in crowds.

Lastly, Oriya has the same words as the other languages; also चाप “a signet ring,” चाप “a slap,” चाप “to slap,” चपड़े “muddy,” “viscous,” “slimy,” चप “the running or blotting of ink on paper.”

The above instances prove the existence of a large group of
words with a palatal initial, which are probably connected with the Sanskrit roots ꝱ “to throw” (vulgar English “to shy”) with its two ancient causals ꝱ ꝱ and ꝱ. This extensive group has for its fundamental meaning “to press,” and includes all the varied forms of pressing, as stamping, sealing, crushing, flattening, clinging, beating, and the secondary ideas of repressing, suppressing, compressing, and impressing.

We also find an equally large and varied group beginning with a lingual, either ꝱ or ꝱ, and running parallel to the palatal group in all its meanings. This group contains the following leading words: Hindi टप्पा “post-office,” i.e. place where letters are stamped, टप्पांच “letter-post” (टप्पा + आँचल = “stamping-house”), टपक “throbbling,” “dripping,” टपक “a drop of rain,” टपकना “to drop,” “drip,” टपक “the stocks,” टपकना and टपकना “to bury,” “cover with earth,” टप “a tap,” “sound of beating,” टपा “a coop,” टपाना “to tap,” “flatten,” “beat down,” टपक “a sledge-hammer,” टप “pressing,” also “a note of hand” or “bill,” टपना “to press,” टपर “a cork” (comp. B. टपिर), टपा “a die” or “stamp,” टपना “to beat.”

Marathi टपकना “to drip,” टपर and other derivatives; टप्पा, टपांच “post-office,” टप, टपांच, टपर “to mail or peg down,” टपफ्री “butting,” टपण “a note,” टपण “to note down,” also “to dab,” “daub,” “smear,” टपण “stocks,” also टपण, टपण, टपण, etc.

Sindhi टपू “tapping,” टपू “to beat out metals,” “to seal,” “to print,” टपण “stamping,” “printing,” टपण “a seal.”

Bengali टपटपानি “dripping rain,” टापर “a tap,” टपा

1 See also a series of words of the types टप, टप, and टप, with the central idea of “compressing,” at No. (2) of § 69.

2 This word, though apparently Aryan, is not much used in Northern India, though it is the common word in Madras and the South for our ordinary word दिख, —the name of the place having been extended to the whole system.
"a coop," टिप, टीप, and टुप as verbal roots with the same meanings as above, टिप "a bond" or "note of hand," टेप, टेप्टिते "to squeeze," टेपारते "to distil," टेपान "fallen in drops," "distilled."

Oriya टिपिका "to press," "pinch," टिप "a bond," टिपिणा "a finger mark" or "notch."

The other languages, Panjabi and Gujarati, have in general the same class of words as Hindi.

It is evident that there is some similarity and, to all appearance, close connexion between these two groups of words. The latter group has the sense of pressing, stamping, tappin, beating, dropping, dripping, and the like, which are too akin to the senses of the group in च to be mere accidental resemblances.

A few other instances may here be added:

Skr. वं चु "beak," H. वोंच and ठोंट, O. चट, ठोंट, B. ठोंट.

H. टाट "canvass" (perhaps Skr. चात्र), B. टाट and ठट, O. ठट, H. ठटाई.

H. ठोकळा "boy," O. ठोकळा (Skr. शावक).

Skr. ठाप "cultivation," O. चाष and ठाष.

We may also compare with this the change from H. चाणीस "forty," to रक्तातालिस "forty-one," पेटालिस "forty-five." This change takes place throughout the forties in Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, but not in Marathi or Oriya, and only in two words, तेतालिस, पेटालिस, in Bengali.

The substantive verb in Oriya has two forms, बटार and बटर or ठटर, and it might be thought in the light of the remarks in this section that there was some connexion between the two. This would, however, be an erroneous supposition. The former, like B. ठांच, ठिरहत ठे, G. ठे, and several others, is from चट्टाति, Prakrit from a Skr. root चच "to appear"; whereas the latter is from चन्ति, root चुत. The ठ is still preserved in B. ठट; this is shown by the fact that this tense has ठ in all three persons, sing. ठट, ठट, ठट, pl. ठट, ठट, ठटालि, which
it could not have were it derived from चहः. It may not be premature here to state that I find four Sanskrit roots regularly used as auxiliaries or substantive verbs by the moderns, viz. चस्, चच्छ्, मृ and खा, and that the root बृत् is not used in this way by any of the languages: thus while O. achhi is in Oriya used to define a present or past, just like the H. hai, as in हेहरहि “he is becoming,” देह्यो achhi “he has seen,” अते is used alone, and never as an auxiliary; in fact, in Bengali চট, the sole remaining trace of this verb, has nearly lost its verbal meaning, and is now merely an emphatic affirmative, “it is so,” “truly,” “indeed,” and the like.

The further extension of the principle of this connexion may perhaps result in fixing the derivation of many words whose origin is at present obscure. If asked to account for the connexion between two sounds at first sight so widely opposed, I would refer to similar conditions in other languages; as, for instance, the substitution of $\tau$ for $\sigma$ in Attic Greek, as μέλπττα, βαλανσττα, for μέλπφαι, βάλανσα. The Indian palatals have a sibilant element in them, which justifies the comparison. So also in Latin we have the confusion between $\epsilon$ when used as a palatal, and $t$, as in citium, otium, solatium, also formerly written vicium, occium, solacium, which rests undoubtedly upon a connexion with $k$ (written $c$). Among modern languages the example of the Spanish may also be added where $e$ before the palatal vowels $\epsilon$ and $i$ is pronounced as th, cierto is pronounced thierto, Cesare, Theare, and even $z$ shares the same fate, as in zapato, zelo, =thapato, thelo.

From the same cause arises that defect in speaking called a lisp, which renders some Englishmen unable to pronounce sibilants or palatals otherwise than as half-obscured linguals. But whereas in England this is only an individual and personal peculiarity, in Spanish it becomes a law. The people of Madrid all lisp, not only in pronouncing the $e$ and $z$, but also in $t$; one cannot express in writing the peculiar sound they give to the
in such words as *esta, usted*; it is something like *shta, ukte*. So also, to go to a different age, and family of languages, the Chaldeans and Syrians lisp the Semitic *b* sh, as in Heb. *šāliosh*, Chal. *telath*, Syr. *tiłah*, "three"; Heb. *šemonēh*, Chal. *te♠anēt*, Syr. *tмонис*, "eight," etc.

The origin of this confusion must probably be sought for in the construction of the organs of speech. The position of the tongue in uttering the palatals is not a very natural or simple one. In uttering a palatal the contact is effected by that part of the tongue which lies a very little above the tip touching that part of the palate which is just above the teeth, in other words, the inner surface of the gum. If in attempting to form this contact, the tip of the tongue itself is used, instead of that part of it which lies immediately above and adjacent to the tip, we get at once the lingual sound. Any one may satisfy himself of this by actual experiment. In the case of sibilants the transition is still simpler; in pronouncing *s* we touch the gum with a part of the tongue just above that part which is used in pronouncing the palatals; but we touch the gum so lightly, and with the tongue so broadened out, that we do not stop the outward flow of the breath completely; it oozes forth with that hissing sound which, whether in the human organ or in any other machine, invariably results from the rapid flow of air through a contracted passage. If, when the tongue is in the position necessary for the utterance of *s*, it be suddenly pressed close to the gum so as to effect complete contact, we hear the sound *t*; so that the difference between *s* and *t* rests not in the position of the organs, but in the degree of contact. With the palatals the contact is also loose, so that they may, in this respect, be brought under the same rule as the sibilants. Hence, in the case of a child who has not yet obtained complete mastery over his organs of speech, the natural impulse is to press the tongue firmly against the gum, so that he says "tee" for "see," "tell" for "shell," "tuch" for "such," and so on.
§ 58. As further illustrative of the close connexion between the palatals and sibilants, a peculiarity of Marathi may be here introduced, which may be also detected in Bengali, and perhaps sporadically in some of the other languages. ढ in Marathi, whether originally existing in Sanskrit or arising from a Prakrit corruption of च, concerning which see Chapter IV., is almost universally changed into म or च.

Examples:—

Skr. चु "sugar-cane," Pr. उच्छ, M. जम, but H. जम.
Skr. चत "a bear," Pr. रिक्तो, M. रीत, but H. रीत.
Skr. कु "belly," Pr. कुच्छो, M. कुम, but H. कोख.
Skr. वे "field," Pr. वृंत, M. वेत, but H. वेत.
Skr. चु "knife" (also कुर), Pr. कुरी, M. सुरी, but H. कुरी.
Skr. मक "to ask," Pr. पुक्क, M. पुक्क, but H. पुक्क.
Skr. मल्ल "fish," Pr. मच्छो, M. मासा, but H. माल.
Skr. मदिका "fly," मक्षिका, M. माधो, but H. मक्ली, H. माक्ळी.
Skr. पुक्ताप "repentance," Pr. पुक्तायां, M. पुक्तां, H. पुक्ताख, G. पुक्ताप; B. पुक्तान.

(?) Skr. चिकालय "destroyed house," ग. गिद्य "whore," H. किस्मान, B. id.

It will be observed that च is used before the palatal vowels, as in चेत, मात्री, गिद्य, but म in all other positions.

Bengali, though retaining च in writing, often especially among the lower orders pronounces म, thus आছे "he is," is pronounced আছে, মাছ "a fish," মাথো, কাছে "near," কাছে. In eastern Bengal, where the pronunciation reaches the utmost limits of corruption, ছ্ছ is regularly sounded as s, and in that dialect of Bengali spoken in Assam, which now passes for an independent language, not only has the s sound driven out the চ্ছ, but has in many cases still further passed into ছ."

1 House of ill fame, with the sense transferred from the house to the inhabitant. I give the derivation merely as a guess.

2 As the ordinary Bengalis have got into the habit of pronouncing म as श,
In none of the languages except Marathi, however, does this custom prevail so universally as to amount to a rule. Of course if Bengali dictionary-makers or pandits would only let us see that language as it really is, we might find that the practice was far more frequent than was at first supposed; but as matters stand at present, the natural and regular developments of the language are all set down as vulgarisms, and no one is allowed to know anything about them, except it be in order to laugh at them.

§ 59. The connexion between dentals and cerebrals rests on the principle, which I shall do my best to prove in this section, that these two classes of sounds are really the weaker and stronger branches respectively of one and the same group, which, as being produced by the instrumentality of the tongue, may be comprehended under the general name of linguals. From the nature of the case it might be anticipated that Sanskrit, in its polished or classical stage, would incline to the use of the softer, or dental branch, while on the other hand the popular speech, as represented by the Prakrits, would adhere to the harsher or cerebral forms. It will be seen in the sequel how far this anticipation is borne out by facts.

Before taking into the discussion the modern languages, it is necessary here to set down an abstract of what is stated by writers in, or on, the Prakrits, on this head.

Vararuchi does not make the use of the cerebral in Prakrit into a distinct rule, he treats the instances where such use occurs as individual cases, and consequently writes in his least critical mood on this point. In ii. 8, he gives padisaro, vediso,

when they wish to express the pure dental sound of ś, they usually write च; thus कुच “a needle,” Skr. कृच (but see the close of § 56) would be pronounced eśérica; कुस्त “carpenter,” Skr. कुश्चार pron. eśār. Ignorant people introduce this च in places where च should be written, thus one may see मुक्तमाव मुक्तमाग, कुक्कु मुक्कु, and the like.
padña, for pratīṣara, vetusa, patāka. Of these three the first belongs to the usual treatment of prati, which I have explained in Chapter IV. Vetusa is a genuine Aryan word connected with vītek, vītis, Pers. គីត, Gr. ἤσ, O.G. វីត, our willow. Here the transition into l in English points back to Latin sālia; Anglo-Saxon has seal and selig, and the l in all these perhaps indicates that the original form was that with the cerebral q, so that the Prakrit rediṣo would appear to be a truer pronunciation than the Skr. vetusa. Patāka is a formation from the root pad, which, as will be shown hereafter, is always in Pr. pad. Here, again, the Teutonic forms fallen, scallan, fallen, with their radical l, seem to show that the cerebral letter is the original.

Vararuchi ii. 35, doḷā, doṇḍo, daṇḍo, for Skr. doḷā, doṇḍu, daṇḍa, daṇḍa. Here the harsher pronunciation is presumably the elder of the two.

ख is everywhere substituted for न throughout the scenic Prakrits.

Lassen § 38 says, "ut न in श. ita न in ड. ड in व saipia abitur," but he adds no illustrations, and his remark seems even by the light of Vararuchi and other Pr. grammarians to be too sweeping. Hoeser has collected many passages from the plays (pp. 55, 62); in the latter passage he says of ड. "Rarissime in lingualis transit."

On the whole, the practice of scenic Prakrit may be thus summed up, that न rarely, if ever, is represented as ड; but that ड, whether original, or arising from a softening of न, is not unfrequently replaced by ड, and न is universally disused, ख everywhere appearing.

As types of other descriptions of Prakrit, instances from Bhagavati and Saptaśataka may be given.

Skr. न appears in the former work in the three forms of गड, गय, गच. This न, however, is not radical, and its change

1 Our willow-tree.
to ṛ is valuable only as helping to the elucidation of the ऋ of the past participle in some of the modern languages.

Skr. पत्न is पद्य throughout, and so in the Saptas., as also in scenic Pr.

A curious set of words occurs about which there is some doubt. rivatō, nyatēnu, nyattenti, nyattissanti, nyattana, etc. If these are to be referred to the root छत्, we have a clear case of the cerebral standing for a Skr. dental. The word amparī-yattai, however, is referred to the root चट̣ “to wander,” and in the passage where it occurs the meaning seems to be “wanders restlessly about” (sich herummählt, Weber). The y is explained as being substituted for the Sandhi, but this is unsatisfactory. In the passages in which these words are found, sometimes the meaning of चट̄, sometimes that of छत्, is more appropriate. It were no great stretch to assume that both roots are originally one; the meaning of yat “to labour,” is closely akin to that of wandering, or moving; and we thus have two parallel roots in which the original cerebral is better preserved in the Pr. than in Skr.

At p. 413 of his article on the Bhagavati, Weber states that the substitution of the cerebral for the dental often occurs, chiefly through the influence of preceding r or ri. With all due deference, however, to such high authority, a careful perusal of the Prakrit text by no means bears out this assertion. The dentals of Sanskrit appear to be quite regularly retained in all places where there is no disturbing influence at work. This might be expected from the style of the work, which, as the editor remarks in another place, holds a middle position between Pali and the Prakrit of the plays, besides being undoubtedly rather of the Mañgadhi than of the Mahārashtri type, and consequently more disposed to retain the Sanskrit consonants in their true and proper form. Those cases where the cerebral is due to the influence of r or ri come under the head of the mixed nexus, and are treated in Chap. IV.
They have, of course, nothing to do with the present inquiry, which is confined to cases where the latter stands alone in the word. न is not in this work universally substituted for न, as in scenic Prakrit, though the substitution is tolerably frequent.

The Saptaśata, whatever be its date, is a composition of a different type entirely from the Bhagavatī. It is a collection of little chansons or love-verses, and its phonetic system is similar to that of scenic Prakrit, and probably just as artificial.

Indeed, in Song 2 of the collection it is expressly inferred that the language employed was not generally intelligible. That this work represents a collection of popular songs is highly improbable. Weber says (p. 44) that the lingualphons (i.e. cerebrals) appear frequently in the stead of dentals, even without any perceptible cause, but the elaborate index of words at the end of the book contradicts this statement. The cases where a cerebral occurs for the Skr. dental are comparatively few. The root तृत for तेत, and a few others which will be given below, but these cases are the exception; the rule is the reverse. This might be expected when it is remembered that the Prakrit of these songs affects above everything an effeminate softness and liquid flow. Judging from what one sees and hears of popular music in India at present, the most probable conclusion is that these verses were meant to be sung by dancing-girls, who are carefully taught and trained in music and singing. Though to our taste they appear almost pointless, yet to the native mind the little dash of feeble wit, with its undertone of indecency, when aided by the lascivious postures and piercing glances of the dancing-girls, would be irresistibly.

1 The lines are—

amiam pāṇakavam
padhum seim a je na jānanti
kismas tantatantim
kapamti te kaha na lajantī.

"They who know not how to read or hear the sweet Prakrit verse, (then) they practise the mysteries of love, how shall they not be shameless?"
charming. Although they are full of allusions to rural scenery and occupations, they appear to bear no greater marks of being real songs of the peasantry, than the insipid couplets of the bergers and bergères of Louis XIV.'s court did to the utterances of the gaunt starving peasantry of France at that epoch. The Prakrit of the Saptaśataka is not in any sense the parent of any modern Indian vernacular, while that of the Bhagavati and the religious works generally may be. Its value for philological purposes is very small.

The Prakrit of the people was not this emasculated stuff. When a pure popular Prakrit word does occur in these songs, it is generally in the same form as that in which it occurs in sterner works, such as the Jain texts, but the author ruthlessly massacres consonants and long vowels to suit his rhyme or rhythm, or to secure a more harmonious turn to his verse.

In the matter of cerebrals, चिन्द्र stands for चिन्द्र, through the influence of the preceding र; words like टाइन, for खान, also occur where the rejection of the sibilant has harshened the pronunciation, though खाख and the like are also found. पठम for प्रथम, पवित्र for प्रतिर्थ, and the like, are also due to the influence of the र. शिथिल for शिथिल is a genuine instance of cerebralization, so is वडास्प = पटाक; also the root पत्र, everywhere for पतर, "to fall." It may be safely asserted, therefore, that the transition of dentals to cerebrals is not so universal or general a process in Prakrit as has been assumed, and that where it is found there is in each case some special reason in the original form of the root, or in some other peculiarity, which accounts for it. In making this generalization, however, it must be borne in mind that as yet only a limited number of Prakrit texts has been examined; further research may render it necessary to modify this opinion considerably.

The modern languages present at first sight an inextricable chaos and confusion. There are cases (a) where the Sanskrit has the dental, Prakrit and the moderns the cerebral; (b)
where Sanskrit has dental, Prakrit cerebral, and the moderns
dental; (γ) where Sanskrit and Prakrit* have dental, the
moderns cerebral; (δ) Sanskrit cerebral, Prakrit the same, but
the moderns dental. There are also instances in which two
words, apparently cognate, differ only in this letter; one having
the cerebral, the other the dental. In the effort to educe some
system out of this chaos, a large number of words will now be
given, grouped together, as far as possible, under some general
root, so that the reader may be in a position to judge of the
correctness of the deductions which will be made after the
words have been given, as well as to form deductions for
himself.

(1.) Skr. पत्तं “fall,” cognate roots probably पट्ट and पट्ठ; Pr. पहळ, पहळ;
बल; Var., Sapt., Bṛ. id. H. पद्धना “to fall,” and numerous derivatives;
पद्धन “halting-place;” पड्गरि “fallow land,” etc. M. पडळथ “to fall,”
and derivatives; G. पडळु, S. पडळु, B. पडळ, O. पडळ. From these
must be distinguished a large class of words derived from this root through
the noun पट्ट. Even in Skr. we find the forms पट्ट and पट्ठ are Prakriticisms
from पट्ठ. This class owes its cerebral to the r of patra. Such are H.
पट्ठा, पट्ठा, पट्ठा, पाट्ठा, पट्ठा: Here also is to be referred पट्ठन or
पट्ठन “a town.” The Skr. form is पट्ठन, and in M. both forms are found;
the form पट्ठन is probably the original, from पट्ठ “a leaf,” whence H.
पाट्ठन “to thatch with leaves. पत्ता or पठा means apparently “a
thatched town,” or an assemblage of thatches. The M. and H. पठ
“a town,” may also be connected with this root, as also पडळ “a ward or
division of a town.”

(2.) Skr. ड़पु “to collect, to press together,” (cf. ड़मु, ड़िप, ड़िमु, ड़िमु, ड़मु,
ड़मु, etc. Bopp’s Gloss.), Pr. not found. H. टावळा, टावळा, टावळा,
टावळ; M. टावळा, etc., B. टावळ, O. टावळा, G. टावळु, P. टावळा,
S. टळळ; all these words have the general sense of press, depress, compress.

1 But see Caldwell, Doric Gram., p. 443, with whom I cannot agree.
Perhaps the following are also from the same root, H., M. डिड़ "puddle" (collection of water), H. बच "spoon" (collecting instrument), H. बड़ा, M. गौ, and बद "oil-pot of leather," H. धै "power, strength," H. दिविय "box," O. इद., B. दिवा, etc.

(3.) Skr. दूः "to bite or sting," Pr. दृः, Var., Sapt., Bhag. nowhere दृ, H. दृश, दृश्व, M. दृश, B., O., G. इद.; but far more common are H. वंक, वंक, वंसना, वंसना; M. वंक, वंशनें, वंशनें, वंशाण (acid), वंच, वंचनें; G. इद., वंश, वंशकणें; B. वंग, वंशा; O. दंकिणा, S. दंकऽ, दंकिणी, दंग, P. इद. In connexion with this root is दंकिणा, a Prakritized form of दंकिणा, which in the moderns appears as H. द्राह "tooth," द्राह "beard," S. द्राठ, डाह, डाह, G. डाहार, "क, डाह, B. डाह, डाह, डाह; but, on the other hand, P. डाह, डाह, डाह, M. डाह, डाह, डाह, and O. डाह, डाह.

I am disposed to range here also Skr. दाहिणी "a witch," "female demon," which has the two forms दाहिण and दाहिन in all the languages. M. has also दाहिण, the idea is first that of biting, stinging, then that of annoying, injuring.

(4.) Skr. दृ "to burn," originally दृष, and thus closely connected with the last root, which seems to have had a form दृष, as well as दृष. Probably also allied to दृ "to hurt," originally दृष, as shown by the p.p. दृग (Old High German drungans, our Anglo-Saxon tregian, "to vex," trege, "vexation"). Pr. दृ, Sapt., Bhag. दृ, H. डाह, डाहना, and so in all. In all, however, the form with दृ occurs. H. डाहना and डाहना, M. डाहनी, G. डाहंवुर, P. डघणा and द्विषा, S. डाह, डाह, O. डाहिवा, B. डृह.

(5.) Skr. डर "fear," Pr. not found, H. डर, and so in all the languages; also डर "to fear."

(6.) Skr. द्र "to split," "burst" (akin to दृ, Bopp.), Pr. द्र.

Hence द्र "a piece," "portion"; and thus two bands of men would each be called द्र, hence the idea of H. द्र "army"; द्रव "to split" (peas,
et cetera, दली “a clot,” दाल “split peas or other pulse”; म. माक id.,
dक “army,” दक्कें “to grind,” with many derivatives; ब. दल, दलम, दलिता, दल; ओ. दल, दक्क, दलक, etc.; ग. माक, प. माक, स. दारि and शिल, etc. Independently of the indications of a tendency to
cerebralize manifested by the र (the Sindhi र is merely the universal
change from ल), there are also many words which have ल, which can
hardly be affiliated to any but this root. Such are ह. दाल “branch,”
ढाली “basket” (through टम “a leaf”), ढाली “a piece,” “bit,” ढला
“clod,” ढलना “to throw down” (primary idea, “to dash in pieces”),
म. ढला “clod,” ढलण “intercourse,” ढाली “basket,” ढलणें “to pile,”
with derivatives; ढल “split peas.” Similar lists of words may be
extracted from all the other languages.

(7) Skr. तिनक “sectarial mark on the forehead,” Pr. तिलक, Sapt.
id. This word occurs as a Tatsama in all the languages, but also
and more frequently with the cerebral and elision of the ल, as ह. ठिका,
P. ठिका, S. ठिको, म. ठिका, ओ. ठिका and ठिका, ब. ठिका; ग. rejects
the ल, but keeps the ल in a cerebralized form, as ठिक, ठिको, ठिकी;
म. has also ठिका. This mark being frequently round like a wafer, the
diminutive occurs as ह. ठिकली, ठिकडी, ठिकिया, ठिकी, meaning “a
wafer,” “a round cake,” “a spangle,” and the like; प. ठिकी, ठिकडी,
S. aspirated ठिक “a potsherds,” ठिकरी, ठिकि, ठिको, also ठिकिया,
ठिकी, G. ठिकली, म. ठिकला, B. O. ठिकली.

(8) Skr. तूं “to beat,” allied roots तूं, तुं, तुं, तुं, तुं; nouns तुं “belly,” तुं “beak.” Primary idea, “beat,” “break,” “split.”
Probably also connected with तूं “to break,” Pr. तूं, तुं, ह. तूं
“stump of a hand,” or “branch that has been cut off,” adj. तूं “maimed,”
P. id., S. तूं, टुं, टुं, G. id., B. टूं; ह. तूं “navel,” B. टों.
In both cases, however, म. चोटा and चोट “stump,” ह. ठों “beak,”
टुं “stump,” टुं “maimed,” टुं “stumble,” probably also टुं (for
CHANGES OF SINGLE CONSONANTS.

The Sanskrit "month," also स्म, comes in here, and स्म "belly," though स्म "belly-full," has the cerebral. It is unnecessary to give here the numerous derivatives from the root स्म: the influence of the र fully accounts for the initial र in all the languages. Even here, however, M. retains झ in स्म to break, स्म, and many derivatives. There is a root स्म in Westergaard, meaning "to quarrel," which may have had some connexion with this group, but no instances are given of its use.

(9.) Skr. तन "to pull," तान "tone." Pr. तन, तान. In addition to the usual forms तान, ताना, etc., H. has also ताना, तन "twang," ताना "to stretch," तना "clitoris," तन्दृ "wrangling." M. cerebralizes the nasal तानि "to stretch," ताना; तानी "warp of a web," ताना "pulling and hauling," ताना, etc.; also, however, तान, ताना. There is also the series तव, तवर, तवरण, तव, तव, तवरण, and derivatives; G. तव, तवर, O. तवर, B. तव and तव, P. तव, स. तवर, and तवर.

(10.) Skr. दु क "to shake," connected with दु "to weigh," and दु (दु) "to shake"; also with दु, and perhaps दु: Pr. दोजा, H. दोज, दोजङ्का, दोजङा; but more usually with द, as दोजङा "to swing," दोजङा; दोजङी "a dooly" or "litter," दुजङा, दुस्मा, P. दोजङी, दोजङा, दोजङा, etc.; S. दोजङा, also दोजङा, G. दोजङी and दोजङु, M. दोजङा, दोजङी, दोजङारा, दोजङी, also दोजङ. Here perhaps may be added M. दोजङा "an eye," from the idea of "rolling." This word stands alone, no other dialect having any word at all like it for the eye. M. has also दोजङी, but this form does not seem to be much used. O. and B. have दो.

(11.) Skr. धु "amus," Pr. not found, H. धाँ, and so in all, but स. धुरः.

(12.) Skr. धु "to destroy," connected with धु (Bopp), perhaps also with धु, etc., Pr. धक: H. धका "a push, shove," G. धकाव, M. धक, but also ध, O. धक, B. ध, ध. The form with ध is however also in use in all, and is apparently the only one used in P. धका. S. धितका.

(13.) Skr. रस "to roar," रस and रस "to speak," रस id. Bopp connects
this root with भोर (Gloss. s.v. and Gram. comp. § 20, note 2). May we not also
here bring in धर्म “to strive,” “to offend”? भर्म “to babble,” “to be childish,”
भय “to play,” “to throw;” from धर्म we get to भम “to put out the tongue,”
भन “to babble,” “to play,” whence all the words meaning “lascivious
dallying.” भानत, भोन, भान, and the like. The central idea is that of
noisy babbling, wrangling, fighting, and talking all at once, brawling,
“strife of tongues.” From धर्म comes रान्ति “strife,” H. धान्त and रान,
G., P. id., P. also धान, S. धू, धन्तु, धी कु, धू, धं, म. धू, धू, “to sweep,” धम, and many derivatives. G. धान्तु, H. रान्ता
“to labour,” M. धत, रान्ता, P. रान्ता, S. रान्तु are half-way between
रच and यत. H. बन्दा “to fight,” belongs to this group. It occurs in
all the languages, in M. however with the form बन्दा. H. बन्दा “a
boy,” P. B. id., M. inverted बन्दा are apparently later forms from नान्द
“darling,” “pet child,” from नान्द “to be a child,” नान्द “dear;” here also
we put नान्द “a sweetmeat.” From the idea of throwing involved in नान्द
come the words नान्द “a string” or “thread,” and perhaps नान्ता “to
hang.” This last seems connected with नता “a creeping plant,” wherein
we come round to the dental, as also in नतान “to labour,” H., G., P.,
S. a diminutive from यत, also नताना, “to draggle,” “trawl,” H., M., G., P.
Probably the same root under a slight modification is लघु “extulicere,”
“erigere,” whence लघु “pens,” H. लाइ, लाइ, B. लेखाण. M. लाइ,
P. लाइ, S. लाई.

This root has wide ramifications in Skr., and the derivatives in the
modern languages might be developed to a very large number; the above
may suffice for the present purpose. It is extremely probable that the
whole group is of non-Aryan origin.

(14.) Skr. द्रष्ट “staff,” probably from root दश, दस “to beat;” the
derivation from द्रम + व does not commend itself to me. Pr. दरश; 
Sept., and दरश. Var. II. 35.—With a modified to i probably Skr. विद्रष्टम
“a drum,” is connected here; perhaps also दुबूमि “a kettle-drum,”
though by some this is referred to root ताड़. H. has the forms दंड, दंडी, दांड़, दांडी, as well as दंड, दंडी, हांड, हांडी, हांडिया, with the meanings of staff, punishment, to punish; जगर is the common word for an ear. Showing the connexion with ताड़, there are ताड़ाणा "to punish," "blame," "threaten," and inverted दांडका, which is more common, also दांडाणा "to restrain," दोंडा "a fence," either as restraining, or as made of sticks; दोंडी "a straw," दोंड "the broken straw on a threshing floor," perhaps दोंडन "stalks of corn," "stubble." H. has दोंड in all the senses as well as a verb दोंडाणे "to stand erect," like a stick. It has also as popular words दोंड "an ear," also "a fine" or other punishment, दोंडी "a rower," दोंडाणे "to stand." Again the words with द also occur; as दोंड "fine," दोंड "stalk of a plant," दोंड "ear," दोंडी "rower," दोंडाणे "to stand," etc. So too दांडाणे "to rebuke," दांडा "a handle," दांडी "id., दोंडाण "full of stalks." M. दोंड with many secondary forms, verbs दोंडणी," to weigh down," दोंडणे "to punish," दोंडणे "to lie hid," दोंडणी "to restrain," the first, third, and fourth of these are from दोंड "a plug," "obstruction," also "an ambush," which word seems to be softened from root ताड़, from which are also दोंडा, "a cork," दोंडणी "to chide." There is also a series with the long vowel, दांड, दांडा, दांडी, दांडारा, दांडिया, and a host of derivatives; also दांड "thick," i.e. insipissate, coagulated, close, दांडणी "to crowd," दांडा "a cork," or "plug," दांडणी "to become hard," दांडणी "to blame," "punish," also with the sense of investigating. The cerebral initial does not occur in Marathi, as that language exhibits a marked preference for dentals especially at the head of a word. G. has the dental series दंड, दंडणे, दंडक, etc., also दोंडा "a cork," दोंडणे "to compress," दोंड "a clod," दोंडी "a ball of compressed leather." It has the series with the long vowel, दोंड "rude," "violent," दोंडणी "id., दोंडी, दोंडी "a stick," दोंड "thickness," दोंडणे "to bury," "conceal," दोंडी "a plug," दोंडी "a crowd." The cerebral initial appears to be in use, but.

1 Reminding us of German boden.
rare; घंटा, घंटू, घंटी “handle,” दंडी “stick,” दंडीये “a watchman,” etc. 8. In opposition to Marathi has characteristically the whole series in च, but no words in छ. This language so constantly takes the cerebral in room of the dental, that it is not surprising to see it do so here. Panjabi has almost exactly the same list as ह, with the characteristic preference for the short vowel. ओ, like म, has only the words with initial ठ.

(15) Skr. खा “to stand,” also छा, Pr. छिटु, Sauraseki ठष, छिट.
Magadhi छिट।

In the modern languages the sibilant always drops out, according to rule, and two parallel series of words are found, one beginning with the dental च, the other with the cerebral छ. Many words are spelt indifferently with one or the other.

(a) With च.

Hindi चान (छान्), चाना, चानी, चापा, चापणा (from the causal).
चकना, चन, चर. Panjabi छ. सिन्धी चान, छानी, चल, चाउ, चानी, चापणा, चापणा, चिन्हणु, “to be,” etc. ओ, चालु, चाण, चापण, चाकणु, चलु “to be”; चापण, चिन्हणु “to conceal.” 1 M. चार “place,” चान इद., चाना, चाकणे, चाकणै, चाकी, चापणे, चर, चिन्हणै “to conceal.” ओ, चिना (for छारा) “to be,” चर, छान, छाना, छायी “settled,” छिन (छिन) इद., छिर “steadfast,” छुपा “to place,” छान “a deposit.” ब. चर “standing.” चकर “a builder,” चा “place.” छाकन, छाकान “to be,” छाट “erect,” छान, छाना, छिन, छित, छितन, छारै “to place.” Besides, there are in all numerous words formed from the derivatives छुपति, छान, छावर, छावर, छायद, छापक, छित, and the like; as well as others which cannot be referred to any special Sanskrit forms, but seem to have been created by the moderns from the general root sthā, such as M. चंड, H. ठठ “cold,” and the like.

1 Gelasius flaminiu constiterint acuto.—Horace, Odor, i. 9.
(ृ) With ठ.


M. has most of the above also, ठाफळ “to stand still,” ठाश, ठाशु, ठाठ, ठार, ठाश, ठिकी “a stack,” ठीक, ठस, ठकवी. O. ठा, ठा, ठार, ठाश्चवी “concubine,” ठश “encampment,” ठाशी. ठिरा “upright,” ठिफ, ठिकाशा. B. nearly the same.

Of course all the derivatives from ठा have not been given; they would fill a chapter if the grades of meaning were properly drawn out. Many words hitherto set down as non-Aryan may be affiliated to this widespread root. Among others, the curious word ठाफळ, about which so much has been said, comes in here. A Tanda is the station where the wandering grain-sellers called Brinjaries or Labanars deposit their stores. Several towns in India bear this name, and people have sometimes accounted the Brinjaries to be non-Aryans, chiefly on the strength of this word, which seems after all to mean nothing more than “station,” “encampment,” in spite of its cerebrals.

There would seem to be some misapprehension as to the nature of the Aryan cerebrals, which are treated by European scholars as though they were a class of sounds unpronounceable by our organs, and only to be with difficulty learnt by persons who have heard them uttered by the natives of India. Inasmuch as they are only found in the Indian branch of the great Indo-Germanic family, it has been somewhat hastily concluded that they are foreign to that family; and as a set of sounds,
which, in name at least, is identical with them, is found in the
Dravidian languages, it has been assumed that these sounds are
of non-Aryan origin, and that they have sprung partly from
a tendency to harshen the pronunciation of the dentals, acquired
by the Aryans from their non-Aryan neighbours since their
arrival in India, and partly from a wholesale importation of
non-Aryan words into Sanskrit and its modern descendants.

Without absolutely denying the possibility that both of these
theories may contain a certain amount of truth, I would bring
forward some considerations to show that they are not either
undoubtedly correct, or even necessary to account for the
presence of these sounds.

To go to the root of the matter, we may endeavour to get at
a true perception of the real state of the question, by analyzing
the sounds themselves. All consonants are produced by check-
ing the outward-flowing breath through bringing into contact
two of the organs of the mouth. Among these checks there is
a regularly graduated series produced by the contact of the tip
of the tongue with a region extending from the centre of the
palate to the edges of the upper teeth. This series may be
called the lingual series. If the tongue-tip be applied to the
highest point of this region, that is, to the centre of the hard
or true palate, the sounds resulting are harsh and similar to
the letter r. Contact a little lower down, or more towards
the front, produces a sound less harsh, and so on; the more
forward the contact, the softer the sound, till at last, when
we get to the edge of the teeth, the sound which results is
extremely soft and smooth. The sounds of this series, as ex-
pressed by the Teutonic branch of the family, are among the
harsher, though not absolutely the harshest, notes of the series.
In expressing t and d we Teutons touch with our tongues the
gum or fleshy part of the palate just above the teeth. The
Southern European races form the contact lower down, just
where the osseous substance of the teeth issues from the gums,
thus producing a softer sound than the Teutons. The Persians and Indians form it low down on the teeth, almost at their edge, thus producing the softest sound of all. This Indian sound, being the result of impact on the teeth, is a true dental; we Teutons have no dental sounds at all, and the Italians have only semi-dentals. The Indians have, however, in addition to their true dentals, another series produced by contact at a point a very little, if at all higher than the Teutonic contact, so that they possess, so to speak, the highest and lowest notes of the scale, but not the intermediate ones.

With the exception of the harsh Indian contact, the Teutonic is the highest in the scale, and the reason of this is probably that the race which uses it, living in a cold country, has preserved that nervous vigour which enables it to employ its organs of speech firmly and crisply. In the south of Europe the warmer climate has induced a certain amount of laxity, which has told on the articulation, and the point of contact has therefore fallen lower, to a position which requires less effort on the part of the speaker; while in the still hotter climate of Persia and India greater relaxation has taken place, and the muscles of the tongue have become flaccid, the member itself is long and soft, and naturally seeks the lowest and easiest place of utterance. Thus it comes to pass that words which the Teutons pronounce with $\ddot{e}$ and $\varepsilon$ are pronounced by the Indians with $\dot{e}$ and $\ddot{e}$. While "daughter," as pronounced by an Englishman, would be written by the Indians वातर, they themselves at an early period said दुहिता. If we could find out how this word was pronounced by the Aryans before they descended into the plains of India, we should probably have to write it जुहुता, or rather in those days the sounds represented by the letters $\dot{e}$ and $\ddot{e}$ did not exist. So also Latin—

dens (ढङ्गा) = Skr. दन्त = Goth. tunthus (टुन्थस).

decem (द्वितिम) = Skr. दीम = Goth. taius (टैइस).

pater (पादर) = Skr. पिता = Goth. fader (फाडर).
wast (माटेर) = Skr. माता = Old G. mutor (মুটের).

dau (डूँ) = Skr. डूँ = Goth. tvei (टँ).

The relaxation indicated by those letters must have taken place after the Aryans came into this country. Before that time, and probably for some centuries after it, their lingual contact was, we may fairly assume, as crisp and firm, and its place as high up in the palate as that of their European brethren. In those days they knew of no distinction between त and ड, ढ and ण. They had, however, in their language words in which an r preceded or followed a dental, and in such combinations their lingual sounds assumed by degrees a harsher note, being produced by a contact nearer to the place of utterance of r, which is very high up in the palate. The people, though they gradually softened their place of contact, and brought it lower down in the mouth in the case of a single consonant, naturally retained the high contact when an r was in combination, and this habit must have become more and more marked as time went on. In proportion as the point of utterance of त and द sank lower in the mouth, the distance between it and the point of utterance of r got greater and greater, and the additional labour of moving the tongue from one point to the other increased, and to avoid this the higher and harsher point of contact for त and द was retained. Then as the r, under the influence of other phonetic laws, began to be regularly omitted, nothing remained but the linguals at a high point of contact, that is, what we now call cerebrals. So that when at length the art of writing was introduced, the national pronunciation had by that time become so fixed, that it was necessary to recognize the existence of two separate sets of lingual utterances, and to provide appropriate symbols for each.

But when they were confronted by the task of assigning

1 The Indians always express our English t and d by their own cerebral letters, thus bent is बोट, Deputy Magistrate बिपटी मेबिपट, and the like.
either cerebral or dental linguals to any individual word, the grammarians, to whose lot it fell to reduce their already highly developed language to writing, must have had a difficult problem to solve. It is, perhaps, not to be expected that we should be able, at this distance of time, to detect the principles on which they worked, or to ascertain what were the considerations which guided them in determining in each case whether to write a dental or a cerebral. It results, however, from the remarks just made, that what we now call the cerebrals are the real equivalents of the European ʻt and ʻd, and that it is not these, but the Indian dentals, which are peculiar to those tongues. It is fair, therefore, to assume that the original form of such words as those which are given above as examples, is that which retains the cerebral, and that the dental form has grown out of the cerebral one by the process of weakening and softening, which the Aryan organs of speech have undergone from the effects of climate. It would certainly be in full and complete harmony with the present theory that the Prakrits, regarded as the colloquial languages, should exhibit a more frequent use of the cerebral, while the Sanskrit, regarded as the language of literature, should prefer the softer dental, and, as has been stated above, it is actually asserted by several authors that this is the case. Unfortunately, however, an examination of such examples of Prakrit as are available by no means bears out this assertion, and the evidence of the modern languages, which is of almost conclusive importance in this respect, shows that both dental and cerebral are used with equal frequency, even in derivatives from a common root, and more than this, dentals are used in cases where the recorded Sanskrit word is written only with a cerebral.

It must have struck every one who has resided in India, that the native ear, though keen and subtle beyond belief in detecting minute differences of sound in native words, is very dull and blunt in catching foreign sounds. The ordinary
peasant who never mistakes वाण "seven" for सात "sixty," however softly or rapidly spoken, will often be quite unable to
catch a single word of a sentence in his own language, however
grammatically correct, and however distinctly uttered by an
European, simply on account of some apparently trifling differ-
ence in pronunciation. ¹ Now we see something of this sort in
the Prakrit of the plays. The slight differences or rudenesses
of pronunciation among the lower classes were made much of
by play-writers, and exaggerated almost grotesquely. This
tendency probably led to the practice of writing every भ in
Prakrit as भ्र, and will also account for much of the irregularity
in the employment of the cerebrals and dentals. Provincial
peculiarities of pronunciation, such as exist even in the present
day in various parts of India, were seized upon and fixed, and
words were spelt accordingly without reference to their ety-
mology.

One of the most striking of these provincial peculiarities is
the fondness of Sindhi for cerebrals. This language has pre-
served the harsher point of contact, and has not allowed itself
to become weak and soft. The sturdy Jats wandering over
their barren deserts were engaged in a constant struggle with
nature for the bare permission to exist, and there was therefore
little risk of their becoming languid or effeminate in speech, or
in any other qualification.

In the following words there is nothing whatever to induce
a change from the dental to the cerebral, and we are, there-
fore, driven to conclude that the Sindhi preserves a bonâ fide
ancient method of pronunciation handed down from the earliest
times, and perpetuated by its isolation from other Aryan
nations.

¹ In the case of European names endless confusion arises from this source. The
three English names, Kelly, Clay, and Corrie, borne by three gentlemen living in
an Indian station, were never distinguishable from one another by the natives,
unless the title of each officer was prefixed. They were all called कैली.
CHANGES OF SINGLE CONSONANTS.

S. दूः “tooth,” Skr. द्वन.
“दिः” “day,” दिन.
“दह” “carpenter,” द्वहन.
“दौः” “south,” द्वाद. B. यात्र.
“द्या” “ply,” द्या.
“दस” “ten,” दस.
“दाः” “gift,” दान.
“द्वि” “lamp,” द्विप.
“दुः” “pain,” दुः.
“द्वन” “when?” द्वन.

Be is not, however, substituted for द in the same regular way as द. In the above cases the Sanskrit does not appear ever to have contained an द, or any other letter whose absorption would account for the cerebral.

Marathi and Oriya, on the other hand, exhibit, though less rarely than Sindhi, a tendency to use the dental letter. Thus:

M. तेडा “crooked,” Skr. तत्तयः, but in all the rest टेडा, etc.  B. has also टेडा, टेडा.

M. गुटी “to break,” Skr. गुर, but in all the rest गुटा, etc.
M. बंडा “cold,” H. उष्ण.
M. दृष्ट “glance,” Skr. दृष्टि, H. दृष्ट.
M. दीर “string,” H. दीर.

In Oriya we have ठडा “joking,” H. ठड़ा; ठटारी “brazier,” H. ठटरा; नटी “mat,” H. ठटी.

Under this head may be noticed the curious word for “one-and-a-half,” which is as follows in the moderns:

H. तेह (deth), P. देह, दूह, and देह, S. देह, G. दोहोह, B. देह, but M. दीह, and O. ठेह, with dental initial.

Professor Weber (Bhagavati, i., 411) would derive this word from दधि + ग्राम, i.e., “half in excess”; but there are objections.
to this derivation. First, the meaning, "a half more," might apply to any number, as "three and a half," "four and a half," but it is not so used, but only for "one and a half." For "three and a half" and the rest we have सारे, i.e. स + चर्म = "with a half." Secondly, this derivation involves the rejection of the aspirate of च, whereas the rule is just the reverse, the aspirate is retained, and the organic portion rejected; ँ would change to ह, not to ं. Thirdly, the Prakrit form is दिसुद्धे दिम्भु, which points back clearly to दिय + चर्म; which is exactly parallel to the German idiom halb zwei, halb sechs, for "one and a half," "five and a half," in reckoning time by the hour. As a confirmation of this it may be urged that P. and G. retain the labial vowel, which could not come out of adhi.

The cerebral initial in most of the languages has probably arisen from a reflexive influence of the ं.

§ 60. The further transition of the cerebrals and dentals into the semivowel ं is a point attended with some obscurity. The process seems, like so many phonetic processes in the Indian languages, to work backwards and forwards, and to branch out into further collateral developments, as into द्र, छ, and the like. ं is a dental letter, and the change from ं to ः, and then to ः, involving as it does a passage from a dental to a cerebral, and back again to the dental, can only be accounted for on the supposition advanced in the last section, that originally there was no difference between the two classes of sounds, and that subsequently to the rise and establishment of this difference the popular ear has continued to recognize the close connexion of the two, and to be a little uncertain when to use one and when the other.

It is usually asserted by the highest authorities that the ः which makes so great a figure in the past tenses of verbs in nearly all the modern languages is derived from the ं of the past participle of Sanskrit, through ं and ः, and ऋ. If this be
so, we should expect to find other instances of the process. One of the reasons for doubting that the Marathi genitive postposition फा is derived from the Hindi का was, it will be remembered, the absence of any other example of the same change (see § 56). It will be well then to inquire whether the transition mentioned above is supported by parallel instances, that is to say, whether there is any well-defined tendency in these languages generally to put their words through such a process.

The change of ठ to ठ, and equally that of ट to ठ, are well-known and admitted features of the whole group (see § 52). Such a change is merely the usual softening of a tenuis into its corresponding media.

Similarly the change from ड to ठ is an old-established fact, and occurs in all languages of the Indo-Germanic family. Instances of this change, which took place at a time prior to the definite separation of the two branches of the lingual organ, are given by Bopp and others. Thus Skr. deha, "body," = Goth. leik; Skr. dhah, "to burn," = Lat. lignum; Skr. ekādaka, "eleven," ecādaka, "twelve," = Goth. am-īf, tua-īf, our eleven, twelve, = Lith. uienolika, dujolika, etc. Skr. decara, "brother-in-law," = Lat. levis; Skr. dip, "to shine," = Gr. λάμπω, Lat. lūpidus. This change is allied to that from ढ or ण to ठ, as in Latin meridies for medieus—Skr. medhyadīvam. A change from ठ to ठ is frequently met with in all stages of every language of the family.

It is of course only in the limits of the Indian group that we can distinguish between ड and ठ. I will first give instances of the connexion between ढ and ठ. Skr. क्रोड "to play" (of which a Vedic form is क्रोड) appears also in the form वेल, where the ढ has changed to ठ, and the ठ has been aspirated, owing to the elision of र. Although in Skr. वेल is said to mean "to move," yet the substantive वेल clearly means "play," as in Gitagovinda ii. 30. In the opening verse the
word occurs without the aspirate, as आमोस “amorous play.” In the modern languages H. वासना, P. id., S. विस्मां, B. वैसित, mean “to play,” and nothing else, and it is noticeable that M., G., and O. use the cerebral ऐ, having तेकूँ, तेकूँ, and तेकिरा respectively. The connexion is not doubtful.

Skr. गुडा “ball,” also गोल, H. गोका, गोकी “ball,” गुडी “button”; all the languages have both forms. M. has both गोल and गोका, G. only गोका, O. both ग and गा.

Skr. तीमिन “tamarind-tree,” O. तीतुङ, तीतुङ, B. तीतुङ.

The reverse process is seen in Skr. ताह “palmyra palm,” H., P., M., G. ताह, O. ताजः; Skr. तहा “tank,” Pr. तहाठी, H. ताहाँ; and so in all, perhaps through the influence of the Persian نَالب, which, however, is itself from the Sanskrit.

Skr. फडा “slave,” is first softened to फड by § 52, and then becomes H. फेढा, O. B., M. id., P. पेड़ा, फेढा, S. फेडी, G. id.

Skr. पीरन “pressing,” Pr. पीरण, Sapt. a 423; पीरण, ib. 264;¹ H. पीड़ा and पीडणा, P. पीड़ा, पीडणा, and वेपणा, S. पीडणपु, M. पीढ़ा. Vararuchi makes this process into a regular rule (ii. 23). His examples are — दादी, ताला, तल्लू, for दादी, ताला, तदाया, तालकी. दादी is also used in the moderns, though rarely. To these may be added बृह “small,” from बृह, through a lost form वृह, which occurs in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, probably the same as कोटा: also खेल “to play”; a form of खिल, and others, already in use in classical Skr.

As illustrative of this connexion, though in the reverse way, may be adduced a peculiar class of causals in Hindi formed by inserting / before the characteristic long vowel, chiefly in verbs whose root ends in a vowel. Thus:

खाया “to eat,” causal खियाया;
पिना “drink,” पियाना.

¹ In this latter place the scholiast’s rendering perhaps makes nonsense of the whole verse.
CHANGES OF SINGLE CONSONANTS.

सीना "saw," सिंहना.
जीना "live," जिंहना.
चूना "drip," चुंहना.
सीना "sleep," सिंहना.
धीना "wash," धुहना.
ढीना "carry," ढुहना.
रोना "weep," रुहना.
द्रीना "give," दिसना.

and in four instances after consonants.

ढेखना "see," causal दिखना.
सीखना "learn," सिखना.
सुखना "dry," सुखना.
बैठना "sit," बिठना.

That this न is not merely inserted to prevent hiatus is proved by many considerations. The modern languages do not object to a hiatus at all as a rule, and if they do at any time endeavour to fill it up, they do so generally by न, न, or even anusvara, and if the i were inserted merely as a matter of euphony, we should not find it after verbal roots ending in a consonant. The form बैठना reveals the secret, and shows that the न is merely an interchange with the न or न, the characteristic form of the causal in Sanskrit. In Hindi generally this े, bearing the accent on the first syllable, changes its े into ु, which, in modern times, drops out, thus Skr. chalây becomes chalânâ, and subsequently chalânâ; but in this little group of early Tadbhavas, the े has changed to ै, just as in Skr. यद्य = जाटी, and the original forms were undoubtedly सुखना, बिखना (the Persian ل پ "cup" recalls this form), and the like, though retained only in the one verb बैठना.

If we now turn to Sindhi, the same principle is found governing precisely the same verbs, न in Sindhi is in nine
cases out of ten turned into र, so that in the Sindhi causal affix खार we have the exact counterpart of the Old Hindi िास, now modernised into िा. This affix is used as in Hindi, almost exclusively with verbal roots ending in a vowel. Thus—

पिष्ट्रु "drink," causal पिष्टरु.
विष्ट्रु "live," .. विष्टरु.
पूष्ट्रु "wash," .. पूष्टरु.
दिष्ट्रु "give," .. दिष्टरु.

The consonantly terminated root विि "to stand," makes in like manner विहाररु, and विि "to sit" (like H. विठना), विहाररु; so also, by a curious coincidence, देशरु "to see," makes देखरु "to show." This syllable श्र is inverted to र after verbs ending in long आ, as खारु "to eat," causal खारा-रु. A few more verbs with consonantly ending roots also retain this ancient form, as—

मुष्ट्रु "to sleep," मुष्टरु.
सिहरु "to learn," सिकरु.
दिष्टरु "to fear," दिष्टरु.

and the double causals, expressed in Hindi by inserting या, also universally exhibit the form in र, because the majority of single causals end in आ; thus, from खाररु comes खारा-रु, etc.

Gujarati exhibits the third form in खाद, completing the chain; and it is important to observe that this form is found in Gujarati, because that language has separated itself from Hindi in comparatively recent times, and may be not unfairly regarded as little better than one of the Rajput or Jat dialects of Hindi, which through political causes has sundered itself from the parent language, and obtained an independent status.

Gujarati has several methods of forming the causal. After a root ending in a consonant one very common form is खास, as
CHANGES OF SINGLE CONSONANTS.

घटतु "to diminish," घटावतु; after a root with vowel termination वाह, sometimes inverted to वहा: खावु "to eat," खवावु; गोहु "to say," गोहवाअु; चवु "be," चवावु, and others.

The ॠ of Sindhi being equivalent to the ष of Hindi, we have thus the two forms, one in ॠ, the other in ष; and as Gujarati preserves many ancient forms which have been modified in modern Hindi, or altogether lost, it might not be going too far to suppose that both forms were in use in ancient Hindi, and we thus obtain another and widespread instance of the connexion between the two letters.

But to complete this subject it is now necessary to adduce instances of the connexion between द्र and ष.

Vararuchi gives (ii. 12) a few instances, though he makes no regular rule. They are पल्लतम, कालमको, दोहलो, for प्रालल्प, क्यालमको, दोहल. These words do not, as far as I am aware, occur in the modern languages.

Closely connected with this change is that from छ to इ in the class of numerals "eleven," "twelve," etc. Thus, Skr. ekādaśa, dwādaśa, tryaṇaṇa, become in Pr. eṇaḥ, bāraḥ, tēraḥ, etc., and in H. द्रारह, वारह, तेरह, and so, with trifling modifications, in all. The form for "sixteen," however, comes round to इ, as Skr. प्रोक्षम (where the द्र of द्रश्य has been cerebralized by the प of प्रस). Pr. बोरह, H. सोह, P. सोंह, S. सोंरह, G. सोइ, M. सोइ, O. सोइ, B. पोइ.

The H. पीला might seem to be another instance from Skr. पीत, through पोइ. It is, however, merely a contraction from पीलल, through Pr. पीलल (Var. iv. 26).

Further instances are—


Skr. गुद्ट "to push," Pr. गोइ, not in use in the moderns.

Skr. पुद्ट "to go," Pr. ताज, not in use in the moderns.

The root धत् goes through the whole cycle of changes in
Prakrit, becoming पद, पड़, पड़, and चन, but the moderns stop short at पड़.

From the examples given in this and other sections it must have struck the reader that a close connexion, if not a certain degree of confusion, exists in some languages between न and ऋ. This latter letter is very common in O., B., and G.; less in P.; and is not found in the others. Its pronunciation defies description, sometimes it sounds like rh, again like rz, and again merely a harsh l. Its point of contact is high up in the palate, near r, and the tongue in uttering it is shaped as in uttering the simple l. It appears to be capriciously substituted by the vulgar, in those languages where it exists, for the common र, and in a considerable number of instances this substitution has become the rule, even in classical writers, to the total exclusion of न in words where the latter should etymologically appear.

Out of a large mass of instances the following may suffice:

Skr. काँ "time," M. काँ, G., O. id.
Skr. काम "black," P. काम, G. काम, M. काम, O. काम.
Skr. कुन "family," G. कुन, M. कुन, O.कुट।
Skr. दिल "play," G. दिल, M. दिल, O. दिल।
Skr. गोल "ball," G. गोल, M. गोल, Gोला, O. गोल।
Skr. द्वन्द "burning," G. द्वन्द, M. द्वन्द, O. द्वन्द।
Skr. दुर्ग "confusion," P. दुर्ग, G. दुर्ज, M. दुर्ज, but O. दस्त।
Skr. देश "place," P. देश, M., G., O. id.
Skr. घास "dust," P. घास, M. घासा, G. घासि, O. घासि।

It will be noticed that this letter never occurs initially in any of the languages; and there appears to be no reason for doubting that the sound itself is of non-Aryan origin, notwithstanding the fact that the character ऋ is found in Vedic Sanskrit. We do not know how this character was pronounced in those days, beyond this—that it in some degree resembled ऋ.
But the equivalent of त्र in the modern languages is not त्र, but त्र, as in त्रिनोद्यम “bridegroom,” H. त्रिपृष्ठ; moreover, Panjabi has side by side with त्र a character द्व, which accurately corresponds to the Sanskrit त्र. This curious heavy द is very widely employed in the Dravidian group of languages, where it interchanges freely with ड and ढ, and it is also found in the Koles family of Central India. The Marathas and Oriyas are perhaps of all the Aryan tribes those which have been for the longest time in contact with Koles and Dravidians, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find the cerebral द more freely used by them than by others. The appearance of this letter in Gujarati and Panjabi, however, is singular, and difficult to explain. Gujarati has not come into close contact with any non-Aryan tribes except Bhils, who are too few and insignificant to have had any influence on the language; nor has Panjabi, which is surrounded in every direction by other Aryan dialects. Sindhi, which lies between the two languages, and which is spoken by tribes closely akin to the Panjabis, does not possess this sound either; so that its existence in these two languages is a puzzle, only to be accounted for by the supposition that, as the त्र in them both is pronounced त्र, and not also र, as in Hindi, some character was required to represent the latter sound, and the old Vedic त्र being then, so to speak, out of employment, was pressed into the service. For it must be noted that this त्र does not occur in the modern languages in the same words as in the Vedas.

With regard to the words in which this letter is found, it cannot be admitted that they are all non-Aryan, or even that they form part of that reserve of non-Aryan words which is found even in Sanskrit. It is noticeable in many languages that where a nation gets hold of, or invents, some peculiar sound, it straightway falls in love with it, and drag it into use at every turn, whether there be any etymological reason for it or no. We English, for instance, have dragged our favourite
th into a number of words where it has no business to be; and similarly the Oriyas and Marathas bring in this beloved फ in a great many words where ध should be. I cannot admit that the presence of this letter, therefore, is any argument for the non-Aryan origin of a word, especially as we find it in so many of the simplest and most undoubtedly ancient Aryan words, like कुट, कड़, and the rest; and, as in Marathi, at any rate there often exist side by side the word with फ, used by the learned, and the word with फ, current generally, with some additional corruptions, among the vulgar.

I will now sum up what has been said in this and the preceding section about the cerebrais, dentals, and the two forms of त.

The cerebrais are the harsher, the dentals the softer, forms of the lingual series. The former correspond very nearly to our English sounds, the latter are unlike any sound current in Europe, and have arisen from the debilitating effects of a hot climate.

Originally there were no dentals in the speech of the Aryans, and when the dentals came into existence they did not displace the old Aryan linguals in every case. In some cases the dental was used in classical, the cerebral in vulgar language, while in other cases quite the reverse took place. In the modern languages, one word is often written indifferently with either, as दांड or दांड, चाँ or चां, though Sindhi prefers the cerebral द to द, while Marathi and Oriya sometimes use the dental in preference. In the case of ध, we find it arises from a modification of थ, and sometimes even of ठ, and there are rare cases in which a word runs through a whole series of changes, as ध, ठ, ठ, ठ. Further, we find a curious cerebral ठ, which, though it has borrowed the Vedic character ठ, is not identical in origin with the sound formerly expressed by that character, but is probably of non-Aryan origin, though it is by the vulgar often improperly inserted in
pure Aryan words, which are correctly written with ॠ. From all these circumstances we infer the original unity of all the lingual group, and its affinity to the European dentals.

§ 61. As the last section dealt with ॠ, it will be advisable to take this first, though in alphabetical order it comes third among the semivowels, whose changes and peculiarities form the subject of this and the three following sections.

(148,447),(775,877)

 Instances are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skr.</th>
<th>S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>काल</td>
<td>बाल.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुल</td>
<td>कुल, as well as कुलु.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गति</td>
<td>गरु.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गोल</td>
<td>गोल, as well as गोलो.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जल</td>
<td>जल.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बाल</td>
<td>बाल.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ताल</td>
<td>ताल.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तोल</td>
<td>तोल.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खाल</td>
<td>खाल.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पाल</td>
<td>पाल.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Prakrits the reverse is the case; in nearly all the dialects—except the principal or Mahāraṣṭri र is changed into ॠ. This statement is made among others of the Magadhi dialect. In the modern Magadha country, that is, in Southern Bihar, however, the tendency is decidedly the other way, and throughout the Eastern Hindi area from Oudh to the frontier of Bengal, the rustics constantly pronounce र where ॠ is the correct sound. This I can testify from personal observation during many years' residence in those parts. Thus we ordinarily hear काल for कला, "black"; ठार for ठाल, "diah"; महिरार for महिला, "woman"; केरा for केला, "plantain"; कपड़र for कपड़, "head"; फार for फाल, "ploughshare"; and
this peculiarity is to be noticed occasionally in the speech of the lower orders in other parts of the Hindi area, as, for instance, in Marwari, as chārud "to wander," for chalud. In old Hindi poems many instances may be found, as ṭar for ṭhāṭ, "saliva"; dangar for dangal, "forest," and the like. In fact, so great is the confusion between these two letters, that they may in some parts of India be said to be used indifferently, and the speakers appear to be unconscious that they are saying ॠ instead of ऋ.

In Bengal and Orissa quite another change takes place in those provinces; ऋ is confounded with ॠ by the lower orders almost universally; thus, where the Hindi has चेना "to take," B., though it writes चरति, pronounces चरति; and O. both writes and pronounces चरवा. Thus also we hear पूजा for पूज "salt," not merely in these two languages, but also in H. and P. H. reverses the process in सरोवर "a cloth to cover the privities," from समा "naked," which is in B. समुट्टि. Further instances in Oriya are तात "a kick," H. लात; माझराज "rent-free," Ar. लाज "plundering," Skr. शुद्धि H. सुदृढ़; गूढ "iron," H. लोधा; तुला "maimed," H. तुला. It is worthy of remark that the Bengalis in writing very often make no distinction between ऋ and ॠ, giving only one crock • to both, and sometimes putting, but as often omitting, a dot when they wish to express serialization.

ऋ, when standing alone in the middle of a word, is never omitted. This is true of the semivowels generally, which hold their own much more tenaciously than the strong letters of the five vargas.

§ 62. र is regularly changed to र in H., P., B., and O., less frequently in M., G., and S. In these three languages र retains its liquid sound of य. (See Ch. I. § 23.) This change is by Vararuchi, ii. 31, confined to initial य; as जत्ठि, जसो, जक्को, for यस्ति, यक्स, यक्सा. Examples of initial change in the modern languages are—
CHANGES OF SINGLE CONSONANTS.

CHANGES OF SINGLE CONSONANTS.

The stress laid on an initial consonant being greater than that on one in the middle of a word, it is natural that य should be more often changed to य in the former position than in the latter. When it occurs in the middle of a word, य is generally softened into र, which combines with the adjacent vowels into रि and रि. This change has been discussed in Ch. II. § 35. In the causal verbs, as has been mentioned above, § 60, it undergoes other changes of an organic nature.

There is, however, one class of words in which य changes into य in the middle of a word, namely, those mentioned by Vararuchi in ii. 17, words ending with the suffix यिया, where the substitution is effected by य्य. This is, however, merely a doubling of the consonant rendered necessary, according to Prakrit ideas, by the shortening of the previous long vowel. Thus यत्तिया becomes यत्तियम, यत्तिया, यत्तिया—यत्तियम, यत्तियम. Under this head would come also participial forms in या, as कर्या, गम्या, the former of which appears constantly in the modern languages as a substantive, with the meaning of “a ceremony,” “a business,” in the forms कार्य, कार्य, and कार्य.

In one instance, often quoted, य is supposed to change into
$\text{श: चिठ}=\text{चिठ};$ in modern H. लाठ, लाठी, लाठी, P. लटा, S. लटी, G. लाठ, लाट, etc., but here I doubt the change. From what I have said under the root रट (No. 13 of the list given in § 59), it will be seen that there is ground for supposing a connexion between the groups रट, लट, etc., on the one hand, and the group यट, etc., on the other. It seems probable, then, that the Pr. चिठ, from which the modern languages derive their words, is an independent form from the root चट. The transition of च into च may, however, be supported by the case of the causals in $\text{चल, चर}$, etc., noted in the last section. It is frequently elided when medial.

§ 63. The semivowel र is a very persistent letter, and is never ejected or elided. In Prakrit it is changed into श in haladdā, chalano, mukalo, Jukhitthilo, somālo, kalupum, anguli, ingālo, chinādo, phalihā, phaliho; for the Skr. haridrā, charana, mukhara, Tadhihithira, sukumāra, karuna, anguri, angāra, kirāla, parikhā, parigha. Anguli is not a fair instance, as the word $\text{चयकह}$ occurs in Sanskrit. There is very little tendency to change र into श in the Indians of the present day. The tendency, as I stated under श, is rather the other way, though writers on the Prakrits affirm that in all the minor dialects र is changed into श. As far as it concerns the real origin and root-form of words, the matter is one of little moment. If it be true that the cerebral sounds were not originally distinguished from the dentals, then it must follow that the semivowels of the respective groups were identical if there was a time when च was the same as र; there must also have been a time when र was not sounded differently from श; and just as in the present day we find that there exists confusion between च and र, ट and त, so we are prepared to find that there is in the minds of the lower classes in many provinces a tendency to use र and श as the same sounds. It is of no import, then, whether we take
का the origin, and उ as the corruption, or vice versa; we have no right to assume that the form found in classical Sanskrit is the true and original one; rather in the present state of our knowledge we should be disposed to be very sceptical upon this point. I pass by, therefore, the further discussion of this unimportant detail, and proceed to the next semivowel.

§ 64. उ. Of changes of this letter into any other there are no examples. It is, however, easily confounded with उ, and it has been thought by some writers that this confusion dates from early times, and that in the Prakrits there is no difference between the two letters. This view seems to me erroneous; we have no means of judging how these two letters were distinguished in pronunciation in early Aryan times; on the one hand, the circumstance that there are two separate characters shows that there must have been two separate sounds; while, on the other, the fact that the character used to represent ब is so clearly a mere modification of that used for व proves that there must have been a very close connexion between the two. It would not be going too far to suppose that in the original Aryan speech there was no difference, but that the grammarians, wanting an unaspirated media for the labial varga, invented this character for the purpose. It is waste of time to speculate about a matter which we cannot hope to solve. The thick coarse writing of an ordinary Indian manuscript is no guide: the little fine line across the loop, which alone distinguishes उ from उ, would be put in if there was room for it, and left out if there was not. This is seen, to come to more modern times, in MSS. of the early Indian poets. Thus, in Chand the following readings occur in one page, opened at random, of Tod's MSS.: वर बीर = Skr. वर बीर, बीव = Skr. बीव, प्रतिवेश = Skr. प्रतिवेश, वर = Skr. वर, वर्गो = Skr. वर्ग, विच्छ = Skr. विच्छ, विज्ञ = Skr. विज्ञ. Nothing can
be learnt, it is clear, from such an irregular method of writing as this.

In Chap. I. § 23 will be found the rules of pronunciation of these letters in the various languages, and it will there be seen that the three western languages, Sindhi, Gujarati, and Marathi, still make a distinction between the two.

In Marathi ृ when initial is pronounced so softly as to approach the sound of our English w, and in this situation is commutable with ू and ृ. The former method of pronouncing, with ृ, is said by Molesworth to be less correct than the latter. Examples are—

Skr. च्वध “medicina,” vulgo चबङ् and चबङ्.
Skr. चांगम्ल “unucky,” vulgo चम्गम्ल “filthy.”
Skr. चंजिन “a posture of the hands,” चोंजक्क and चंजङ्क.
Skr. चबलाक्षण “hanging down,” चोळेबा or चोळेबा “a plummet.”

In all words beginning with the preposition अरo, the Prakrit form would be o, and thus in early Tadbhavas which have come down to Marathi through Prakrit the form in o is the more correct.

As a rule in all these three languages a word beginning with व in Sanskrit retains ब, and one with व retains the ब. There are, however, a few exceptions, due apparently to the influence of Hindi. Thus:

व्रात “a marriage procession,” M. वरात and वरात.
वसन्न “dwelling,” M. वसन्न and वसन्न.
वक “crane,” M. वक, वकङ्क.
वर “good,” M. वर.

In the first two examples both forms are used, but वसन्न is apparently the more common of the two.

When not initial व is commonly softened into ज, or entirely elided, as—

CHANGES OF SINGLE CONSONANTS.

द "god," Pr. देवी, H. देवी or देव, 1 P. देव, S. id., B., O. दे (as a
family name).

देवर "brother-in-law," Pr. id., B. देवर, G. देवर, O. देवर.

It falls out also in the compound numerals from twenty-one to twenty-eight in some languages. Thus, Hindi retains it in दोबार "twenty-four," and चतुरस "twenty-six," only. The three western languages retain it throughout; the others only in one or two cases, as will be seen from the following list.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H.</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>O.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21 दोबार</td>
<td>दोबी</td>
<td>पंचिम</td>
<td>एकादश</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 चारबार</td>
<td>चारि</td>
<td>चारि</td>
<td>चारि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 नौबार</td>
<td>नौि</td>
<td>नौि</td>
<td>नौि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 चौबार</td>
<td>चौि or चौि</td>
<td>पंचिम</td>
<td>*पंचिम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 पन्तार</td>
<td>पंति</td>
<td>पंति</td>
<td>पंति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 तारस</td>
<td>तारि</td>
<td>तारि</td>
<td>तारि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 सतार</td>
<td>सतारि</td>
<td>सतारि</td>
<td>सतारि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 चतुरार</td>
<td>चतुरि</td>
<td>चतुरि</td>
<td>चतुरि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is customary in Hindi to express final े after a vowel by े, but this is a mere compendium scripture, and must not be mistaken for an organic retention or addition of that letter; thus, जूौ, "go," is written जूौ, जूौ, भिन = शी or शी.

§ 65. Of the nasals, थ and थ, being never used singly in Sanskrit or the Prakrits, except as grammatical signs, do not fall within the compass of the present chapter. Of their use in Sindhi to express न and न respectively, notice has been taken in § 25. थ is substituted for थ, in Prakrit fashion, frequently in all the languages, though Hindi is extremely careless in this matter, and constantly uses थ where थ should

1 This word is often written देव, but pronounced Dev. It is a common name
of men.
more correctly be written. Bengali and Oriya are in writing perfectly accurate in this respect, though it is not always possible to distinguish the pronunciation of the two letters in the mouth of an ordinary speaker. Marathi and Sindhi use श in the substantive forms of the infinitive in all cases, the former as शे = Sansk. श, as well as ख, the latter as शू. Panjabi in the same part of the verb oddly enough uses शा in the majority of words, but शा after a cerebral, as केवा "to bore," but केद्वा "to vex"; both from केदन. In other cases also there is much confusion, especially in the hitherto somewhat uncultivated Gujarati, where श is often needlessly and incorrectly written for ख. It is unnecessary to give instances, as this is no regular law of development, but either a following of the similar Prakrit custom, or mere carelessness and ignorance.

श undergoes a remarkable and very important change, by virtue of which many singular words and forms may be explained, and their derivation elucidated.

श is, as will be readily perceived, both a labial and a nasal, and the change consists in separating these two essences, and giving to each a distinct expression. The labial quality of this letter takes the form of व, and the nasal that of anuswāra, thus forming the sound व, in which the nasal element precedes the labial. This is the first step, of which familiar instances are as follows:

Skr. चाम "disease," H. चाव, M. Id.
Skr. चाम "name," H. चाव.
Skr. चाम "village," H. चाव, M. id.
Skr. चामल "swarthy," H. चावला, P. id., S. सावलू and साविच.
M. सावला.

1 For Sindhi insertion of श, and for its change of श into च, see further on.
The next step is the omission of anuswāra, isolated instances of which occur in all the languages, but especially in Marathi, if we may take Molesworth as an authority in the matter. The use of the anuswāra is very capricious, however, in this combination, owing to the lightness of its pronunciation. I know of no method by which the sound of such words as गांव, सांवला, etc., can be expressed in Roman characters. Those who maintain that the object of transliteration is to enable a person unacquainted with Oriental languages to pronounce a word right, merely from seeing it written in their own characters, will find this class of words rather an obstacle. If there is one method of writing these words more hopelessly wrong and misleading than any other, it is the common English form of "-ong"; our countrymen write वनवां (वनवां वॉल्टन "forest-village" = Wootton, i.e. "wood-town") "Bongong," and pronounce it so as to rhyme with "song," "long," and the like! Others write गौं, which uninstructed English persons would naturally pronounce गौं, others again write गौॅं, which is right enough, provided it be first explained that the " is nasal, as in French, but who would guess this if not told? The fact is, these words are pronounced exactly like the name of the French city of Laon, that is, as gāo with a contraction of the throat while pronouncing the vowel, which has the effect of sending part of the breath through the nose, and imparting a nasal sound to the whole word, so that it is almost impossible to say exactly where the nasal comes in; the word floats in an atmosphere of nasalization, so to speak. A Frenchman would naturally and unhesitatingly pronounce the word correctly
from seeing the spelling *guon*, but we are not writing solely, or even principally, for the sake of our French neighbours. It would be interesting to see how Messrs. Meadows Taylor and party, who profess to be able so to transliterate an Indian word that any ordinary Englishman shall infallibly pronounce it correctly at sight, would manage this class of words.

To return to our subject, the nasal being so slight and volatile, as I have stated above, it naturally is frequently dropped, leaving only the labial element. Instances are M. नाम = साम; M. वें = वें; also—

Skr. नाम “circumference,” H. नेम (neo), G. id., B. नेमो, O. निभ.
P. retains the nasal निभ.

Skr. विनाम “vehicle,” Old H. विनाम.

Skr. गमन “going,” H. गीमा, गी (for मवना).

Skr. चूँस “ox-tail fan,” S. चौस, G. चौरी; sometimes also in H.

written चौरी, but generally चौरी.

Inasmuch as the व in this class of words is always pronounced soft like स, and not hard as व, it naturally slides into उ or ऋ; thus Skr. नाम = P. नाभ, S. नाँद with double anuswāra, the former of which is the usual Sindhi method of softening down a hiatus, the latter only is organic. H. पांव = P. पाभ; गाम = S. गांव. This is after all perhaps little more than a different way of writing; there is no difference in the pronunciation of the words.

Bengali and Oriya omit the labial entirely in some words, as गृह = गाम, O. ग्रहना = ग्रहण; this is because with them व has already the sound of ऋ, so that even omitting the labial does not very materially alter the pronunciation.

In the following words the nasal has been dropped, and the labial amalgamated with the preceding vowel,

Skr. वामन “dwarf,” H. बीमा, P. बीषा, B. बाँतंया or बी*.

Skr. शमन “going,” H. गीमा.

Skr. चूँस “ox-tail,” see above.
Many others may be found sometimes written with च, at others with चन or चन्द्र, according to the fancy of the writer.

Skr. ला्म्, “lord,” becomes in H. सारे, P. id., S. सारे, B., O. गा्रे, and its compound मा्लासार् in like manner H. नैसारे, and so in the rest. M. forms an exception, having नैसावी.

In all of these but M., the influence of the following palatal vowel i has caused the elision of the labial, leaving only the anuswāra.

Occasionally a vowel, generally a or े, is substituted for the labial, as—

Skr. रेम् “hair of the body,” H. रोषि, P. id., B. रोंचा, S. लूंच.
Skr. छूम “worm,” S. किंचि.

It might seem proper to connect with this peculiarity of भ the H. गीव० “cow dung,” from Skr. गीवय, through a form गीवच्; but it seems more rational to suppose that the Hindi word is a modern compound of गी “cow,” and वर “gift” or “blessing.” To those who know how useful and highly prized an article cow dung is in India, this latter explanation will no doubt commend itself.

§ 66. In Chapter I, § 24, I have explained the peculiarities attendant on the usage of the sibilants, under the head of pronunciation. Where so much carelessness and laxity exists in writing, not only among the masses, but even among literary men, and in the manuscripts and published works of writers in many of these languages, we can only treat these changes as matters of pronunciation. Whenever a fixed standard of orthography shall have been arrived at, the time will have come to analyze the changes which the sibilants undergo among themselves from a phonetic point of view; at present it would be but lost labour to attempt to do so.
For the same reason it is not possible here to take notice of the rules laid down by Prakrit writers on this subject. In the dark ages of India so numerous and conflicting were the changes and migrations of races, that it is no longer worth while to look for the local peculiarities mentioned by the Prakrit grammarians in the places which they assign to them. The whole of the Gangetic Doab, Rohilkhand, and Oudh, with the tract north of the Ganges lying between Oudh and Tirhut, is now peopled by Aryan tribes, who still preserve traditions of their comparatively recent advent into those regions. Northern Tirhut has been won from mountain-tribes, chiefly non-Aryan, in historic times. The Ahirs of Sindh are now found all over Aryan India. The Marwaris, Meds, Jats, and other tribes, have wandered northwards and southwards, westwards and south-westwards, till we can no longer trace them back to their original seats. Mixed races call themselves Rajputs, and claim to come from Chitor or Ajmer, unconscious that their high cheekbones, flat noses, and narrow pig-like eyes, give the lie as they speak to their absurd pretensions.

The use of the sibilant by the various modern nationalities, then, is one of those points on which we wait for more light, and on which premature speculations would be not only idle, but absolutely noxious.

There is one point, however, on which we touch solid ground. The sibilant has a tendency, more or less developed in all the languages, though culminating in Sindhi and Panjabi, to pass into š. This is a very ancient practice. In the primitive Iranian š regularly corresponds to the š of early Aryan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Zend</th>
<th>Mod. Persian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>मा &quot;she,“</td>
<td>ḫā</td>
<td>ḫāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सप्त &quot;seven,&quot;</td>
<td>ḫapta</td>
<td>ḫāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अभि &quot;thou art,&quot;</td>
<td>āhī</td>
<td>āī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is in complete correspondence with this ancient change that we find the propensity to replace s by h exhibiting itself in its fullest force in those parts of India which lie nearest to the Iranian frontier, namely, the Panjab and Sindh. In these two languages the s is not only changed to h, but occasionally, even entirely thrown away. A few examples out of many hundreds are here adduced:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Sindhi</th>
<th>Panjabi</th>
<th>Other Languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कपास &quot;cotton,&quot;</td>
<td>कपाह, कपह • कपह</td>
<td>कपाह</td>
<td>O. कपा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>किंगरी &quot;lion,&quot;</td>
<td>किंगरि</td>
<td>किंगरि</td>
<td>H. id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कोम &quot;a kos&quot; (league),</td>
<td>कोम</td>
<td>कोम, करोम</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पेऊस &quot;grinding,&quot;</td>
<td>पेऊसु</td>
<td>पेऊसा</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पीस &quot;December-January,&quot;</td>
<td>पीस</td>
<td>पीस</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आफां &quot;Jane-July,&quot;</td>
<td>आफां</td>
<td>[आफां]</td>
<td>आफ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बशूर &quot;father-in-law,&quot;</td>
<td>बशूर</td>
<td>सजूरा (सजूरा)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खास &quot;breath,&quot;</td>
<td>साक</td>
<td>साह</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विगत &quot;twenty&quot; (Pr. भिसा)</td>
<td>भीह</td>
<td>भीह</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>एकविगत &quot;twenty-one,&quot;</td>
<td>एकॉह</td>
<td>एकॉह</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विगत &quot;thirty&quot; (Pr. तीसा)</td>
<td>टौह</td>
<td>टौह, नीह</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>एकविगत &quot;thirty-one,&quot;</td>
<td>एकॉटह</td>
<td>एकॉटह</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>एकविगत &quot;sixty-one,&quot;</td>
<td>एकहर</td>
<td>इकहर</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>एकविगत &quot;seventy-one,&quot;</td>
<td>एकहर</td>
<td>इकहर</td>
<td>H. इकहर</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It has been remarked before that all these languages show.

---

1 In this word the क may be a hardening of भ, or, on the other hand, merely a different way of writing भ; see the remarks further on in this section.
their common origin, if that were doubtful, by the fact, among others, that hardly any process or tendency exists in any one of them which may not be traced, however faintly, in nearly all. This is true in the present instance. In every one of the languages some few examples may be found of this change, though the tendency, so strong in Western India as to become a rule, has been so weakened as we go eastwards, that in Bengali and Oriya only a few faint examples can be adduced.

In the series “sixty-nine,” “seventy-one,” and so on to “seventy-eight,” the स of सप्तति is changed to ह in all the languages. I do not give the list here, as it will occur in Chapter IV., which see.

As an example, though a somewhat doubtful one, of this change running through all the languages, the word पहार “mountain,” may be noticed. Its forms are H. पहाड़ B., O. पहाड़ M., G. पहाड़. The final ह points to an older ट which would be softened from ट, so that I would derive the word from a Sanskrit form प्रस्तृत, treated as प्रस्तृत, according to the usual method of treating य in ordinary colloquial speech. The meaning would be “stretched out,” “long,” “vast,” and this is the more appropriate, as the word is generally applied to a mountain range, rather than to an isolated hill or peak.

Another instance is the local Hindi word पोटि “cattle,” only used in the western Hindi area, from पोट. Another local word in Eastern Behar is गोवाजल “cowshed” = गोवाजल B. गोवाजली. More may be found here and there, but few which run through the whole seven languages.

There is, however, one important series which is noticed by Varnruchi ii. 44, consisting of हर “ten,” and its compounds ekādahi, etc. In these the ह is regularly changed to ह. Pr. dahi, sāra, sārha, etc., for dāsa, ekādahi, dviḍaśa, and the rest. Thus, “eleven,” which may serve as a specimen, is H. इकादश, M. प्रार, S. चारहे, G. बनियार, M. खकर, O., B. इकादश.
The ० is retained in writing only in H. and S. In P. and M. the long ० has taken its place, and in the rest it has disappeared.

Before leaving the sibilants, some notice must be taken of a change, the reverse of that mentioned in § 58, whereby ० becomes ० in Marathi, and analogous to that mentioned in the same section as prevalent in Bengal, in such cases as कुष for सूचि, कृतार for मृत्तार, and others. Vararuchi ii. 41, gives चहृत्ति for शश्ति, चांमुहो—चामुक्त, चाण्डो—कावका, चांहत्तान्यो—सप्तपार्या. Modern instances are—


Skr. गाव “child,” Pr. हामी, H. हाकडा, P. हाकडा, S. हाकडा, M. हामी, G. हापी, हाकर, B. हां, हापीलाली, हामी, हाली, हली, हाकडा, etc., O. ०, ०, ०, टोका.

In Bengali a good many of these words may be found, which, when supported by the analogy of the cognate languages, may fairly be treated as bona fide examples of this rule; when not so supported, however, as the majority are not, they may be set down as careless spelling.

० is in H. and P., and occasionally in the other languages, pronounced ०, though still written ०; in fact, on seeing this character in an old Hindi MS., one would naturally pronounce it ०. This is not merely a matter of writing however. Several words which in Sanskrit have the ० are now regularly pronounced with ० by the peasantry, to whom the written character is entirely unknown. Thus भाव “language” is pronounced भाव, and even sometimes written भावा; वष “rain,” is वष, and from it is formed a verb वरखना “to rain.” Similarly we find हरख and हरखा from हर “joy”; मिस्क from मिस “a ram”; विख from विख “poison.” Hence also M. भाव, a cor-
rupted form of माय “a promise,” Skr. माया. नेख “a big strong fellow,” from नेख “a ram.” नेख is also used by the vulgar for विन, as in H. The origin of this custom lies probably in the already mentioned connexion between the sibilants and न, which latter is hardened to kh, as in Persian.

§ 67. न is a favourite letter with the moderns, and is rarely elided. One instance is given by Trumpp from the Sindhi, Skr. नहूँ “joyful,” becomes नहूँ through a form नहर्वँ = नहर्वँ. This is not, however, common. In some Prakrit books न is used to fill up the gap made by the rejection of a single consonant between two vowels, and a few instances may be found in which it has remained till modern times (Weber, Saptas. p. 28). Thus O. पाही “a pai” (the coin), H. पाघे, Skr. पाहिक. It is sometimes inserted without cause, as O. नःहम "a maund weight," H. म, M. मह, Skr. माय. As a rule its tenacity is greater than that of any other letter, and it is pronounced clearly with a somewhat harsher aspiration than in other languages.

This letter in Sanskrit roots is often merely a softening of an aspirate. च्छ is originally च्छ, न is नू, ह्रम = भूष, द्दच probably from च्छ, रह = रघ, रह = रघ, perhaps also वघ; रह = रघ, रह = रघ. Some of these older forms, as ग्रह्म and भ्रि, are preserved in the Vedas, and with regard to the others the analogy of forms in the cognate languages shows that the aspirate has been dropped, while in many it reappears in various tenses of the verb. In harmony with this practice, cases are found in the modern languages in which न after anuswāra, which is in that position a guttural, changes into ɡh, as in श्नि “lion,” which is pronounced निन in all the modern languages, and often written निन in H., and always so in P. Thus also the Prakrit forms चाने, तुने “we,” “ye,” become in Oriya चने, तने, where the न is changed into the sonant aspirate of the organ to which the nasal belongs.
§ 68. From ह we pass by a natural transition to the aspirated letters of all the organs. It has been seen that on the one hand the unaspirated letters are extremely liable to elision, while on the other ह holds its place always very firmly. From the combination of these two principles, it comes to pass that the aspirated letters frequently lose their organic characteristic, and remain as simple ह, the aspiration alone surviving to represent them. This is a rule of very general application, both in Prakrit and modern times, and is one by which we may distinguish early from late Tailbhavas with tolerable accuracy. It is not, however, of equal force in all aspirates. Vararuci lays it down as "usual," that is, not absolute, in the cases of ः, घ, घ; ः, म; omitting the palatals, cerebrals, and ः. The omission of the palatals is accounted for, first by the tenacity which has been noticed as their characteristic in § 51, and secondly by the fact that these letters ः and ः, though they occur in Sanskrit, represent as a rule sounds of a later origin, being developed out of older sounds, as ः, ः, or others. Although these letters are found in Sanskrit writings of an early period, yet their secondary or derivative character can hardly be doubted, ः in particular is a very rare letter in Sanskrit, while it is extremely frequent in Prakrit. This letter has two or three forms, being written sometimes ः, at others ः, and at others again ः: all this shows that it is of modern origin, and gives rise to the suspicion that it scarcely had a fixed and recognized position in the old Indian scheme of sounds, until the Pandits began to work at the language, when, in accordance with their usual custom, they would invent a letter where none existed previously, to avoid leaving any gap in their series, just as they did with ः and ः. We can derive no argument from the existence of letters on monuments of the earlier type, Asoka's, Gupta, or Kutila (though it may be observed that ः does not occur in Kutila), because the art of writing was a matter of comparatively recent introduction, and
does not affect phonetic changes in the spoken languages. In the case of the cerebrals their hardness probably preserved them, and they too are somewhat secondary in character, being, as has been explained before in § 59, old linguals preserved at a high point of contact by the influence of र or some other letter, and consequently regarded by Pandits, who worked at a time when the usual lingual contact of their nation had passed down to a lower point of contact, as in some way derived from the dentals, an erroneous view, in which they have been followed by many European scholars.

Thus, र, न, त, and ढ, were, to a great extent, popular letters; they had already passed into Prakrit, or rather had their origin in Prakrit; they had come into recognized existence, so to speak, lower down the stream than the point at which the other aspirates had lost their organic characteristics, and were thus safe from further change.

As to फ, a very little carelessness in uttering it makes it into ₹, and however wide apart these two sounds may be when pronounced carefully, or when considered scientifically, the personal experience of every one who has lived in this country will support the assertion that they are daily and hourly confounded by ordinary speakers. Who ever heard पिर, पफ pronounced by the lower classes in towns otherwise than as "fir," "fal"? or if not quite with the ₹ sound, at least with something very closely approaching to it, and only by purists, or in remote parts of the country, with the clear undoubted पइ sound? To this cause—namely the more complete amalgamation of the aspirate with the organic sound—may doubtless be attributed its preservation. It is softened to फ, which letter in Eastern India is constantly regarded by the natives as equivalent to our English ₹.

The aspirates, it must however be remembered, are never considered as mere combinations of an ordinary letter with ख. It is quite a European idea so to treat of them; ख is not a
k-sound followed by an h, it is a k uttered with a greater effort of breath than ordinary. The native name for the aspirates is mahāprāna "great breath," as opposed to the lēnes or aliprāna "little breath," letters. The European method of speaking is used in this section as being likely to be more familiar to the reader; but it must ever be borne in mind that the aspirate is uttered by one action of the mouth; there is not the slightest stop or pause between the k and the h; in fact, no native ever imagines that there is a k or an h either in the sound. The difference between खासी "eat," and कासी "cause to say," is extremely well marked, even in the most rapid speaking. Thus Vararuci, in his rule above quoted, ii. 27, does not say that ख and the rest retain only their aspirate. Such an expression would have been quite unintelligible to himself and his scholars. He says ख is substituted for ख, etc. He looks upon ख as quite a distinct letter, and exhibits no consciousness of there being an h involved or contained in the ख already. The Indian ख then differs entirely from ख + ख on the one hand, as much as it does from the Arabic ١ on the other.

Thus क + ह are two distinct sounds, and are always sounded as such. क is a k uttered with a greater expenditure of breath than ordinary. ह is a guttural uttered deep down in the throat, and having no real aspiration in it at all, beyond this that the makhraj, or place of utterance of it, is so low down in the throat as to be quite on the extreme edge of that region of the palate within which the guttural sound lies, and approaching the confines of that region within which there is no organic utterance any longer, because no possibility of contact, but merely aspiration or simple forcible passage of air.

We may now proceed to give examples of the change, which, as it is one which passes through the Prakrits into the modern languages, may be exhibited with special regard to the latter, the former being merely inserted when they occur, because in this, as in so many other cases, the words most frequently in
use in the Prakrits are not by any means those which are most commonly met with in the moderns.

§ 69. ख is changed to ह in the following instances:

Skr. सूच “face,” Pr. सूढ़, H. सूढ़, P. सूढ़े, सूढ़, S. सूढ़े.
Skr. लिख “to write,” Pr. लिख, M. लिखीं.
Skr. साही “female friend,” Pr. सही, S. सही.

In all these cases, however, there exist forms in ख, thus all the languages still use सूच: in all but M., the usual form is लिख, as in H. लिखिया, though Gujarati omits the य, and has भखुँ. खाखट is also still in use, and साही is only in use in Sindhi; all the other languages retain the word सही, which, however, is no longer a colloquial, but merely a literary and poetic word.

ख.

Skr. जाचा “praise,” Pr. साही, H. साराहा, P. साराहा, S. साराहा.


Skr. बघन “joins,” Pr. बहन, P. बहया, S. बहु, M. बहें (for बहहें), all in the sense of care.


This letter is also frequently retained, as in घोड़ा = घोटक, घुमना = घूमन, घड़ा = घट, and split up and inverted in मुहम्मा “borax” = मूहम्म, through सोभम्म and सोभम्म. A similar instance is विहिंग for भिंग, from भिंगी, H. विंधाता, root of the esculent water-lily,” P. id., S. विंधीं, G., B., and O. विंधीता, from Skr. वंटित, is an instance of the protective

3 The so-called “Persian wheel” used all over the Punjab and in parts of Hindustan to draw water for purposes of irrigation. It has a string of earthen pots, which go down empty and come up full, and tilt over into a trough.
power of the anuswāra, of which more will have to be said hereafter.


dh.

Skr. द्व्यध “curse,” Pr. सवध, H. सोङ (see § 52).

Skr. गाय “song,” Pr. गाघ, Old H. गाझ, S. गाघ.

Skr. कथन “saying,” Pr. कहण, H. कहना, P. कहिया, S. कहणु, G. कहु, O. कहिवा, B. कहिले. Singularly this very common word in all the other languages is totally wanting in M.


Instances of the retention of द are M. जवध = जवध, which is, however, rare, P. कडाणा, S. कपध, in the altered sense of “to think.” जवध = जवध, here, again, through the influence of anuswāra. मशध “to churn,” मशधी “a churning-stick” =Skr. मध, and with the cerebral H. मध “buttermilk,” though H. has also मध “to churn”; M. मधिया, मधियास, मधन; B. मधन, मधिति, मध “curds”; G. मधु, मधरी, मधी “curds,” etc.; S. मध, मधजु. Skr. दूध “herd”; H. दूध is almost a Tatsama, though found in Old Hindi; P. has the more usual form जूध.

dh.

Skr. बधर “deaf,” Pr. बड़ह, H. बहिरा, M., O., id., B. बहिरा, G. बहिरो, S. बोहो.

Skr. दधिं “curds,” Pr. दधिः, H. दधि, and so in all.

Skr. साधु “merchant,” Pr. साय, H. साय, B., O., id., P. साह, साह, S. माह (through a confusion with Pers., a, often used as a title by certain castes).


This letter being a media, and as such more liable to elision than any tenuis, exhibits fewer instances of retention than the others. Such are युध, H. जूध, जोधपन, etc., though the more usual form taken by this root in all the languages is जूध, as in H. जूधार "a warrior," etc.; धोव "washieman," Skr. धावक; Skr. धहो "white," H. धोला, B., O., धला, G. धोकु, S. धोरो, M. धवा, धवल. Skr. ध "to blow," Pr. धुमा, B. धमका "bellows," H. धोळकी, S. धोळकु "to kindle," G. धमण. In the case of initial ध, many instances may be found among genuine Tadbhavas.

म is, like भ, a letter which affords a very large range of instances of elision:

गभोर "deep," H. गाढ़ा, and so in all.

आभोर "herdsman," H. अंबोर, M. id.

भू "to be," Pr. ही, H. होणा, P. होहा, S. होक़, G. होकु, M. होणे.

ोहा (हेवा), B. होहटे, O. होहटे.


मुम "to be fair," H. मोह "ornament," मोहन "pleasant" (योभना), भोजन "to becom," S. मुंह "beauty," मुहु, सुहारो, सुहारते, etc., P. मुहारा, मुहा, etc. M., B., and O. retain the forms in म in common use. O. follows the Hindi, but has also मुम and derivatives.


मुंह "bend," H. उड़ि, and so in all.

Here may also be introduced H. लेना "to take," which I suppose to be from an earlier form लहना, as is shown by S. लहेणु, from Skr. लम. The S. proves this to be the origin of the word by retaining the passive participle लहो, which is from the Skr. p.part. लम्. लेना is to be explained as in the first instance for लेना, which is identical with the form लेना, in use now in Panjabi, from लहिया, cf. रहिया, etc., in Ch. II.
§ 85; in B. भूति, O. भूति, from the confusion between न and भ. There is a rarely used Skr. root भा, which would produce भवा, on the analogy of देवा, from द्रा, but I prefer the derivation from भम्, both on account of the doubtfuless of the root भा, and because it brings the Hindi more into conformity with the other languages. The reader may choose for himself. S. has also another verb लहाः from a root लह, forming its passive participle लाखिः (=लाभित=लाखित=लाखो), which lends additional confirmation to the derivation. The old H. p.p. भमता may be held to point to a form भमित through भदोत 

It will be observed that Grimm’s law of positional changes holds good to a great extent in the case of these aspirates. While they are frequently, and almost regularly, changed into ध in the middle of a word, a process equivalent to the elision of the non-aspirated letters, since they lose all their organic portion, retaining only the aspiration common to all, they are on the other hand, when occurring as initials, almost as regularly retained. The most striking exception is the case of ध, which is often changed to ध in the beginning of a word, as in the instances given above. Here too, however, there is an analogy to the case of the non-aspirated labial ध, which, as we have seen, possesses peculiar weaknesses, and is more liable to absorption, liquefaction into a vowel, and other hard treatment than the letters of any other organ. Such a point as this is one of those landmarks which are so cheering to the student, pointing as it does, however dimly and obscurely at present, to the existence of deep underlying laws, which a longer research and more intimate acquaintance with these languages will enable us eventually to unearth; so that we may hope, in spite of the terrible gap of so many centuries, one day to have discovered the whole phonetic system of this group in all its ramifications, and triumphantly refute those sciolists who talk so confidently of the “lawless licence” of Hindi derivation.
We now come to the unchanging aspirates ः, घ, ठ, ड, and to a certain extent ढ. It is not perhaps strictly correct to apply the epithet 'unchanging' to any but the first two. No instances of the change of these two exist, either in Prakrit or in the moderns. ठ is not elided, but passes often into its media ड. Instances (Var. ii. 24) are mādhama, jadharam, kadharam, for matha, jathara, kathora. As so often happens, these examples do not occur in the moderns, or rather these words, the first of which is common, the last two rare, are found in their Sanskrit form māth, etc., in most languages. M. has a diminutive मठी side by side with मठी. The word means a "monastery," or college of devotees. Modern instances are—


More examples will be found in Chapter IV., in cases where ह is a secondary formation—that is, where it has arisen from some earlier form, as ह, ह, or the like.

There is an isolated instance of ह passing into ह, in Skr. कठरा “axe,” G. and S. क़ठरी; but here we have properly the same process as in पठन=पठन; namely, that the ह has been softened into its corresponding media ह, and that again into ह in G. and S. the ह has been dropped. In H. the form is क़ठरी, P. क़ठरी and क़ठरी, M. कढ़ी, O. क़ढ़ी. B. shows the transition in the colloquial form क़ढ़ी. ह does frequently pass into ह in fact, from the earliest Sanskrit times there is a close connexion between the two sounds, the point of junction being a sound ह. The same relation exists between the unaspirated letters, as in the Vedic र्था—
In the Vedas Ṛ is often written Ṛ. The most familiar example in the modern languages is—

Skr. वदोधा "bridegroom" (Ved. वदोधा), H. दुधा, B. दुधीन, दुदारी.
Skr. वदोधा "bride," H. दुधिन, G. दुधाही "daughter" (= दुधारी).

Cases in which Ṛ is wholly elided do not occur, at least none have yet been discovered and established.

In Prakrit we have a somewhat similar change (Var. ii. 25), ṛक्टला=ankotha: here the aspirate appears to have been lost, and the / doubled. The root ṛṣṭ is also said to be changed to ṛड्डा when preceded by ud or sam (Var. viii. 41), which gives us another instance, as we know that ṛṣṭ becomes first ṛष्ठ, and subsequently ṛढ्भ, as Vararuchi himself states in the preceding section (viii. 40). These changes are again, as in the case of ḷ, quite in analogy with the changes that take place in the corresponding unaspirated letters, so that everywhere, however feeble and indistinct may be our light, we are yet justified in asserting the thoroughly homogeneous, and consequently distinctly national and characteristic nature of all the phonetic changes we meet with.

ॠ is softened to ऑ in Prakrit in सोधा, सोधाला, दोधार, दोधालाम, for सोधा, सोधालिका, सोधार, सोधाला. In the modern languages one of these is found सयरी "a carp." H. सहरी, P. सहर. The letter is, however, more generally retained, being of comparatively rare occurrence in the middle of a word, with the exception of compounds, which must be treated as two separate words for our present purpose.

Judging from the constant tendency of all languages to pass their words through a gradual process of softening, it may rationally be conjectured that the aspirated tenses ढ, छ, ठ, थ, ॠ, would first be softened into their corresponding medio, and then into simple ढ. We have given evidence of this process in the case of ठ and ॠ, which indeed go no further than this first step as a rule; but it may be as well to seek for instances
in the other letters, with a view to establishing still further the harmony of transition throughout the aspirates.

Panjabi and Sindhi are the most promising fields for this part of the inquiry, as they both particularly affect medial letters in opposition to tenses; the search, however, is not to be confined to those languages alone.

ह into घ.

Skr. द्वार "chau," P. संघर, G. संघक.
Skr. रंवा "stroke," S. रंधी "cunning" (i.e. "strokes" of villany), M. रंघ "line," G. रंग.

ह into ब. This change is indicated by the extreme points, rather than by the intermediate stage. Thus, when we find H. नाम "vitrified brick," or "slag," derived from Skr. धाम (व), it is apparent that there has been an intermediate form काम्य. So also, in deriving Skr. भरी "a waterfall," from the root चर "to stream," there necessarily intervenes a form करी.

ब into घ. The examples adduced of this transition are complicated by the fact of the presence of र, which cerebralizes the घ into ब. So that from प्रवास, regarded as प्रवेश, we get Pr. पवेश for पद्म. Similarly Skr. ग्रंथिक "loose," becomes in Pr. ग्रंथीलो, which is explained by the origin of the word from the root ग्रंथ, a form of which is ग्रंथ. The moderns use this word with rejection of the whole of the first syllable. Thus, H. ग्रंथा, M., G. ग्रंथा, P. ग्रंथा, S. ग्रंथी, B., O. ग्रंथा.

To these may be added S. ग्रंथि=Skr. ग्रंथि, where again the influence of the र is felt.

The modern languages, however, are not always careful to follow the above processes. Marathi in particular, and the others in a minor degree, exhibit in a sporadic and somewhat disconnected manner a tendency to drop the aspiration, and to use only the unaspirated form of the letter. This is more frequently observable in the middle or at the end of a word, and in Bengali more particularly with cerebrals, as ढ, when
pronounced as य. The rule holds good whether the aspirate be in existence in Sanskrit, or have arisen from some Pr. change.

Examples:

Skr. विध्यन “destruction,” H. विग्रहन “to be spoilt,” P. विग्रहन.
S. विग्रहन, O. विग्रहन, B., O. id.; here M. in contrast to its usual custom retains the aspirate, as विध्यन, विध्यन.

Skr. महाय “dear” (in price), H. महान, P. महान, S. महं, M. महान, but G. मां.

Skr. शीठ “stool,” B. शिठा, M. पाट.

[H. शुद्ध “to extinguish” (१ 46),] B. शुद्ध, M. शुद्ध.

Skr. हस “hand,” Pr. हत, M. हत, instead of हाथ, B., O. id.


Skr. संध्या “evening,” Pr. संध्या, M. साव for सांध्य, G. id.

Skr. संध “junction,” M. सांद.

Skr. स्कू “shoulder,” M. सांदा, G. सांद.

Bengali instances of হ for द are রেডা=H. রেডা; from Skr. রিডন, where the outgoing य aspirates the द in all languages; মোডা “stool,”=H. মোডা; মাড=H. মাড “with a half,” Skr. মাড, M. also মাড; B. and O. মিডী, M. মিডী “ladder,”=H. মোডী, from Skr. মিডী; B. ঢাই, ঢাই=H. ঢাই, Skr. ঢাইকা.

Instances in Oriya of the same tendency are the following:

Skr. जाख “tortoise,” O. जाच.

Skr. धूष्टि “a cake of cowdung,” O. धूष्टि, where the aspirate has been thrown forward into the ट.

Skr. कपल “the wood-apple tree,” O. कर, H. कुठेल.

Skr. कटार “axe,” O. कटाध.

Skr. दाधिक “heard,” O. दाधि.

Skr. पुष्क “question,” O. प्वारिचा.

The general treatment of the aspirates in the modern languages has by some authors been thought to betray signs of
non-Aryan influence, on the ground that this treatment shows
an aversion to aspiration, which is seen also in the Dravidian
languages which have no aspirates. But I do not see, in the
first place, how the rejection of the organic portion of an
aspirated letter and the retention of the rough breathing can
be called an aversion to aspirates; on the contrary, it seems to
me to be a great fondness for them. An aversion to aspirates
would testify itself, not by changing ḫh into ḷ, but by changing
it into k, which is precisely what our languages do not do,
except in a few Bengali and Marathi words.

Moreover, although there are no aspirates in the Dravidian
languages, there are in all the non-Aryan dialects of the
Himalayas and in the Gondi of Central India. Tibetan also
possesses the aspirated surs, though not the sonants; and some
of the sub-dialects of Tibetan indulge in aspiration to a greater
extent than Sanskrit, as they aspirate not only the consonants
of the five organs, but even semivowels and nasals. Thus,
are examples of aspirations which are never met with in old
Aryan.

Thirdly, it may be pointed out that so far from having any
aversion to the aspirates, the colloquial languages from the
earliest Prakrits downwards indulge in a variety of aspirations,
regularly changing the sibilants of Sanskrit into ḷ under
almost all circumstances. Instead of attributing to the Prakrits
a dislike of the aspirate, and ascribing this characteristic to
non-Aryan influence, we should be disposed to consider an
excessive fondness for this class of sounds as one of the most
marked Prakrit features, and one in which it is very strongly
contrasted with the Dravidian languages, though harmonizing
in this respect with the non-Aryan dialects of Tibetan origin
which are still spoken in the recesses of the Himalayas.

§ 70. Visarga is conspicuous by its absence from all the
modern languages. It was at best a mere grammarians's fiction, to be classed with छ्, छ, and such like inventions. In the nominative case of nouns it replaces the organic स्, with which that case properly terminates, and has in Prakrit given way to o or e in Sanskrit nominatives in as, while it has been entirely dropped in nominatives in is, us, or other vowels. In the various parts of the verb in which it occurs no trace of it can now be found, inasmuch as the modern verb has entirely abandoned the ancient inflectional method of formation, and has adopted the analytical system of participles and auxiliaries; even in those tenses where some relics of the synthetical system exist, the dual having been entirely rejected, the visarga with which its three persons ended has been lost, and in the first person plural so great has been the change that it is difficult to decide whether the visarga has really had any influence or not.

Where visarga exists in the middle of a word, as in दुःख "pain," and in words compounded with the preposition निर, the ruider languages reject it altogether and write simply दुःख, निर्खास for दुःख, निर्खास. In those languages which have a double form, one literary, the other popular, the former of course retains the visarga, the latter does not.

Anusvāra is used throughout to replace the nasal when it forms the first element of a nexus. In Bengali and Oriya, however, there is an exception to this rule, anusvāra in them being merely a nasal and pronounced always ng, never under any conditions m, as some German writers have of late taken to write it. To a Bengali the transliteration anśa would be quite unintelligible, as the word is to him angsha. Even in reading Sanskrit the custom is to pronounce this mark as ng; thus, रूप निवेदनं would be read रूप निवेदनं. There is nothing further to remark on this character.

§ 71. This chapter may be concluded by a few instances in which a whole syllable of a word has been inverted. This sort
of corruption is common among the lower orders all over India. Thus, for Pers. مَثَلَب, a favourite pronunciation is مثَلَب. The constant, though unconscious, striving to give some meaning, or reason for a meaning, to a word often results in these curious changes. To the Hindu peasant مثَلَب conveys no intrinsic or esoteric meaning; but when reversed it seems quite natural that مثَلَب, i.e. مَثِلّ + بَلّ, “strength of the intellect,” should be a phrase for “aim,” “object,” etc. I have heard this word corrupted to مَنِثَلَب, “search of the mind,” бُلْحُب being more familiar than its derivative; مَنِلْدِل for إلْتَمَسِل, in the sense of “death,” is also quoted as a similar case by one writer. Examples of this inversion are as follows:

Skr. यथाय “throwing.” Pr. यथा. H. (inverted and with the aspirate thrown back to the initial) केलं (to throw,” P., G. id., S. फळं, M. फळं, O. फळिम्बा and पकाय (with total rejection of aspirate and v).”

Skr. भुज “to be drawn” (connected is भुज “to cover”), H. ज्वण., P. ज्वणा, S. ज्वण, M., G., B., O. id. All the languages have also the form ज्वण, etc., as well.

Skr. विधा (from चविधा “to cover”) H. श्राय, श्रायणा, also शापण, and so on.

Skr. दीपांबा “candlestick” (literally “candle-bed,” because in an Indian lamp the wick lies in a cup full of oil). B. दीपमं (= पीठ for पीठ, O. id.

Skr. मार्गीर “visiting.” H. द्राहं (to arrive,” in Tirhut द्राहं.

Many more inversions of this kind will readily occur to the memory of readers acquainted with these languages, though such words are not generally found in dictionaries, being looked on, with some justice, as merely local corruptions arising from ignorance or caprice. It will be seen, however, from the instances given above that a recognition of the existence of this tendency is sometimes useful as pointing the way to the derivation of a word which might otherwise remain unknown.
CHAPTER IV.

CHANGES OF COMPOUND CONSONANTS.


§ 72. This treatment of compound consonants involves some curious considerations on the subject of the power of articulation possessed by the human organs of speech in ancient and modern times. Sanskrit in this respect resembles all the early languages of its family, inasmuch as it is rich in combinations of consonants, in groups of two, three, and even occasionally four, without any intervening vowel. We find the same state of things in the Semitic family also; the Atamatic group, which is now generally admitted to represent the oldest type, clusters its consonants together in a way which, at times, almost defies pronunciation; the Hebrew, which stands second in point of antiquity, is less addicted to this practice, having several
contrivances, such as sā'va, for avoiding too great an accumulation of consonants, while in the Arabic, a group of a much later type, to use Renan's expression, "the consonants swim in a sea of vowels"; comparing Aramaic forms, such as ktail, ktau, mektban, khnum, with the Hebrew kêtalá, kátalá, kálébód, anákau, and Arabic kataláth, kataláh, takidhán, nakban, the gradual increase of vowels is clearly seen. This instance is adduced merely as an illustration of what is meant by the power of articulation. To utter a series of consonants, each of which requires a separate contact, without allowing any vowel to intervene, is an effort of the organs of speech which can only be accomplished when those organs are vigorous and strong. Thus we find the Dravidians of the south of India unable to pronounce Sanskrit words containing a compound consonant without the insertion of one or more vowels. For instance, in Tamil, istiri=Skr. stel, tānām=Skr. sthmān, kiruttunam=krihānas, aprayojana=aprayojana, tatava=tatena. "The languages of the Indo-European class are fond of combining clashing consonants and welding them into one syllable by sheer force of enunciation; and it is certain that strength and directness of character and scorn of difficulties are characteristics, not only of the Indo-European languages, but of the races by which those languages are spoken. On the other hand, the Dravidian family of languages prefers softening away difficulties to grappling with them; it aims at ease and softness of enunciation rather than impressiveness: multiplying vowels, separating consonants, assimilating differences of sound, and lengthening out its words by successive agglutinations; it illustrates the characteristics of the races by which it is spoken by the soft, sweet, garrulous effeminacy of its utterances."* Within the domain of the Indo-European family, however, there are many degrees of power in this respect. In the highest grade are to be placed the old Aryan, Latin, and old

*Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar, p. 129.
German. In the next Zend, which is a degree weaker than Sanskrit; Greek, which can bear less consonant-clashing than Latin; and Slavonic, which interpolates vowels with greater frequency than its Teutonic neighbour. Weakest of all are the modern Romance languages, and the Indian Prakrits. And, considering the subject chronologically, each stage of every language is, as a rule, less capable of elaborate articulation than that which preceded it. And this brings us back to our immediate subject: just as the Prakrits effeminately soften or omit single consonants from Sanskrit words, so, in the case of compound consonants, they have recourse to several devices for avoiding the effort of uttering them. Here again, however, the modern Indian languages are stronger than the Prakrits, in many cases exhibiting a greater power of consonantal articulation, though always weaker than the original Sanskrit. In modern Tadbhavas indeed, in which no trace of Prakrit influence is to be expected, the amount of softening or weakening is not very great, not more so than in modern English as compared with the English of a thousand years ago. Take for instance a passage from King Alfred's translation of Gregory's Pastoral:1 "Ne secal he noht unalyfede don, an that thotte otre menn unalyfede doth he secal wepan swa swæ his agne scylde, hitra nutrymnesse he secal throwian on his heortan, and thus godes his nihastena he secal fagenian swæ swæ his agnes." This would run in modern English thus: "Nor shall he nought unawled (unlawful) do, and that that (that which) other men unawled do, he shall weep so so (as) his own guilt (Germ. schuld, Dan. skyld, our guilt for guilt), their untrimness (infirmity) he shall dree in his heart (sympathize with), and of the good of his next (neighbour) he shall fain (rejoice) so so (as) of his own." The words in parenthesis are the modern way of expressing the word which they follow, which is the etymological equivalent of the old English. Now the modern

1 P. 60, ed. Sweet, Early English Text Society, 1871.
Tadbhavas in the Indian languages differ very little more from Sanskrit, and sometimes not so much as 'unallowed' from 'unanalyzed,' 'dree' from 'throwian,' 'next' from 'nihasta,' or 'fain' from 'fagenian.' It must be remembered that the earliest of modern Tadbhavas, dating from the wane of Buddhism, are about contemporaneous with Alfred, while early Tadbhavas are of course far more ancient. It is necessary to bear this in mind, because some writers have asserted that the modern Indian languages have deviated far more widely from their primitive type than the European languages, and have argued from thence that the former are now more hopelessly corrupted and confused than the former. It may be replied that the rate at which development has proceeded seems to be the same in both cases, and that climatic influences, while they determine the direction of that development, do not accelerate it. When we find an Indian word much more extensively changed than we can produce a parallel for in European languages, the reason is generally to be found in the fact that the process has been going on for a much longer time in India than in Europe. Certain it is that some of the Prakrits exhibit at times extreme forms of corruption, but reasons have been given for doubting whether those Prakrits were ever spoken; and from the example of the Bhāgavati, we may conjecture that when more texts come to light, they will confirm what is now only a suspicion, that in the two leading points of hiatus and assimilation the real spoken languages of those times did not go so far as the literature would make us believe. The hiatus caused by the elision of single consonants is an attempt to reduce the labour of speaking, and quite parallel to it is the process of assimilation, which will now be explained, both processes being exemplifications of the fact that as a rule modern articulation is simpler and less harsh than ancient, and that especially in the case of consonants, whether compound or single, there is a tendency to reduce their number and simplify their enunciation
running through all the languages of the Indo-Germanic family.

§ 73. For the purpose of expressing the combination of two consonants without the intervention of a vowel, as in कत्, पत्, मत्, the term "nexus" is employed. Three kinds of nexus may conveniently be distinguished:

1. The strong nexus, composed of strong letters only, as क, स, ज, झ, छ, च.

2. The mixed nexus, composed of a strong and a weak letter, as च, च्छ, छ, छ्च.

3. The weak nexus, composed of weak letters only, as घ, ङ, ख, ख़, घ, घ़.

By strong letters are meant the first four letters of the five vargas:

क, ख, ग, घ.
च, छ, च, छ.
ट, ठ, ड, ढ.
न, च, ढ, घ.
प, फ, ब, भ.

By weak letters are meant the nasals ड, ढ, ठ, ठ़, य; sibilants श, श़, श़, श़़; semivowels छ, छ़, ख, ख़; and ह. The combinations च and छ, so often treated as single letters, I include under the mixed nexus.

The laws of these three kinds of nexus are briefly as follows:

1. In the strong nexus the Prakrits assimilate the first letter to the last, and the modern languages, except Panjabi and Sindhi, reject the first of the two letters and in general lengthen the preceding vowel.

2. Where the second member of the nexus is an aspirate, Prakrit changes the first member into the corresponding unaspirated letter.
(3) Where the nexus is followed by a long or heavy syllable, the modern languages do not always make the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

(2.) In the mixed nexus the weak letter, whether preceding or following the strong letter, is in the Prakrits assimilated to it; and in the moderns one of the two letters is rejected, with the usual compensatory lengthening of the vowel.

(a) When the weak letter is a nasal and precedes the strong letter, it is changed to anuśāraṇa; in Prakrit without, and generally in the moderns with, compensatory lengthening of the vowel.

(3.) In the weak nexus three processes take place:

(a) When the two letters are of unequal strength, the weaker is assimilated, as in the mixed nexus.

(β) When they are of equal or nearly equal strength, they are divided from one another by the insertion of a vowel; or,

(γ) They are combined into a third and entirely different consonant.

A table of the relative strength of the weak letters will be found in § 92.

Certain and accurate laws for all these three processes can hardly be expected at the present initiatory stage of the inquiry, but the examples to be hereafter given will fairly substantiate the tentative rules now laid down.

The whole of this part of the development of the modern languages seems purely Aryan, and may be paralleled by corresponding changes in the other languages of the family, as, for instance, the modern Romance languages of Southern Europe. As none of the non-Aryan families in India are prone to the use of compound consonants, their influence can hardly be looked for in this branch of the inquiry. It is, however, held by some writers, who are never easy unless they can drag in some hint of non-Aryan influence to account for
changes which require no such explanation, that the weakness of Dravidian enunciation, which forbids the use of any complex accumulation of consonants, is parallel to the weakness which led the Prakrits to assimilate $kt$ into $tt$. As, however, the Italians do precisely the same, it is not evident why non-Aryan intervention should be suggested. There is a process in Prakrit, carried on into the moderns, which certainly does resemble Dravidian customs, namely, that of splitting up a nexus by the insertion of a vowel; when the custom is discussed it will be seen how far this supposition is true; at any rate it has become of late years quite a nuisance, this perpetual suggestion of non-Aryans here, there, and everywhere; one will soon have to believe that the Aryans did not know how to speak at all till the Dravidians taught them the use of their tongues, and that the Vedas are a mangled copy of some ancient Tamil liturgy!

§ 74. The Strong Nexus.—This form of nexus is not so common as the others. The number of groups of two letters each, which can be formed by combinations of twenty letters, is in itself small, and is further in practice limited by the euphonic laws, which forbid the union of a media with a tenuis, and the placing of an aspirate as the first member of the nexus. Some organs, also, are incapable of combination with others; and of other combinations which would be euphonically permissible, the Sanskrit language affords no examples. The actual instances, therefore, of the strong nexus are comparatively few.¹

Vararuchi’s way of handling this process is rather extraordinary. He considers that of two consonants in a nexus the

¹ Portions of this section on the strong nexus appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. v. p. 149. Having, however, been led by further research to modify some of the views which I expressed in that article (written in 1868), I have had to remodel a great part of it, so that the actual reprint includes very little more than the examples.
first is elided, and the second doubled. He also omits all mention of च, छ, ट, and ठ. In spite, however, of his uncritical way of putting it, it is clear that he means to lay down the same law as that given above. च he confuses with छ, which being a weak letter would, in any case, whether preceding or following, be assimilated to the other member of the nexus. This is clear from his examples. Thus, Skr. लुब्धका luddhaka=P. लुब्धका luddhao, and Skr. पक्का pakkha=P. पक्का pikkam; Skr. लुब्ध luddha=P. लुब्ध luddho.—Var. iii. 61.

As to ट, it so seldom occurs as the first member of a nexus (except in combinations where थ “six,” constr. पट forms the first element), that Vararuchi probably thought it useless to mention it. Similarly I am not aware of any cases where the palatals form the first member of a nexus. By Sandhi they would migrate into gutturals in composition; e.g. चर्च carch+ डोषिन doṣin=लडोषिन lardoṣin, बाँध vadh+ य य u=वाविय vaviya. So that probably no instances exist of palatals as initials in a nexus. Vararuchi’s examples are: मल मलन, मिक्को मिक्को, मृण मृण, मिष्या मिष्या, प्यो प्यो, मो मो, उपय मृण, उपय मृण, etc.

Lassen (p. 239) repeats Vararuchi for the most part, but shows some consciousness of the difference between a strong and a weak nexus. He gives (p. 235) five classes of nexus, among which is No. II., “Complexus consonantium quaternarum ordinatarum,” which corresponds to my “strong nexus.” His list of examples is different from Vararuchi’s, but does not add anything to the general rule already obtained from the Indian author.

Hoefer, de dialecto Prakritā, p. 90, § 73b, gives a list of words in which the Sanskrit form of the nexus is retained in Prakrit, but this list has no value, as it rests upon incorrect readings. The principal instance is समिस्कृतम in Vikramorvasī (110, 2, Calcutta edition), which Lassen concludes to have arisen “ob negligentiam editorum,” or, perhaps, rather from
the proclivity of the scribe towards Sanskrit forms, a fertile source of bad readings in the plays. We should undoubtedly read समिक्ष. Hoefer’s work does not appear to be one of much value.

If now we turn to Pali and the Prakrit of the Jain writings, we find the same principle carried out. Instances from the Dhammapadām and Bhāgavatī are, पूर्णां = पूणविर, बाह्य = विर, पुष्प = पुष्पल (or in Bhāg, पोष्पल), सत्य = सत, सत्वधिक = सत्वधिक, कुल = कुल (कुल is probably for कुम्भ, hence the aspirate).

Pali seems to have the best claim to be considered as pure Magadhi, and in the Mahawasā, one of the chief works in that language, we find the same rule, e.g. बहु = बना, पाम = पन, चु = चु. Numerous instances may be collected from every page of the Mahawasā, or any other Pali work. The rule is apparently absolute and without exception, so much so, that any deviations from it may at once be set down as errors of copyists.

There seems to be no good ground for supposing that the last member of a strong nexus is ever assimilated to the first. The examples given by Hoefer rest chiefly on incorrect readings, as shown by Lassen, and no such proceeding can be discovered in any of those works of which original MSS. are available.

In the modern languages a good many of the examples given by Vararuchi occur:

बहु khaḍga, “a sword,” Pr. khaṇḍa, Var. H. 1st, परम, Chand, Prith. 15, 24, चरणको परम चंद्र हृद्ये ने “He attacked, raising sword in hand”; 2nd, खास (but only used for the horn of the rhinoceros, for which also खड is used); 3rd, खड (khaḍa); 4th, खड (khaḍa), M. 1st, खड (rare); 2nd, खड़ि; 3rd, खड़िक प. street, S. खड़ि; O. खड़ि, R. खड़ि, O. खड़ि, deriv. बहुच्छर “swordman.”

1. The forms बहु and the like are probably connected with बहु. We cannot consider them as derived from बहु.
CHANGES OF COMPOUND CONSONANTS.

"a sort of pulse" (Phalèoles muògo), Pr. मुग, Var. बू... H. मू. M. मू (also as a Tatsama मू, but rare). S. मू (mão), O. मू (mòg), G. deest, P. मू or मू, B. मू (mòg).


मूगर mágara, "hammer," Pr. मूगरे. This word is used in two senses in the modern languages. (a) Late Tadbhava, = an athlete's club for exercising the muscles. H. मूगर (मूगर), M. मूगर, S. deest, G. मूगर, O. and B. मूगर and मूगर, P. मूगर. (β) Early Tadbhava, = a washerman's mallet for beating clothes. H. मूगरा and मूगरा, M. मूगरा और, and और, S. मूगर, G. मूगर and और.

The latter form is clearly the older of the two.


कुघ kuhja, "crookbacked," Pr. कुघो and कुघो. H. 1st, कुघा ; 2nd, कुघा (kuhā, commonest form), M. कुघा (in the Widi dialect, कुघा). G. कुघा (both in M. and G. कुघा is "the small," i.e. bumphack), S. कुघा, P. कुघा and पुपा, O. कुघा, B. कुघ, कुघ, and कुघ.

मूगर muágara, "foolish," Pr. मूगर. मूग occurs in M. and B., but in the others the form in use is मू, from the Skr. मू, which is the other form of the p.part, of मू.


सिकबी "beeswax," also generally any soft wet substance. Pr. सिकबी, H. सीठ "indigo refuse," but सीठ "boiled rice," M. सीठ "boiled rice," P. वेट, बेट "expressed sugar-cane."

1 Erroneously in all the dictionaries as a kidney-bean, which it in no way resembles; it is a sort of millet.
The class of words containing the nexus शत is rather numerous, but does not present many interesting features; a few examples follow:


मूला muktā, "a pearl," Pr. मुक्ता, H. मोक्ता, M. मोक्ता, G. मोक्ता, B. and O. मोक्ता, B. also मूला, मूक्तिक्षा, and मृति, S. मोक्ता, P. id.

रात rakta, "red," Pr. रत्सो, H. राता, M. id., when it means "red," but रात when meaning "blood," S. रतो, G. रातु, P. रतत, O. and B. रत in both senses.

In the above examples the duplicate consonant of Prakrit is retained in P. The lengthening of the vowel with rejection of one consonant occurs nearly always in the rest. S, though it writes only one consonant, pronounces two, as P. does; this accounts for the short vowel being retained.

The Sanskrit words शक्ति, चक्ति, पक्ति, शिक्ति, युक्ति, पक्ति, चक्ति, occur as Tatsamas in nearly all the languages, but with slight modifications in some. They do not, however, offer much that is noteworthy.

§ 75. The most common and most varied exemplification of this kind of nexus is to be found in the word saptan, "seven," and its numerous derivatives. The whole of them are given here in full as a good example of the harmony of the whole seven languages, a harmony all the more striking on account of the slight local peculiarities, "not like in like, but like in difference."

सप्तन saptan, (oxytone),1 "seven," Pr. सत्री, H. सात, M. and G. सात, B. and O. सात (pronounced शट्टे), S. सत, P. सत, B. and M. also Tatsama, but rarely used.

1 But see Dopp, Vpl. Acc. System, p. 48, § 29; the modern languages appear to have treated it as paroxytone.
CHANGES OF COMPOUND CONSONANTS.

सप्तमि saptama (oxytone), "seventh," Pr. सतम्, H. 1st, सम् (Chand, Prith. 1, 5); 2nd, सातमि (Braj); 3rd, सातवा m., की f. (modern). M. same as H. 3rd., G. सतमि—कौ—मु, S. सति—गी, P. सतवा—की, H. and O. सतमि.

सप्तदश saptadasha (accent on first syll.), "seventeen," Pr. सतरस्. H. सच्छ (satra), modern सतर (saturah), M. स्त्रा or सतरा, G. गतर, S. गतहें, P. सतिर, in respect of the long vowel. It stands quite alone; B. सतिर, O. सतर.

सप्तादश saptadash (id.), "seventeenth," H. सच्छवा or सतरह—की, M. सच्छक—की—वे, G. गतरभौ—कौ—मु, S. सतहें, P. सतियाँ and समा, B. and O. सप्तदश, or B. सति, (same as the number for "seventeen").

सप्तति saptati (oxytone), "seventy," Pr. सप्तति, सतति, इति, H. सतति (Braj), स्तति (mod.), M. सतर, G. सीतिर, S. सति, P. सतर, H. सति, O. सतीर, in which it stands alone (M., B., and O. also indulge in their favourite pedantry by using सप्तति occasionally).


It is next necessary to observe the curious modifications which the word for "seventy" undergoes when it occurs as the last member of a compound word.

"Seventy-one."  
Skr. एकसप्तति: ekasaptatiḥ.
H. एकहत्तर ik + hattar.
M. एकाहत्तर ekā + hattar.
G. एकोहत्तर ik + oter.
S. एकोहत्तर ekā + hatari.
P. एकहत्तर ik + hattar.
B. एकहत्तर ek + aṭtar.
O. एकोहत्तर ek-āṣṭorī.

"Seventy-two."  
बाहत‍र bahatter, and so on.
बाहत‍र bāhatter, etc.
बाहत‍र boheṭe, etc.
बाहत‍र bōhater, etc.
बाहत‍र bōhater, etc.
बाहत‍र bāhātter, etc.
बाहत‍र bāhātter, etc.
बाहत‍र bōṣṭori, etc.
Also the still greater transformations of "seven," when it is the first member of a compound, e.g.:

"Twenty-seven."

Skr. सप्ताविंशति: saptaviṃśatiḥ
H. सप्ताईि sattāī.  
M. सतावेशि sattāveśa.
G. शतावेशि śatāveśa.
S. सतावीहि satāvīhī.
P. सताईि satāī.
B. सताईशि satāśi.
O. सताईशि satāśiḥ (satāśiḥ).

"Thirty-seven."

सप्तत्रि: saptatriṃ.  
सताविंशति: saptaviṃśatiḥ.
H. सतावेशि sattāveśa.
M. सतावेशि sattāveśa.
G. सतावेशि sattāveśa.
S. सतावीहि satāvīhī.
P. सतावि satāī.
B. सतावि satāi.
O. सतावि satāiḥ.

"Forty-seven."

सप्तचत्ते saptachatūṭiḥ.
H. सप्ताचत्ते saptāchattē.
M. सप्ताचत्ते saptāchattē.
G. सप्ताचत्ते saptāchattē.
S. सप्ताचत्ते saptāchattē.
P. सप्ताचत्ते saptāchattē.
B. सप्ताचत्ते saptāchattē.
O. सप्ताचत्ते saptāchattē.

"Fifty-seven."

सप्तपाँचभानति: saptapancabhāntiḥ.
H. सप्तपाँचभानति: saptapancabhāntiḥ.
M. सप्तपाँचभानति: saptapancabhāntiḥ.
G. सप्तपाँचभानति: saptapancabhāntiḥ.
S. सप्तपाँचभानति: saptapancabhāntiḥ.
P. सप्तपाँचभानति: saptapancabhāntiḥ.
B. सप्तपाँचभानति: saptapancabhāntiḥ.
O. सप्तपाँचभानति: saptapancabhāntiḥ.

"Sixty-seven."

सप्तपाँचशाहिषि: saptapānacāhāṣṭiḥ.
H. सप्तपांचशाहिषि: saptapānacāhāṣṭiḥ.
M. सप्तपांचशाहिषि: saptapānacāhāṣṭiḥ.
G. सप्तपांचशाहिषि: saptapānacāhāṣṭiḥ.
S. सप्तपांचशाहिषि: saptapānacāhāṣṭiḥ.
P. सप्तपांचशाहिषि: saptapānacāhāṣṭiḥ.
B. सप्तपांचशाहिषि: saptapānacāhāṣṭiḥ.
O. सप्तपांचशाहिषि: saptapānacāhāṣṭiḥ.

"Seventy-seven."

सप्तत्रि: saptatriṃ.
H. सप्तत्रि: saptatriṃ.
M. सप्तत्रि: saptatriṃ.
G. सप्तत्रि: saptatriṃ.
S. सप्तत्रि: saptatriṃ.
P. सप्तत्रि: saptatriṃ.
B. सप्तत्रि: saptatriṃ.
O. सप्तत्रि: saptatriṃ.

1 Bengalis and Oriyas pronounce the स as स, so that sāṭhē would be perhaps a better transliteration, and so throughout the series.
2 Or सायतास्वि: sāyataśmaṃ.
"Sixty-seven."
S. सतत्रि satatī.
P. सत्तान satān.
B. सत्तधि satāḍhi.
O. सत्तृति satāṛti.

"Seventy-seven."
S. सतुत्ति satuttī.
P. सतउत satuttar.
B. सतष्टि satṣṭar.
O. सतषोर satustomi.

"Eighty-seven."
Skr. सतती सतती samptāḍṭā.
H. सतास सतास satas.
M. सतामाशि satāmāśī.
G. सतानि satāni.
S. सतानि satāni.
P. सतानि satāni.
B. सतानि satāni.
O. सतानि satāni.

"Ninety-seven."
S. सतानवति satanavati.
H. सतानवन satanavan.
M. सतावगव satāvagav.
G. सतानव satānav.
S. सतानव satānav.
P. सतानव satānav.
B. सतानव satānav.
O. सतानव satānav.

The series of "seven" and its derivatives belongs to the
class of early Tadbhavas, in so far as it has everywhere lost its
first member प. This is only natural; a numeral being, next
to a pronoun, the most commonly used description of word, and
hence not to be changed by authoritative interference, such as I
have assumed in the case of modern Tadbhavas.

The variations may thus be analyzed:—

सति satī, in the words "seventy," "seventieth."
सति satī, in the words "seven," "seventh."
सति satī, in the words "twenty-seven," "fifty-seven," "eighty-seven,"
"ninety-seven."
सति satī, in the words "thirty-seven," "forty-seven."
सति satī, in the words "seventeen," "sixty-seven," "seventy-seven."

And in Gujarati साड, सूढ, सढ, सीत. In M. सच, सछ;
S. सती.
Of these, सत्तू is simply the assimilated form of the Prakrit period, which in the compounds modulates into सत्तर, a form which is found even in Prakrit. This word is noticeable as the solitary instance in Hindi of a change of the initial स into ह, though in Panjabi the change is so common as to be regular (see Chapter III. § 66).

सत्तू is the regular form of the early Tadbhava class, like भात and others. In सत्तू we have rather a curious phenomenon which requires fuller analysis; the words are सत्ताईस, सत्तावन, सत्ताथि, सत्तानवे, etc. In Prakrit we do not uniformly find the long द, e.g. sattarikatuno, “twenty-seventh,” but sattanare, “ninety-seven.” But there is a remarkable uniformity in all the seven modern languages. We find the long द in all of them for “twenty-seven”; in all but P. and S. for “fifty-seven”; in all for “eighty-seven,” and “ninety-seven.”

Judging at first from सत्ताईस only, and the Hindi chiefly, I thought this abnormal long द arose from the व of विश्वाति amalgamating with the inherent द of सत्तू, first from सौ (सप्तावस्ति) into आ (सत्ताईस), and thus, according to the usual Hindi analogy, into द. But this suggestion broke down in two ways: 1st, Because the Marathi has both the long द and the व in सत्तावैस; so also have the Sindhi and Gujarati: and 2nd, Because we have the long द in words where there existed originally no व to coalesce with it into आ.

The opinion I am at present most inclined to is that the presence of the long द is due to the accent of the Sanskrit. सप्ताव is undoubtedly oxytone, and though I have not been able to find in the dictionaries or other published works any instance in which the accent of saptavinsati is given, yet I have no reason to doubt that, as in Greek, the accent remains in the compound word just as it stood on each member when separate. In Greek the rule which forbids us to place an accent further back than the ante-penultima obscures the analogy; but in Sanskrit we have no such restriction, and saptavinsati, with the
minor accent on the penultima, and the major on the pre-ante-penultima, is quite possible. Assuming this, and seeing that the two last syllables ati have disappeared, the word would fall into the form of a paroxytone, and the accent on the syllable ta being the only one left, would assume such prominence as to insure its remaining long throughout the ages.

Next come the curious form ती, only found in “thirty-seven” and “forty-seven.” In these two sets of numbers we find that all the odd numbers except the first take this form in aia, thus:

33 तीती सतीती.
35 तैती सपन्ती.
37 तैती समीर.
43 तैताती सतातीली.
45 तैताती सपाटीली.
47 तैताती समाटीली.

The other languages offer only faint indications of similarity. P. has ढी, B. ढी, O. संतातिम, but none of the others. I think it has arisen from a sort of rhyming propensity sometimes observable in Hindi. From नी or नि the transition to नी was easy, the insertion of the nasal in season and out of season being a weakness of that language. In the word for “thirty-five” they had at first puñcāntiṃ at, which soon got altered into puñcāta, but here they had a strong nexus, स + न. The न therefore dropped out, and the resulting double न was reduced to a single, and the preceding vowel compensatorily lengthened, so that the form पातीस arose; to make which rhyme with the word for “thirty-three” would be irresistible. So also the “thirty-seven,” which was probably सातीस, was dragged into the scheme, and became तैतीस.

The form सति is found in “seventeen,” “sixty-seven,” “seventy-seven.” In “sixty-seven” the word was originally सप्ताश्वाति, with two accents close to one another, the latter of which, so to speak, kills the former, so that when by the usual Prakrit process the first member is modified into सति, the second अ of the first being atonic, falls out; and though the first त also
falls, yet, as it is in the beginning of a word with a heavy termination, no compensatory lengthening can take place.

In "seventy-seven" we ought to have सता, and probably such a form did once exist, but was crushed into sati by the weight of the double न of hattar so close after it. Only Marathi retains a form satyāhattar. Similarly the form for "seventeen" was originally sattarākh, and is so still in Panjabi; perhaps some obscure idea of its similarity in sound to sattar, "seventy," may have operated in the minds of the people to shorten it.

The G. forms with ट are to be accounted for by the already described proclivity of dentals to turn into cerebals; but why this tendency should exhibit itself in this particular instance it is difficult to say; the only thing at all cognate to it is the र in H. सरसत, which would be more correctly written सरसङ्ग; in this place it is easy to see that the cerebral arises from the influence of the ड in गड़. G. has accordingly सङ्गट. What makes the matter more obscure is that the cerebral letter occurs precisely in those two series where we should least expect it, namely, in those which begin with a dental, and where, accordingly, it would be natural that the त of सत should assimilate itself to the following homogeneous consonant. It must be remembered that Gujarati has emerged from the position of a Hindi dialect closely akin to Marwari, and that it still retains traces of its rustic origin in the sometimes inexplicable irregularity of its forms.

§ 76. Another rich class of examples of this nexus is formed by the words to which the preposition दृ or दत is prefixed. This word having a consonantal termination coalesces into a nexus with the first consonant of the word following, giving rise to such forms as the following:

Skr. दुर्गार, "spitting," H. दुगाल, P. दुगालहुष्ट, S. दुग्धारु, G. दुगाल and दीগाल, B. दुम, O. Tatsama.
Skr. उग्रम "going up," H. उग्र (from ग्रीष्म), G. उग्र, P. उग्रस्या and उग्रस्या. 8. उग्र.


Skr. उग्राण "unloading," H. उग्राण, P. id. and उग्राणा, 8. उग्राण, म. उग्राणि, B. उग्राण, O. id.

Skr. उग्र "arising," H. उग्रा, and so in all.

The noticeable point in this class of words is that, though they have universally rejected the double consonant which arose out of the assimilation of the first member of the nexus to the last, they have nevertheless not lengthened the preceding consonant. Thus, उग्र ार would become in Prakrit उग्रार, and by rule should be in H. उग्रार. The reason of the absence of the usual compensatory lengthening is that in verbal nouns of the forms given above the accent rests on the syllable of the root; so in भारान, ज्ञानन, etc., it would be on the first syllable, and consequently, when preceded by a preposition, the vowel thereof must needs be short. Hindi is excessively sensitive on this subject: vowels are shortened when followed by long or accented syllables, or by such as contain a heavy mass of consonants, or they are lengthened when conditions the reverse of those occur. As a rule, Hindi, when rejecting one of two assimilated consonants, always, if it can, lengthens the preceding vowel. If it does not, we may be sure there is some cause for its not doing so; and if this cause cannot be found in a succeeding long vowel or a heavy termination, it will probably be discovered in the accent.

The other languages follow to a certain extent the same course as Hindi, Bengali, and Oriya; especially the former leaning towards long vowels, and Panjabi and Sindhi markedly towards short ones.

§ 77. The Mixed Nexus.—This nexus differs from the strong
nexus in this important particular—that whereas in the latter the first consonant is always assimilated to the last, in the former the weaker consonant of the two, whatever its position in the nexus, is assimilated. It is singular that the letters which I have classed as weak, and which are really weak when they occur in a nexus, should, as shown in the last chapter, be, when standing alone, more tenacious of existence, and less liable to elision than the strong letters. The cause of this apparent anomaly has been suggested as lying in their comparative softness, which renders them less liable to be omitted from euphonic causes, as they do not stop the liquid flow of Prakrit words by any harsh or decided check, like the strong letters; and this very softness renders them more liable to be passed over or treated as merely strengthening the strong letter with which they are combined, just as has been pointed out in the case of modern Bengali pronunciation in Chap. I., § 26.

This nexus must be treated in detachments, because each of the subdivisions which it contains, though following in its principal features the general law laid down above, yet exhibits certain special peculiarities of its own, arising in the main from organic properties, such as the aspiration which lies hid in the sibilants, and the cerebral nature of the semivowel र. Such also are the volatile nature of the dentals and the extreme tenacity of palatals and nasals.

It is interesting also to notice that all these letters when in a nexus exhibit the same organic tendencies as when alone: the peculiarities which I have mentioned above will strike the reader as being the same as those which he has just noticed in Chapter III. Thus, again, we get harmony out of apparent confusion, and grasp laws out of the midst of a seeming chaos.

§ 78. Nasals in a Mixed Nexus.—(a) When the nasal is the first member of a nexus it is generally elided, but the second
letter is not doubled, as in a strong nexus. Instead, anusvāra is inserted in the place of the lost nasal. It might at first appear that this substitution of anusvāra for the organic nasal was a mere compendium scripture—a simpler form of writing introduced to avoid the necessity of using the clumsy and intricate Sanskrit letters, such as ल, ठ, ड, ढ, etc., and it might further be urged in support of this view that as several of the languages have abandoned the characters र, च, ण: the only course open to them was to use the nasal dot. But this supposition is rendered untenable by several considerations. In the first place, as will be seen from the examples, the substitution of anusvāra for the nasals of the several organs is almost always accompanied by lengthening of the preceding vowel, which is indicative of compensation for some loss. In B. and O., where the Sanskrit method of writing with the compound consonant is still retained, there are often found two forms side by side,—the learned or Tatsama form with the compound character, preceded by a short vowel, and the vulgar or Tadbhava form with the single strong consonant, preceded by anusvāra and a long vowel. Secondly, this anusvāra is in most languages pronounced as a distinct annuṣṭika or nose-intonation, as in the French bon, son; this is peculiarly the case in B. and O., where both forms are in existence side by side. And, thirdly, in many cases the insertion of the anusvāra is purely optional, which would not be the case were it another way of writing the nasal; nay, in some instances it is entirely omitted.

Examples:

ऋ.


In Marathi may be found very many exemplifications of the same process; thus, in words compounded with सम: संक्ष, सांगू, सांच, सांड, सांध, सांपूर्ण, संग्राम, संघर, for Skr. सहु, सहु, सहव, सहव, सहव, सहव, सहव, सहव, सहव, सहव; in all of which the change from the organic nasal to the anuswara is accompanied by a compensatory long vowel. It cannot be said that we have here an instance of the Prakrit tendency to preserve the original quantity of the Sanskrit syllable. It is true that in Prakrit the syllable might have its vowel lengthened, and probably would have, if to the ears of those who spoke Prakrit it should appear that the removal of one of two consonants following a vowel was likely to render the syllable a short one, seeing that having a short vowel it had previously been long only by position. But this is not the case here, as is evident from the fact that Prakrit does not lengthen the vowel,
but keeps it short, as in चंद्र, खंपु; and, moreover, the modern languages are not sensitive about keeping the exact quantity of Sanskrit words, as has been shown in Chap. II., § 40.

It is not easy to trace the history of this process; the early Hindi writers belonged to the western portion of the Hindi area, and Chand especially, being a native of Lahore, is peculiarly western in his pronunciation. In these old writers, therefore, there is a strong tendency to approximate to the Panjabi habit of retaining the short vowel. As there are no extant specimens of the speech of the eastern portion of Hindustan, or of Bengal, at that period, we can only guess from the general analogy of the languages that they, at least, used the long vowel.

In the case of ब्रज it is not, as at first sight might appear, the ब which has dropped out in बांग्ल, बांग, and ब्रज, but the व, after absorbing the म, has itself been softened into म; this is shown by the transitional forms बांग्लु and बांग. This is just the reverse of the process explained in Chap. III., § 66, where म is resolved into ब; here ब, preceded by anuswāra, has passed into म. It is only one more instance of how cognate processes work backwards and forwards in these languages.

The word कुमार “a potter” is peculiar. It is in Pr. कुमारार, H. कुमार, P. id., O. कुमार and कमार, B. कुमार, and in vulgar Bengali they say कुमर. Prakrit follows the general rule, and in this it is followed by the western languages M., G., and S., which all have कुमार. H. goes a step further, and rejecting the organic portion of the म, according to rule (§ 68), retains only ह; the anuswāra is then written as म. This is a solitary instance, and may be explained by the existence of the Tatesama कुम “a pot”; there would naturally be a desire to assimilate the two words, which would lead to the retention of the म, because if written as anuswāra it would sound kumghār, and not kumhār, by which all resemblance would be lost.
In कार, the name of a caste in Bihar whose profession is to carry palanqueens, and whose name is derived from सङ्खार, the double च, together with the anuswara, has disappeared, leaving only the च, without any nasal at all. It is natural that such words as these, being in daily and hourly use in the mouths of the people of the lowest classes, should undergo abrasions and contractions of the extremest and most abnormal character.

A striking exception to the general rule is afforded by a small class of words in Sindhi derived from Sanskrit words having चः:

Skr. चणा “widow,” S. चन.
Skr. लउ “penis,” S. लू, P. लम.
Skr. चण “bull,” S. सानु.
Skr. चण “piece,” S. चन, Old H. चणा (written चणा), B. चानि.
Skr. चण “cake,” S. चनु.

On the analogy of these words, S. चनो “a sword,” would be derivable from Skr. चण, and not from चन (see § 74). In all these words the cerebral letter has disappeared, and the nasal has been dentalized. There are, as noted, a few parallel instances in other languages, though these words follow in the main the general rule, e.g.—

Skr. चण, H. राँ, pronounced Rār, vulgarly spelt Rār, and by our countrymen sounded sometimes so as to rhyme with “roar,” “soar”; at others so as to rhyme with “hour,” “sour” (!).
Skr. चण, H. साव (Sāv).

Punjabi has a little group of words somewhat analogous to the Sindhi list, in which it treats च by dropping the organic portion of the च and doubling the च; thus, from

Skr. चणकार, H. चणरा and चणीयारा, P. has चणरा anāhera.
Skr. चण “a hole,” H. चंघ, P. चह.
Skr. संघ “shoulder,” H. जङ्घा, P. कङ्घ.
Skr. वच्चन “blinding,” H. वांघना, P. वङ्घना.

Putting together this list, the Sindhi list in ढ, and such Hindi words as अड्डहार, जावून, etc., there results a tolerably strong body of words which do not follow the rule which has been taken as the general one. These words are too numerous to be traced as mere exceptions, and their existence must be accounted for by the peculiar tenacity of the nasal, which, as we have frequently seen before, is a great favourite with the people, and is more often inserted where it has no business than elided where it ought to be so according to rule.

(3) When the nasal is the last member of a nexus, it is regularly assimilated to the preceding letter, and in the moderns (except P. and S.) one of the two letters is elided with or without, but more often with, the compensatory vowel lengthening.

Examples:

Skr. अर्जि “fire,” Pr. अष्ट्रि, H. अग्ग, M., G., id., P. अरग्ग, S. अग्ग—
B. अग्ग, and O. anomalously अघ्ग.
Skr. नाप “attached,” Pr. नग्गो, H. नग्ग, नाम, and नग, P. नग, M. नाम, and so in the rest.
Skr. तोष “pungent,” Pr. तिष्ठत, H. तौष्ठा, and so in all, but P., S., and G. have the short vowel.

It is not correct to suppose in the case of नंग, as Trumpp does, that there has been an inversion of the nexus from ग्न to न्ग. The ग्न first becomes गङ्ग, and remains so still in one Marathi form, and in G., and the anuswāra is subsequently inserted for the sake of euphony more than anything else. As there existed a long period in which the word was regularly

1 For our present purpose ढ must be regarded as equivalent to ढ.
spoken *nagga*, it is impossible that there should have remained in the public mind any consciousness of the lost nasal, and consequently, not knowing of its existence, they could not insert it.

Reference may here be made to the remarks in Chap. I. § 30, with regard to the immense interval of time which separates Sanskrit as a spoken language from the modern vernaculars, and it should be remembered that the lower classes of India are not philologists; they are not constantly haunted by the presence of Sanskrit; the great panorama of change and development is not spread out before their eyes as it is before ours, and they are in consequence not led by the clearness of the connexion between the various links of the great chain into forgetting the lapse of ages through which it rolls out its immense length. The word नग, when resuscitated as a Tatsama in modern times, has not changed at all, and stands side by side with the ancient नम, नग, and नान्य, without interfering with them. Bengali in this word exhibits an archaic diminutive, which I have written in Devanagari characters नंग, but this does not give the full force of the B. character न, which is a very strong nasal *ng*. In its own letters the word is written नंग, and perhaps a more accurate transliteration into Nagari would be नंग, although this even is hardly quite satisfactory.

The compensatory lengthening of the vowel has not been made in H., because Skr. *nānā* is oxytone, and to preserve the accent the last syllable is lengthened, giving *nānā*; where the long vowel following, according to regular practice, forbids the lengthening of the preceding syllable. In नम, which is used as a postposition in the sense of "near," "up to," the excessive frequency of its use has probably resulted in its assuming a shortened form, though here also *laghū* is oxytone, so that the first vowel should be short. P. has the verb *nagama* "to approach," "to pass by," but no argument can be founded on this, as P. seldom lengthens a vowel as compensation.
§ 79. The compound letter चः = च + ः demands separate notice. It most frequently occurs in the verb चा "to know," and its numerous derivatives and compounds. Vararuchi has two rules on this subject. In iii. 5, he prescribes the regular course of assimilating the ः, as in सर्वजो, अंगिन्र, वर्षाण, अन्विताः। The commentator adds that this process is followed in all compounds of ज्ञ, "to know"; but in this he is certainly wrong, as the next illustration shows. In iii. 44, the elision of the ः is enjoined in all words having ज्ञ, and one at least of the instances is taken from the root ज्ञ, — धाः, विषाणिः for यज्ञ, रिज्ञना। Further on (iii. 55) he adduces धाः for सन्यन्त, and directs that the ः shall not be doubled when preceded by the preposition त, as in चाः, चात्ती for ज्ञन, अज्ञात्ता। From his xii. 7, it may be inferred that in the Sauraseni Prakrit, ज्ञ was inverted to च ज्ञ, and examples are given विषो, बृजो for विच च, बृज, while in the next sutra (xii. 8) the above-quoted words सर्वजो, अन्विताः, preserve the ः and reject the ः, becoming धाः, धियाः, अत्र्याः, instead of, as in Maharashtrian, सर्वजो, etc. Lastly, in viii. 23, we are told that this very root चा becomes चाः, as in चाहुः for चानाति "he knows"; this is nothing more than the usual substitution of ः for ः, as in the special tenses in Sanskrit the form चा is substituted for चा, and the ः is merely the conjugational sign of verbs of the क्र class.

In the Saptasatakha the root चा is regularly चाः, and perhaps in one or two instances चा, though this is doubtful. चांत्त becomes चाः, and विषाणिः विषाणिः, आचा आचा, वच अचाः। The same treatment is observable in the Bhagavatī.

There are thus four separate processes in the Prakrits:—

1. The regular and common one of rejecting the ः and doubling the ः.

2. Rejection of ः, change of ः to ः, and doubling it.

1 I deem it unnecessary to put dots or dashes about this ः, as it must be evident that the palatal ः is meant; and dots or dashes are a nuisance alike to printer and reader.
(3.) Single ग after थ.

(4.) Inversion, peculiar to Sauraseni, into ग.

The change in the special tenses of था into गाय comes under I, as it is a rejection of थ and the doubling of ग is precluded on account of its initial position.

In the modern languages considerable diversity of practice occurs. In all but G., S., and M., this letter is regularly pronounced ग, so that आग is sounded आग, आग ग्यान. B. and O. retain the spelling ग, but H. and P. write as they pronounce. M. pronounces ग्य, G. as ज्ञ or ज्ञा.

Examples:—


Skr. राज्य “queen,” Old H. राज्यनी, H. राज्याई. In the rest राज्यी.


It would appear that the pronunciation ग्य is more frequent in Modern Tadbhavas, like ग्याद, and that in earlier times either the Maharashtra rule of rejecting the u was followed, as in Old H. जज्ञ, and in जज्ञासा जज्ञासा, or the Sauraseni practice of rejecting the ज as in जज्ञेण्. So entirely, however, have the Prakrits abandoned their old geographical limits, if they ever had any, that we find Sauraseni characteristics in Marathi, and vice versa. As to the time when, and the reason why, the pronunciation ग्य arose, there is nothing certain to be said. It would seem, however, from a passage in the Ain Akbari that the pronunciation ग्य had not quite died out in those days, for the writer, in mentioning the town of Jajpur, in Orissa (जज्ञु
"city of sacrifice") writes it جمشير jashpur, which, he adds, "they also call جمشير پر jashmapur." This note seems to indicate that the town had begun to be called Jajpur (for I suppose he means to indicate the soft j, almost like a z, of Eastern India, by his ش, but that the older and more correct pronunciation, Jajnapur, was still retained by some. It is curious that the town should have retained the form joj-, while throughout Orissa the letter ṭ is regularly and universally pronounced gy. The transition to this sound must have been in force much earlier in Western India, for Chaud writes रजपी for राघी two centuries and a half before Akbar. The pronunciation probably arose, as Chaud’s word would indicate, from splitting the nasals, from the fact of the nasal being the palatal ṭ, which seems always to have had the sound ny or Spanish n; then followed the regular rejection of ṇ and hardening of the remaining ṭ into ṭ. The whole process, however, is one entirely without a parallel in any of the languages.

§ 80. SIBILANTS IN A MIXED NEXUS.—It has been seen in Chap. III., § 66, that the sibilants when standing alone in a word are affected in two ways; on the one hand they are weakened into the aspirate, while on the other they are thickened into palatales. They exhibit precisely the same tendencies when forming part of a nexus; when they precede the other letter the transition to the aspirate is most frequently met with; when they follow it, that into the palatal.

The first process, in which the sibilant goes into an aspirate, is not always in the moderns accompanied by the usual compensatory lengthening of the vowel, inasmuch as the sibilant has not entirely disappeared, so that there is not that total loss of a letter which would demand compensation. Previous to disappearing, however, the letter which is in combination with the sibilant assimilates, in Prakrit, followed by P. and S., the sibilant to itself, attaching the aspiration to the last member;
thus, थ and ध result in क्ष क्ष, ध in ठ, ठ and ध in प्श.
In the moderns, except P. and S., the double letter is resolved into a single, leaving ठ, ठ, and ध, respectively, but often without compensatory vowel-lengthening. The dentals and cerebrals will be discussed separately.

Weber, in his Prakrit studies, and especially in Bhagavati, p. 386, contends for the existence of a combination क्ख, derived from क्ष and ख. But in spite of the arguments adduced by the learned writer, there is no reason to believe in this method of pronunciation. It has been noticed before that थ is an awkwardly shaped letter, as it closely resembles र्य (राय) on the one hand, and by the addition of a slight horizontal stroke न नम on the other. It is perhaps nothing more than a curious coincidence that in Zend एः क्ख regularly corresponds to Skr. क्ख; but, apart from this, it is probable that the character, which is stated to be common in all the Jain MSS., क्ख, and which so closely resembles र्य (राय) as to have been frequently so read, is nothing more than a simpler method of writing क्ख.
It will be observed that क्ख differs from क only by having a little handle ख on the right side; consequently having already the loop of the क in क्ख, nothing was easier than to attach a handle to it, and thus make a fair representation of क्ख. That Vara-
ruchi, xi. 8, should be read क्साया क्खाह is hardly possible, since this would militate against the analogy of other cases where a sibilant forms the first member of a nexus, and would besides be directly opposed to the custom of the modern languages.
If we read क्साया क्खाह, we should have the regular process about to be explained, though the ordinary reading स्काह is preferable to either, because pointing to an important elucidation of the modern treatment of क्ख, as will be shown in the next section. Hemachandra's rule of substituting the jihva-
mūliya with क, giving perhaps क्ख, seems to be founded on the analogy of forms like त्र क्ख, which, however, are quite foreign to the genius of Prakrit or the moderns. If the sound क्ख
were pronounced in ancient times as it is now, it would seem to be quite out of the question that there should ever have been such a group as *khh*, a combination of sounds which no Indian could ever pronounce. The only foundation for reading this group as *khh* seems to be the position of the Ṛ at the right side, or that side which is read last; but this is no sufficient reason, as inversions of writing are common in the Indian characters. Thus, in Skr., we read ḍṛ as ṛ, not ṛ, and in B. and O., as well as in some of the Dravidian alphabets of Sanskrit origin, ṛ and Ṛ, ni and an, are written before and on both sides of the consonant which they follow; thus, in B. Ṛ, ṛ, ṛ, ṛ, ṛ, are ke, kai, ko, kau, respectively, and even in some Skr. MSS. we find this practice, ṛ standing for ko, and the like. In Western Indian MSS. we frequently find mb written ṛ and ṛ as ṛ, and in Old Hindi MSS., as for instance in Chand, bbb is regularly written ṛ or even ṛ. Especially in manuscripts written with a thick pen, as so many of them are, we find the scribe very hard put to it to get all the elements of a nexus into some sort of manageable combination, and he frequently therefore makes up his group more according to fancy or convenience than with regard to the legitimate sequence of the letters. This seems to have been the case with the group now under discussion, and it is therefore unnecessary to consider it as any exception to the general rule; Weber’s transliteration *khh* being read wherever it occurs as *khh*.

Examples of the general rule:—

\[\text{म + क.}\]

Skr. खड्ड “shoulder,” Pr. खंधः, O. खूंडः, खाँड़, M. खाँड़ा.

\[\text{म + क.}\]

Skr. पृखर “pond,” Pr. पृख्वर, H. पृखर, पृखरेश, M. id., O. पृखर, B. पृखर.
CHANGES OF COMPOUND CONSONANTS.

Skr. गुष्ठ "dry," Pr. सीक, मुक्त, and मुक्त, H. मूषा, P. मुक्त.
M. मुक्त, मुखा, G. मुक्त, S. मुक्त, B. गुष्ठ, O. मुक्ताः.
Skr. गुष्ठ "lump," Pr. मुक्त, M. मोच.

श + व.

Skr. पश्चिम "west," Pr. पश्चिम, H. पश्चिम, G. पश्चिम, O. पश्चिम.
Skr. वीरेश "scorpion," Pr. वीरेश्वर (for विरेश्वर), H. वीरेश्वर, P. वीरेश्वर, S. वीरेश्वर, G. वीरेश्वर, M. वीरेश्वर, B. O. वीरेश्वर.

स + प.

Skr. संघ "touching," Pr. समो, फास, H. फसना, P. फसना, G. फसना, M. फसने.
Skr. संध्व "throbbling," Pr. फड़गां, H. फड़ना, P. फड़ना, M. फड़ने, and so in all.

ष + प.

Skr. पुष "flower," Pr. पुष्क, Old H. पुष्क, H. पुष for पुष.
Skr. वाप "vapour," Pr. वापो, H. वाप, M. वाप, G. वाप, S. वाप;
the form माइ is also in use (sec § 49).

In some cases the aspirate, instead of being combined with
the strong member of the nexus, is written before it, as in पुषः.
Chand has metri pratid पुष्कर for पुष्कर. So also Skr.
विश्रय is H. विश्रय, P. विश्रय, S. विश्रय, Marwari विश्रय, according
to its common practice of softening ्त्र into the palatal or
labial semivowel respectively after vowels of those organs.
Sibilants preceding aspirated consonants, being unable further
to aspirate them, disappear entirely, leaving no sign.
Skr. क्वः "boil," Pr. क्वः (?), H. क्वः, S. क्वः, but in the
rest क्षः.

Thus also the immense collection of derivatives from the root
क्षः "to burst," exhibits universally an initial फ. It may be
interesting to insert here a few of the derivatives of this root
in one or two languages, to show how widely such roots are
applied, and what intricate ramifications they have, and thus
to adduce proof of the excessive copiousness and flexibility of the modern Indian vernaculars, which have unfairly been pronounced by those who do not know them meagre and jejune, and unfit for literary cultivation.

Skr. सङ्ग्र, also सङ, “to burst,” H. पुङ्गल “to burst” (intrans.), पुङ्गल “to break open,” पोङ्गल “to split asunder,” पांडु “to tear,” “break,” पांडु “to be torn,” पाट “division of shares,” पाटक “a gate,” पाट पाना “to tear,” “rend” (as a wild beast), पाल “a ploughshare,” पुङ्ग “odd” (as opposed to “even”), “unmatched,” पुङ्गकर “arrogant,” “overbearing,” पुङ्ग पाना “to burst with fat,” “to be overgrown,” “overworked,” etc., पुङ्गपक “to winnow,” पुङ्गकी “a stain,” पुङ्ग “a public-house,” “gambling-house,” “open house,” पुङ्गपकार “to flutter,” “flap the wings,” पुङ्गपक “to twitch convulsively” (as the muscles in disease), “to throb,” पुङ्गकी “a partition,” पुङ्गिया “a pimple.”

M. पङ्क, पङ्कळ, पङ्कक “free-spoken,” “abusive,” पङ्का, पङ्कारा, पङ्कलू, कळा: पङ्क “a mart,” “any open or public room or place,” पङ्कलू, पङ्ककलू, पङ्क “the hood of a serpent,” पङ्का “a backster”; पङ्क, पङ्कल, पङ्ककत, पङ्कत “arm,” “brach,” “subdivision of a subject,” पङ्क, पङ्कल, पङ्ककत “to tear,” “rend,” पङ्क “a lot,” “quantity,” पङ्कल “to get loose,” “to come undone,” पङ्कत “payment of debts,” or rather “the state of having been paid”; पङ्क “to burst,” पङ्क, पङ्कक, पङ्ककत: पङ्कोले, पङ्कत “worn out,” “broken.”

An equally large, or perhaps even larger, list might be made of derivatives from the root सङ्ग्र, सङ “to tremble,” “oscillate”; these derivatives in general have the sense of turning, returning, as, for instance, the common adverb फङ “again,” and the like. The derivatives of सङ्ग्र, or some of them, have been given in § 59, ex. 15, and more will have to be said about it hereafter.

Sibilants are rarely found at the end of a nexus, except in conjunction with े, ०, and ु. From their nature, being surds,
they can only combine with tennis; and in this situation they migrate into the aspirated tennis, assimilating to themselves in this their altered form the previous letter, thus making.

Examples:

प + म.

Skr. जनप "censare," Pr. जनप. Not now in use.

Skr. जनपस "nymph," Pr. जनप, Old H. जनप, जन्, S. जनप.

The existence of the form जनप shows that the sibilant first migrates of its own accord into ज, and thus a strong nexus arises, in which the first letter, though it remains untouched in S., in other languages is treated just as the first letter in a strong nexus always is, by being subjected to assimilation.

§ 81. The compound letter च is composed of च and च, and requires special notice, as from its very frequent occurrence it has, like च, come to be considered in some of the modern vernaculars a distinct simple letter.

This nexus has two treatments. In the first it, like च, व, and other similar combinations, becomes in Prakrit च, and in the moderns च, preceded by the usual long vowel. In the second it becomes in Prakrit च, and in the modern vernaculars च, also preceded by a long vowel. As, however, the modern languages by no means follow the example of the Prakrit, but in many cases exhibit च, where Prakrit has च (though instances are not found where Prakrit has च, and the moderns च), it will be advisable first to give a table of examples to be analyzed and sorted subsequently.

Examples:


Skr. चाँ "milk," Pr. चाँ, H. चाँ, and so in all.
Skr. दुध् "sugar-cane," Pr. दुधः, H. दृश्, दृश्, B. डूक, O. डूकु.
M. दूध (see Chap. III. § 38).

Skr. चार् "potash," Pr. मार्, H. चार्, and so in all.

Skr. संभित् "fly," Pr. संभित्, H. सानी, P. संक्षी, S. संभित्, G. मान्, M. संभित् and मानी, B. मानी, Kashmiri मान.


Skr. कुञ्ज "belly," Pr. कुङ्जी, H. कोङ्स, P. कुक्त, G. कृक्त, S. कुडङ्गी, M. कुस.

Skr. प्रविष्ठ "south," Pr. प्रविष्ठो, H. प्रवः, in Eastern H, also प्रविष्ठ, P. प्रविष्ठ, S. प्रविष्ठ, Kashmiri प्रवः.

Skr. पञ्च "fortnight," Pr. पञ्च, H. पञ्च, P., G. id., S. पञ्च, B., O. write पञ्च, but sound पक्खी, Kashmiri पङ्खी.

Skr. द्रां "vine," H. द्रां, P. id., S. द्रां, Kashmiri द्रह.

Skr. ध्रुव "a bear," Pr. ध्रुवो, H. ध्रुव, G. id., P. ध्रुव, S. ध्रुव.

M. रोक.


M. चमोऽ.

Skr. चित "earth," Pr. चित्ति, H. चिन्नी, S. चिति.

The question now naturally presents itself for solution, which is the older and more regular of these two processes—that in which च becomes छ, or that in which it becomes ख?

In discussing this point, the first thing to be borne in mind is that, according to the analogy of similar cases where the sibilant forms part of a nexus, it turns into an aspirate when preceding, and into a palatal when following, the other letter. Consequently we should expect that in the nexus व + छ, the sibilant being the last of the two letters would first become छ, and then, as in this condition व + छ is a strong nexus, the छ would assimilate to the छ, forming च्छ.
In the next place,—though Vararuchi (iii. 29) gives the transition into क्क as the regular process, illustrating it by युक्षे—जुक्क्ह, and treats that into क as an exception peculiar to अक्षि and some other words,—yet that worthy's views on questions of philology are frequently hazy, and occasionally even quite wrong. For one instance of a change to ख्ख, he produces twenty of the other process. In the other Prakrit works also, though both forms are in use, the transition to क्क and ख्ख seems to be most frequent, as also in Pali.

As the form क्क would arise more naturally from a nexus, in which the sibilant preceded, we are led to the supposition that in the mouths of the people the harsh and difficult क was frequently inverted into ख्ख, and that the form क्क arose from this inversion. In favour of this supposition there are many arguments.

First, Vararuchi places the transition of क this into क्क in the same सूत्र as ख्ख and ख; ख्खकाख्ख ख्ख (iii. 29), which looks as if all three processes were to a certain extent homogeneous.

Secondly, he distinctly admits the inversion in Magadhi, in the already quoted सूत्र xi. 8, खाश्या खाह, giving as examples श्राकस, दुश्के, from रक्षाधा, दक्षा, the change of भ into भ in this case is only natural, as the former letter, though strictly speaking a cerebral, is euphonically used even in Sanskrit in all positions where a heavy or harsh sibilation is required, भ being reserved for those situations where a light and clean utterance is appropriate, as after the simplest of the vowels a, and when it stands alone; when, however, it follows a heavy vowel, or another consonant, भ is employed. Thus, in the present instance, when removed from the back to the front of the nexus, and preceded by a, the sibilation takes the form of भ; had it been preceded by some other vowel, the भ would have remained, as in भुष्य, भुष्य.

Thirdly, the natives of India are very fond of inversions, and
particularly of this one, inasmuch as *ak* and *ах* are much easier to pronounce than *kah*; and though Vararuchi confines this practice to Magadhi, yet the various Prakrit dialects have so long left their ancient geographical limits, and spread themselves over the country, that it is not surprising to find a peculiarity, which in his time was confined to Bihar, now prevalent all over northern India.

Fourthly, the Kashmiri, of which I have secured a few instances, is a language which, from its early separation from its conquerors, and its long isolation, has preserved archaic forms with great precision; and it is noticeable that in Kashmiri the change is always into *chh*. Marathi also, which in many respects has retained ancient forms with greater fidelity than Hindi and those languages which arose from it, regularly exhibits झ or झ, which, as I have explained in Chap. III. § 58, is a softening of झ.

Fifthly, the form झ occurs much more frequently at the beginning of a word in Hindi and its allied group; and as this is precisely the position in which the form *kah* would be most difficult to pronounce, it is just in this case that the inversion might be expected to be most frequent.

The accent also affords a means of judging of the comparative antiquity of the two forms; it is found that the majority of words in which the modern languages exhibit झ in opposition to a Pr. form in झ, have not preserved the Sanskrit accent. Thus *ksh̄r̄d̄, ṭk̄h̄, ksh̄r̄d̄, and ksh̄k̄h̄ are oxytones, and if they were early Tadbhavas would have retained the accentuated vowel, which they have not done in the majority of instances. The same is the case with ksh̄t̄r̄.

From a consideration of the above arguments, the conclusion seems inevitable—that the transition into झ is the older and more regular process of the two,—that the change into झ rests on an inversion of the two members of the nexus,—and that although it is found in Prakrit times, it is even there the less
original and less universal process. The comparative frequency of its occurrence in Pali and the Jain texts rests on the change, which is admitted even from early times to have been characteristic of Magadhi, from व + म into म + व; that is to say, the above-named popular habit of inversion.

§ 82. When combined with dentals or cerebrals, the sibilants present some features peculiar to this combination, which justify the placing of them in a separate section.

The only possible groups are those of which the dental and cerebral tenues form part—च, क्र, छ, व, and ल्र, which latter is not in any way peculiar.

(1.) व्र. In the first place, the sibilant being the first member of the nexus aspirates the other member, which then assimilates the sibilant to itself; the resulting form is therefore व्र. In the modern period the श is rejected, and the preceding vowel, where possible, lengthened. Thus:

Skr. द्रु “hand,” Pr. हन्दी, H. हाथ, G. id., P. हथ, S. हु, M., O.,
and B. ह्र, with their usual disregard of aspiration. O. also हाथ.

Skr. ह्रो “elephant,” Pr. हती, H. हाथी, S., G. id., P. हती, B.,
O. हाथी.

Skr. प्रस्तर “stone,” Pr. पत्वर, H. पत्वर, P., M., G. id., S. पथर, O.
पथर, B. पाथर.

Skr. पुष्क “book,” H. पेशी, and so in all.

Skr. मानक “head,” Pr. मच्ची, H. माता “forehead,” M., G., B. id.,
S. मच्छ, P. मय, O. मच्छ.

The Pr. form is, however, common in all.

The word चती “woman,” undergoes so many changes that it will be well to give them all in detail:

Skr. चती “woman,” Pr. हती. Sauraseni (Var. xii. 22), हतीका,
CHANGES OF COMPOUND CONSONANTS.

The \( r \) being prefixed to assist the pronunciation. Old \( H. \) तिरिया, \( H. \) तिरिया, चिया, तिया, तिरी, and as a late Tadbhava रसरी, P. तिरिया, तिरी, नोमि, or तिया, तिरिया, चिया, चिया, as also चिया or चिया, नोमि, ग. चिया, O. तिरी, तिया.

Most of these forms are of the very lowest type, being produced by diminutive and familiar additions to the split-up and distorted elements of the original word, and as such can hardly be taken into consideration in searching for traces of a rule for the general treatment of the nexus. The P. forms नीमि, etc., appear to have come from Skr. नेिमि, an ignorantly applied feminine of नेिमल् “a husband.”

(2.) ख. The numerous derivatives of the root खा, falling into the two classes which begin respectively with ख and ठ, have been exhibited in some detail in Chap. III., § 59, example 15. It is unnecessary to repeat them here. खा has in other words also a tendency to migrate into the cerebral; thus:

Skr. खग “a rogue” (root खग, “to conceal”), H. ठग “a rogue,” ठगना “to cheat,” and so in all, with many subsidiary forms.

It is somewhat difficult to adduce instances of initial ख without getting among derivatives of the root खा; so widespread is this sound in the sense of “standing,” that almost every word in the language which contains it may be referred more or less directly to that root.

In extreme instances, that is to say in words of very common use, the ख of खा has undergone a further change into ह. This occurs in a few words only, mostly adverbs, pronouns, and the like hardworked material.

Skr. तहाँ “there,” H. तहा, S. तहा, G. तहा. It is however retained in P. उँचि, M. उँचि, B. उँचाठि, and cerebralized in O. सेदरि.

(3.) ड and ठ. These become, according to rule ढ, with the farther change into ठ. Vararuchi (iii. 10) treats this as
a substitution, but he gives the process correctly, whatever he may think of its meaning. Thus, his examples latt, śid, for yasht, dṛṣṭ, are correct, as will be seen below. It did not apparently strike him that the sibilant on going out leaves behind it an aspirate, and as an aspirate cannot be the first member of a nexus, it is attached to the last member, thus producing ṣ, and ultimately ṣ only.

Examples:

Skr. याठ "stick," Pr. याठ, H. चाठ, चाटी, P. चाठ, M. चट, G. चाठ and चाट, S. चड़, O., B. चाठी, चड़, with rejection of the aspirate and softening of tenuis to medius.

Skr. दक्षिण "sight," Pr. दक्षी, H. दीठ and दीठ, P. दिठ, M. दीठ, S. perversely, दक्षि.


Skr. बाठ "wood," Pr. बाठ, H. बाठ, and so in all.

Skr. अष्ट "eight," Pr. अष्ट, H. अष्ट, and so in all, except S. अठ; P. अठ, Kashmiri अठ, Pashto अठ (if we may thus transliterate ṣṭ).  


This is one of the processes which date from very early times, and of which traces may be found in classical Sanskrit. Thus, कीठ "a granary," has also the allied dialectic form कीठ "a fort," the idea of a safe or guarded place being common to both. From the former comes a set of words denoting, in the first place, "granary," and by a simple transition, "merchant's house," and as a diminutive, "a room." Thus, कीठि "granary," "mercantile firm," etc.; कीठ the same, also applied to the residences of English gentlemen, as they were originally mer-
chanta, living in "factories." Indigo and other factories are still called kotli. "kotli," diminutive, means "a chamber of a house." From the latter comes the modern koṭa "a fort," and its P. diminutive koṭila.

In Chap. II. § 46, will be found another instance of this law in the case of तेरा "seated," from उपविष्ट. Similar in formation is the following:

Skr. प्रविष्ट "to enter" (p.p. प्रविष्ट). H. वेठना, S. पिस्तु, P. पठी, G. पेठु (= प्रविष्ट)., p.p. पठी. O. पस्तिया which is analogous to its use of वसिया, where H. has वेठना.

Of the words in the list above, पिस्तु and पिस्तु are oxytone; in the former the accent has preserved the final i, but in the latter some languages have rejected it. This causes great confusion, especially to Englishmen, who generally fail to catch the very slight difference in sound between सात = "seven," and साठ = "sixty." In these languages frequency of use has probably worn away the final i.

The nexus छ undergoes a further change in modern languages, of which there appears to be little or no trace in the Prakrits, by which the छ, resulting from the absorption of the sibilant, is softened into its corresponding media छ; the same takes place with च. Thus:

O. च छ, and च छा. B. च छा.

Skr. च "leprosy," H. कोड (koṭh), P. id. and कुड़, S. चोड़ी.
G. कोड़, चोट, and कोड, M. id., O. कृ, B. कुड़.

Skr. छ "angry," H. छ, P. id., B. छ "harsh."

This rule also accounts for such forms as दाढी, from दंढ़िक्ता; see § 59, example 3. In this case the process has begun in Sanskrit, in which there is the form दाड़िका.

One of the few Prakrit instances is the root चेष, quoted above, which, though it frequently takes the form चेठ, yet does more
generally appear as वट. ख also undergoes in one instance a similar transition?


What has here taken place is, that the घ of Prakrit has been softened to the corresponding media घ, the aspiration of which has been thrown back to the beginning of the word. Analogous is the throwing back of the aspirate in Skr. चोट, H. होट "lip."

ख and घ were, even in Sanskrit, very closely allied, and in the careless style of the Lalita Vistara the two groups are used as equivalent to one another, as चन्द्र for चन्द्र (L. V. 13).

(4.) ं follows the rule of ः and ः, and becomes ः and ः?

Skr. वलस "calf," Pr. वच्छ, H. वहा, वाप, and so in the others.

Skr. तन्तर "year," Pr. वच्छ, not in modern use except as Tatamana.

Var. gives two exceptions to this rule, uṣaṇa and uṣaṇavo for uṣṇa and uṣṇa, neither of which are found in the modern languages. It is said that the name of the ancient town and fortress of Mahoba in Bundelkhand is derived from Mahotsara, i.e. the "great feast," in which case there must have been an intermediate form mahosarvo or mahosubho, and it seems highly improbable that the double s should have been entirely elided. The place was popularly known as Mahoba in A.D. 1184, when it was captured by Prithvi Raj, the Chohan King of Delhi, and, as General Cunningham places the date of the great feast at A.D. 800, a period of less than four hundred years intervenes between the two forms. Now at the pace at which linguistic development proceeded in those centuries, the first beginning of the modern Tadbhava period, the total suppression of the double s certainly could not have occurred in so short a time. It is probable therefore that the name Mahoba has some other origin, and that the derivation from Mahotsura was invented to
support the legend of the divine origin of the Chandel race, whose capital it was.

§ 83. The Semivowels in a Mixed Nexus.—Only र and ल can occur as the first member of the nexus. व and य clearly cannot precede a strong letter; and as their treatment is complicated by their close connexion with व and य respectively, they will be discussed in a separate section.

(1.) र preceding is first assimilated and subsequently elided. In Prakrit the rule is universal. Vararuchi iii. 3 gives the brief rule *sacatras lavatam*, including व. His instances are: of ल,—*ukka, vikkala, vikkara, for ulka, cakkala, cikkara*; of र,—*toddhao, piikam, for lubhaaka, pakwa*; of ल,—*akko, sakko, for arka, sakra*. He takes no notice of other changes of these letters in a mixed nexus. In the second stage the vowel is lengthened or not, according to the position of the accent or the weight of the following syllables. In Prakrit the preceding long vowel of the Sanskrit is shortened before the double consonant which results from assimilation, the length of the vowel being, however, restored, and an anuswara sometimes added over and above, in the modern languages, where by dropping one of the two consonants compensation comes into play. Examples:

Skr. पारि, "flame," H. धां, and so in all except S. and P.

Skr. कर्ष ग्र, "crab," Pr. कङडी, H. कङडा, S. कङडी, O., B. कङडा.

(The nasal reminds us of Lat. cancer.)


Skr. खद्रेव “date-palm,” Pr. खद्रु, H. खद्र, and so in all.


G. मालचु, M. मालच्छ.


Skr. दुज्यध “weak,” Pr. दुज्यान, H. दुज्यण, P. दुज्यान, S. दुज्यिरो, दुज्यान.

M., G. दुज्य, दुज्यि, B. दुज्या.


S. वज्रि, M. वज्र.


Skr. मागि “asking,” Pr. मागि, H. मागि, P. मागि, S. मागिर.

B., O. मागि, M. मागिर, G. मागिर.

Skr. मागि “rubbing,” Pr. मागि, H. मागि, P. id., S. मागिर, G. मागिर, M. मागिर, B. मागिर, O. मागिर.


S. सप.

The anuswāra is employed in this class of words with great frequency, especially in Hindi; and in Sindhi it has been incorporated with the following consonant into the nasal letter of the organ in question, either ः or ः, but it may be assumed that this is due to the eccentricity arising from the as yet unsettled state of Sindhi orthography. It would, however, be incorrect to deduce the inference that ः passed over into anuswāra. The latter did not come into use till many centuries after the existence of the former had been forgotten, and in some languages has never been introduced at all. It is a

1 In the sense of “the parting down the middle of the hair” in women.
peculiarity of Hindi to indulge in these nasal sounds in season and out of season; but their general insertion in words of this class does not seem to date further back than the fifteenth century, at least eighteen hundred years since such words as *marpa* had been replaced in popular speech by *magga*.

In the matter of lengthening the vowel of the affected syllable by way of compensation, the general system is pretty accurately followed, the vowel being lengthened where possible, that is, in open syllables or before light terminations, but not in words where a heavy formative syllable follows, or one containing a long vowel.

र when the last member of a nexus follows the general rule.

Skr. बाघ “tiger,” Pr. बाघी, H. बाघ, and so in all.

Skr. बाथा “brother,” H. भाई, and so in all, only in P. भातू.


Under this head comes the large group of words compounded with the prepositions म and मति. In many, nay perhaps most, of these the ordinary rule is followed with this modification, that when म is the beginning of the word, it cannot be double in Prakrit, and consequently there is no necessity for compensation in the modern languages. Instances of the ordinary rule are:—

Skr. प्रभार “stone,” Pr. पार, H. पार. See § 82.


The र of म is, however, not unfrequently separated from the र, and thrown forward to the next consonant, especially in Hindi and Panjabi. Thus the common names of men प्रभु, प्रस्थाप, प्रस्त्र are pronounced प्रभु, पञ्जन, पञ्चन, Pargāsh, Partāb, Parsan, and the like. Other instances are—

Skr. प्रस्थान “a country,” H. पञ्जना or पञ्चना, and so in all.

In the same manner प्रति seems at an early period to have become in common speech प्रति parti. We do not find any instances of it in this form, but it is only through such a form as this that the Prakrit पदि, which is the regular equivalent for Skr. प्रति, could have arisen. Prakrit examples are पदि-मधि, पदि-सर, पदि-सत्ति, पदि-त्रो, for pratisarpdhi, pratishav, pratipatti, and pratipad respectively. In the modern languages the र is generally, if not universally, dropped, and प्रङ्ख remains. This is also in H., P., B., and all but the three Western languages, often written पर through carelessness, as the sound of र in the middle of a word is so closely similar to that of र. Thus:

Skr. प्रतिवासी “neighbour,” Pr. पड़िवासी. H. पड़ोसी (also पर*), and so in all.


Skr. प्रतिसा “cataarh,” M. पड़िसे.

Skr. प्रतिकष्या “mutual help,” M. पड़स्य.

Skr. प्रतिकष्या “uvula,” M. पड़बीम.

Skr. प्रवत “rejoinder,” G. पड़वत.

In connexion with this tendency of र to detach itself from its consonant, and change its place in a word, either going forwards or backwards, may here be introduced the method common in Old Hindi of writing such words as संव, etc. Chand has जह, धम, सोपर्न, बन, बदना for संव, धम, सुवर्न, बन, बदन always, and मदत, गंधव, कम, कम for पद्धत, गन्धव, कम, कम occasionally, where his rhythm requires it. This method of pronunciation has not wholly died out in the rural parts of Hindustan Proper, and may still sometimes be heard in Bhojpuri, and probably in other dialects also. It is owing perhaps to this that H. makes from संव, the modern word संब, and not

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for "all." Had the र remained attached to the व, its absorption would have induced a compensatory lengthening of the vowel; but as it had previously been transferred to the स, no compensation could take place, because it will have been noticed, though not specially mentioned, that it is the preceding vowel which is lengthened in compensation in order to preserve the original quantity of the syllable, and never the following one.

In some cases it is observed that when र, as the first member of a nexus, disappears under the influence of the usual processes, it leaves behind it a trace of its presence by aspirating, sometimes the preceding letter, sometimes that with which it was combined. This process is mainly confined to the three western languages, and more particularly to Sindhi. In the cases where the preceding letter is aspirated, the र before being absorbed has probably, as in the early Hindi words just quoted, transferred itself to that letter; and the whole transaction rests on the connexion between र and स: not so, however, that र has ever been deliberately changed into स in the combinations in question, but that it partakes with the abilants of a sort of harsh utterance closely allied to the aspirates, an alliance which underlies the Sanskrit changes from visarga into श and र्, and the Latin forms arbus, arbor; flos, floris, and the like, as also the German sar, English ear, and many other old Indo-Germanic transitions. Instances of the process are—

Skr. शकर “sugar,” M. शकर.
Skr. गर “alt.” S. गम.
Skr. गर “ditch.” S. गम.
Skr. गरण “dragging.” S. गमण, गमण.

In S., even where the र is not elided, this process occasionally occurs, as in पो and पर “a festival,” Skr. पर, H. पर, मुखरी “a bud,” Skr. मुख, where the र has first been changed into र, which then exercises its aspirating influence.
Changes of Compound Consonants.

Skr. मार्गीय "November-December," S. मंचिस्, P. मर्गर. In the other languages this month is called by names derived from the asterism चन्द्रायण (but see § 91).

(2.) When preceding is elided, according to rule. It is of rare occurrence:

Skr. वेल "rein," H. वाम, and so in all.

When following it is also assimilated:

Skr. शृं "light fortnight," H. सृ, but often सूक्त and सूदोः.

In one or two instances this letter is thrown forwards in the same manner as र in the positions noticed above. Thus:

Skr. लीथ "spleen," H. पिल्हा and पील्हा, H. पीला, O. पिल्हार.

To this tendency may be ascribed the Skr. पूलन "island," from पूलन, retained in M. and B., to signify one of those small islands or alluvial formations more usually called "char," which so often appear in the large Indian rivers; the idea of "swimming" involved in पूलन has been, by a metaphor, transferred to these islands which, as the Roman poet says, "apparent nantes in gurgite vasto."

The is, however, far more frequently allowed to remain and separated from the other member by that process of splitting which has already been mentioned, especially in Chap. II. § 45. There is a certain hardness about this letter which, when its frequent connexion with the nasal in Bengali or Oriya is also taken into account, preserves it from elision or assimilation. Trumpp's remark¹ that a long vowel preceding or following renders assimilation impossible, does not appear to be borne out by facts, because even in Prakrit the long vowel is shortened, as in नग्गो, रत्ति, for मार्गा, रात्रि; and in the modern languages it is again lengthened as compensation for the loss of the first consonant.

§ 84. The semivowel य when attached to a strong consonant in the first place drops out without compensation: as—

Skr. योम "fit," Pr. योम, H.. P. योम, S. योम, all the rest योम S
Skr. यु "to fall," H. यु, P. यु, S. यु, M. यु, B. यु, O. यु (M. and B. are casual forms).

In other cases it is resolved into i, and thus also finally disappears. Var. iii. 66 gives one instance: य्रा "a bowstring," becomes य्रा, with long i. Chand has य्रा for य्रा, which is, however, a weak nexus.

Skr. य्रा "abandoning," H. य्रा, य्रा, P. id., M. य्रा, O. य्रा.

This latter process is more frequent in the weak nexus, where it will be discussed fully.

Example of the usual elision is—


Of softening into the corresponding vowel, parallel to the treatment of य just noticed, examples are:

Skr. यारित "quickly," Pr. या०, H. या०, P. id., S. या०, G. या०.
M. या०.

Skr. यू "two," Pr. यू, H. यू, B. O. यू, M. यू.

In two cases, however, it is treated as o, and consequently the nexus becomes a strong one, in which the first letter goes out:

Skr. याक्ष, याक्ष "to kindle," H. याक्ष (for याक्षा), P. याक्षा.

S. यारणु:

Skr. यार "fever," S. यार.

The forms याक्षा and यार are also, however, in common use in all the languages.
Though it may be at present beyond our power to trace in all cases the distinction between \( \text{र} \) and \( \text{ण} \), yet the example of the western languages of the group shows that in that part of India at least a distinction did always exist, and the sweeping assertion of Prakrit scholars, that \( \text{र} \) and \( \text{ण} \) are the same, cannot be accepted; and even if it were, it would not be correct to write both, as Cowell does, as \( \text{र} \), but rather as \( \text{र} \). Indeed \( \\text{र} \) should almost be banished from Indian transliteration, and the two letters \( \text{र} \) and \( \text{ण} \) should be used for the soft and hard sounds respectively. As the last member of a mixed nexus, the soft sound would in most instances be the correct one, and we should in such positions write \( \text{र} \) and pronounce \( \text{र} \); thus, कलयति is कलयति, and not \( \text{र} \). \( \\text{ष} \) is क्षा and not क्षा; at least, when listening to the pronunciation of natives, the former is a nearer approximation to the sound heard than the latter.

§ 85. We now come to that class of mixed nexus formed by the junction of a dental consonant and a semivowel, where the ordinary rule of the absorption of the weaker letter does not hold good, or rather a treatment occurs which is perfectly in accordance with the general system, though its real nature is apt to escape detection. This treatment varies in the three semivowels य, र, य. य does not present any peculiar features in this combination; being itself a dental semivowel, it can effect no change of organ, nor are there, as far as I know, any instances even in Sanskrit of such a combination as य or य with य following.

The process about to be noticed is organic or qualitative, whereas the previously explained changes have been rather positional or quantitative. It consists in this, that each of the three semivowels, though disappearing under the operation of the ordinary rule, has previously dragged over the dental into its own organ: य into the palatal; त into the cerebral; and य into the labial, though more rarely than the others.
(L) च.—The change which occurs is absolutely regular as regards the grades of the organ; thus:

- Smooth teeth त + च = smooth palatal teeth च.
- Rough teeth ढ + च = rough palatal teeth ढ.
- Smooth media ड + च = smooth palatal media ढ.
- Rough media ण + च = rough palatal media ण.

Here it would at first sight seem as though the palatal semi-vowel ढ had held its own against the dental; but what has really happened is that the ढ has evidently from the earliest times been pronounced with a stronger palatal tone than in European languages (except Spanish), a larger portion of the tongue's surface being brought into contact with the fore-palate, resulting in a sound which approached nearer to ज; so that in a form ड + च the spoken equivalent was nearly ढ + ज in sound; that is, a strong nexus, in which case the first letter would go out according to rule. In ड + ज (ज), both letters being in the same grade, the former leaves no trace of its influence, but in the other cases the dentals, though they disappear, leave behind them an influence, shown by the exact change of ज into the grade of the absorbed letter: न producing न; ल, ल; and भ, भ.

In Pali and Prakrit the above combinations are respectively च, च, च, and च, which reveals the fact that the dental before absolutely expiring had assimilated itself to the palatal. So that the steps are as follows in historical order:

- त + च = त + च = च + च = च.
- ढ + च = ढ + च = ढ + च = ढ + च = ढ.

In the combination च + च it would be contrary to the spirit

1. च is regularly pronounced as व in B. and C., and Skr. words containing च are written with च in H., P., M., etc.; as they are also in most Prakrits and in Pali.
2. The rejection of the first letter of the nexus is sometimes compensated for by a long vowel, as in माच = मच; and sometimes not, as in सच = सच.
of the language to allow the aspirate to stand first; consequently
the necessary inversion has taken place.

Examples:

त + य.

Skr. सख “true,” Pa., Pr. सच, H. सच, P. सच (and सत), M., O.
साच, S. सची, B., O. सचा.
Skr. नृत्य “dance,” Pa., Pr. नृत्य, H. नृत्य, and so in all.
Skr. निद्रा “always,” Pa. निद्र, Pr. निदर.
Skr. मृत्यु “death,” Pa., Pr. मृत, Old H. मीच.
Skr. हत्य “done,” Pa., Pr. हत, Pa. also कचि.

च + य.

Skr. सिंच “false,” Pa., Pr. सिचा, Old H., B. सिचा, O. सिचा.
Skr. रच “road,” Pr. रचा.
Skr. पच “proper,” Pr. पचा.

द + य.

Skr. दह “to-day,” Pa., Pr. दच, H., M., G. वाच, B. बाचि, O. id.,
P. बच, S. बच. In this word the i must be taken as a trace of the य,
in which case the semivowel is doubly represented.
Skr. सच “wine,” Pa., Pr. मचा.
Skr. विच “knowledge,” Pa., Pr. विचा, S. विचा.
Skr. विज्ञान “lightning,” Pa. विज्ञाना, Pr. विज्ञानी, H., P., and B.
विज्जा, M. id. and दीज, G. विज्जा, O. विज्जी, S. विजु.

घ + य.

Skr. मध्य “middle,” Pa., Pr. मध्य, H. मध्, मधोजा, etc., S. मध्य,
etc., P. मध्य, M. मध्य, B. id., O. मध्य.
Skr. धार “reflection,” Pa., Pr. धार, H. in composition सम्बन्धाना “to
understand,” and so in all.
Skr. खच्च “harvest,” Pa., Pr. खच्चा, B. खच्चा, M. वांच्, G.
वांच्च, S. वांच्, Marwari वांच्ची.
Skr. उपाध्याय "teacher," Pa. उपप्रायो, Pr. उपप्रायो, H. वृष्ण.  
Skr. स्वाग्नि "evening," Pr. स्वाग्नि (Var. iii. 50), H. स्वाग्नि, B. and M. id.,  
P. स्वाग्नि, S. स्वाग्नि; but G. सांग and a M. form सांग are also in use.

Under this head must be noticed a class of causals in which,  
though a vowel intervenes in Sanskrit between the dental con-
sonant and the palatal semi-vowel, the treatment is the same as  
though there had been no vowel.

Examples:

Skr. याद् "to sound," H. याज्ञि "to play," and so in all with slight  
modifications.

Skr. मेष "to separate," H. मेषना "to send," P. id.  

In these cases the vulgar pronunciation probably dropped the  
short vowel and produced याज्ञि, etc.

There is also a considerable class of verbal roots ending in च  
which reappear with the termination चि, and which must be  
referred to this head.

As examples may be taken—

Skr. युक्त "to understand," Pr. युक्त, H. युक्ति, P. युक्ति, S.  
युक्ति, B. युक्ति, O. युक्ति, G. युक्ति.  
Skr. चंद "to blind," S. चंद्, H. चंद् "to be ensnared,"  
Skr. युक्त "to fight," Pr. युक्त, P. युक्ति, Old H. युक्ति, युक्ति.  
Skr. युक्त "to purify," Pr. युक्त, H. युक्ति, युक्ति, S. युक्ति, G. युक्ति.

The difficulty in this, as in the last class, is that the existence  
of the च and चि of necessity supposes forms चि + च and चि + च;  
but the received theory is that the infinitive in Hindi, Panjabi,  
Sindhi, and Marathi is derived from the Skr. verbal noun in  
आ. Now although in the present tense of the Skr. verb we  
have the required forms with चि, as सदायति, बुधयति, yet this  
conjugational characteristic does not appear in the verbal noun,  
which would be सदानम्, बुधनम्. It must, I apprehend, be
admitted that in the speech of the vulgar there existed forms vadyanam and budhyanam; in many instances the Hindi entirely
gorges the existence of a guna vowel in the verbal nouns, and
forms its infinitive with the same quality of vowel as exists in
the base or in the present tense.

Another way of explaining the matter is that adopted by
Lassen (p. 249), namely, that the present tense came first into
use, thus, फचिन्स; from मूल्यै; and that the verbal noun was
formed on this model टादेव, though the Sanskrit verbal noun
is मठें and contains no च. This view, however, assumes that
the Prakrit was regularly formed by derivation from the
Sanskrit, whereas modern researches have led us to believe,
on the contrary, that the Prakrits are of equal antiquity with
Sanskrit, in many cases at least; and in the light of this
opinion it would seem more natural to suppose that even in
times when Sanskrit was spoken the vulgar ignored the dis-
tinction between conjugational and other tenses and said मठें,
just as they said मूल्यै.

In the causal in H. we have बुझावा, which corresponds to a
Skr. form सीधवर्य; here the accent lies on the short vowel
intervening between the च and the च; and we cannot, therefore,
suppose the च to have arisen from a junction of these two
letters; moreover the च of the Skr. causal is represented by च
in the Old H. and Mod. H. dialectic forms बुझावा, फिरावा,
and the like; or by च in the forms शंगाय, सोनाय, बिलाय
(for सोनाय, सिलाय); or by ज in the O. दिखाय, चलाय:
We must therefore suppose that the simple verb having re-
ceived the form in च, as बुझावा, the causal was formed from it
by lengthening the penultimate vowel, without regard to the
causal form of the Sanskrit (see Chap. III. § 60).

(2) ज. This semivowel follows the same rule as च, though
the instances which I can adduce are not so numerous or so
clear as in that letter. Just as च is hardened into च, so is ज into
ज; so that when preceded by a dental it forms a strong nexus, the
natural result of which is that the dental goes out, but leaves behind a trace, inasmuch as it changes the ः into its own grade. The principal instance is—

Skr. ज्ञानम् "self," Pr. ज्ञप, H. जाप, ज्ञाप, ज्ञापस्, P. id., B. O. जाप, etc., G., M. id., S. पाप.

Here the म has first become ः, as in मांस = याम्, मांस = नास. This ः in pronunciation becomes ः, which by the influence of the preceding म is hardened into प; and the strong nexus thus obtained, ः, —which actually occurs in the form ज्ञापणम् on the Girmun rock inscription,—regularly changes to ः, and subsequently to प, with a long vowel preceding. See Vararuci, iii. 49, where बुझम्, बुझमिन्द्र, become बुझ, बुझिन्द्र, having been first बुझप्, etc.

To this law is to be referred the Skr. termination ल्, लम्, which becomes लम्, and then पम्, and lastly पम and पा; thus:

Skr. वृड्धि "old age," H. वृड्धप, P. वृड्धाय, S. वृड्धप, etc., G. वृड्धो, B. वृड्धाय, and वृषा.

In Sindhi this termination is very common and takes in addition to the full forms वृद्धि, वृद्धि, those also of पी, पी, परे; e.g. नेडो, नेटारे "youth," from नेटो "young" (Skr. नेत् "son"); धान "wisdom," from धानो "wise"; धाबिज, धो, धो "watching," from धोरी "a watcher."

In Bengali and Oriya it is not much in use, the Tatsama form being still generally retained.

In Panjabi the form is पुष, the influence of the labial consonant having force to change the a into a, e.g. पालमु, पालपु "childhood."

I would hazard the suggestion that the Skr. affix ल्, लम्, is itself a relic of ज्ञानम्. If it be so, we see here a proof of what I have said above, that the म changes into ः before being hardened to प.

Instances of म + म are—
Skr. द्विन "two," G. द्व, S. म.
Skr. द्वितीय "second," G. द्वीको, S. द्वीको, द्वीको; cf. Latin bellum = duellum and sigiati = deligiati, Skr. विषातिर for विषाति.

Throughout the numerals, in fact, the द of देव is dropped in all cases:

"Twelve," Skr. द्वादश, H. द्वाश, P. द्वार, S. द्वारेः, G. द्वार, M. द्वार, B. द्वार, O. द्वार.


"Forty-two," Skr. द्वितेरौत्र, H. द्वितेरौत्र, P. द्वितेरौत्र, S. द्वितेरौत्र, G. द्वितेरौत्र, M. द्वितेरौत्र, B. as H., O. द्वितेरौत्र.

"Fifty-two," Skr. द्वाप्रात्त, H. द्वाप्रात्त, P. द्वाप्रात्त, S. द्वाप्रात्त, G. द्वाप्रात्त, M. द्वाप्रात्त, B. द्वाप्रात्त, O. द्वाप्रात्त.


"Seventy-two," Skr. द्वाप्रात्त, H. द्वाप्रात्त, P. द्वाप्रात्त, S. द्वाप्रात्त, G. द्वाप्रात्त, M. as H., B. द्वाप्रात्त, O. द्वाप्रात्त.

"Eighty-two," Skr. द्वाप्रात्त, H. द्वाप्रात्त, P. द्वाप्रात्त, S. द्वाप्रात्त, G. द्वाप्रात्त, M. द्वाप्रात्त, B. द्वाप्रात्त, O. द्वाप्रात्त.

"Ninety-two," Skr. द्वाप्रात्त, H. द्वाप्रात्त, P. द्वाप्रात्त, S. द्वाप्रात्त, G. द्वाप्रात्त, M. द्वाप्रात्त, B. द्वाप्रात्त, O. द्वाप्रात्त.

Instances of श + श and श + श producing फ and म I have not found; it would seem, however, that we may adduce here the words पुष् "flower," and वास् "steam," from the roots पुष् and वास्. Thus, पुष् + वा and वास् + वा would become पुष् + त्वा and वास् + त्वा, and subsequently पुष्, वास्, giving Pr. पुष्, वास्, and H. पुष्, पुष्; and वास् or वास्.

1 The usual root is या "to blow," but we may assume a root वास् intermediate between या "to blow," and वास् "to be fragrant."
Some confusion appears to have existed amongst the semi-vowels themselves when appended to dentals, as we find modern words in घ which cannot be derived from घ + घ, but point distinctly to roots having घ, and even घ. As early as the Gatha period, whenever that may have been, this confusion seems to have been prevalent. Thus, we find धातित for Skr. धातित, probably in order to produce a sort of alliteration, as in the same line there is also धासनत for धासनत, so that the latter half of the line thus corrupted runs: धान धातित किन्नधासनत for धान धातित धधासनत. This peculiarity may be connected with the custom, mentioned in § 25 as prevalent in modern Bengali pronunciation, of scarcely sounding a weak letter when forming the last member of a nexus, its presence being indicated by a sort of dwelling on the preceding letter, so that धन, धर, धय, would all sound as ध with a slight stress on it; the change from one weak letter to another would thus be very easily effected, and the preference shown to य would result from its being easier to pronounce in such a position.

By means of this process certain modern words in घ may be explained; as झालर “fringe,” झुलगा “tattered bedding,” झंगमिल “a hanging shutter,” झुकान “to swing,” झुका “a child’s swing,” झूल “a loose trapping” for elephants, dogs, etc., झोला “a wallet,” M. and G. झोलको: all of which may be referred to the root झ (originally झ) “to shake” or “swing,” which, even in Sanskrit, has passed into घ in such words as झोलिका “wallet,” which seems to come from this root, and not, as hitherto suggested, from झोला “a betel-nut tree.” झड़ी has all the look of a non-Aryan word, and though a small wallet to carry betel-nut is a very common appendage to native costume, it seems more in accordance with analogy to derive it as above.

(3.) र. This semivowel differs from the other two in so far that the action which it exhibits takes place both when it pre-
cedes and when it follows the dental. In fact, it will presently be seen that in some respects the cerebralization of the dental takes place more regularly and frequently when ˎ precedes than when it follows. Sindhi indeed forms an exception to this remark, as it adopts the cerebral almost uniformly in both cases, but this is due to the already explained partiality of that language for cerebral letters, and in many cases the actual pronunciation retains a slight ˎ sound together with the cerebral. Thus, from Skr. पुत्र “son,” S. has पुत्र, pronounced putra; Skr. मित्र “friend,” S. mitra.

In Prakrit ˎt regularly appears as ṭ, the rule “ṛṣaya ubaḥ” (Var. iii. 22) being of almost universal application. He gives, however, no rule for ṭd; though he quotes in iii. 26 a few words in which this nexus migrates into ṭ, yet he seems to regard these as special instances. In the modern languages the transition to cerebrals takes place in every grade of the organ, and is tolerably frequent, though by no means universal.

Examples:

\[\text{र + त.}\]

Skr. कत्तर “cutting,” Pr. कट्टर, H. काटन, P. कट्टर, S. कट्टर, B. काटन, O. काटिवा, M. काटै (rare).

Skr. कत्तर “road,” H. बाट, and so in all.

Skr. कत्तर “a quail,” Pr. कट्टर, H. बटर, P. id., B., O. id., S. बटरी.


\[\text{र + व.}\]

Skr. चतुर्व “fourth,” B. चौठ, O. चौठ; the rest have व, see below.

This nexus generally drops the ˎ without cerebralizing the dental:

\[\text{र + द.}\]

Skr. कपड़े “cowrie,” H. काड़ी; see § 52 (2).
Skr. तदन् "striking," H. साहना, and so in all but S. (In Skr. this process has already taken place, giving rise to a secondary root तह.)

र + ध,


By way of contrast, another and longer list is now given of words in which the semivowel does not cerebralize the dental:

Skr. धूर्तं "rogue," Pr. धूर्तो, H. धूर्ता, G. धूर्तो, S. धूर्त, also भूटो;


In addition to the first four examples, which are from Var. iii. 24, that author also gives the following instances, which do not occur in the modern languages: किलु = कील "fame," वातांध्र = वातां "present," यतो = यत्र "whirlpool," समाच्छादः = समाच्छादः a name of "Bulavu," निवेदन = निवेदन "returning," अटो = अट "hurt," नुस्ति = नुस्ति "form."

The transition of this nexus into a single cerebral letter occurred more frequently in ancient than in modern times, because the distinction between the two groups of the lingual
series was not so clearly marked in those days as it was subsequently; but as instances are found in the Prakrit period of this transition, it may be advisable to point out that in several of Vararuchi’s instances the original word probably had an ङ instead of an र. Thus, अतिका “a wick,” may be derived from बजिका, for ज्ञेन, from the root जल to burn.” The facility with which ङ is thrown away in this particular root has been pointed out in the beginning of this section. कतरी may be compared with the Latin culter, cultillus. भूति is a sort of adjectival formation from भू “to be crooked,” which is only another form of भस्म, the original of ब्यस्म. In जीर्ण the root is ङ, the presumably older form of which would be फ्यम, which may be compared with Greek καλός, καλῶ, κάλω, κάλος, and Latin callerus. Similarly with the group of words containing the root बूत, though, on the one hand, connected with many roots in the cognate languages containing the र, yet, on the other, it is allied to ङ, with its relations रोलो, साल्म, etc.

The nexus it seems to be in some way disliked by Sanskrit, as it seldom or never occurs, and appears to have been changed in most cases into र; but if in some cases the Prakrit word were formed direct from the older word which contained the ङ, it would still exhibit the dental र, merely by dropping the ङ according to the usual custom. The modern languages having got these words as early Taddhibhas through the Prakrit naturally retained the dental. But the practice of not changing the dental to a cerebral got more frequent as time went on, and muscles got lax, and the softer and more languid dental utterance came more into favour; and thus we see that in some cases, though the Prakrit gives the cerebral, the modern languages reject it and employ the dental instead. Thus:

Skr. गड़ “ass.” Pr. गड़हो. H. गधा (for गद्धा). P. गढ़ and गड़, O. गधटो (dim.), B. गाधा. O. गधा; but M. गाइत, inverted from गाइम. S., as might be expected, गड़ह.
The ठ arising from न is further softened into ड in the following:

Skr. गरी “ditch,” Pr. गड्डे, H. गड “boundary,” गडबड (garbar) originally applied to earth dug up and left in uneven heaps, hence anything in a tossed and tumbled state, topsy-turvy, higgledy-piggledy; also said of affairs in an unsettled state; it is the common equivalent for our word “muddle.” गड “a ditch.” गडन to bury,” “to conceal treasure in the earth.” गड “low land.” P. गड, S. गड, G. गड़ि: M. गड़ि “to be buried,” metaph. “to be absorbed in study or business.” गड “sound” (sleep), “thick” (darkness), “dense” (forest); also “buried,” “sunken,” “lost,” and as a subst. “a quarry” or “pit.” गड़ि “to bury treasure in the earth.” गड़ि “confusion.” गड़ि “to be in a muddle,” with derivatives गड़ि, गड़िाँ, etc. गड़ि “to bury.” B. गड़ “most of a fort.” गड़ “to dig,” hence “to carve,” “fashion,” “fabricate.” गड़ि “an artist,” “artisan.” गड़ “to fabricate,” “to cast metal,” “to roll.” गड़ि “confusion.” गड़ि “to bury.” गड़ “pit,” “hole,” O. गड़ि, Gड़ि, etc.

Similar to this is the treatment of प्रजन प्रजन प्रजन, mentioned in § 83 (1)—though in this case, owing to its always occurring at the beginning of a word and being, therefore, pressed upon by the weight of the following syllables, the ड is not doubled, as in the case of गड़ि.

When ड follows the dental, it cerebrilizes in some instances, as in the following:


Skr. चुट “to break,” H. चुट, and so in all, except M. चुट.

Skr. चट “cloth” (already in Skr. चट, पट), H. चट, पट, चट, etc., a large group of words, and so in all.

Skr. चुटुक “young,” B. चुड़ा “father’s younger brother,” O. छुड़ा.
Skr. चउ “to fear” (p.p. चाह), S. दूधू (p.p. दूठौ).

But more frequently, especially in the class of words ending in च, the र simply disappears, and the च remains unchanged. Thus:

Skr. चै “field,” Pr. चैत, H. खेत. See § 81.
Skr. नो “family,” Pr. नोत, H. नीत; so in all, but S. गोत.
Skr. पुर “son,” Pr. पुरी, पुरु, पुरो, H. पुर, M. पुरी, O. पुर, S. पुर.
Skr. राति “night,” Pr. राती, रात, H. रात, B., O. राति, M., G. रात, P. रत, रात, and in this case even S. has राति with a dental.
Skr. तीत “three,” Pr. तित्त, H. तीत, M. तीत, B., O. तित, P. तित.
G. तित, S. तित.
Skr. सूत “thread,” Pr. सूत, H. सूत, O., B., M. त, P. सूत and सूत, S. सूत.
Skr. चद्र “moon,” Pr. चंद्रो, H. चांद, and so throughout, except P. चंद, S. चंद.
Skr. निम्बा “sleep,” Pr. निम्ब, H. नीम, P. नीम, G. निम, M. नीम, नीज, S. निम.
Skr. गुङ्ध “vulture,” Pr. गिर्द, H. गिर्द, B. गिर, M. गिर्द, गिर, S. गिर.

Sindhi here in all but two instances adheres to the cerebral, which, as noted above, bears the sound of /tr/. There is almost complete unanimity between all the other languages. The class of words now under discussion affords additional confirmation to the already mentioned theory, that the tendency towards cerebralizing the dentals under the influence of च is one which was much stronger in ancient times than in modern, and that the tendency in question has been gradually growing weaker and weaker as time went on. These words are all, or nearly all, modern Tadbhayas. खेत shows itself to be modern by many
signs: first, it has the change of च into श, which we have shown in § 83 to be a later process than that into छ; secondly, it has lost the accent; and, thirdly, there exists an older word चिर, which, though now used to signify “a mound of ruins,” “the site of an ancient town,” undoubtedly originally meant “a field” or “spot.” The signification of “a site,” now attributed to चिर, agrees with the original Sanskrit meaning of the word, which was not, as in modern times, so much “a cultivated plot of land” as “a possession,” “an estate”; hence “a definite locality” or “site.” The word चिर is hardly a regular peasant’s word to this day. The peasant uses a dozen other words to express his cultivated land. In Gujarati, which has preserved a great many archaic Hindi forms, we have the analogous चिर, which is a regular formation through चिर, where the dental is duly cerebralized, and subsequently softened to its media, and the last syllable with its long vowel preserves the oxytone type of the Sanskrit. चिर, on the other hand, appears to have arisen from separating the nexus and writing चिर, a form still preserved in P. and O., as also मूर. Similarly we have in G. चोतर, “a loin cloth,” Skr. चोतर, H. चोती. In the combinations derived from चि “three,” we see the same process at work, though the र has in most instances been elided. चंद्र became चंद्र, a form which still survives as a proper name. In Kashmiri there occur several forms, as मूर “urine,” Skr. मूर, Modern H. मूर.

Thus, the conclusion to be arrived at is this, that the words of the form चिर, पुर, etc., are early Tadbhavas, and those of the form चिर are modern Tadbhavas. It does not militate against this theory to urge that in Prakrit also the र is assimilated, producing चि, from which the single र of the moderns might regularly have arisen, because such forms as चिर, which

1 चिर is found in Skr. in the sense of “a village,” where it is evidently a dialectic or Prakritisized form of चि.

2 Thus, the trust of country round the temple of Jagannath at Puri is known as पुरस्नाम चिर, vulgo Parswanath Chitar, or Sirl Chitar.
reveal a consciousness of the existence of the र, could not have come through the Prakrit, which has altogether lost that letter.

§ 86. The last form of nexus remains to be considered. The weak nexus, as I have called it, consists entirely of weak letters, the nasals, semivowels, and sibilants, together with र. From the nature of its component parts, this nexus requires to be treated even more in detail than the mixed nexus, because, though both its elements are weak, yet they are not equally so. It is frequently found that one of them yields to the other, and is, as in the other classes of nexus, assimilated in Prakrit and rejected in the modern languages. An interesting and important inquiry thus arises as to what is the comparative strength of the various classes. Is the nasal stronger than the semivowel, for instance, or weaker? To answer this it will be necessary to go through each description of combination separately. There are the following descriptions, exclusive of र:

1. Nasal combined with nasal.
2. Nasal with semivowel.
3. Nasal with sibilant.
4. Semivowel with semivowel.
5. Semivowel with sibilant.

The combinations of र will form a separate section, for reasons hereafter to be given. In the above list, numbers 2, 3, and 5 include their respective opposites; thus, under 3 are included combinations in which the semivowel precedes, as well as those in which it follows, the nasal; because in the weak, just as in the mixed, nexus the relative position of the elements has no influence on the treatment, except in number 4, where in some cases the two semivowels appear to be of equal strength, and the question which of them shall be assimilated to the other is at times decided by position. In such cases, however, in accordance with the general principles of the seven
languages, the stronger of the two elements holds its place, or rather has a tendency to do so, and the weaker inclines to be assimilated, and subsequently disappears.

* In this nexus, moreover, there are two further sources of irregularity; the first, that the semivowels $y$ and $v$, as usual, oscillate backwards and forwards, appearing at one time hardened into $j$ and $b$, at another relaxed into $i$ and $u$; the second, that this form of nexus is more liable than any other to be dissolved by the insertion of a vowel between its component parts.

We shall now go through the various descriptions of weak nexus seriatim in the order given above.

§87. Nasal with Nasal.—This combination is from the nature of the case very rare. It is of course impossible in Sanskrit for two nasals of different organs to be joined: न and न न could not combine. Therefore the only combinations which, as far as I am aware, actually occur are न + न and म + न. With regard to the former of these, Vararuci directs the assimilation of the preceding to the following letter: न च बन बनव बन बनव by a curious set of changes वनहित (iii. 43). The latter word does not occur in modern times save as a Tatsama. जन is always dissolved into जनम, and is in this form a very much used word. प, however, has in addition the curious variations जस्म, which is the Prakrit form above, and जनम, as also the vulgarism बुरम in the spoken language. Such formations as might be expected to occur from the addition of the formative syllable मन्त्र to roots ending in म do not survive to modern times, because the modern languages in the vast majority of Tadbhavas retain nothing of the Sanskrit elements beyond the root, and form their secondary words by additions of a different type. Roots like तन, मन, हन, occur often as the basis of modern words, but with entirely modern afformatives. Similarly in the case of the nexus च I have not found modern instances. निः
"below," is used in B. and O., but as a Tatsama. The name प्रथुष च becomes, according to Var. iii. 44, प्रथुषोऽ, but when used in modern or middle age religious poems, it is written as a Tatsama, or divided, as प्रथुष म, according to the caprice of the writer. That the nexus itself is easily pronounceable by modern organs is shown by the fact that the river in Skr. यमुना is now ordinarily known as the Jamnà, a word which would be correctly written जम्बा, though in writing the old spelling यमुना is generally adhered to.

§ 88. NAΞAL WITH SEMIVOWEL.—In this form of nexus the nasal is as a rule the stronger, if strength be measured by tenacity. The combinations that occur with थ, the first semi-vowel, are थ, थ, and थ. No combination of this semi-vowel with the nasal थ of its own organ is met with. Examples of थ and थ are as follows:

\[ थ + थ. \]

Skr. चरा "desert," Pr. रा, H. रा, S. ररा, रा, G. रा, M. id.
Skr. आराधक "wild animal," H. चरा "wild buffalo," P. चरा;
B., O. id.

\[ थ + थ. \]

Skr. थन् "other," Old H. थनि.
Skr. थु "empty," H. सु or मुन, M. सु or मुन, O. सु, ಸು; S. सु, O. B. थु.
Skr. धु "grain," H., P. धान "rice," O., B. id. and धा, M., G.,
धा, S. धाःः.
Skr. कम्य "maiden," Pr. कम्य, H. and the rest Tatsama. P. चन्या,
S. कम्य.
Skr. नाय "justice," H. ना, P. निष्ठा, निष्ठ, S. id., B. Tatsama
and नी.

Vararuchi (xii. 7) mentions a Sauraseni transition into थ in
which is so natural a transition that one is surprised not to find it more frequent. No similar instances have, however, met my notice. The general treatment is to resolve the य into र, as in खन, and then to reject it entirely, leaving only म; प. often stops short at the first of these two stages. S. by virtue of its peculiar sound, expressed by र, is able to retain the original pronunciation unaltered; खर sounds kṣraya, identical with कवा.

With regard to ख, we have instances only in the Prakrit period, where it goes into र, as in खनद्रो, खनाद्रो, also written संद्रो, etc., for सम्ब, सम्य (Var. ii. 7). It also (in iii. 2) changes into न, as नोमो for नीम्य. The latter of these changes is more in harmony with modern practice, and the word itself probably reappears in M. सोय “trickery.” There do not appear to be any other well-authenticated instances of this nexus in the modern languages. Such Sanskrit forms as खाय are represented by खामी and the like, where it is doubtful whether the र is really derived from the य, or is a modern independent formation; most probably the latter is the case.

र is attached to म in two instances:


Skr. ताल “copper,” Pr. तच, H. तांचा, P. र, S. दांचो, G. तांचु, M. तांच, O. तामक, B. तामा.

Here the semivowel disappears, and in some cases the nasal is thickened into the media of its organ with anusvāra.

For the nexus ख, the only nasal combination into which ख enters, the instance of खर्वर “tamarind,” may be referred to. (Chap. II. § 34.)

ख and खर occur respectively in किव “yeast,” S. किव, and खर, the name of a Rishi. The gentleman seems to have been forgotten in modern times.

From the comparatively barren ground of that form of nexus
in which the nasal precedes the semivowel, we now pass to a more fertile field. The semivowels र and ल precede श, न, and न, and the first of these combinations is exceedingly common:

श.
Skr. क्षण "wail," Pr. चण, H. जन, P. जन, S. जन, O. id.
Skr. क्षण "ear," Pr. खणी, H. लान, and so in all except P. ल, S. कण.
Skr. माल्यण "guest," Pr. पालणो, H. पालणा, G. पोणी, M. पालणा, पालीण.
Skr. सुवर्ण "gold," Pall. सुवर्ण and सोन, Pr. सोवर्ण, H. सोम, P. id., S. सोनु, G. सोमु, M. सोम, B. सोम, O. सुना.
Skr. पल्ल "leaf," Pr. पली, H. पान, restricted to the signification of betel-leaf used for chewing, and so in all, except B. and O., which have पाण.

Connected with the word माल्यण is the common verb H. पालण, P. पालण, S. पल्ल "to arrive," G. पीण, M. पोपण, B. पल्ल, O. पल्ल; though I am not sure where the च comes from.

The general rule, it will be seen, is assimilation, and subsequent elision of the र; but there are certain exceptions to be noticed:

Skr. चूण "full," H. पूरा, P. id., S. पूरी, G. चूरी, M. चूर, B. चूर, O. id.

In these two words it is the nasal which has disappeared, if the derivation be correct. There is room, however, for doubt on this head. The modern languages so constantly form their words in a way of their own, taking nothing from Sanskrit but the root, that it may fairly be assumed in the case of these two words that they are derivatives from roots चूर and पूर, and
have nothing to do, beyond a community of origin, with the two passive participles above given. This is confirmed by the fact that there is also in existence a very common word in all the languages which is derived from चुरा, according to the ordinary rule of assimilating the semivowel. This word means "lima," and is as follows:

H. चूरा, P. चूरा, चूरी, S. चूर, G. चूरी, M. चूरा, B., O. id.

Unfortunately no light is thrown on the matter by the other past participles of roots in ज्ञ, all of which take this form in Sanskrit, as they are only used, if at all, as Tatsamas; showing how rarely a Sanskrit inflectional form is preserved in the modern languages. From the roots of this class कृ, गृ, भृ, भु, भे, भे, derivatives in abundance may be found, but of words specially derived from the past participles भोग, भोग, भोग, and the rest, it would be difficult to adduce any examples. I am, therefore, of opinion that चूरा and चूरा should be referred merely to the general root, and not to the participle, while चूरा is derived from the participle, not regarded as a participle, but as a noun, into which latter phase it had already passed in Sanskrit.

A somewhat similar argument may be applied to a class of words of a double form derived from the root घूर्ण "to revolve." These are:

(a) H. घूरणा, घूरना, etc., P. id., S. घूरणु, घूरणु, etc., G. घूरणु, B. घूरणा, O. id.

(b) H. घुमणा, घुमणी, etc., P. id., S. घुमणु, घुमणी, G. घुमणु, M. घुमणि, B. घुमण, घुमणी, O. id.

In the first set of words we have both the र and न preserved by splitting, and the form घुरणा has probably arisen from Skr. घूर्णेन through an intermediate stage घूरणेन, one न being rejected. That this word has been long in use and lost much of its old character is shown by the fact that its meaning has
altered from the primitive sense of turning round into a
variety of secondary senses, such as "to stare at" (i.e. "to roll
the eyes") and the like. This form is all plain sailing, but there
is much difficulty in the second form चुमा, which is of much
more frequent use in the sense of revolving. चुमा means
giddiness, and there are several derivatives with the sense of
reverberating, roaring, etc. I can only account for the pre-
sence of the म by supposing that after the absorption of the
र, the influence of the labial vowel has been strong enough to
draw over the nasal श into its own organ. This explanation
is not altogether satisfactory, Prakrit takes as its base चुण, a
dialectic form of चूण, and changes the श into श, making its
verb धोलार (Var. viii. 6); the form चुम in the moderns must
therefore be post-Prakritic, that is, a late Tadbhava.

Of the nexus म a few examples will suffice, as it is perfectly
regular:

Skr. कम "work," Pr. कमो, H. काम, and so in all, except, as usual,
P. कमम and S. चमु.

Skr. वम "skin," Pr. वमो, H. वाम, and so in all, except, as usual,
P. वमम and S. चमु.

In the latter of these words by far the most common form in
use is H. चमर, P. id., M. चमर, G. चमर, B. चमर, O. id.
Inasmuch as early Hindi authors are very careless about the
श, when it has the sound of ज, often writing it र, this word is
sometimes seen in the form चमर, and this has apparently
misled grammarians and others into considering that we have
here a case of inversion of the two letters र and म; but inde-
dependently of the consideration that this does not account for
the final long अ, which has no business there if the word is merely
a reproduction of चम्र, a word accented on the penultimate, it
seems so obvious as hardly to need explanation that चमर, like
dozens of other words of similar form, is a diminutive, the
syllable शा or शी having that import in all the modern lan-
guages, and the long य of the primary word चाम has been shortened, according to custom, on receiving a heavy affixed termination. The same process takes place when चाम is the first word in a compound, as in चम्बार “worker in leather.” H. चम, and so in all except Bengal, which, with its usual disregardness of quantity, writes चाम, but pronounces the first syllable in such a way that no one could tell whether it was long or short. M. has an altogether irregular form चाम, which probably owes its य to some fancied similarity to कुम्बार or कुमार “a potter” (कुम्बार). Analogous to चाम is बम, “a blacksmith,” which even in Sanskrit times had been shortened from बम्बार into बम, unless indeed we prefer to regard it as derived from बर “hand,” and बार or बारक “smiter,” a derivation which does not commend itself to my judgment at least. Another word of the same class is बमरुष, a sort of acid fruit, from Skr. बमरुषा. It is needless further to dwell on this simple and regular nexus, and there is in like manner very little to be said of न. The commonest instance is the following:

Skr. शाकरी “silk-cotton tree,” H. शिम, सिम, F. शिम, म, चांबर, B. रिमु, O. द, and रिमित, where the य disappears, and other corruptions of a varied and complicated nature arise, which need not be here discussed.

Combinations in which य precedes any other nasal than न are not to be found.

§ 89. Nasal with Sibilant.—The forms in use are य, थ, ढ, भ, घ, ङ, घम, in all of which the sibilant precedes the nasal. When the nasal comes first, it generally, if not always, takes the form of anusvāra in Sanskrit, and universally so before every sibilant in Prakrit (Var. iv. 14, and note). There is nothing peculiar therefore or that need detain us in this particular, and we may pass at once to the nexus in which the sibilant precedes. The general rule is that the sibilant dis-
appears, leaving behind it হ, which is put after the nasal. The following are examples:

**শ + ন.**

Skr. প্রশ “question,” Pr. পশ্চি. Not in use, except as Tatsama, in the modern languages.

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**প + খ.**

Skr. কৃষ্ণ “Krishna,” Pr. কষ্ঠি, H. কাষ্ঠু. (See § 43.)
Skr. বিষ্ণু “Vishnu,” Pr. বিষ্ণু. As a Tatsama in moderns. B. বিষু.  
O. id., M. বিষ্ণু.
Skr. উষা “warm,” Pr. উষ্ঠী, M. উজু, S. উন “thirst.”

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**ম + ন.**

Skr. খান “bathing,” Pr. খার্চ, H. খানা, P. খাচান, G. গাহান.
M. id. and নাহাঁ.
Skr. নির্ম “oily,” Pr. নির্মাণ.

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**ম + ম.**

Skr. চৰণ “remembering,” Pr. চৰ্য্য (স্থরণ), H. চুম্ভর, P. চম্বর, G. চম্বরব.
Skr. মূর্তি “memory,” H. সুর্য, P. মূত, S. মূত.
Skr. শিষ্য “surprise,” P. শিশু.

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**প + ম.**

Skr. চীষ্ম “hot season,” Pr. চিস্মী, Old H. মরীম, M. মীম, মিস্ত.
Skr. উম “hot season,” Pr. উষ্ঠী, M. উষ্ঠী.
Skr. পশ্চ “eyelash,” Pr. পশ্চী.

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* With the secondary sense of yasbian, caused by heat of stomach, or of swelling and inflammation from a bite or sting; also of fruits ripening from heat, etc.


**SH + OH.**


Skr. रसिर "weak," H. कुशलम् "to wither."

Skr. रसिर "Kashmir"; is all रसिर, or, owing to Persian influence, काशिर.

Skr. पसू "heard," Pr. मसू, मसू, H. मुक्स. (See Chap. II. § 34.)


In the above list are grouped together both those words which observe the rule and those which deviate from it. It will be seen that, while Prakrit exhibits in a majority of cases the combinations शब and शह, the modern languages as a rule reject the श. M. is closest to the Prakrit in this respect. In H. मसाण we have perhaps a derivative not from तुष्या itself, but from some cognate form, such as तुष्या. In M. ताहान inversion has taken place from an older form तहां, just as we have in the same language नाहां for नाणिः, and the like, सचेतह probably preserves the two elements in consequence of the difficulty of pronouncing one ह so soon after the other; चेतह would be a very awkward word to utter. In मसू and मसाण the rejection of the श has begun as early as Prakrit, and रास from रसिम is altogether irregular. तुष्या, though put down under the head of श + ऊ, is really an example of ः + ऊ, because there must have been a metathesis into शुष्या to produce the Pr. form सोष्या. Had no such metathesis taken place, the Prakrit form would have been शृष्टा or श्वस्त्रा; from which comes शृष्ट, used in some rural dialects of Hindi, and शृष्ट Sindhi.

§ 90. **SEMIVOWEL WITH SEMIVOWEL.**—(1.) ः can only follow another letter; it cannot take the first place in the nexus. It can be preceded by the other three semivowels, giving the combinations ः, ः, and ः.
The fight is nearly equal between the two letters; sometimes one yields, sometimes the other. Examples:

Skr. कार्य “business,” Pr. कर्य (Maharashtri), कर (Māgadhi), कार्य (Paisāchi), H. कार्य. कार्य, P., G. id., S. कार्य, M. कार्य, O., B. कार्य
(pronounced karjye).

Skr. पर्यं “bed,” Pr. परंको, H. परंग, and so in all. P. परंघ, probably by an error of the dictionary writer, for परंग, like all the rest.


Skr. पीर “theft,” Pr. पीरिव, H. पीरी, and so in all.

Skr. सूर “sun,” Pr. सूरी and सूरी, H. सूर, P. id., S. सूर, G. सूर, M., B., and O. Tatama.

Skr. सूर “trumpet,” Pr. सूर, H. तूरी, तूरे, P. तुर, S., G., O. तूरी, B. तुर.

Skr. चाँदि “wonderful,” Pr. स्नेत, H. स्नि, P., S., G. id.

Prakrit has other instances not found in the modern languages. These are dhāram, sunderam, perantam, for dhāriyam, sunderiyan, and paryanta. Also poriam, viriam, for saurya, virya; and the word saumallam for sanumārya. We also find such forms as ujo for dṛya. Of these and the modern words it is somewhat difficult to speak with confidence. On the whole it appears that in words where the र is the last letter of a root and य the initial of a mere formative syllable, the latter is softened to a vowel which is in Prakrit short र, but generally in the moderns र long. This process is seen in chaurya, Pr. chariam, modern chari. Secondly, in words which, though originally formed in the same way as the first class, have got into general use as simple nouns, whose participial or secondary character has been forgotten, the modern languages generally split the nexus and harden the य to र. This is the most common method of treatment, and is exhibited in a great
number of words, as sūrya = sūraj, kārya = kāraj, bhārāja = bhārājad, mārjādā = marajādā. The words of this form are late Tadbhavas, which must have come into use in the tenth century. Belonging to this class are a few early Tadbhavas which retain the Prakrit practice; namely, they consider the य as ज, and thus obtain a mixed nexus ज, in which, of course, the र is assimilated, as in kārya = kajam = kājā. Thirdly, in one or two exceptional words the र changes to झ, and thus preserves itself and absorbs the य; in consequence of which absorption the झ is doubled, as in pallaṅko for paryauka. Of course the double झ is reduced to a single in the modern languages, but the preceding vowel is not generally lengthened, owing to the weight of the following syllable. In the form पालाङ the influence of the Persian ल is traceable, the first vowel being long in that language. For those cases in which the य, having first been softened to ज, exercises a retrospective effect on the preceding vowel, as in achakham, amubram, etc., reference may be made to Chap. II. § 34. The treatment of the word तिर्यक “crooked,” is peculiar. It becomes H. टेढा, P. टड़, S. टड़ो, G. टेंद्रु, टें, M. तेढ़ा, तिद्रा, तेढ़ा, O. टेंरा, B. टेंड़ा, तेढ़ा, and तेंढा. Here the य has disappeared, and the र has changed in some cases to झ, and in all but M. and B. even the initial झ has been drawn into the cerebral organ. This strangely distorted word stands alone in the processes it has undergone, and I am almost tempted to look on it as a non-Aryan word, which has been Sanskritized into तिर्यक, while its older and rougher form has remained in popular speech. Or if it is Aryan the last element, च, may not have entered into the composition of the modern word, which perhaps represents only तिरस्. In any case the word is an enigma.

क. Examples:

Skr. देश "dawn," Pr. देश, H. देस, कं. P. देश, देश, S. देश, कःकः, G., M. देश, O. कंस, B. id., also कान. These words mean
"to-morrow," also "yesterday"; in B. and O. the word मि or मला "gone," is prefixed when the latter meaning is intended.

Skr. सूच "equal," H. दुच, P. दुच, S. दुच; the others have the Tatsama.

Skr. मृच । "price," H. मोच, P. मृच, S. मृच, M., G. मोच, B. id.,

Skr. मृच । O. मृच.

In these instances the ज retains its place, and the च either disappears altogether, or is changed into ह, or is softened to र. In no case does the च prove stronger than the ज, nor have I found any instances of its being preserved by hardening into ज, as in च.

च: In this nexus the च universally becomes ज, thus forming a mixed nexus, so that the च is inevitably absorbed, or at best remains in its vowel form ः. A few instances will suffice:


Skr. चिक "tiger," H. चिक, and so in all.


Skr. चं "frog," H. चं, B., O. id., G. चं (?)

Skr. चापारी "merchant," H. चापारी, चापारी, चापारी, M., G., B.,

O. id.

Such words as चचच "raw flesh," द्रच "thing," मच "relating to a cow," do not occur in the modern languages, except as Tatsamas. In the old poets such forms as द्रच, however, are occasionally met with.

(2.) र. This semi-vowel can both precede and follow. Thus we have the following combinations, र र र; the first of which has been discussed above; also र and र, though the combination of ज with र does not to my knowledge take place. र is usually treated as if the र were च, and the र is consequently assimilated. Instances are:

Skr. सर "all," Pr. सर, Old H. सर, मरस, H. सर, P. सम, सम.
CHANGES OF COMPOUND CONSONANTS.

S. सम्. चम is used, but rarely, in G. and H., though the Tatsama is common in both, and in M., O. समः.

G. चावण्, M. चावणि, B. चाविन्ते, O. चावाद्वा.

But in late Tadbhavas both letters are retained by splitting the nexus, as:

Skr. पार्वत् "festival," Pr. पवो, H. परव, P. id. In the rest as a Tatsama पर्व, but S. has a form पिन् as well.

Skr. पूर् "former," "east," Pr. पृष्ठ, H. पूर्, P. id. In the rest as a Tatsama पूर्व.

व is not a very common nexus, and is generally treated as व. In late Tadbhavas initial व is split, व becomes व, and the र is sometimes joined to the following consonant, just as we saw was the case with भ (see § 83). Thus:

Skr. भत "vow," H. भरत or वरत, P. वरत. In the rest Tatsama.

In cases where the nexus is followed by a long vowel, the र is not joined to the following consonant, as in भ्रत "marriage procession," H. भरत, and so in all. भर "a cow-pen," is in H. often pronounced and written वर, also वर, and so in most languages. The O. वर "a pân-garden," is also probably from the same word, in the general sense of "an inclosure."

Skr. तोष "sharp," is only used as a Tatsama.

It is unnecessary to go further into separate notice of व and व, as they have already been spoken of under व and र. The question that arises is, which is the strongest of the semivowels? To this it may be replied, that व from being so constantly confounded with व becomes virtually the strongest; it would, however, be the weakest but one if it did not do so, as in the other direction it would soften to व. व in like manner when hardened to व is more tenacious than the two remaining semivowels, र and च. These latter cannot harden or soften in any way, and
hold therefore a middle place. The order of strength of the semivowels stands consequently as follows:

(1.) व when regarded as व.
(2.) य when regarded as य.
(3.) न.
(4.) र.
(5.) व when softened to च.
(6.) च when softened to र.

Instances of number 5 in a weak nexus are rare, if they exist at all. Words like उल्ल "womb," उल्ल "abundant," might supply examples if they were in use. The mixed nexus illustrates what is meant, in such cases as द्रि = द्री, etc.

When the two members of the nexus are of nearly equal strength, the problem is solved by splitting them asunder and inserting a vowel.

§ 91. SEMIVOWEL WITH SIBILANT.—With the semivowel preceding, which is less frequent than the reverse order, we have with र the combinations य and श. On the analogy of the general treatment of the sibilants in Prakrit and the early Tadbhava period, we should expect to find both these kinds of nexus result in श, but this form does not generally, if ever, occur. य is so constantly regarded in the modern languages as श that it necessarily introduces some confusion into the development of those groups, whether of the mixed or weak nexus, in which it occurs.

Of the early Tadbhava period perhaps the best example is—

Skr. क्रम "dragging," H. कोइना (kēphul), P. कोइन, S. कोइ, G. कोइ, M. कोइ, B. कोइ, O. कोइ.

In this case it would appear that the य had in the first instance migrated into र, producing र, but that the cerebral nature of the sibilant had led to a change of the liquid र into च, which combining with च produced च.
But even in this class of words there are found cases where the \( \text{}" \) changes to \( \text{"} \) and absorbs the \( \text{"} \), as—

Skr. श्री "head, Pr. शिसो and शीसो, H. शीस, P. id., S. शिसी, G. शी, M. शीस and शीस.

Similar to the last instance but one is the following:

Skr. निक्कास "taking out," Pr. निकास, but Pali निक्कृ (Mahāvamsa, p. 20), H. निकासना and निकासन, P. निकासण, निकासण, निकासण, निकासण, निकासण, etc., S. निकारणु, निकिरणु, निकारदु, G. निकारदु, निकारदु, M. निकारदु, निकास, etc., B., O. not used.

These words are extremely common. Of the two sets of forms that whose root ends in श ए and ए has been formed by carrying the process of काइना a step further, and modulating the श into ष ए and ए, as in so many other cases (see Chap. III. § 60); while that ending in ए is produced by the same process as श, namely, by assimilating the ए. In Sindhi the ए of the other languages has been changed into ए, in accordance with the usual custom of that language (see Chap. III. § 61). The derivation sometimes given from निकास fails to satisfy the requirements of the case, as it does not account for the cognate forms in ए, etc., though it may be urged that the two forms are separate: that in ए being from निकास, while that in ए is from निकास.

Another case of assimilation of the ए is S. वसणु "to rain," Skr. वसे, but in this instance S. stands alone, as will be shown presently.

Opposed to this is the rejection of the sibilant in—

Skr. मार्गीयर "November-December," O. मागुर्यर, मागुर्यर, vulga मागुर, P. मंगर (for मंगर), S. मंगुर.

P. and S. here characteristically change the ए into ए.
In the late Tadbhava period this nexus is treated by splitting, घ being as usual changed to ह. Thus:

Skr. घं "the relx," Pr. यरीस्, H. घरसा, घरसात्, घरसना "to rain," and so in all; P. घर्हा and घर्हा.
Skr. सर्वं "mustard-plant." H. सरसां, P. सरही, S. सर, G. सरसस्युः; B. सरिष्व, सरिष्ण्, O. सरसा. सीरिषं.

घं takes in modern times the meaning of "year" (just as we say, so many summers or so many winters), and then becomes H. घरस, P. घर्ष, so in B., O.; S. has घर्ष. In the others it occurs as a Tatsama only. H. has also a form घरस in the sense of "rain," and घर्ष among the truckies for "year." So also G. घर्षे एद्रे "yearly," P. घर्ष, also घरवाष्ट (घर्ष + घर्ष) "rainy season." These forms arise from the change of घ to ह, and a similar case is H. घरसना "to rejoice." Skr. हं, where, however, S. has घरही for महरही=Skr. महर्षः.

An isolated case of absorption of र and change of घ to ह is afforded by the early Tadbhava Skr. कायांपण a certain "coin" or "weight," Pr. काहायको, H. कहां "sixteen paws" (or 1280 kowrees), O. काहाय, B. काहय. The word does not seem to be in use in Western India.

घ is treated like the more regular developments of घ; that is to say, in the early period र is absorbed, in the later the two elements of the nexus are split; in the first instance anuswāra occasionally replaces the lost र.

Examples are—Of the earlier treatment:

Skr. पार्थि "beside," H. पास, P. परि, S. पार, पासी (subst. = पारं), G. पारि, M. पायी, पासून.

This is the same process as that in ग्रीघः=सीघः.

Skr. संघ "touching," Pr. फंसो, (1) H. फङ्गना and फङ्गना, M. फङ्गी, G. फङ्गु, S., P. फङ्ग = "to stick in the mud," etc.; (2) H. फङ्गना, फङ्गी, and in all the rest, P., S. also फङ्गी = "to hang."
Of the later treatment:

Skr. खास "teaching," H. परस, पारस, परसा, P. id., G. पारस, M. परस, etc.

In the second of the two groups the aspirate फ shows that an म has been rejected from the beginning of the word, and we are thus compelled to go back to the root स्र, and not, as some would prefer, to the Skr. पाश "a nose."

With the sibilant preceding there are many combinations, as, ख, च, छ; च, च्छ. As far as the sibilants are concerned, they may all be treated under one head, there being no difference between them.

ख, च, छ.—The last two are rare, and the former is more frequent as an initial. The च disappears entirely; in no case leaving any sign of its having gone through the vowel stage:

Skr. खाम "black," H. साम, P. खाम, M. शाम.

Skr. खाम "swarthy," H. सावधा (see § 65), B. शामवा.

Skr. खाल or खाल "brother-in-law," H. साला, P. साठ, S., G. सालो, G. also साली, M. साठा, B. शाला, O. Tatsama.


Skr. ध्रुव } "December-January," ध्रुव, P. पोढ, S. पोढ, G. and


This is the only way I can think of for putting the Punjabi word into Dermaguri. म with a little loop at the bottom, meant to represent त, is the regular way of writing त in the Gurmukhi character.

Not "brass," as stated in some dictionaries; it is, I believe, a compound of brass and तन.
In this last word the Panjabi is the only language which retains the palatal final vowel, probably softened from the य of the Skr. This ख has in Sindhi undergone a regular process which is not found in other examples. The य hardens into य, and the ख passes into ख, as usual in Sindhi, and the two letters then coalesce into ख. It has been suggested that the termination of the genitive case in Marathi, चा, ची, चेह, etc., is derived from ख, the termination of the Skr. genitive of nouns ending in -a; this is not improbable, and will be discussed in its proper place when treating of the case-endings of nouns.

च, छ.—In the word चमङ्घ “beard,” which has been already quoted, the final र has altogether disappeared, and the छ hardened into छ, while the vowel has leapt over into the preceding syllable, thus resulting in चूङ्घ and the like. In the majority of instances the र disappears and the छ is changed to छ, as in the following words:

Skr. अवाग “July-August,” ह. गाव, प. गाव, स. गाव, G. साव, M. O., B. Tatsama.

Skr. अवाग “bearing,” Pr. सूङ्घ, ह. जुन्ना, प. सुण्घ, स. सुण्घ, B. शुन, O. चुस्ना.

Both elements are sometimes preserved by splitting, as—

Skr. अग्य “refuge,” ह. आहर, and so in all.

Skr. मिस्त्र Brahmans title, ह. मिस्त्र, प. मिस्त्र, स. मिस्त्र, G. मिस्त्र, In the rest as a Tatsama.

In a few words the rejection of र is compensated by anusvāra. Thus:

Skr. आघा “tear,” Pr. चस, ह. असू, प. चस, G. चास, S. इस, M. आन, where the palatal sibilant has changed into the media of its organ in P., G., and S.

It is unnecessary to give examples of छ, as they follow the same rule.
% is a rare nexus; the commonest instance is याग्यa "praise," H., P. सराहयa, where, as usual with य, it is treated by splitting.

च, ख.—In both these combinations the च generally disappears, but its influence often suffices to change the following vowel into च or ची. Examples:

च.
Skr. ईसर "God," H. ईसर, P. Id.; more generally used as a Tatsama.

ख.
Skr. खाम "Lord," H. सार् (see Chap. III. § 65).
Skr. खण "sleeping," H. सोना (see Chap. III. § 52).

§ 92. ख is found only in the weak nexus, because if it enters into the mixed nexus it merely aspirates the strong letter, and does not retain any separate existence.

In Sanskrit the ख precedes the nasal in some instances; in this case it is in Prakrit and the moderns placed after the nasal. Prakrit instances are बक्षी, बक्ष, for बिख, बिख. The principal modern example is—

Skr. चिथ "mark," Pr. चिथ, H. चिथा, P. चिहम, S. चिहु, M. चिन्त, G., B., O. Id.

In all these languages the inversion takes place, except in P. and S., where the nexus is split. The Prakrit form is peculiar, and does not occur in modern times.
When combined with the semivowels य or न, the latter take their respective consonantal forms य and न, and a mixed nexus thus arises in which the ह merely aspirates the strong letter. Thus:

Skr. गुद्गा "secret." Pr. मुद्ग्रो, M. मूढ़, S. मूढ़, G. मूढ़, P. मूढ़ा.
Skr. बाह्या "outer." Pr. व्याह्य्रो, S. बाह्य, "without," P. बाह्य, बाह्यो, id.
Skr. विहा "tongue." Pr. विहाखा, H. वीभ, and so in all.
Skr. विहेल "agitated," Pr. वेलेर्रो, H. विहेल, P. विहेल.
ह and ण are generally preserved, as they occur only in a few Tatsamas, as the proper name पाहनार, now written पाहनार.

§ 93. To close this portion of the work, it remains only to offer some observations as to the relative strength, as tested by their tenacity in resisting absorption, of the weak letters.

First of all come the nasals, which are very seldom, if ever, assimilated, and may be classed in order of strength thus: म, य, न. The other two nasals, ह and ङ, are always treated as anuśvara, and do not occur in the weak nexus.

The question between the semivowels and sibilants is more difficult to decide. On the one hand the latter frequently vanish into ह, while on the other, when preceding य or य, they absorb those letters, as they do also र in such words as श्रीरेण = श्रीरेष, and others. The total disappearance of a sibilant from a weak nexus is rare and exceptional, they seldom get further than the change to ह, so that perhaps upon the whole it may be said that the sibilants are more tenacious than the semivowels, inasmuch as they never, like the latter, entirely disappear. With the sibilants may be classed ह, which is their product and representative from early times, and then follow the semivowels in the order given above.
Thus the whole of the weak letters, as arranged in order of strength, would stand as follows:

First, the nasals

\[ \text{न, न, घ} \]

Second, the sibilants श, ष, श, and ष

(theses are equal among themselves)

\[ \text{व, व, व, व, when equivalent to व} \]

Third, the semivowels

\[ \text{ऋ, र, र, र, र, when softened to र} \]

As regards the modern languages, there is little or no difference between them in this respect. In all of them early Tadbhavas are prone to absorption, late Tadbhavas to retention of both letters by splitting. Thus, we have on the one hand काम, कान, on the other कर्म and कर्ण. Words of the latter type are frequent in literature from its earliest period, but it must be remembered that the earliest works in modern literature are contemporaneous with the rise of the modern Tadbhava period, and that the older words which exhibit the Prakrit system of absorption were in all probability, if not certainly, in use in the mouths of the people all the while.

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