A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES
OF INDIA.

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A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
MODERNARYAN LANGUAGES
OF INDIA:
TO WIT,
HINDI, PANJABI, SINDHI, GUJARATI, MARATHI,
ORIYA AND BENGALI.

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New Delhi.

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VOL. II.

THE NOUN AND PRONOUN.

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PREFACE.

Two years and a half have elapsed since I sent home my First Volume. This Second Volume would have been ready sooner but for the constant interruptions to which I have been subjected. The pressure of official work has largely increased, and, at one time, when I was called on to take charge of the administration of the Province of Orissa, was so heavy as to compel me to lay aside all literary work for six months.

To this cause must also be ascribed much of the disjointed and unfinished appearance of some parts of the work, for which I must ask the reader's indulgence.

JOHN BEAMES.

Cuttack, Orissa, April, 1874.
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ERRATA.

Page 11, line 7, for nadd read nadd, i.e. the mark on the final a is the accent, not the long vowel; and so in the six words which follow.

Page 23, line 21, for तुहीनाम read तुही नाम.
Page 26, line 14, for शन्व read शिव.
Page 30, line 5, for मीड read मोह.
Page 39, line 6, for साम read साम.
Page 53, line 10, for खेड़ना read खेड़ना.
Page 53, line 11, for चोड़ना read चोड़ना.
Page 58, line 27, for जैगड़ read जैगड़.
Page 65, line 23, for घुजाना read घुजाना.
Page 70, line 8, for विछाना read विछाना.
Page 70, line 14, dele "n" after "with."
Page 70, line 19, for चामगी read चामगी.
Page 78, line 9, for B. read Pr.
Page 81, line 3 from bottom, for derivatives read desideratives.
Page 83, line 1, for गंगा read गंगा.
Page 93, line 8, for क्रान्त read क्रान्त.
Page 93, line 20, for चढ़ read चढ़.
Page 100, line 19, for quarrel read quarrelmate.
Page 113, line 18, for it read them.
Page 124, line 7, transfer the comma from after 'mute' to after 'consonant.'
Page 128, line 5, for जमटंगा read जमटंगा.
Page 128, line 5, for तंग read टंग.
Page 128, line 20, for जामटंगा read जामटंगा.
Page 128, line 20, for तंग read टंग.
Page 132, line 17, in "so-much-used" dele the first hyphen.
ERRATA.

Page 141, line 3, for "fifty-three" read "fifty-five."
Page 150, line 1, for चोट read चोट।
Page 154, line 1, after "except" insert M.
Page 161, line 17, for इन्दू read इन्दू।
Page 179, line 22, for future read past.
Page 201, line 7, for देखजाम read देखजाम।
Page 201, line 7, for सीरिया read सीरिया।
Page 201, line 4 from bottom, for these read those.
Page 202, line 23, for पड़ोटी read पड़ोटी।
Page 212, line 11, for काफी read काफी।
Page 219, line 8, for प्रेमान read प्रेमान।
Page 254, line 3 from bottom, for साँच read हाँच।
Page 267, line 13, for दह read दह।
Page 269, line 6, for बही read बही।
Page 275, line 13, for युद्ध read युद्ध।
Page 275, line 20, for चारी read चारी।
Page 293, line 18, for termination read combination.
Page 293, line 3 from bottom, for स्थान read स्थान।
Page 295, line 23, for हलोत read हलोत।
Page 297, line 22, for चौंच read चौंच।
Page 316, line 4, for महिदे read महिदे।
Page 332, line 11, for you read you.
CHAPTER I.

FORMATION OF THE STEM.


§ 1. Nouns are divided into two classes: those which name objects, and are called appollatives, or in the older phraseology substantives; and those which describe the qualities of objects, and are called attributives, or in the older phraseology adjectives. Both classes will be considered in this Chapter.

The noun as employed in Sanskrit contains three divisions—the root, the suffix, and the termination; the root and suffix taken together constitute the stem, the whole three combined form the perfect noun fitted for use in speaking or writing.
Thus *naras*, "a man," consists of three parts, *nar* + *a* + *s*, where *nar* is the root, *a* the suffix, *s* the termination; *nar* + *a* = *nara* is the stem.

The terminations vary with every relation or connexion of the noun, and their variations constitute what are called cases. In the modern languages the terminations of the Sanskrit noun no longer exist in their original form; in some of the seven languages no trace of them is perceptible in the singular, and only weakened and half-obliterated traces remain in the plural; in none of the languages are more than slight and doubtful indications of their presence still observable. The variations of case are expressed in the modern languages by particles placed after the stem, just as in modern European languages they are expressed by particles placed before the stem. The English declension, *fish*, of *fish*, to *fish*, stands in the same relation to the Gothic *fisks*, *fiskis*, *fiska*; and French *champ*, de *champ*, à *champ*, in the same relation to Latin *campus*, camp-*campo*; as Hindi *nar*, *nar* *kā*, *nar* *ko*, does to Sanskrit *naras*, *narasya*, *narāya*.

The first point then to be considered is the formation of the stem, and in this inquiry our attention is entirely concentrated on the final syllable or suffix. When treating, in the First Book, of Phonetic Changes, I exhibited, as far as the materials at my command permitted, those alterations and corruptions which have operated to change the form of the root; and the next step is to discuss the processes by which the stem, consisting of the combination of root and suffix, has been built up in its manifold developments.

Sanskrit grammarians divide nominal stems into two classes. They do not admit the possibility of a noun being a primitive word, derived from nothing else, but hold that all the words in their language are derived from verbal roots (called *dhātu*), by additions and changes of various kinds. The first class, therefore, consists of those nouns derived from the *dhātu* directly:
these they call kridanta; the second, of those derived immediately from other nouns; these they name taddhita. I shall use for kridanta the term "primary stem"; for taddhita, "secondary stem."

§ 2. Derivation is effected by the addition to the dhatu, or root, of certain syllables called pratyaya, or suffix. These suffixes in many cases not merely add a vowel or syllable to the root, but also effect some change in the root itself, either by lengthening the vowel, eliding a final consonant, or in some other way. In order to indicate the effect the suffix has on the root, the Indian grammarians have prefixed or added to each suffix certain letters, which serve as a sort of memoria technica. Thus पक "cooking," would be described as पक + च, that is, derived from the root पक "to cook" by the suffix च; the effect of this suffix is principally to add a final च to the root, but it also lengthens the root-vowel, and this effect is indicated by the letter च; it moreover changes a final palatal into a guttural, and this is denoted by the च. The number of pratayyas is very great, the grammarians having multiplied them without stint, in order to give expression to the large mass of minute distinctions with which they have encumbered their writings. As, however, we are not discussing Sanskrit grammar, but only the simpler grammar of its modern descendents, it will not be necessary to consider all these suffixes in detail. They may be conveniently thrown into groups according to the vowel or syllables which they actually add to the root, the technical letters being referred to only when the distinction which they mark is of importance in its bearing on the forms of the spoken languages. Among the kridantas or primary stems the Indian grammarians include participles and verbal forms of all kinds, as well as abstract nouns. It will, however, be more in accordance with the principles of linguistic science to reserve the consideration of participles and all verbal formations till the
chapters on the Verb are reached, and to discuss in this place merely those suffixes which form substantives and adjectives.

Suffixes are monosyllabic or disyllabic. Out of the vast mass of suffixes mentioned by the Sanskrit grammarians, many may be dismissed as unconnected with the present subject, inasmuch as the stems formed by them were so formed before the rise of the modern languages, and the question of their construction is a matter not of modern, but of ancient, grammar. Our seven languages took over these words ready made, and, as far as we are concerned therefore, they may be regarded as primitive words. Only such suffixes will here be introduced as have left traces in the speech of the present times; and if it be necessary to speak of certain of them which are of purely Sanskrit use, it is merely because of their bearing on phonetic or structural processes of recent introduction.

§ 3. Stems in -a. The nouns of this class are of all three genders, and make in the nominative case of Skr., masc. -as, fem. -a, neut. -asa. The a of the masc. nom., however, is not permanent; before a word beginning with a sonant letter, it, together with the a of the stem, changes into o. Inasmuch as the sonant letters in Sanskrit are more numerous than the surds, the form of the nominative case in -a was much more frequently heard than any other; and the vulgar, who are not careful of minute grammatical distinctions, appear even in the earliest times to have used the termination in -a to the exclusion of all others. Thus Vararuchi (v. I) gives it as a general rule that o is substituted for as (= as), the technical name of the nom. sing. ending, in all words whose base ends in a, as cachchha, casaho, puriso, for vrikshas, vrikshabhas, purushas. He considers that the a of the suffix has been elided, though it is more probable that the whole termination -as changed into -a through the intermediate form -ah, the labial vowel owing its origin to the involuntary contraction of the
lips during the passing of the soft breathing indicated by the visarga. In Magadhi Prakrit the nom. is sometimes formed in -es, and in Apabhraṃṣa in -u.

In more recent times two separate sets of stems developed themselves out of this o-stem. The first probably ended in u in all the languages down to about the fourteenth century; since then it has ended in -a in all but Sindhi, which still retains the termination in -u. In old Hindi and Marathi the nominative in u is distinctly traceable, and in the former is even lengthened to ū at the end of a verse where the metre requires a long syllable. This is especially the case in Tulsidas’s Ramayana, a work which exhibits a wide range of popular forms and phrases. Thus we have शरीफ, नीर, क्याफ़, प्रवाह, at the ends of rhyming lines for शरीफ, बीर, in modern H. शरीर, बीर, शरीर, बीर. The second ended in o, which in the broad pronunciation of old Hindi sounds au, though the form in o is often used by the earlier poets; and there is no distinction between the two: it is merely a matter of manuscripts, some using one, some the other form. This o softened subsequently still further into a, in all but G. and S., which still retain o.

Concerning the cause of the parallel existence of the two forms there has hitherto been much doubt. Dr. Trumpp considers it a mere matter of accident, and thinks the presence of one form or the other is due to habit and daily usage. Dr. Hoernle, however, holds, and with justice, that this reasoning is insufficient, and would ascribe all words which exhibit the a = o termination to the forms of nouns with an added अ, which are extremely common in Prakrit. To this opinion I in the main subscribe. I think myself fortunate in this second volume

to have hints from other and better scholars than myself, which were wanting when the First Volume was written.

There is, however, one other possible way of accounting for the peculiarity. This is the influence of the accent. It is vigorously denied by some that the Sanskrit accent has persisted until modern times; but it may be urged that the idea is a new one, not altogether without support in facts, nor in any way a priori impossible, and it is not quite fair to dismiss it contemptuously without due consideration. The influence of the accent is naturally confined to words of the early Tadbhava class, namely to words which have come down uninterruptedly from those times when Sanskrit was spoken, and whose form depends on the ear, not on the eye. This is all that is claimed for it: it is not pretended that the Sanskrit accent has been preserved in words resuscitated from the written language by learned men, centuries after it had ceased to be spoken.

With these reservations, the reader is invited to examine the lists hereinafter given, given not in a spirit of dogmatism, but merely because I cannot satisfy myself in rejecting accentual influence in them, till I am met by something more convincing than anecds; though in the desire to arrive at the truth, which is the only object which these researches can possibly have for one in my position, I shall be ready to throw down my weapons and acknowledge myself beaten directly I feel myself fairly convinced.

In any case, whether the influence of the accent be admitted or rejected, the collection of words now given will be useful as

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1 See Vol. I. Ch. I. § 6, pp. 17 ff.

2 Unfortunately little is known of the spoken accent in Skr. In the following pages, the rules laid down in Bopp's Vergleichendes Accentualsystsem have been my guide; but perhaps since that was written advances have been made by European writers. These, in my isolated position in the depths of an Indian province, I have no means of obtaining. I am, however, quite conscious of the unfavourable effect isolation has on this, and all other parts of my work, and only wish my critics would bear it in mind sometimes.
affording instances of the development of the -a suffix, whatever
be thought of the cause of it. Those who hold that the termi-
nation d = o is due to the Prakrit (and at times also Sanskrit)
suffix क must explain to us why this क, producing d = o, has
been so capriciously employed, why, in fact, Skr. कोष “lip,”
should not have taken a क and become Pr. कोषो, H. कोषा,
just as much as, according to them, अग्नि “egg,” took क and
became अग्निः, अग्निः, अग्निः. If, as is asserted, all nouns
might and did take this क, why do not all nouns of this stem
end in the moderns in d = o, why do some end in a = u?

(I). Burytones.—The Sanskrit words in the following list are
all accented on the penultimate; they are all primary stems
formed by the addition to the verbal root of one or other of
the simple suffixes, such as अच, चर, चर, and the like: they
are all therefore fair cases in point.

O. कोष.

Skr. काण “ear,” Pr. काणो, H. काण, P. काण, G. M. B. O. काण, S. काण.
Skr. बाण “wood,” H. बाण, and so in all, but S. बाण.
Skr. कब “armpit,” Pr. कबो, H. कब, P. कब, G. M. B. O. कब,
S. कब.

Skr. कोश “kos,” H. कोष, P. कोष, the rest कोष, S. कोष.
Skr. क्रेश “trouble,” H. क्रेश, P. क्रेश, M. क्रेश, क्रेश, S. क्रेन.
Skr. च्रम “moment,” H. च्रम, प्रम, प्रम, the rest च्रम, S. च्रम (fem.).
Skr. गभ “womb,” H. गभ, गभ, P. id. and गभ, M. G. गभ, S.
गभ; गभ.

गाम.

Skr. गाम “net,” H. गाम, so in all, but G. गाँक, गाँक, S. गाम.
Skr. ताम “tone,” H. ताम, so in all, G. ताम, S. ताम.
Skr. तेल “oil,” H. तेल, so in all, S. तेल.
Skr. तूल “tooth,” H. तूल, so in all, P. दूल, S. बु.

FORMATION OF THE STEM.

Skr. दिन “day,” H. दिन, so in all, S. दिन.
Skr. देश “country,” H. देश, in the rest देख, S. देप.
Skr. पान “nose,” H. पान, पांस, G. and the rest पाह, P. पाह, S. पाही, पाही.
Skr. फाल “ploughshare,” H. फाल, and so in all, but P. फाल, S. फाल.
Skr. मार्ग “road,” H. मग, माङ, in the rest माग, S. माँग.
Skr. लोक “world,” H. लोक (“people”), in the rest लोक, S. लोक,लोक.
Skr. देश “bambos,” H. दांस, डांस, and so in all, S. दांस.
Skr. बट “banian-tree,” H. बट, so in all, M. O. बट, S. बट.
Skr. विन “pelson,” H. विन, B. विन, M. G. विन, and विन, P. विन.
विन, विन, S. विन and विन.

Instances might be multiplied to a large extent, but the above will suffice to show that the rule holds good in a vast majority of instances, Sindi having uniformly ə, the other languages ə, though Gujarati now and then retains ə. This final short ə is not pronounced at all in Hindi, Panjabi, Marathi, or Gujarati, and very slightly in Bengali and Oriya. We hear jal, tan, tel, dant, and so on, not jala; words of this class may, for practical purposes, be regarded as ending in conso-
nants, except in M. and G., where it is necessary, as will be shown hereafter, to bear in mind the existence of the final mute ə, in order to effect the necessary changes of the base in the oblique cases of the singular.

(2). Oxytones.—The list which follows comprises, like that which precedes, none but primary stems formed by simple suffixes, as ष्ट, ष्ट and the like; but the words which it contains are all accented on the last syllable, and accordingly it will be seen that they all end in the modern languages in ə or ə.

Skr. दिक “egg,” H. दिक, P. दिक, B. दिक, O. दिक, S. दिक, M. and G. are exceptions, M. दिक, G. दिक.
Skr. बीट “worm,” H. बीट, and so in all, G. and S. बीट.
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Skr. चूर "knife," H. चूरा, and so in all, G. and S. चूरोः. (In all the fem. चूरी is more common.)

Skr. चूट "slave," H. चूड़ा, चूड़ा, so in all, G. and S. चूड़ोः.

Skr. चूर "dust," H. चूरा ("powder"), so in all, G. and S. चूरोः, M. and B. also चूरः.

Skr. चूर "dust," H. चूरा ("lime"), P. id., M. चूरा, चूराः, B. O. चूरा; B. also चूरा, G. and S. चूरोः, चूरोः.


Skr. नाल "stream," H. नाला, and so in all, G. नालोः, and माला, S. नारीः.


Skr. वत "young," H. वचा, वचा, and so in all, B. वाचा, G. वचीः.

S. वचीः.


Skr. संध "post," H. संभा, P. B. O. id.

Skr. मू "mouse," H. मूसा, P. B. id., O. मूसा.


The Hindi in this, as in so many other instances, vindicates its right to be considered the leading language of the group, by the fidelity with which it adheres to rule. The other languages are less faithful to the long vowel representing the oxytone, than they are to the short vowel derived from the barytone stems. Marathi especially diverges in this respect, but the divergence is probably due, as will be seen hereafter, to its practice in modifying the final vowel of the stem in the oblique cases.
Bopp's rule\(^1\) for stems formed by the addition of simple \(a\) is that they carry the accent on the root-syllable in most cases. He excepts, however, a class of abstract stems formed from roots in \(i\) and \(i\), which allow the accent to sink down to the final syllable. They are as follows:

Not used in B. and O. except in Tatsama.

Skr. चय "heap." In compounds H. सय, M. चय, सय, etc.

Skr. चय "victory." In all चय or चि.

Skr. चित्र "smiling." Not in use.

Skr. चित्र "horse." हय and है in the old poets; often with an additional syllable हवर in Chand.

Skr. चित्र "buying." In compounds H. बिक्री (विक्री), B. O. id., P. बिक्री, S. बिक्री.


Skr. मो "stayed." In the compounds with आध्य, as below.


Skr. ब्रह्म "refuge." In the compound आवघ, H. आसरा, P. id., M. आवरा, B. O. id., G. आसरी, S. आसर, आसरी.

In all these words the inherent weakness of the च has led to the corruption of the two syllables of the Skr. into one in such words as आवरा, आवल, while in others it has been practically softened into a diphthong in combination with the preceding consonant. It may also be conjectured that though the learned accentuated the last syllable of stems of this small class, the masses did not at any time observe this distinction, but treated

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\(^1\) Vergi. Accentuationsystem, § 116.
them as barytones, and the final vowel has therefore not been preserved.

There is also a rule of a somewhat intricate character, which declares that stems of this form, when simple appellatives, which, according to their original meaning, are nouns of agency, bear the accent on the last syllable. Under this head are such words as

\- *naddā*, "river," or the sounder (root जट् "to sound").
\- *plārā*, "ship," or the swimmer (root सू "to float").
\- *chāhrā*, "thief," or the stealer (root चू "to steal").
\- *kārā*, "hand," or the maker (root ख "to do").
\- *māhrā*, "cloud," or the wetter (root मिर "mingere").
\- *dādā", "god," or the shiner (root दिव "to shine").

It is obvious, however, that nouns of this class may be formed to any extent by a little exercise of the imagination. Every noun in fact formed by the suffixes *āch, ghaṁ, or ap* and the like, which merely add a vowel to the root, might be classed as a *nomen agentis*, and expected to be an oxynote. There is no reason why *gārbha*, "womb," should not be considered as a noun of the agent, meaning the container (root यह "to hold"), or *kārna*, "the ear," as the piercer (root कर "to pierce"), or *risha*, "poison," as the persuerer, from its action in stealthily creeping into the blood (root रिप "to penetrate"); and as a matter of fact the grammarians do so regard them all. The rule appears to be too subtle for general practical use, and the following list of oxynes of this class, mostly formed with चर, which is said specially to form agents, will show that in a majority of instances the modern languages have not regarded these words as oxynes.

Skr. चर "hand," H. चर, and so in all, S. चर.
Skr. जट "river," H. जट, M. *id.,* perhaps S. जटी "tube," but also जटु.
Skr. नघ "cloud," H. नघ, and so in all, S. नघ.
Skr. चौर "thief," H. चौर, and so in all, S. चौर.
§ 4. Under this rule is included a large number of adjectives which are ocytone in Sanskrit, and end with long ṝ or ơ in the moderns. It may, however, be observed, that the majority of adjectives from ṝ-sterms end in ṝ or ơ in the masculines, except in B. and O., where the habitual neglect of quantity has led to the final vowel being shortened. The rule therefore hardly covers all the examples, and is perhaps not meant to do so, as Bopp merely includes adjectives with the meaning of the present participle. We may suppose that the rule, once established for this class of adjectives, gradually extended itself to the others also, on account of the facility which the variety of terminations so obtained afforded for making the distinctions of gender. In those languages which pay little or no attention to gender, as the Bengali and Oriya, the distinction was not needed, and we hear in O. such phrases as boro bhāi, "eldest brother," and boro bhauni, "eldest sister."

Examples of adjectives—(a) indicates ocytone, (b) burytone adjectives:

Skr. चांच (b) "clear, good," H. चांचा, P. चांचा, G. चांचो, S. चांचो ("white"), B. O. चांच.

Skr. व्याघ्र (a) "blind," H. व्याघ्रा, P. व्याघ्रा, G. व्याघ्रो, M. व्याघ्रा, B. O. व्याघ्र, S. व्याघ्रो.

Skr. व्याघ्र (b) "half," H. व्याघ्रा, P. व्याघ्रा, G. व्याघ्रा, व्याघ्रो, S. व्याघ्र, M. व्याघ्रा, B. व्याघ्रा, O. व्याघ्रा, व्याघ्रे.1

1 Used as a substantive.
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Skr. उच्छ (a) "high," H. ऊँचा, P. ऊँचा, S. ऊँचो, G. ऊँची, M. ऊँच.  
B. O. id.

Skr. काल (a) "black," H. काला, P. M. काला, G. काली, B. काल,  
काला, O. काला.

Skr. काय (a) "one-eyed," H. काया, P. M. काया, G. S. कायो, B.  
काया, O. काय्र.

Skr. गंभीर (a) "deep," H. गंभीर, गंभीर, and so in all, O. गंभीर.  
The Tatsama गंभीर is also in use in all.

Skr. गाँठ (a) "intense," H. गांठा, P. id., G. गांठो, M. B. O. गाँठ.  
Skr. गोर (a) "pale," H. गोरा, P. id., S. G. गोरो, M. (dimin.) गोरटा.  
O. गोरा, B. गोर.

Skr. घन (a) "dense," H. घना, P. घना, S. G. घली (many, much),  
M. घण, O. B. घन.

Skr. कठिन (a) "hard," H. कठिन, O. B. id., P. कठम, गठा, G. कठा,  
M. कठीष, O. B. कठिन, S. कठनु.

Skr. दृष्टिक (a) "right" (hand), H. दृष्टिक, O. दृष्टिका. B. दृष्टिक.  
Skr. बाह्य (a) "deaf," H. बाह्यरा, बाह्यरा, M. id., G. बाह्यरो, S. बाह्यो.  
B. बाह्यरा, O. बाह्यरा.

Skr. गुँह (a) "dry," H. गुँहा, P. गुँहा, G. गुँहो, M. गुँहा, S. गुँहे.  
O. गुँहिना, B. गुँहा.

There are very many other instances. Hindi preserves the  
long vowel which naturally arises from oxytones, and lengthens  
the vowel in many cases in barytones; in a few Tatsamas like  
कठिन the long vowel is not taken. The accent is thus virtually  
neglected, and in this respect Hindi is followed generally by  
P. S. and G. Marathi halts between two opinions, sometimes  
taking the short vowel, sometimes the long; the latter, however,  
appears to be the more common of the two, as might be expected  
in a gender-ridden language like this. More remarks about the  
adjectives will be found scattered amongst the various sthams.

1 Deep (colour), strong (infusion of a drug), thick (cloth), etc.
§ 5. The influence of the accent is only claimed for the early Tadbhava class, and it is natural therefore that there should be many instances in which it does not apply. Seeing that there are among the late Tadbhavas many which approach closely in point of antiquity to the latest of the early Tadbhavas, the line is hard to draw. We merely give examples therefore of these exceptions, and wish for explanation as to why, if the stems in ā-o are due to the addition of श, that suffix has not been used here also. Many of the words now given appear, from their phonetic structure, to be early Tadbhavas, as for instance, शूध, which exhibits the Prakrit process of assimilation from शुध to शूध, and the modern further elimination of the first element of the nexus and compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

(1). Of Sanskrit oxytones which take the short or barytone ending in the moderns, the following are some of the more prominent examples:

Skr. सिङ्ख “lion,” H. सिंध, P. id., the rest spell सिंह but pronounce singh, S. both सिंधो and शो।

Skr. चाब “bear,” H. रोह, G. id., M. रोम, P. रिच, S. रिक, O. (rare) रिक़।


Skr. वर “year,” H. वर्ष, and so in all, but S. वर्षः।

Skr. फ़ूल “leaf,” H. पत्त, (betal), and so in all, S. पत्तः।

Skr. मात “nature,” H. मात, मातो, and so in all (मातः)।

Skr. द्रास “slave,” H. द्रास, and so in all, S. द्रासः।

Skr. दूध “milk,” H. दूध, and so in all, S. दौधः।

These words are all very common words in constant daily use, and as such should, according to the श theory, have taken that suffix in Prakrit, and consequently end in अ-o in the moderns. Some of them have an alternative form in र, as फ़ूल, which has पत्ता “a leaf;” वर्ष, which has वरसा and वरचा in
the sense of "rain;" the meanings of पान and वर्ष are secondary or restricted, as compared with पान and वर्षा, and they are perhaps late Tadbhavas in the former, but early Tadbhavas in the latter sense.

(2). Barytones in Sanskrit, but taking the long vowel in the moderns, are the following:

Skr. गो "iron," H. गो, P. B. id., but M. G. O. गो (O. also ज्व), S. गो.

Skr. सो "gold," H. सो, P. B. O. id., but M. सो, G. S. सो.

I cannot find many undoubted examples of this class, and even those that do occur do not run through the whole seven languages, which seem as a general habit to be more faithful to the barytone accent, especially in substantives, than they are to the oxytone, or, if we accept the श theory, to be derived from words which did not take the श termination, more frequently than from those which did.

§ 6. Stems in -su and -sana. The former of these is in use only in a very small class of words, all of which, with one exception, are oxytone in Sanskrit. The words are—

yajnā from yaj, "to sacrifice."
praknā "prackh, "to ask."
yatnā "yat, "to strive."
iehnā "iechh, "to shine."
and fem. yāchnā "yēch, "to ask."
trishnā "trish, "to thirst."

The exception is svāpana from sleep, "to sleep," which, however, the grammarians derive by the suffix ग्, while the others are formed by न्द्.

In the modern languages these words, many of which are much corrupted, take the under-mentioned forms:

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Skr. यत् "effort," H. जतन, P. M. G. id., S. जतनः.
Skr. मद् "question." Not in use, except as a rare Tatsama.
Skr. विह्र "shining, light," H. विष्ण "dawn". विह्रसार or विभ्रार, M. विकिर्षा S. विभ्राय, विभ्राक. (The M. and S. are compounds, of which the first part represents विह्र.)

In these words the accent is entirely neglected; strangely the only word in which Panjabi and Sindhi exhibit oxytone terminations is precisely that one which is barytone in Sanskrit. It will be more convenient to take the feminines of this and all the other -s stems together later on.

The suffix -one is one of the most commonly used of all. It is of all three genders, and in the large majority of instances is barytone, carrying the accent on the root-syllable. A few cases exist in which the first syllable of the suffix bears the accent, and some in which it is oxytone, but the rule is that they should be barytone.

The masculine contains simple appellatives whose original meaning was that of the agent. They are not much used in the modern speech, and when they are, occur as Tatsamas, or as very slightly changed Tadbhavas. Being mostly simple words with strong consonants, they offer no opportunity for phonetic changes, and may therefore, in spite of their identity with the Skr. form, be ancient words. I give a short list, as there is not much to be learnt from them, beyond the fact, important to the present portion of our inquiry, that they take in every case the barytone form.

Skr. सम् "sm" (the delighter), H. सम, and so in all. Chiefly used in poetry.
Skr. गायन "singer," H. गायन, and so in all. Chiefly used in poetry.
Skr. द्वर्ण "mirror" (the flatterer), H. द्वर्ण, and so in all, except S.
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Skr. द्वार “fire” (the burner), H. द्वार, and so in all.
Skr. द्वेष “tooth” (the biter), H. द्वेष, and so in all, except S. Poetic.
Skr. द्वम “raft” (the crosser), H. द्वम, and so in all, except S. Poetic.
Skr. द्विर र “ray” (the shiner), H. द्विर, and so in all, S. किरिया.
Skr. चोदन “hallowed rice” (the moistener), H. चोदन, and so in all, except S. Poetic.

Three adjectives, oxytone:
Skr. क्रोधन “angry,” H. क्रोधन (rare).
Skr. रोपण “angry,” H. रोपण (rare), S. दिस्य comes from another stem.
Skr. रोधन “obstructive,” H. रोधन (rare).

Far more widely used, and in every sense more important, is the neuter form. Two classes must be here distinguished: the first, simple apppellatives, or names of objects or actions; the second, abstract nouns which have the meaning of the performance of an action, or the being in a state. The latter are in fact the infinitives of verbs.

The first class is always barytone, both in Sanskrit and the moderns.

S. चूलयु.
Skr. चायन “gold,” H. चायन, and so in all but S.
Skr. चायन “sandal-wood,” H. चायन, in all, B. संदल.
Skr. जीवन “life,” H. जीवन, so in all, P. जीव, S. जीव.
Skr. गान “song,” H. गान, so in all.
Skr. गान “bath,” H. गान, ग्रामण, P. B. O. id., G. गान and महान.
M. गान, गान; S. समान.
Skr. द्वखन “eye,” H. द्वखन, द्वख, so in all, G. द्वख (masc. pl.), S. द्वख.
Skr. सबरण “memory,” H. सबरण, so in all.
Skr. वेलन “rolling pin,” H. वेलन, so in all, O. वेलन.
The second class consists of words which, though simple nouns, and as such regularly declined, perform nevertheless in four out of the seven languages the functions of an infinitive.

Thus from Skr. करणि “the act of doing,” H. करणा “to do,” P. करण, S. करण, M. करण.

It is unnecessary to multiply instances, as every verb in each of these languages forms its infinitive in this way, absolutely without exception. In Bengali and Oriya the form exists, but simply as an abstract noun, almost entirely restricted to grammatical and other works. The real every-day infinitives of these languages are formed in a different way. Gujarati also wants this form.

In Sanskrit the formations of this class are regularly barytone, and accentuate the root. In M. and S. they are also barytone, but in H. and P. they take the long vowel. It does not appear, however, that this is a regular exception. In old Hindi the infinitive of this class—I say “of this class” because there is another infinitive in धो—ends always in the short vowel. For example, Chand (A.D. 1200) uses the phrases: जय हरण की “(in order) to seize the victory,” वंभन विचारि “having plotted to hind,” वंभ हरण जालिम जुमारि “a warrior terrible in the tug of war.” In the modern idiom we should have हरण की, वंभना, and जोडने मे respectively. This consonantally terminated form, or rather (as it is pronounced in poetry) this form ending in short अ, is used by the poets as far down as the middle of the seventeenth century. Gambhir Rai (circa 1650) has व्रेत्य न भूतत पाचि “(that) no one might be able to touch.” Tulsi Das (1600) employs this form regularly in his Ramayan, e.g. रङ्गवारि तब वरजन बागि “the keepers then began to forbid (them),” Sundara Känd. 60, 15. From Bhaktamāla (1630): मांगन की घायि “he ran to beg.” I have only picked out an instance or two at random, as the practice is universal.

It will be more appropriate to discuss this matter at full
length under the Verb, and I therefore content myself here with saying that the long vowel appears not to be in any way whatever due to the accent, but to have arisen from the influence of the anuswāra (see Vol. I. § 65), by which karanaṃ became first कारणी, then कारणी, करण, and lastly करा। In M. the infinitive is still neuter, and it is masculine in the H. P. and S. merely because those languages have lost the neuter, and only retain the other two genders.¹

This infinitive is also in certain phrases used as a simple noun, as in Hindi ले गा देना or लेगा देना, literally “taking and giving,” but idiomatically expressing the state of one’s loan account with a banker or money-lender; देना पावगा “to give and to receive,” idiomatically the outstanding assets and liabilities of a mercantile concern. In Sindhi, words of this class sometimes take the form in o, as

ढििगा “a debt,” डििगा वटणी or डििगा जहाणी “debts and credits” (but डििगा “to give”).

अराणी or अरणी “embroidery” (lit. “filling up,” भरण “to fill”).

सकििणी “betrothal” (सहण “to ask for”).

In these cases the र inserted before the termination is inorganic, and merely due to the preference of Sindhi for that sound (Vol. I. § 32). In Hindi and the other languages, nouns of this kind are more generally feminine, and so also in Sindhi; in Marathi and Panjabi also the fem. form is more usual. Thus

Sindhi सयी “saying,” verb सय फ “to say.”

इगणी “going,” verb इगु “to go.”

And with short i—

Sindhi नििगु “swallowing,” verb नििगु “swallow.”

¹ Hoernle in a recent article in Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1873, vol. xiii. p. 68, contends for the derivation of these infinitives from Skr. karunya, etc., overlooking the intermediate forms of the medieval poets, which militate strongly against his conjecture.
When added to causal verbs, this suffix, which then takes also the form छूटी and, is used to express the idea of the cost of doing, or wages for doing, an act; as

Sindhi खानानी "porterage," verb खानाजु "to cause to carry."

चाराणी "grazing fees," verb चारियु "to cause to graze."

धूपाणी "cost of washing," verb धूपारयु "to cause to wash."

Hindi has words of this class, as मंगनी "betrothal," भरणी "woof," बड़ी "lading," but more frequently as consonantly terminated masculines, as भरण पोषण "feeding and protecting," "maintenance." Marathi is perhaps the richest of all the languages in words of this formation. It is, however, as will be seen from the following examples, very capricious in its use of such words, sometimes using a masc. in शा, at others fem. in शी or श, or neut. in श or श.

Verb बड़ी "to stop," बड़वा (m.), a slip of bamboo to fasten a door with.

बड़वा (f.) a slip of bamboo to strengthen the बड़ण (n.) edge of a winnowing-basket.

Verb कड़ी "to bind," कड़ी (f.), ligature.

Verb काटी "to cut," काटणी (f.), a cutting or reaping, i.e. the quantity cut at one time.

Verb कादी "to take out," कादणी (f.), removal of crops from a field.

कादणी (n.), a pitcher to draw water from a well with.

Verb खोदी "to dig," खोदी (f.), a digging.

Verb चोटी "to stir," चोट्रणी (n.), a stirring, the quantity sifted at one time.

चोट्रण (m.) a stick for stirring grain while it चोट्रणे (n.) is being parched.

§ 7. The next class of -a stems is that in which the final letter is preceded by a semivowel, as या, रा, ला, वा. Of these
ya is chiefly used in Taddhitas or secondary stems; there are only a few primaries, which, being feminine, will be treated separately.

(1). Stems in ya are of two kinds, those in which the suffix is joined immediately to the root, and those where a joining vowel intervenes. Both kinds are for the most part oxytones in Sanskrit, and the accent is lost by the rejection of the last letter of the nexus; the whole suffix thus ordinarily disappearing.

(a). Examples of words where the suffix is joined immediately to the root—

Skr. बृष (o) "cloud," M. ब्राम, ब्रह्म, G. ब्राम, S. चर्मु. In the rest Tatsama.

Skr. आम (o) "mango," H. आम, आम, P. id., B. O. आम, आम.
G. आमो (the tree), M. आम, आमा, S. चर्मु and भामी.

Skr. चन्द्र (o) "moon," H. चन्द्र, P. जन, M. G. चन्द्र, B. O. चन्द्र.

Skr. चन्द्र (o) "moon," H. चन्द्र, and so in all; but P. चन्द्र, S. चन्द्र.

Skr. गुप्त (o) "vulture," H. गुप्त, P. id., M. G. गुप्त, गोप, गिप.

S. गिप, B. O. not used.

Skr. तांत्र (o) "copper," H. तांत्र, P. id. and तंत्र, O. id., B. Tama,
G. तामु, M. तांच, S. तामो.

Skr. चाण (o) "tiger," H. चाण, and so in all, S. वाण.

Skr. समुद्र (o) "ocean," H. समुद्र, समुंद्र, समुंद्र, P. id., the rest समुंद्र, S. समुंद्र.

Skr. गुट (o) "Sudra," H. सुट. In the rest Tatsama.

Only two of these words take the long -a, and of these तांत्र may be derived from the Sanskrit form तास्व, which would lose the क, and the two vowels would coalesce into a long vowel, as will be shown hereafter. सुट was probably regarded as an adjective. चन्द्रa in M. is fem., the change of gender accounts for the long vowel.
(β). Examples of words where the suffix is joined to the root by a joining vowel—


Skr. द्राक (°) "frog," H. द्राक, P. G. id., S. द्राक.

Skr. द्रव (°) "husband's younger brother," H. द्रव, P. M. id., G. द्रव.

B. O. द्रव, S. द्रव.

Skr. धतुर (a) "dhatura tree," H. धतुरा, P. B. M. id., G. धतुरा, S. धतुरो, O. धतुरा, धतुरा.

Skr. बदर (a) "jujube," H. बदर, बदर, P. id., M. G. बदर, B. बदर, O. बदर, S. बदर, बदर.

Skr. समर (a) "beer," H. भंदूर, भीर, P. id., O. भंदर, M. भीर, B. भंदर, S. भीर.

Skr. मन्दिर (a) "temple," H. मन्दिर, and in all.

Skr. वटर (a) "goat," H. वटर, B. P. id., O. वटर, G. वटर, S. वटर, but M. वटर.


There is not much uniformity in this list. Sanskrit oxytones end in the short vowel in Hindi and the rest; and the one barytone is in P. S. M. and G. terminated by the long vowel, though the others keep the short vowel. Under the head of nouns in व will be found an attempt to explain a good deal of this discrepancy. My method of reasoning does not admit of the usual slipshod way of accounting for the difficulty by setting it down to "caprice" or "lawless licence." There is a reason for everything in this world, if we can only find it out; and if we cannot find it out, it is only honest to say so, and not to try and cover our ignorance by saying there is no law. Some words of wide daily use have all sorts of forms; if we knew more about the subject, we should be able to give a reason
for all of them: perhaps some day we or our descendants may
be able to do so. For instance, the word चक (oxytone) "a
wheel," has the following long list of forms in modern times.

H. चक, "cart-wheel;" चक, चाक, चकरी, चक्री (a mill-stone);
चकला, चक.
P. चक, चकर, चकर, चकला, चकली, चककी, चक्री, चकुला,
चककी, चकी.
S. चक, चकर, चकर, चकला, चकली, चकुली, चकुली,
चकी.
G. चक, चक, चाक, चकी, चकी, चाकी, चाककी.
M. चक, चकला, चकली, चकीर, चका, चकी, चाक.
B. चक, चकला, चकी, चकला, चाक, चकी, चाक.
O. चक, चकला, चकली, चकला, चाक, चकी, चाक.
B. चक, चकला, चक, चकर, चाक, चाका, चाकी, चाकती.

All these may be undoubtedly accounted for by special rules.
Their significations are very various, all resting on and derived
from the primary idea of roundness. To enter into a detailed
examination of all of them would take too much time and space.
I therefore pass on to the next form.

(2). Stems in ला. Many nouns ending in ला do not come
under this head, because the ल is part of the root, लाल, लूल,
लाख, लाख and others, which are to be considered as formed by
pratyayas leaving ल only. Of those which are really formed by
the suffix ला, the following are some of the commonest.

(a). Substantives.

Skr. लल (५) "lotus," H. P. लल, लल, M. G. लल, O. लल, B.
लल, S. लल.

Skr. लल (६) "blanket," H. लल, लल, P. लल, लल, G.
लल, लल, लल, लल, लल, O. लल, B. लल.

(a). Substantives.
FORMATION OF THE STEM.

Skr. कवच्छ (a) "mouthful," H. कौस्त, कुशी, P. कुशी, कूशी, G. कौस्ति. M. कावचल, B. O. कुशी, कुशी.¹
Skr. वज्र (a) "plantain," H. वज्रा, P. O. वज्रा, S. वज्रार्क, O. वज्र, बेर, M. बेर, B. वज्र, वज्रा.
Skr. वीर (a) "kohl," H. वीर, P. S. B. वीर, G. वीर, M. वीर, O. वीराध.
Skr. विप्ल (b) "pipal-tree," H. विप्ल, P. B. विप्ल, O. विप्ल.² M. id., G. विप्ल, S. विप्ल.
Skr. मंगल (a) "circle," H. मंगल, and so in all, M. G. O. also मंगल.
Skr. जुगल (a) "pair," H. जुगल, P. O. जुगल, O. जुगल, M. जुगल, जुगला (twin, adj.), जुक्के (twin, n.), जुक्की, जुलु.
Skr. जुलु (a) "chain," H. संकल, संकल, संकल, P. संचर, S. id., G. संकल, M. id. and B. संकल, O. संकल.

(9). Adjectives.

Skr. गीता (a) "loose," H. गीता, P. गीता, S. गीते, गीता, G. गीता, M. गीता, O. गीता, B. id.
Skr. गीता (a) "cold," H. गीता, गीता, P. गीता, गीता, S. गीता, M. गीता, O. id., B. गीता.

In the case of adjectives, the Tatsama form does not take the long vowel, while the Tadbhava forms do to a great extent. This confirms the general theory. Tatsamas resuscitated after the Sanskrit language had ceased to be spoken would naturally not follow the accent.

¹ Chiefly used in the sense of rinsing the mouth with water after eating.
² The Oriyas probably borrowed this word from the Marathas, as it is only found in the names of a few places, probably founded during the Maratha rule. The Oriyas generally use उसट or चसट, from चसट.
(3). The suffix sa is employed to form both adjectives and substantives. It is not of common use. Examples:

Skr. गाय (b) "horse," only used rarely as a Tatsama.
Skr. पाखळ (a) "side," S. पालो, M. पासल.
Skr. जीवन (b) "bel-tree," H. जीव, B. M. O. id.
Skr. प्याक (b) "ripe," H. प्याक, P. M. O. id., also पिका, S. प्याको, G. पाको.
B. पाका.
Skr. पूर्व "eastern, former," H. पूर्व, in the rest पूर्व, S. पूर्वı.

पाखळ, as a substantive, has descendants only in M. and S.; but in the locative case पाखळ it forms an adverb of place, पास "near," in all the languages. As, however, we are discussing the formation of the stem with especial reference to its termination, this adverb does not concern us here. In the case of so familiar a word as सब "all," many irregularities might be expected to have crept in; thus we have the barytone सब, as well as the oxytone मारा, the latter by the rejection of the B Chand uses an oblique singular सब, which would point to a nom. सबा, if we could place any reliance on so rude an author. The final vowel is, however, often merely inserted to eke out the metre; as in the hymn to Ganesh (i. 27, 26):

उँचे चक्र चरणे। तुहाराम लम्बे।
"Before all affairs, thy name is prefixed."

Here the metre is Chhanda-virâja:

\[
0\-1\-0\-1
\]

§ 8. The suffix ma forms adjectives, and masc. and neut. substantives. It is generally oxytone, though there is also a

1 This constant use of sabā in Chand may be nothing more than a Prakritism for the nom. pl. of Skr. sevā.
class of appellatives which carry the tone on the root-syllable. Examples:

Skr. कद्म (क) "mud," H. काद्रा, काद्रो, G. काद्र, O. काद्र. B. काद्र.


Skr. घम (घ) "heat," H. घाम, M. O. B. id.

Skr. हुम (ह) "tree," H. हुम, and so in all.

Skr. धुम (ध) "smoke," H. धूम, P. id., S. धूम, M. G. धूम, B. धुम.

O. धुम.

Skr. घम (घ) "justice," H. घरम, and so in all.

Skr. याम (य) "left-hand," H. याया, याया, P. यारया, G. M. याम. B. याम, O. id. and गाम.

Skr. हिम (ह) "snow," H. हिम, M. हिं. In the rest Tatsama.

Skr. हिम (ह) "gold," Old-H. हिं, हिं.

There are not many examples of this suffix. In most of them, where not still in the Tatsama form, the weakness of the म, which passes into य preceded by anuswara, has caused the loss of the final syllable to be very common. In many cases the य has itself disappeared, leaving only the anuswara; and in काद्र, काद्र, etc., even the anuswara is lost.

§ 9. The suffix को is of very frequent use in Sanskrit, and in the modern languages its use is extremely common. It branches out into many different classes, and its discussion is embarrassed by the fact that it is employed both as a primary and a secondary suffix. We are not directly concerned, however, with the minute distinctions which Sanskrit grammarians find necessary; for our purpose it suffices to take the Sanskrit noun as it stands, without troubling ourselves to inquire whether it be formed by adding the suffix to a verb, or to another noun. As regards the modern languages, some of the classes of this
suffix which are regarded in Sanskrit as secondary are perfectly primary, and may be so treated without any loss of clearness.

Ka is generally joined to the root by a vowel, and the terminations most in use in forming nouns which have lived on to the present day are uka, ika, uka, áka, and áka.

Whatever may be the strict philological theory as to the origin of this ka, in practice there can be no doubt that its meaning is primarily that of "the door." It may perhaps be supposed to be a shortened form from the root kar, "to do;" but this is a matter of Sanskrit philology, into which it is needless here to inquire. Starting from this point, however, the meaning, like all meanings in all languages, widens out and loses in distinctness as it goes on. A fourfold division may be detected, which has this advantage, that it subsists in the languages of the present day as clearly as in Sanskrit and the Prakrits. If it be found in Sanskrit, it will of course be also found in the Prakrits, as the latter are the mere apes of the former, having no independent ideas of their own; or perhaps it would be fairer to say of them, that they are identical with Sanskrit so far as they are the popular side of that ancient Aryan speech of which Sanskrit is the learned and literary side only. It is not till we come to the Indian renaissance in the twelfth century that we find the popular dialects possessing any originality, and striking out for themselves forms which are something more than mere colloquial and phonetic corruptions of Sanskrit. When they do begin to do so, they often leave the ancient path and go into ground where it is difficult to follow them, or account for the origins of their forms. When therefore they do carry on an ancient system into modern times, it is a fact to be laid hold of and brought to the fore.

The fourfold division which I make is, then, as follows:

(1) Words which mean purely and simply "the door:" as कारव "door," पाच क "cooker," गरव "giver," लक "writer."

(2) Words in which the sense of "the door" is only to be
detected metaphorically: as सरक "a road," i.e. that which goes on and on; जोचक "pupil of the eye," i.e. that which shines or glances; पालव "fire," i.e. that which purifies; तमक "asthma," i.e. that which chokes. This class includes words which are derived from intransitive verbs, and those in which a passive sense must be substituted for that of the agent: as विचक "leopard," i.e. the spotted animal; खालव "a pit," i.e. that which is dug; नूक "lotus," i.e. that which blooms; सूतक "birth," i.e. the act of being born.

(3). Words which have entirely lost all idea of agency, if indeed they ever had it, and have become pure appellatives: as कटिः "an army," which, if it ever had the idea of "the encompasser," from the root कट "to surround," had lost it long before the times to which we can look back; चुक "a wolf," for which we have only a dubious verbal root चुक "to seize," which looks as if invented for the occasion; बरव "hell," लोक "world."

(4). Words in which the suffix has no meaning at all, but is merely added for metrical purposes, or to avoid the intricacies of declension. This is a very numerous class, and we have side by side two forms, one with the suffix, the other without it: as नाटि and नाटिका "waist," करण्ड and करण्डक "box," बाल and बालक "black," मोच and मोचक "ball," जाल and जालक "net," तन्त and तन्तक "thread," and hundreds of others. It may almost be said that this suffix may be added at will to any Sanskrit noun, and in fact it would be allowable for any one who was composing or translating into that language to add the suffix to any noun he pleased, and authority would no doubt be found for any individual word in the vast stores of classical Sanskrit writings.

In the modern languages, although the same shades of meaning can easily be traced, yet as our business is rather with form than meaning, it will be more convenient to exhibit the various details of this large and important class according to its forms,
alluding to the meaning of the words only where they are in any way essential to the clear perception of the subject.

(1). बट has two forms.—(a). In Tatzamas it retains the k with the masculine gender, and with the sense in general of the agent, as in कारक "a doer," शारक "a taker," याहक "a taker." In Tadbhayas there is a numerous group of interesting words, which have come to us through the Prakrit, by virtue of the rule laid down in Book I, § 53 (3) and § 54. A single consonant in the middle of a word would be elided by that rule, and the termination akath becomes thus ao. In the moderns the a drops out and the o is retained in G. and S., but changed to a in the others. Thus we get the following:

Skr. आभास "emblie myrobalan," Pr. आमथि, H. आवला, P. आधच, M. शांबच, B. आवाच.


Skr. छोटक "horse," Pr. छोट्टि, H. छोटा, P. M. B. O. id., S. G. छोटो.


Skr. पुक "book," Pr. पुक्क्रि, H. पुक्का, and so in all. The fem. पुक्क्रि is however much common.


Skr. माल "head," Pr. माली, H. माला, B. M. id., P. मला, S. मलो, O. मला.

Skr. खोड "tumour," Pr. खोड्रि, H. पोडा, B. O. P. id.

Sindhi uses this affix, which in that language naturally results in a, as descriptive of trades or occupations. Trumpp gives as examples the following, formed by Sindhi out of its own modern materials:
FORMATION OF THE STEM.

In माटक M. is irregular, having माड (fem.) and मोड (n.). So also G. माड and मण्ड instead of मण्ड from मण्डक. M. has also contrary to rule मोड from स्फोटक, but also मोडि, which, as will be shown hereafter, is from a Skr. fem. form स्फोटिका. The feminines of the form in अका always end in Skr. in अका, e.g. बालका, "boy," बालिका, "girl." The comparative neglect by M. of the long आ is possibly due to the fact that masc. nouns ending in short आ, i.e. a mute, in that language, change the आ to आ in the oblique cases; thus from घर "a house," घरा ला "to a house," so that the distinction between this class of nouns and that which ends in long आ exists only in the nominative, and is thus of comparatively rare occurrence.

Here also it may be admitted that, as the suffix ऺ may be added at will to all nouns in Prakrit, it is probable that many of the nouns ending in long आ or ऑ, which I have held to be derived from Skr. oxytones, do in reality owe their final long vowel to the fact that the word from which they are derived had in popular, though not in classical usage, a ऺ tacked on to it. This would account for Sanskrit barytones like लोह, नुक्ष, becoming लोहा, नुवा, with long आ. The difficulty, as already mentioned, is the existence of any nouns in आ-आ; if हा is added to all nouns of the a-stem, why do not all end in आ-आ? 1

(S). The suffix ज्ञ appears also in a great many words of apparently modern origin, as well as in a few which can be traced back to Sanskrit, most of which are feminine.

1 This view is taken, as I have stated above, by Prof. Hoernle of Benares, in Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xii. p. 134. The learned writer is not disposed to admit with me the influence of the accent at all. There is, however, not only much that is difficult to understand in that essay, but much that requires further proof.
Some of these are pure appellatives, and if derived from Sanskrit feminines, all of which end in रुक्त, they must have lost the final long ए, and changed the त into ए, neither of which processes indeed are without a parallel, though it seems unnecessary to suppose that they have taken place here. Examples of such words are—

H. सलक “a road” (f.), P. M. B. O. id., G. सलक (m.).

H. फडाच “a gate” (m.), and so in all except S.

H. वेठक “a seat” (f.), and so in all but S. G. writes वेठक.

We find in Sanskrit सरकः and सरके “a road,” as well as मृति, from a form of which, सतिका, or from सरक by change of the semivowel into the media, this word may have been derived. पाठक, like all the neuters of its class (see Vol. I. § 80), is a formation from the root पाठ “to split,” “to open,” though we cannot point to any actually used Sanskrit word from which to derive it. बेठक is quite a modern word from the verb बेठना, concerning the origin of which see Vol. I. p. 179.

Now comes a long string of words, all feminine, which express noises, pains, violent actions, and are like our words buzz, thump, crack, bang, jingle, tingle, and the like. It is almost impossible to do more in any of these cases than refer the word in a general way back to some Sanskrit root. The majority of them are in all probability onomatopoeic. As the same words do not occur in all the languages, I give each language separately, and add that every one of these words has its verb with the same meaning. I give the verb in the first few examples to show how it is formed, the reader can supply the rest for himself.

Hindi. चटक “stoppage” (चटकना “to be stopped,” चटकाना “to restrain), कमक “pain” (कमकना “to ache”), कड़क “crash” (कड़कना “to crash,” “to fall with a crash”), क्षय “sprain,” खड़क “clang,” खटक “pit-a-pat,” गड़क “drunkennes,” “reeling,” चीक “starting.”
Formation of the Stem.

Many of the same words as Hindi, as चटक, फटक, खटक, चिसक, मचक, चटक, खटक, श्लाक, जलक, धजक, यन्त्र, etc.; and some words of its own, as चितक “fit,” “seam,” चिरक “puts,” “uncon,” श्लाक “wink,” टोटक “joggery,” “hocus-pocus,” दटक “crouching,” “shuffling,” घसक “fear,” “dread,” सडक “creaking” (of shoes), जलक “fondness,” “petting,” and others.

Sindhi does not exhibit many words of this form, owing to its invariable rule of making all its words end in a vowel. Examples are लक (f.) “lustre,” रॉक (m.) “caprice,” “whim,” and a few others agreeing with Hindi, as छटक, चमक, इलक, etc.; but Sindhi, as will be shown hereafter, has another form for words of this class.


Gujarati is, like Sindhi, not very partial to this form. Instances are ठमक “ strut,” “swagger,” ठक “sol,” ठचक “shock,” ठपक “slur,” “blot,” चमक “glitter,” झटक and बजक “glitter.”

Oriya and Bengali have mostly the same words as Hindi, which need not be repeated.
FORMATION OF THE STEM.

From the above lists have been excluded words of similar form, in which the क is organic, or a part of the root, as टक "staring," टोब "above," "puff," टूक "piece," टोब "hindrance." But under this head come miscellaneous words like ठोब (m.) "square" (in all the languages), which is probably from Skr. चलरक. The H. ठीब "starting," as in ठीब उठना "to start up" (as a man suddenly aroused from sleep), is, it would seem, contracted from चमलक, a shortened form of Sanskrit चमलवार "surprise."

All these words being in form identical with the root of the verb, are most usually employed to form compound verbs with the addition of जाना, लेना, देना, रहना or other semi-auxiliaries, especially in Hindi, as जटक रहा "it remained hanging," पोदा भटक गया "the horse started (from fear)," उसको पटक दिया "he dashed it against (the ground)." It is doubtful, therefore, whether in many cases they should not be rather considered as a part of the verb, than as nouns.

Sindhi, Gujarati, and Marathi, and to a less extent the other languages too, use also a closely allied form of this suffix, in which the final vowel is long, का or का. In many cases both forms exist, as in H. घडक and घडका, G. घटक and घटकी. In Sindhi this form is the favourite, and is used almost to the exclusion of the other in क. Examples in that language are the following:


The other languages have also this form. Thus Hindi has घडका as well as कक्क, घडका and घटक, घडका and घडक। It is not necessary to give detailed examples, as in popular and
vulgar words like these no very strict canon is observed; sometimes one form is used, sometimes the other. In O. and B. the form in इ is most common.

(2). The suffix तिक follows the analogy of छि. In Tatsamas it retains the इ, in Tadbhasas the इ goes out. Here, however, it is not left in the same condition as छि, because the disappearance of the इ brings into contact अ and च, and later तिक. In the case of अक, the result of the elision of k was आ and छि, in both of which cases the short आ was easily absorbed by the long vowel; च, however, resists absorption, not being homogeneous with the vowel following. What we really get is a double set of forms, of which one ends in long ए, the other in रित, रिथ, or थाः.

Taking first the form in ए, we are met by the difficulty that more than one Sanskrit termination results in ए, at least in H. P. B. and O. For instance, there is the form दिबन् = ए, as in Skr. पानीव, which is in all पाणी or पाणी; and again, Skr. दिनिव = ए in लामव, modern लाख or लाई, धनिव = धनी; as well as Skr. ए itself. Further, it must be observed that the suffix तिक is in most cases a secondary suffix, so that a notice of it would hardly come in here. The cases I shall now give are chiefly from the Skr. fem. रित, which, as mentioned above, belongs really to the छि series.

The best example of a bonâ-fide primary word of this form is the following:

Skr. मौजिनि “pearl,” Pr. मौजिन्य, मोती (m.), M. मोती (n.). In all the rest मोती (n.).

In M. the anuswara is a retention of the neuter form in Prakrit.

The following are from feminines in रित:

Skr. माइनि “fly,” H. P. माक्री, माक्री (f.), O. B. माक्री, M. माक्री, G. माक्री, S. माक्री.
FORMATION OF THE STEM.


Skr. कक्किताक "cucumber," H. ककडी, and so with slight phonetic variations, but with final i, in all.

Skr. कुष्ठिका "key," H. B. कूंजी, P. S. M. कूंजी, G. कूंसी, O. कूच, कृत.

Skr. खचिताक "chalk," H. खड्डी, and so in all, but O. खड़ि.


O. दादित, B. दादी.

Skr. तायितिक "rapeseed," H. तोडी, M. तीड़ा.

Here we may introduce a group of Marathi agents and adjectives, which, as derived from Tadbhava verbs, are primary, and appear to have originated from Sanskrit nouns in रा, by rejecting the k and hardening i into y. Such are—

काळ्यिक "a borrower," verb काळ्यिते "to extract."
खण्डिक "laborious," .. खण्डिते "to work."
करळिक "scraper," .. करळिते "to scrape."
बड़िक "jeweller," .. बड़िते "to set jewels."
टहळिक "prying," .. टहळिते "to pry."

In many of these the alternative form in long i is found, as बाळो, बाळी, etc., and in some cases the latter is the only form in use, as गो नी "owner of a field" (Skr. गोविन्द), from गो नी "a field" (Skr. गोगु).

We may now dismiss रा till we come to the secondary formations to which it more properly belongs.

(3). ओ is exactly similar to ओ and ओ, but its various forms can be traced with greater accuracy, as the vowel is not so easily confounded with other suffixes.

(a). The full form ओ is retained only in Tatsammas.

(b). The k is rejected, together with the vowel which follows it, and the ओ lengthened in compensation. Words of this class
have almost always the sense of the agent, either direct or only very slightly metaphorical. Instances are the following:

Hindi उमान “destroyer,” verb उमान “to destroy.”
- उताच “spiller,” उतर “to cause to descend,” P. id., but in sense of “degraded,” M. id. “a passenger.”
- कार “cutter,” काग “to cut.”
- खिल “player,” खिल “to play.”
- पाह “watcher,” [Shr. पह, H. पह “watch”], P. पाह.

- माक “fighter,” “beater,” वार “to strike,” P. S. id., G. माक (adjective).
- डाक “caller,” “robber,” डाक “to shout,” P. id., O.B. डाक.
- घेर “pusher,” “shover,” घेर “to shove,” P. id.
- सुष “acetic,” “one who shaves his head,” सुष “to shave,” P. id. “a child whose head has been shaved for the first time.”

- पेप “wrestler,” पेप “to pull,” P. id.
- बाल “waker,” बाल “to wake,” P. id.
- डाल “metal caster,” डाल “to cast metals,” P. id.
- बिगाल “spiller,” बिगाल “to spoil,” P. id.
- बाल “sweeper,” “broom,” बाल “to sweep,” and so in all.

In addition to the words noted above, Panjabi has also पाल “tearer,” दास “reader,” बान “prover,” “trier,” दो “dipper."

1. पाल is a rural form of दास (Dass). The word is derived from the verb “to shout,” because the dacoits always shout and call out at the entrance of the village they are about to plunder, whereby all the inhabitants, being terrified, hide in their houses, and the dacoits, who are generally quite as afraid of the villagers as the villagers of them, can plunder the house they select without opposition.
From the habitual omission of the Gujaratis to distinguish between short and long \( u \), it comes to pass that it is almost impossible to tell which of the words ending in \( u \) should correctly be written with long \( ū \). As each word must be considered on its own merits, the dictionary is the fit place for the discussion. खाउ, जागू, उतार, should probably be written with ऋ, but in many others the point is doubtful. The difficulty is increased by the fact of the existence of the pratyaya \( u \) in Skr., which also has the sense of the agent, so that in a language which does not distinguish between the long and the short vowel, it becomes impossible to say whether we are dealing with \( u \), or \( ụk \), or \( ụka \). The following list exhibits the most common words of the class: 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>खाउ</td>
<td>&quot;to eat,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गाउ</td>
<td>&quot;to sing,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मटकू</td>
<td>&quot;to wander,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खचू</td>
<td>&quot;to spend,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>समचू</td>
<td>&quot;to understand,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खेतू</td>
<td>&quot;to fill,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झाकू</td>
<td>&quot;to sweep,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चरू</td>
<td>&quot;to wander,&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For this list I have to thank the Rev. J. V. Taylor, of Ahmedabad, an accomplished Gujarati scholar, and author of an excellent grammar of that language, published at the Irish Mission Press, Surat, 1888. It is unfortunately written in Gujarati, so that one is expected to know the language in order to learn it.
Verb कर "to do," करण "doer."
___ भर "to fill," भरण "filler."

Of these बन, भर, खाँड, गाउँ, are probably formed with अ, and the rest with ए। The word खाँड is a hybrid from Persian ख़,”expense.”

Sindhi has many examples of this form; the following are the principal:

ताछ "swimmer," तरण "to swim."
माजू "fugitive," मचण "to flee."
माचू "breaker," मचण "to break."
माँ "one who obeys," मचण "to obey."
रह "dweller," रहण "to dwell."
पहर "goat" (i.e. "browser"), पहरण "to put out (cattle) to graze."
पेन "beggar," पिनण "to beg."
घौस "vagabond," घुमण "to wander."
सह "patient," सहण "to endure."
वेक "fighter," विहडण "to fight."
फोडू "robber," फुडण "to rob."
हाजू "destroyer," [Skr. हन्न् "to kill"].

In the majority of cases it will be observed that the vowel of the root is lengthened or gunatized. Marathi does not employ this termination very largely, and I have not found many instances worth quoting. Nor do Bengali and Oriya much favour it: a final long vowel is in no case agreeable to the spirit of these two languages; and the forms in use belong to the next class.

Hindi has a few words of this form which are simple appellatives as far as their present use is concerned, though, perhaps, by some far-fetched and fanciful chain of metaphor, they may be capable of being resolved into agents. Such are:
FORMATION OF THE STEM.

Skr. बालुका "sand," H. बल, G. has also बालक, but O. बाली, S. बाली, B. बाली and बालि, probably from a Skr. form बालिका (see remark on मुलियुक under रक).

Skr. माल, also मल and मल "a hear," H. मल, M. id., O. मल. Bhojpuri Hindi per metathesis माल, मोल.

Skr. मामस (मामुक) "maternal uncle," H. माम, M. id., O. माम, but B. and P. मामा, G. and S. मामो.

(?) Especially in B. and O. the form ending in उच (often shortened to उच in O.) prevails, and in Hindi also this form is frequently found, particularly in words denoting occupation or trade. In Bengali it is ordinarily written উচ, but in this case, as in many others, the य is merely a fulcrum for the following vowel, and is not pronounced. In this class are included many simple appellatives, and numerous words for which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a Sanskrit origin. Examples are:

Bengali মালুক "fisherman," O. মালুক and मल, H. मलुक, also written मल, P. मलुक, S. मलुक "a fishing-boat," G. मला id. [Probably from an unrecorded Skr. form मालुक.]

Bengali ভালুক "pump," O. বালুক and बल, H. भदुङ्क (chiefly as a term of abuse), M. बड़ा. [The classical Skr. is मद्ना, but we must suppose a form भाव or भदुङ्क, from मद्न "to hire," i.e. one who hires out women; cf. our English whore, German Hure, Ang.-Sax. harre, with hyre, hearer, "reward," "hire."]

Bengali তোক "skewer," verb তক "to stick.

Bengali তোক "stake," verb id.

Bengali তোক "postman," verb ताक "to call.

Bengali তোकु "palm of hand," verb चाट "to stroke," "lick.

Bengali তোक "widower," probably connected with थांग "a stick," या "a withered branch," "fruitless," O. दांगुका.
Bengali পেঁট্যা “glutton,” from পেঁট “belly.”
Bengali চালুয়া “pungent sauce,” verb চাল “to burn.”
Bengali কাচুয়া “cast in a mould.”
Bengali ক্ষুদ্র “scarcity.”
Bengali বালুয়া “watery.”

Oriya has, besides those mentioned, কাকুঁড় “full of holes,” from কাঁকু “a net;” বাকু “bachelor,” probably from বাঁড়ি “a stick” (see কামুচ্চ above); মকুঁড় “a fool;” মন্দু “honeyed,” from মন্দু “honey;” মন্দুকুঁড় “a drunkard,” from মন্দু “wine;” মান্দুকুঁড় “a bearer,” from Skr. মান্দু “to bear,” মান্দু “a load;” মান্দুকুঁড় “an oil-bottle,” from মান্দু “a reed” (oil being generally carried in a joint of bamboo); মান্দুকুঁড় “a big nose,” from মান্দু “nose;” মন্দুকুঁড় “a clod,” মন্দুকুঁড় “a kind of rice,” etc.

Many of these words are secondary forms, if we have regard to the rule which holds that only nouns derived directly from verbs are to be considered as primitives; but in words whose derivation is admittedly obscure, it seems unnecessary to keep up this distinction.

In Hindi there are often two forms of the same word, just as we saw in aks. Thus we have पहळ and पहळा; हढळा and हढळा; and in many cases there is only the form in ud, as in रेखा “one who files,” from रेखा “a file,” or रेखा “to file;” मकूरा, मकू, mentioned above, and many others. In Bhojpuri Hindi the termination ud is added capriciously to all nouns whatsoever, and as we cannot suppose an origin from a form in aks for all of them, we must be content to see in this practice merely another instance of the common rule that a form, when once introduced into a language, is extended to all sorts of words with which it has no legitimate connexion. Thus we hear the peasant of Tirhut and Champaran use the following forms:

चेथा “slave.” Hindi चेथा.
हढळा “plough.” = हन.
(4). aku.—Connected with this suffix is a form aku, which appears principally in Sindhi, and to which, with elision of a, Trumpp refers a common form in Sindhi aû, in which the final u is lengthened. It is clear, however, from the structure of other parts of words in Hindi which end in this form aû, that they are not derived from aku, but from causal verbs, in which, as I have explained in Vol. I. § 60, the aya, which is the characteristic of the causal in Skr., is changed through aû into â, to which the long a representing the suffix uku is appended; thus we get—

पुमाना "to coax," 1 H. पुमान "a coarer," "wheedler."
ब्रादाना "to feed" [cns. of खाता "to eat"], H. खात "feeder."
ढ़पाना "to cause to fly" [cns. of उठा "to fly"], H. उढ़ा "spend-thrift" ("one who makes the money fly"), P. id., S. id.
कामाना "to earn" [a quasi-causal or nominal verb from काम "work"],
H. काम "a worker," "bread-winner," P. id., M. id.
बधाना "to make clear" [cns. of खाता "to see," Skr. अयुग्म], H. लख "an indicator," also as adj. "significant," "perceptible."
टीकाना "to detain" [cns. of टीका "to remain"], H. टिक "adj.
"durable," "stationary," P. id.
ढाना "to cause to be set" (Jewels) [cns. of ढान "to set jewels"],
H. ढान "jewelled," "studded with gems," P. id., S. id.
टानान "to travel" [unused irreg. cns. from चाट "road"], H. चट "traveller," P. id.
पुलाना "to melt" [cns. of पुल "to be melted"], H. पुलान "a liqueur," "solvent."
M. काढान "one who is inveigled away" (wife or servant), from बाढ "to take away."

1 Causal of an unused पुल "to slip," "to wave," i.e. "to cause to wave."
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This class is exceedingly numerous, especially in H. and P.; in fact, a word of this form might be made from every causal in the language, and would probably be understood by all classes. The dictionaries do not give every word, perhaps because the compilers do not happen to have met them in writings.

Instances of nouns in ̀̀ā in Sindhi which Trumpp refers to ̀̀ā are the following:

रहाँज् “dweller,” from रहन्यु “to remain.”
कौक् “paler,” फक्क् “to pull.”
बिंचाँज् “wearisome,” बिन्चाईस्यु “to tire.”
फिशाँज् “a destroyer,” फिन्दाईस्यु “to destroy.”
वेकांज् “saleable,” विक्यु “to be sold.”
पेटाँज् “an ill-wisher,” फिटु “to curse.”

Of these words, however, बिंचाँज् may be regarded as formed by ुक्त from the causal, as the word बिन्च्यु “to be wearied,” “to be tired by any one,” is in use, and बिन्चाईस्यु is its causal; and the same may be suggested of most of the others. Sindhi does in many cases retain the ू; as, for instance—

गिराङ् “a receiver,” verb गिराईस्यु “to take.”
पिंचाङ् “a drinker,” विच्यु “to drink.”
रहाँज् “dweller,” रहन्यु “to dwell.”
बिङ्दाँज् “sleeper,” बिङ्द् “sleep” (Skr. बिङ्द्रा).
हेरांज् “tamed,” हेरन्यु “to tame.”

But there are many instances in Sindhi, in addition to those given above, in which the form ̀̀ā is undoubtedly from the causal, as:

गुसाँज् “a shirker,” verb गुसाईस्यु “to miss,” “evade,” causal of गुस्यु “to be missed.”

1 Although this verb now means “to devour,” yet its origin (from Skr. याह) shows that it had at one time the meaning “to take,” which has now attached itself to another derivative from याह, namely, गिराईस्यु.
Formation of the Stem.

वपाक "extravagant," verb वपारण "to spend," causal of वपरण "to be spent."

प्रताक "deliverer," प्रतारण "to deliver," causal of प्रतरण "to escape."

In Hindi this suffix takes usually the form āk; as far as my inquiries have gone, I am not aware of any forms in āk in Hindi which can be referred to āka; they appear all to be like प्रकाव, विकाय, and the rest, derived from causal verbs, and the ā belongs to the verb, and not to the suffix. Instances of āka = āk are the following:

Hindi छुड़ा "a flier," "a bird that has just begun to fly."
- पराक "a swimmer."
- भनाक "hissing sound."
- छड़ा "speed." "hurry" (literally, "being swept along," from छाइना "to sweep").
- छड़ा "quarrelsome."

Most of these have also a form with the long final ā, as छड़ा, छड़ा, and it is difficult to distinguish them from formations in which the long ā represents the causal; thus प्रताक and प्रताक "crash," तदाक and तदाक "thud," तदाक "clink," seem to be from the causals प्रताना, तदाना, and तदनाना, where the final ā represents āka, not āka; and it will be seen that the sense of agency is as much obscured in nouns of this form as it is in the cognate forms कटक, तटक, छबक, and the like, given under āka.

Gujarati, like Sindihi, has this form in frequent use:

छड़ "to fly," छड़ "one who makes the money fly," "a spendthrift."

तट "to endure," तट "enduring."

छड़ "to shape," छड़ "that may be shaped or moulded."

छड़ "to be mounted," छड़ "rideable" (a horse).
FORMATION OF THE STEM.

तातू "to fight," तातू "fighter."
बातू "to quarrel," बातू "quarrelsome" (this word is rare).
तातू "to be hot," तातू and तातू "hot-tempered," "irritable."

The only one of the above which can be referred to aca with a causal is चतू; the others have no causal sense, but are either agents, or adjectives with a secondary meaning, and in one or two cases even, as, for instance, in घातू, चतू, the meaning is passive, like that of the Latin part, in -actus, as faciendus, etc.

(5). अक्ष is a rare termination in Sanskrit, and is not traceable in any of the modern languages except Marathi and Gujarati, and in the former its presence is to be ascribed more to the habit which this language possesses, of lengthening the final syllable, concerning which see § 50.

Instances are the following:

चालू "sample," "taste," Skr. चाल चा "to select."
बालू "frog." मालू, i.e., माल + कृत.
वालू "teasing." वालो "to tease," Skr. वाच.
चालू "remembering." चालो "to remember" (perhaps Skr. चाच with जा in sense of "abiding").
बालू "wakeful," Skr. बाल, from बाल + जा.
बालू "stepping," from बालो "to stop."

As this suffix is especially used in forming diminutives, it will be more appropriately considered under the head of secondary formations.

A Gujarati instance, written with the short u, is वचनभाष "carriage," "deportment," "behaviour," from वचन "to behave," but this is evidently a modern word, probably borrowed from Marathi, and bringing with it the ध of the Marathi infinitive, which has no place in G. itself. If we derive वचनभाष from वचन, we must treat the ध as part of the suffix, as Taylor
does, which is erroneous. It is really वर्तण + त्र. Moreover, the form of the word with the combination त्र is that of a very modern Tadbhava, and the meaning is one of a somewhat secondary kind, so that, all things considered, the word can hardly be admitted as genuine Gujarati; and as I find no other example of the kind, I am induced to conclude that this suffix is, except in Tatsamas, confined to Marathi.

§ 10. The last of the -a stems is त्र. Words formed with this suffix indicate the instrument. In the majority of instances the त्र goes out, leaving only the ो (see examples in Vol. I. p. 337). Some words, however, preserve both letters by splitting the nexus, and Sindhi, as a rule, substitutes ठ, which is pronounced tr, and as such is to be regarded merely as a peculiar method of writing. This class contains a large number of common words, some of which are extant in two forms, the earlier Tadbhava and the later Tatsama; thus, while मच, मच, वच are in common use, Chand invariably writes चत, चत, मंत, and from the Saptatextractam we know that the r was dropped as early as Prakrit. Sindhi has a class derived from the stems in this suffix when preceded by झ and forming झा, in Sindhi झा or झा; thus:

वांडा “a musical instrument,” verb वंडु “to sound.”
वहिडा “a beast of burden,” वहिडु “to carry.”

But there are not, I believe, any parallel instances in other languages, except those already given in the First Volume.

§ 11. Much interest attaches to the stem which comes next in our list, both on account of the widespread and deepseated ramifications which it exhibits, and because one of its developments is of the highest importance in the elucidation of the mystery of genders in some of the languages. The suffix in question is technically known as टार; but its effect is to add
FORMATION OF THE STEM.

शा द to the root of a verb, so as to produce abstract nouns, or nouns denoting the idea involved in the verb; as दहुँ “to endeavour,” देहा “effort.” Closely connected with it is वहुँ; also leaving शा, which only differs from दाप in the class of verbs to which it is added, a distinction not at all important to our present inquiry, and not of very much moment even in Sanskrit. The Pandits, being rather oppressed with the amount of idle time on their hands, have employed themselves in multiplying useless distinctions, which in this busy age we are forced to disregard. The suffix द, whether technically classed as दाप or वहुँ, is practically the feminine suffix of the majority of nouns whose masculines in श have been discussed in the preceding sections. It is important, however, to note that Sanskrit masculines in श form their feminines both in द and in ल; and as the rules for the adoption of the one or the other termination are somewhat intricate, dictionary-makers in most cases add the pratyays in brackets: to wit, दाप or वहुँ when the fem. is in द, दोप when it is in ल.

In Tatesamas this suffix, of course, remains, as पुजा “worship,” चिन्ता “thought,” and the like. In Tadbhavas it is invariably shortened to श, which is, as before noted, mute for practical purposes in all the languages except Sindhi. This suppression of the long vowel is, in cases where a double consonant precedes, compensated for in the usual way by the lengthening of the preceding vowel. A few instances have been given in Vol. I. p. 182; but as the question is really one of the formation of the stem, it will be better to give a full list in this place; and as the words now quoted are of very frequent occurrence, the exhibition of a considerable number will be useful, for the sake of the individual words as much as for the rule itself. For our grammar-writers, being more of the rule-of-thumb sort of people than philologists, have, especially in Marathi, been much exercised on this point, in their endeavours to account for the fact that the majority of these words are feminine. They seem
to consider that the final consonant has been the deciding element in the matter, and lay down, or attempt to lay down, rules for each letter; as, for instance, that final ४ is feminine and final ३ masculine, evidently not being aware that neither ४ nor ३ have anything to do with the matter, but that the words in which those letters now appear as finals are derived from Skr. words ending in ड, which has been absorbed, leaving the preceding consonant, no matter what it be, as a final; and the cause of these words being feminine is not any peculiarity inherent in the consonant, which has now, as it were by accident, become final, but results from the words having been feminine in Sanskrit and Prakrit. For the rule holds good for the modern Aryan group, as well as for their Romance and Teutonic cousins, that the gender of the ancient mother speech is faithfully preserved, in spite of all changes. In German much of the difficulty which foreigners experience in determining the gender of nouns would be removed were they better acquainted with the forms of the Old High German. "Gender was, in the older language, easily recognizable from the form and method of declension of the word itself. When once we know the full Old German inflexion of a substantive, we can have no further doubt as to its gender. In our modern speech, however, these marks of gender have to a great extent been worn away and obliterated. Compare, for instance, 'der Dorn' (masc.) and 'das Horn' (neuter), 'der Wind' and 'das Land,' 'der Vogel' and 'die Nadel,' etc., with the Gothic equivalents thaurn-us and haurn, cind-s and land, fugl-s and nachla, 'der Same' (or Samen), 'die Staude' and 'das Ende,' with the Old-High-German same, studa, enla." In the same way in the modern Aryan languages, our doubt as to why dānt should be masculine and bāt feminine is removed when we look back to the Sanskrit dant-as and sārtā respectively. It would be well if those who

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1 Heyne, Lehrbuch d. Deutsch. Sprache, vol. i. p. 443. Compare also the forms of the Gothic declensions at p. 96 of the same volume.
write our Indian Dictionaries for us would put the original word in a bracket for our guidance. Unfortunately they do not usually know the original themselves.

My list, which is only a specimen, and by no means exhaustive, is as follows; it consists of Skr. feminines in १, irrespective of the प्रत्ययाः by which they are considered by native grammarians to be formed:

Skr. चीर्णम् “wool,” H. जन, P. उर, S. उर, but G. जन is न.
Skr. काओ “shadow,” H. कज, काव, काह, काँची, P. क ि, काव, S. काँव, काँ, G. कांय.
Skr. खंचा “leg,” H. खोंच, G. M. id., P. खंच, S. खंच.
Skr. खंचिक “tongue,” H. खोंच, P. G. M. id., S. खिंच.
Skr. खंचि “dub-grass,” H. खुंब.
Skr. खर्ा “vine,” H. धारा, P. id., S. दारा.
Skr. खर्नु “sleep,” H. खोर, P. id., S. खिंि, G. नीद, M. नीद, नीय.
Skr. पिंक “pain,” H. पीक, Old-H. पीर, P. पीढ, also and in the rest पीढ़.

Old Hindi confounds .vaadin and र; thus Chand writes:

को यानि मात बिंचनि पीर ॥
सौरि को साज साच सरीर ॥

"Who knows, O mother! the pain of a barren woman?
The dart of a rival wife pierces the body!"—Pr. R. i. 178.

Skr. माता “mother,” Old-H. मात, as in the line above quoted, ordinarily मा, माँ and माध.
Skr. रख ि “streak,” रख, P. G. id., M. रघ, रघ.
The Sindhi रेख means the first streak of down on the cheeks of a young man, and may be derived from रेख, in the same sense that the Persian and Urdu poets use خط “line” in the sense of whiskers or moustache. Thus, to take an illustration from a popular Indian poet, Wali says:

"The moustache fears the mirror,
As the thief fears the watchman."

Skr. लच्छा “shame,” H. जाय, G. M. O. and Old-B. id., P. लच्छ, S. लज्ज. The form लच्छा is also in common use.


Skr. वच्छा “rein,” H. वाम, and so is all.

चण्डी वु राज पुष्पिराभ वाम।
चक सुर ग्रमण घर धसत नाम।

“When Prithiraj the King turned rein,
The heavens stood still, the earth trembled, and the earth-serpent.”
—Chand, Pr. E. xx. 23.

(सुर is for शर “heaven,” ग्रमण = गगन “sky,” घर = घरा “earth,” धसत = धंशत “falling to pieces,” and नाम is the serpent Sheshnaga, who supports the earth on his head; or we may take घर and नाम to be separated parts of a compound घरनाम “the earth-serpent.”)

Skr. बाच्छा “speech,” H. बात, P. G. id., M. also, but rare, S. बाषि
Skr. विच्छ "ingle marmelos," H. वेष, P. M. B. O. id.

1 Page 8, line 13, of M. Garcin de Tassy’s beautiful edition of Wali (Paris, 1924).


This word in the modern languages is generally restricted to the meaning of a peculiarly shaped flat stone on which spices are ground for the native dish "curry." In Sindhi, however, it means a "brick."


Skr. संधा "evening," H. सोंध, P. संद, S. संदी, संधा, but also संधी, G. सांड, M. id., B. O. संधा.

Nearly all of the words in the above list retain the feminine gender throughout all the languages; but this point will be more fully dwelt on in the next chapter (see § 36).

Besides words of the class given above, there is an extremely numerous class consisting of abstract nouns, which may be formed at will from infinitives of all verbs by dropping the final syllable, and they then convey the sense inherent in the verb. Thus in Hindi मरणा "to beat," and मार "a beating." Thus they say मुझ को बड़ी मार मारा "he beat me a great beating." It would not be correct to say that these abstract nouns were derived from the infinitive; on the contrary, in respect of formation, they stand on the same level with it. The original Sanskrit root पीड, for instance, forms two nouns; by adding चूँ (आ) it forms the abstract पीडा "pain," and by adding वृत्त or वृत (बन) it forms पीडन "the act of paining"; from the former we get पीड "pain," from the latter, पीडन "to pain," infinitive of the verb.

¹ See § 9, (1), (β), feminines in सा.
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Some few of the commoner pairs of words may here be set down.

Hindi मार "a beating," मारना "to beat."
दौड "a running," दौडना "to run."
भूल "an error," भूलना "to err."
दहन "a rising," दहना "to ascend."
छटन "a stopping," छटना "to be stopped."

It is these abstract nouns which are used with a long list of auxiliary verbs to make the compound verbs so common in all the seven languages, as मार डालना "to kill," चढ़ बैठना "to mount upon a seat," and the like. In Sindhi all the verbs are capable of being used as abstract nouns by the rejection of the final syllable of the infinitive; as in these instances from Trumpp.¹

जाग "wakefulness," जागू "to be awake."
मझ "pardon," मझू "to pardon."
सघ "strength," सघू "to be strong."

In Marathi also there are numerous abstract nouns of this sort, with which may be joined the corresponding words in Gujarati.

M. भाग "adherence," भागिणी "to adhere." G. भाग and भागी.
भर "fullness," भरी "to fill." भर "भरी.
चाल "motion," चालण "to move." चाल "चालण.
घाव "running," घावण "to run." घाव "घावण (poet.).

Instances may also be found in quantities in the other languages, but it is unnecessary here to adduce them. The formation of these abstract nouns in some cases necessitates the lengthening of the radical vowel of the root, and in cases where that vowel is ī or ī, it is changed into the guna vowel.

¹ Sindhi Grammar, p. 46.
This process is more clearly seen in Sindhi than in the other languages; thus we have—

चाट "snatching," बटोर "to snatch."  
बोल "error," सुक "to err."

Thus also in Hindi, where the verb चाना corresponds to an abstract noun अग, and चाना to चान; भिन्ना to भेद; and झुका to झोक. As usual in these languages, there are very many of these abstract nouns which it is difficult to trace back to any Sanskrit root; the principle, however, is the same in all: when once established in the popular mind, it was by degrees extended to words in which it had no business to appear.

§ 12: The group of stems ending in ई consists principally of ई, न, and थ. The former added to verbs composes abstracts or appellatives; but the final short ई is in most cases rejected in the modern languages, except Sindhi. Thus, taking all three suffixes together:

Skr. चानि "fire," H. जाप, M. G. ई, P. जागा, B. जागि and जागा.  
S. जापि, O. निष्ठ for चापि.

Skr. रानि "night," H. रात, P. G. M. ई, S. राति, B. O. राति and रात.

See also examples in Vol. I. p. 315, as सुद्र, चरि, द्रौषि, and the like.

Skr. गीति "song," H. गीत, and so in all, but S. गीत (m.).  
Skr. जाति "caste," H. जाति, and so in all, but S. B. O. जाति.
Skr. भूति "memory," H. P. भूति.
Skr. मति "opinion," H. मति, P. ई, and so in all, though मति is used in literature.
In this class also the gender depends upon that of the Sanskrit, and has nothing to do with the consonant which may happen to be left final by rejection of the vowel.

In Sindhi there is a class of words, not very extensive, formed with the suffix ti, which expresses abstract nouns, having also a verb of the same meaning. Trumpp's instances (Gr. p. 49) are:

यापति "expense," verb यापण "to spend."

यापति "pleasure," यापण "to please."

प्रहति "remission," चढण "to remit." (Old-H. चढणा.
Mod.-H. चढणा).

हुणि "behaviour," हुण "to go."

So also the double noun आपति जापति (literally, "coming and going") "income and expenditure."

In the other languages the short final i is generally rejected; when retained, it is mostly lengthened to t. An example of the former is the curious H. word चढत or चढत, which now means "brokerage," "commission." This occurs in Chand, I. 3, in the form चढति, and with the meaning probably of "increase." There is no modern verb from which it can be derived; but it is perhaps to be referred to the Skr. root यो "to increase," through a form यापति. In the other languages the corresponding word is S. जापति (f.), G. जापति (f.), M. जापत, O. B. जापत.

With long i we have—


H. P. चढङ्गती "settlement," from चढणा "to dwell," M. चढङ्गति, G. चढङ्गति,
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S. वस्त्रिती, with totally uncalled for manipulation and softening of त to त्, probably induced by a belief that the word was the feminine of the present participle active, as in English "a dwelling," O. बृह, B. id.

H. भरती "filling," "completion," 1 from भरणा "to fill," P. id., M.
भरती, G. id., S. मर्यादौ, O. B. मर्यादी.

The words of this form are not, however, universally composed by the addition of the suffix ति; for instance, H. धरती "the earth," is from Skr. धरिती "the supporter." This suffix is commonly, but erroneously, added to Persian words, as कम "deficiency," from कम "less." Here may also be mentioned those two excessively common vulgarisms "जास्ति" and "परवरस्ति," so perpetually in the mouths of the lower classes. "Parecasti, meaning "protection," "favour," is used instead of the correct Persian پاروارش "parwarish, and is perhaps derived from the participle پاروار "parvarastā, "protected." But "जास्ति," which is used instead of زیاد "ziyāda, "more," defies analysis; and I have never heard any attempt to account for it: it is perhaps in some way corrupted from زیاد "ziyādālī.

The labial vowel is found throughout every branch of these languages in strict parallelism to the palatal, here also it is so; there are stems in n, nu, tu, and ru. They present, however, no particularly noteworthy peculiarities. Common examples are as follows:

Skr. विन्दु "a drop," H. वृद्ध, वृद्धा, विंदी, P. वृद्ध, S. वृधो, चूद्ध. M.
ि, वृद्ध, G. वृद्ध, विंद, B. O. विंदी.

वाय, S. P. वाय.

Skr. वाह "arm," H. वाह, P. S. id., G. वाही, M. id. and वाहः.
B. O. वाहः.

1 Vulgarly used for "enlisting in a regiment," "engaging in a service," with करणा when used of the person who hires or engages the soldier, and with होना when speaking of the soldier himself.
The general rule for these groups is that the final short vowel is in a majority of cases rejected by all the languages except Sindhi; and when retained, is generally lengthened. Cases occur in which i is substituted for u, as in bindi for cindu. Of the common suffix चत्र or चतु, I treat in § 16, because there are some peculiarities in its use which render it both uncertain in origin and partial in application. None of these suffixes are used in the modern languages as additions to verbal roots, so that they do not come under the head of genuine modern primaries.

§ 13. As in the case of words ending with the short vowels of the labial and palatal organs, there is a tendency to lengthen in order to preserve them, it is natural that the nouns ending in the corresponding long vowels should, as a rule, retain them. Long र is the termination of a number of different classes, which will be detailed in § 18 (1), and in the next chapter (see Chap. II. § 33), where the subject comes more fully under discussion with reference to gender. Long आ is represented in

Skr. बेधु "wife," H. बेद, P. बोह, M. S. बेद, B. O. बेद, बट, G. बट: these three, being careless of quantity, shorten the vowel.

The monosyllable भू "eyebrow" undergoes considerable changes, as H. भूँ, P. भृँ: S. introduces its favourite i in भिछ, while O., on the other hand, inserts u in भुूँ: G. भूँ, M. भूँ and मोर, are probably derived from some formative, rather than from भू itself. भू "earth," has been illustrated above, under भूमि (§ 12).

§ 14. The termination चा of a large class of nouns in Sanskrit, where it is preceded by त, represents an older form चार, the र of which, though rejected in the Sanskrit nominative, still survives in such Old-Hindi forms as करतार "a doer," and is found
in all the oblique cases of the Sanskrit noun. At p. 165 of Vol. I. these words were somewhat cursorily noticed. It may therefore be as well to examine the whole subject more fully here.

As the noun in all the modern languages takes its form from the nominative case of Sanskrit, and omits entirely the grammarian’s fiction of a separate base-form, it would be expected that in this class of stems the groundwork would be the nominative in न, as नार्च; but this is the case, strictly speaking, only in Tatasamas. The large and important class of words denoting relationship and professions exhibits numerous different forms.

In Prakrit there are several systems; the simplest and commonest is the substitution of दो for पि, as मत्तारि “husband,” Skr. मत्ति. In this case the Prakrit merely perpetuates the true old Aryan nominative, rejecting the corruption which has taken place in classical Sanskrit into पि. From the analogy of the cognate forms in allied languages we see this, as Latin datōr, Greek δορία, which postulate a Skr. dātār; the final o in Pr. arises from its custom of requiring a vowel-ending, which leads it to attach a vowel to Skr. nouns ending in a consonant (Var. iv. 6, 8), or to reject the final consonant itself. From this form arises the Old-Hindi form करतार quoted above, still in use in modern Panjabi करतार and S. कतार.

Prakrit follows the Sanskrit in shortening the vowel in the familiar and much used words denoting relationship, पित “father,” मात “mother,” वामत “son-in-law,” which stand for पितर, मातर, वामातर, respectively, as is shown by their making in the other cases पितरस, not पितारस, etc. Thus also, while Lat. has datōr, datōrem, it has pater, patrem; and Greek δορία, δορία, but πατόρ, πατέρα, and πατόρος; Prakrit has पिच्छर, मातर, वामाचार (Var. v. 45). In these words, however, there is also the contracted form पिच्छ, माच, and this is apparently the only form permissible in the corresponding.
feminine मातृ (मातर्) "mother," which makes मात्रा. This latter is the form in use in Pali, as पिता, माता, मात्रा. In the oblique cases comes out a form in उ, thus

Nom. Plural मात्रः for Skr. मात्रः...
Instr. Sing. मात्रा...
Loc. Plural मात्राः (Var. v. 33).

This rule is not extended by Vararuchi to nouns of relationship, though in Pali the u form occurs in the genitive sing. and plur. as पिलुक्स, मात्राः,³ pl. पिलुक्स, मात्राः, etc.

There are then in the mediaval or Prakrit stage three types of this class of nouns: first, that in ऐ, shortened in nouns of relationship to ऐ; second, that in उ; third, that in ऊ. No one of these forms runs through the whole series, or is found in every case of the noun, except perhaps the first.

When discussing the phonetic changes of च (Vol. I. p. 159), it was shown that though this vowel migrates into ऊ but rarely, and principally in words which already have a labial consonant adjoining or preceding the vowel, yet, that in the modern, and probably to a great extent in the mediaval languages also, it was often pronounced as ऐ, so that we might expect to find this formation in ऊ somewhat common in the modern languages. The Pali forms पितु, भातु, etc., may thus be taken to have arisen from पित्र, the vulgar pronunciation of पित्र, though it is also possible to derive them from पित्रु, shortened from पितुरे. This latter derivation is, however, rendered less probable by the fact that Pali has this nominative in ऊ for words which retain the older and fuller form ऐ, as कात्तु, for कात्त "doer;" सात्तु, for सात्तु "ruler," where the elision of the long vowel would seem to be too violent a supposition.

⁴ Ib. II. 40.
In the modern languages the termination न or नि is common. Examples are:

Skr. पितु "father," P. S. पिता, and occasionally in Old-H.
Skr. भातु "brother," P. भात्र. मात्र, S. मात, M. मात.
Skr. नानु "grandson," M. नातृ. H. नाती.

The other languages, however, have द in some cases, as in H. मादे, नाती, etc. The word for a "barber" may be introduced here. In classical Skr. its form is नापित, but this is said to be from an older form नापिता (नापितृ), agent of causal of ना, in the sense of "to cleanse." It becomes मास in M., but मारे in all the other languages, except B. and O., which retain the form नापित. Marathi, Sindhi, and Panjabi are, it will be seen, the languages which mostly affect this form in न. Hindi generally exhibits that in द or त. It is followed in most in the word below. Skr. पूजायित "worshipper," H. पूजारी, and so in all, M. also पूजारा, and S. पूजारी. The latter is referred by Trumpp, erroneously as I think, to the suffix अर (see § 15). The Prakrit form would, we may suppose, be पूजारि or पूजारि.

This is again one of those cases where confusion arises from three or four different pratyayas, whose forms were quite distinct in Sanskrit, having by phonetic changes all come to have the same form in the modern languages. Thus a word ending in न or नि may either come from the pratyaya न, as कार्, "a door," or from नुका, as किता, "cutter," or from नक, as जायता, "watchful," or from नी, as नाता, "grandson." It is not possible in each case to decide which of these terminations is the true one; and in many cases it may be safely asserted, that

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1 In all the ceremonies of the Hindu religion in the present day a preliminary shaving by the barber is a necessary part of the purification which must be undergone by the celebrant.
or a having come to be considered the usual termination for a large class of words of agency, the vulgar tacked it on to all sorts of words, as was seen a few pages back in the case of G. खरच्, where it is added on to the foreign word जरम्, without any regard to the hybrid nature of the word thus produced. This habit is common to all languages, and may be paralleled by instances in our own, as “starvation,” where a Latin termination has been unceremoniously tacked on to a Teutonic verb “starve” (M. H. G. sterben). It will not be necessary therefore to pursue this question any further.

In the majority of instances the modern languages have formed words of this class from the Sanskrit nom. in a, and in these cases there is nothing remarkable to notice. Such words are for the most part Tatsamas, and do not therefore enter into the current speech of the people very largely.

§ 15. The dissyllabic suffixes in Skr. are athu, alta, and ishna. The first does not seem to have left any traces in primary stems, though under various modifications it appears as the foundation of secondary stems in several languages.

The second, alta, is extremely common, both as a primary and secondary. An allied suffix is dra, and from the close connexion between the two, it comes to pass that a form with a cerebral ı is in general use in the dialects which possess that letter. Instances of primary words, according to the view of the Indian grammarians, are the following; though they seem to make into primaries, by deriving them from almost imaginary verbs, many words which are strictly secondaries derived from nouns. As I said before, it is not worth while to stick very closely to this division.

मित्रासु “sleepy,” H. मित्रासु, S. मित्रारो, G. मित्राकृ, M. मित्राकृ, B. O. मित्रासु (rare).

द्वासु “mercyful,” H. B. P. O. द्वासु and द्वास, M. द्वाक, द्वाक, G. id, S. द्यासु.
This termination is of frequent occurrence, and is one of those which are attached to all sorts of words, without regard to origin. The common, and often noticed rule holds good here also, that when a people have once got to feel that a certain termination carries a certain meaning, they extend its use to all words in their language. Thus, from modern verbal roots come the following:

Verbal root स्पन्द “quarrel,” H. स्पन्दालु “quarrelsome,” M. G. स्पन्दाक्रूः.

P. B. O. स्पन्दालु.

Verbal root दर “fear,” H. दरालु “fearful.”

Sindhi, as usual, changes l to r:

पोरालु “pedlar,” verb पोराशु “to seek.”

पिझालु “cotton-carder,” पिझाशु “to card.”

Marathi is particularly rich in words of this type, such as

कान्हवाळु “pitiful,” verb कान्हशें “to mean.”

काशाक्रू “itching,” काशाशें “to itch.”

A long string of them will be found under secondary formations. The third suffix, उश्रु, is of very rare occurrence even in Sanskrit, and I have not observed any words which can be referred to it in the modern languages.

With regard to धन, वचन, मच, and धन, there is also very little to be said. The first three are similar in treatment. Masculines of this stem form their nominative in अ, neuters in ए, the modern languages accept the nom. as their type. Thus राजन् “king,” nom. राजा, which is the form in use in all the moderns. Instances are:

Skr. नाम “name,” nom. नाम, H. नाम, and so in all.


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Skr. द्रामन् "rope," nom. द्रामा, H. द्राम, द्राम, and so in all.
Skr. चर्मन् "skin," nom. चर्म, H. चाम, चरम, and so in all.
Skr. प्रेमन् "love," nom. प्रेम, H. प्रेम, प्रम, and so in all.

Nouns in रू form their nominative in र, in which they are regularly followed by the moderns. As this suffix will be more fully discussed in several other places, I omit instances from this section.

§ 16. The stems, or themes, or bases, for all three terms are used by various authors, hitherto discussed, are all distinctly traceable to Sanskrit stems. But there are in the modern languages, with their rich and varied development, numerous classes of nouns whose terminations point to a common source, which yet cannot always be distinctly referred, in a manner admitting of no doubt, to either a Sanskrit or Prakrit original. Others again there are, which, though they can in some instances be brought back to Sanskrit, are only of partial application, being found in some languages, and not in others. It must be remembered that it is only in one language out of the group that any attempt has yet been made to classify or analyze these formations. In the rest the grammarians simply give rules for the declension of nouns, without troubling themselves to explain how the body of the word was formed. Only in Sindhi have the valuable labours of Dr. Trumpp put me in a position to understand the formation of the noun in this least known of all the group. Often from this exhaustive work light has shone into all the languages, and I cannot too often or too fully acknowledge my obligations to it. It follows, however, from what I have just said, that it is impossible at present for any one writer to carry out to the full the somewhat minute system of classification that has been observed in the foregoing easily recognized classes. The Indian languages in this respect fully establish a right to be considered the equals of their
Romance cousins, in the number, variety, and expressiveness of the derivatives which they have formed out of their own native resources. Frequently, too, they have adopted a form of noun from Sanskrit, and finding it useful and convenient, have extended the principle to their own Tadbhava or Desaja verbs, so that we know them only to be primaries from the existence of such verbs. All the forms that I have as yet come across I now group together in this section.

(1). रूप is affixed to causals to denote "the wages or cost of doing anything."

Hindi धोना "to wash," causal धोलाना, nom. धोलारे "art of washing." M. धुनारे.

Hindi दोना "to carry," causal दोलाना, nom. दोलारे "cost of carriage."

Hindi बटना "to twist ropes," caus. बटाना, nom. बटारे "hire for making ropes."

Hindi गडना "to beat out," caus. गडाना, nom. गडारे "hire for making ornaments of gold and silver."

Writers on Marathi grammar tell us that this form is only used in words of Hindi origin; but it may fairly be doubted if there be in Marathi any such thing as a word of Hindi origin. Molesworth—although he sometimes incloses in brackets the corresponding Hindi word after a Marathi one—guards his readers against supposing that the Hindi word is the original, and tells us that he merely puts down the Hindi, because it is the same as the Marathi, leaving it an open question which is the original. It is more consonant with what we know of the relations between these languages to suppose that both formed these words independently from the Prakrit. This view is further strengthened by the fact that a similar form exists in more or less frequency in all the languages of the family, except Sindhi, which expresses the idea of "wages" or "ex-
penses” by a form in चरान or चाणि, as mentioned in § 6. Bengali and Oriya have numerous instances of this form, as दोनालए “cost of carriage,” but in O., from some forgetfulness of the original meaning, we often hear the phonetic expression दोनालए खव or दोनालए टुक. Panjabi sometimes inserts a व, owing to the existence of this semivowel in its causal, and the same practice prevails in rustic Hindi, as चराना or चरवाना “to graze cattle;” P. H. चराने or चरवारे “wages of a herdsman or shepherd;” P. दोनाले, “cost of pulling down a building,” from दोनाला “to demolish;” दोनाले “wages for grinding,” from दोनाला “to cause to grind;” and many others. G. also exhibits numerous words of this type, but also expresses the idea by a form in मण, the म of which arises from व, as in पामु “to find,” H. पाँवा (Skr. पापय). In चरामण “wages of a herdsman,” the older form would be चरावण, which is analogous to the Sindhi form in चणी, mentioned above.

(2). द is employed after causals to denote an act of any kind, and is frequently written द. In many cases the sense would point to a derivation from the simple verb, and in these cases we must treat the termination as ट, and derive it by means of the Skr. affix चन्त or चान्त, the त of which is preserved in Sindhi, but changed into द according to the genius of that language, and takes a feminine in ट, probably from the द having been regarded as the ordinary Sindhi masc. nom. of -a-stems, and not, as it really is, an organic portion of the suffix. Sindhi, however, in a few instances, rejects the त, thus coming more into conformity with the other languages.


M. id. and चटकाना.

Verbal root खेल “pull,” H. खिचाव, P. खिचाव.

Verbal root शल “cause to melt,” H. शलाव, P. शलाव.

Verbal root धिसा “rub,” H. धिसाव.
Verbal root गुमा “whirl” (active), H. गुमाव, P. गुमाब्रा. ¹
Verbal root चर “cause to graze,” H. चराव, O. चरा.
Verbal root चिरण “to conceal,” H. चिरणाव.
Verbal root विर “be sold,” H. विराव “sale,” O. विरा.

Forms of this class are so common in Hindi, that it may be said that every verb in the language may give rise to such a noun. They are less common in the other languages. In Sindhi the examples, besides those given above, are

मरमु “surrounding.” verb मरमु “to surround.”
चिरणाव “juggling.” = चिरणाव “to juggle.”
सूरणाव | “humming.” = सूरण “to hum.”
सूरणाव

Owing to the fact that Sindhi, when it omits the द, as चरकाव, मरमु, writes the final vowel as द, it is at times difficult to distinguish words of this class from those derived by the suffix जाय, as noted in § 9 (4). The only distinction is that the latter class makes the a long. In Gujarati, where the distinction between long and short a is very seldom observed, the difficulty of distinguishing is still greater. Fortunately, however, G. frequently writes words of the present class, like H., with ध. They are not very common in G. Besides those given above, I find also—

उराव “determination.” “certainty,” verb उराव “to determine.”
सचाव “stirring up (a quarrel),” = सचाव “to stir up.”

¹ In special sense of a measure of land, originally as much as could be ploughed in a day, from the bullocks turning at each end of the furrow, much as we use the word “turn” in such expressions as “a day’s turn of work;” a ploughman would be “a turn of the plough.”
This termination is rare in Marathi, though the syllable अव is used in the formation of secondary verbs; and it seems also foreign to the genius of B. and O. The few words that are to be found appear to have been borrowed in comparatively modern times from Hindi, such as B. पढ़ा, पढ़ा, O. पढ़ा, पढ़ा, अा, अा, as in the instances चोट, पढ़ा, चोट, given above, generally drops the final व or उ.

(3). Probably connected with the last-mentioned is the very common Hindi form in अहट, with allied forms अहट, अहट. The fact that many of these words imply sounds of various kinds has led to the supposition that they arise from compounding the verb with the noun अहट "noise," "sound," but this is not altogether probable. It might rather be conjectured that the process is just the reverse, and that अहट is a mere onomatopoeic word derived from the termination, on account of its having some resemblance to the sound. The word is used to express principally light and repeated noises, as "tap-tap," "pit-a-pat," and the like. The two forms, that with व and that with ह, often exist in the same word. Instances are—

Hindi चिम्माहट "slipperiness," चिम्माहट "to cause to slip;" चिम्माहट "fretfulness," चिम्माहट "to vex;" चिम्माहट "itching," चिम्माहट "to itch;" चिम्माहट "confusion," चिम्माहट "to be confused;" चिम्माहट "melting," चिम्माहट "to melt" (active); चिम्माहट "splendour," चिम्माहट "to cause to glitter;" चिम्माहट "plaiting," चिम्माहट "to plait;" चिम्माहट "touch," चिम्माहट "to touch;" चिम्माहट "tinkling," चिम्माहट "to tinkle;" चिम्माहट "whining," चिम्माहट "to whine," "fret;" चिम्माहट "stooing;" चिम्माहट "to stoop." चिम्माहट "fluttering," चिम्माहट "trickling," चिम्माहट "tingling," चिम्माहट "throbbing," are all formed from verbs of the same sound.

There is a very large class of these words in Hindi, both in अहट and अहट, as well as contracted into अहट, as तुड़हट "breakage," from तुड़हट "to cause to break." These forms
all run into one another to so great an extent that it is very difficult to draw the line between them. Thus from बुभावत “to explain,” we have बुभावत “the act of explaining,” but also बुधोती, i.e. बुभावती, with the same meaning. The origin of these forms being unknown to the masses, it was natural that they should confuse any two of them which had at all a similar sound. Moreover there is some obscurity about the exact derivation of this and the preceding form in आव. The presence of long अ does not necessarily prove that these words are taken from the causal verb in all cases. In some instances the sense leads to a derivation from the simple verb, as in चढ़ा, पढ़ा, which come from चढ़ा, पढ़ा, respectively, and not from चढ़ा, पढ़ा. The long vowel must therefore be assigned to the suffix, and in cases where the word has, on account of its meaning, to be referred to the causal, it appears that the two long vowels, that of the verbal root and that of the suffix, have coalesced into one, without any further lengthening.

Punjabi possesses a great number of words of this triple form, mostly identical with Hindi, as घरावत, घरावत, and घरावत. From the peculiar softness of Punjabi articulation, the ः in the second form would be very indistinctly heard, so that, writing according to sounds, the third form would represent more correctly than the others the spoken word. Thus the numerals द्वाहत 71, वाहत 72, तंत 73, धाहत 74, and the rest, sound generally छात, छात, तत, चात. समर “father-in-law” is in most districts साँद. The Hindi-speaking people, on the contrary, pronounce the ः generally very clearly and distinctly, perhaps rather overdoing it; so that they would naturally retain the forms in चाहत, and in the eastern Hindi area चाहत, where Punjabi prefers the shortened form चाह.

Sindhi does not appear to have any words of this form, but instances of a similar and possibly connected form will be found in § 20. Gujarati has जावत, जावत, and जाह, I do not find जाहत. Of the former, instances are जनावत and जनावत “fiction,” जनावत.
"to make;" चाहाण "affection," चाहावु "to love;" of the latter, चठ्ठकाट "brilliney," गमराट an incorrect spelling of गचराट "confusion," गडबडाट "muddle," कणकाट "shudder-
ing," "tingling," etc., from verbs of similar form.

Marathi generally follows ways of its own in the numerous forms of derivatives in which it abounds; in the present instance, however, it is found to be to a limited extent in accordance with Hindi. The class of words which I am at present discussing appears in M. with the terminations वट, जट: वट, डाट, and occasionally जट. Nouns of this class are both primary and secondary; the termination, once established, having been extended by the vulgar to all sorts of words. This freedom, or rather licence of formation, is very noticeable in Marathi, which in my opinion is far richer in nominal formations than any other language of the group, and it is therefore noteworthy as a specimen of the blindness and unscientific method of the ordinary grammarians, that they either dismiss the question of stem-building without notice at all, or dispose of it in a few cursory remarks. It is really one of the most intricate and important questions of the whole subject, and if fully worked out, would demand a volume to itself.

Undoubted primary formations in M. are the following:

वट धमरवट "the state of being much used or worked," "practice."

"routine," verb धासण "to rub," Skr. धासण.

नांदवट "residing," "state of being settled in a place," verb नांदण, "to dwell," Skr. नूटन.


वाट (वाहिवट) "conduit," "management," verb वाहण "to carry," Skr. धारण.

वट (वाहिवट) वहन.

वट कारपट "burnt in cooking," verb कारपण "to be burnt," Skr. करण.

1 From ढर in its original sense of being spoiled.
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रागः खंडमः "troublesome," "vexations," "vile," verb खंडम या or खंडन "to sink," "fall," "miscarry," Skr. खंडन।

चावर "tough," "clammy," "litt. much chewed," verb चावर "to chew," Skr. चावरः।

चंगर "throng," "crowd," "crowded state of a street," verb चंगरण "to squeeze," Skr. ——।


आठ कवाट "dilemma," "scrape," "impediment," verb कवाट "to yield," "fall" (orig. "to be impeded"), Skr. कवारण "binding," "restraining," "impeding."।

खंड्राट "rattling," "grating," verb खंड्राण "to rattle" (onomatopoetic).


घंघराट "a peal," "ringing," verb घंघरण "to ring loudly" (onomatopoetic).

आटा हाकाट "bawling," "outcry," verb हाकण "to call" (origin uncertain).

From the above examples it will be seen that M. agrees pretty closely with H., but that in several instances the form is adjectival; this peculiarity probably arises from the looseness with which these words are employed; they were originally substantives, but have passed over into adjectives by degrees.

There are words in Oriya which end in रा, but I am not

1 In the primary sense of limping, jostling, and more generally going badly or irregularly.

2 I take this word to be a formative of a familiar character deriving its origin ultimately from the Skr. च्र "to heap," substantive चय, perhaps with चं "body" added, so that we should get a word चयाण for the more regular Skr. चंगरण "crowd of bodies." Inversions of this sort are common in the moderns, and not unknown even in Skr.

3 The ordinary meaning "to drive" arises from the Indian practice of driving a herd by frantic shouting and calling.
prepared to affiliate them to this stem. Of words in डहत, डेर, or डेट, I do not remember to have heard any, nor are there any instances in the dictionaries. The formation seems foreign to the genius of the language, as also to Bengali, though neither of these languages have had their depths searched out sufficiently yet, to enable a decided opinion to be given.

(4). Hindi possesses a range of words ending in अत and अता, which, though for the most part secondary, are also in some instances primary, though comparatively rarely so. The other languages have occasional analogous forms:

चढ़ा “to mount,” H. चढ़त, चढ़ता “one who mounts,” “a rider,”
P. चढ़हैंत, चढ़हैंता “a mounted groom,” “a trooper,” M. चढ़िंत, चढ़िंता “horseman,” “climber.”
ढाकरा “to shout,” H. ढाकैत “robber,” B. O. ढाकाइत.

The origin of this form will be discussed, together with the allied forms चीत and चीता, under the secondary formations to which it seems more specially to belong.

(5). A widely-spread group of stems is that in आवन, with variants आन, आना, and आन, which may possibly be connected with stems in आन, and differ from them only in the long vowel; while, on the other hand, the full form आवन seems to run into the pure secondary form पन, and has often a long vowel prefixed. In Bengali this form occurs as आन, which points to the fem. आनि of other languages. I place this form among those of uncertain origin, because of the long vowel and the labial; also because, like many of the preceding stems, it occurs both as a primary and secondary in some languages. All these peculiarities throw a haze of doubt over its origin and development. Examples are as follows:

आवन (“a garment bestowed on guests at weddings or feasts,” verb आवरण “to clothe.”

कियाघनी “cultivating land by stealth,” verb कियाना “to conceal.”

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It would seem proper here also to insert the word बाजां “a wooden slipper or patten,” which should probably be written बाजी or बाजां, from the participle बाजा “standing.” It possibly owes its present shape to some fancied connexion or jingling with a पूंज “foot.”

Panjabi has बिकांडा “bedding,” बिकीना “toy,” खांवी “encampment,” पहिनांवी “present of clothes,” and in general the same words as Hindi. In Sindhi this form is secondary only. Gujarati uses a form बागान as बहानांवी “dress given at a wedding;” बड़ानांवी “congratulation,” and “congratulatory gifts,” verb बहाशु “to welcome;” and a contracted form in बिकांव or बु “bedding.” Instances of the Bengali form above quoted are बिकाना “carpet,” verb बिकार “to spread;” बिगडानी “spoiling,” बिगडारत “to spoil;” बडामी “interlacing,” “wrapping,” बडारत “to wrap,” “wind;” बुखारी “packing up,” बुखडत “to pack.” Oriya being in the habit of giving a sound of o to short u, uses forms बिहाना, बिहाना, भराना, for the H. बिहाना, etc. The few words of this kind in Marathi

1 From its supposed efficacy in increasing the amount of grain in the heap on which it is placed (see Elliot’s Races of North-West Provinces, vol. I, p. 236, my edition).
do not seem to be the genuine property of the language, and are in many instances undistinguishable from stems in -ana; they need not delay us.

§ 17. Leaving now this somewhat obscure and unsatisfactory class of words, let us go on to the secondary stems. There is a vast mass of these, and several of the purely secondary suffixes have been capriciously extended to verbs, thus bringing the words formed by them, according to our classification, under the head of primary stems. It will, however, be more convenient to treat these all as secondary, merely pointing out as they occur the instances in which they have passed over into primaries. Being all derived from nouns by the class of suffixes called Taddhita, these secondary formations fall into two great divisions: the first, those which add to a substantive or adjective a suffix which converts it into an abstract noun, descriptive of some character, occupation or quality; and the second, those which by the same process create appellatives or attributives. In this section I include only the abstract nouns.

(1) The first I shall take is the very common suffix पण्, with its numerous variations. This arises from the Skr. suffix ल, which I have conjecturally connected with प्रमण् "self" (Vol. I p. 330), and which passes into त्वः (also त्व, Var. iv. 22), and, by the process described in the passage above cited of Vol. I, becomes त्वः and पण्. It has many different forms in all the languages, as—

H. पण्, पणि, पा.
P. पण्, पणि, पण, पणि.
S. पण्, पणि, पो, प, पाट, पी.
G. पण्, पण्ड, पो.
M. पण्, पणि.
B. पण, पणि.
O. पण्, पण्ड.
Examples:

Hindi. अस्सा "acid," श्वाप अर्था "acidity;" उच्चा "sharper;" उच्चापन "sharper's tricks;" फ्रांट "fraud;" लोट "small;" कुटप "smallness;" खूँ "fop," खूँल "foppishness;" बाल "child;" बालक "childhood" (Chaud. बालक); बड "great;" बडाप "greatness;" बुढा "old;" बुढापन and ष्पा "old age;" बड़क "boy;" बड़कप "boyhood;" बुढा "dissolute;" बुढापन "dissolute living;" राँद "widow;" राँढाप "widowhood;" मुर अ "ignorant;" मुर लप "clownishness;"

Punjabi. बुढापा "old age;" बड़कप "boyhood;" बुढापन "boyhood;" खूँ "fop;" खूँल "foppishness;" बुढापा "clownishness;" बुढापा "debauchery;" बालपा, रँघा, रँघा "childhood;" रँढ़ा "widowhood;" and, peculiar to itself, बुढ़ "boy;" बुढ़रपैण "boyishness;" मुढ "stupid" (Skr. मृठ). मुढप "stupidity;" बॉर "boy;" बॉरप "boyhood;"

Sindhi. बुढापा, बुढापा, बुढ़पा, बुढ़पा, बुढ़पा, बुढ़पा, बुढ़पा, बुढ़पा, बुढ़पा, बुढ़पा, बुढ़पा अ "old age;" रां "widow;" राफ "widowhood;" बाल "woman;" बालपा "womanhood;" पंडा "pandit," पंडाप "panditship;" वे "seizing;" वे "assistance;" वे "near;" वे "partiality;" बंड "small;" बंडार, बंडव, बंडप अ "youth;" बांड "watchman;" बांडप "watchman's work;" "bûjha" "collin-bearer," कोडिय, पुण "duties of a kaundhi;" माण "man;" माणप "man;" माणप "man;" "humanity;" मिर "wild beast," मिर "bestiality;" These are all, except one, from Trumpp, Sindhi Gr. p. 61.

Gujarati. Taylor's Grammar (p. 144) gives several examples which are not found in the dictionaries; but as the author is a resident of the province, he has probably heard the words from the people round him. Edalji's Dictionary does not apparently contain more than a third of the words in the language; and Narmada Sankar's, though much fuller, does not give all the formatives, except incidentally as explanations of some other
word. The words I have found are: गर्दी “aged,” गर्दनपण, घण्यु “old age;” बृंग “blind,” बृंगपण, घो “blindness;” गंधक “dark.” गंधकपण “darkness;” रांढ “widow,” रांढपण “widowhood;” बुढणण “old age;” बृंगको “inverted,” बृंगकपण “invertedness;” बृंगपण “dissolution.” The word बृंगपण “grief,” “anxiety,” “torment,” seems to be derived rather from the verb बृंग “to burn” (ब्रह्म) than from बृंग “strength,” and may be set down as an isolated instance of the use of this suffix as a primary.

Marathi. भण “good,” भेलण, घणण “honesty;” भागण “good,” भागणपण, भागणपण “goodness;” लेंकक “child,” लेंकरण, घणण “childishness;” बालण “a woman in childbirth,” बालणपण “attendance on such a woman.” In M. also is the softened form बण, भण, and a form भा, भी, भे, corresponding to the या and यो of the other languages; as from चौर “thief,” चौरण, घणण, घे, and चौरव “thievishness,” or the “conduct of thieves;” बहाण “small,” बहाणवी “smallness;” चौर “great,” चौरवी “greatness;” बांड “bad,” बांडपण “badness,” says the grammar, but बांडस्वारण, घणण, says the dictionary: बहाण “wise,” बहाणपण “wisdom;” बहाणतारण “old,” बहाणतारण “old age.” The words formed with this suffix are not given in large numbers in the dictionary, as it would appear that they can be formed at will from any adjective in the language.

Bengali. गुढपण, गुढपण “old age;” गुढपण, घণण “talent,” “virtue;” गुढपण “debauchery;” but the form, though occasionally heard in conversation, is not very common, as Bengali has another and commoner form in अण्मि for words of this class.

Oriya. Words of this form, as शृण्णपण, शाणपण, are sometimes heard, but the form does not seem to be indigenous in the language, being very rarely met with. A genuine instance is मंदर “a rogue,” मंदरपण “roguery;” also श्राणपण “the duties or profession of a Brahman,” such as studying the Shastras, performing religious ceremonies,
and the like: निठिबाण "laziness;" विटपण for विटपण "dissolute-ness," from विटप "dissolute."

The two points to be observed in the treatment of this stem are the method of joining it to the root, and the terminations which it takes. As to the first, if regarded as a mere pratyaya or suffix, it should in the case of Tatsamas be affixed to the bare root, so that from मूझे we should get मूझेण = मूझेलं, and this is what does actually happen, and so far the usage is regular. But when affixed to Tadbhava adjectives which have taken the δ or oxytone ending, this δ would be retained, as in चूडाण, in which case we must not consider the word as having been derived from the Skr. चूडल, but rather thus, that the termina-
tion was regarded as a thing apart, as a sort of qualifying particle which could be appended to all adjectives at will. From the detached character acquired by this particle arises the peculiarity that it is in H. sometimes, in M. G. and S. very frequently, attached to the oblique form of the noun, because the nominative form is regarded as appropriate to that state of the noun only in which it is not subjected to any influence from without, but is either an agent or a mere indication. Directly the noun becomes subject to influences of any sort, it passes into the oblique, and the addition of the syllable पण, or any of its variants, was regarded as subjecting the noun to an influence somewhat similar to that exercised by the case particles, and therefore demanding the oblique form. When we see the suffix added to nouns in the direct form, it would show that in these cases the form came into existence when the suffix had not yet won its detached character; and the unsettled nature of the terminations of the root in all the languages points, in confirmation of this supposition, to a time when the languages themselves were in a transitional state, and had not attained to fixity of practice.

Equally undetermined is the termination of the suffix itself.
There are first the forms H. P. M. पन (पन, पन) and पना, corresponding to which respectively are the S. पनु and पनो. These two forms reproduce the barytone and oxytone forms of nouns, and if, with some writers, we derive the latter form from an addition of ए, we should have to suppose a Skr. form त्वै giving Pr. त्वादि or पादि; as however in words of the form स्त्र in Skr. the accent is on the last syllable "sattvā," it may be fairly reasoned that it would remain on that syllable in Prakrit also; and as the suffix itself has been conjectured to be shortened from आलो, the form in पना would be the original one, shortened as time went on into पन from forgetfulness of the accent. The uncertainty in the method of affixing this ending, which is sometimes added to the direct form of nouns, and sometimes to the oblique, and at times even to a shortened form which is neither oblique nor direct, as in Sindhi, proves that words of this type came into existence at very different periods; and in those which were created in later times the accent would naturally have been forgotten, and they would take the form पन.

Secondly, the forms या and यो point to oxytones, and seem to be derived from some such form as य, omitting the य; such a form may well have existed in spoken Prakrit, although no traces of it survive in the written works. This form would come direct from the Sanskrit स्त्र, whereas that in पन must come from an older Skr. सन.

Lastly, Sindhi has forms पारिन and नीन, the final vowel of which seems to be quite inorganic, as we cannot trace it back to any corresponding peculiarity in the older forms, and is probably due to an unconscious imitation of the analogous forms तारिन and नीन, which have been or will be discussed in their proper place. The Skr. word आलो "self," retains the न in all cases of the sing.: but the nom., and in this, as in so many instances in Skr. and the cognate languages, the nominative stands apart, and the derivative forms are taken from the oblique. Thus Greek and Latin,
while faithfully retaining the original type of \textit{पद} in \textit{πόδος}, \textit{pedis}, reject the \textit{d} in the nominatives \textit{ποδες} and \textit{pes}; yet it is from \textit{ποδος} and \textit{pedis}, not from \textit{ποδες} and \textit{pes}, that the derivatives are formed, as well as the noun itself, in their modern descendants. So also \textit{οὐδος}, \textit{dentiis}, reproduce \textit{द्व} more correctly than \textit{οὐς} or \textit{deus}, and in derivatives and descendants the former, and not the latter, are the base. The reason of this is clear; the oblique form being used seven or eight times to once of the nominative, sticks in the popular mind, and is used in grammatical formations, while the classically modified nominative is forgotten. This was probably the case with the termination now under consideration; the vulgar would know little of an euphemistic high-flown nominative आभा, while they would be familiar with some ten or twelve forms having for their base आभा; the Old-Hindi poets use राजन or राव, while the modern language does not begin to use the classical nominative राजा till after Pandits had begun to resuscitate the accurate form. So also, while the Brahmin wrote गर्ल, the people may have said सच्च, or even सतालन, and thus the form त्या or पाया reveals itself as the older and more accurate. The त्या type is still in existence; in Old-Hindi we have पुक्पातन “virility,” from पुक्पत, Skr. पुक्पतं, and Sindhi has from पुक्प “a headman,” Pr. पुक्प, where the S., rejecting one of the two consonants, does not, as H. would, lengthen the preceding vowel, but inserts instead its favourite short \textit{i}. There may be other instances in the other languages, but I have not yet met with any.

Sindhi has a few rare examples of a form in \textit{चापु}, which

\footnote{Dr. Trumpp will forgive me for pointing out a slight error in his English here; he translates this word “headman,” not perhaps remembering the difference between that and “headman.” The former means “an executioner,” i.e. “one who beheads criminals.” Dr. Trumpp’s English is so excellent, correct, and graceful throughout as to command admiration; it is in a friendly spirit that this little slip is noticed, as it might mislead an English student. The difference between “headman” and “headman” is slight indeed in form, but very wide in meaning.}
Trumpp refers to this suffix, as कृष्णिकराँड “boyhood,” “youth,” from कृष्णिकरो “a boy;” but it is open to question whether this is not the primary affix mentioned in § 16 (2), which has passed over into a secondary form in a few cases.

As a corollary to the connexion which I see between बे and आलान, I would here introduce the Bengali stems in आमि, which I derive from आत्म in such Skr. words as माहाक्य. Oriya uses महातम as a religious word, in the sense of “celebrating the greatness or merits of” a holy place or festival, thus we have मंगा महातम the “glories of Ganga,” बी चितर महातम “a description of the religious merits acquired by a pilgrimage to the shrine of Jagannath,” and others. Bengali has elided the त and softened the य to र. Instances are पागल “mad,” पागलामि “madness;” लुंचा “debauched,” लुंचामि “loose living;” मौड “buffoon,” मौडामि “buffoonery;” गाड़ा “an ass,” गाडामि “stupidity;” ठूटा “obstinate,” ठूटामि “obstinacy;” छोटा “greedy,” छोटामि “greediness;” केंचडा “base,” केंचडामि “busyness;” मझ “profligate” (lit. “destroyed,” compare our use of “dissipated,” also the original meaning of “profligatus”), मझामि “profligacy.” In familiar or colloquial words which end in a vowel other than े or ॄ, the initial vowel of the suffix is elided; thus छेलि “a child;” छेलिमि “childishness;” फक्कि “an impudent boy” (French gamin), फक्किमि “impudence;” and in vulgar speech the favourite ॄ of Bengali exercises an influence on the following vowel; thus from बुड “wicked,” बुड़म “wickedness.” By a curious caprice, also, a duplicate form is occasionally employed, as from मझ we get मझामि “profligacy,” and मझामि. Oriya also uses this form, as पुडा “old,” पुडामि “precoicity in children;” डिला “loose,” “lazy,” डिलामि “laziness,” “inattention,” B. id. It will be observed that this suffix is almost universally employed in a bad sense, as expressive of stupidity, loose living, or the like. One instance, बुठामि, occurs occasionally in Hindi; but, with this exception, this form appears to be peculiar to the two easternmost members of the group.
(3). Of very wide use in Sanskrit is the suffix य, generally neuter when forming abstract nouns, though of all genders in appellatives. This suffix generally changes to र in the modern languages, and in most cases the words become feminine, owing to the general use of र to express that gender. The typical word of this class is—

Skr. चौर "theft," Pr. चौरिय, H. चौरी, and so in all, but O, चौरी.
So also

Skr. खान "cheating" (खान; "a cheat"), B. ठगिय, H. ठगी (vulge "thuggee"), and so in all.

This termination is extended, as usual, to words of uncertain origin, and notably to Persian words, inasmuch as that language also adopts the suffix अ to denote abstracts; thus we have गुदी"goodness," कैम "badness," सेवन "deficiency," अ "excess," and even colloquially Arabic words take this ending, as अस्ट्र अ "sanction," from अस्ट्र "seen," "approved." S. has also अ "badness," from अ "bad" (Skr. अ न "slow"); अ "goodness," from अ "good" (Skr. अ). In many cases, however, the final य of the Sanskrit is elided altogether, as in

Skr. भाग अ "fortune," H. भाग, and so in all. G. retains Tatsama भाग and S. भाग.

Skr. धान "rice," H. धान, and so in all, except S. धान धान or धान.

This latter word seems to have been originally an abstract meaning "possessing," "wealth," root धा, as stores of rice were, and still are in many parts of India, the principal source of wealth to all classes.

Where, in modern formations, the adjective had acquired, as adjectives almost universally did, the termination in long अ, the अ of this suffix does not supersede this vowel, but is attached to it, forming अ. Thus we have a very large range of words in all the languages. A few are—
FORMATION OF THE STEM.


स्वर्ण "pure," H. स्वर्ण, and so in all.

दबा "great," H. चबाई "greatness," P. चबाई, S. चबाई, G. B. O. id.; not in M.


This form is not very common in M., but is of almost universal application in the rest. P. anomalously inserts short i before the termination, but this is a dialectic peculiarity which does not prevail in all parts of the province. It has already been noticed that so many Skr. terminations fuse together into i in the modern languages as to render it difficult to distinguish them. The form now under consideration is restricted to abstractions, and has no connexion with any other.

(3). The Sanskrit suffix सा exists in most of the languages in a large number of words, but occurs chiefly in Tatsamas and modern Tadbhayas; so that it would be more correct to suppose that it has been resuscitated, together with the word to which it is attached, than to speak of it as having come down uninterruptedly from early times.

Skr. श्रृंगा "firmness," H. श्रृंगा, P. द्रिप्फहाता, S. श्रृंगा। In the rest श्रृंगा, generally pronounced द्रिप्फहाता in H., and so written also in P., but in O. it sounds द्रिप्फहाता.

Sindhi has a few words not strictly Tatsamas, though only slightly altered, and it occasionally adds इ, making गाइ, as गादि "deficient," गादि, गादि, "deficiency." बोझ "fit," बोझ "fitness."

In B. and M. words of this class are extremely numerous, but are all pure Tatsamas, and as such do not strictly come within the range of development of the modern forms of speech.

(4). Another common suffix is शुम, which is used in Bengali
in its Tatsama form, but rather among scholars than in the mouths of the people, as also in M.

रक्त "red," B. M. रक्षिमा "redness," and so in all the others, but as a rare and pedantic word.

गुलाब "white," B. M. गुलाम "whiteness," and so in all the others, but as a rare and pedantic word.

Trumpp affiliates to this suffix a large class of words in S. in चाँचि and चाँचि, supporting his theory by allusion to Varu-youri, v. 47. This passage merely directs that certain words, such as brahman, yuvam, aahwan, are to be declined like तमन; thus, vamha makes vamhāno; jure, jurehāo, etc. It is not, however, stated that this rule applies to formations in तमन; and even granting that it does, we get तमन, the change of which into तम or तम is not supported by any proof, and seems somewhat harsh, and opposed to the genius of the language. Moreover, in the closely allied and interchangeable form रि, see (2), the र belongs to the adjective, and is a solitary instance of the retention of the older form of the oblique, which is still long in Gujarati, as सारी "good," obl. सार, but has been shortened in S., as बहो "white," obl. बह. In the case, therefore, of the words about to be quoted, I should say that the suffix was merely मि or ति, and regard it as the same as the primary suffix चन, mentioned in § 6. With this agrees the fact that the cognate languages have a form चाँचि or चाँचि, which is made only from adjectives in long द, so that the long vowel belongs to the stem, and not to the suffix. In Sindhi चाँचि "whiteness," from बहो "white," I should divide चहान-पि.

From चन, then, used as a modern suffix to adjectives which had already arrived at the stage in which they ended in long द, the following examples may be taken to have arisen:


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8. वेबिरी "broad," वेबिरानि "breadth."
8. बड़ी "great," बड़ानि "greatness."

(5). स is suffixed to a large class of adjectives in Hindi, to denote condition, and agrees with our termination "-ness." This form is connected with that of the desiderative verb in Sanskrit, and some of the words of this class cannot be regarded as formed from nouns by the addition of a suffix, but are to be derived whole as they stand from Skr. The substantive in स is accompanied by an adjective in सा, as पिवास or पास "thirst," पिवासि "thirsty," which are not to be regarded as recent formations from पी, the root of पीना "to drink," but as from Skr. पिवासि and पिवासि respectively, these being the substantive and adjective from पिवासि "to desire to drink," desiderative of root पि "to drink." Skr. पिवासि loses the long final आ of the fem. and becomes H. पिवासि, while पिवासि apparently takes स, and becomes पिवासि, whence would come a Pr. पिवासि, and the आ vanishes, leaving H. पिवासि. The modern words would be more accurately written पिवासि and पिवासि, as the medial प has disappeared (Vol. I. p. 199). Accordingly these words in most cases bear the meaning of "desire to do a thing," even where it is impossible or difficult to trace the word to any definite Skr. desiderative like पिवासि. And in those words which we cannot refer to a Skr. desiderative, it must still be held that the form is in itself by nature desiderative, and having appropriated to itself this meaning, has been tacked on to modern nouns to form abstractions, so that in a number of instances it legitimately comes under the head we are now considering, namely, that of secondary abstract nouns. Examples are found of three classes: first, words derived direct from Sanskrit derivatives; second, those derived from modern verbs (primary stems); third, those derived from modern nouns (secondary stems).
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I.

Skr. पिपासा "thirst," H. पिपास (पिपास, पापस), and so in all the languages.

II.

H. रोगा "to weep," रोगास "desire to weep," "vexation," P. रोगास (rare).
H. मुरला "to urine," मुरल "desire to make water," P. id.
H. भ्रमण "ascare," भ्रमण "desire to steal," P. id.

III.

Skr. निस्स्र "sleep" (H. नीश्च, H. नौद्रास, निस्स्रास, "drowsiness."
H. भ्रमण "sleepiness," भ्रमण "nodding," "incipient sleep."
H. झट "violence," H. झट "a violent burst of rain."
H. मोटा "sweet," H. मिठास "sweetness."

Each of these words has its corresponding adjective, as पिपासा, रोगास, मुरला, भ्रमण, निस्स्रास, भ्रमण, but not झट; but the stem itself is almost entirely confined to Hindi and Panjabi, only rarely occurring in the other languages, as M. बटास "sourness," from बटा "sour;" मिठास "sweetness," from मिठ "sweet;" and with the short vowel मॉड "plump," from मॉड "a swelling;" G. धोकास "whiteness," from धोक "white;" मोटास "sweetness," from मोट "sweet;" कटास "difficulty," from कट "difficult," and a few more; and we may fairly assume that all the other words were modelled upon पिपासा, where the long ा belongs to the root पा. In रोगास we cannot look back to the desiderative of Skr., which is सकेइद्यु, which could in no way produce रोदास, but would result in some such form as रुदास. Shakespeare, in his Dictionary, absurdly derives these words by adding the Skr. आमा "hope," in which he is blindly followed by his faithful plagiarist Forbes. There are nouns with this termination which do not belong to this stem, as मंडास "a pole-axe," the former part of which is probably from मंड (Skr. वंच) "a knot," with some derivative
of the root गो “to cut,” just as परसु “an axe.” The गांडाद is a formidable weapon of bamboo with iron knots and clamps on it, and a small axe at the head. We might assume a form गव्याग्न as its origin. There is also a word मुंडास “a small turban,” the former part of which is मुंड “head,” and the latter probably a derivative from वस “to clothe,” so that a form मुंडवासक may be assumed for its origin, unless, indeed, which is highly probable, the word itself grew up in modern times, and has no Sanskrit original at all.

The stems given above are the most common and widespread abstract forms. There may be in the various languages others; but they are rare and confined to special dialects, and do not require detailed notice in a work of this kind.

§ 18. The next class of secondary formations is that of adjectives denoting the possession of any article, or of any quality or tendency: the former are called possessives, the latter attributives, under which are included words denoting trades or professions.

(1). The most important, and from its variety perhaps the most difficult to treat, of the stems of this class, is a group which has the following terminations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>रे</th>
<th>रया</th>
<th>रक</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>रे</td>
<td>रया</td>
<td>रक</td>
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<tr>
<td>Panjabi</td>
<td>the same.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>रे</td>
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<td>Gujarati</td>
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<td>Marathi</td>
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<td>या</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>रे</td>
<td>रश</td>
<td>रक</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>रे</td>
<td>रश</td>
<td>रक</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Five Sanskrit stems lie beneath the threefold division which is shown by the above list:
1. राम, leaving राम, nom. राम, as मालिक, "gardener," nom. मालिक.

2. क and कम, leaving रेव, as पवन, "mountain," पवनतोष, "mountaineer."

3. उस and उस, leaving रक with guṇa, as वेद, "Veda," वेदिक "teacher of the Veda;" रक without guṇa, as घट, "jar," घटिक "contained in a jar."

4. घ. leaving रघ, as राघ्र "kingdom," राघ्रिय "belonging to a kingdom."

5. Several suffixes leaving र as रम, "man," रम "popular."

The difficulty consists, first, in the mutual interchange and fusion of these several stems; and secondly, in the fact that we cannot in all instances trace the modern word up to any distinct Sanskrit word. Of course when we can so trace it, all difficulty ceases; but there are many modern words which we can only vaguely identify with some Skr. root, but cannot tell through which of the above formations it has descended to us. A partial clue is afforded by the meaning in some cases, as the Skr. forms denote sometimes possessives, at others attributives or appellatives. But the lapse of time, the changes of meaning, and the facility with which one word lends itself to reasoning which would lead it either to a possessive or attributive origin, obscure the matter very much. रेव may come from 1, 2, 4 and 5 of the Skr. stems; र्व्या and its fellows from 2, 3 and 4; र्वक can only come from 3.

It will tend to clearness to give first those words which can be traced without doubt to one definite Skr. stem, and then to discuss, as far as our present lights permit, the question of the doubtful forms.

(a). Following the order of the Sanskrit forms, we first treat of र्वत, having for its nominative र्व. The commonest words of this class will be found in Ch. II. § 32. Others are the following:
H. डांडी and दांडी "rower," from Skr. दृढ़ी, one who uses a दृढ़ in the sense of "oar." (H. डांड and डांछ). P. id., M. दृढी "one who carries a staff," B. O. डांडी (dāṛī) "rower."

Skr. पाठी "reader," "learned," H. id., O. पाठी, the name of a sept of Brahmins.

Skr. बिपाठी "one who has read the three Vedas," H. तत्वाठी, O. तिहारी, the name of a sept of Brahmins.


Skr. चेमी "prosperous," H. चेमी, and so in all.

Skr. कृष्णी "leprous," H. कोड्री, P. कृष्णी, S. कोड़ी (which points rather to a form कुड़ित), G. कोड़ी, M. कोड्री, O. id. and बड़ी, H. कुड़िता (कुड़ित).

Besides numerous Tatsamas in very common use in all the languages, as पापी "sinful" (पापिन), धर्मी "virtuous" (धर्मिन), रोगी "diseased" (रोगिन), and the like, S. has also दांडी "complainant," from दांड "complaint," which does not seem to be an Aryan word, but is probably corrupted from Arabic دعوي "claim." In some cases of undoubtedly modern origin S. retains the final vowel of the original word, as मति "opinion," मतिरे "tenacious of one's opinion," "opinionated," where the final short i has been changed to a.

(3) The next form र्य is used to form principally patronyms, or adjectives denoting nationality or caste, and results in र्य and र्या.

Skr. बिंधीय "a Sindhian," H. बिंधी, and so in all. In the same way are formed in S. जाडी "a man of जाड़ or Lower Sindh," बिराई "a man of बिराइ Upper Sindh," बिछ्रे "that which belongs to a बिछ्रे Hindū." But O. uses the form र्या, as बीड़िया "an Orya," from a Skr. form बीड़ोय, from बीड़, the old name of Orissa; also बीड़िया "a Bengali," Skr. बीड़ोय, from बीड़, the old name of Bengal. Common to all is मराठी or मरेडी "a Marāṭha," from Skr. महाराष्ट्रीय. O. has
also द्विषिष्ठा or श्या "worthy to be offered," Skr. द्विषिष्ठ, which, however, rather means "worthy to be honoured with offerings." Further instances are:

Skr. भूतीय "mountaineer," H. भूती, भवतिया (chiefly used of the Nepalese), P. id. and परवती, G. परवतयो, M. B. O. भूतीय, O. also भवतिया.

Skr. देशीय "belonging to a country," H. देशी "native," as distinguished from "foreign," P. id., S. देसाई (from देस) and देशी (from देसु), G. देशी, M. देशी¹ and देशीय, O. देशी and देशीय, B. id.

Skr. राज्य "belonging to the kingdom," B. राजी, O. H. id. This word is not known in the other provinces, and denotes a class or caste coming from the राज, i.e. राज, or kingdom of Bengal, that is, the settled and central parts of the country, as contrasted with the outlying and thinly peopled regions. Skr. has both forms राज्य and राजिय, but the former is commoner as a Tatsama in the moderns.

(γ). We now come to the most important of these forms, that in रूक. There are two classes of this stem in Skr., one which augments the vowel of the root, the other which does not. The distinction is maintained in Sindhi with tolerable accuracy, but not generally in the others. Words of this stem are generally used as names of trades or castes.

Skr. रूक्ष "spirituous liquor," रूक्षिद्र "a distiller," H. रूकी (रूकी), B. रूकी, O. रूकृ.

Skr. तेल "oil," तेलिक "oilman," H. तेली, and so in all.


¹ Used chiefly in composition: when standing alone, it means an inhabitant of the देश, an expression which implies the high table land of Maharashtra above the ghats or mountain range of the coast, and is opposed to Konkan, the low narrow strip of coast-line.
FORMATION OF THE STEM.


Formed upon the same model are the names of three great septs of the Karnaupia Brahmans; thus कूचे is shortened from कूचेद्री, and that is from Skr. द्वेद्रिक "one who knows two Vedas;" चौबि is चौबिद्री, from चाभुवंद्रिक "one who knows the whole four Vedas." The fuller form is retained in निनेद्री "one who knows the three Vedas," द्वेद्रिक. It is, however, equally correct to derive these forms from number 5 of the Skr. stems above, as in Skr. there are forms वेद, वैद्य, वैद्य, चाभुवंद्रि. In the case of काष्ठ, the origin of the meaning is doubtful. The Kāchhis are a widespread and very industrious caste of cultivators and market-gardeners, and their name may either be due to their growing vegetables, as one of the meanings of Sanskrit कुष is "a plant," or perhaps, and on the whole more probably, from the कुष्ठ or tightly-girt and tucked-up cloth round the loins, which is the only garment that they wear. Here may, perhaps, also be classed the common word H. कुमी and कुमी, M. कुमची, the name for ordinary peasants in M., and in H. that of an extensive caste. I do not know to what Skr. word this name is to be affiliated. It is also spelt कुमची and कुमी, and the name probably originated in comparatively modern times, and may have no connexion with the older language.

Sindhi examples of this stem are:

Skr. उद् "camel," चोट्य विंस "camel-driver;" S. उज् "camel," चोटी "camel-driver."

S. ठोकिस "earthenware," ठोक्स "seller of pots."

S. बक्स "vegetables," बाक्स "seller of vegetables."

This last word is, I think, not Aryan, but comes from the Arabic बक्स "potholder," whence the word so common in the other languages, बक्स "a vegetable-seller." In Hindu-
the phrase baniya bakkal is colloquially used to indicate petty traders and shopkeepers of all sorts.

(8). The suffix र्य is hardly to be distinguished from रें, except in words which can be traced up to the Sanskrit. The typical word is

Skr. शत्रूर्य “a Kshattriya or man of the warrior caste,” H. शत्रू, शत्री, शिरी, P. id., S. शत्री, M. शत्री.

(9). Stems formed with य are very numerous, and, owing to the variations in meaning which modern words have undergone, are sometimes confounded with abstract nouns in य, like चोरी “theft,” from चोर, and, like them, frequently drop the य altogether. Of stems which retain य, the following may be cited:

Skr. गांव “belonging to a village,” H. गानी, and so in all, but H. frequently गालिक and गाम, also गांजी and गंजी, from the Tadbhava गाँव.

Skr. मुख “principal,” H. मूखी, P. मूखी, मूक्ली, S. मूख, G. मूखी, मूखिक, M. मूखी, B. id., O. id. and मुखिक.

A very large class of words exists in all the languages which, from the absence of any special Sanskrit form to which to refer them, or from the existence of more than one Sanskrit form, cannot be definitely referred to any of the above heads. Such, for instance, is धनी “master,” “lord,” also “wealthy,” a word in use throughout. Skr. has धनिन, धनिक and धनि. In Old B. we find the word धनी “lady,” which may either be shortened from धनिनी, or from धनि.

M. is peculiarly rich in words ending in या, which are perhaps generally to be affiliated to the stem in रक, as mentioned in § 9 (2), but may also be attributed to (e) by supposing the usual addition of य, making रक. Some of the more striking of these words are given with the Marathi primary stems to which they are allied:

कर्ण “commission,” कर्णला “commission agent,” “broker.”
काचू “smartness,” “a shock.” कच्चा “smart,” “sharp,” “active.”
FORMATION OF THE STEM.

कवाट “scheme,” कचाबा “scheming,” “treacherous.”

कंडत्रुक “bullock-pack,” कंडाक्या “fit for carrying burdens,” “a draught-horse or bullock.”

कांले “a coarse blanket,” कादक्या “one who wears a kāmbaka,” “a labouring man.”

कावड “pole for carrying loads,” कावड्या “porter.”

कोट “leprosy,” कोट्या “leprous.”

कोट “scab,” कोट्या “scabby.”

घाट “ghat,” घाट्या “Brahman who attends at a ghat.”

घोडा “horse,” घोड्या “groom.”

Here we have a curious preservation of an older form. घोडा is Skr. घोटक, Pr. घोडो। The M. word points back to a form घोटिका, घोटिकन or घोटका, in which the ख has been preserved as a fulcrum for the termination.

Gujarati has also words of dubious origin in घोडो or घोडो. The double form arises from the unsettled nature of G. spelling, in which no distinction is made between long and short i. The two examples most frequently given, दुखियो “grieved,” मृदियो “happy,” do not appear to come from any of the above stems, but from Skr. दुःखित and मृदित respectively. Other instances are:

निम्ना “school,” निम्नाळियो “scholar” (perhaps Skr. निम्माळिक).

भूमि “earth,” भूमियो “earthly,” O. भूमया (perhaps Skr. भूमय, or भूमिक).

कोट “leprosy,” कोट्यो “leprous” (Skr. is कुष्ठ), see (a).

Without spending more time in considering the subject, it may suffice to suggest, that the fusion of several cognate forms into one, which is so common a feature in these languages, has been at work here also, and that the Skr. terminations given above may have been by careless or ignorant speakers added often to nouns which did not take such terminations in Sanskrit itself, so that words of this group may be referred at will to any
of the five Sanskrit stems given, and in isolated instances to others also, as, for instance, H. पितिया “uncle,” which is from none of the five stems, but from Skr. पितृच्छ.

(2). Principally indicative of qualities or dispositions of the mind is the suffix ाल्कु, which, although occasionally found as a primary, is far more extensively used as a secondary suffix. Vararuchi (iv. 25) treats this suffix in Pr. as a substitute for ाल्क (and ाल), suffixes denoting possession, overlooking the fact that ाल्क exists in Skr. already. In Pr., as also sometimes in Skr., the final a is dropped. This stem is found in different words in the seven languages; each language may therefore be illustrated separately.

Marathi, in which, whether from the greater perfection of the dictionary, or because the language is really richer in these forms, a larger number of instances has been noted than in its sisters, uses the form ाल्क with the cerebral क and long a; it has also ाल्क, and occasionally even ाल्क, which latter points to the use of the universal क suffix, so that we should postulate a Skr. ाल्क. There is also found ाल्क, which would indicate a former ाल्क, with reference to the remarks in the concluding portion of the last section. Thus we have:

Skr. ःया “pity,” M. कःयाकू, H. कःयालु.
Skr. ःट “trouble,” M. कःयाकू “laborious,” “painstaking.”
Skr. ःह “hair,” M. कःयाकू and कःयाकू “hoary.”
Skr. ःड़क “ball,” M. गःंड़ “knob,” “tuft,” गःंड़ “tufted grass.”
Skr. [uncertain], M. गःंड़ “stone,” गःंड़ “stony.”

These three are combined in a proverb descriptive of the peasant’s three greatest troubles—

“Pasturage coarse and knotty, fields full of stones, and a scolding wife.”
FORMATION OF THE STEM.

Skr. हस्य "hand," M. हस्, id., हाता "thievish," "with itching palm."

Another proverb runs—

हाता पूर्वती परंतु तीड़ता पूर्वत नाही

"The itching palm may be satiated, but never the scalding tongue."

Skr. परिक्षा "a measure of time, about half an hour," M. पड़ि, id.,

पड़िता "an instrument for measuring time," "a gong," H. पड़िबाण, P. id., and so in all.

Skr. घात "wound," M. घाय id., घायता "wounded."

Skr. चिक्र "greasy," M. चीर "sap," "juice," चिक्राण, चिक्राण्या and

चिक्राण्य "viscid," "gummy."

Skr. [uncertain], M. धोप and धोप "sleep," धोपाक "sleepy."

As to this last word, the root धी in Skr. means "to move," among other things, and the root धर, which is in effect an old causal of धी in its meanings of "sowing (grain)," "weaving," and "sewing," shows that the movement implied by the parent root is an oscillating movement backwards and forwards, like that of a weaver's shuttle, or a sower's hand; so that we may fairly suppose it to have obtained the secondary meaning of "nodding," as one does when drowsy. In confirmation of this, M. has also धोप or धोप "a swing," so that we may assume a form धोप + धर, which would give धोप, the anuśvara, or rather anuśāsika, being inorganic. (See Vol. I. pp. 177, 327, for the ध, and p. 143 for the धी.)

Skr. धिपण "covering," M. धाप "a mat," धापाक "matted or bushy" (a tree); see Vol. I. p. 177. Hence is formed a verb धापाकाण्य च to be bushy and close of foliage.


Skr. द्वाध "milk," M. द्वाध id., द्वाधाक "full of milk," "a milch cow."

There are also in M. instances of this suffix taking the form वर, as in Sindhi, thus—

M. बाल "a tile," बालाक "tiled" (as a building).
We now pass on to Gujarati, which, like M., principally uses the ः, though words of this stem are also found with ः, but perhaps only through a mistake of the writers. Authorities disagree very widely as to the spelling of Gujarati, which is not to be wondered at in the case of a language with a scanty literature, no fixed standard of pronunciation, and numerous dialects.

G. चाब “shame,” शाबाक “shamefast,” “bashful.”
G. खच “sleep,” खचाकु “drowsy.”
G. वाच “word,” वाचाकु “loquacious,” also in a good sense “eloquent.”
G. रती “sand,” रताकु, रताक, and by some रताक “sandy.”
G. अचरी “stone,” अचराकु “stony.”
G. लोधि “blood,” लोधियाकु “bloody.”
G. राड़ी “beard,” राड़ीयाकु “bearded.”
G. गढ़ी “a ghart,” गढ़ीयाको “gong.”

With words ending in ः, this language affixes the termination, without modifying the stem word. In the case of nouns in चि, it adds the suffix to the oblique form in ः; the same in the oblique as in the nominative; so that we may say that in all cases the suffix is added to the oblique form. An exception is रताक, but here we derive from an earlier form रत in use in the other languages. The language of course uses, like all its sisters, Tatsama words, at the discretion of the writer, and words like जपकु are almost Tatsamas, the cerebral ः being merely a vulgar pronunciation of ः. This suffix is found appended even to Persian words by the indiscriminating vulgar; thus from जर “shame,” is formed जरमाक or जरमाक “bashful.”

Sindhi more frequently changes ः to ः (Vol. I. p. 247). Thus
S. मेह “buffalo,” मेहाक “buffalo-herd.”
S. धाल “herd of cattle,” धालक “herdsman.”
S. कोद “camel,” कोदाक “camel-herd.”
S. झाल “barley,” झाल “(wheat) mixed with barley.”
FORMATION OF THE STEM.

8. घड़ी “hour,” घड़ायां, घड़ो “gong.”

8. बृक्ष “clouds” (collective), बृक्षाणि “cloudiness.”

The final vowel, whether it be the u of the masc., or the i of the feminine, disappears before the suffix; but long i is retained, merely hardened into च, as in M. Quasi-Tatsamas also occur, which are simply due to the fact of the words being honestly written as the people pronounce them, and not as Pandits would have them; such are चिरायु, चियायु, for कनालु, द्रयायु.

The word बिच्छायु “candlestick,” from बिच च “a light,” is quoted by Trumpp in this place; but it would appear to be questionable whether we have not here a compound from दीप + आय. I shall show presently that compounds of this sort are not unfrequent, and often render it difficult to determine whether any word belongs to this class or not. In this and other languages compounds whose last member is काल “time,” or आया “hall,” or आय “abode,” as will be exhibited hereafter, come under this category, and the confusion is increased in M. and G. by the substitution of the cerebral च for च in these words, as well as in the suffix आय.

Panjabi has not any special fondness for the च sound, nor does it particularly affect stems of this formation. Instances are, उनाऊ “woollen,” from उत्र or उस “wool;” कसाऊ “distressed,” for कसमाऊ, from कसत “trouble” (Skr. कठ). In this case the possessive signification is sometimes lost, and the word used merely as an intensive substantive. रेडाऊ “thorny,” from रेडा “thorn” (Skr. कठवक), where the short i represents the e of the oblique form रेडे. कूडाऊ “a large earthen pot,” from कूड “a pot,” here again intensive. घटाऊ (ironical) “a vain, pompous man,” that is, one who has a gong beaten before him as he walks, from घटा “a bell,” “a gong.” There is also, as in the above-quoted languages, the common word चिरियाऊ “gong,” from चड़ी; but the language prefers the cognate forms of this stem in चि, चि, and चि, as we shall see presently.

Bengali and Orīya, being languages originally poor, and
having, therefore, a smaller stock of Tadbhavas than the others, are not fertile fields for secondary formations. In them such stems are mostly Tatsamas, like झापु; and it will not be productive of any large results to adduce instances from them. The words which the student may meet with will be readily recognizable as belonging to this stem; such as, झगडालु “quarrelsome,” already cited; O. विपात “burglarious,” from सिंघ “a burglar’s hole,” sometimes written सिंघुल्लु for सिंघालु; महालु “middling,” from मध्य (Skr. मध्य) “middle;” विचालु “piercing,” from विच “a hole.”

With regard to Hindi, usually so rich in primary and secondary forms, it is somewhat strange to find so few illustrations of this widespread stem. Apart from Tatsamas, it has, however, forms in अहु, and, owing to its habitual neglect of final short vowels, also आ, but displays, like Panjabi, a marked preference for the forms in इ, आइ, आई, and आ। It also in many instances changes ल to र (see Vol. I. p. 247), thus producing अर, with variants अरा and अरु, where the final उ is preserved by being lengthened. The following list will suffice to illustrate all these forms.

H. छोंड “shako,” छोंहरा “unbragorous” (not from छों + हरा, as Forbes puts it; the ह belongs to the root).

H. निपट “end,” निपटार “one who finishes,” “destroys,” “makes

H. तीट “belly,” तीटार “pot-bellied.”

H. चढी “hour,” चरियाल “gong.”

H. खुद “milk,” खुदार “milch,” and खुदाल, B. आ, O. टोह, टोह.

H. गोल “ball,” गोलार “globular.”

H. विलु “mark,” विलार “recognition.”

Skr. प्रेम “love,” पियार “beloved” (as though प्रेमलु for प्रेम).

H. रेत “sand,” रेताला “sandy” (more generally रेता, see farther on).
Many of these words, as in the other languages, have lost the possessive or qualitative sense, and have become simple attributes.

(9). Closely allied to the last, and like it used to express possession of a quality, is the Skr. रूप, which in Pr. often doubles the र, making रूप. This suffix in the moderns takes a lengthened form रूप्ला or रूप्ला, and combines with a preceding a or ś into रूप्ला, रूप्ला, and रूप्ला. As remarked above, it is a favourite in H. and P., though less frequent in the other languages. These two languages have forms in एला, where the ए probably arises from confusion with एल, unless we here admit a change of ś into e, noted as not unfrequent in Vol. I. p. 136.

H. मांठ "knot," माठीला "knotty," P. "id.
H. मझा "pit," मझेला "large pit" (intensive).
H. केंकर "gravel," केंकरीला "gravelly.
H. घर "house," घरेला "domesticated," "tame.
H. गाम "grass," गामेला "grassy.
H. चोट "wound," चोटीला "bruised.
H. खब "beauty," खबीला "beautiful." As in Bhārī Lal's fanciful verses:

मांठ चौट सेवी करै जिति खबीला खइं
खिर फिर मृति उथे गहै पिय केंकरीला बैलं

सांह, 234.

H. कार्व "shade," कारवाला "shady.
H. डंक "sting," डंकोला "armed with a sting" (said of insects, as यह वीला डंकोला है "this insect has a sting").
H. डैक "shove," डैकेलु "in the habit of butting" (said of horned animals), P. घेकेन, fem. घेकेली.
H. तंद "belly," तंदैल "pot-bellied.
H. वर "forest," वरेला "wild," "jungly.
H. रेत "sand," रेतीला "sandy," "gritty."

H. सीत "rival wife" (Skr. सप्त्य), सीतिभ "belonging to a rival wife," as in the phrase सीतिभ मातृ, that is, "a brother, son of the same father, but by a different mother," "a half-brother."

H. पीठ "start" (Skr. चमलकार), बीज "a horse that is given to stabling or starting."

There seems to be no rule for the use of one of these forms instead of another, though in practice we find that one word always uses 'दिला,' and another 'दिला,' while a third has only the form दिला. With respect to the use of the final दा, it may perhaps be laid down that such words as have a distinctly adjective sense always take the final दा, but such nouns as are used substantively reject it. Thus, if we should say, "he is my half-brother," we must use दिला as सीतिभ मातृ; but if we would say, "this man and woman are my brother and sister by the father's side, but by different mothers," we might say, "they are my sanya," हमारी सीतिभ है. So also derisively, "Ho, pot-belly!" would be, दिला मातृ.

Those words in which Panjahi agrees with H. have been noted above; other instances peculiar to that language are these which follow. चटब in the sense of halting, gives छटीं (f.) "a woman that walks mincingly, or affectedly," sometimes, but incorrectly, written छटीं, possibly from some idea of its being in some way connected with छ छ "play." From छ छ "stoppage," छ छ "a horse that jibs," G. छ छ 'देव.

P. कर "strength," "drawing-power," कर्जा "astringent" (said of medicines).

Ar. लाग "suffocation," (in India) "rage," पृज "angry," पृज "a bad-tempered person."

P. घरा "petticoat," घरेल "a woman who wears a petticoat," i.e. a virtuous woman; prostitutes do not wear the petticoat in some parts, nor the drawers, but only the loin-cloth, अर्थी.
P. झूब "storm," झूबेल "subst. "quarrel," "aflray," "uproar."

P. झाता "weary," झामल "easily fatigued."

P. झुड "milk," झुधेल "a milch cow." H. has also this word.

P. पतार "stone," पतरिणा, पतरिज "stony."

P. झाँ "shame," झाँकी "shamefast."

P. मांझा "the middle" (the name applied to the central part of the Panjib between the Ravi and Biś rivers), मांझ "a man from the Māṇjha."

P. makes the feminines of words of the form elā in o, see Ch. IV. § 33 (3). As between ail and el, it may be decided that the latter is a softening of the former, which is again shortened from एल चारल, where the ए belongs to the root. This applies to H. also; thus क्षाईना "shady," is for क्षाईला, which is क्षाया + रजा, while क्षाईला is क्षाव + रजा. The difficulty lies in this, that often where we have elā, we cannot find the termination in long ए in the root; thus there is no reason to believe that बन "forest," was ever बना, yet we require बना to give us बनेला, i.e. बना + रजा. The rule will not therefore apply in all instances.

Sindhi has रेनो and एनो, but also, in conformity with its usual custom, रेनो and एनो. The long vowel, as in H. and P., seems to have arisen from rejection of one of the two ए of Pr. रेनो.

- हरो "obstinate," हरोरो "patient."
- एनो "obstinate," एनेनो "a man from the Thar."
- बस "leather," बसेनो "leather."
- बांव "shade," बांविणा "shady."
- एनो "id."
- बसो "id."
- बांवो "id."
- एनो "id."
- बसो "id."
- बांवो "id."

With Sindhi on the one hand, and Hindi on the other, is connected in respect of this suffix Gujarati, having in some instances the same words as the former, as in हठीनो, and in
others the same as the latter, as दृढाक्ष = H. दुधार, also दृढेक्ष = H. and P. दृढेल. Its usual forms are देलो and दरो. As

नातु "relationship," मातीवो "related, by blood or marriage."
घवु "much," घवेवो "abundant" (only used in poetry).
मातु "bad, defective," माटीर "scanty."
घाम "sweat," घामेको "sweaty."

The language does not seem to be rich in this class of forms. Marathi has numerous formations in रेख, रेद, and रेव, also in रे and रे. Care must be taken to distinguish from words of this class those words which present long i from the tendency of this language to lengthen vowels in a final syllable (Vol. I. p. 105), such as कुटीक "perverse," "malicious," which is merely a vulgar pronunciation of Skr. कुटिल "crooked." Further are to be eliminated a small class of compound words in which आनय forms the last member, as देवार्ण "temple," = देवालय; also familiar words such as वडील or वडील "ancestor," from Skr. वुष through a now disused वुडा, and बारेल "a wife," from बारे. These seem to be a sort of diminutives.

As genuine possessives may be cited—

कड़ "side," "direction," कडील "relating to a quarter or direction."
खड़क "rock," खड़को "rocky."
खान (nde.) "below," खानील "belonging to the lower part."
गोट "sweetness," गोटीक "sweetish."
कोट "thorn," कोटिर "thorny," also कोट "a thorny shrub."
कोट "a thorny creeper."

(Skr. खंड) खान "a division,"
कोटीक "divided into squares" (a cloth).
(Skr. खण) खान "an excavation,"
कोटीक "digging up plants" (subst.).

गोंड "tuft," गोंडिर "tufted."
घाण "stench," घाणिर "stinking," also घाणिणा.
मण "sweat,"
जुमा "old,"
बट "encumbrance,"
बाम "smell,"
मामिल "sweaty,"
जुमर "old clothes," "rags" (subst.),
बटर "troublesome,"
बामरा, बामिल "fetid," "rancid."

Here, as in the other languages, the meaning of the possessive has in several cases passed over into that of a substantive.

In Oriya this suffix is not common: an instance is खविल "handsome," from खविल. I have not found any others, except Tatsamas. The dictionary (Sutton's), however, is a very meagre one, and I have not heard the form in speaking. The same may be said of Bengali, in which language secondary formations of all kinds are comparatively rare, or, if they exist in rural districts, are not fully recognized as other than mere local corruptions. There is a vast field for research in this direction.

(4). The combination of the suffix in म with a preceding श is rare, though not altogether non-existent in Prakrit. Varnruchi gives only one instance, ciśrullo, for Skr. विकारकुल "changed." The suffix जम with the long vowel is found in a few cases in Skr., as वाट (also वांट) "mud," "gouty" (i.e. affected by wind), from वांट "wind." In the modern languages it is also rare. For Sindhi Trumpp gives no examples, and does not even introduce the suffix in his very full and well-arranged list of secondary stems. There are, however, a few words which may be referred to this suffix in all the languages. Thus

Skr. वांट "a stroke of wind," S. वांटम "blight from wind," वांटर "winnowing grain." H. धार "mud" (from the meaning of Skr. धारण given above), also written धारला. धार्ला and धारा. P. writes the word धारा, धाररा, and धारा. G. धार "foolish." M. धार "flatus lent," also a corrupt form धाररु "whirlwind." The word धार, meaning "a kind of soil on the banks of rivers," seems as if it belonged to this stem; but the connexion is difficult to trace, unless it be "driven by the
wind," such as are the sand-drifts which the violent winds in the dry season
heap up in the beds of rivers all over India. B. बाराझ and बाराझ
mad," बाराझ "whirlwind," बाराझ "windowing." O. बाराझ "mad."

From M. I have picked out the following, which should
probably come under this head.

क्राह "early" (Skr. कुरण), इम्बोर "gluttonous," from इम्बोर "to
eat," a primary formation, नामूस "blotted," "pulpy" (like a pregnant
female), from गाम्ब fetus.

Of more extended use are—

Skr. गाम "heat," "sweat," M. गामोटी, गामोटी "prickly heat," "an
eruption caused by excessive heat of the weather," H. H. गामानी, but O.
गांगार.

Skr. मध "middle," H. मध्यजा "middle-sized," "intermediate," P.
मध्यका and मधुका, S. however मध्यार, B. and O. मधुका. It is said
in O. of the second of three brothers, thus बड माई "eldest," मधुका "second," कौट "youngest."

From Skr. घात in the sense of "defect," "failure," comes
P. घातक, घातक "lazy," "careless," not found in the other
languages; also होस "quarrel," from हो "snare," "deceit;" बातु "dear," from बाज "fondling," and some few more.
H. ठोट "joose," from ठोट "jest." The formation is not,
however, a very common one in any of the modern languages,
any more than it is in Skr. or Pr.

(5). All the various forms of this group of ख stems still
further soften down to an obscure ख, generally but not always
preceded by ख, thus giving ख. The typical word is

Skr. घात "wound," H. घाच, M. G. id., S. P. घाट, B. O. घा. whence
comes Old-H. घार, H. घार, P. G. id., P. also घाइ, S. घाइ,
M. घारात, B. घास, inverted from घार, O. id.

Here only M. has the long å, and is probably from घ, while
the rest are from आ, so that they might be referred to a Skr.
form घातिण, where the त has gone out as usual, and the intermediate form was probably घातिल. Panjabi has a great preference for this shortened form, owing perhaps to its fondness for short vowels and habitual neglect of the principle of compensatory lengthening. Even where a word is written with a long vowel, the Panjabi peasant will often slur it over so that it sounds short. Thus

दहल “knotty.”
 मोठका “muddy.”
 धराल “cavity.”
 डुसू “for दुसरा “belonging to the other side.”
 तीव्रा “the other side.”

They say मोरो डुसू निम्नलि गरे “the bullet went right through, and came out at the other side.”

रेतला “sandy.”
 फोक्का “insipid.”
 लाइका “dear,”

As an instance of this form may be cited:

H. चिन्ना “foremost.” “in the front,” P. rd., S. चन्नो “superior,” G. जानक (prep.) “before,” M. चानका “superior,” B. O. जाणलि, to which corresponds H. पिक्का “hindmost,” with a similar series in the rest, as P. पिक्का, etc.

Sindhi has a set of stems in ḥ preceded by a short vowel, which, however, do not seem to be connected with this suffix, but rather with the Skr. diminutives in ज and र, and may therefore be relegated to the section which treats of those developments.

This form is usual in Oriya, as मासक “fleshy,” from मास “flesh,” भक्क “deceitful,” from भक “a cheat.”

One form fuses into another, or into several others, so constantly in these languages, that the inquirer is at every step bewildered by their similarity, and as the meanings, which are after all the safest guides, have also commonly been lost or
shaded off by metaphors, or by local circumstances, into other classes, there is often little help to be found from them. It is probable, however, that in all except Sindhi, the group of forms in \( l \) preceded by short \( a \) has really been derived from \( ०० \), \( ०० \), or one of the cognate forms in Sanskrit; and it must be perpetually remembered that the modern languages often add a termination, which has for them acquired some special meaning, to roots and primary stems in which it does not exist in Sanskrit, or, if it existed, has not been handed down to us, so that the fact of the form itself not being found in Sanskrit is no argument against its being a genuine one for the modern vernaculars. When also the moderns task on these expressive endings to Tadbhavas whose origin is uncertain, the inference is that they fully recognized the effect produced by such endings, and used them at will, thus constructing numerous quite recent words of their own.

§ 19. The Sanskrit suffix रत, though in form identical with the past participle, is also largely used to form secondary nouns, originally possessive in meaning, but shading off like the other similar suffixes into attributives and mere appellatives. It is the parent of a very large range of forms in the modern languages, the most common of which is that which amalgamates the \( i \) of the suffix with the long \( a \) of the stem, producing in H. the common form in \( ०० \), though the others frequently keep the two vowels distinct, and M. more suo lengthens र to र. Hindi having got hold of र as a termination expressive of habitual occupation, possession or profession, adds it, regardless of etymology, to words which have no final \( a \), shortening the long vowel of the root. Thus from


FORMATION OF THE STEM.

More regularly, however, from words ending in ọ, as—

H. काह्मा "war-song," "pean," काह्म ीत "a warrior-hard," P. id.
H. चाची "report," "news," चाचीत "a gossiping person.
H. चिका "spear," चिकीत "spearman," P. id.
H. माता "relationship," मातीत "a relation.

In Sindhi this suffix is found in two forms, ẹto and ọito. The ọ of the former arises from the fact that this suffix is added to the oblique form of the noun, thus पुत्र "son," oblique पुत्र, whence we get पुत्र+ी=पुत्री, पुत्री "having a son." In feminines in ọ the oblique also ends in ọ; thus चिपी "daughter," चिपीत "having a daughter," from ज्ञी+ी. Some words in ọ masc. do not change in the oblique, and in this case the ọ is elided; but a consciousness of its having been there prevents the ọ of the suffix from amalgamating with the final vowel of the root, thus भाइ "brother," भाइती "having a brother," for भाई(ọ)+ी. Irregular is जीएनी "having a wife," from जी "wife," where we should expect जीती for जी+ी; it has probably been constructed on the model of पुत्री, without reflecting on the origin of the form. Another irregular word is वाटाई "having a road," from वाट "road," which should be ीडेटी like ज्ञीएं।

With adjectives the suffix ीतो is added to long ो, as

बाराईती "timely," from बारी "time."
झांराईती "opportune," .. झां "opportunity."
घुटाईती "sultry," .. घुट "sultriness."
मिंडाईती "sleepy," .. मिंड "sleep."
नेमाईती "regular," .. नेम "rule.

This last word is also used as an adverb "regularly," "methodically," and this is the case with several other words of this stem, in Sindhi; as
Working round in our usual circle, we come next to Gujarati, which has forms in itso produced by the rejection of the त of रत. These were mentioned in § 18 (1), e. The form in नित is not given in any of the grammars or dictionaries, and does not appear to exist, though it is strange that words like कङ्कित, which breathe the spirit of the old Rajput heroes, should not have survived among the descendants of the war-like Chalukyas. Of रत there are a few examples, as

आठोक “recognition,” आठोकितस “an acquaintance.”
मान “honour,” मानितस “respected,” “a man of rank.”
आणि “knowledge,” आणितस “skilled,” “a connoisseur.”

These are also written with long र, as आणितस, an approach to Marathi pronunciation. In the latter language the formation in रत is common as an attributive principally: thus

कङ्कित “a crackling sound,” कङ्कितत “that which crackles,” also metaphorically “prompt,” “smart.”
खङ्गकित “sound of rustling of dry grass,” खङ्गकित “rough,” “hairy,”
“plain-talked.”
दङ्गदङ्ग “bang! bang!” दङ्गदङ्ग “noisy” (said of a festivity),
दङ्गदङ्ग “squash!” दङ्गदङ्ग “soft,” “pulpy,” “squashy.”

So fond of expressive formations is Marathi, that a very long list of words of this class might be adduced; they are mostly reduplicative. Of the form खङ्गरत, one or two instances have been given already, as खङ्गरत, खङ्गरत; another is खङ्गरत “one that takes the lead.” from खङ्ग “front.” M. and O. have from खङ्ग “sword,” खङ्गरत O. “swordsman,” and खङ्गरत M. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that the Marathas
borrowed this word from the Oriyas; the Khandaits of Orissa formed once a very powerful and numerous body of soldiers. Under the Hindu Rajas they were the militia or 
landwehr of the province, and are still found as village watchmen in the South, though in northern Orissa they have beaten their swords into ploughshares, and are industrious cultivators. The khand, or short double-edged sword, was the sign manual of the kings of Orissa, and is found rudeley engraved on all their copper-plate grants, thus. The Marathas may have borrowed the word during their long period of away in that country, as it is strange that it is only found in these two languages, and has a political significance only in Orissa. O. has also:

मोहारत "one who collects firewood, straw, etc., for sale," from मोहर "a bundle."

सेवारत "a worshipper," "one who attends regularly on an idol," from सेवा "worship."

And with a further suffix aka—

पकातक "a fugitive," from पकायन "flight," for पकातक.

टिकारत "heir apparent to a throne," from टिका "the tilak or mark of sovereignty," H. टीकित.

कटारत "chopper," from कटान "cutting."

जमारत "watchman," "guard for travellers," from जमा "traveller."

The gantait was a man who escorted the pilgrims to the shrine of Jagannath over the dangerous and difficult roads of former days. His occupation is gone in these peaceful times, but the title remains to his descendants, who are now ordinary peasants. Bengali inverts the suffix into ātt, as in बेवानी "worshipper," for बेवारत, but does not use many words of this stem.

Tatamsas of this form are common in all the languages, and inasmuch as īta would in Prakrit drop the र and become īya, and thence ī, the early Tadbhavas formed by this suffix add
another element of uncertainty to the numerous words in long
in all the seven languages. This has been mentioned above
under that stem.

§ 20. Most frequent in Sanskrit as a suffix indicating pos-
session is मतुप. This forms adjectives having for nominative
मान (m.), माती (f.), मत्त (n.), also वान, वाती, वत्त. In Prakrit the
form becomes वलो, वाती, वलो. The Prakrit form is preserved
with some modification in early Tadbhayas; but all the lan-
guages have a certain number of instances of late Tadbhayas
and Tatsamas with the Skr. formation, such as धनवान
"wealthy," which is in use in all. Sindhi, however, must
have a vowel-ending, come what may, so it writes द्यावानु
"compassionate," and with very slight corruption चीवानु
"virtuous," for Skr. शीवान; विज्ञावानु "learned," for Skr.
विश्वानान. Of early Tadbhayas with the Pr. form वलो, the
following are examples: G. द्यावान "pitiful," धानव "wealthy,
वावीवान "prosperous" (Skr. जच्चर), नावायव "bashful"
(Skr. चच्चायव), but these are not very common.

Far more general is the contracted form चीत, with oxytone
forms चीता and चीती. With the change of form has come
a very extensive change of meaning, so that it is not easy in
all cases to see by what mental process the modern signification
can be traced back to the original idea of possession.

In Hindi the form in चीत is almost identical in meaning
with that in एत, and indicates only rarely possession, as इकौन,
the name of a troublesome class of vagrant beggars, who in the
Panjab lay claim to miraculous powers of warding off evil.
They are so called from the दुक, a hideous little instrument
like a drum, with a bullet at the end of a string attached to it,
with which they keep up a ceaseless rattle; so that the word
would mean "possessing a đuk," P. इकात and इकोत, the
latter for इकावंत. Less directly possessive is H. इैठीत "son
of a जेठा" (Skr. जेस्त), or "husband’s elder brother," P. जिठा,
which, however, may be a compound from झेड़ + पुत्र. Hindi has a string of feminines in जीती, indicating generally action, in some of which we can get the idea of possession, by treating them as adjectives compounded with a fem. substantive.

Thus बपौदी "patrimony," "paternal inheritance," is explainable as बपावती संपत्ति "wealth possessed by, or belonging to, a father," where, however, the idea of possession is rendered passive, as we could not translate it "possessing a father," though this would be more in accordance with the original meaning. We must not be surprised at inversions of this sort in a popular and unreasoning language. Thus, for instance, the Latin suffix -bilis, which originally meant "able to do," is now generally used in the passive sense of "able to be done," amabilis, aimable, amiable, do not now mean "able to love," but "able to be loved," "that which may be loved," and in the numerous hybrid words which we have formed by adding -able to Teutonic roots, the same rule prevails: thus we say, for instance, eatable, drinkable, meaning "that which may be eaten or drunk," not "that which can eat and drink." The monstrous modern word reliable, which is creeping into our language in spite of protest, can have no meaning at all. A reliable statement means literally "a statement that can be relied," which is nonsense; we say "a statement that can be relied on," so that the word, if allowed to exist at all, should be "reliance!"

The majority of these feminines cannot well, by any inversion or supplying additional meanings, be invested with a possessive sense. They refer mostly to accounts and business, and we may supply a substantive क्रान्ति or वात. Thus

समझती "act of explaining," from समझाना "to explain," generally
बुझती "settlement of accounts," बुझाना "to explain," used together, P. id.

मनीती "giving security for one," मनाना "to cause to trust," P. id.,
6. मनोती.
formation of the stem.

कूकाती “closing an account,” from कुकाना  “to settle,” “wind-up,”

प. id.

भरीती “payment in full,” = भर “full,” “complete.”

Others, again, are general in meaning, and have no reference to the primitive idea of possession, as

हरीती “the beginning of the ploughing season,” from हस “plough”

(Also हरसीत).”

चुनाती “act of encouraging troops,” from चुना “to array.”

हिनाती “supplication” (probably only a vulgar corruption of Skt. विनायकती प्रार्थना “modest prayer”).

गोती “flesh,” “meat” (derivation uncertain), P. M. id., G. माम.

कुड़ीती “ransom,” from कुड़ाना “to ransom.”

Punjabi has also a fair number of words of this kind, mostly identical with Hindi. G. uses principally बौरी and उती, as in मोती, quoted above, समजूती “explanation.” M. writes बौरी, as चुम्बवती, corresponding to H. चुकौती, or उत, as समजूत, H. समझती. In B. and O. the practice of pronouncing ऽ as o has led to the confusion of words of this form with those formed by the suffix ं. In Hindi also it is a fair presumption that many of the words just quoted may be ascribed to the suffix ं, the र of which is lengthened, as in the cases quoted in § 12. Thus words which have ती added to the root direct, are from the simple root, while those in which the ती is preceded by बौरी, are from the causal root, whose old form ended in दू; thus दुडीती would be for दुडाच + ं, from दुडाचना, the older form of the causal.

Here comes in more confusion. In H. and P., and occasionally in the other languages also, are found words which we are tempted to affiliate to this suffix, but which are written with ठ. It is probable that these words should have ठ, and the use of ठ is due partly to ignorance, and partly to their having
been confounded with words of the form रावट; already discussed in § 16 (3). Some are found in P. with both न and र, as in the following list:

H. सच "true," सचीरी "truthfulness."
H. हाथ "hand," हाथीरी "dexterity," P. id.
H. हारणा "to grasp," हाराती "staff."
H. सिंग "horn," सिंगीरी "a burnisher made of horn," P. id., "a small horn."

P. सिखवा "teaching" (Skr. शिखा) सिखीरी and सिक्कीरी "Instruction."
P. सिक्क "upright," सिक्कीर "uprightness" (also सिक्कीली).

Under this head, and to be distinctly referred to the suffix वत् by elision of the व, and occasional lengthening of the preceding vowel, are to be classed the following Sindhi words:

भरी "load," भरवत "a porter."
पोशरी "labour," (Skr. पोशर) पोशरत "labourer."
डिक्कली "debt," डिक्कलात "debtor."

With characteristic change of न to र, occur several words which may with great probability be ascribed to this suffix, though Trumpp would refer them, judging apparently chiefly by their sense, to the stem in पण through the Pr. form पण. Such are

कोकच "boy," कोकिराठ "boyhood" (quasi Skr. शावकरवत् काढ). This is the only instance he gives among secondary forms. When treating of primary forms, he deduces this stem from the Skr. affix भत्, as noted in § 16 (2). From my own notes I take the following:

कंघु "shoulder," कंघाठ "a bullock's collar" (quasi Skr. कंघवद् यक "machine for the shoulder").

§ 21. Closely allied to the preceding is the Sanskrit suffix व, which is divided into two, वक being added to nouns of
place to indicate attributives, as दक्षिणात् "belonging to the South," and लण्ड "added to indeclinables to form words implying production, as रचयि "produced there."

The use of these two forms has been very widely extended in the modern languages under the form च, which arises naturally from य (see Vol. I. p. 327). I shall show reasons in a future chapter for believing this suffix to be the origin of the Marathi genitive in चा, ची, चें. At present I confine myself to the stems which it forms, merely observing that these stems are more frequent in, if not entirely confined to, Sindhi and Marathi, —a circumstance which adds confirmation to the theory of the genitive, by showing that the use of this suffix was familiar to the natives of those two provinces.

In Sindhi the suffix is preceded by ठ or ठ; the former is used where the stem is a feminine in short ठ, in which the long ठ of Sanskrit has been shortened in the primary stem, because it stands at the end of the word, but preserves its full length when the suffix is added. Thus

Skr. बड़ी "inclusion," S. बड़हि "thicker," "jungle," बड़हीचो "belonging to the jungle."

Added to masculines in ठ or ठ it takes ठ, the old oblique form, as

S. गोट्ठ "village," गोट्ठचो "belonging to the same village."
S. पाट्ठ "quarter," पाट्ठचो "of the same quarter (of a town)."
S. पाटि "opposite," पाटि "from the other side."

Marathi does not insert any juncton vowel, as

| M. घर "house," | घरचा "domestic." |
| M. वर "above," | वरचा "superior." |
| M. बांत "within," | बांतचा "inner." |
| M. पूठ "front," | पूठचा "anterior." |
| M. माग "behind," | मागचा "posterior." |
Substantives are also formed in this way, as सोटि “salted food,” “pickle,” from नमक “salt.” I can hardly venture so far as to say that this stem is not found in the other languages at all; for I think I have seen isolated instances in P. and G.: but I may safely say that it does not in any, except Marathi and Sindhi, attain to anything like general use. In these two languages it vindicates its claim to be considered as a descendant of stems in य, both from the phonetic consideration, and from the fidelity with which it retains the meaning of possession, combined most frequently with that of place. I cannot accept Dr. Trumpp’s theory, which would connect this stem with the Skr. ica through a change of k to ch.

Ika is one of the great k group, of which so much was said under the primary stems, and which must be again introduced here, because it is extensively worked to form secondary stems. We have already seen what ica becomes as a primary among the rest, and shall not be led to suspect it of changing to ch. In Vol. I. p. 269, it was shown that this organic change, though there are traces of it in Skr. and Pr., is not by any means a characteristic feature of the modern languages, and the few instances in which it does occur are those of initials.

To come to the group in iva, which need not, however, detain us long, as in the discussion of its use in primary stems, the method of its application was explained. Of iva as a distinctly secondary form little trace, if any, exists,—that is to say, we cannot point to a class of words being either abstract nouns, possessives, or appellatives, which are evidently formed from other nouns. Of iva, in Marathi, forming nouns in या, and of its connected forms in the other languages, notice was taken in § 18 (1), y, to which I have only to add some cases in which the य is retained, as in Sindhi.

बापारिको “mercantile,” from बापास “trade.”
बापिको “commercial,” “बापी “shopkeeper.”
हारिको “rustle,” “हारो “peasant.”
In the other languages this form is rare, and generally found in Tatsamas or very recent Tadbhavas, such as सामाजिक in use in all, "relating to an assembly," from समाज "an assembly."

बृ is used in Sindhi to make adjectives implying habitual actions or states, thus also inhabitants of any country.

हास "injurious," from हाति "injury."
बेहु "revengeful," .. भेड "revenge."
चापिस "mountaineer" .. चप "hill."
वाबिस "a man of Bakhar," .. वध "Bakhar."

Such secondary words of this type as exist in the other languages, as, for instance, हु "a glutton," from घट, have been sufficiently exhibited under primaries, and need not be again referred to.

There is only one other member of the क-group which remains. Sindhi adds एक to nouns and adverbs to signify adjectives of time, as

वरिशो "yearly," from वरि "year."
रातिशो "nightly," .. रात "night."

In all these cases the final vowel of the stem is rejected, and the suffix joined to the bare root.

§ 22. As we draw near to the end of this long series of stems, the illustrations become more and more confined to one or two languages, and we seem to have exhausted the powers of those members of the group which are least prolific. Marathi and Sindhi keep up the game to the last, and in this, as in all other respects, show themselves more fertile in varied developments than their sister tongues. But this fertility is not for them a legitimate cause for boasting; they are, on the contrary, suffering from an objectionable plethora of forms. Among all the vast range of secondary forms there is very little variety of meaning; the English -y, -ness, -ship, and -hood, do between them as much
work as thirty or forty different suffixes in Sindhi, and it is not pretended that each of these suffixes has in itself some subtly restricted shade of meaning which separates it from the others, and renders it in a special manner appropriate to the individual word with which it is bound up. Bengali gets on very well with one or two, and Hindi with eight or ten suffixes; but Marathi and Sindhi cannot be contented without exhibiting some suffix for each of the innumerable Sanskrit pratyayyas, both kriyanta and tatdliita. Under these circumstances it seems needless to wear out the reader's patience by going minutely into each one of them, more especially as some of them are of such rare occurrence as only to have a word or two apiece. I shall therefore wind up this portion of the subject by briefly enumerating, with one or two examples to each, such remaining forms as I have met with; and if the reader should be acquainted with any other forms than those I have set down—as readers acquainted with the spoken vernaculars probably will be—he will have no difficulty in determining where to place it in the general system.

The Skr. suffix श्च produces a stem in श्चित in Sindhi, as ईङ्ग्य तुर्म्य, ईङ्ग्य गङ्ग्यि “coloured with turmeric.”

I am unable to find any traces of this form in the other languages, except in Tatsamas. The य is dropped, giving a Pr. लक्ष, and the न softens into annadusika, with lengthening of its vowel, which is then brought forward in order that the annadusika may be utilized in filling the hiatus. The process as a whole seems unique, though resting on phonetic changes for which there is abundant analogy.

Sindhi has also stems in रा, from the Skr. suffix र, in which it stands alone, as in Skr. र forms dimitratives, in which practice it is followed by the other languages. Sindhi, however, makes appellatives and atributive, as सूचि “housebreaker,” from सूचि “a hole made by burglars.”
FORMATION OF THE STEM.

The same language has also a series, peculiar to itself, of stems in भारी, द्रारी, जारी, which are in the main possessives. Thus

ौष "thief," चौरारी "of a thief."  
चंबु "moon," चंबु रारे "moonlight."  
षेष "merchant," षेष रारे "of a Seth."  

Connected with which are stems in भारी, as patronymics, thus:

आरारी "son of भारी."  

And in भारी, as

कनक "affianced," from केन "connexion by marriage."  

To these may be added ज्यो, perhaps from Skr. भारः:

पानी "damp," from पानी "water."  

And भार, from Skr. भ, as

वारारी "sandy," from वारी "sand."  

As to the origin of all these forms there is much doubt. Standing so much alone as they do, and unsupported by corresponding forms in the other languages, it is difficult to know whence to trace them. Trumpf deduces the first from the Skr. suffix भा, which, however, does not seem sufficient for the vowel-changes in भार and भार. The second is probably from Skr. भायति, and the third from भा.

There are several other forms given by Trumpf, but most of those omitted from this list are to be accounted for under the verb, and may therefore be passed over at present. The same holds good of several stems in Marathi, such as those in कर, की and the like, and in Gujarati.

§ 23. Some of the languages are not content with one suffix, but will take two in the same word; in this case it is generally इक in one or other of its forms which does duty as a second
suffix. Thus in Sindhi stems ãgo, ãno, we find subsidiary forms ãnîko, ãnîko, as

चौराणिको “of a thief,” from चौर + चाण + रको.

चमूणिको “preceding,” ... चमु + चाण + रको.

These double forms do not differ in meaning from the single forms, and it is probably to this tendency to use इका as a meaningless expletive, which recalls to us the similar habit in Prakrit of attaching a क to all and every Sanskrit noun at will, that we should refer a numerous class of obscure words in all the languages, in which, by the side of the regular stem, we have an augmented stem in इ or उ. Thus O. uses राजवृपणिक for “the business of a Brahman,” where we have the suffix यव augmented by रप्त = रक. Rustic Hindi has तुहानिका “milk (cow),” which is दृध्ध + चालु + रक. In the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi the terminations इ and उ are added by the vulgar to all nouns, whether primary or secondary, without altering the meaning. Other cases, where there are apparently two suffixes, would be more accurately described as compounds, where the latter member, being a verbal root, has become so common as to look almost like a suffix.

§ 24. Diminutives, as well as a nondescript class of words either contemptuous or jocose or familiar, besides jingling and fanciful formations, are very common in all these vernacular languages, and in many cases the terminations in themselves are absolutely meaningless, and incapable of being solemnly and scientifically traced back to the ancient languages. In such a maze of playful or vulgar developments it would be but waste of time to attempt an elaborate arrangement; the human mind makes a tool of the tongue, and strikes out for itself sounds which satisfy its needs without regard to grammar or etymology. It will be more useful and more interesting therefore to state what forms the languages employ, than to try and find out why they employ them.
The relative size and quality of material objects are elegantly shown in all the languages by change of gender. In this respect they agree with the old Teutonic family, and other members of the great Indo-Germanic class. Masculine nouns express objects which are large, strong, or coarse; feminine those which are small, weak, or fine; and where the neuter exists, it expresses things dull, inanimate, or sexless. This will be more fully drawn out in the next Chapter.

The commonest type of the diminutive is that which has for its characteristic the letter र; the words of this class occasionally end in this letter simply, but more frequently take the long vowel-ending, as रा, री, रे, रूं. This र appears to have arisen from the Sanskrit suffix र, which in that language also forms diminutives, and is retained under the forms रा, री, etc., in many of the seven languages. It also occasionally modulates into र, as might be expected, and in a few rather exceptional cases, chiefly in Marathi, appears as र. In point of meaning, this termination has a wide range, from words which are pure diminutives to those in which the sense of smallness is only to be made out by researches into the original meaning; then to those in which the idea is that of contempt or familiarity, fondness or trilling; till at last we come to words which have lost all sense of smallness, and are simple appellatives. In this last class it is often impossible, or, in the present state of the subject, very hazardous, to suggest a primitive word, from which that in actual use may have been formed. The words of this class are the pure offspring of the popular mind, and consequently, though the principle involved in their formation is the same in the whole seven, yet the speakers of each language have formed their own words separately, so that, except in closely allied languages, as Hindi and Panjabi, it is rare to find an instance running through two or more. It will, therefore, be advisable here, as it was in many of the primary and secondary stems, to take each language separately.
Sindhi is clearer in respect of this form than its sisters, having a greater number of the words of this type in use as pure diminutives, and not so many as contemptuous, familiar, or appellative terms. Trumpp gives the following:

पुपु "journey" (Skr. पथ "path") पण्डो "short journey."
हड "shop,"
हिंड "life,"
विजु "lightning" (Skr. विजुत), विजु "brief flash of lightning."

In the case of words ending in उ masc., the suffix is either added to the oblique form in उ, or the final उ is changed to क,—in the latter case probably from the influence of the त of the fem. termination; but where the उ is the feminine ending, it remains unchanged.

Similarly, nouns in ऑ change that letter to ए or ऊ; of the former an instance is ही "sweetheart," from हिं "heart;" of the latter मो "a small monkey," from मो "monkey."

Feminines in ए and ऊ retain those vowels unaltered; but आ and उ are changed to आ and उ respectively, or in other words the suffix is added to the oblique form, as

मंडो "churning staff" (Skr. मंड "churn", मंड "a small churning-staff.
मृत "scorpion," मृत "a small scorpion."

There is also a suffix रा, joined only to adjectives in the oblique form (nouns in ऑ make their oblique in ऑ), to signify somewhat of the quality indicated by the primary, and corresponding to the English termination "-ish," as

विं "long," विं "longish,"
वो "small," वो "smallish."

This latter often takes a double suffix, as वो "very small."

Marathi, with its customary fullness of forms, has a wide
range in diminutives, and sometimes uses two to one word. Thus:

मांड "knot," मांडीड़ि "a bundle," मांडीड़ि "a small bundle," also मांडोक्के, मांटोके.

वांड "piece," वांडोके "a small bit," also वांडोरे. वांडोके.

चिंड "rag" (चिंडी), चिंडोकी "a poor rag" (contemptuously).

चाम "leather," चामीड़ "skin," "hide," चामड़ी "the human skin."

Here the sense of diminutiveness is lost.

मांस "village," मांसीड़ "a small village."

Skr. पाध "young of an animal," हावड़ा "darling," "little pet" (said to a child).

Marathi has for adjectives also the termination रा, corresponding to Sindhi रो, and, like it, with the union vowel e after oxtone nouns, as

गोरा "fair," "light-coloured," गोरिला "fairish."

But it uses the form in रा also for this sense, as गोरोस्त्रा,

गोरोक्ष "longish," from गोर "long."

The termination ठी, ठी, ठु, is extremely frequent in Gujarati, so much so indeed that words of this type have in many cases lost the sense of smallness, and stand alone for the primary idea, having pushed the old primary word quite out of the language; such are:

दाखडी. दाखी "day," from दिखस, through दिखा. दशा.

मोहोड़ "face," मुख मुक.

That this latter word is strictly a diminutive is shown by the existence of the intermediate form मूखड़ू: the original word मुख meaning "the whole face," मूखड़ू is restricted to the sense of "mouth," and this brings it under the definition of a diminutive, because that class of words not only describes a smaller article of the same kind as the primary, but also an analogous or allied article of a pettier, narrower, or partial kind.
With the pure sense of diminution are found the following words in ordinary use:

गामट "hamlet," from गाम "village."
घांट "small bell."
बिसव "little darling."
भूषण "somewhat hungry."
पलंग "a small bedstead."
वैराग्य "a rascally sham hermit."
सहारवर "a trumpery old idol."

These last two are contemptuous, a very common use of the diminutive in all languages. Familiar and slightly contemptuous, but at times with somewhat of a kindly meaning, are:

>Allā "a wife," from बां "lady."
मारव "husband," माए "brother" (used as a respectful term to males).

These two words correspond to the vulgar English "the master," and "the missis" (mistress), or to the rustic terms "the good man," "the good wife," as in the Marathi नाराज.

राज "ashes," "rubbish," from राख "ashes."
दोर "a string."
पीर "a footpath."
सी "street."

As in Marathi, so also here, the termination री (Sindhi री) is used as a diminutive, thus:

पांद "a small crescent used as an ornament," from पां "moon" (Greek μσνιακος, Latin lunula).
पाटर "a small writing-board," from पाट "plank."

Hindi and Punjabi go together; and Gujarati, in virtue of its position as an isolated dialect of Old-Hindi, exhibits often the same words. In the first-named language the tendency, already mentioned, to express smallness by changing a masculine word into a feminine, operates to reduce the number of
diminutives of the type छा, and a large proportion of the words of this type are now simple appellatives with no special sense of smallness. Common to nearly all the languages are the following words of this class, whose meaning is in most cases somewhat obscured.

H. छोटी “hut,” “house,” P. छोटी, G. छापू, M. छोटी, छोपड़ी. O. छुपू, B. छुपड़ी. The primary word छोप is not, as far as I know, in use, but it is probably connected with छांप “covering.”

H. छमड़ा “leather,” literally, “a small piece of skin” (see Vol. I. p. 345), found in all.

H. छोकड़ा “boy,” Skr. शाब्द “young of an animal,” perhaps already a diminutive from शूल “body” (see Vol. I. p. 231, for the numerous modern forms of this word).

H. टिकड़ा and टिकड़ी “a wafer,” “a small round cake,” probably a diminutive of टिक “the round sectorial mark which Hindus paint on their foreheads;” this word is derived from Skr. तिल “a grain of til seed.” In P. and G. टिकड़ी, टिकड़ी, means “a small round hillock;” and in the various meanings given to the cognate words in the other languages we may detect as a general thread of meaning running through them all that of any small round object, as “a mound,” “lump,” “cake,” “wafer,” “piece of broken pottery,” and the like.

H. छोपड़ा “a vagabond from.,” from छोप “an impure caste.”
H. छिलड़ा “lazy,”
H. छठड़ा “bundle,”
H. छंडडी “fishhook” (small hook),
H. छंडडी “glance of the eye,”
H. छठारी “small upper room,”
H. छंडडा “small or bad egg,”
H. छरड़ा “skin,” “hide” (contemptuous)
H. छुपड़ा “small piece,”
H. छुपड़ा पट “piece” (Skr. लोब.

In some of these, in Hindi fashion, छ and र are interchange-
able, and additional emphasis is given to the idea of smallness by the use of the feminine termination दा.

Hindi has also a few words in जा, with joining vowels e and o, as जुरेजा "a young peacock," from मोर "a peacock;" जपेजा "young snake," from ताप "snake;" or without the joining vowel, as बांसवी "a bamboo flute or pipe," from बांस "bamboo" (Skr. वंश), also written बांसरी and बांसव्री. There is also a form which is interesting as exhibiting the retention of the Sanskrit affix ऋ in a diminutive sense; दीया "a small pond," from ताप "a lake;" दीवा "a small hut," from मठ "a shed." The first of these words is derived from Skr. दिहम, Pr. ताम, through a fem. दीघिका, of which the Pr. form would be दीघाया; the last is from मंदिपिका. The masculine form of this suffix is seen in दोलिया "a small drum," from दोल "a drum," and perhaps in the rare form वा, G. दोल; आक in Pr. becomes ao, and the ॠ is inserted to soften the hiatus, as in H. बहवा, from बह "calf" (Skr. बत्त); G. दोडियो "small sprout," from दोड "sprout;" दाडियो "small bush," from दाड "bush." In some feminines from originals with barytone or mute o terminations, the diminutive is दात्रा, as चापिया "small mango," from चाप, चाम "mango."

रेवी या "boddice," चेम "body."

In B. and O. the forms of the diminutive दा are generally the same as in Hindi, and, as in that language, have to a great extent lost their special meaning. In O. especially, and to a great extent in the others, the addition of दा may be made to almost any noun at the will of the speaker, and would in most places be perfectly understood as indicating contempt.

There is to be found more or less frequently throughout the group another diminutive form in द, generally with joining vowel e or o. If we consider this द as allied to the द of the above-named form, we should have to put it first as an older form, which has been subsequently softened into द; but there are
difficulties in the way of this process. The junction vowel of the forms त and थ is either o or e, which two vowels represent, in my opinion, the nom. masc. and oblique endings respectively of the noun, whereas the junction vowel of the थ form is generally a, only occasionally in M. we find o. From this it would result that थ is used with words whose ending is a mute, or a consonant त and थ with oxytones in o or e, oblique e; and inasmuch as these vowels in a large number of cases indicate the presence of the suffix ha in Prakrit, words formed with them would be early Tadbhavas, as II. सुरिका and the like, while the words in थ would be to a great extent late Tadbhavas. Instances of the त type are—

8. सागोत्रि "small fire," from बाहि "fire" (Skr. विग्र).
8. बागोटु "village headman," साभु "a chief."

Trumpp, from whom I take these instances, points out that the diminutive in Pashto is regularly formed by utai. Bellow (Pakhto Gr. p. 108) restricts it to nouns ending in ि, and gives as instances:

सरै "man," सरफै "a small man" (which may be written सरफै).

राग "stick," लागफै "small stick," लागफै.

जिनौ "girl," जिनौ "little girl," जिनौ.

The existence of this form in Pashto is a confirmation of its antiquity, and justifies my attributing it—as I did above from independent reasons—to the early Tadbhava period. It is not so common in the other languages, though instances are not entirely wanting.

In M. चिङ्गूर and चिङ्गोटि "a wretched rag," from चिङ्ग "a rag;" but more frequently without the junction vowel merely, as त. घासव "a small post," from घांव "post;" ऊंच "high," ऊंच "highish;" घार "salt," घार "sultish," घार "brackish," घासव "scorched," घासव
"slightly scorched;" चेप "pressing;" चेपट "flattish;" चिन्व "wet;" चेपट "moist."

H. चामोटी "a small strip of leather," P. G. id., M. चामोटा. ेटी, from चाम "leather;" हिरबोटा "a fawn," from हिरण "a deer;" G. बु "a writing," बबोटी "a note," "a small letter."

§ 25. In the formation of compound words the modern languages, while lacking the exuberance of the Sanskrit, are not altogether wanting in strength. It will be useless to discuss those words which have been formed in Sanskrit, and borrowed whole from that language in modern times. The modern grammarians needlessly bewilder their pupils by leading them through all the mazes of Tatpurusha, Bahavrihi, and all the other methods of making compound words, which are in use in Sanskrit. In the present section it is proposed merely to note the instances that have been found of compounds made in modern times principally from Tadbhava or Desaja materials, and to endeavour to ascertain the law that underlies their structure.

That simplest of all methods of forming compound words, which the Sanskrit grammarians call Tatpurusha, is still in force in our seven languages, as it is in most modern languages of the Indo-Germanic family, being a special characteristic of that family, and surviving through all the changes brought about by time. The seven languages therefore have formed compounds of this sort from their own stores, from Tadbhava and Desaja words. Under this class are included those compounds formed from two nouns one of which governs the other; familiar instances in our own language, which is rich in these words, are shipowner, horseman, housekeeper, and the like. In these words we have an inversion, the governed or dependent word being placed first, whereas in the separate construction they would stand last, as owner of a ship, man on (or with) a horse, keeper of a house. Further, it is not only in the genitive
relation that the dependent word stands; according to the grammatical rules of each language, it might stand in many of the other cases or relations. In some of the languages, consequently, the dependent word, when put first, takes the oblique form, which is common to all cases of the singular, and by itself denotes simply the state of dependence, the particular kind of dependence being indicated by case-particles, which are omitted in the compound. Thus:

8. घरधारी “house-master,” from घर धार “master of the house;”
8. उत्तरवाय “north wind;” = उत्तर वाय “wind of the north;”
—where घर धार, उत्तर वाय, are the genitives respectively of घार “house,” and उत्तर “the north,” which ending in the nom. in धार, form their oblique in धार. Similarly, in
8. मन्दिकाः “head-eater,” from मन्द दार “eater of the head” (fig. tormentor);
8. कर्मिदट्टको “hand-broken,” = कर्म टट्टको “broken of hands” (fig. lazy);
—we have in the first the oblique singular in धार of the noun मन्दिकाः, and in the last the oblique plural in टट्टको of the noun कर्मिदट्टको.
These languages which use the Persian character obscure the real nature of such compounds as these by writing the two words separate, or rather—inasmuch as some Persian letters cannot be joined to the following letters, and native scribes seldom leave any space between their words—it is impossible to say whether the word is written as one or two. Thus in the Persian character کرمهٔ دانی may be meant for one word or two, for all that we can tell from the writing. It is only in the case of those letters which have a separate final form that we can tell: thus میکاپا must be regarded as two words on account of the final long لا; but if written میکاپا, it is one word. This is, however, merely a detail of writing; in speech, these words would be regarded as one.
In Hindi the rule of placing the dependent word in the oblique form is disregarded: only one class of nouns, that in श, has an oblique form, and this is not cared for; thus we have from घोड़ा "horse," oblique घोड़े, the following compounds:

घुड़वाण "horseman," from घोड़े वा चढ़ा "rider on a horse."
घुड़वृद "horse-race," घोड़े वा दौड़ "running of a horse."
घुड़वाल "horse-stable," घोड़े वा साल (भाला) "house for horses."

In all these cases no sign of the oblique form remains; but the Hindi, being sensitive about quantity, shortens the vowel of the first member: thus श becomes श, इ becomes इ, उ becomes उ, and the diphthongal vowels ऋ and ऊ turn respectively into ऊ and ई.

Words ending with the long vowels अ, ई, उ, also generally shorten those vowels, in which case the so shortened vowels drop out altogether; thus, as we have seen, घोड़ा becomes in composition घुड़; so also यानी becomes पन, and योज्य becomes युज़.

The following examples will illustrate the above remarks:

प्राप्ताला "a shed for selling water," from पानी "water," and शाला "hall."
पनघाट "a quay," पानी "water," and घाट "a ghat or passage."
पनबाली "a betel-garden," पान "betel," and बाली "garden," also written पंबाली.
पूलश्री "a kind of firework," पूल "flower," and श्री "ascend." नातबाण "a prolix talker," बात "word," and बाण "prolongation."
बटमार "a highwayman," बाट "road," and मार "striking."
भुजमक्षा (भुजवा) "iron pot," भोड़ा "iron," and हाड़ा "pot."
भुजूर "iron filings," भोड़ा "iron," and चूर "dust."

There is also a class of compounds of the Tatparuśa kind in
which the first letter of the second or governing member is elided, as—

H. पुलेल “an oil scented with flowers,” from पुल “flower,” and तेल “oil.”
H. गड़ाध “a smell of rotting substances,” सड़क “rotten,” and गंध “smell.”

This class is very numerous in Marathi and in Panjabi, less so in the other languages. Instances in Panjabi are—

कपड़ाध “smell of burst cloth,” from कपड़ा “cloth,” and गंध “smell.”
काराध “smell of a camel,” कारह “camel,” id.
लाटिखाध “sour smell,” लाट “sour,” id.

—in all of which the final long d of the first element in the compound is shortened to d.

One familiar set of words, however, runs through all the seven, namely that formed by कार “maker.” These have been partially given in Vol. I., but may be again detailed here—

Skr. गोयन्त “goldsmith,” Pr. सोगारी, H. सोगार, P. सुगार, S. सोगार, M. सोगार, B. सोगार, O. गोगारी.
Skr. कुमार “potter,” Pr. कुमार “potter,” H. कुमार, P. id., M. G. कुमार, S. कुमार, B. कुमार, enego कुमार, O. कुमार, कुमार.

The Chingama retains the older form in कार, but in the plural with softening of k to g, as—

machengora, “fishmonger,” from macha, “fish.”
machersoro, “butcher,” mas, “desh.”

The former word is constructed with the plural because it implies “one who sells many fish;” machersoro would mean “a man who only sold one fish.”

1 Paepati. Tching. p. 53.
Similar is the treatment of धार, "holder," in
Skr. सूचधार, "carpenter," Pr. सूचहारो (?) H. सूतार, G. id., B. O. सूतार (सूतार), M. सूतार, with dim. सूतारका, S. सूताक़ि़ुँ;
Skr. क्षेतधार, "palanqueen-bearer," Pr. क्षेत्हारो (?) or क्षेत्हारो, H. क्षेत्र, M. id.;
where the aspirated letter has been changed to ध and ultimately elided. Further illustrations are—
H. खेलत "scented oil," from खेल "sediment of an oil mill," and तेल "oil."
H. राजत "name of a caste," राज "king," and दूत "messenger," or राज "king," and पुत्र for पुत्र "son."
M. धूपु "a resinous oil," धूप "smoke," and तेल "oil."
M. अंच्छाय "a smell of sourness," अंच्छ "sour," and घास "smell."
M. कर्प्ताय "a smell of slaged food," कर्पट "burning," and घास "smell."

Marathi has numerous compounds indicating various kinds of prepared, scented, or medicinal waters, the last element of which is पायी "water," changed into वस्यी: thus—
चंबवस्यी "mango-water," from चंबा "mango," पायी "water."
श्रृवस्यी "water heated in the sun," श्रृवण "sunlight," id.

Of compounds which would be classed as Karmadhārāya by Sanskrit grammarians, many have been preserved from Sanskrit, but the modern languages have created some out of their own stock. Trumpp gives the following from Sindhi:
चन्ताचार "a glutten," बड़ा "great," खाज "eater."
चंगुरो "well-wisher." चंधी "much," धु (स.ज.) "wish."

But others which he adduces, as महागाष्ट "a merchant," from महा + गाष्ट = "a great man," and परलोक "the other world," are Sanskrit, and are in use in all the languages.
The following instances of modern Karmadhrayas are from Hindi:

बड़ेपैठा "big-bellied," from बड़ा "big," and पैठ "belly.
भलमानुष "polite," भला "good," मानुष "man.
लम्बत्तम "long-legged," लम्बा "long," तम्बा "leg.
अधकपाली "hemiplegia," अधा "half," कपाल "skull.
बाठकप "half-ripe," अधा "half," कचा "raw.
लम्बाने "ahara" (lit. long-cared), लम्बा "long," आन "ear.

The adjective in Hindi typically ending in अ, an adjectival termination has been added to the nouns which form the last member of these compounds, in all cases in which the compound itself is used adjectivally; and the first member of the compound, if it contains a long vowel, has that vowel euphonically shortened.

Marathi is very rich in compounds, almost more so than any other language of the group. A few instances of Karmadhrayas are here given:

काळुमाजर "a pole-cat," from काळा "black," माजर "cat.
तांबरबाटी "red earth," तांबर "red," बाटी "earth.
लांबतांब "long-legged," लांब "long," तांब "leg.
कालुतोता "lackless," काला "black," तोता "face.
बरोगात "prosperity," बरा "good," गात "condition" (गति).

In Gujarati, as far as I can judge from the works available for consultation, the practice of making compounds out of modern elements is not carried to so great an extent as in some of the other languages. Instances are:

भलमनास "politeness," from भला "good," मानस "man.
मोडुरोमास "a grandee," मोडो "great," मास "man.

Dvigu compounds, namely those in which the first element is a numeral, are exceedingly common in Hindi, and almost
equally so in the other languages; thus with दो "two," as the initial element, sometimes shortened to दू:

H. दौमारिया "an interpreter," from भाय "speech."
H. दौपदा "a cloth of two breadths," पट "strip of cloth."
H. दौशणा "a necklace of two threads," लड "thread."
H. दौबीया "pregnant" (with two lives), बी "life."
H. दौबीया "a weight of two sers," सैर "a weight of 2 lbs.
H. दौबीया "a two-anna piece," आम "an anna."

With तीन "three," shortened to ति:

H. तिलका "a necklace of three threads."
H. तियाजिया "a building with three doors," from पील "a door."

With चार "four," which becomes in composition चौ, i.e. चौ from चतुर, with dropping of त, according to rule, and elision of final रु:

H. चौमन "a four-anna piece."
H. चौक "a framework for a door," from काठ "wood."
H. चौकटी "earring," खड "ring."
H. चौधरी "a box with four partitions," घर "house."
H. चौमास "the four months of the rainy season," मास "month."

All the compound numerals are Dviggus, as will be noticed presently. It is not necessary to give illustrations from the other languages, as they are formed in precisely the same way as in Hindi.

Dwandwa compounds, strictly speaking, do not exist. The Dwandwas of Sanskrit consisted of two nouns or more compounded together into one word, the latter of which took the terminations of the dual noun of the a-stem, or that of the plural, according to the number of things expressed in the
compound. But as the modern languages no longer possess the inflexional terminations of the old synthetical languages, it is clear that no Dwandwas in the Sanskrit sense can exist. There are abundant alliterations where two or more words are put close together, and only the last word takes the case-affixes: thus one may say, घोड़ी घोड़ी पर् "on elephants and horses;" but these are hardly compounds. The same remark applies to the very numerous cases where a second word is added to the first so as to jingle with it, such second word being for the most part quite meaningless, as in S. बल बल "talk," where बल has no meaning; such are, दास पास H. "near," where दास is meaningless; ऊजटा पुजटा "upside down," and many others.

Bahuvrihis are easily formed in all the languages by giving an adjectival termination to any of the foregoing classes of compounds, and in fact several of the examples given above are Bahuvrihis. Further illustrations are unnecessary.

§ 26. Numerals.—The cardinal numbers up to ten inclusive are simple adjectives, some of which are declinable, others not; from eleven up to ninety-nine they are, as was stated in the last section, compounds to a certain extent of the Dvrigi character. Each numeral, though a strong family likeness runs through them all, stands on its own basis, and is derived directly from Prakrit, through the operation of the phonetic laws of its own language, and it will therefore be necessary to examine each one separately and in detail.

One.—Skr. एक, Pr. एक, H. एक, P. एक, S. हिकु, हिकु, एक, हिकिको, हिकिको (Sindhi is never contented with one form); G. एक, usually written चेक; M. एक, चेक, O. B. एक; Gipsy yet. It is indeclinable in H. and P., but may take case-affixes when standing alone; the two Sindhi forms in एक are diminutives, and that language has put on an ओ in front, the reason for which is not apparent. B. pronounces it very short and harsh,
something like yuck, rhyming with the English words pack, stack. The द is long in all the other languages except P. and S., and the double द of Prakrit has therefore been reduced to a single. Old-H. has constantly द and द.

Two.—Skr. base द and ह, Pr. दो, H. दो, P. दो, M. दोग, O. द, Gypsy dui; but S. द, G. द. Here S. and G. stand apart from the others, they having, as pointed out in Vol. I. p. 331, assimilated the द to the द, and thus made द out of which S. gets its peculiar sound द; S. appears to have taken the base द, and G. the base ह. H. and P. have probably also taken the base द, and resolved the semivowel into its vowel, thus getting दुष्ट, whence दो; the forms दोग, दोसे, दुष्ट, and दुर are, however, found in the earlier poets. M. दोग contains the type of the neuter plural; this is unknown in Skr., and has probably been extended to this numeral from M. दीग "three."

Three.—Skr. base ह, nom. pl. neut. दीग, whence Pr. दिज, and Gypsy trin, H. दीम, P. दिज, G. दण, M. दीम, O. दिज, B. दिन. All these are neuter plurals by origin, and from this, as observed above, M. has apparently imitated its दोग "two." P. has also a commonly used form द, which agrees with S. द, as far as the subjoined र and vowel are concerned; but S. has changed द into द, under the influence of the following र; both these forms lead back to the Skr. mase. द्वार. If it be asked why two languages out of the group should adopt the masculine, while the others take the neuter, it might be answered, that S. and P. (especially S.) are often more archaic in their forms than the other languages, and that H. has probably not deliberately adopted the neuter plural; but as three is the first numeral that has a distinctly plural meaning—one and two being respectively singular and dual in the parent speech—H. has indicated the idea of plurality by adding the sign which indicates plurality in the noun, where, as it will be seen here-
after, the termination of the neuter plural has usurped the place of all other plural forms. Kashmiri, a very archaic dialect, uses तिष्ठ, and we may therefore place it, together with the Gipsy, P. and S., on a higher level of antiquity than the others; Gipsy by its additional न (unless this is to be considered merely as anunásika) standing halfway between the three western languages and H., and its followers O. B. and G. It is characteristic of G. to be careless about short vowels; तन्त for तिष्ठ is a parallel to तम "ye," for तुम.

Four.—Skr. base चतुर्, munt. pl. चत्तारि, whence Pr. चत्तारि, B. and O. चारि, S. चारि, H. P. G. M. चार, Gipsy star, sthar, isthar, probably by inversion from tsar, छ having in M., and possibly formerly in S. also, sometimes the sound of ts, also in Kashmiri tsar = चौर, a sound due to non-Aryan influences.

The entire loss of the nexus ख, which had become न in Prakrit, is unusual, but possible in the case of so-much-used a word as this, and it need not surprise us when we think of तर्कान्त= तरह, colloquially ता.

Five.—Skr. base पंच, but the final न drops in the nominative, and in fact throughout the declension. Pr. पञ्च, H. पांच, and so in M. G. B. and O., but S. and P. have पंज, with the tensile softened to its media. Gipsy and Kashmiri have पांसह, which is written in the latter पांस्र, and M., though it writes पांच, pronounces पांस.
FORMATION OF THE STEM.

SEVEN.—Skr. सत्, the त being dropped as in पन्न, Pr. सत्, whence H. सत (see Vol. I. p. 287), where this numeral is treated of as illustrating the strong nexus). The Gipsies use ṝṭa, which shows traces of Greek influence, ᾳτά becoming ῥατά; as Paspati (p. 77) points out, there is a frequently occurring change of ṝ to φ in the transition of words from Greek to Chingana.

EIGHT.—Skr. चढ़ो or चढ़, Prakrit चढ़, H. चठ, P. चठ, S. चठ, M. G. O. चठ, B. चठ. All these are regular phonetic changes. Kashmiri has also चठ, but Gipsy again approaches the Greek with ochlo, which Paspati says is modern Greek ὀχλόι for ὀχλός.

NINE.—Skr. नव, Pr. नव, H. नव, which is also written नव, P. नव or नव, S. नव, G. M. नव, O. नव (nāḥ), B. नव, Kashmiri नव and नव. Gipsy again Greek enea—ένεά. Had the Gipsies only learnt to count as far as six when they left India? With the exception of ten and twenty, they have few distinctly Indian numbers above six.

TEN.—Skr. दश, Prakrit दस, whence H. दस, B. and O. दस in literature, thanks to the Pandits; but people when they talk or write to one another use दस; G. दस, P. दस and दस; M. दश, which is strange, as M. does not usually change स to ह. S., as might be expected, has दश, Kashmiri दश, Gipsy dedsh. This numeral presents no special features.

There is a regular ascending scale in the numerals. The cardinals up to ten are simple derivatives from Sanskrit; from ten to nineteen they are compound derivatives from the same, but inherit the system of composition handed down from the earlier language. From nineteen onwards they form their numerals in a way of their own, which agrees at the same time in principle with that of Sanskrit, but differs from it so far that the materials of which the compounds are composed are of modern origin in many respects.
It will be more convenient to exhibit each group in a tabular form. Here follows the group of "tens":

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These all follow Vararuchi's well-known rule ii. 14, by which the त्र of त्रह is changed to त्र, and ii. 44, by which त्र
is changed to ḷ. This type ṛṛḥ is throughout retained by H., which even in "sixteen" has dialectically ṛṛṣṛḥ as well as the more classical ṛṣṛṇḥ; the final ṛḥ, however, not being a favourite or common ending in any of the languages, is mostly dropped, and its place supplied by long ā, produced by combination of the two short vowels; thus ṇaṛṛḥ becomes ṇaṛṛṛḥ by elision of ṛḥ, and then M. ṇaṛṛḥ. The final long ṛ, which is exhibited above in B., is quite inorganic, and arises from the habit Bengalis have of pronouncing ṛ as ṛ; this short ṛ is lengthened in counting, and we thus find ṇaṛṛḥ, but it would be quite as correct, or rather more so, to write ṇaṛṛ, pronouncing ṇaṛṛ. P. and S. add anannāsika throughout, and S. retains the ṛḥ, but it can hardly be said that the nasalization of the final syllable has any organic foundation: it is, I believe, merely another instance of the nasal way these people speak. One often hears a distinctly nasal twang given by natives to words where no nasal is written; and until some better and more rational standard of spelling shall be introduced, it is merely fighting with the air to reason about the origin of these anannāsikas, many of which are nothing more than local accent, and have no foundation in etymology.

As to "eleven," it is noticeable that the ṛḥ, which was dropped in scenic Prakrit, still holds its place, though sometimes softened to ḷ, or even ṛ, in the moderns; the ṛ or ṛḥ which appears in H. ṇaṛṛḥ, P. and G., is probably by inversion from ṛṛṇḥ, and the prosthetic ṛḥ of G. is inorganic. In "twelve" is seen the rejection of the initial ṛḥ already noticed. "Thirteen" seems to have been wrongly worked out by Cowell; following Vararuci (p. 121, note), he would make trayaḍāṅk first into tṛayaḍāṅk, which is not, I think, what Vararuchi means, as in i. 5 he couples terahā with sunderam = saṃhāryam, and similar words. He probably supposes a transposed form taryodāṅk, which by his rule becomes terodāṅk, by the palatal vowel leaping over into the preceding syllable (Vol. I. p. 135): the steps are traya, targa, tarī, tairō, terō. Then the syn-
chronous change of dāka to raha produces teroraha, easily con-
tracted to teraha in Pr., because ē is habitually short, and
teroraha, ter’raha, is a natural contraction.

In the case of "fourteen," Prakrit does not change द to र, probably because the र of चात्त had been assimilated to the
following द, making ह; this is followed by all the languages
except S., which sticks to its favourite ह.

More irregular than the foregoing is "fifteen." Here the
anuśāra operates, and by Var. iii. 44, the nexus ह is changed
to ह (it would in Pali have been ह). This double ē has become
anuśāra, and द inserted, or in some cases द, owing to the
influence perhaps of the following र. Bengali has preserved
the Prakrit type, merely lengthening the vowels by its broad
rustic pronunciation. Here also the र is an eccentricity for
ē=ह, and one might accurately write पनेर.

Skr. has in "sixteen" changed the द of दद to ह, under the
influence of the final द of दद, and this cerebral sound is ex-
pressed in the moderns by क in those languages which possess
that sound, and by र or ह in those which do not. I am not
aware of any authority for a Pr. form सोरह, and give it as
mere conjecture, following Trumpp; though perhaps सोरह
would be more correct for वोऽ=पुऽ and रहऽ=दशऽ.

Of the remaining two there is only this to remark, that P.
lengthens the second syllable of "seventeen" in imitation of
"eighteen," while M. reverses the process, shortening "eighteen"
in imitation of "seventeen."

The form for "nineteen" means "twenty less one," and was
probably originally एकोगत्वति, from which we get the G.
ब्योगत्व, by inversion for चापोभिष, and Old-H. ब्युगोत and
प्यून; M. preserves an accurate form in एकुगौस. The same
system prevails in "twenty-nine," "thirty-nine," and the rest.
Prakrit has एकुधऽ and एधुधऽ (Weber, Bhag. p. 426).

The series "twenty-two," "thirty-two," "forty-two," etc., has
been exhibited at Vol. I. p. 331, and the series "twenty-seven,"
"thirty-seven," and the rest, at p. 289, where also is shown the series "seventy-one," "seventy-two," etc., so that it is unnecessary to give these in detail again; the forms of "seventy" are included in the following table for completeness' sake, and because there are some inaccuracies in the forms given in Vol. I. p. 288:

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Oriya does not use any derivative of विगति, but instead कड़ि, i.e. "score." H. also uses बौढ़ि for the same. The languages are quite regular in "twenty" and "thirty," in the latter occasionally retaining the nexus ट्र, but more usually dropping the ट. In "forty" the Prakrit of the Bhagavati has changed ट्र to च, and the nexus ट्र is dropped throughout. More irregular is "fifty," in which, as in "fifteen," Vararuchi's Prakrit substitutes च for च; in this it is followed only by Marathi; the other languages refer back to the Sanskrit form, softening the च into ज in S. and P. only. "Sixty" is also quite regular, as are also "eighty" and "ninety," except that M. and G. make the initial into ट and टः respectively, under the influence of the ट in the next syllable.

It is when these numerals come to be compounded that they exhibit such wide variations of form, as to render it necessary for the student to learn each number up to "one hundred" separately, and even when the phonetic and structural mechanism is explained, there remains a large residuum of eccentricities and peculiarities. Following the example of Skr., the modern languages do not merely, as do most other families of speech, add one number to another to express the numbers intermediate to each decade, but compound the two elements: thus H. does not say do aur बत, for "two-and-twenty," but makes a single word बालस; so do all the other languages. I shall first show the changes which the units undergo, and then those of the tens, as in every case the lesser numeral precedes, and they say "twotwenty," "threetwenty," and the like.

"Two." In by far the greater number of instances the form is बा, as in बारह quoted above, and in the examples given in I. 331. In "thirty-two," however, the long ड is shortened to ड before ट, making वाणीस. In "forty-two," the च of the चालीस is elided in Pr., when it becomes the second member of a compound, so that we get बाणाणीस in Bhag., the य being inserted to fill the hiatus. This च in the moderns either
softens to Ṛ, as in Ṛ. चारावीस “forty-two,” or is added to the letter preceding, as O. चारावीस. P. here has चत in imitation of “thirty-two;” G. is irregular in ब्रह्मिते “seventy-two,” and B. and O. insert an inorganic र in राइते “eighty-two,” राधानवे “ninety-two.” With the exception of these few irregularities, the general type बा is regularly kept throughout.

“Three.” The regular type is ते, shortened in some places to ति, and occasionally with an euphonic र added, making तिर: thus—


"Four," takes the compound from चार throughout, with variant spellings चौ, चव, and चढ़; the numbers may be made up after the example of the threes, an euphonic र being inserted before a vowel, like तिर. "Five" is in composition पंच, पहँ, पँह, and पँह; M. has पस in पस्तीस "thirty-five," and G. पिस in पिसालङ्गिस "forty-five." "Six" is always छ, छन्य, or छी, except in M., which is unlike the rest, changing छ into छ in its usual fashion; thus while "thirty-six" is छतीस, and "fifty-six" क्षष्या, it uses क्षष्या "twenty-six," क्षष्यालङ्गिस "forty-six," सात्य "sixty-six," शत "seventy-six," बायणी "eighty-six," and ताल "ninety-six." "Seven" and "eight" exhibit no irregularities, and "nine" is not used as a prefix, the periphrasis with अन "less than" the next higher number being used in its stead. H, however, has नवासी "eighty-nine," and निमालाने "ninety-nine," in which last it agrees with P., जोगियाने and the other dialects. S. has two singular forms, नवागियाने and वडालाने, apparently from नव + चाच + वास "nine upon ninety," or some such expression; in one case the न, in the other the न of नव has suffered elision. Chand uses this method of compounding by means of चाच in the lines—

सा दृष्टि मव सत चाच।
बरस तीम कह ध्रुव।

"That (was) the year nine hundred (and) over
Years thirty and six before."—i. 221.

meaning to indicate Samvat 936, A.D. 879. The reduplication of the छ is metri gratia.

With regard to the latter part of the compound, चाच becomes रेस in H., रेस in O., and B., रेस in P., but चाच in G. and M., चाच in S.

तीम remains unchanged. चाच लoses its initial, and sometimes takes न, as in H. तीमालङ्गिस.

"Fifty" undergoes very wide changes. In H, it changes from पन्चास into बन in बन + बास "fifty-one," बाषग "fifty-two,"
FORMATION OF THE STEM.

चौवन “fifty-four,” सतवन “fifty-seven,” शतवन “fifty-eight;”
and into चन in तिरपन “fifty-three,” हपन “fifty-six,” पषपन
“fifty-three;” both these are probably the first half of an
older form चंबर, the anuswāra of which has been hardened to
च, the initial च is softened to च after vowels, unless it be
thought preferable to see in these forms a relic of the Pr.
पचाळा. In P. चंचाह changes to चंबा, except in चौरंजा “fifty-
four” and हपंजा “fifty-six.” The same occurs in Sindhi,
whose चंचाह is regularly changed to चंबाह, as एकबंवाह “fifty-
one.” G. follows H., as do also O. and B., with very triffling
changes; for “fifty-five,” however, they use G. पचावन, O.
पचावन, B. पचात, in opposition to H. पचपन.

With “sixty” S. and P. have recourse to their characteristic
change of स to श throughout; thus

P. एकाहि ट. S. एकाहि ट “sixty-one.”

“बाहि ट. "बाहि ट “sixty-two,” etc. etc.

This course is followed by all the languages except O. in the
analogous case of सतर, but only by P. and S. in the case of
“sixty.” (For the series “seventy-one,” “seventy-two,” etc.,
see Vol. I. p. 288.) O. combines the स of सतर with the fol-
lowing च, one of which it rejects, and inserts a labial vowel,
thus producing चुरि, as एकुरि, चारि, etc.

“Eighty” presents no noteworthy features; but in M. नवद्र
“ninety” rejects the final द्र, which is perhaps a relic of the
न of सवत in composition, and doubles the न, at the same time
restoring the cerebral type of Prakrit, which was inadmissible
in the single word, because the न was there initial; thus it gets
नव, as in एकावव “ninety-one.” G. follows an analogous
process, changing नेव or नेव into नू preceded by annunāsika, as in
The other languages are regular.

In the junction of the two elements of these compounds it is
to be observed that a long श is often inserted, but I am unable to
lay down any rule for its insertion or omission, unless it be that where the initial letter of the second number is weak, ₃ is inserted; where it is strong, omitted. Compare H. बार्तल “twenty-two” for ब + बीस with बार्तलस “thirty-three” for ब + तीन; but even this rule hardly carries us through all the series. The Prakrit had originated these compound forms long before the modern languages came into existence, and the secret of the composition must therefore be looked for in that stage of speech; and the data for Prakrit numerals are unfortunately so defective, that as yet I have been unable to formulate any rules on the subject. Marathi introduces a joining vowel े in the series with “forty,” and चा in the “seventy,” “eighty,” and “ninety” series; but the reason of this is not easy to find.

Above “one hundred” composition ceases, and the words are written separately, except in M. G. and S., which, from “one-hundred-and-one” to “one-hundred-and-nine” can combine the lesser numeral with the Skr. उच्च “above,” thus:


§ 27. The ordinals of all the languages are formed each on its own basis for the first four numerals, but after that follow a regular system of genuine Sanskrit origin.

“First” has the following forms: H. पहिंसा, P. १०, M. १०, S. पहिंस, पहिन, पहिनर, G. पहिन. O. and B. generally use the Skr. प्रथम, but the H. पहिंसा is gaining ground, and is heard among the lower orders constantly. If we derive these words from प्रथम, we are met by the difficulty of admitting the change of म into ज or र, and I therefore suppose that they come from an unrecorded comparative प्रथर, which would stand in the same relation to the superlative प्रथम as Latin prior does to primus. Bopp (§ 293) has already established the fact that प्रथम is the superlative of म, and similarly (§ 321) he shows that all the cognate languages use the superlative form, as primus, πρῶτος for πρῶτατος, and cristō = erst, from er = ech.
So also our own "first," in Old-English first, is the superlative of "fore." There must also, one would imagine, have been a comparative, and this could be nothing else than मधु.

"Second" is H. द्वितीय, P. दूर, दूरा, S. द्वितीय, द्वितीय, G. द्वितीय, M. द्वितीय, O. दुरा, but O. and B. often use द्वितीय. It is probable that the rude uncivilized Oriyas and Bengalis did not possess the idea of an ordinal till late times, when they naturally had recourse to Sanskrit to supply the want. Old-H. has also दूरा, which, together with the Panjahi form, are from Skr. द्वितीय, Pr. दूरभ, also दोष, but the modern दूरा refers to the form दृष्टि, formed by hardening the हृ into ह्य, and then dropping one य (Vol. I. p. 249). The S. and G. come from another Pr. form विद्विष, reduced by dropping the द्; this is further shortened into विष. For the H. and M. दूर and द्वितीय, see under the next paragraph.

"Third." H. तीसरा, P. तीजा, तीजा, S. तीजो, तीजो, G. तीजो, M. तीस(310,438),(675,502), O. and B. तीजा is in use, but तीजाय is common also. This ordinal is parallel to the last, and is derived from the Skr. तीजा by the same process as the words for "second." The form तीसरा with its analogous द्वितीय seems to be a recent compound of the numeral themes ह्र, तो, with some word meaning progression, and probably connected with the root ह्र "to go," but there are no certain facts on which to found an opinion.

"Fourth" is regularly derived from the Skr. चूत्तथ्, see Vol. I. p. 144.

From "fifth" onwards the ordinals are regularly formed by adding H. वाँ, Old-H. मो, P. बाँ, स. बीं, G. मो, M. बा, B. and O., having no ordinals of their own, use the Sanskrit terms when necessary. All these terminations come regularly from the Skr. सम, the termination of the ordinals. Hindi uses for "sixth" कठान, the regular Prakrit form of Skr. सम, and with this agrees G. कठो, but all the rest are regular.

See for further discussion of this question Chap. III. I § 66.
§ 28. Besides the cardinal and ordinal series, the languages have other sets of numerals formed in ways peculiar to themselves. Such are the fractional numbers, in which all the seven languages are rich.

"A quarter" is H. पाव or पाऊ, P. ०, S. पाव, G. पाव, M. पाव, O. पाव, B. पोरा (पोरा); the origin of all these is Skr. पाठक, P. पाठ "a quarter," the compound सपाठक = "with a quarter," becomes in Pr. समाठक, and in H. सवा, P. सवा, सतार, सवारांश, S. सवार, G. सवा, M. सता, O. सतार, B. सता (saut'd). Thus H. सवा तीन "three and a quarter," and so in all the rest. On the other hand, the deduction of a quarter is expressed by derivatives of Skr. पाठोन, i.e. पाद + कम "a quarter less." H. पोहे, P. ठण, पण, S. पोह, G. पोमा, M. पाधण (nearer to the Skr. than any), O. पोळे, B. ०. Thus पोळे तीन "two and three quarters," or "a quarter less than three." In H. P. O. and B. we appear to have the locative form, in the others a nominative.

Two other numbers also are peculiar to this group: "one and a half," H. घड from Skr. घर्ष, concerning which see Vol. I. p. 238, and "two and a half," H. घरारे, P. घरे, S. घरारे, G. घरी, M. घरीव, O. घरार, B. घरार, the origin of which seems to be Skr. घर्ष + हुय, to which M. adds the conjunction च.

For "three and a half," "four and a half," and the rest, the languages add to the complete numeral the word H. P. साठ, S. सा०, G. सादा, M. सादे, O. सादे, B. सादे, from Skr. स + घर्ष = "with a half;" thus "three and a half" is H. साठ तीन, "four and a half" साठ चार, and so on.

The other species of numerals, such as "once," "twice," and the rest, will more appropriately be described under the head of Adverbs.
CHAPTER II.

GENDER.


§ 29. GENDER is of two kinds, natural and grammatical. Natural gender is that which refers to living beings, and is threefold: there being one form for males, a second for females, and a third for mankind or animals regarded merely as such without reference to sex. The human mind has, however, not rested content with this simple and natural use of gender, but has, by an effort of imagination, extended the distinctions of sex to inanimate objects, abstract ideas, and, in short, to all nouns of every kind. All languages are not alike in this respect: some retain all three genders, others only two, and some have had the good fortune to emancipate themselves entirely in the noun, and to a great extent in the pronoun, from these awkward and cumbersome swaddling-clothes of speech. This is happily the case with our own beautiful and practical language, and is an advantage for which we ought to be deeply thankful to our Norman ancestors, whose keen common sense led them to reject much that was useless and unwieldy in the speech of our English forefathers.

The older languages of the Indo-European family have all
three genders; those of the Semitic family got on very well from the beginning with only two, having never thought of developing the neuter. In the middle and modern Indo-Germanic languages the German still retains all three genders, while most of the others have only two, and some none at all.

Natural gender exists in all languages, grammatical gender only in a certain number. In those which do not observe grammatical gender, natural gender is frequently distinguished by having two separate words for the two sexes; in those which acknowledge both kinds of gender, the distinction is affected by a variation in the form of the word, most frequently in the terminating syllable or vowel. In consequence of this habit, it has come to pass that the form of the word has created the gender; thus, in deciding what gender should be ascribed to a word which indicates an object from its nature incapable of classification by sex, the form of the word is the only guide; and if it happen to be of a form similar to that which is appropriated to the male sex in living beings, it will be classed as masculine; if to the female sex, as feminine; and if to neither, as neuter. Both classes of gender exist in the languages we are considering, but in a very different degree. Gender is in all of them indicated to a great extent by variations of form, especially of termination; but it must be observed that whereas substantives have, as has been shown in the last chapter, a very great range of terminations, adjectives and the participial forms of verbs have very few. It is principally by observing which form of an adjective or participle is used with any given substantive, that we can tell what its gender is. For instance, H. sarak, "a road," is the name of a thing in itself incapable of natural gender; it is only by noting such phrases as bārī sarak, "a big road," sarak bantī, "the road is being made," that we discover it to be feminine. Hence it follows that in those languages which use very few participial forms, or whose adjectives have no distinctive forms for gender, we are unable to trace the
gender of substantives very clearly; such languages have only natural, not grammatical gender, and even the natural gender only in a limited number of instances finds expression in the form of the word used.

§ 30. Sanskrit has all three genders, so have the Prakrits. In the modern languages, only Gujarati and Marathi have all three. Sindhi, Panjabi, and Hindi have only masculine and feminine; Bengali and Oriya have no gender at all, except in the pure Sanskrit Tatsamaa, now so largely introduced, which retain the form of the Sanskrit gender, but even this only in the higher style. In B. they say ढोंट बालाक "a little boy," ढोंट बालिका "a little girl," and ढोंट बाळु "a little thing." In the highflown literary style they would write सुन्दर गर "a handsome man," सुन्दरी लेख "a beautiful woman;" but in the common style, which is, after all, the true language, one would hear सुन्दर में for "a beautiful woman," without regard to gender. The same holds good in Oriya, and in both, even in the high style, there is no distinction between masculine and neuter. In this Chapter, therefore, we may dispense with these two languages altogether.

In Hindi, Panjabi, and Sindhi, the reduction of the three genders to two has been effected by turning both the masculines and neuters of Sanskrit into masculines; and as the common people in the two first-named countries are very careless about the use of the feminine, it may almost be said that grammatical gender scarcely exists out of books. The use of gender is still further reduced, even in literature, by the fact that a great number of the adjectives in these two languages end in consonants, and do not possess separate forms for masculine and feminine, so that they afford no clue to the gender of the substantive, which is only perceptible from the numerous participial forms of the verb.

In Sindhi some of the neuter nouns of Sanskrit have become
feminine, but the most part are masculine. As before mentioned, all nouns in Sindhi end in a vowel, and the distinction of gender is therefore more clearly recognizable than in the other languages wherein consonantal terminations abound. There are, however, some adjectives, mostly of Arabic or Persian origin (though some are pure Sindhi), which, although ending in a vowel, do not change either for gender, number, or case; as समु “plentiful,” Skr. सरस; मल “mixed,” Skr. गाढ; महिज “easy,” Skr. महं; which are Sanskritic; and تَّعَام “whole,” حَب “good,” حِبر “distressed,” which are Arabic and Persian.

Marathi still retains in full and every-day use the whole three genders, and the same is true of Gujarati. Not only have the substantives three genders, but the adjectives also, and the greater part of the tenses of the verb, being participial in form, have also three genders, so that to a foreigner the difference in this respect between these two stilted languages and the simple, easy, but in no whit less expressive Bengali, is at every turn apparent.

In all the five languages which have gender expressed, the masculine is used to denote large, strong, heavy and coarse objects; the feminine small, weak, light and fine ones; and the neuter, where it exists, represents dull, inert, and often contemptible things. So far is this carried, that in cases where the original word was only masculine or neuter, a feminine form has been invented to express a smaller or finer article of the same kind; and, conversely, where only a feminine form existed, a masculine to express a larger or coarser object has been struck out. Instances are:

Skr. माण्ड “pot” (m.), H. हांडा “a large cooking pot” (m.), हांडी “a small cauldron,” or “earthen pot” (f).

Skr. गूढ and गोठ “ball” (m.), H. गोला “cannon-ball” (m.), गोली “bullet,” “pall” (f).

Skr. राखम “rope” (m.), H. रस्सा “cable” (m.), रस्सी “string,” “cord” (f).
Here the final i of račmi having been lengthened, and i being universally regarded as a feminine termination, a masculine in ā has been created. This distinction runs through all the languages, and is even found in B. and O., which, although careless in the matter of gender, still recognize the difference between the termination in ā, as denoting larger objects, and that in i, as denoting smaller. This will be more fully treated under the heads of the various terminations.

In M., with its three genders, the different shades of a common meaning, as indicated by gender, are illustrated by the following examples:

चिरटा (m.), "a large piece torn from a plantain leaf, used to wrap up goods in."

चिरटी (f.), "a small piece of the above."

चिरणा (m.), the same as चिरटा.

चिरणी (f.), the same as चिरटी; also "a small chisel."

चिरिकित्र (n.), "a small chisel," "the act of tearing."

गाड़ा (m.), "a large cart, or waggon, for conveying loads."

गाड़ी (f.), "a small cart or carriage for conveying persons."

गड़ि (n.), "a clumsy or rickety old car or dray."

डोर (m.), "a cable."

डोरी (f.), "a thread."

डोरा (m.), "a string," "thread," "streamlet," "track."

घोड़ा (m.), "a stone."

घोड़ी (f.), "a large mass of rock." (Here the fem. expresses the larger object, which is unusual.)

In the case of animals, the masculine and feminine indicate the respective sexes, and the neuter either the young or the whole species collectively; as

घोड़ा (m.), "horse."

घोड़ी (f.), "mare."
गो (m.), "the horse," i.e. the genus Equus generally.

बकरा (m.), "a he-goat."

बकरी (f.), "a she-goat."

बकरे and बकरी (m.), "a kid," also the goat species in general.

The same practice exists in Gujarati; as

चोड़ (m.), "horse."

चोड़ी (f.), "mare."

चोड़ (n.), "a wretched screw of a horse," also horses in general or collectively.

पाड़ी (m.), "a buffalo-bull."

पाड़ी (f.), "a buffalo-cow."

पाड़ (n.), "a buffalo-calf."

These peculiarities of gender and its terminations will come out clearly as we work through this Chapter, and need not be further illustrated here.

§ 31. The adjective in all the languages exhibits the general type of the terminations for gender, and is so fixed and regular as to afford a standard for each language. The general type of the adjective is as follows:

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<td>Hindi...</td>
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<td>Marathi...</td>
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It is not of course meant that these are the only terminations of the adjective or participle, but that among the numerous

1 Namadass'ankar's example is: "When the Gaskwar came to Bombay, he brought a great number of horses (गोस्नाग गोयस) with him."
terminations that are found these are the chief, and, so to speak, radical ones; the others may be regarded as exceptions and deviations, to be explained in their place.

In the participial forms which so largely enter into the construction of all verbs, these terminations are unvaryingly used for the respective genders, except in some instances in Marathi, in which the incorporation of the substantive verb into the participle has, by the operation of euphonic laws, wrought a change in the vowel.

Taking then the terminations of the adjective as the central type, it will now be necessary to go through the range of substantive terminations in order, so as to get at a clear comparison of them all, and to ascertain which are regularly derived from the central type, and which are exceptions, to be accounted for in other ways.

§ 32 (1). The masculine termination $d$ in H. P. M., and occasionally B. and O., corresponds to the termination $o$ in S. and G. in a large majority of instances: as

H. बच्चा "child," and so in all; but G. बच्छी, S. पुत्री.

This termination is in S. masculine, without any exceptions; in G., however, some words in $o$ are feminine, in which the $o$ is not the pratya, or formative syllable derived from the Sanskrit -as, Pr. -o, as in the above-mentioned class, but arises from some phonetic corruption of the root-syllable. Such are the feminine nouns.

G. बच्छ "leech," Skr. बल्लिका (f.).
G. छी "mortar," छोट (m.).
G. छी "lizard," गोठा (f.) (छी for गोठ).

The number of these words is not large, nor are they in themselves important.

The termination in $d$ exists throughout the whole seven languages, including G. and S., in certain words: these are—
(a). Words derived from Skr. nouns in an, like राजन्, the nominative of which ends in Skr. in a. Such are राजा "king" (m.), in all; चामा "soul" (m.), in all. Nouns neuter in Skr. of this form end in the short vowel, as नाम् "name," H. नाम, m. in all, except M. and G., where it is neuter. महिमा "greatness," however, is used as a fem. in H. P. and S., and as both m. and f. in M. G. has preserved the real gender of the Skr., in which language महिमन् is masc.

(β). Words derived from Skr. nouns in तृ, making their nominative in ता. Of this form are a great number of Tatsamas denoting the agent, as करो, दाता, etc.

(γ). A few words of foreign origin, running through all the languages, and chiefly relating to males, so that they are masculine by natural gender. These are mostly Arabic, Persian, or Turkish, but have been in use in the Indian languages from very early times, and have even undergone some corruptions, as will be seen in the following list:


H. द्रागा "sage," द्रागा, P. id., S. द्रागा, द्रागा, G. द्रागा.

H. धारिया "river," धारिया, P. धारिया, S. धारिया, धारिया, G. धारिया, धारिया, M. धारिया.

H. उमरा "nobles" (pl., also singular), उमरा, P. उमराउ, S. उमराउ, उमराउ, G. उमराउ, उमराउ, M. उमराउ.

H. शुद्रा "God," शुद्रा, P. id., S. id. and शुद्रा, G. शुद्रा, शुद्रा.

H. द्रोगा "overseer," P. द्रोगा, S. द्रोगा, G. id., M. द्रोगा.

The word उमरा, though really a plural, is constantly used as a singular in modern speech. It will have been noticed that
there is a tendency to add an or n on to many of these words, and so to account, as it were, for their being masculine, by giving them the old masculine termination. G. also effects the same by boldly changing the final d into ə.

(2). The termination t is the typical termination of the feminine in Tadbhavas and Dessjas; that is to say, in nouns of the medieval and modern kinds, in which, as we have frequently before noticed, a principle of development prevails of a character essentially different from that which distinguishes the classical Sanskrit or Prakrites. In opposition, however, to this generally feminine character of t, a number of nouns are found in all the languages, which, though ending in t, are masculine. This class seems to have given some trouble to our grammar-makers, and their difficulty has been increased by the laxity of practice in some of the languages. Especially is this the case in Hindi, where, owing to the leading authors having been men of strong poetic instinct, but of little learning, a tendency has grown up to give to each word the gender indicated by its typical termination; and words which, from their origin, ought to be masculine, are sometimes found coupled with feminine adjectives or participles. This source of error is, however, confined to words which have only grammatical gender; those which are masculine by natural gender, as describing male beings or their occupations, are exempted by their nature from the possibility of being mistaken for feminines.

Masculines in t may be divided into the following classes:

(a). Those derived from Sanskrit agents in ः, which in that language form their nominative in ः t; as the modern languages ignore the grammatical fiction of a base, as distinct from the actual nominative, it is from the latter only that they take their forms. Instances of this class are the following (see also the list in § 18):

Skr. हि “elephant,” base हिन (n.), H. G. S. हासि, P. हिनि, M. हिनि, B. O. हायी.
Skr. स्त्रामी "lord," base स्त्रांन (m.). In all साँं, except though in the commoner word मीरामी, which becomes in the modern languages मीराई, M. has मीरावी.

Skr. माकी "gardener," base माकिन (m.). In all माकी, but G. and M. माकी.

Skr. पक्षी "bird," base पक्षिन, H. पक्षी, M. G. P. id., S. पक्षी, B. पाक्षी, and in East-B. पाखी.

Skr. सामी "witness," base सांचिन, H. साखी, and so in all.

There are, moreover, in this class many words of uncertain origin, as well as others whose origin is not at all uncertain, though, owing to phonetic changes, it is not so apparent at first sight. In some of these words we may attribute the form to a feeling that long i as a masculine was appropriate to names of trades or professions, so that it was added to words for which there existed no prototype in Sanskrit. Such are—

H. झोची "washer man," and so in all. H. and O. have झोचा and झोषा.

- H. पटवारी "village accountant," so in all, but rare in M.
- H. पराढी "neighbour," in all, but more correctly with र.
- H. मौद्री "shopkeeper," in all, but S. मौदा.
- H. पाखी "a non-resident cultivator," so in P. B. O.

The exact form from which झोची is derived is uncertain. It should be Skr. झांचिन, from झांच "to wash," and the vulgar language probably used the word in this sense, though in classical Sanskrit the word seems to be used exclusively in the other sense of the root, namely, as "a runner." पाखी is from पाखी, and that again from पक्षिन, from पक्ष in the sense of a "side;" a pātk cultivator being one who lives, not on the spot, but in another village, and is thus, as we should put it in colloquial English, an "outsider." पटवारी is a somewhat abnormal compound of the medieval period; the first part पट is from पच
"a letter" or "writing," and the second seems to postulate a form शारिन् "doer," perhaps from the root यु. यरोसि, more accurately यरोसि, is प्रतिवामिन्. मोदि has been by some derived from the Skr. मोदक "sweetmeat;" but I believe it really comes from the Arabic مود "provisions," "stores;" the ordinary Indian मोदि is not a sweetmeat-seller, but deals in grain, and eatables of all sorts.

In a subsequent section (§ 35) it will be shown that the majority of these words testify to the existence of a Sanskrit original in मन्य, by forming their feminines in मन्यी, or in forms derived therefrom.

(β). Nouns derived from Sanskrit substantives in यु, with the sense of a male agent. Here the gender is natural, not merely grammatical. Common instances are:

Skr. भाटू "brother," H. मारे, so in all, but P. also माड, S. माड. M. माड़.

Skr. नापू "grandson," H. नाती, so in B. and O., but M. नाटू.

The number of words of this class is not large, nor do they run through all the languages; in fact, as has already been mentioned (Ch. I. § 14), the tendency of य is rather towards ए in this class.

(γ). Words derived from Sanskrit masculines and neuters in र, by lengthening the final vowel; as

Skr. श्रद "cards" (n.), H. श्री (m.), P. श्री (m.), M. and G. id., but u., S. श्री (f).

Skr. पति "lord" (m.), H. पती (m.), but oftener पति.

Skr. भाग्निनापति "sister's husband" (m.), H. भ्रमोरे (m.), P. भ्रवारे.

O. भ्रमोरे.

Skr. चच्चिन "carpenter" (m.), H. चड़े, O. B. M. id., but G. S. चड़ी, which is an independent formation, from the modern verb "to cut."

The origin of the termination सदि will be discussed under the Verb, to which it properly belongs.
(5). Derivatives from Sanskrit masculines and neuters in रूक, रच and रैय. Concerning the former of these, see examples in Ch. I. § 18, (2), (γ). Of the two latter examples are:

Skr. पाणीं “water” (n.), H. पाणी (m.), and so in all, but generally पाणी. In G. and M. it is n.
Skr. प्रिय “beloved” (m.), H. प्री (m.), “lover,” “husband.”
Skr. ब्राह्मण “a class of Brahmans,” H. भ्रौति.
Skr. वृत्तिं “a Kshatriya,” H. वृत्ती, बृत्ती, बृत्ती, P. id., S. बृत्ती, O. बृत्ती.

Under this head probably comes the list of obscurely derived words in Sindhi given by Trumpp at p. 96, though, with some three or four exceptions, the origin of these words is not at present traceable.

(6). Words derived from Sanskrit masculine and neuter nouns containing र or र in the penultimate syllable, but in which, the last syllable having fallen away through phonetic changes, the र or र has become final, the former being lengthened to र. Thus:

Skr. गुर्ग “clarified butter” (n.), H. गी (m.), M. गी (n.) but rare.
P. G. id. (n.).
Skr. जीव “life” (m. and n.), H. जी (m.), and so in all.

So completely, except in the case of professions and trades, has the idea of the feminine character of र taken possession of the popular mind among the modern Aryans, that many words, which ought to be regarded as masculine, are treated as feminine, simply because they now terminate in र. Thus in H. लबो “butter” is found with feminine adjectives, though it is properly masculine, being derived from Skr. लबोत (n.), and the corresponding word in M., ली, is neuter. So, also, H.

¹ The Sudras are one of the highest classes or gotras among the Mithil Brahman. The Rajas of Darbhanga belong to this gotra.
"sale" is treated as feminine, though derived from Skr. विक्रय (m.). In M. several words which are neuter, of this termination, are written with anuswāra as क, because the anuswāra, being derived from the final म of Sanskrit, seems to the people to be more appropriate to that gender. Thus they write पानी "water," मोनी "pearl," and others. It is by the operation of a similar tendency that we in England now treat such words as riches, alms, as plurals, though they are really singulars corrupted from richesse, almesse;¹ so also our old singular pease, from pisum, has been changed into a plural peas, and a singular pea formed from it, though the s has nothing to do with the plural sign, but is a genuine radical part of the word.

(3). The termination अ-क is masculine, as in the cases of the other long vowels, in words derived from Skr. masculines. This rule is a good guide, in spite of a certain number of exceptions, in all terminations, namely, that the gender of the Sanskrit original is fairly kept in all modern words, and affords a clue to the many apparent irregularities; as, for instance, in the case of words like घी, पानी, etc. Inasmuch, therefore, as the termination क in Sanskrit is of all three genders, we cannot say that it is either regular or irregular for a word in any of the modern languages to be masculine, feminine, or neuter. We must in each case trace the word back to its origin; and we shall, in a large majority of cases, find the modern word retaining the gender of its parent. In Gujarati no distinction is practically made between long and short अ; and even in Marathi some confusion exists. In Marathi, however, and Sindhi, the long अ is generally masculine; in H. and P. words of this termination are about equally divided between the two genders. No examples of the masculine nouns of this termination need be given. The rules for the formation of the stem contained in

¹ The translators of our English Bible knew better when they wrote "an alms" (Acts iii. 3), though they use "riches" as a plural, "Your riches are corrupted."
the preceding Chapter will serve to guide towards the Sanskrit word from which the modern word is derived, and the gender can thus be easily ascertained.

(4). The short vowels are generally elided at the end of a word in Hindi, as well as in P. and G., and to a very great extent also in common Marathi. It will therefore be more convenient to reserve the consideration of such words till we come to the section on consonantal endings. When the short vowel is not elided, it is frequently lengthened, to enable it to retain its position, and the words in which it still remains as a short vowel are all Tatsamas, like मति, विचि, ब्रु, मद्र, the gender of which is identical with that of the Sanskrit.

It is only in Sindhi that short vowel terminations are of any account, and our discussion of them is confined to this language.

Short a ओ is the typical ending of masculines.

Short a ख is the typical ending of feminines.

Short ओ is chiefly feminine.

Masculines in ओ are derived from the Prakrit termination o, and represent the class I have called barytones in the last Chapter, thus corresponding to the masculine consonantal endings of other languages.

Under this head come also nouns derived from Sanskrit masculines and neuters in ओ, thus—

Skr. ब्रु "wind" (m.), S. ब्र (m.),

" मद्र "liquor" (m.), S. मद्र."

There are also a few words in which the final a is derived from the ओ of Sanskrit, as quoted in Ch. I. § 14, प्रसु = प्रस, etc.

There appear to be no instances of masculines in a ओ, and very few in ओ. Of the latter, instances are पर, from Skr. पति "lord;" विशपति, from Skr. तिक्ष्यति "the planet Jupiter;" घर

1 This is Trumpp's derivation (Sindhi Gr. p. 32). I am disposed to derive the word regularly from Skr. मद्र, Fr. मद्र.
“Vishnu;” and as shortenings of रू from रूप, as noted above in (2, a), केले from केलेरि “lion;” सहार for सहारे, from सहारे “helper,” are familiar examples.

§ 33. As in the masculine, so also in the feminine terminations, there exists a double system. The termination े , which is typical of the feminine in Sanskrit, is in the modern languages a resultant from े, and typical of the masculine; yet it is found as the termination of many fem. words, just as े, the modern fem. type, occurs in many masculine words.

(1). Final े is feminine in the seven languages in the following classes of nouns.

(a). In Tatsamas which are feminine in Sanskrit, such as पुजा “worship,” विचि “thought,” रसना “tongue,” कथा “story,” and many more very common words.

(β). In a considerable number of modern Tadbhavas, which, though changed from the pure Sanskrit form, still retain the distinctive termination, and with it the gender: such as

Skr. चोभा “patience” (f.), H. चोभा, चोभा, P. S. चोभा, G. चोभा, all े.

Skr. चाटा “pilgrimage” (f.), H. चाटा, P. चाटरा, S. चाटरा, G. चट, also चाटरा, M. चोटा, all े.

Skr. चुढा “hunger” (f.), H. चुढा, P. चुढिरा.

Skr. चाप्ती “order” (f.), H. चाप्ता, P. चाप्तिरा, S. चाप्ता, G. चाप्ता.

Skr. बुढ़ा “murder” (f.), S. बुढ़ा.

(γ). In some words of uncertain origin, but purely local in type, as—

H. डंडिया (f.), “a small box,” but in all the rest m. in े, with a fem.

H. चंडिया (f.), “a bird,” in P. and M. without the final syllable and े.

H. बुढिया (f.), “an old woman.”
In these three very common words the final या is probably a recent addition, and the words were originally, as they are still in the cognate languages, दिनी, धिनी, and बुझी, the त having been shortened, as is usual in Hindi, in consequence of the additional syllable. Or we may suppose them to come under § 9 (2), and to have been feminines of the form मानिका, where the suffix या has been softened into या, though it would be useless to look for a Sanskrit original for the two first words. The third may, however, well come from a Skr. form वृजिका.

This remark leads to a consideration of somewhat extended application. It may be asked why त, which is in Sanskrit a fem. ending, should in the moderns be so typically and universally a masc. ending, and similarly why त, which in Skr. is quite as much a masc. as a fem. ending, should have in the moderns so almost exclusively attached itself to the fem.? The answer would appear to be found in the extreme prevalence in Pr. of the practice of adding the suffix अका to nouns of all classes. We have to begin with the oxytone nouns in Skr., which become nouns in य and त in the moderns, and to them we must also add the Pr. formatives in अका = या, of the type गहोका = गहोरा = गहोरा; the union of these two sets of words results in a preponderance of mascs. in या. Now, as the feminine of अका is या, and या becomes या, and more frequently still त, if we suppose that to every one of the words to which Pr. tacked on अका for the masc., it also tacked on या for the fem., the preponderance of त as a fem. ending in the moderns is explained, the more so that we can add to the त from या a large class in which already in Sanskrit the masc. in अका forms its fem. in त, such as नुं, (m.), नुं (f.). Moreover, the typical ending of the adjectives being ता for the masc., and त for the fem., it was natural to use an adjective ending in त, with a substantive of a similar termination; and so it comes to pass that all grammar-writers treat masculines in त and feminines in त as exceptions, though few of them attempt to account for their existence.
(2). Final i is feminine then in all cases except those noted in the last section, and this holds good for all the seven languages. Final ā is feminine in words derived from Sanskrit feminines, as मू “earth,” वधू “daughter-in-law,” व. वदन, प. चोज्य, S. वह, etc.

In Sindhi, as noted above, the feminine terminations are अ and ी, and the majority of these words are identical with the feminines in mute य of the other languages, which have been shortened from Skr. feminines in आ.

(3). In some classes of adjectives, mostly very common and vulgar, a feminine in ओ is found. This is very common in Panjhabi, and frequently with the suffixes ज, एन, or एन, where the ओ may be regarded as a lengthening of the य of the masculine. Such are—

धेकू “(a cow) that thrusts or butts,” masc. धेकूः।
चुङ्गौ “where,” from चं ख “cunus,” also written चंकू, चंकूः, and चंकूः।
जडे “adulteress,” from जन्धा “to copulate,” masc. जड़ूः।
दांदी “a woman with projecting teeth,” from दृं “tooth,” masc. दृंडूः।
गपरंडी “a coquette,” origin uncertain.
माजी “an immodest woman” (probably from माज, for बाज = माजा).

Most of the words of this form are words of abuse used by women to one another, the fair sex in India being possessed of a remarkably fertile invention in the matter of vituperation. In Marathi also ऋ is often a feminine ending, as in नायको “woman,” where the ऋ is probably a lengthening of the masculine ऋ. In Oriya, when addressing women, they always use ऋ.

§ 34. The neuter has less variety of termination than the other genders, and exists only in Marathi and Gujarati. The type of the neuter is M. रा, G. चू, but M. also has a neuter in ँ,
which, however, is not frequent, and occurs principally in
words denoting the young of animals, which have also masc.
and fem. forms for the two sexes of the animal; as बकरा (m.)
“he-goat,” बकरी (f.) “she-goat,” बकरठ (n.) “a kid of both
sexes.”

Both the typical terminations point back to the उ of the
Skr. neuter, that of G. in व, by virtue of the process so often
observable in the case of final म, by which that letter resolves
itself into its two elements, the labial and nasal, the former
of which passes through व into च, and the latter into anuswāra,
and then into anunāśika or a simple nasal breathing. The
उ of Marathi would seem to be derived from a weakening of
the उ of उ into उ.

Though the other languages have no neuter for the noun,
yet the infinitive, which is a verbal noun, is derived from a
Skr. neuter, and in most of the languages retains a neuter form.
Hoernle (Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xlii. p. 66) combats the
theory that the neuter form observable in Old-Hindi, and in
several dialects of Modern-Hindi, as well as in G. and M., and
he might have added in Sindhi also, is derived from the Skr.
neuter in उ. Thus he will not take Old-H. करर्ग, dialectic
करर्ग, करर्ख, from Skr. करण, as he says the process
is opposed to certain glottic laws which he appears to have
formulated for himself. He would apparently derive the Ma-
rathi infinitive करर्ग from a Prakrit form करविव; and the
other infinitives with a labial type, as करर्, from a further
Prakrit form करविव. The phonetic changes thus indicated
are indeed possible, and quite regular; if we once concede
Prakrit forms करविव and करविव, there is no difficulty in
deducing from them modern forms करर्ग and करर्ग respectively;
but we want more evidence as to the said Prakrit forms, and
their meaning hardly corresponds with sufficient accuracy.
But leaving this question of the infinitive for its proper place,
we may follow Hoernle in his process of applying the principle.
to nouns in general. No such general ending in िष or िष is of course to be found in Prakrit for neuter nouns of all kinds; but the author would have us believe that such an ending did exist in a great many cases, and that its origin is to be found in the favourite suffix िष, so that we are to postulate in the case of every Marathi neuter in िष a Prakrit form in िष, derived from िष, and in the case of every neuter in िष or िष, a similar िष from िष: why Marathi should always select िष, and Gujarati िष, is not explained, and seems in fact unexplainable. It is, however, highly probable that we have in this theory an indication of the direction in which we should search for the explanation of such forms if dissatisfied with their derivation from the simple Sanskrit neuter; and it must be admitted that the author's illustrations from the forms of the oblique cases of stems in िष in Marathi are strongly confirmatory of his theory.

§ 35. A large majority of feminines in all the seven languages are formed from the corresponding masculine nouns, though there are of course many which have an independent origin; as, for instance, words which possess natural gender, in which the female animal has a distinct name from the male one. But in names of trades, castes, and the like, the female is generally derived from the male.

Masculines in िष G. S., or िष H. and the rest, form their feminines in िष; as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>हंसिक &quot;boy,&quot; हंसिक &quot;girl.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पंिस हंसिर िसिक &quot;girl.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>संिस हंसिर िसिक &quot;girl.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>संिस also shortens final ि, as हंसिर &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is an extremely common process, based on the typical endings of the two genders, and need not be further illustrated. It is extended also to the case of masculines ending in ि�. 
in S., and with mute \(a\), or in other words, with a consonantal ending, in the other languages. Instances are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. पहुँč &quot;washerman,&quot;</th>
<th>पहुँच &quot;washerwoman.&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. गुड़िँ &quot;he-ass,&quot;</td>
<td>गुड़िँ &quot;she-ass.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. धीर &quot;firma,&quot;</td>
<td>धीर &quot;firma.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>П. कुमार &quot;sugar-cane,&quot;</td>
<td>कुमारी id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>П. कुमार &quot;vetch,&quot;</td>
<td>कुमारी id.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>П. कौड &quot;a cowry,&quot;</td>
<td>कौड &quot;a small cowry.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. वन&quot; &quot;monkey,&quot;</td>
<td>वन &quot;monkey.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. वन &quot;forest,&quot;</td>
<td>वन &quot;forest.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. वांस &quot;bamboo,&quot;</td>
<td>वांस &quot;flute,&quot; &quot;reed.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although, however, instances are to be found, such as those given above, of a feminine in \(r\) being derived from consonantically ending masculines, yet the practice is not very common, the feminines in \(r\) being more generally derived from masculines in \(s\) and \( ś\); especially is this the case in masculines derived from Skr. by means of the common suffix हव, which, as has been shown, produces चाहिए, and then ही and शा, while its feminine is regularly रका, yielding रचा, and then र, as in घोटक, घोड़ी, घोड़ा (m.) "horse," घोटिका, घोड़ी, घोड़ी (f.) "mare."

Extremely common, and spread throughout the seven languages, is the feminine ending whose varied forms are given below, and which is confined to the expression of nationality, caste, occupation, bodily and mental qualities, and other attributes of living, and chiefly human, beings.

H. has, in the first place, feminines in रन, रनी or शी, derived from Sanskrit रनी, the feminine of masculines in र (रन); thus

Skr. हुवी "elephant," H. हावी, Skr. हविनी, H. हविन, हविनी, or हवनी.
This form it also uses in feminines derived from a masculine in द, which द is thereby shown to represent the Skr. द्वार: as

धीरि “washerman,” धीरिन “washerwoman;”
मानि “gardener,” मानिन and मानिनि “gardener’s wife;”
but the termination is by no means confined to those words which have in Skr. the form द्वार (m.), द्वी (f.), but, like all terminations which have once become typical, is added to words derived from all sorts of formations; thus

सौनि “goldsmith” (Skr. सौनि), सौनिन “goldsmith’s wife.”
चमरि “leather worker” (Skr. चमरि), चमरिन his wife.
कुम्भि “potter” (Skr. कुम्भि), कुम्भिन his wife.
बाज “tiger” (Skr. बाज), बाजिन, बाजिनि “tigress.”
कुणि “a caste of cultivators,” कुणिन the female of that caste.

Through the habitual carelessness of this language in respect of unaccented short vowels, this termination is often sounded merely as दन.

कुणि “a seller of vegetables,” कुणिन and कुणिनि “a female seller.”
मानि “cowherd” (Skr. मानि), मानिन and मानिनि “cowherd’s wife.”
उम “cheat” (Skr. उम). उमिन and उमिनि “female cheat,” or “a thag’s wife.”
पापि “sinner,” पापिन, पापिनि “peccatrix.”
बरेंि “washerman,” बरेंिन his wife.
वदेंि “carpenter,” वदेंिन his wife.

In this latter word there has been contraction from चड़िन.
Regular derivatives from the Sanskrit are the words indicative of conditions peculiar to females:

Skr. गारिनि “pregnant,” H. गारिनि and गारिन.

So also a feminine in दम, दन, or दी, may be made out of all sorts of masculines, to indicate the wife of a man of any class or
trade, rather than a woman who practises the trade herself. Thus one often hears familiarly चौराणी "a thief’s wife," from चौर "a thief." This does not necessarily imply that the woman is herself a thief, but that her husband is. The same remark applies to the following:

पंडित "a Pandit," र्यंतिला his wife.

मुह "a teacher," मुहवाण his wife.

ठाकुर "a chief," ठाकुराणी and ठाकुराणी "a chief’s wife."

चौधरी "a headman," चौधरीता and चौधरीता "a headman’s wife."

These forms आनिं and आन are from Skr. आनी, the latter by a common inversion. They are even added to words of Persian origin; as

मुह "a sweeper," महतराणी "a female sweeper."

मूल "a Mughal," सूजलाणी "a she-Mughal."

चाक "a servant," चाकराणी "a female servant."

Even in words ending in आन we have the feminine ending आन; as

वाणीया "trader," वाणीया "a trader’s wife."

The Muhammadan government conferred the title of Khān on Hindus in some parts of Bengal, and from this the common people have formed a scarcely pronounceable feminine. Khāns throughout India is pronounced with the final a nasalized, as though written खान, and the feminine is therefore खानाण, vulgo खानाई or खानाई, which the reader may pronounce at his leisure.

Panjabi has also this method of forming the feminine, and chiefly neglects the र and uses the termination वाण or वाणी, the former used after a cerebral, the latter after other letters, a practice in which Panjabi reverses the Skr. usage. The application of this feminine ending has grown to be irrespective.
of the termination of the masculine, as in H. This will be seen from the following group of examples:

धीर or धीरा "washerman," धीरा "his wife."
धीर or धीरा "a cheat," धीरा "id. (f.)"
कुरषी "leper," (Skr. कुरषी), कुरष "leper woman."
कुरसार "bad companion," (m.), कुरसारा "id. (f.)"
करोवी "angry," (Skr. करोवी), करोविणा "id. (f.)"
घाटक "trickster," घाटक न "trickstress."

The intelligent and progressive caste of Kayasthas, which is so leading a class in Bengal, is very scantily represented in the Panjnad, and the name is somewhat corrupted.

कारष or कारष (m.), कारषणी, कारषणी, कारषणिक, and कारण (f.).

गी is used also alternatively with गर, as चीर "headman," चीरण "id. (f.)"
करान "peasant," कराणी "id. (f.)"
गुरार "villager," (Skr. गृहारी), गुरारी "village woman."
कामी "menial," कामिणी "id. (f.)"
उग "cheat," उग "his wife.

From the feminine again, by some forgetfulness of its origin, has been formed a masculine उगण द, so deeply seated is the feeling that a feminine in र corresponds to and postulates a masculine in आ. Precisely in the same way in Latin the feminine marita, literally "manned," from mas, maris, has given rise to a masculine maritus.

Persian and Arabic words also undergo the prevailing Indian conversion into feminines. Hence spring the common but curious hybrids—

मुरेल "angry," i.e. Arabic ماز with Aryan म, fem. मुरेला,
जबाद "executioner," Arabic جب "fem. जबादणी his wife."
कारीम "artificer," Persian جب "fem. कारीमणी his wife."
Masculines in चारे shorten the र and add श for the fem., as घडवारे “weighman,” घडवारेण his wife.

When a word of this form ends in anunāsika, that is rejected, as गुमारे “devotee,” गुमारेण his wife.

So also with words ending in आ, as बलियान “merchant,” बलियारियान “a merchant’s wife.” In P. as well as in H. this feminine termination implies rather the wife of a man who is described by the masc. word, and not a woman who herself does the thing implied, as in the H. instance of चैरनी, which does not contain any imputation on the honesty of the lady so styled, but on that of her husband.

Sindhi affixes this group of terminations to masculines of all sorts; thus it is added in the forms फिन and फिय to masculines in short न; as बट “a Jat,” बटिफन and बटिफी, also बटिफायी, “a Jat’s wife.” बरोफु “a Beluch,” बरोफायण his wife.

कौ “lion,” सीहाण “lioness.”

To masculines in आ, but less frequently than the fem. in र: as लंडी “a drummer,” लंडिफन, लंडिफी, लंडिफायी, लंडिफारणी, his wife.

Trumpp teaches that in the case of masculines in short न, as जट, the final र is changed to ल, before adding the fem. termination; but if this were the case, we should have a double feminina. In the cognate languages, where the masculine ends in a consonant, we have feminines in रन, and this leads to the conclusion that the र is part of the termination, and वितिफन should be divided thus: जट + रिफ, not जटिफ + रिफ. In the original Skr. of this form we have the masc. base लानिन, and though the final र has been dropped in the nom., yet all the other cases retain it, and it must therefore be regarded as the
true ancient form, and the feminine sign would be only र: but the modern languages having got hold of रनी, and regarded the whole of it as the feminine termination, have tacked it on to all sorts of masculines. The only real instance of a double feminine is in such words as अद्वयानि, which is doubtless जटि + आनि. A similar confusion of forms gives बंध्यापि, where there is जंशी, the original or regular fem. of जंशि, with the र changed to a semivowel before the fem. ending आनि, which again has been regarded as in some way connected with रनी, and has thus come to be pronounced as आपि, or perhaps आनि having become by inversion आपि, as in the other languages, Sindhi has clapped on final र from a feeling that the word is feminine.

In the case of masculines ending in अ, this vowel is shortened to ए or elided altogether, and the phrase, “a Hindu female,” may thus be expressed in six different ways; thus हिन्दूः, हिन्दूः, हिन्दूः, हिन्दूः, हिन्दूः, हिन्दूः.

Gujarati has the terminations in considerable variety, as एना, एना, एना, एना, एना, एना, of which एना is peculiar to this language. Examples are:

- मोनि “servant,” मोनि: मोनि “female servant.”
- धोनि “washerman,” धोनि: धोनि “washerwoman.”
- कोटि “a certain caste,” कोटि a woman of that caste.

Taylor (p. 28) gives also feminine forms धोनि, कोटि; but these are not noticed by Narmadā Shankar. They might arise from the final र of रनी being shortened to the semivowel; and the form एना is from अना, Pr. अना, through the H. inversion आनन. Gujarati retains the Prakrit form of the nasal न.

- वाणि “trader,” वाणि: वाणि वाणि वाणि.
- मरेतो “a Maratha,” मरेतो.
- बाघ “tiger,” बाघ: बाघ बाघ.
- धरि “master,” धरि धरि.
It appears that in cases where there are two forms of the feminine for the same word, one form is in use in one part of the country, and the other in a different part; but it is not stated which form is used in any specified part.

Marathi in particular affects a long vowel in the final syllable of words ending with a consonant; and in the class of words now under consideration it accordingly takes regularly रेण in the feminine nominative, but shortens this रे to र or च in the oblique cases, because this syllable is no longer final in those cases. Thus we have—

सुगर "skilful man," सुगरी "skilful woman," "a good housewife." 
मानी "devotee," मानी "female devotee." 
वाप "tiger," वापी "tigress." 
कुषवी "peasant," कुषवी "his wife.

Sanskrit feminines in र्नि, whether they have any corresponding masculine in Marathi or not, are treated by it in the same manner as the above:

कुरी "procuress," Skr. कुर्निनी; 
वही "sister," "भानी.

With regard to O. and B., as they have no means of indicating gender, so also they do not possess any regular method of forming feminines. In modern times a large number of Sanskrit feminine words have been dug up out of dictionaries, and are now used in their Tatsama form; and there are old Tadbhausas, like the word for "sister," which have not been formed from masculines in any modern language, but have come down ready made from ancient times. Of these it is unnecessary to say anything.

Nor need we here introduce those words which are names of female animals, the male of which has a different name; like ह. घोड "ox," सोड "bull," म "cow." Each of these words stands on its own basis, and descends from some Skr. word which has no connexion with the masculine.
§ 36. With regard to the gender of that large class of words which, in all but Sindhi, end in mute \( a \), or in other words in a consonant, I am convinced that it is quite impossible to lay down any law. Each word must be traced back to its Sanskrit or other origin, and the reason for the gender will then be apparent. A large number of these words have come to their present shape from rejecting a final \( a \) or other feminine ending in Skr. (see the remarks in § 11), and it is therefore mere waste of time to attempt to find out any rules founded on the consonant which has thus accidentally become final. Stevenson, in his Marathi Grammar, occupies several pages with lists of feminines ending in a consonant, which it would be impossible for the student really to carry in his memory; practice alone in speaking the language can teach him the gender of these words. It is of little consequence to know the gender in H. or P. In the forms of Hindustani spoken all over India, gender is habitually neglected by all classes, and it is only in the area in which Hindi is the mother-speech that much attention is paid to it, and even there only by purists or accurate speakers. In a great portion of Bihar one hears such phrases as तूँ मा भाते है “your mother is coming;” and in the Parbatia or Nepali dialect, gender is not preserved at all. It exists, however, in literature, and its existence cannot therefore be ignored in Hindi even; and correspondents in the Marathi country and Gujarat inform me that the threefold gender of those languages is always correctly used, even by the lowest and most ignorant peasantry—an assertion which I should hesitate to receive in its entirety until confirmed by actual observation.

In Marathi gender is distinguished by native grammarians in three ways, and the rules which they lay down are useful as far as they go, though necessarily incomplete, and leaving much that is unclassified. They distinguish gender—(1) by signification, (2) by form, (3) by both combined. Of these three, the second, or that by form, applies only to the termination, and
breaks down as soon as it gets from words ending in a vowel to those ending in consonants. It is a good guide for vowel-endings, and consequently embraces the whole of Sindhi. In Marathi it helps us to some few rules for consonantal endings. Thus nouns in रेण are of course feminine, as shown in the last section; so also are those in गूण and रेव. It is also asserted that nouns in आ, that is आ preceded by anunāsika, are masculine; but there are so many exceptions to this rule as to destroy its value for practical purposes. Similarly untrustworthy is the rule that nouns in र, व, and च, when forming the last member of a nexus, are neuter; for thereupon follows a long string of such words all masculine.

In all the languages the large class of stems in ब, mentioned in § 9 (3), is chiefly feminine, but contains enough masculines to render it unsafe for a foreigner to treat all such words as feminines in speaking the language.

Reduplicated nouns are nearly everywhere feminine; but as many of these have vowel-endings, they come under head (3), which is a very perplexing method indeed, and leads to more confusion than either of the others. The only really trustworthy rule under this head is that which prescribes the gender of abstract nouns: those in पण or पण being neuter in those languages which have the neuter gender, and masculine in those which have it not. पण is masculine in all, and ता feminine, as in Sanskrit.

Under head (1) we are led into a maze of conflicting considerations. Leaving out, as sufficiently accounting for themselves, words which have natural gender, the artificial gender reminds us of the incoherent old “Propria que maribus” of our school-days. Winds, mountains, rivers, periods of time, and the like, appear to range themselves under various genders with a most inextricable caprice, and the usual tagrag of exceptions hangs on to the skirts of their army like a mob of unruly camp followers. No one perhaps really believes that the speakers
who unconsciously developed their respective languages ever stopped to think what the gender of a word was, or intentionally made it masculine because it was a mountain, or feminine because it was a tree or a river. The utmost we can admit is that instinctively large coarse strong things were treated as masculine, and their opposites as feminine, while things really or constructively inert were usually spoken of as neuter.

It will perhaps be safer to conclude that all words whose gender cannot be ascertained from their present form must be traced back to the older form, where they will generally be found to be in possession of a termination which at once explains the reason of their modern gender.

Even this rule, however, is not free from exceptions, for there are not wanting words which, though clearly derived from Skr., have changed their gender in the course of ages. Especially is this the case with words denoting the body and its parts, where a sense of tenderness or familiarity seems to have operated to cause them to become feminine, that gender being used to denote small delicate objects. From the same sentiment the Romans turned the names for parts of the body into diminutives, as *auricula, ocellus*, and the like. Instances are—

Skr. श्रवण "body" (m.), H. श्रवण (f.), P. and G. also श्रवण (f.), but in M. it is masc., and S. श्रवण (f.), where the fem. श्रवण has been added.

Skr. शय्य धौ (m.), H. धौ (f.), so also is the late Tadbhava धौ; M. धौ is m. and f. when meaning "an ordeal," but m. when meaning "a curse."

Skr. चाँदि "eye" (m.), H. चाँदि (f.), P. चाँदि (f.), G. चाँदि (f.), S. चाँदि (f.), where the retention of the final त्र has probably led to the word being considered as fem. Chand uses चाँदि (= चाँदि).

Skr. खरास "sickness" (m.), H. खरास (m.) "serous excrement," M. खरास (f.), and S. खरास (f.).

Skr. बाही "arm" (m.), H. बाही (f.), P. बाही (f.), S. बाही (f.). In G. it is f., but takes a fem. ending बाही; so also in M. बाही (f.).
Skr. वस (f.) “thing” (n.), H. वस (f.), P. वसत (f.), S. वस (f.); G. वस (f.), M. वस (f. and n.), वस (f.).
Skr. विश “poison” (n.), H. विश, विष (m.), S. विश, विष (f.).
Skr. ऋष “entrails” (mostly in pl. ऋषाण्विल) (n.), H. ऋषतर, ऋषत (f.), also with fem. ending ऋषतरी and ऋषत्त्री. S. ऋषो (m.), M. ऋषत (n.),
G. ऋषत (n.).
Skr. धातु “root,” “metal,” “element” (m. and n.), H. धातु (f.) “semen virile,” S. धातु (f.), P. धात, धातु (f.), G. धात, धातु (f.),
M. id. (f. and m.).

The following are from Sindhi:¹ they are all feminine, though the Sanskrit original, and in some cases the derivatives from it in the cognate languages, which I have added to Trumpp’s list, are either masc. or neuter:
S. वंत्र “offspring.” Skr. वंत्र, H. वंस (m.), and so in all.
S. बिंदु “semen.” Skr. बिंदु (m.), H. बिंद, बूंद (f.), बिंदी (f.) “drop;” In which sense S. has also बिंदी (f.), M. बिंदी (f.), G. बिंदु (n.), probably because दी in G. is the regular neuter ending, and the द of this word has been confounded with it.

Trumpp here inserts S. पूण (f.) and पूण, which he would derive from Skr. पूण (m.), but this is apparently an error; the word should be derived from Skr. पूणमा or पूणिमा “the day of the full moon,” which is feminine in Skr., and carries that gender into S. Stack writes it पूण, and gives the forms पूणमा, पूणिमा, etc., which exist in all the other languages.
S. तंदु “thread,” “wire.” Skr. तंदु (m.), H. तांत (m. and f.), but I think more usually f.). G. M. id. (f.), P. तांत (f.), तंदु (f.), and तंदी (f.) “catgut.” In all it has frequently the sense of the string of a musical instrument, as a lute, etc.
S. चूँ “woman’s milk” (f.), from Skr. चूँ (m.) “breast.” S. has

¹Trumpp, Sindhi Gram. p. 89 et seqq. Only such words have been taken from the list as show a change of gender from Sanskrit to Sindhi.
also चमु (m.) in this sense, and H. चाम, चम (m.). In Modern-H. the form चम is usual, but Chand has—

रक्ष चाम पय पान

"From the same breast drank milk," literally (there was) a drinking of milk.—i. 170, 7.

S. चूड "sealing-wax," Skr. चत "lac" (m.).

S. डाड "cogwarm," Skr. द्राड (m.), H. दाड (m.), G. दास्तर (m.), M. दाड (f.), दास्तर (m.). The fem. gender of दाड in M. is probably due to the existence of the Persian در "justices," which, like all Persian words in در, in M. is treated as a feminine. P. दूड is however f. also.

S. चार "potaash," Skr. चार (m.), H. चर (m.), M. id.; in some senses it is m., in others f. P. चार (f.), G. चार (m.).

S. मठ and मिघ "dirt," Skr. मण (m.), H. मिघ (m. and f.), M. मिघ (m. and f.), G. मठ and मिघ (m.), P. मठ and मिघ (m. and f.), मिघ however is always f.

S. हिंड "assafetida," Skr. हिंड (m.), H. हिंद (m.), P. हिंग (f.), M. हिंग (m.), G. हिंग (f.).

Sindhi does not always stand alone in its change of gender, and it will have been noticed that the various languages are capricious in their use of gender as regards these words. Most of the instances given are monosyllables, and there is a tendency in all the languages to regard monosyllables, or nouns whose final e has become mute, as feminines. It would seem also that there is a faint and not easily definable tendency to attribute a feminine gender to certain consonants, as ह and न. This may have arisen from the fact that a majority of words ending in those letters are really by origin feminine. Although the stuff and backbone of these seven languages is pure Indo-Germanic, yet we must not ignore or underrate the influence which Arabic vocables have exercised. This influence began in Sindhi so early as Muhammad Kasim's conquest of that
country in the early part of the eighth century. Mahmud of Ghaznī's numerous expeditions extended the knowledge of the sacred language of the Musulmans to all Western India in the eleventh century; and by the middle of the thirteenth, Arabic words were heard in almost every city and town. Our seven languages were then only just growing into their present shape, and Arabic words were thus woven in with their structure as it grew. The idea of Hindi or Marathi ever having been without these words, is a mere dream of Sanskritizing purists: In the most obscure corners of rural India these words are heard, and it not infrequently happens that the old Arabic term is more familiar to the masses than the grand new-fangled Sanskrit word invented by the Pandits. Thus the somewhat hybrid word, जूरिमान, jurimana, is used in the sense of "a fine," and is understood everywhere, while the newly-coined जवल्ल नु ह is not. Now in Arabic the termination ِ is distinctly feminine; in fact, it is the regular method of making feminines from masculines: thus, ضدالام, ثويبة, فریست, نُرْکُت, تُدْوِّات, and many others of the same kind being feminine, there would doubtless grow up an impression that whenever a word ended in ِ it was feminine; and as the masses know nothing and care nothing about derivation, the use of that gender would extend to all words in ِ, no matter whether of Aryan or Semitic origin. This final ِ is in Arabic often written as ُ, though still pronounced ِ: thus we may write دولت or دولت, both pronounced by Arabs dawlat. In borrowing these words, the Persians frequently pronounced the final as ُ: thus we get درجه, darjah, مَرْتَبَة, martabah, and the like. From the frequency of these words an impression would, as in the case of ِ, arise that there was something inherently feminine in final ُ, and we thus account for such words as درج, مَرْتَبَة, being feminine. In some of the languages these words having become, by usage, thoroughly feminine, have had one or other of the vowel-endings peculiar to that gender added to them, as in S. درجة and others.
With regard to the other changes, which are less easily explainable, we must, I think, have recourse to the argument that the mediaeval Aryans, before entirely doing away with any peculiarity in the structure of the ancient language, began to be careless about its use, just as in the Merovingian period in France, the Latin case-endings were used carelessly one for the other, till confusion resulted in their eventual abolition. So in the decay of gender, which has evidently taken place in the Indian group; the first step was a careless and irregular use of the genders of individual words, by which, if any one word of very common usage were feminine, a whole group of other words of similar sound would be made feminine too, and the same with any familiar masculine word.

§ 37. That the use of gender has shown signs of becoming less habitual, and gradually dying out, is undeniable. While it has died out entirely from B. and O., it is not much regarded in H. and P., and only two genders remain in S. The full range of three genders remains only in M. and G. When we cross the frontier into the territory of the Iranian languages, we find no gender at all. To ask why this is so, would be to ask a question which is virtually unanswerable. The neuter is certainly a very useless abstraction, and it is not surprising to find it the first to be thrown aside. In the modern Romance languages this has happened as much as in all the modern Aryan languages except G. and M., which have no parallel except in Modern High German. In the Indian group, the Prakrits retain all three genders; but the earliest mediaeval Hindi has only two, the masculine and feminine, and even these two are much confused. It can hardly be said that Chand deliberately means to use a neuter, when he claps on an anuswāra to a formless nominal stem to eke out his metre, or uses a word in its original Sanskrit form, as in the lines—
Here the numerous anuswāras are introduced merely to make the line scan, the metre being $u\ldots u\ldots u\ldots u\ldots u\ldots$ and a nasal is commonly doubled by prefixing anuswāra: thus यहीं is to be read as though it were written यहमस, and प्रथम as प्रथमम. Frequently, too, we find a masculine participle or adjective with a feminine noun. Thus, while in one line we have युष होत मई मूष — where मई, “she became” agrees with राजगिनि “queen” in a previous line—there occurs, a few lines below, कथा विषयी चन्द्रोह “the bride made lamentation,” where the verb is masculine, and in the next line धर्म “took,” which is also masculine, refers to the same noun कथा.¹ The same indifference to gender, even with living beings, exists occasionally throughout the poem, and it may therefore be concluded that at that age, or before it, the strict observance of the three genders of Skr. had ceased to be usual. The masculine being the most common of the two genders that remained after the disuse of the neuter, gradually absorbed the feminine in ordinary writing, unless there was any special necessity for the employment of the latter, as, for instance, in the case of living beings. While, however, the poets retain tolerably accurately the two principal genders, the people must have grown careless about them at a comparatively early date; for Nepali, whose origin as an independent language dates from A.D. 1322, has little or no cognizance of them; and the earliest Bengali and Oriya poets, who wrote in the first part of the fifteenth century, show no traces

¹ Though we may here argue that we have an instance of the objective construction, though the subject is not, as it should be with that construction, in the instrumental. It will, however, be seen from Chapter III. § 67, that the early and medieval poets regularly omit the instrumental in the objective construction.
of the feminine as attached to anything but living beings. Grammatical gender had perished in the eastern area of the seven languages, then, by the fourteenth century, leaving only natural gender, and even that but indifferently attended to.

It is not surprising that Bengali and Oriya should have lost the distinction of gender earlier than the other languages, seeing that they had so little occasion to use it. In these two languages, the participial forms of the verb, which have in the other languages usurped the place of nearly all the old-synthetic tenses, do not exist; and by their absence a great and constantly occurring necessity for the use of gender was taken away. Thus in Hindi the verb has only one synthetic or Prakritic tense remaining, namely, the indefinite present, the third person singular of which ends in ए (का = फा), as in करे "he does," and the third plural in ए, as in करें "they do." 

All the other tenses are formed by participles: as

Present करता "does," देखता "sees."
Past किया "did," देखा "saw."
Future करगा "will do," देखेगा "will see."

Although the future is not a participle, but formed by adding गा to the indefinite present, yet this गा, like the terminations of the present and future, changes its vowel for gender and number, and makes a feminine गी, pl. मे, फा. So that in all three tenses there exists a necessity for remembering the gender, so as to make the verb agree with its subject or object, according to the nature of the construction.

But in Bengali there is no such custom, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B. Aorist</th>
<th>O. Aorist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कর,</td>
<td>करर,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>करित,</td>
<td>करित,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>करिल,</td>
<td>करिल,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>करिबि or फ्रेक,</td>
<td>करिब,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

None of these tenses change their form in any way for gender,
and there is therefore no need to remember the gender of the subject; the objective construction also is fortunately unknown in these two languages.

If to this potent reason for disuse of gender we add the universal shortening of final long syllables, which led ultimately to their suppression, it will be readily understood that languages, which had no means left of marking gender, should soon cease to be aware of its existence at all, and in this respect should go even further than English. While our language retains distinct words for natural gender in the pronoun of the third person, these two do not; *he* means "he," or "she," or "it," and all the cases of this pronoun are the same throughout, as will be seen more in detail in the Chapter on the Pronouns.

Seeing how much the existence of distinctions of gender tends to make a language difficult to foreigners, it is not perhaps a mistake to regret that all the seven languages have not followed the example of these two, and got rid of gender before literature stepped in to arrest their development, and stereotype the forms they at present possess; and we may certainly set our faces against the obnoxious pedantry of some modern Bengali writers, who, in resuscitating a Sanskrit adjective, bring back with it the gender which the spoken language has long ago got rid of.
CHAPTER III.

DECLENSION.


§ 38. The modern noun in all the seven languages has the same number of cases as in Sanskrit, nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, and vocative. In Sanskrit these cases are distinguished by changes in termination, as naras, naram, narena, naraya, narat, naraecya, nare, nara. This is the fashion with the old inflectional languages—a cumbrous and somewhat clumsy system, which the human race, in its onward march, has now in many instances discarded for the simpler and more spiritual method of detached particles. In the Indian group, Hindi stands, as usual, prominently forward in this respect; while the opposite pole is represented by Sindhi, the rude and complicated speech of backward and un-
civilized desert-tribes. It is false philology to say that to Sindhi must be assigned the first place among its sister-tongues, because it “has preserved an exuberance of grammatical forms, for which its sisters may well envy it.” As well might the active rifleman of to-day, in his tight-fitting easy dress, and with his handy but deadly weapon, envy the warrior of old, staggering along under half a ton of steel armour, and with no better tools than sword and spear! As well might the modern traveller, carried at the rate of thirty miles an hour in a comfortable railway carriage, envy the ancient German plunging through the muddy forest-roads in his vast and unwieldy bullock-waggons! Nature never works backwards, but ever onwards. The granite peaks of the Himalaya are worn by rain into a thousand wrinkles, and their substance is carried by countless rivers down to the plains of India; should we call the fertile soil of the Gangetic delta the “degenerate descendant” of those ice-bound peaks? Had the languages of India, and its soil, remained to the present day frozen hard in the bonds of a rigid synthetical system, or imbedded in the granite of its hills, they would not now suffice for the daily needs of its active and versatile millions. There is no language on earth so widely spoken as English, nor is there any tongue that has so freely and fully shaken off all inflections, genders, cases, tenses, and the rest: yet who shall dare to say that the language of Shakespeare and Milton is wanting in poetry; that of Bacon, Locke, and Hamilton in precision and clearness; that of Burke and Macaulay in power or eloquence? If the words of Sanskrit have in the present day lost many of their consonants and vowels, it is because they had too many to start with; āṭh is a handier word than ashtau, and no one would care to waste his time in saying abhyantare who could express his meaning just as well by bhitar. Let us not be misled by unphilosophical talk. The modern languages are not corruptions of the Sanskrit; they are improvements on it: and those that retain the
greatest amount of its antique and elaborate forms are the least advanced of the group.

In none of the seven languages are the case-endings of Sanskrit preserved. The only trace of an inflectional or synthetic system is to be found in certain changes effected in the last syllable of some nouns, to prepare them for taking the detached particles which express the relations of case. Strictly speaking, a noun has in none of the seven languages more than four forms: the nominatives singular and plural, and the modified stem or oblique, or crude, or formative, for both numbers. Of the various names suggested for this latter case, I shall use the commonest, or oblique. The crude form of the noun is a term which I shall use when speaking of the oblique employed without particles, to signify vaguely all cases except the nominative. Of course the languages differ very much in this respect, as in all others. Oriya and Bengali have only one form for both nominative and oblique in both numbers. Hindi has an oblique form only in one class of nouns, while the rest indulge in a great many variations, whereby they gain nothing in clearness, while they lose much in simplicity and practical usefulness.

§ 39. To begin with the simplest of the group, Oriya and Bengali. Oriya has one form for all possible conditions of its noun. The case-particles, though not detached, do not affect the form of the stem. Thus, in a noun ending in mute short a, which is as much as to say, ending in a consonant, we have the declension—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. N. ghar, &quot;house,&quot;</th>
<th>Pl. ghar-mán, &quot;houses.&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ac. ghar-ku,</td>
<td>ghar-mán-kur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. ghar-ar,</td>
<td>ghar-mán-kan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. ghar-e, for</td>
<td>ghar-mán-kan-kar,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghar-re.</td>
<td>for hár-re.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In nouns ending with a vowel the result is the same. Thus,
räjä, "king," gen. rājā-r, "of a king," where the initial vowel of the particle has been sacrificed, but the stem remains untouched. So in the loc. rājā-re. The genitive, however, is the only case whose particle begins with a vowel, and consequently the only case in which any hitch can arise. Further instances are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pati, &quot;lord,&quot;</td>
<td>gen. pati-r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bahu, &quot;wife,&quot;</td>
<td>bahu-r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swāmi, &quot;master,&quot;</td>
<td>swāmi-r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāṭi, &quot;actress,&quot;</td>
<td>nāṭi-r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhū, &quot;earth,&quot;</td>
<td>bhū-r.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some pedants profess to teach that words of the type (স্বামী) shorten the i in the oblique cases, but this is a mere attempt at aping Sanakrit. The popular speech takes no heed of such refinements.

Bengali is similar to Oriya in its treatment of the stem, which it subjects to no preparatory change when used with case-affixes, though, as these affixes are different from those in use in Oriya, it is necessary to give examples. Thus, in nouns ending in a consonant, we have the following cases in which collision might occur, owing to the particles beginning with a vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. N. kukkur, &quot;dog.&quot;</th>
<th>Pl. kukkur-er.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G. kukkur-er.</td>
<td>kukkur-er diger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. kukkur-re</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er kukkur-ere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the plural, however, it is more usual to add a word denoting plurality, as will be shown hereafter, to which the case-particles are affixed. The form of the plural in -er is generally restricted to words descriptive of human beings, as santānerā, "sons."

Words which end in vowels retain the form of the nominative stem throughout, and avoid collision by eliding the initial vowel
of the particle, just as in Oriya, though—owing to the very unsettled character of the language, which has not yet made up its mind which of its varying forms it will regard as the classical, or generally to be adopted—some difference of practice is observable among good speakers and writers. I follow the guidance of Shamacharan Sirkar, who, however, like most learned Bengalis, leans rather too decidedly to the Sanskrit and high-flown side of his language, though he is practical enough to notice most of the peculiarities of the spoken language. Thus—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. Nom. ghorā, &quot;horse,&quot;</th>
<th>Pl. N. ghorā-gaṣ, etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G. ghorā-r.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. ghorā-s.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ghorā-y.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further examples are—

| nārī, "woman,"         | G. nārī-r,           | N. Pl. nārī-rā. |
| jan, "lac,"            | G. jan-r.            |                |

Very frequently the plural signs are entirely omitted, and the fact of plurality left to be inferred from the context. In Old Bengali, instead of eliding the initial vowel of the case particle, collision is avoided by inserting ꝏ. This letter is not pronounced, but acts as a fulcrum merely. Thus the G. of ꝏ "lac," would be written ꝏتكنولوج, or in its own characters ꝕניג, the dot under the ꝏ indicating that it is to be softly pronounced, and not, as usual, like ꝝ. For instance, in Kabi Kankan’s Chāndī, where the merchant’s wife Khullānā is subjected to the ordeal of being burnt in a house built of lac and other inflammable substances, Vishwakarman builds for the purpose—

जोयेर आङ्कङ्क जोयेर पांडङ्क जोयेर कपाट
jan’er ārā, jan’er pārī, jan’er kapāṭ.
Beams of lac, rafters of lac, doors of lac.
§ 40. Hindi, with which in all important respects agrees Panjabi, comes next in respect of simplicity. All nouns ending in a consonant remain unchanged throughout. The only class in which any change takes place is that of nouns in a, when derived from Skr. nouns in -as, through the intermediate forms au and o. Nouns of this class form their oblique singular and nom. pl. in e. As Sing. N. चाटा “son,” Obl. चाटे, N. Pl. चाटे.
The oblique pl. is in Old-Hindi ari or ar, in Modern-Hindi -on.
Thus—

| Sing. N. | घोड़ा “horse.” | N. Pl. घोड़े। |
| Obl. घोड़े। | Obl. घोड़े। |

To this oblique form are added the case-particles, as घोड़े को “to a horse,” घोड़े को “to horses.” Exempted from this rule are those nouns in a derived from Skr. nouns whose nom. is already a; as राजा “king,” दाता “giver;” these do not change in the singular oblique, or nom. pl.; thus they say राजा को “to a king,” दाता “givers.” The rule is carelessly kept in old writers, and even in the present day among the peasantry one may often hear घोड़ा को; moreover, the neglect of the plural is very common, and it is colloquially more usual to employ the singular, as चीं घोड़ा “twenty horses.” Instances of neglect of the rule in Old-Hindi poets are these—

तिदि च्या ज्यायी कही ॥ च्या मांहि पनम ॥
“At that time came somehow Into the tent a snake.”—Chand, i. 246.

Where we should expect च्ये।। A similar passage is

राज आए च्या मधिल ॥
“The king came into his tent.”—Chand, i. 194.

And in the Bhaktamalā occur कटोरा भे “in the cup,” चरिका वे “of the boy” (Namdev).

The feminine noun in i undergoes no change in the oblique singular; in the plural the inflection of plurality is appended to
the simple unchanged stem, as चेती बो “to a daughter,” चेतीभो बो “to daughters.” No other preparation of the stem occurs in Hindi, which is thus, except in the one instance of nouns in ध, as simple as Bengali or Oriya. Panjabi retains unchanged all nouns ending in a consonant; those which end in a vowel are treated much as in Hindi. Thus—

N. Sing. मुंडा “boy.” | Pl. N. मुंडे.
Obl. मुंडे. | Obl. मुंडियाँ.

So also in words which have anuswāra over the final ध; as

N. Sing. बाणिज्या “trader.” | N. Pl. बाणिज्य.
Obl. बाणिज्ये. | Obl. बाणिज्या.

Panjabi has no fear of the hiatus, any more than Hindi has, and even in nouns where the final ध is preceded by a vowel, it makes no effort to prevent collision; one instance in point is the word last quoted, another is परखड़ा “a trier,” obl. परखड़े parakhaue, pl. n. the same, and pl. oblique परखड़ेए parakhaiden! where no less than four vowels follow one another. It would not be inaccurate, however, though unusual, to write परखड़ाए, thus avoiding the hiatus altogether. Still, a few words, ending in ठ and ठ, change that letter to ठ before the termination of the oblique plural; but even this is optional, and in a language so split up into dialects as Panjabi, no hard and fast rule can be laid down. पित “father,” writes the oblique pl. पितां नु “to fathers;” काँड “crow,” कांडां नु “to crows;” माँद “mother,” माँदां नु “to mothers;” but पितां “father,” कांडां “crow,” are also heard in some districts.

There is nothing more to be said about these two languages at present.

§ 41. Gujarati is older in form than Hindi, and is in fact little more than an archaic dialect of that language, brought by the Chālukya Rājputs into the peninsula of Kāthiāwād, and there iso-
lated and cut off from the other Hindi dialects, and thus gradually
developed into a separate language, retaining antique forms which
have dropped out of use in the parent speech. Its grammatical
formations are consequently more complicated than those of
Hindi, and in respect of the preparation of the stem it exhibits
special peculiarities. Nouns ending in a consonant (i.e. mute a)
in this language have more than one form, but the oblique form
is not universally applied. In some cases the case-particles are
affixed to the direct or nominative form, in others to the oblique;
the accusative and dative (which are really only two different
branches of one case, the objective) and the genitive affix their
case-particles to the direct form; the instrumental, locative, and
ablative use both the direct and oblique forms. Thus from देव
"a god," there come

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>देव मे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>देव नौ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inst.</td>
<td>देव घी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>देव घी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>देव मार</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The oblique form is the same as the nom.; but there is also
an oblique in e, as देव, of which more will be said in a subse-
quent section; this form alone is used as an instrumental and a
locative; but both these cases ordinarily take case-particles to
define their meaning more sharply; in which case we sometimes
find the direct, and sometimes the oblique stem used; thus, abl.
देव घी and देवे घी, instr. देवे करीने, id. It will be pointed out
in its proper place that Gujarati is fond of heaping up pleonastic
case-particles, this is one instance: देवे, already bearing the
meaning "by a god," the form देवे घी is pleonastic, but is
utilized to express a slightly different shade of meaning. The
result in Gujarati is a striking proof of the essential unity of all
the languages in the group, the termination e running through
them all in a singularly homogeneous way. It would be strictly
correct to say, that in nouns with a consonantal ending,
Gujarati, like its parent Hindi, has no separate form for
the oblique, the form in e, which has now crept into use,
being, as will be shown presently, an old case-ending, or
rather two separate case-endings confused together. The plural
of nouns of this class is formed by o, as देवो "gods;" to this
the ending in e is added, as देवोजे, but only in the instrumental
and locative.

Masculine nouns in o, corresponding to ह. in ओ, from Skr.
a-stems, have three forms for the singular; the nominative in o,
the purely oblique in ओ, and the instrumental-locative in e,
thus—

1. Sing. Nom. दाहाडो "day."
2. Objective दाहाडा ओ.

But the instrumental and ablative append their case-endings
to both 2 and 3, as दाहाडा ओ and दाहाडे ओ. The genitive
uses only 2, as दाहाडा ओ; and the locative, when it takes the
case-ending, uses 2; when not, it uses 3: thus we have both
दाहाडा ओ and दाहाडे for "in a day." Strangely, too, the
instr. sometimes adds its e to form 2, and appears as दाहाडाए.
The plural of this form is regularly ओ, as दाहाडा ओ "days;" but
this appears to have been felt too vague, and in modern times
an o has been added, which brings the plural of this form into
homogeneity with the plural of consonantal nouns; thus it is
now spoken दाहाडाचो, to which latter forms case-endings are
affixed. Here, again, the instrumental adds its e to the fuller
form, giving a string of vowels, as दाहाडाचोए dāhāḍāce, "by
days." Precisely similar in all but the nominative is the
corresponding neuter noun in ओ; thus, मोहोडे "a face," pl.
mोहोडा, where the anusvāra alone differentiates it from the
masc.; the modern form with o, however, drops the anusvāra,
and is thus identical with the masc., as in मोहोडाचो. Nouns
ending in all other vowels, including o, when it is not derived from Skr. bases in -as, add the es and os to the final vowel, without making any phonetic combinations. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pati, &quot;lord,&quot;</td>
<td>patie,</td>
<td>patio,</td>
<td>patieo,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nadi, &quot;river,&quot;</td>
<td>nadioe,</td>
<td>nadio,</td>
<td>nadioe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vastu, &quot;thing,&quot;</td>
<td>vastue,</td>
<td>vastuo,</td>
<td>vastueo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vahö, &quot;wife,&quot;</td>
<td>vahöe,</td>
<td>vahöe,</td>
<td>vahöe, or vahönee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chho, &quot;mortar,&quot;</td>
<td>chhoer,</td>
<td>chhoë,</td>
<td>chhoëe.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The spelling of Gujarati is still very unfixed, and the fulcrum य is often used, as in Bengali, where vowels come together, and has no effect on the pronunciation, पतिए and पतिचे are written indifferently.

Marathi, which comes next, is in every respect a complicated language, having been unable to work itself free from that maze of forms and terminations which an ancient synthetical language always leaves behind it. In the matter we are now discussing, its usual ill-luck follows it, and the student is irritated by the variety of the changes he encounters. In addition to special forms for the locative and instrumental, it has the regular four forms, the two nominatives and two obliques, and is, moreover, encumbered with three genders. The variations in the oblique, which is also the crude form, are divided by grammarians into six classes, a division which will be followed here, though it is not quite free from exception. There is some want of fixity in Marathi in this point, and authors are not quite at one as regards the forms to be used in some nouns.

(1). Masculine and neuter nouns ending in mute o, lengthen that vowel in the oblique form of the singular; masculines

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1 No distinction is ordinarily made in o between long and short o or u. In fact, the ordinary current hand has not distinct characters for the two sounds.
have the same form for pl. nom. as for sing., while neuters add ऋ; the oblique plural in both cases is formed by ऋ. Thus we have—

**Masculine.**

N. Sing. बाप “father,” N. Pl. बाप। घर “house,” घरें।
Obl. बापा। Obl. बापों। घरा। घरों।

Similar to this class is that of nouns in र and ऋ, which lengthen their respective vowels; all three genders are treated in the same way.

N. Sing. कवि “poet,” N. Pl. कवि। N. Sing. मधु “honey,” N. Pl. मधु।
Obl. कवी। Obl. कवों। Obl. मधू। Obl. मधु।

The three short vowels are so far perfectly homogeneous in their treatment.

(2). Feminines in short ए, such as the words given in § 11, where the short ए has arisen from shortening the long ए of a Skr. fem., form their oblique sing. in ए, their pl. nom. in ए, and pl. oblique in ए; and words of the same class, which have retained their original long ए, are formed in the same way. Thus शी “tongue,” and माता “mother,” differ only in the nominative singular.

N. Sing. शी “tongue,” N. Pl. शी। N. Sing. माता, N. Pl. माता।
Obl. शी। Obl. शी। Obl. मात। Obl. मात।

(3). These same feminines in short ए, however, exercise the feminine privilege of not knowing their own minds; for while some take ए in the oblique, others take ऐ, and a large number vacillate between the two.

N. Sing. आग “fire,” N. Pl. आग।
Obl. आग। Obl. आग।

पांक “a slice,” has पांकीला and पांकिला “to a slice;” चीफ “offence,” चीड़ला and चीड़ोला।
(4). Long vowels follow the same general principle as the short ones; their vowel being already long, no further change takes place in the oblique singular. The formation of the plural is multiform, and will be discussed in a separate section; the oblique plural, like that of class I, only differs from the singular by the addition of anuswára in nouns ending in ə; in other cases anuswára is added to the form of the nom. plural, which is a recrudescence of the vowel of the singular into its semivowel, effected by the addition of ə.

N. Sing. बाबा "father," Obl. बाबा. N. Pl. बाबा, Obl. बाबां.
- गाडी "cart," गाडी. गाड्या. गाड्यां.
- सामूध "mother-in-law," सामू. सामवा. सामवां.
- बायको "woman," बायको. बायका. बायकां.

This may be considered the typical method of treating nouns ending in a long vowel, but there are yet two other processes.

(5). A few words ending in ज and झ masc. and neut., and all diminutives in छ and भू, have a way of their own. They reject the labial vowel, and form the oblique sing. in ə, pl. अं. Masculines have the same form for both nominatives, neuters having the invariable neuter pl. in अं.

N. Sing. वाटसं "traveller," Obl. वाटसरा, N. Pl. वाटसं, Obl. वाटसरां.
- तू "pony," तू. तू. तूं. तूँ.

(6). Lastly, as if purposely to complicate their language, the Marathas have a totally different method of treating nouns of all three genders ending in long vowels, as well as those neutrals which end in an anuswára. The process here adopted is the hardening of the final vowel into its semivowel—अ in this case having no semivowel of its own, takes अ—and affixing to
the secondary stem so formed the masculine oblique termination \( \delta \) for masc. and neuter nouns, and the fem. \( e \) for fem. nouns. This class, however, is not well fixed, for many masculine words in it may optionally form their oblique as in class 4, and the feminines as in classes 2 and 3. Thus विडू "a scorpion," \( m. \), may in the dative form be विडू or विडू. The fem. सामू may either make as above सामू, or under this rule सामू. There are even some words which are spoken in three ways: thus नातू "grandson," \( m. \), नातू, नातू, and नातू. चंभ "tear," चंभ, चंभ, चंभ.

Types of this class are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBL.</th>
<th>N. PL.</th>
<th>OBL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>शोभा</td>
<td>सोभा, सोभा, सोभा</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रोमी</td>
<td>रोभा, रोभा, रोभा</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>माझी &quot;gardener,&quot;</td>
<td>माझ्या, माझ्या, माझ्या</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जक &quot;leech&quot; (f.),</td>
<td>जक्या, जक्या, जक्या</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>माझ &quot;brother&quot; (m.),</td>
<td>माझा, माझा, माझा</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exceptional is बी "woman," making Obl. श्वी; N. Pl. श्वी. Obl. श्वी. The above are all the forms in use in Marathi, and in this last class it must be noted that polysyllabic nouns in \( \delta \) do not join the \( s \) arising therefrom to the preceding consonant, but keep a short \( \delta \) between; thus, तानेख "ship," तानेख, not तानेख; also that monosyllables in \( \delta \), not only change that vowel to व, but still retain the vowel, though shortened, as मु "needle," मु. तानेख.

We now pass on to Sindhi, in which language we have the good fortune of being able to avail ourselves of the inestimable labours of that sound scholar, Dr. Trumpp, whose grammar of Sindhi is the only grammar of any of our seven languages which has as yet been written on correct philological principles. In the following abstract I work entirely from Dr. Trumpp's materials, though I have altered his arrangement slightly in
order to bring it into harmony with that followed in respect of the other languages. Sindhi has, like Gujarati, the locative in e, as रेण “in a country” (Skr. रेण). It has, besides, the usual four forms, to wit, the two nominatives and two obliques; as in Marathi.

(I). The consonantal ending or mute ə of the other languages is represented in Sindhi by u for the masc., and a or i for the fem. Nouns in u have the following scheme of forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. Sing.</th>
<th>N. Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>द्रास् “slave.”</td>
<td>द्रास्य.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>द्राण.</td>
<td>द्रास्य, द्राण, द्रास्ति.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where the final u is preceded by a, the semivowel is inserted to prevent hiatus; it is also inserted after शं and optionally after other vowels, except i or i.

| रूड “weed,” Obl. रूप. | रूड “demon,” Obl. रूष्ण or रूष्ण. |
| शोढ “dish,” शोढ. | शोढ “mound,” शोढ. |
| वांड “wind,” वांड or वांड. | वोढ “meadow,” वोढ. |

Nouns which end in short ə, derived from other sources than the Skr. a-stem, remain unaltered in the oblique singular, and in the oblique plural either follow the nom. plur. or sing. The words of this class are chiefly, if not entirely, the old words of relationship, which in the formation of the plural follow the Prakrit system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>पिछ “father,” पिछ.</td>
<td>पिछ.</td>
<td>पितर.</td>
<td>पितर or पितरपितर.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>माड “brother,” माड.</td>
<td>मांड.</td>
<td>मांड.</td>
<td>मृजो or मृजोमृजो.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मेंक “sister,” मेंक.</td>
<td>मेंक.</td>
<td>मृजो or मृजोमृजो, मृजो or मृजोमृजो.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the feminines in u the vowel is shortened in the oblique plural, as—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. Sing.</th>
<th>N. Pl.</th>
<th>Obl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>समु “mother-in-law,” समु.</td>
<td>समु, समु or समुसमु.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विजु “lightning,” विजु.</td>
<td>विजु.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(2). Nouns in short o, which is always fem., do not change for the oblique sing.; their oblique pl. is given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. SING.</th>
<th>Obl.</th>
<th>N. PL.</th>
<th>Obl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>काम्</td>
<td>काम्</td>
<td>कामू or कामा</td>
<td>कामिन्य or कामुनिन्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सध्</td>
<td>सध्</td>
<td>सधू or सधा</td>
<td>सधेः or सधूनि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And the same holds good of nouns in short i, both masc. and fem., the only peculiarity being that masc. nouns use the older and longer form in रूङ्ग exclusively, as बेहरि "lion," obl. pl. बेहरिनिन.

(3). The termination o, corresponding to the अ of Hindi and the other languages, modulates into e for the oblique singular, and de, ëe, or mi for the plural; thus—

N. S. मात्र "head," Obl. मत्रे, N. Pl. मात्रा, Obl. मत्री, मत्रे, मत्रनि.

When this final o is preceded by अ or आ, it inserts e, to prevent hiatus, but not when preceded by other vowels.

(4). The other long vowels may be grouped together, as below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>जा</th>
<th>N. Sing.</th>
<th>जाय, Old.</th>
<th>जाय</th>
<th>N. Pl.</th>
<th>जायाणि, Old.</th>
<th>जायाणिनि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| "command,"
| शृ | मानी, मानिच, मानी, मालिचाय, "and," |
| ग्र | वाणि, वाणिज्य, वाणि, वाणिज्ञि, वाणि |
| यू | "crocodile,"

When the anuswāra precedes the final vowel, it is retained in the oblique forms also.

§ 42. The following table exhibits the whole of the typical terminations of the nominal stem in all the languages except Bengali and Oriya; these two languages having no change of the stem need not be included:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
<th>PANTH.</th>
<th>GUJARAT.</th>
<th>MARATH.</th>
<th>SINDH.</th>
<th>M.F. N.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. Pl.</td>
<td>O. Pl.</td>
<td>O. Pl.</td>
<td>O. Pl.</td>
<td>O. Pl.</td>
<td>O. Pl.</td>
<td>O. Pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case</td>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>न.</td>
<td>न.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.</td>
<td>ओ.</td>
<td>ओ.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>ग.</td>
<td>ग.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part.</td>
<td>प.</td>
<td>प.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For want of space, the numerous variations of the plural form which have been given in the previous section, where the reader can turn to find them.
From this table, which is designed to show merely the leading and typical terminations of each language, are purposely left out all rare or exceptional forms, such as the small handful of words ending in e, not derived from a-stems, a few in e and ai, and the like.

§ 43. Before entering upon the attempt to explain and account for the manifold variations of the oblique form of the noun, it is necessary first to exhibit the system of forming the plural. The terminations of the nominative of the plural have been given along with those of the oblique in the foregoing sections, but nothing has been said in explanation of them.

In respect of the plural this group of languages may be divided into two classes: first, those which form their plural always in one unchanging way; and, secondly, those which have more than one way of forming it. In the latter class stand Marathi and Sindhi, in the former all the rest.

Of the former, or uniform languages, the simplest are, as usual, Oriya and Bengali. Oriya formerly made its plural by adding e, as kumār, “boy,” pl. kumāre. This plural is still found in poetry. Thus Dinkrishna (A.D. 1520) writes of Krishna and Balarāma—

कुमार कुमार जे कुमारे रोटित।
कुमारकंद नंदे हैं निरोटित।

“When the children weep with wailing cry,
They easily surpass the song of the Kokila.”
—Ranakalola, ill. 110.

And again—

कर्ण तेह ग्रन सधु जन।
कुमारंध जनमले कबे हन।

“Giving ear, listen, O virtuous men!
Some days after the children were born.”—-id. iv. 1.

—where kumāre, jāne, and dīne are the nominatives plural of kumār, jān, and dīn respectively. This form, however, was
probably found too indistinct, and was liable to be confounded
with the instrumental and locative singular. A noun of multi-
tude was therefore adopted; and the word selected was सांस
"measure," a word already in use in isolated expressions, such
as दिनसांस "daily," in other languages. A distinction is made
in the use of this word between animate and inanimate objects;
thus they say बलाद "ox," pl. बलादांने; पडिसा "neighbour;"
pl. पडिसांमाणे; but जाध "net," pl. जाधांमाण; भार "a load;"
pl. भारांमाण. The e indicative of the plural is here retained,
but tucked on to the plural sign माण, only in the case of living
beings; it is omitted in the case of inanimate objects. The
case-particles are affixed to a form माणे; thus the genitive sign
is माणेकर, now-a-days often, but erroneously, written माणकर.
The Oriya language is absolutely and undeviatingly regular in
its way of forming the plural, the method above described is
the only one in use, and the language does not contain a single
exception.

Bengali has more than one way of expressing the plural, but
I reckon it among the uniform languages because of the methods
in use. only one is a true plural; the others are periphrases or
compounds of two words, and not, strictly speaking, plurals at
all. The regular form of the Bengali plural is ওরা orা; the
initial letter of which is elided when it follows a noun ending
in a vowel. It is not unfrequently elided, even when attached
to nouns ending in mute a. This form of the plural is now
in practice restricted to rational beings, and even in their case
the periphrastic plural has gradually come to be used. Ex-
amples of the true plural are—

पुरुष "man,"  Pl. पुरुषार or पुरुषार.
बालक "boy,"  .. बालकार or बालकार.
राजा "king;"  .. राजारार.
मारी "woman;"  .. मारीरा.

Sometimes a form simply in e, as in Oriya, is used for the
plural, as लोकः "people." This is the genuine old plural, of which एकः is the modern representative. The periphrastic plur. is formed by adding to the singular some word indicative of multitude. The words so employed are the following: गणम "multitude," वर्ग "class," सम्राज, समस्त, सब, "all," समूह "whole," गुण, गुणा, गुणिः or गुणिन्, "number." Of these गणम, वर्ग, and perhaps समूह, are more commonly used with rational beings, the others with irrational or inanimate things, and गुण is familiar. Thus they would say, घोड़ा सम्राज "horses," किशोर गुणिः "children, brats." When these words are used to form the plural, they take the case-particles and endings, leaving the noun quite uninfluenced, thus—

N. Sing. कुकुर "dog." N. Pl. कुकुर समूह "dogs."
G. ... कुकुर समूहर "of dogs."
Obj. कुकुर समूहक "dogs," "to dogs."
Instr. कुकुर समूह द्वारा "by dogs."
Abl. कुकुर समूह होते "from dogs," etc.

And even in words which use the true, and not the periphrastic plural, all cases but the nominative preserve the noun itself from change by inserting द्वार "side;" thus—

N. Sing. देवता "god," N. Pl. देवतारा "gods."
G. देवतादिशे, or shortened देव "of gods."
Old. देवतादिशीक "to gods," etc.

Lastly, Bengali being in the verb careless of plural forms, it is idiomatic to use simply the singular for the plural, leaving the hearer to understand what is meant by the context. This is especially the case where a numeral is included in the sentence, as हाड़ि ५ बृद्धि एই इতi बाँटिः आणि अख्त मका जातिः अन्य भाषा: Hāri o Muchi ei doi jāti pryā anya sakal jātiv anna khāy, "Haris and Muchis, these two castes eat the food of almost all the other castes." Here, though the sense is clearly plural, the whole sentence is actually singular, and would literally be ren-
dered, "Hari and Muchi, this two caste almost of all other caste the food eat." An interesting example of this peculiarity may be adduced from Bharat Chandra's well-known poem, the "Bidyā Sundar," where he is describing the strange nations collected in the fort of Bardwan (A.D. 1740).

"In the first fort is the dwelling of the black-coat
Ingrāj, Olandāj, Firingi, Farās,
Dinmār, Elemān, practises artillery,
Wanderer various goods brings in ship."

The whole of these nouns are, of course, in meaning plural, but in form singular, agreeing with the singular verbs kare and ânaye. The passage, like all genuine Bengali, has a large sprinkling of Persian words, as जहाज, सफन, गोल अदार, जहाज.

Hindi forms its plural very simply, with its usual practical common sense. Nouns with consonantal ending have the nom. pl. and sing. alike, as बालक "boy," nom. pl. बालक "boya." The oblique plural is in Old-Hindi formed by जन, which modulates into जन and जन्न. In the modern language this becomes जन. Feminines ending in a consonant form the nom. pl. in ए, as रात "night," nom. pl. रात. Nouns ending in a masc., from the Skr. a-stem, make their plural in ए, and the corresponding fem. in ी becomes ए. Thus—

मांडका "boy," N. Pl. मांडकी, Obl. मांडक़ी.
मांडकी "girl," .. मांडकीया, .. मांडकीयां.

*These nations are ourselves and our European neighbours, who were known then, as now, to the Bengalis by their French names, the French being in those days the most important of the foreign settlers. Thus, Ingrāj is "Anglia," or English; Olandāj, "Hollandia," Dutch; Firingi are the Portuguese, and Farās, "Français;" Dinmār is a corruption of Denmark, and Elemān are "Allemands," or German.*
In Old-Hindi the nom. pl. fem. was री, as पीची "book," nom. pl. पीची; this form is still preserved in the participle. These few forms are all that Hindi finds necessary to express ideas, while Marathi and Sindhi have not had the skill to reduce their working apparatus into one or two plain homogeneous classes.

Punjabi is also quite uniform and simple in its plural. Nouns ending in a form the nom. pl. in e, all others have the two nominatives identical. An exception is made by a small class typified by माँ "mother," which forms its plural मायो, though माँ would not be wrong for the plural.

Gujarati is extremely uniform, simply adding o to the singular of all nouns of every description. In nouns ending in o, from the Sanskr. o-stem, this o becomes in the plural nom. 4, and this was originally the only plural termination for nouns of this stem. But o having become the general type of the plural for all other stems, the popular feeling could not rest content with an anomaly; the plurals in a were not felt to be true plurals so long as they lacked the universal plural sign o, and this was accordingly tacked on; so that we now hear छोकरो "boy," pl. छोकरो: and neuters of this class, which formerly made their plural in ओ, now also take an additional ओ, as रूं "egg," nom. pl. रूं.

§ 44. Marathi plurals are multiform, but need not be given here, as they have already been shown in the last section. The plurals of Sindhi, however, which are also multiform, require to be drawn out more in detail. Trumpp exhibits seven classes, which are here given.

1. Nouns in ड masc. form N. Pl. in च as छूँ "a well," N. Pl. छूँ (Skr. कूँ).
   1. ड fem. .. .. ढ "वच "thing." .. वच (Skr. वच).  
2. चौ (चौ) .. .. चा "वाढो "carpenter," N. Pl. चाढा (Skr. वाढ).
3. Nouns in ज (के) { fem. form नी मा. Pl. in जे विषू “scorpion,” N. Pl. विषू स्क्री (Skr. विषू).}

4. आ “आच “हुआ “murther,” N. Pl. हुआ (Skr. हुआ).

5. च “चै or च “तर “nostril,” N. Pl. तर हुआ or तरारः.

6. दे (दे) { masc. are un- changed in pl. “वेदी “servant,” “वेदी.

7. दे (दे) { fem. form देवी, दु “रावी “slave girl,” N. P. रोही, रावी.

There are a few exceptions, or rather words which preserve a Prakritic method of forming their plural, and these will be noticed in the next section.

§ 45. Having now given the facts as regards the plural and oblique forms, we may attempt to trace their origin, and the steps by which they arrived at their present condition. In doing this we naturally look to the Prakrits, rather than to Sanskrit, because these modern languages are in reality developments of the Prakrits, or common colloquial speech of ancient India; and although in the matter of phonetic they have been subjected to influences alien to those which prevailed over the Prakrits, yet in the present instances they are almost strictly Prakritic. In fact, these modifications of the stem, to fit it to assume case-particles, are nothing more than relics of the old case-endings of the early Aryan speech, which have been so reduced by use, that what remains of them no longer suffices to indicate the case-relations clearly, and particles have to be called in for the purpose.

A remarkable family likeness runs through all the plurals
of the uniform languages, and extends to a certain extent into the multiform languages. The difference between the two classes is this, that while the former have selected for use one or two Prakrit forms only, and have applied them to all kinds of stems indifferently, the latter have taken the separate Prakrit form for each stem. In this respect these latter are decidedly behind their comrades, and it may be suspected, and indeed partially proved, that Hindi and Gujarati have centuries ago passed through the stage in which Marathi and Sindi still remain; though, from the oft-lamented absence of literary monuments prior to Chand (A.D. 1200), we are unable to trace the steps more than by few and faint indications.

The most widely used form of Sanskrit noun is the a-stem; this forms in the nom. plural masc. and fem. ḍā, neut. ḍāi. The ḍā of the masc. and fem. is in many of the Prakrit dialects changed into e; this change rests upon the tendency to break down ā into e, already discussed in Vol. I. p. 137. In those Prakrit dialects which received most literary cultivation, the Maharashtri and Magadhi, the pl. masc. ends in ā; this ending has been preserved by G. and S. as the plural of masculine nouns in a; as G. माछे, nom. pl. माछा (modern माछाचे), S. मध. The ending in e has been adopted by H. P., and, in some cases, by M. also; as H. P. पैठे, nom. pl. पैठे. In the case of masculines in ā, Marathi has both forms, that in ā and that in e. Of these two, however, the latter is the regular form, and the former is only found in a few peculiar terms of respect and the like, as बाबा "father," nom. pl. बाबा, where we cannot ascribe the word to a Sanskrit a-stem, but must regard it rather as an onomatopoetic or fanciful formation. The retention of the ā in the nom. pl. of B. and O. is not attributable to the Skr., but is simply due to the general tendency of those languages to reject all sign of plurality in favour of the periphrastic construction with मण, or माण, already described.

The special Bengali plural in erā divides itself into two parts:
the first of which, े, is the old plural form of nouns ending in mute ा; and the second, रा, by the fact of its being confined to living beings which possess a distinct individuality, as contrasted with inanimate objects, connects itself with the reduplicated plural of personal pronouns, as अमरा “we,” तमरा “ye.” The origin of this form will be searched out in the Chapter on Pronouns. It is sufficient in this place to note that this ending, by origin a pronominal one, has passed over to a certain class of nouns, and that it is in this latter usage of modern date, not being found in the oldest literary documents of the language. So modern is it, that in the form रा we have really a double plural, the old ending in े having lost its sense of plurality in the popular mind before the रा was added.

The general preference of the lower kinds of Prakrit, and after them of several of the modern languages, for the form of the masc. pl. in े, rests, in my opinion, on the fact that even in Skr. this is the regular form for the class of pronominal adjectives, as सब: “all,” nom. pl. सब. It is admitted that this method of declension represents an older and more genuine form of the a-stem; and it is in keeping with the general peculiarities of these languages to suppose that they derived their forms from the ancient Aryan language, and left on one side the modifications introduced into classical Sanskrit.

Next comes the neuter plural, which is of special importance, because it has usurped in many cases the functions of all other plurals. In Skr. it ends in ०, as धनि “wealth,” nom. pl. धनानि. In Prakrit this form becomes ति or दिन, as धनारि or धनारि: “usus addit nasalem,” says Lassen, p. 307, but it seems more likely that the nasal is a relic of the न of the Skr. धनि, and it would be more correct to regard the form धनि as the older of the two, and to say of the other form “usus omittit nasalem.” As early as the scenic Prakrit this form has passed over to the masculine, and we find दनारि as pl. of the masc. दनो. In Old-Hindi, the universal form of the pl. for all genders pre-
serves the Sanskrit form better than Prakrit does, by writing बलि; as नरि “men,” बलि “words.” At a later stage the final ि is rejected, and the form becomes भाग, as वालि “boys.” The language, however, does not feel the need of any sign to distinguish the nom. pl. from the sing.; and this termination, which, as will be pointed out later on, has become fused into one with that of the genitive in दानी, has remained in use only in the oblique cases, to which the Middle-Hindi adds an ह, making the termination वानह. Thus in Tulsi Das we have (A.D. 1650) regularly such plural forms as ब्राह्मणह “wrestling-places,” महति “some,” गरुङ्गह “feet.” The Middle-Hindi poets use all three forms side by side; thus in the same page one sees भक्ति “devotees,” ऊष्मारह “youths,” and गरुङ्ग “houses.” Only in the fem. of words with a consonantal ending is the Prakrit form in use. Thus from चारे with anuswāra we get the Old-Hindi form in चान as चालि “nights,” from which comes the modern form राति. The masculines of this form do not change in the plural, and the retention of this ending for the fem. is probably due to a desire to mark the difference of gender. Although the ending चारे is, as we have seen, neuter, yet Hindi has lost the neuter; and this ending had even in Prakrit got loose from the neuter, and was used for all genders, so that its application to the fem. in Hindi is not surprising. Marathi is more exact in using ढ, which is contracted from चारे, as a neuter, thus preserving the original gender. This ढ is used for the nom. pl. of neuters of the consonantal noun, as well as those which end in र and ल, which harden the final vowel of the stem into the corresponding semivowel before this termination, as मोति “pearl,” pl. मोजि; तार् “ship,” pl. तारि or तारो; in the case of neuters of the त-stem, which already in the singular end in द, the plural does not shorten the Pr. तारे into ते, but, rejecting the first vowel, makes the द long, and writes द, as तेंति “plantain,” pl. तेंडो. The same process takes place in Panjabi after feminines in long ध, as धला “calamity,” pl. धलाई or धलाई.
Gujarati has adopted one, and that the most common, of the Prakrit plural forms for other than o-stems, and simply adds थो to all stems without exception, even to the class ending in o, which already had made its plural in o, so that it now becomes do, as noted above.

In the same way as it retains द्र as the termination of feminines which end in a consonant, so Hindi uses the Pr. form चार in another way after feminines in long त and ॐ. Thus चार “daughter,” pl. चारिया: वा “wife,” pl. वा, where the final in has been dropped, and the anuswāra carried back to the i. The same takes place in Panjabi, as धी “daughter,” nom. pl. धी, and is extended also to feminines of the consonantal ending, as नाग “a word,” nom. pl. नाग. Chand uses this form also with masculines and neuters, with च or व inserted to prevent hiatus, and, with his customary disregard of quantity, often makes the short: thus we see गुरु “spiritual guides,” गुजव “pots.” To be connected with this is, I suspect, his not uncommon practice of adding बन, as राम “breasts,” गुराग “gurus,” गोताग “observances;” but the passages in which these forms occur are so obscure, that it is difficult to pronounce a decided opinion. It is clearly a plural, however, in the following:

महायान रत्न द्रव्यान वंध॥

“Addicted to great sin, blinded by riches.”—I. 137.

There remains to be deciphered the mystery of the multiform plurals in M. and S. In the former the consonantly ending noun, if masc., undergoes no change; when fem., however, it has two methods, it either makes त or त। This arises from the fact, that fem. nouns of this type are shortened either from fem. nouns in त or त in Skr. Thus बोम “tongue,” from Skr. सोम, pl. सोम; makes its pl. accordingly सोमा; but बाम “fire,” from Skr. बृम, Prakrit प्रम, pl. प्रमी, simply rejects the final ओ of Pr., and takes for its plural प्रमी। In declining
words of this type in M., it is therefore always necessary to go back to the original, either in Skr. or Pr., in order to ascertain which vowel has been rejected, and thus to know how to form the plural,—a difficult process, which the more advanced languages avoid by simply having one termination for all classes. Even to the natives of the province who have spoken this crabbed language all their lives, this practice causes difficulties; for the grammarians give a long list of words which may be formed in both ways, though, from not knowing the real reason of the co-existence of the two forms, they are unable to pronounce which of the two is correct. Nouns in short र and व of all three genders make no change in the plural, being rare in the vulgar speech, and consequently not the subject of any regular development from Prakrit. Masculines, except those in ए, do not change in the plural. This is a practice which seems to run through all the languages to a greater or less degree, as has been remarked under Hindi; and all neuters of whatever class have a tendency towards ए or its prolonged form ए. Finally, feminines in र and ढ form their plurals in या and वा respectively, in which we may see the Prakrit plural ending ओ changed into ए, as in Hindi singulars. Prakrit, however, does not dislike the hiatus; it makes plurals देवीचो, वहयो, from singulars देवी, वह, where Marathi hardens the stem-vowel into its semivowel, and uses देवा, वहा.

Sindhi is quite as multiform, though less irregular than Marathi. The masc. in व, corresponding to the consonantly terminated noun of the other languages, forms its nom. pl. in ए, shortened from the Prakrit pl. of nouns in ओ whose plural ends in ए, as वण्डो, pl. वण्डा. Trumpp (p. 105) points out very justly, that as the singular ending in व is shortened from Pr. ो, it is consistent that the plural form should be shortened also; though I cannot agree with him in thinking that the Hindi and P. have done the same, as Old-H. makes the nom. pl. of this class in अमि, which has been subsequently rejected, and which,
as we have already shown, is derived from the Skr. neut. pl. in चारी. The feminines of this class ending in ा and ि have separate forms; those in ा, being shortened from Skr. feminines in ा, like the corresponding class in Marathi, take either ा or ा। The former of these is to be accounted for, in my opinion, in the same way as Panjabi feminines of the type गात, pl. गाना, by the passing over of the Prakrit neuter ending ा into the fem., and not, as Trumpp suggests, by rejecting the व of the Pr. pl. form चारी, because this process would not account for the anuśwāra. It is true that M. forms like चीमा, चारी, have rejected the व of Pr. चीमारा, चारीरा; but then they have not taken the anuśwāra, which S. has. I therefore think it more correct to connect Sindhi in this particular with its neighbour Panjabi, than with distant Marathi.

The other form of the pl. in चा is common to all fem. nouns in the language. No satisfactory reason for this form has been shown. Even if we admit that the व of Pr. plurals has been changed to ा, this does not account for the anuśwāra, which is too important a feature to have crept in by accident. It may have been extended to the nominative from the oblique cases of the Apabhraṃśa pl. (see Lassen, p. 464), as is often the case in other languages. The remaining masculine nouns do not change in the plural.

§ 46. Our next business is with the oblique forms, and this is perhaps the most intricate and difficult part of the inquiry. The oblique forms are, like the nominatives plural, remains of the synthetical declension of the Prakrīt, and the mystery is not so much what they are, as how they came to assume their present shapes.

We must start from a fact, patent enough in the Romance languages, but not quite so patent in their Indian congeneres, though even in them it can be established by illustrations as well as assumed from analogy. It is this, that at an early
period the distinctive case-endings of the synthetic system became confused, and one was often used for another. Some examples of this practice in medieval Latin were given at p. 113 of Vol. I. Now in the Prakrits the first step was the total loss of the dative, and the substitution for it of the genitive. The forms of the other cases also began to approach nearer to one another by degrees as they lost the distinctness of Sanskrit, so that in time much confusion crept in, and the terminations, which had been originally very different, all merged eventually into one form, which constitutes the oblique of the modern noun. The languages show their consciousness of the fact that the oblique form is a relic of the various cases (other than the nominative) of the old inflectional noun, by adding the particles which they now employ to indicate cases to this oblique form, and not to the nominative or direct form.

It is not, in my opinion, correct to derive the oblique from any special case of the Prakrit; it rather results from a general fusion of all the cases. I am here speaking of the singular only; the plural oblique, though analogous to the singular, must be traced separately. Taking first the ordinary Sanskrit a-stem, which comprises a very large majority of the nouns in the language, it appears that, after the rejection of the dative, the Maharashtri, or principal Prakrit dialect, retained only the following scheme of case-endings. N. e, Acc. am, Instr. eva, Ab. ādo, ādu, G. ama, L. a. But the distinction between the N. and Acc. was early lost, and there remained, even in this the most Sanskritic of the Prakrits, only four forms, eva, ādo, ama, and a, for the oblique cases of the noun.

Maharashtri is to a great extent confined to poetry. When it is used in prose, it loses some of its distinctive features, and assimilates to the Sauraseni, the principal prose dialect. In this latter the ablative is found to end in ā, and āhī, and in the Magadhi, the genitive has also begun to draw towards this type, exhibiting the termination āhī. In the dialect of the
Saptasataka the ablative terminates in ālo, but has also the forms āt, āth, ātu, and āthi. The Bhagavati has a very similar range of case-endings.

It is, however, especially to the Apabhraṣṭa dialect that we must look with regard to the modern languages, as this dialect seems in most respects to be the truest representative of an actually spoken dialect. Here we find a still greater fusion of case-endings, abl. āda, āhe; gen. āhe, āho; loc. e, i, āhiṃ.

Here we must stop as regards Prakrit, for at this point we reach the gap of many centuries which has not yet been bridged over. When we come to the beginning of the modern period, all case-endings have been lost in most of the languages. The work of fusion went on during that obscure period, and we have no means of discovering how it proceeded.

It is next specially to be noticed that Old-Hindi possesses a singular crude form ending in hit, which is applied without distinction to all cases of the singular. This form takes us back to at least three cases of the Apabhraṣṭa, namely, the ablative, genitive, and locative, and virtually includes four, as the dative was already fused into the genitive. The universality of application of this termination in hit will be seen more clearly when we come to the Pronoun, which in all languages retains archaic forms with peculiar tenacity. But also in the noun its use is very frequent; thus Chand employs it as a dative, or sign of "direction towards," in

 התקि קאצ duplex व्यायियो घरंहि।

"For what cause, Rishi, hast thou come to the house?"
—Pr. R. I. 46.

And as an ablative in

कौ तकि देशसि चूपछि।

"Who (am I) from what race sprung."—ib. L 167.

Tulsi Das has numerous examples, as सोताःहि तेभि नहीं
"Having seen Sita speak (to her);" दुमकी कथा संक्षरियि नहीं.
"tells the story of them in brief" (संपरक); चादिकी ते सव कषा मुनाई, "having told all that tale from the beginning."

Now it will be observed that in the general fusion of forms the only two types that remain are the instrumental in esa, which is not changed as far as the data for classical Prakrit go, and the ablative-genitive-locative-dative in āhi; but by the simple process of the elision of the ह, we get āi, which naturally slides into e. The transition is well shown in the scraps of the later Apabhraṃśa dialect preserved in old Gujarati, thus—

चढ़ोतर सु बुढ़डी रावणतंत्र कपालि।
एकौ सूरि न सापडी बंका भंजा बाली।

"A hundred and eight (kinds of) knowledge were in the head of Rāvan, Not one knowledge profited him at the time of the destruction of Lankā."[1]

Here रावणतंत्र is the genitive formed by adding to the noun the termination Skr. तन (Pr. तन), by which the noun is changed into an adjective, and agrees with the governing noun in number, gender, and case. कपालि (for कपाले) being in the locative, the termination of the adjectival genitive must be in the oblique form to agree with it, and तंत्र is therefore used, in which āi shows as the shortened form from āhi. At a later stage of the language this is written तंत्र.

The instrumental retains its form of esa in Chand only in Gāthā passages; but even in them, for the sake of his metre, he often rejects the na, leaving only the e, and this again he sometimes modulates into aya.

From the above considerations it results that the distinctive features of the case-endings in Sanskrit all, in course of time, melted down into one form distinguished by the ending āhi, āi, or e. We thus account for the fact that in Hindi and Panjabi

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[1] "Gujarāti bhashāno itihās," p. 44, quoted from a poem called Munjarām, the date of which is not given.
the oxytone noun in á forms its base in ē, as ghórā, ghōrē. The same takes place with Sindhi nouns in ē, which correspond to Hindi oxytones in ā, as मनो "head," मने. Hindi and Panjabi have only this one method of forming the oblique, and, as I have stated before, only employ it in oxytone nouns ending in ā. All other nouns virtually end in a consonant, and are not therefore open to any change; they have rejected all inflection absolutely. In medieval Hindi, words of this class use the form हि, with no connecting vowel, as रामहि "to Rām," and when, in process of time, this affix was dropped, there remained nothing but the bare stem, incapable of inflection. Even in those nouns which, strictly speaking, end in other vowels than ā, the same rule is followed, because these languages take no heed of final vowels, and in speaking, at least, reject them always; and even in writing they are of little value.

It is in the languages of the western group—as might be expected—that the greatest diversity exists, and to them we must now turn. Sindhi takes for the general type of its singular oblique the vowel a, for which Trumpp hints at a derivation from the genitive; but we have pointed out that, before the period of the rise of the modern languages as such, the Apabhraṃśa Prakrit had already nearly obliterated all distinction between the genitive and other oblique cases, bringing them all down to the common form āhi. If this be the case in the written Apabhraṃśa,—which, though wandering far from the central type of Prakrit, must still, as a written language, be supposed to have retained greater regularity than the spoken language,—we are justified in supposing that, in the spoken, a still more complete fusion of all the case-endings must have taken place; and it is not likely that a rude pastoral race would carefully observe such minute distinctions as that between āhi, ḍhe, ḍho, and ḍhīn. Moreover, we notice that even in the written language, in one case at least, the final short vowel had been rejected, so that the ablative ends in ā or ā. Sindhi is
very prone to the shortening of vowels. Thus it would be quite in harmony with the general practice of the language, to preserve out of all these endings nothing more than short \( a \). In masculine nouns ending in \( a \), we have really the consonantal ending of barytones of the \( a \)-stem, and it is therefore only what we should expect to find that the oblique of this class should reject the \( a \), which is hardly audible in pronunciation, and conclude with \( a \). Thus दासु “slave,” obl. दास, may be traced back to a Prakrit form nom. दासो दासु, obl. दासाशि, दासाहि, दासाधि, दासाटि, all of which in the spoken language would fuse into दासाहि, as in Hindi, and thence into दास, and finally दास. The reason why nouns in \( o \) form their oblique in \( a \) after the Hindi fashion, appears to confirm the view I have taken of the origin of these nouns. When they owe their long final vowel to the fact of their being derived from Skr. oxytones, the presence of the accent on the final syllable prevents the terminations धि, धे, etc., from shortening their \( a \) into \( a \); all that takes place therefore is the rejection of \( ह \), and the termination thus becomes \( दि \), which by a natural process becomes \( o \). Sindhi nouns in short \( a \) and \( o \) do not differ in their oblique from the nom. This is a further confirmation of the view expressed above. The Prakrit oblique of such nouns would end in \( ठि, ठि \); but the \( i \) and \( a \) belong to the stem, not to the termination; and when the \( हि \) is rejected, there remains nothing, so that the oblique cannot undergo any change. Nouns in long \( l \) and \( o \) add an \( a \) to the stem, which is again a relic of the common form \( ठि \) deprived of its final \( हि \). Long before the epoch of the formation of these modern cases, the Prakrit had disencumbered itself of the habit of making an euphonic combination between the final vowel of the stem and the initial vowel of the termination; thus the long \( l \) and \( o \) hold their place, unchanged by any commotions which might vex the termination.

In Gujarati the only change that occurs is in the oxytone nouns in \( o \), which make an obl. in \( a \). I have often before
mentioned that Gujarati strikes the student as an archaic dialect of Hindi, whose development has been arrested by its isolation; and it would be consonant with this view to regard the oblique form in ā as derived from the full Prakrit āhi, by simple rejection of the final āḥi—a process which we have shown to be followed by the other languages. Beyond this there is no further change for the oblique in Gujarati; the termination in ē belongs to the instrumental, which will be explained hereafter.

Marathi remains to be discussed; lumbering along as usual with its old-world Prakrit baggage of terminations, it offers many troublesome problems to the inquirer. In nouns with a consonantal ending it lengthens the mute ā into ā: as bāp, obl. bāpā; ghar, obl. gharā. In Old-Marathi the nominative of nouns of this class, like the corresponding class in Sindhi still, and Hindi and the rest in former times, ended in ā, the Prakrit barytone ē. Thus we have ग्राह, दर, नर्म, and the like. The Marathi consequently did not consider words of this class as ending in a consonant, nor does it now; technically these words still end in short ā. Not having, like the Hindi, rejected this final vowel, and with it all power of modifying the termination, it has been able to retain the oblique form in ā from āhi, merely rejecting the āḥi, as in the others. This it has been able to do in barytones, whereas the others only preserve this ending, softened to ē, in oxytones. Similarly in a certain class ending in long ā, it exhibits the oblique in ā; but in this case it may be equally correct to regard the ā as merely a retention of the form of the nom.; and this is rendered more probable by the parallel case of nouns in ī and ē, which also, as shown in the table, have no separate form for the oblique. The nouns in long vowels would be unable to form a separate oblique, because the oblique of the Prakrit would merely differ from the nom. by the addition of āḥi, as āhi, ēhi, āḥi; so that when the āḥi came to be rejected, there would remain nothing. Marathi differs from Sindhi and all
the other languages in being still bothered with notions of sandhi, and still hardens the final vowel of a stem before a termination beginning with a vowel. Thus in a class of nouns ending in ā, ī and ū, it hardens the vowel before the universal āhi of the oblique, making from bhāū, bhāved and the like. In masculines and neuters of this class, the Prakrit masc. form āhi has been used, leaving ā: thus they say, bhācālā "to a brother," which is bhācā-hi-tā; but in the fem. the Prakrit fem. is used. In these words so early as the Maharāṣṭri Prakrit, the fusion of cases had taken place. Thus in the feminines mālā, deśi, bahā, we find only the following narrow range of endings:


The abl. differs very slightly in sound from the other oblique case, because e is short in Prakrit, and consequently to the vulgar ear the general type for the fem. oblique would be e. Hence it would result that in the words mānā, kārī, after the final vowel had recurred into its semivowel, the form of the oblique to be added would not be ā, as in the masc., but ē, and we therefore find sāsāvēḷā, strīyēḷā, which are sāsavē-lā, strīye-lā. In this case the Marathi is more sensitive than the Prakrit, for it does not permit the hiatus where the other does. The principle of changing the final vowel into its semivowel having been once introduced, has been ignorantly extended—through the influence of that blind groping after analogies which has been so fertile a cause of change in many languages—to nouns ending in ā; and as these have no semivowel of their own, the most frequently used of the two semivowels, ů, has been applied to them, so that we get an oblique sāsvādā from a nom. sāsāvā. It is precisely on the same principle that the weak declension of nouns and the weak conjugation of verbs have gained so largely, and are still gaining, both in English and
German, on the old strong forms. The sixth declension in Marathi, namely that which we are now considering, is one of the weak declensions in fact, and as such has gained ground on the strong declensions. Another weak declension is that which comprises masculines and neuters in घ and ङ, which lose their final vowel and form their oblique as though their nom. had ended in mute a, or in former times in u. Thus वेर makes its oblique neither वेर nor वेर, but वेर, where the final vowel of the nom. has been ignored, and the mas. oblique sign ा has been added to a stem वेर. On analyzing the words which fall under this class, it becomes apparent that in most cases the final ा or ा is a modern invention, and not organic. They are, first, words compounded with the Skr. औ and म, in which the final a is short, and might thus easily be confounded in Old-Marathi with barytones of the a-stem like चा, so that they formed their oblique in ा, and the lengthening of the final vowel of the nom. is only another instance of the loudness of Marathi for final long syllables: secondly, they are neuters ending in the diminutive syllables औ and म which, as I have shown in § 24, are in the other languages औ or म्, and रा or र्, respectively, and thus come under the head of oxytones of the a-stem, and the oblique would regularly be ा. There is, however, very great irregularity and confusion on this subject, the language not having made up its mind as to which of the three forms available it will use.

Nouns ending in short a, corrupted from feminines in Skr. in ा, of which the type is बिजा, M. बीम, form their oblique by adding e, as बीमे. This is the same rule as that followed in feminines in long े and े, and the e is the regular Prakrit oblique. Thus the Pr. obl. would be मागे; but in this case, as the Marathi has lost the long ा, it merely adds the e to the final consonant. This it does also in Tatsumas which retain the long ा; thus नाते makes माते. Here I smell the Pandits. I suspect that the nom. had become मात, as in Hindi, in which case the
form माते for मातए would be regular, just as जीभे for जीभए; but the Pandits have subsequently restored the long ए. It is no answer to this to say that माता is found in the earliest writings in the language, because, in the first place, the writings are no guide to what the speech of those days really was; no Indian writer could ever resist the temptation to use grander and more Sanskritic words than occurred in the spoken language; the attractions of the so-called सधका भाषा have always been irresistible; and, secondly, the formation of the oblique form took place long before the earliest writings that we have; and it is therefore quite possible that when the oblique in ए was formed, the nominative in current use was मात.

There is, as before stated, also another method of forming the oblique in use among the nouns of this class, namely that in ठ, which arises from the fact of their being derived from nouns which in Skr. ended in ठ, or ठ. In masculines of this class the oblique Prakrit is in ठि, in feminines it is in ठी, both of which have left in Marathi only ठ. Examples of this class are the following:

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<td>वा, वाः</td>
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This last word is almost a Tatsama; it would be completely so had it not lost the final ठ in the nominative; it is used in the sense of "talk, gossip, conversation," also of "an affair, case, business."

§ 47. We now come to the oblique forms of the plural, which are in all respects simpler and more uniform than those of the singular. Hindi has but one form for all classes of nouns, namely ची, which must, I think, be distinctly referred to the genitive of the older languages. Sanskrit forms the genitive of the ए-stem in आनि for all three genders; the nom. and acc.
plural of the neuter end also in ñû, which I have shown to be
the origin of the nom. pl. in Hindi. The similarity of the
genitive ending to that of the nom. has perhaps led to its
preservation for the oblique cases, as in the period when the old
inflectional case-endings had died out, and the use of the modern
particles had hardly become fixed, there would be no distinction
between the different cases of the plural; and Chand accordingly,
as pointed out previously, uses such forms as दरण, द्रवण, both
for nom. and obl. plural. In his Gāthā passages, where he
employs archaic constructions, we find a genitive in माः, as in

महिलां मह सहु मृणर्म 

"The sweet sound (made) by the anklets of women."—Pr. R. i. 17.

(श = महुः, सह = शहः, मृणर्म = मृणर्म instrumental of a
fem. form ीरा.)

Prakrit, in the principal dialect, makes its genitive in माः,
and extends this form to all classes of nouns, totally rejecting
the Skr. genitive in ा used in so many bases. In fact the
terminations of the a-stem have, as a rule, completely over-
ridden and supplanted all the others. Hindi has rejected the
final anuswāra of the Pr. and turned the a into anuswāra, and
this rejection and softening are the probable causes of the
present form in सँ, the long vowel ो having its origin in an
effort to compensate for the loss of the a. Panjabi, which is not
so sensitive, retains simply सँ for the oblique plural. There
seems to be no room for doubt that the Pr. genitive is the origin
of these forms, because the other cases have a different type
altogether. Thus the Maharashtrian has instr. in शि or श्य, abl,
in सुल्त or हिंत्त, loc. in स्वं, स्वः; and though the Aprabhaṇa
has a different range of endings, yet they do not, on the one
hand, approach the Skr. genitive, nor afford, on the other hand,
materials for the construction of the Hindi oblique pl., the long
ऋ of which is in my opinion to be accounted for by a still
further lengthening of long a, a letter which occurs only in the
genitive. That the Hindi form is comparatively modern is shown by the fact of its not occurring in any of the middle-age poets, in whose writings the form in जनि, जन, or जन्म, is used for the oblique as well as for the nom. This is why I referred at the beginning of this section to the similarity between the nom. neuter in दनि and the gen. of all three genders in दनम. I believe that this similarity is the cause why no separate form for the oblique was struck out for so many centuries. It is a further confirmation of this view, that Gujarati, with its arrested development, has no oblique form for the plural, nor have Bengali and Oriya, both of which languages must have separated themselves from the central Hindi type certainly earlier than A.D. 1400, as we find Bidyāpati in A.D. 1433 in full possession of a distinct set of forms. The Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi also does not possess the form in ख्रि, but makes its oblique plural still in खन, as जोगन का, etc.; so also the Marwari dialect, which uses only ख्रि, which, like the Panjabi form, is the legitimate descendant of Chand’s plural in खन.

By the aid of this view the terminations in use in Sindhi are also explainable. The Apabhraṃśa dialect, which is more especially connected with Sindhi, has fused all its plural endings into a small range of forms, as instr. शिन, शिन, थिन, थिन, abl. अहै, gen. अहै, nom. and acc. अन. Only the loc. retains a distinct shape अस्; and even in this, when we remember the facility with which Sindhi changes श into स, it becomes probable that a form अस् would not be long in making its appearance. Later Apabhraṃśa genitive forms in अशेन, अशेन, are also found; so that we really get as materials for the Sindhi oblique little more than one form with trifling variations. The oldest and fullest form of the oblique in this language ends in न preceded in each class of nouns by the final vowel of the stem. Here we have the न or ण of the Skr. forms जानि and जानि, Pr. जाशि and जाशि, fused together. The other forms जि जि, are readily deduced from the Apabhraṃśa forms जि and जि,
the vowel preceding which is merely a variant derived from the final vowel of the stem.

Precisely similar are the Marathi forms, which are strictly analogous to the singular oblique forms of each class, only differing by the insertion of anuswāra, which evidently points back to the Ś of the Pr. gen., and preceded in each instance by the phonetic peculiarities which mark the singular.

On the whole, then, we conclude that in both singular and plural the terminations of the oblique descend from a general form produced by the fusion of all the oblique cases of Sanskrit; but there is this difference between the two numbers, that whereas in the singular no one case has retained its individual existence, or impressed its own special type upon the modern nouns, in the plural the genitive, by virtue of a special strength of type, and by its similarity to the neuter nom., which had usurped the place of the other nominatives, has preserved its individuality, and in a great majority of classes absorbed into itself the other cases. It might also, however, be said that to a certain extent, even in the singular, the genitive has had the preponderance, as the form in णि, although its earliest appearance in Prakrit is in the capacity of an ablative, is yet more easily derivable from the Skr. gen. in छ्र than from any other classical form. Thus, although the universal written Prakrit termination is चस्त्र, yet it is phonetically more natural that a form छस्त्र should have arisen, which—by the operation of the tendency to change स into ह, a tendency which certainly exists in all the languages, though more extensively in the western members of the group—would become छस्त्र. It must be noted, also, that the change took place at a time when these western members were most powerful—Eastern Hindi, Bengali, and Oriya, not having then arisen. The period of the origin of these forms cannot be put later than the seventh century, when the decay of Buddhism brought about those great linguistic changes which laid the foundation of the modern languages; and at that
epoch the eastern parts of India were, as far as we know, comparatively sparsely peopled by men of Aryan race. A phonetic change, therefore, of the character we are now discussing, would naturally be in accordance with the tendencies and peculiarities of the western tribes who then constituted the immense majority of the Aryans.

§ 48. The forms of the oblique are not, however, the only traces which still survive of the old Sanskrit inflections. Simplest of all of these, the locative, which ended in ए, has held its own down to the present day in many languages. In the Oriya poems this locative exists, as पुर “in the village,” गोप “in Gop,” though it has now been superseded by the analytical locative formed by रे, and modern Oriya uses गोप रे or गोप ठरे; in the latter of these ठा = खान.

In Bengali it still survives, as in ऋदि “in anger,” ऋच “in fear,” ऋच “in a chariot.” Here also, as in Oriya, the tendency to an analytical construction led at an early date to the addition of the particle ते, so that in Kaśi Dāsa’s Mahābhārata forms भच ते, रच ते, occur, although pleonastic, and often more with the sense of an ablative. After nouns ending in long ए, this ending takes phonetically the form of य, as धारय “in a horse;” but after nouns in other vowels, the modern termination ते is more usual.

Hindi does not know this locative form: having adopted ए as the oblique ending for the only class of nouns in which it admits a separate oblique form, there was no room in its system for the special locative. Gujarati regularly retains it in all cases, with complete disregard of phonetic combinations, so that it is added to nouns ending in a vowel quite as freely as to those which end in a consonant. Thus we have ढैल “in a custom,” टमु “in a tent;” but in nouns of the masc. o-class, in which the oblique differs from the nom., the change of termination is possible, and they consequently write ढाहै “in a day.” So
also in the plural, which universally terminates in ē, the e of the locative is added, giving ēō, no account being taken of the fact that the locative of the plural in Sanskrit ends in ए। This is the way with the modern languages. Having got into their heads the idea that a certain termination is typical of a certain case, they stick it on to their nouns all round, over-riding the more intricate distinctions of the older languages, and thus gaining in simplicity and regularity.

Marathi has a locative in ē, universally employed in the older poets, but now going by degrees out of use. The form is the same for both singular and plural, and appears to have arisen from the Pr. locative in अग्नि, which in Bhagavatī appears as अग्नि, or as Weber reads it अग्नि. The later form was probably अग्नि, which, by rejection of the ē, is strictly speaking, a portion of the stem, and throwing forward the anuswāra, becomes हि. Marathi has by degrees got rid of the ē, as in the similarly constructed forms of the oblique, and the lengthening of the final vowel is the usual Marathi custom. It agrees in practice with Gujarati, in using the singular form for the plural also. This may be pointed out as another instance of the preference of the Prakrit and modern languages for the older or pronominal declension, as this termination comes ultimately from forms like वर्धिक्षिणः.

Punjabi resembles Marathi in having a locative in ē, which, however, is not restricted to the plural, and is not of very general use; thus, घरी "in houses," हाथी "in hands." In the singular, a locative in घरी is occasionally found, as घरी; but this is more strictly an ablative, and I suspect we have here, not a relic of a synthetical case, but an abraded particle, as will be explained in another place.

1 The corrupt Konkani of Goa uses a locative in ऐ, as तड़ि "on the bank," from तड़, Skr. तट, whose classical M. would have तड़ि. (Burnell’s Specimens of S. Indian Dialects, Mangalore, 1872.) This is probably only a shortening of the Skr. locative in ऐ.
In Sindhi there is a locative, but only in nouns of the a-class (≡ mūta a). It ends in i, shortened probably from the Skr. e, as in इन, and not, as Trumpp writes, identical with the locative termination i, because this latter is not used in the declension of nouns of the a-stem, from which the Sindhi a-stems descend. Moreover, the decensional forms of the a-stem have to so great an extent swallowed up those of all the other stems, that we are hardly justified in looking to any forms but those of the a-stem, unless it be the old pronominal forms of words like सवं.

Besides the locative, several of the languages have also a relic of the old synthetical instrumental. This case in Skr. ended in the a-stem in eon; and Marathi retains this form shortened into ए, as शत्रू “by a weapon,” घरे “by a house.” Inasmuch, however, as this termination is identical with that of the nom. pl. of neuter nouns, it has become customary to use a pleonastic construction by the addition of one of the modern particles कैसे “by means of,” so that they would now write शत्रू कैसे “by means of a weapon.” Here, in consequence of the backwardness of Marathi, we are enabled to see in force a process which has occurred in the other languages also at a former time, namely, the gradual wearing away of the synthetical case-ending, and the consequent necessity for employing a particle to bring out the meaning more clearly.

Old-Bengali possessed also an instrumental ending in e, probably arising from the rejection of the na of eon. This ending, being identical with that of the locative, was abandoned by degrees in favour of an analytical construction with particles, though it is even now occasionally used in colloquial language. Instances from Bidyāpati, the oldest Bengal poet (born A.D. 1433, died 1485), are as follows: जी प्रेम वञ्जरति कुलटा हौर “that a virtuous woman becomes unchaste through love.” —Pudakulpatara, 980. सवं खिडु ना गंगु जी र血腥 “in my mind I nothing counted, being foolish through that love.” —Pdt. 982. कारवे सजन मदन धु “love has adorned his bow with lamp-black.”
—Pada. 80. निवन नवदले बाँस नायण उदार “having made itself a seat by means of its own new leaves.”—Pada. 1450. Kabi Kankan (a.d. 1544) also uses this case frequently, as वाहिणीतः थठ माता सके करे नाचि “from without all hung down their heads through shame.”—Chandi, 149. In the same way it is used in many later poets, so that the existence of the form is well established, though it has been banished from the modern literary style.

Gujarati retains this form of the instrumental in ordinary use, though it, like M. and B., has felt it necessary to have recourse to separate particles to define the meaning more fully. In this latter case, it is, as usual, pleonastic, having, besides the simple form देवे “by a god,” also the forms देवे करोिि एंd देवे बी, as well as देव बी. With its usual disregard of the hiatus, Gujarati adds this e to the final vowel of nouns ending in i and u, also to the plural in o, as shown by the examples given in § 41. No traces of a separate instrumental remain in H. or P., though Chand in Gathà passages uses the Skr. forms, as stated above.

Sindhi is the only language which possesses a synthetic ablative, as देह “country,” abl. देहां, with variant forms देह, देहाँ, देहाऐ, देहावे. All these clearly proceed from the Sanskrit abl. in ात, as देहात, which in Pr. becomes first ादों or ाड, then ाउ, and in Apabhraṅga also ाउ. The variant forms merely testify to the unsettled state of this rude language, in which, from lack of literary cultivation, dialectic forms abound. It would seem that while the most correct form is देहाऐ, the most used is देहां, and the anūmasika appears to be nothing more than a modern inorganic addition, such as Sindhi is fond of. The first of the two nasals in देहावे is also anūmasika, and is merely the Sindhi method of softening a hiatus. Inasmuch as this form is purely synthetic, and not a mere case-particle, it naturally takes the place of the final vowel of the nom.; if it were a case-particle, it would not do so, but would simply be

1 This is the page of the Calcutta ed. by Gopal Chandra Chakravarti, 1278, B.S. (1871).
appended to the oblique form. The form of the nom. represents the nom. of Prakrit and Sanskrit. Thus नाथ is the modern form of Skr. नरस; the Sindhi abl. नरात or नरात्व represents on the other hand Skr. नरात, and has never had anything to do with the nom. नाथ. It is, therefore, not a correct way of putting it to say that the final vowel of the nominative is changed or dropped before this ending; on the contrary, it should be said that this case is derived direct from the corresponding case of the older language. In nouns which end in र, रा, रा, रा, the ablative case results from the custom already adverted to, of using the case-endings of the Skr. a-stem for nouns of all classes. In Sanskrit, while नरस formed its abl. नरात, नरी made not नरीयात, but नरात; गधा made its abl. गधात; but all this was too complicated for the rustic folk. By far the larger number of the nouns in their language were of the type नरस, and the minority were soon made to follow that type too. So it came to pass that in Apabhrāṇa the common abl. ended in आ or आ, with the final vowel of the stem preceding it, as नराक, नरीक, or नरीक, बहात, or बहात. Sindhi goes a step further than this. It knows only one form, आक; and this it simply sticks on to the stem, merely shortening the final vowel by the weight of the termination; thus, नोदी “rope,” abl. नोदिण्डा: सी “wild beast,” सीम्बिण्डा. Thus that which was a bonâ-fide synthetical case in nouns of the a-stem, becomes almost a separate case-affix or particle in other nouns. This is, in my opinion, not an isolated instance of this process. If my method of interpretation be correct, there are, as we shall see when we come to the case-particles, several other instances of bonâ-fide synthetical case-endings having been broken off from the stem and used as particles. In the plural, this ending has come to be regarded quite as a particle, and is appended to the oblique form of the noun, as घरनिण्धा “from houses,” which is the obl. घरिण्धा + बा. It is easily seen that this ending has no business at all in the plural, as it represents distinctly the Skr. singular
form चार; but so strong is the tendency to extend the use of one good simple form to all possible cases and classes, that no hesitation was felt in tacking the case-sign of an ablative singular on to a form derived from a genitive plural, in order to compose an ablative plural!

§ 49. In striking contrast to the wide range of synthetical forms observable in Marathi and the western languages, stands out the naked simplicity of the Bengali and Oriya, which have scarcely any variations of the stem. With the exception of the now almost obsolete form in ए, which did duty at once for instrumental, locative in the singular, and nominative in the plural, Oriya has no modifications of any kind; and Bengali has but one, the nom. plural in erā or erā. The question then arises, what is the reason of this difference? Why should two members of the group have so thoroughly emancipated themselves from the trammels of the old system, while the others are still so tightly bound up in them? The question seems to be parallel to that of the difference between English and German, the former of which has altogether rejected, while the latter has very largely retained, a synthetical type. In the case of English, whose development lies open before us, we can see the influence of the Norman race,—a race kindred in blood, and originally kindred in speech, to the subjects of Harold whom they conquered, but who had been put through a preliminary training by a long sojourn in France, as though purposely to fit them for the task of raising our rough English fathers to their present high position in the world. To the manly vigour of the old Norse pirate, the descendants of Rolf had added the grace and polish of the vivacious Frenchman. With that teachableness which was so pre-eminently their characteristic, they had sucked in all the sweetness and light which Europe then had to give. They came amongst us as a leaven of cultivation, and they made us what we are. On our language they worked a mighty
change; and it is to this that I would especially draw attention. They taught us by degrees to throw away all terminations as useless, retaining only a very few which were absolutely necessary. Under their guidance, the language softened and simplified itself amazingly. Gender was the first thing to go, artificial gender especially; even natural gender remained only in a few objects, and those indicated by uniform and regular methods. The numerous systems of forming the plural all fused into the addition of -es or -s to the singular, and the case-endings disappeared, till at last our language stood forth clear and active like a trained athlete with his loins girt for the running.¹

It is something of this sort of influence that we should be disposed to seek for in Bengali and Oriya, and the difficulty of the inquiry is that we cannot find it. We may, however, guess at it, and there are scintillations afforded us out of the gloom of Indian history which confirm our guesses, till at some points they almost touch on certainty. The first of these is the fact, now almost beyond a doubt, of the very modern character of Bengali. The earliest writers in that language, the Vaishnava poets, use a language so much akin to Bhojpuri and the dialects spoken in the eastern parts of the area occupied by the Hindi dialects, as to force on us the conclusion that the Bengali itself is nothing more than a dialect of Eastern Hindi. It is not till the beginning of the sixteenth century that we come to anything sufficiently marked to deserve the name of a separate language. Now long before that time, we know that Hindi had cast aside the greater portion of its synthetic machinery. The only relic of the modifications of the stem consists of the e of the oblique of å-stems, as in वेदः, obl. वेदः. But it has before been noticed that down to a late period this form was not fixed, and the oblique ended vaguely in ahī. After å-stems this would naturally take the form ahī; and the rejection of the hi, which

we have seen was a common process in all the languages, would leave an oblique base in ã for the ã-stems, and in u (mute) for the u-stems; or, in other words, there would be no difference between the nominative and oblique. Further, it must be remembered that Bengali descends from the peasant language of Bihar, in which, as I know from long residence in those parts, it is not customary to form the oblique of the ã-stem in e, as it is in classical Hindi. The rustic of those regions will say *ghorã ko* instead of *ghore ko*. The classical Hindi is not based on the speech of the eastern area, but on that of the western, and especially of the regions round about Delhi and Agra. It is not surprising therefore that Bengali, an offshoot of the rustic dialect of the eastern area, should be ignorant of this peculiar custom. The crude form in ã is very common in the Vaishnava poets, as *anahi* “to another” (*anya*), *premahi* “in love,” *karahi* “in hand,” and the like. Perhaps the rejection, so universally occurring, of the *hi*, arose from its being confounded with the common particle ã “indeed,” and so being regarded as a mere emphatic addition easily rejected without altering the sense. If Bengali had attained an independent existence as a separate language at the early period when the other languages were passing through the stage of transition from synthesis to analysis, it would probably have struck out a course of action for itself. During all that period, however, Bengal was but thinly peopled, and its language was identical with Hindi, and it therefore partook of the changes which went on in that language. Its independent existence dates from a time when the sentiment of the necessity for indicating various relations of the noun by modifications in the terminal syllable had entirely passed away, and it does not therefore partake of any such changes. This modernness of Bengali must always be kept in mind in considering its present structure, because in recent times the language has been so overlaid with words borrowed from Sanskrit, in their Tatsama shape, that scholars
unacquainted with historical facts have been led to regard it as
that member of the Aryan group which most closely approaches
to the old classical speech, and to give it the position which is
held by Italian in the Romance group. It is time that this
misunderstanding should be removed. If we strip Bengali of
all the Sanskrit words which have been brought into it during
the last fifty years, and examine minutely its grammatical forms,
and the true peasant vocabulary, we shall find that it is more
removed from Sanskrit than any of its sisters, and it will stand
out in its true light as a coarse rustic dialect destitute of refine-
ment and precision.

With regard to Oriya, the same remarks hold good. We
know from history that the Oriya race did not enter Orissa from
the north, through Bengal, but from the west, across the moun-
tains which separate it from the southern limits of Bihar. Many
of the words of the language have the Bihar type of Hindi, and
resemble Bengali only in those respects in which Bengali itself
resembles Hindi. If we place the immigration of the greater
part of the present Aryan element into Orissa at the beginning
of the tenth century A.D., on the decay of Buddhism, it will
result that the language which they brought with them from
the valley of the Ganges must have been already to a great
extent analytical; and their subsequent long isolation will account
for the retention of forms which the onward march of the parent
Hindi has long ago discarded.

In both these languages there is also great reason to suspect
non-Aryan influence. Recent inquiries into the component ele-
ments of the Hindu population in both provinces lead to the
conclusion that a large portion is still, and has always been,
non-Aryan. In fact, it would not be going too far to describe
the inhabitants of Bengal and Orissa as aboriginal non-Aryans
converted to Hinduism by, and mixed up with, an immigrant
element of Gangetic Aryans, whose language, religion, and
physical type they have, notwithstanding their political in-
feriority, largely and deeply influenced. When the scholar whose non-Aryan dictionary has led us to expect a non-Aryan grammar from his pen, shall have given to the world the result of his labours, we shall be in a position to measure the extent to which the wild hill tribes and rude fishermen of the coast have reacted upon their invaders. At present we are not able to do more than hint at the existence of such influence; we can point out neither its direction nor extent.

§ 50. Marathi possesses a process peculiar to itself as far as the seven languages which we are working at are concerned, but which is also apparent in some of the cognate dialects which it has been necessary to exclude from the present inquiry, as Kashmiri and Pashto. In our seven languages the changes which take place in the stem are confined to the termination, but in Marathi a class of words exists in which internal modification is found. These are principally feminines in रूप, formed from masculines in र, examples of which have been given in § 35. These words either reject the long i altogether in the oblique, or retain it shortened to i, or change it to its semi-vowel े. Thus, Skr. मातिथि, M. माउष "a female devotee," obl. मातिथि, where the i is shortened according to Molesworth; or मातिथि, where it is changed to a according to Stevenson; and in either case the oblique termination in i is added, as in nouns of the form चाँग, obl. चागी. In cases like this it would probably be more logical to say that the noun retains its correct form in the oblique, while in the nom. it is lengthened in accordance with Marathi custom.

There is a large class of these words, and many others not derived from रूपी are treated in the same way without regard to their gender; thus,

चंद्र (m.) "rat," obl. चंद्रिर, चंद्रा, and even चंद्रा.
कपी (f.) "flour," कपीके, sometimes कपीको.
काम (n.) "ear of corn," कामसा.
The Sanskrit originals of these words are चंद्र or चंद्र, वाणक or कबीक, and कनिंग respectively, so that the oblique represents the older form more accurately than the nominative does. The practice has even been extended to words of Persian origin, so deeply seated in the popular mind is the principle of analogy. Thus,

- "a pack-saddle." M. खोमीर, obl. खोगरा.
- "reverence." M. नाजीम " नाजीम and मी.
- "a chain-bow." M. चेरीस " चेरी.

Similarly, in a large number of nouns of all three genders, a long अ in the final syllable is changed to ए; as,

- Skr. बृक्त "sprout." M. बृकर, obl. बृकरा.
- बृक्त "arrangement." M. बृमल "trick," obl. बृमली.
- मिलिका "fly." M. मामुक, obl. मासका.

In all these words, and they are tolerably numerous, there is no authority in the derivation for the long ए; and the form of the oblique, in consequence, is due to the slightness of the difference in the vulgar pronunciation between the three short vowels. The above process, it must be explained, is only applicable to words where the vowel is preceded by a consonant; when it is preceded by another vowel, phonetic considerations induce a different process. ई becomes hardened to य, and ज to व, in such cases, at least in the Konkani dialect. In the Dakhini it is more usual to shorten the vowel, as बाईल "woman," obl. Konkani बायल, Dakhini बाईल. Thus Tuka says.

"Quoth Tuka, thus the good wife breaks out, sobbing she weeps and at times laughs."—Abhanga, 567, 3.

And of words in अ, देवक "temple," obl. Konk. देवक, Dakh. देवक; as again from Tukaram—

- गाय देवकी देवापासी

"Sings in the temple before the god."—Abb. 569, 3.
Of the two forms, the Dakhini, which merely shortens the vowel, is the older and more natural; the Konkani agrees with what I have called above the weak declension of Marathi, which bears evident signs of being comparatively modern. It is, perhaps, a sign of the increased tendency to Sanskritize, that the old hiatus, which neither Prakrit nor any of the moderns objected to, should have begun to be replaced by the semivowel.

§ 51. In noticing the peculiar ablative of Sindhi, I said that it was not an isolated instance of an inflectional case-ending having been detached and used as a case-particle. The other instances of the same process must now be exhibited, as holding a middle place between purely synthetical terminations, such as those of the locative and instrumental of Gujarati, Sindhi, and other languages, and purely analytical methods of indicating cases, such as the particles का, के, की, and the like. They owe their existence to the tendency, arising out of the general confusion and abrasion of case-endings, towards adopting for all cases one good strong form of the older language. It is the Darwinian principle of the "survival of the fittest," noticed in regard to the phonesis of the group at p. 27 of Vol. I., and by virtue of which the strong forms of the neuter nom. pl. and the common gen. pl. अनि and अनि, have usurped all the cases of all three genders of the plural in Hindi and Panjabi. In the Sindhi ablative the form अव or अव is purely synthetical for the व-stem, but it has, strictly speaking, no business with any other stem; yet it has been applied to all stems indifferently. Consequently, in all but the व- and ो-stems, which descend from the Skr. व-stem, it is no longer a relic of the purely synthetical system, but has half migrated into a case-particle. On the other hand, it cannot be classed with case-particles, as कते, के, कति, because these latter are modern formations, not derivable from any case-ending of Skr. or Prakrit, but independent words fused down into particles. I would therefore put these forms into a separate class,
and call them quasi-synthetical forms; synthetical they are by
origin, being derived from Skr. or Pr. case-endings; but they are
not so in the manner of their employment, being used frequently
in places where neither Skr. nor Pr. would use them, and some-
times even quite detached from the noun, and used with the
oblique stem, which itself contains all that is left of the syn-
thetical case-ending.

The first of these forms to be noticed is the Marathi ablative
sign झन, which is now used as a case-particle, and appended to
the oblique stem, as sing. घरान, pl. घरान: it is sometimes
contracted still further into झन, and combined with the nom.
form, as पहन. Lassen has long ago identified this form with
the Prakrit ablative plural, which has two forms, हिनो and
मुनी: from a fusion of both arises झनो. This form is found in
Early-Hindi. Thus Chand. दूर चजमेर झन = "How far
is it from Ajmer?"—Pr. R. i. 178, and
"Quoth the Siddh, 'from what city?'"—ib. i. 184. Here we
have two forms, झन and झनो, in the former of which the
softening of the nasal into anuswāra is compensated for by
lengthening the vowel, and in the latter the anuswāra has been
shifted forward on to the last syllable. Lassen points out that
these two forms are both pleonastic or composite, that in हिनो
being composed of the termination of the plur. instrumental वि,
and that in मुनी of the plural locative ending दि, with the
particle तो, from Skr. तत्स, an adverbial particle with an ablative
meaning, generally indicating "from a place." The form हिनो
thus means "from by," and is a causal ablative; that in मुनी is
"from in," and is a local ablative. Of course, with the fusion of
the two forms into one, this distinction was lost, and, what is
more important for our purpose, the distinction of number was
by degrees lost too, so that in Old-H. and M. we have this
ending used for singular as well as plural. M. has rejected the
final तो, and lengthened the vowel, and the anuswāra not being
merely the anuvāsika or nasal breathing, but a method of writing
as the first member of a nexus, having been restored to its full form, the result is the form झन.

In Nepali, a Hindi dialect of the eastern area, carried into the mountains by the last king of Simrāw and his followers, when they fled there on the capture of their country by Tughlak Shah in 1322 A.D., occurs the ablative form िन् "from," which may be, perhaps, connected with this form by a reverse process. If हि तो and सं तो could be fused into हि तो तो, they could just as easily become सिं तो, and this form would result in सि. Nepali has not yet been studied scientifically, and its phonetics is as yet imperfectly known. In a brief memorandum on the language which I have, a tendency to favour the palatal sounds is observable, as in ित भी "ye," न. तम, and the like; it is not therefore improbable that the form सि तो would be preferred to हि तो; and by a people so far east as the Nepalis, the preference for झ over झ would not be felt. There is, however, another theory, which would derive सि from Skr. सभित. This is open to the objection that सभित means "with," whereas सि means "from." As matters at present stand, I do not venture to decide for either theory, but leave the matter sub judice, but with a preference for the former.

To return to Marathi. There is an older form of this case in जनिया, जनि, the existence of which would seem to militate against Lassen's theory, as it is scarcely possible that हि तो should have become हूणिया. To this it may be answered, first, that these two forms occur in poetry, and the lengthening may be due to metrical causes; and, secondly, a confusion has probably arisen in the popular mind between this form and that of the Prakrit gerund in अश्व = Skr. in ला. In this form also the old M. adds रा्यां, as in the word फुंद्रोनिया "sobbing" (Skr. perhaps फुंद्रिय, Pr. फूंद्रू), in the quotation from Tukarum

And for which I beg to express my obligations to Dr. Wright, Resident Surgeon at Kathmandu, who courteously complied with my request for information, by sending this note drawn up by a Nepali Pandit.
in the last section, though modern M. now rejects this termination, and would write दुर्गृह. This द्यान does not seem to be organic, but a mere fashion of a certain period. There is always an element of confusion in words beginning with हू or हो, on account of their resemblance to the substantive verb मू, which has from an early period sounded हो. It is then possible that the form हुतो was regarded as a tense of हो “to be,” and the shortened form हू would be confounded with the gerund होतन; and as this latter was subjected to lengthening into होतनिवा, so the ablative form may easily have been at the same period lengthened to होतिनिवा. The principle of false analogies here at work is to be found constantly in all departments of language, and to it may be ascribed numberless eccentricities in the vulgar speech. Parts of the verb हो are used in the other languages as case-signs. Thus Bengali uses its infinitive (originally a locative of the present participle) हठते for हठते, in the sense of “from,” a usage only to be explained by supposing the idea to be that of having previously been at a place but not being there now, which involves the idea of having come away from it; thus घर हठते बासिनम्, “I came from the house,” would be literally, “in being at the house I came,” or, as we might say in colloquial English, “I have been at the house and have come away.” Similar is the use of हेक or हेकर “having been,” in the sense of “through” in Hindi; thus, to express “I came through Benares,” one would say भणारस हेकेब भाया म, literally, “having been in Benares I am come.” It is not surprising, therefore, that the Marathas should have thought that तन “from” was contracted from होतन “having been,” and were it not for the Old-Hindi forms used by Chaud, we might have been prepared to acquiesce in this view. As it is, however, Lassen’s theory seems decidedly correct, and has been therefore adopted in this work. To this formation may also be ascribed the घर of Punjabi locatives, as in घरते, mentioned a few pages back, which is thus to be regarded as in
DECLENSION.

reality an ablative, and contracted from चर हौँ. In fact, the locative may itself be called an ablative of place, the meaning "in" being expressed by the ablative in many Aryan languages.

§ 52. Another quasi-synthetic form is the dative in Marathi which ends in स, and is derived from the Prakrit genitive in स, Skr. स, the dative having been early absorbed into the genitive in most Prakrit dialects. This form in Marathi cannot be classed with the locative and instrumental as a purely synthetic relic, because it has ceased to be restricted to those positions where it would occur in Sanskrit. In the parent speech, the genitive in अस्या belongs exclusively to the declension of the अ-stem; in other stems, the genitive is formed by the addition of उ, and in some cases अ; the vowel is also rejected or amalgamated in some nouns of the इ- and अ-stems, and in some few classes the ending is उ; so that the singular genitive type may be generalized as simply visarga preceded by certain vowels, whose variations are determined by the form of the stem. But visarga is too weak a thing to last, it is almost entirely swept away by the Prakrits and their modern descend- dants, and recourse is had to the stronger form अस्या, or rather या of the अ-stem, with which also agrees the older pronominal declension. This is by the Maharashtri Prakrit applied to all masc. and neut. stems indifferently, thus

Pr. वच्छ "tree," वच्छस Skr. वच्छस.
ṣ चरिम "fire," चरिसम "पिय।
ष बत्रु "friend," बत्रसम "बो।

For feminine stems, however, Prakrit does not use this form, and even for those given above it has an alternative form in या for the इ- and अ-stems; so that we may trace the ending अस्या thus: in Skr. it is used only for the masc. and neuter genitive singular of the अ-stem, in Maharashtri for all singular genitives, masc. and neuter, in modern Marathi for all datives of all three
genders, singular and plural. It has therefore, in the latter, come to be almost a case-particle; but, probably owing to its shortness, it is, as we learn from the grammarians, used in a somewhat restricted manner, especially in the Dakhin or central part of the Marathi area, in which a more correct form of the language prevails than in the Konkan or coast-line. The identification of this च with the च of the Skr. genitive would seem to be fatal to the theory which would derive the M. genitive in चि, etc., from चि. The same form can hardly be the origin of two separate cases. This, however, will be more fully discussed in its proper place.

It is in Marathi more especially that traces of these quasi-synthetic forms are found, though even in the other languages faint indications may be seen. They are valuable as supplying a link in the chain of development, and as showing how, as the spirit of inflectional construction and expression died out of the popular mind, the old case-endings fell into inextricable confusion, one swallowed up another, four or five fused into one, an ending peculiar to one case was appropriated to another, the distinctions between different declensions were obliterated, and the languages, like new wine left to settle in the vats, deposited all their sediment, and were racked off clear and sparkling. It was all very well for a dreamy old Brahmin, who had nothing better to do with his time than to sit in the shade of a tree and doze over philosophical abstractions, to have a dozen different ways of declining his noun or conjugating his verb; and it was no difficult task for him to recollect each one of a vast growth of terminations and inflections: but life is too short now-a-days for such minutiae, the business of existence is too varied, and time is too valuable. The modern languages are not objects of pity, as having degenerated from a higher level; they are rather to be congratulated on having known how to bring order and simplicity out of a rank chaotic overgrowth of forms and types, and having thus become fitted for use in these bustling modern days.
Among the particles that are now used as signs of case, there are several which may possibly be classed as quasi-synthetic; but they are not given here, because some doubt still hangs over their origin and real nature. They will be duly noted in subsequent sections.

§ 53. Adjectives partake of the nature of substantives in so far as their form and structure are identical with them, both being nouns, though the former are attributive, while the other are appellative. But as adjectives are generally coupled with substantives, and as these latter are the principal words in the sentence, indicating by themselves the object referred to, it is natural that they should do the bulk of the grammatical work, the adjective being merely appended to qualify the substantive, and not therefore requiring to be so accurately inflected or declined. In several languages the adjective, consequently, undergoes less change than the substantive with which it agrees. Here, again, we have the old common sense system of simplifying as much as may be. In Sanskrit, Latin, Gothic, and the older languages of the family, the adjective was made to agree with the substantive in gender and case, so that each adjective presents a triple declension, masculine, feminine, and neuter. Sanskrit sometimes shirked all this elaborate concord. Its array of declensional and conjugational forms was so formidable that Sanskrit writers themselves seem to have felt the burden of so vast an amount of wealth, and to have endeavoured by various tricks of composition to shake off the load. Thus the necessity of inflecting the adjective to follow all the varying phases of the substantive is to a great extent evaded by compounding the two together by the method known as Karmadhāraya, by which, whether, as is more common, the adjective precede, or, as also occurs, the substantive precede, only one inflection is used. Thus, instead of saying नील उत्तरम् "a blue lotus," they combine the two words into one, producing नीलोत्तरम्, and thus,
when they require to use the genitive for instance, भीत्रोत्पल्लक्ष expresses the meaning quite as clearly as the longer भीत्रण उप्तरण. Latin has not this power, and every one is familiar with the clumsiness that results when one has to string together a number of adjectives and substantives in the lengthy genitive plural forms -orum and -arum.

All that is really necessary in the inflection of adjectives has been retained in the modern Aryan languages, and much that is not necessary in some. So long as there exists some clear means of knowing which substantive in a sentence any given adjective qualifies, it is only needful to decline the substantive. Confusion can only arise in a few instances. Thus in English, when we say, "I have found an old man's cloak," we may mean the cloak of an old man, or an old cloak such as men wear, as distinguished from such a cloak as women wear; but even in this extreme case confusion can be obviated in our flexible language by a different arrangement of the sentence, and in nine cases out of ten the adjective would by its meaning indicate the substantive which it qualified. If we speak of a "blue sailor's jacket," the word blue can only refer to jacket, as such a thing as a blue sailor would be absurd, and we know that sailors habitually wear blue jackets. Such a language as ours is worthy of a civilized and enlightened race, because by its very absence of forms it assumes that those who use it are people of intelligence and do not require to have their minds guided to the meaning by the leading strings of synthetical forms. A Roman required this aid. To him "caerulea nautae tunica" was a different thing from "caerulei nautae tunica;" and had he been unprovided with the help supplied by the variation of the final letter of the adjective, he would have been at a loss what to understand. Thus we may say that synthetical languages are fitted for the childhood of the human race, analytical ones for their manhood.

Bengali and Oriya do not change the form of the adjective at
all, whether for gender or case; the adjective is placed just before the substantive, and one case-ending does for both. Hindi gives to those adjectives which end in \( a \), a feminine in \( i \), and an oblique singular in \( e \), but does not make use of the oblique form of the plural. Thus one would say बाले घोड़े का "of a black horse," and not बीले घोड़े का "of black horses," but बाले घोड़े का. The reason of this is obvious. The adjective having been put into the oblique form, common sense shows that it must refer to the substantive in the oblique form, and there is no need for a closer method of indication. The speaker is supposed to be able to use his wits to this small extent. Panjabi, however, is conscious that its speakers' wits are not sharp enough to be trusted, and the adjective is therefore put through all four forms in each gender; as भिकीर्ष जातां द्रा "of low castes" (f.), विटाघर घोडां द्रा "of white horses" (m.). This gives a clumsy appearance to the language, and ought not to be necessary for clearness.

The Gujarati adjective has all three genders with the typical terminations, चौ masc., र त fem., and द neut. The feminine remains unchanged for number and case, except that it optionally adds to the plural the universal \( o \). The masculine forms its oblique in \( a \), like substantives of the \( a \)-stem, and like them has the locative and instrumental in \( e \), which ending is here also allowed to pass over into the ablative; the plural oblique is the same as the singular, giving in consequence a type quite analogous to its parent Hindi. The neuter differs from the masc. only in adding anuśāra to the nom. plural. The range of forms may be thus drawn out:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Sing. Masc. सारो &quot;good,&quot;</th>
<th>Fem. सारी</th>
<th>Neut. सादे</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. Pl. सारा</td>
<td>सारी</td>
<td>सारां</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sing. भूल. सारा</td>
<td>सारी ( and ) सारो</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>सारा</td>
<td>सारी ( and )</td>
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The adjective is thus precisely similar to the substantive of vol. II.
the o-stem throughout; and from the position which Gujarati holds in respect of Hindi, as well as from the analogy of Panjabi, it may legitimately be inferred that Hindi itself formerly had all these forms, though it has now got rid of some of them. Adjectives ending in a consonant do not undergo any change.

Sindhi declines its adjectives in the same manner as the substantives of corresponding terminations. It follows that adjectives agree in gender, number and case with their substantives, with the exception of that somewhat numerous class of words of Arabic and Persian origin which are not liable to change. Although the genius of Sindhi requires that every word should end in a vowel, either pure or nasalized, and in consequence words derived from Persian ending in a consonant have the short vowel у added to them, as ٣١ from ٠ ٠, ٥٥-٥٥ ٥٥ from ٠ ٠, ٥٥ ٥٥, yet it seems to have been thoroughly understood and clearly felt that this final у was something different from the final у in pure Sindhi words, and it has therefore not been subjected to the changes which the rules of the language exact from indigenous words. The same reason has apparently protected Arabic words, whose у of the nominative, the тауta of grammarians, had probably died out of the popular speech of the Arabs before the period of their conquest of Sindhi, so that the words at that time were as perfectly consonantly-ending as Persian words, and had the у given them by the people of Sindhi.

In Marathi the adjective takes, as in the other languages, the typical endings, च masc., ः fem., ः neuter, for the singular, and ए masc., गा fem., ः neuter, for the plural. This type of adjective is the only one that changes for gender; all others, whether ending in vowels or consonants, remain unchanged. As usual with this language, there is some indecision in the forms used for the oblique. In the majority of instances the adjective merely takes the form या, in analogy to those substantives in a which insert
the semivowel in the oblique, and which grammarians call the sixth declension. The adjective may, however, take the form e, which is also used by substantives in a as the ending of the nom. plural. Thus they say मन्द्र माणसाळ or मन्द्र माणसाळ “to a good man,” and this pair of endings is used also with fem. and neuter substantives. Adjectives ending in any other vowel or in a consonant do not change at all.

It will thus be seen that there is in all the languages a tendency to deprive the adjective of its full range of terminations—a tendency based on the rational principle that such an elaborate variety of endings as the adjective is capable of affording, if expanded to its full limits, is quite unnecessary for clearness, and may therefore be dispensed with. In this respect even the Marathi, usually so prodigal of forms, has allowed itself to be influenced by practical considerations. Only the uncultivated Sindhi still retains all this useless apparatus, for which, perhaps, among other similar perfections, Dr. Trumpp would call upon its sister-dialects to envy it!

§ 54. The numerals, whose elegant and symmetrical development from the ponderous Sanskrit compounds has been exhibited in § 26, are simple in their declension, taking generally the usual signs of plurality and case when required, but inasmuch as they are strictly adjectives, not often requiring any such signs. In B. and O. they possess no peculiarity; in H. there are only one or two points requiring notice. When special emphasis is required, or a numeral is used with reference to some object previously discussed, the plural form is used; but in this case it is the oblique form in नाम that is used, none of the nominative forms taken by the noun being customary. Thus we say तीन मार्ग नोले “the three brothers said,” alluding to some trio of brothers well known to the speaker. The use of the oblique form is only another instance of the tendency of common forms to extend beyond their proper and original sphere into all and
every other as occasion may serve. The forms of the nom. plural of the substantive vary, but the oblique plural ends invariably in शी, and this form therefore has acquired an ascendancy, and come to be regarded as the common and unmistakable note of plurality. As no numeral in Hindi ends in long त, there is consequently no opening for any change for the oblique singular, and we hear एक का "of one," दो की "to two," पचास में "with fifty," and the like. The habit of not using any grammatical forms which are not absolutely necessary has led to the almost universal rejection of all signs of plurality in a noun constructed with a numeral. If we say "fifty houses," it is evident that "houses" more than one are meant; what need is there to put the noun in the plural? पचास घर में "in fifty houses," is quite intelligible without any plural sign. It is thus that language gradually simplifies itself by the aid of a few natural reflections.

In Panjabi it is usual to add the plural sign to a numeral, as दस मनुष्यों डा "of ten men," but this only in the oblique cases, and it would not be incorrect to omit it. Gujarati follows the Hindi customs in this respect.

All three languages, H. P. and G., treat their ordinals as common adjectives of the oxytone type. Hindi adds the terminations—

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obl. वे, वी</td>
<td>Obl. वे, वी</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Panjabi the same; but it, as well as H. in many local dialects, still preserves the older ending in माँ, मी, में, which is derived from the Sanskrit ordinals in मः. Whence comes the anuswāra I am unable to say. Gujarati knows only the simple ending in मो, मी, मु; pl. मा, में, मी, मो. The anuswāra in H. and P. is probably quite a modern addition, and begins only at the "fifth;" the first four, and the sixth, are regular (see § 27).
Marathi declines its cardinal numerals regularly after the manner of the substantives of similar form; thus एक “one,” forms its oblique by adding अ, as एका, after the model of masc. and neut. nouns in māte a (§ 41, cl. 1). In the feminine the oblique is formed by the addition of र, as एकी, like आम, obl. आगी (§ 41, cl. 3). But the numerals दो “two,” तीन “three,” and चार “four,” take a new form in declension, with crude stems दोहि, तिहि, चारिहि, which resemble the plural forms such as दोही, तीनी, in use in Hindi, as mentioned above. When they refer to persons, another set of forms is used, produced by the addition of र to the shortened bases दो, तिह and चो, thus making


This process does not extend beyond the number “four,” but is parallel to the practice, in the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi, of adding नी to a number when it stands alone; thus they say दोने “two,” तिनने “three.” And in Oriya the longer form गोटा is in use; thus गोटा “one (thing),” बड़ गोटा “two (things).” In all Indian languages the practice of adding some word meaning “piece, portion,” etc., to numerals standing alone, is common. The Marathi here differs from the rest by restricting the particle to persons. In Oriya गोटा means a “piece,” and so also does the curtained Bhojpuri form गोट; the derivation is perhaps from Skr. सादाक “family,” in the general sense of a class or collection of persons or things.

Sindhi treats all its cardinals as plurals, and, except in one or two cases, inflects them as nouns with a regular oblique. Thus ब “two,” Pl. Obl. बिनि.

४ “three,” तिनि.

चार “four,” चारिनि.

where the र of the nominative is dropped, as it is in the form
Declension.

The numeral व in compounds. In these three numerals the form of the oblique in श्रू is used; in the rest that in व्र, as—

पञ्च "five," Pl. Obl. पञ्चा.
क "six," कश्री.

As the words "two" and "four" have no neuter plural in in Skr., it is probable that the Sindhī forms have been extended to these words from द्रिंग, Skr. चीं, gen. चयास्तो, Prakrit तिंग. The Pr. oblique of "four" is चउई or चउङ्ग, from which चउङ्ग may have arisen, though we can hardly derive चउङ्ग from Pr. द्वोष्ट्व. It is more probable that the ordinary termination of the oblique plural of nouns has here been extended to the numerals than that these words have been separately formed from Prakrit originals.

The series of tens from 11 to 18, which end in ह, drop the anuswāra as well as the ā which precedes the ह; thus—

चारह "eleven," Obl. Pl. चारहिन.

Similar to this is the Hindi dialectic pronunciation चारह "twelves," from चारह "twelve." The numerals in ध and ध, as नदि "sixty," and नि "ninety," are not inflected; इडो "eighty," however, takes an oblique जिह्ब. When we get among the higher numerals, much of the sense of plurality is lost, and singular nouns are often in all the languages constructed with them.

The word त्रि "one hundred," is in all the languages treated as if it were a substantive, and in Sindhī has a regular declension, as follows:

Nom. Sing. त्रि. Nom. Pl. त्रि or सा.
" Obl. त्रि, " Obl. सा, मा, सस, सर.

The numerals, however, often remain uninflected before a substantive, which saves a good deal of trouble.

Just as in Hindi the numerals, when treated as collectives, take the oblique plural, as दीवो दीवो मादो "scores and scores
of carts," सिपाही "soldiers by lakhs," so also in Sindhi they take the regular plural ending in ओ of fem. stems in ओ (see § 42); thus दो "ten," makes तो, as दो तो "three tens," and the oblique in ओम, as चारि दोम "four tens," and the like. This attribution of the feminine is due to the abstract character of the collectives, just as in Greek τρεῖς "a triad," ἕξας "a hexad," δέκας "a decad," are feminine; but, as far as I am aware, no such change takes place in the other languages. Gujarati expresses collectives by adding ए, as in Sanskrit. Thus G. त्री "a triad," Skr. ची, G. ची, Skr. च्चुष, and so on; but it also adds the neuter sign उ in supersession of ए, as in सात्तु "a heptad," Skr. सप्तक, G. चातू "an octad," Skr. चौदक. In this respect it appears to stand alone.

Sindhi often adds the emphatic ए or ह, as do also the other languages, to all cardinal numbers, to denote completeness; but Sindhi sometimes incorporates this emphatic syllable into the numeral, and adds the terminations to the word thus formed, as त्रो "all three," ऊब् त्री, द्रिन्हिनि.

but चारि "all four," तापनि.

The ordinal numbers in all the languages are regularly inflected as adjectives in ए: thus H. m. द्वैत्तिस, f. द्वैतरी, obl. sing. द्वैतरे, obl. pl. द्वैतरे. But Sindhi has added an anuswāra to all its ordinals. The usual inflection of the adjective in ओ, fem. ओ, must therefore be supplemented in all its forms by an anuswāra superadded. Trumpp would derive this anuswāra from the ओ of the Skr. termination तम; but this seems opposed to the analogy of the other languages, in which the ओ of तम is preserved, or softened into ओ, with the anuswāra still existing, as in II. व्र, व्रि. It is, however, in accordance with the general analogy, that the ओ should be elided in Prakrit words, and ओ softened to anuswāra, and we should probably concede to Sindhi greater regularity than to the others, and suppose that it is H.
and P., which are irregular. In the following examples Sindhi certainly answers to Trumpp’s derivation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skr.</th>
<th>Pr.</th>
<th>8th</th>
<th>9th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>पंचम</td>
<td>पंचमी</td>
<td>पंजी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh</td>
<td>सत्तम</td>
<td>सत्तमी</td>
<td>सती</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand,

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eleventh</td>
<td>एकादश</td>
<td>एकादशमी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twentieth</td>
<td>चिंत्य</td>
<td>चिंत्यी</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these two latter there is in Skr. at least no तम to start from, and though Prakrit has एकादशम, which would give काह्रें, yet it has preferentially चिंत्यी, which will not account for the anuswāra of चिंती. It is true Pr. has also चिंतित्य, which would lead to चिंत्यी, not चिंत्री, unless we suppose an elision of य and the throwing forward of the anuswāra. In Panjabi, however, we have both the म and the anuswāra standing together, as in सत्तमा “seventh,” so that the latter certainly cannot be a relic of the former. Chand’s ordinals are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>5th</th>
<th>7th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>प्रथम</td>
<td>तृतीय</td>
<td>पंचम</td>
<td>सप्तम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>6th</td>
<td>8th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>द्वितीय</td>
<td>चतुर्थ</td>
<td>षट्ठ</td>
<td>अष्टं</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pr. B. 1. 5.

In which, while the final म is sometimes written as a consonant, and at others as an anuswāra, there is nevertheless nothing to indicate the source whence the modern terminations arose. The only way that they can be accounted for is by supposing reduplication of the म. Further research is required on this point.

§ 55. We now arrive at the most interesting and important section of our whole inquiry into the noun, namely, the origin of the case-affixes. Having rejected the synthetical method as a whole, and retaining merely certain half-effaced traces of declension, our languages have had to betake themselves, like their European relatives, to added particles, in order to draw out
and express fully the various relations of the noun. These particles are placed after the noun, in contrast to the European method, which places them before it; but this practice is in consonance with the order followed by the mind of an Indian speaker, who constructs his sentences always in a sequence directly the reverse of that used in the languages of Europe, so that, in translating from an Indian vernacular, one has always to begin at the end of a sentence, and work backwards. A great deal has been written on this particular branch of my subject, but for the most in a desultory and inconclusive manner; and I hope, therefore, to be able to put together, in something like order and arrangement, the results of the inquiries of others, as well as my own discoveries and beliefs, so that, if the question cannot at once be settled, it may at least assume a more concrete and manageable form.

It may be assumed as a starting-point, that the case-affixes are remnants of nouns or perhaps pronouns, which have been cut down and worn away by use. I think it will be admitted by all philologists that any other assumption would be irreconcilable, not only with the fundamental principles of modern Aryan glossology, but with the universal laws of language. In the wide field of Indo-European comparative philology, the great master Bopp has conclusively proved that this principle everywhere pre-

1 The difficulty of following the sense of a long passage in a vernacular document which this practice induces, will have struck many of my brother magistrates in India. Take the following, from a Police report: "To day at 1 watch of the day A. B. watchman of village C. brought to the police-station a brass drinking vessel and platter which he found during his rounds last night on the edge of the public road leading from D. to E. at the south-western corner of the pond lately repaired by the Manager of the estate of Raja F." This would run in Bengali thus: "To-day of the day one watch of village C. watchman A. B. of Raja F. of the estate by the manager lately repaired of the pond at the south-western corner from D. to E. leading of the public road at the edge by him last night his rounds during found of brass a drinking vessel and platter to the police station having brought; etc." All the verbs throughout the report are in the conjunctive participles "having done," and at the end of perhaps the fourth page one comes at last to the only finite verb in the whole, "I have reported it"!
vails, and that even the synthetical case-endings of the early classical languages are relics of independent words. It is therefore safe and rational to assume that in the languages of which we are treating, allied as they are closely and indissolubly with the old mother-speech Sanskrit, the same sentiment exists, and the same method of word-building still survives. Throughout the material world we see that the process of reproduction is one of such a nature that it can be repeated time after time for ever. Man begets man throughout the ages, and tree produces tree; the mountains are washed down into the sea, and the forces at work in the bowels of our planet upheave fresh mountains, which are in their turn washed away. So also in language, words originally independent are seized and bound into slavery to other words, become case-affixes, are incorporated into case-endings, and are finally abraded altogether. Then the mind seizes fresh words, and binds them into slavery again, till they also wear out by use; and, if the world lasts long enough, will in their turn pass into case-endings and disappear, and a third set will have to be captured and made use of. The process repeats itself, and the modern Indians, when they had recourse to the words which have become the case-affixes of to-day, only did what their remote ancestors had done before them, when they took pronouns and nouns and made them into the terminations which Sanskrit literature has preserved to us, such as -ena, dyn, asya, and āt.

Literature, however, has a tendency to arrest the process of change; and the modern languages of Aryan India are so rapidly becoming cultivated literary tongues, that we may suppose that they will not in future develope so quickly as they did in former times. The literature which they possessed before the advent of the English schoolmaster was not of a kind to influence greatly the spoken language, but rather held itself proudly apart, and looked down on the folk-speech. Even in the present day this silly feeling is strong. A generally sensible writer like Bankim.
Chandra, the editor of that excellent Bengali magazine the "Bangadaršana," for instance, in writing a serial novel, puts into the mouth of one of his characters the familiar word "diyāsilāi" (meaning a match for lighting a candle); but in the very next line, when writing in his own person, uses the highflown Sanskrit equivalent "dipasilāka," though he knows perfectly well that for a thousand Bengalis who understand the former, not ten would know the latter word. It is to be hoped that this sort of nonsense has had its day, and that in all the seven languages literature will by degrees become more natural, and that men will begin to see that there is no disgrace in writing as they talk.

But this is a digression. To return to our subject. It follows from what has been said above that we must look for the origin of the case-affixes in nouns of the older language. It follows also that the nouns in question must have been in use at the period when the modern languages began to be formed,—in other words, they must have been words of the lower and more popular dialects of Prakrit. We should hardly be justified in looking for them in scenic Prakrit, but rather in Apabhṛṣṭa. The argument used by scholars in Europe, that the dialect of the plays and of Hāla's songs must have been a spoken dialect, because players and dancing-girls could not have used a language which their audience did not understand, has in reality very little weight to the mind of one who has lived long in India. It is a curious but quite undeniable fact, that dancing-girls do in the present day sing many songs which only the educated portion of their hearers can understand, or, if the humbler and more illiterate part of the audience do understand them at all, they do so, not because the language is that which they themselves speak, but because it is fine talk, such as they hear their betters use. In an Indian language there are always three or four shades or strata of talk existing side by side at the same epoch. Thus there is in the Bengali of to-day the highly
Sanskritized style of the pandit, the somewhat artificial, but less Sanskritized style of gentlemen of education and refinement, the practical every-day speech of the middle classes, which contains only the simpler Sanskrit words, the strange jargon of the women, and the rough homely patois of the peasantry. It is quite possible for a foreigner to know one of these languages, or strata of language, without knowing the other. It often happens that the English indigo- or tea-planter, mixing only with the lower classes, speaks with fluency the peasant speech, while the high official speaks equally well the dialect of the educated; and the planter cannot talk to a native gentleman in the habitual dialect of the class, nor can the official understand the peasant without an interpreter. These things are so now, and they probably were so a thousand years ago, and, for aught we know, will be so a thousand years hence; and we are therefore justified by experience and analogy in looking to the lower or Apabhramśa dialects for the origin of modern forms—all the jargon of Ḥāla and the plays notwithstanding. I shall now proceed to exhibit the results of such investigations as have up to the present time been made by myself and others, taking each case-affix separately.

§ 56. The Objective. Under this head are classed the accusative and dative of the Sanskrit. Prakrit had already lost its dative, and the modern languages make, strictly speaking, no distinction between the nominative and accusative. There remains therefore no way of designating that form which the noun takes when it is the object of an action but that of "objective." Marathi alone has a distinct quasi-synthetic dative, which, as we have shown above (§ 52), is a descendant of the Sanskrit genitive inṇa. In Marathi, however, as well as

1 The Gipsy language has also an objective in a, which is used only with masculine nouns and in the singular; thus tone "a gipsy," obj. rannia; rai "a lord," obj. raika; raka (H. larakā inverted) "a boy," obj. rakika. —Paspati, p. 46. The same form occurs in Kashmiri, as ouda "father," obj. oudia; nicha "child," obj. nichia. 
in the other languages, there is no sign to mark the object. In H. घर गिर गया "the house fell," we have the same form as in घर बनाया "he built the house." When it is thought necessary to emphasize or express the state of objectivity—a question the discussion of which pertains rather to syntax than to formore,—the following particles are added to the oblique form of the noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>के.</th>
<th>Marathi</th>
<th>ति.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>नूग.</td>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>के.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>के.</td>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>के.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>नूग.</td>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>ति.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These affixes are the same both in the singular and plural. Of the seven languages H. S. B. and O. fall into one group, P. M. and G. into another.

The H. affix के is softened from an older form की, which is still in use in the Braj Bhāshā and many other rustic dialects. An older form still is कह़े; and the oldest form of all is that found in Chand, कह़े. The form कह़े, which Trumpp¹ hastily affiliates to those given above, I hesitate to connect with them, believing it to belong to a different root altogether. What, then, is the origin of this affix? It is derived clearly from some noun, as I have already shown reason for believing; and the problem is—What is that noun?

Of the use of की it is unnecessary to give examples, as the form is in common daily employ. Similarly, की is to be met with on every page of a Braj Bhāshā poem. कह़े is also very common. Thus, in the Ramayan of Tulsī Das—

अयूधि सिधि संपाति नदी मुहारे।
उमागी चवध चंबुधि कहाँ छाड़े॥

Ayadhyā Kānda, 7.

"Prosperity, success, wealth, (like) fair rivers
Overflowing, came to the sea of Ayadh."

¹ Sindhi Gr. p. 116. The author also err, in my opinion, in considering the answer in की a modern addition. It would rather seem to be the older form of the two.
"King, give the heir-apparentship to Rām."

"Thus having said, bowing his head to all,
He went rejoicing, holding in his heart Raghunāth."

It occurs on an average ten times on a page throughout the poem, and in some of the recent lithographed editions is regularly written कहः—a point to which I shall refer again presently. Sur Das uses को, क्रीं, and क्री; but not, as far as I know, कह or कहः. It is impossible to speak with certainty, as it would take half a life-time to read through the vast ocean of the Sāv Sāgar.

Chand uses several forms, but the anusvāra is retained in all, thus showing that it is not a mere modern addition. His forms are क्रीं, क्री, and कहः. We cannot tell how far Chand's forms have been modernized by copyists; but that कहः is a true form, and not a copyist's error, is evident from the fact that in the places where it occurs, it is demanded by the metre, and occasionally appears with the final vowel lengthened in cases where a long vowel is wanted. Instances of both कहः and कहः are—

वही नु सोरे नुम एक कहः ||
"He seeks one of you."—i. 88, 9.

प्रात समे वर दुजन कहः ||
चाँटे चप्प कर दीन ||
"At morning-time a gift to the Brahmans
Dividing with his own hands gave."—vii. 5, 3-4.

This latter would run thus in Modern-Hindi—प्राते के समय वर
dिजों को, वांटर जयने वाच से दिया.
कारि देखिये सुनन कहः ||
"Having made obeisance to all."—vi. 38, 2.
"Having thus said, you find (i.e., cause) Fear to me."—I. 160, 1.

"For the war with Prithiraj at Mahoba,
Parimal has summoned us."—xxi. 84, 6.

Of earlier forms than खड़ we have no examples, and the gap must be filled by inference. Where actual evidence fails, we do not, as some carping critics say, fall back upon mere guesswork, but, applying the known laws of phonetic development, endeavour to reconstruct an older form, and are not guessing any more than Owen guessed when he reconstructed an extinct animal from one bone. We cannot do this; but it may be possible to get to a step or two further back by analogy. It is admitted that initial letters seldom change (see Vol. I. p. 190); we therefore assume on good grounds that the क of this word has come down unchanged. Further, ह generally results from the dropping of the organic portion of an aspirated letter; and च as a termination represents the Sanskrit termination of the neuter in ाम.

The following theories have been advanced, based on the above, and similar well-known phonetic processes. Trumpp (Sindhi Gr. p. 115) derives from Skr. खति, which he supposes took the form फति, and he thus elides र, which, on going out, aspirates the preceding consonant, thus producing the Sindhi खि; the Hindi खी he derives from खति, through Prakrit forms फति, फति, and फि. This theory fails, as it has been shown above that the older forms contain an ह and anuswāra, neither of which could be got from Trumpp's process, and there is no reason to suppose that खे has a different origin from खड़. To account for the ह, Trumpp supposes that the ख of खति on going out aspirated the following consonant, thus producing खच. That खच would naturally produce खड़, खच, and perhaps even the allied form.
वंह, is undeniable; the only difficulty is in getting to कथं from कथें. There is another way by which, still retaining कथें as the origin, we may account for the ह, namely, by supposing that when कथें had become, as we know it does in Prakrit, कथं and कर्दें, the next step was to elide the द्र (Vol. I. p. 202), thus getting कर्दें; but the place of a single consonant which has been lost by elision is often supplied by ह in Prakrit, and by this process a form कर्दें is obtainable.

The weak side of all this argument is that कर्दें does not commend itself as a probable origin for an affix meaning primarily and generally “towards.” Trumpp says that in Skr. कर्दें is used as an equivalent of कर्दे in the sense of “for the sake of,” “on account of,” “as regards.” But even if this statement be true of classical Sanskrit, it is doubtful whether the use of कर्दें in this way was ever sufficiently common among the lower classes to have given rise to so very common an affix as the को of the modern objective. It is difficult to see how a word primarily meaning “that which has been done” could come to mean “on account of.” With कर्दे and कर्देम there is no such difficulty, because these words mean respectively “in that which has been done,” and “by that which has been done;” and the transition from these senses to that of “on account of” is easy, resting as it does more on the acknowledged meaning of the locative and instrumental cases than on the root.

The Sindhi objective affix के के, can, without doing violence to probability, be admitted as an offspring of कर्दे: but the mind is not easily satisfied with the parallel affiliation of को to कर्दें.

As far as concerns the meaning, a more probable origin for को is that partially suggested by Hoernle (J.A.S.B. 1873, pt. i. p. 174, et seq.), who, however, has not traced the steps of the trans-

1 Weber, Saptamatam, p. 29. “Es scheint vielmehr das & in diesen Fällen nur als eine Art spiritus lensi aus Vermeidung des Hatus gebraucht zu sein, ähnlich wie im Māgadhī der Jaina der &; in einigen Fällen aber auch & selbst oder * verwendet wird (Bhagavati, l. 399, 409, 411, 426)."
itiation correctly. The meaning of की being evidently, in the first
instance, "towards," "near," and the like, we are led to look at
the analogy of Bengali, in which language बाञ्छ means "near,"
and is used with a genitive as an independent postposition, as
ताहार काहे "near him," or "in his possession," or "to him."
Now this word काहे is from the Skr. कौ, locative of क, and
means literally "in the armpit," or, as we should say, "at the
side." क व becomes in Old-Hindi काह, and the accusative क व
would become first कर्तव्य, then काहे. As ख, like the rest of the
aspirates, migrates into छ, a form काहे is legitimately presum-
able; whence, by shortening the vowel, we get the already
established form कर्तव्य, with its variant कर्तव्य. I confess that this
derivation approves itself to my mind in preference to any other.
काहे, as a substantive, meaning "armpit," is in common daily
use in the present day. It is a Tadbhava of somewhat later
origin than those very early Tadbhavas which have given us
the adverbs and case-affixes, and it is therefore no objection to
this derivation that the case-affix should have undergone more
change than the noun. As a parallel instance may be cited the
adverbs like कर्तव्य, खान, where ख is all that remains of the ख of
खान, which word, when used as a noun, has kept the fuller con-
sonantal form खान. When used as a noun, the word क व loses
its final inherent a, and becomes a barytone monosyllable; but
the affix comes from the accusative, which is used adverbially,
and consequently retains its anuswāra. कन्तर = काहे, की, is
equivalent to मर = मी and खान = ठानः.
बादे actually occurs in a place where the metre requires a
long vowel, in Tulsi Dāsa's Ramāyan, Ayodhya Kānda 330:—

लिखत मुधाकर लिखि गा राख ||
लिखि गति बाल सदा सब बादे ||

"In writing the moon Rāhu has been written,
Fate is always crooked to all,"
unless we here take काँफ without anuswāra to mean “why;” but this is strained, and does not account for सव.

In confirmation of this derivation as regards the meaning, a matter in which Trumpp’s derivation fails to satisfy, it may be further added that in modern Urdu the same method is still adopted, though with a different word. The Arabic word غل “armpit,” is always used in the sense of “near,” “close by,” “to;” thus غل “near the house.”

Hoernle is, I think, wrong in saying that को is derived from Bengali কচ্ছ, as it is impossible to derive a twelfth-century Hindi word from a fifteenth-century Bengali one, and Hindi is the parent, or at least the elder sister, not the daughter, of Bengali; but Hoernle has certainly, in my opinion, indicated the direction in which we should look for the origin of the word, and I believe the steps were as I have shown above; and further research will probably establish the intermediate forms for which we have at present no actual proof. A striking analogy to the assumed genesis of कच्छ from কচ্ছ, is afforded by the old H. and B. affix पड “beside,” “to,” which arises from Skr. पच, from पच “a side,” through पच and पच, which last form is actually used by the early poets.

The Oriya কু may be considered as a mere variant of the Hindi को, which itself, in the corrupt dialect of Hindustani spoken in Southern India, sounds কু. The Oriyas do not pronounce the কু at all fully, but give it a soft short sound, which it is very difficult to distinguish from কু. The Telugus, the near neighbours of the Oriyas, with whom they have for centuries had close intercourse, also mark the accusative by a form কু. Telugu, however, being a Dravidian language, is not in any way connected with the languages of our group, though, as it has received a large number of Sanskrit and Prakrit words, there are often great similarities between it and Oriya, and it is singular that the structure of the verb also is very similar. Dr. Caldwell (Dravidian Comp. Gr., p. 225) asserts the identity of
the two forms; but we have already traced the Hindi ke to an earlier form के, which, whatever be its origin, is distinctly an Aryan word, and has no connexion with the Dravidian affix. The Telugu affix is as often sounded ki as ku, the vowel varying according to the final vowel of the noun to which it is affixed; thus Hari makes Hari-ki "to Hari," but dora "a lord," dora-ku.

Bengali ordinarily in its earliest recorded forms, in the Vaishnava hymns, does not mark the objective any more than early Hindi does. When, however, it is necessary to indicate this case, we generally find it noted by the affix ে, which still survives in the so-called dative of the modern pronoun. In this early stage we also occasionally find the Hindi crude affix ki. Instances of ে are common in the Bengali Mahábhárat of Káśiráma Dása—a book much beloved and bethumbed by the ordinary Bengali shopkeeper. Thus भुवनमुळे विस राजा कहिङे नीं से || "sitting at the root of a tree, the king said to Bhima."—414, a, 5.

जलपान करिबार बाज घरीबे || "to drink (lit. to the making of a drink): water he goes to the lake."—415, b, 25.

पानपान पहे बाज आनिबारी जारि. || "taking a water-vessel goes to fetch (lit. to the bringing) water."—ib. 40.

नर पाये यि अन्धेबे बोबै नायति. || "Feeling fear the virtuous woman invokes Sri Krishna."—416, a, 2. These examples have been taken from the first page that I happened to open; many hundreds of others may be culled from Bengali poems. It will be seen that in affixing this े to nouns ending in mute ो, an े is inserted; thus अन्धेरिए, instead of अन्धेरे. This practice results probably from the addition of the emphatic े to the singular nom., instances of which are common; thus Bidyapati तेहन तुया चनुरामि || "of such a kind is thy love."—Pad. 984. नर काह बहिन चनु-मोगे जानु एँ चनिक करिक प्रेमरोगे || "Ahi! dearest, why dost thou question? (lit. make the question). Even now thou shalt make the
feast of love with Kānh."—Ib. This form is really the nom. plural; and when used in the singular, thus naturally carries the idea of abundance or emphasis—an idea, however, which soon faded, leaving the poets free to use the e pleonastically whenever it suited their metre.

The explanation of the origin of this form is, according to Trumpp, with whom I agree, to be sought for in connexion with that of Marathi, Nepali and the other languages using an affix whose characteristic is े, to which we shall come presently.

The modern Bengali uses instead of र the form ে। New Bengali is very prone to softening ए into े; in ordinary conversation one constantly hears this pronunciation (Vol. I. p. 142). Thus ेहो ेो े "I have abandoned," will most usually be so uttered as to sound ेहेरे ेले। It may therefore be safely assumed that the affix दे is changed from an earlier दा, shortened from काभा, which we have above taken as the origin of काभे, की, and ेी।

Passing from the group whose characteristic is े, we come to that whose characteristic is े, of which the most important member is Marathi. In that language the dative affix is दा, and in the earlier language दारी and दारुन, allied to which is the Nepali दारे, obtained by elision of the द, whereas Marathi has rejected the whole of the last syllable.

From the root झेन there is a large host of derivative forms, both verbs and particles, in all the seven languages; and as the root means primarily "to stick," it would naturally be adopted to express the idea of nearness or adhesion, which is very suitable to the objective. The simplest form in which it occurs is perhaps Hindi झेन, meaning "up to," "as far as;" but owing to the facility with which झ and द interchange, Hindi has in some rustic dialects an affix दे or दे, originally दे, used with the dative. This still survives in the neighbourhood of Delhi, as, for instance, in the proverb quoted by Elliot (Races of N. W. P., vol. i. p. 5):—
"What they sow they eat themselves, and give not a grain to the ruler."

It also survives in G., which marks the objective by ते. The form ते is found in Chanul:

\[
\text{चानपड़न पुविराज ते।}
\]
\[
\text{निसि सुप्रमार चिक्तु।—मल. ३।}
\]
\["\text{In his youth to Prithiraj,}
\text{In a dream at night (came) a sign.}"\]

and

\[
\text{पुविराज सुनि कुंबर ते।}
\]
\[
\text{आप चुबाए धित।—व. १३।}
\]
\["\text{Hearing it, Prithiraj himself}
\text{Invited the prince kindly.}"\]

This is, I now think, the correct translation, though I formerly translated the passage otherwise (J. A. S. B., vol. xlii. p. 165), which translation led me into difficulties about the construction, which are obviated by taking कुंबर ते as the objective.

Marathi has lengthened the vowel of the root, but Hindi has not; and it is to a participial form जगिं, the meaning of which would be "adhering to," "close to," and finally "to," that we must attribute the present affix. जगिं becomes जर, and then मे, ने, and भे. The anuswāra would thus be an inorganic addition, common in Hindi. From लगून, a regular Prakrit form of the relative participle, by a similar elision of य and conversion of ज into न, comes the Panjahi objective नू for मधु, where the final न has been weakened into anuswāra. Analogous to this is the form जी, contracted from लगू, in Old-Hindi used in the sense of "up to," "until." Thus Kabir:

\[
\text{कह जी कहैं पचं गयु।—Ramaini, s. ४६।}
\]
\["\text{How far shall I tell (of them)? they have gone into unconsciousness,}"\]

literally "till where?" And again
DECLENSION.

तैं की तारा जगमग जी जो ही न मूर ॥
तैं की जिब जग कर से जो जग हाम न पूर ॥

—Sakhī 201.

"So long (only) shines the star as the sun does not rise,
So long (only) do worldly works suffice as knowledge is not full;"

literally "until that (time) shines the star until which (time) the
sun does not rise."

In a precisely similar way Chand uses जगि, as

चहाँ जगि जगुता वरगि ॥

"How long shall I describe my inferiority?"—i. 22.

The other change to which ज is subject, namely that into र, yields the Bengali objective र.

In Gujarati works the affix of the objective is sometimes written without the anuswāra, and thus resembles one form of the genitive affix; but it will be shown hereafter that the resemblance is accidental only.

§ 57. The Instrumental. This case possesses a special importance in the seven languages, from the fact that in most of them, owing to the peculiar system of prayoga or construction which prevails, it takes the place of the nominative before verbs in the past tenses—a practice which makes these languages in this respect difficult to foreigners. In the cumbrous Marathi especially, the correct use of the prayoga is a sort of pons asinorum to beginners, and even in some instances to natives themselves. The forms of the instrumental are these:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjabi</td>
<td>nai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>ney, ey, eiy, pl. uiy, hiy, eiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>le</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sindhi has no form for this case, but uses the simple oblique or crude form without any affix; so also do the early and middle age Hindi poets, as will be shown in the latter part of this section. Gujarati, in addition to the स, which may also be regarded as originally merely the crude form, has also certain pleonastic affixes; thus it writes द्वेष करिये, द्वेष करी “by God,” “by means of God,” also द्वेष ची, or द्वेष ची, which latter is strictly an ablative, and will be considered under that case.

Bengali uses the direct प्रयोग or construction in the past tenses of verbs, and has no need of an instrumental to take the place of the nominative; but when it requires to indicate instrumentality, the literary language employs such words as कात्र, करণ, द्वारा, पूर्व; while the common speech uses the participles of the verbs “to do” and “to give,” कारिया “having done,” द्वया “having given.” Both high and low alike also borrow the affix of the locative ते, as in Gujarati the ablative.

Oriya, like Bengali, has only the direct प्रयोग, and, like it, supplies the place of an instrumental by द्वारा and similar words; and colloquially by द्वृ “having-given,” and such like words; but the instrumental is very rarely used in Oriya, the locative affix रे usually supplying its place.

The Gipay uses sa in the singular and jo in the plural, but as a pure instrumental only, and not as a substitute for the nominative.

In those languages in which the past tense of the transitive verb requires the instrumental construction, the verb does not under those circumstances agree with the nominative case. There seems, however, to be an exception to this rule, if my informant, a Nepalese pandit, be correct, in the Nepali language. The pandit gives the past tense thus:

मैं ने खाया “I ate,”
तै मे खाया “thou atest,”
उस मे खाया “he ate,”
हामी ने खायो “we ate,”
तिमी ने खायो “ye ate,”
उमी ने खाया “they ate.”
In this paradigm we see that the verb changes its termination in each person, whereas in Hindi it remains fixed, thus: ते खाया, तू ने खाया, etc. The peculiarity of the Nepali usage is undoubtedly to be explained by the fact that this form of the instrumental has become so completely identified with the nominative as to be mistaken for it by the vulgar; and in all probability, as I shall endeavour to show, the use of the न (=Hindi न) is a more modern custom, and originally the direct construction was used, and they said न खाया.

Although the question more strictly belongs to syntax, yet, in order to establish the correctness of the theory as to the origin of the instrumental affix which will be brought forward in this section, it will be advisable to give a brief description of the question of *prayogas* as they exist in the modern languages.

The *prayogas* are three in number: *kartari, karmani, bhāva*, which may be Englished respectively, subjective, objective, and impersonal; and what they are will be understood from the following Latin phrases:

- Kartā. Rex urbe condidit.
- Karma. A rege urba condita.
- Bhāva. A rege urbi conditum est.

In the first the verb agrees with the nominative case; in the second it agrees with the object, and the subject is in the instrumental; in the third the verb is impersonal and neuter, the subject in the instrumental, and the object is generally in the oblique form.

The *Kartāprayoga* is generally employed in the present and future tenses; the other two in the past tenses. In Marathi the potential, however, takes the *Bhāva* as well as the *Kartā*; and in all the languages except Marathi the *Karma* and *Bhāva* constructions are restricted to transitive verbs.

Having thus briefly stated the general system of construc-
tions, we return to the instrumental case of the noun, which, it will be seen, occupies the place of the subject in two of the constructions. It is, in the first place, necessary to observe, that in Gujarati there is an additional form of construction, in which the subject is in the dative case; and this is, strictly speaking, the Karmani construction: for in native grammars the dative, as well as the accusative, goes by the name of Karman or Karma, just as we have in these pages called them both the objective. The construction with the instrumental would more accurately be called the Karana, Karana being the name for that case. Secondly, not only in so archaic a language as Gujarati is the dative used indifferently with the instrumental in the frequently occurring constructions noted above, but in Nepali the forms of the case-affixes are very similar, the dative having जारे, the instrumental घँ; and the same similarity exists between the घँ of the Old-Hindi objective and the घँ of the Modern-Hindi instrumental; and so also, while घँ is the sign of the dative-objective in Gujarati, it is the sign of the instrumental in Marathi. From these considerations it would seem to result that the two forms are identical in origin, and have been confounded with one another by the vulgar. For, as regards Hindi and Panjabi, certainly my own experience is, that the objective and impersonal constructions are never properly understood by the unlearned, and in the rustic dialects of the Eastern-Hindi area are more usually omitted altogether, and the direct or subjective construction employed.

It would be out of place here to go into more detail on a question of syntax; but it may be noticed that the participial form ज्ञानि, with its variant जानि, which is almost if not quite proved to be the origin of the case-affix घँ, is often used with a very wide range of meanings, and with great laxity of application,—as is natural from its meaning, which may, without violence, be diverted to many uses. Thus in Old-Bengali it is used in the sense of "on account of," "for," as—
It is, however, necessary to inform the reader, that the theory above stated is not the generally received one; or, as these languages have never yet been studied scientifically, it would be more accurate to say that it is not the theory held by the few scholars who have looked into the question. Trumpp probably means his remark upon p. 113 to be taken as a mere obiter dictum, and it seems not to have occurred to him that there were serious objections to his derivation. He and others state that the affix न, with its variants, is derived from the case-ending of the Sanskrit. The instrumental in Sanskrit ends in ena in the case of a-stems; and down to a late stage of classical Prakrit, this ending is preserved, and occurs even in Chand in Gāthā passages, and, as stated in § 48, survives in Marathi as ए, where the final ए has been weakened to anusvāra. In Gujarati, also, the ए of the instrumental has been mentioned in the above-quoted section as a quasi-synthetic termination; but it will be observed that this ena loses its ए, and that we cannot in any way get ए out of it, unless we suppose a termination एम to start with, which does not exist. In general, the modern languages, throwing aside the complications of the various Sanskrit inflections, adopt those of the a-stem only, and the few traces of the synthetic system that still survive are, without exception, to be referred to that stem. We should hardly be justified in looking to the terminations of any other stem for the origin of modern forms; nor in this case would it much help us if we did: for, in all but the a-stem, the instrumental termination is आ; and although in masc. or neuter stems ending with a vowel an ए is inserted, making the whole termination ए, yet this ए is regarded by Bopp, i. § 158, as euphonic only, and not an
organic portion of the word. Even from ना, however, we could not get the anuswāra of न; and if this affix were really, as the theory assumes, a relic of an old synthetical case-ending, we should certainly find it in full force from the earliest times; whereas, on the contrary, the modern origin of न as an instrumental with the objective construction, has struck many scholars, and is, I believe, now generally admitted. Some instances may here be adduced of this construction in the older poets to show that they did not use an affix न or न as an instrumental.

Chand uses the direct or subjective construction even with the preterite of transitive verbs; thus—

दुसौ चार बुझूयी राज
दुसौ दियी न उतर कान—Pr. R. i. 49.

"Ten times the King asked,
The Brahmin gave no answer in the matter."

—where, in modern classical Hindi, we should have राजा ने पूछा and दिया ने स्वया.

Where the subject is a pronoun, it is often put in the oblique crude form, and the verb agrees with the object, as—

तिन रचा की न्‍य दुष्म—i. 136.

"He protected the Brahmin."

Here तिन is plural oblique, and की the old form of the preterite fem. of करणा, agreeing with रचा; again—

जिसं रचे चुरान् भुवन पाताल—i. 11.

"Who made heaven, earth, the seven hells."

The various nouns agree with रचे, which is neuter plural; while जिसं, the subject, is oblique singular. In the passage above quoted, i. 49, occur two lines close to each other, each with a different construction—
जिहि हावी रघुम भी तात मर।।
"He who killed the snake on my father's neck."

and in the next line but one जो हावी रघुम। In the first we have the agent in the oblique जिहि; in the second it is in the nominative जो—

मुख चाचेर चेन्न मु कीनी।।
यह परिमाण जिहि खर दीनी।।—xxi. 124.
"Good speed the Chandel made,
(Saying) 'Parimal hath written this,' he gave it into his hand."

Here the agent is in the nom. singular, although the verbs कीनी and दीनी, being both preterites of transitive verbs, would in Modern-Hindi require the objective construction.

Coming down to later times, we find Kabir employing the oblique construction without जो.

जिन्हः कलिमा कलि माह पढाया।।
कुद्रत पीजि तिन्हि नहि पाया।।—Ramanl., 35.
"He who taught the Kalam in the Kali Yug,
Having searched, did not find the power (of Allah)."

जिन्हः and तिन्हः are both plural oblique; but the construction is irregular, as the Arabic words كلمه kalama and تدرت kudrat are both feminine, and we should expect पढऱें and पाइं.

Perhaps it would be unfair to expect such a refinement from the weaver-sage, who wrote his language as he found it, without troubling himself much about the words he used. The fact that Kabir was a man of the people, and not a pandit, gives us great confidence in his writings as evidence for the way the ordinary folk of those days talked; and this confidence would be greater could we be sure that his writings had not been tampered with by meddlesome scribes. Again, he uses the direct construction in
**DECLENSION.**

मनि कामर् कूयो नहीं कलम गाही नाहि हाथ।
चारो नुम माहात्म जेहि कविर जनायो गाथ।

—Sakhi 183.

"Kabir touched not ink or paper, he took not pen in hand;
He made known the lord to whom is glory in the four ages."

Here कवि is nominative to the three transitive preterites कूयो "touched," नही "took," and जनायो "made known;" and with regard to the first verb, its objects are मनि, which is fem., and कामर् (काम), which is masc.; the second verb has for its object कलम (क्लम), which for some reason is always fem. in Hindi, and the verb is fem. also, and thus agrees with its object. It must be observed, however, that the word Kabir would, if treated as a Hindi word, have the same form in the oblique as in the nominative, and we may thus fairly regard it as oblique in this place. The verbs would then all regularly agree with their objects, as in the Karmani construction; in which case, if Kabir had known of the modern use of न as a sign of the instrumental, he would doubtless have used it. Another—

मैं रोयो सच जगत को मोक्ष के रवि न कोर।
मैं को रवि के जना को सदृ विनोबी होर।

—Sakhi 176.

"I have wept for all the world, no one weeps for me,
That man weeps for me who contemplates the word."

Here मैं, though used in Modern-Hindi as a nominative, has not yet lost its true force as instrumental of the first personal pronoun, of which मैं (मैम) is the true nominative.

The use of न as an instrumental is quite unknown to Behari Lal, in whose Satsāf it does not occur once. Tulsi Das is equally ignorant of it, as—

जब रघुनाथ समर रिपु जीते।

"When Raghunath conquered his enemies in battle."—Aranya-k. 265.

Without prolonging this inquiry by adducing any more
examples, it may be said, as a general deduction from the practice of the Old-Hindi poets, that they are ignorant of the use of व as an instrumental case-affix, and use the objective construction, as a rule, with the oblique form of the noun, indicated, where there is any oblique form, by the affix रू; and that in this respect Sindhi, Gujarati, and, as far as we know anything about it, Old-Panjabi, agree with Hindi, while one at least of the Marathi forms of this case is a relic of the Sanskrit instrumental. It would thus appear that, on the decay of the synthetical system, and the fusion of all the case-endings thereof into the one oblique form of the analytical system, no trace of the instrumental as a separate case remained, and its place was supplied by the objective for many centuries. A partial revival of this case took place at a later period, probably about the reign of Shah Jahan, when the form व, hitherto used for the dative, began gradually to be extended to the noun when used as the subject of a transitive verb in the past tense, and thus व came in High-Hindi to be used as an instrumental.

The reason for fixing the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the period when this innovation occurred is, that, as my learned friend Professor Blochmann1 has shown, it was about that time that the general admission of Hindus to offices under the Empire began to bear fruit in the Persianized form of Hindi which we call Urdu; and this new phase of the language was based, to a great extent, on the dialect of Hindi spoken in the provinces adjacent to the Court, in which the form व was in use as a dative.

Marathi supplies yet another argument in favour of the theory now under discussion. In that language the instru-

1 I wish to take this opportunity of paying my tribute of respect to this profound scholar, whose knowledge of all that pertains to the Court and Government of the brilliant Moghal dynasty of India is singularly minute and accurate, and whose splendid edition and translation of the "Ain Akbari" is the most valuable contribution to our information on this subject that has yet appeared, displaying an industry, depth of research, and range of knowledge, worthy of the highest admiration.
mental in य, which has been shown to be a relic of the Sanskrit यम, is felt to be too weak by itself to express the instrumental relation proper, as distinguished from the merely constructive instrumental; and where direct instrumentality is required to be expressed, we find a case-affix added: thus, "by means of a weapon," is गले कब्र, where गले alone is not felt to be explicit enough. On the other hand, न, so far from being felt to be an old half-abraded synthetical case-ending, is recognized as a distinct word, and has even yet hardly taken its place as a case-affix, but is often used as a postposition attached to the genitive case: thus we have such forms as लाचा नें = "by him," where लाचा is genitive masculine. It must be borne in mind that there are three grades of formative additions to a noun in these languages. First, and oldest, those affixes which are remains of the Sanskrit case-endings and are fully and completely incorporated with the stem and inseparable from it. Second, and next in point of time, those affixes which have been adopted to supply the place of case-endings when these latter had become so much abraded as no longer to mark case-relations with sufficient accuracy, and which are not integral portions of the stem-word, but are attached to its oblique form. Third, and latest, those adverbs, particles, and postpositions which are recognized as independent words, and are attached to the stem-word after it has already received its case-affix. It will be seen that the degree of coherence of these three grades is exactly in proportion to their antiquity. Consequently, when we find न in the third of these categories, we cannot admit it to be a relic of the synthetical system, because, if it were, it would be in the first category.

Marathi has plural forms for all its methods of forming the instrumental: thus—

Singular य has pl. ये and यी.

ये...

यी...

यू...

यू...
In this particular, popular usage seems to have extended to all three affixes a plural which was originally appropriate only to one; and the use of श्री in the singular is parallel to that of the ablative form भन, which, as shown in § 51, has been extended to the singular from being originally plural only: for श्री must be taken to be originally a plural also. The form श्री is a synthetic relic, being merely a lengthening of the Prakrit हि, Sanskr. मिस (Lassen, p. 310); श्री is more correctly written शी, and is, I think, another instance of the connexion between the instrumental and the dative. Such a word as देवादशी, or देवादी, "by a god," would correctly be divided देवाम + हि (for हि), and not देवा + शी. Hoernle has shown (J. A. S. B. vol. xiii. p. 61) that the form देवादाटी, used as a dative in Marathi poetry, has similarly been treated as though it were देवा + माटी, which is erroneous, as there is no such word as माटी. The word should be divided देवाम + माटी; the latter word being a Prakrit form of अहि "on account of." In these two cases we have a construction exactly parallel to that of लाभा ने above, where the affixes are only in the third degree of cohesion, and are attached to the genitive of the noun: for, as explained above, § 52, देवाम, though now used as a dative, is really देवस्म = Skr. देवस्म. Lastly, for the confusion still existing between the two cases may be cited the curious construction still common in Panjabi in such phrases as उस ने आवाम सा = "he was to have come," literally "by or to him to come it was" = "illī veniendum erat," or "ab illo veniendum erat," where we may call उस ने a dative or an instrumental, as we please. Native grammarians call it the latter.

The above considerations leave no doubt in my own mind of the truth of the theory that the forms of the instrumental case-affix now in use are originally datives which have been transferred to the instrumental. Other similar cases of the affixes of one case having passed over to another will be met with as we go through the remaining affixes.
§ 58. The Ablative.—The terminations of this case in Sindhi and Marathi have already been shown to be remains of old synthetic case-endings. Marathi has no other method of expressing the sense of "from;" but it, like all the other languages, uses the oblique form of the noun, together with a long string of affixes, or rather postpositions, to express meanings which it has been customary with grammarians roughly to class together under the head of ablative.

Strictly speaking, however, the ablative is that case which expresses procession from, or, as it is called by Sanskrit grammarians, चपादान; and I shall here therefore only notice those affixes which convey the meaning "from." These are—

Hindi  
Panjabi  
Sindhi  
Gujarati  
Oriya

Bengali has no form for the ablative, but uses a postposition इत, which has been explained above, § 51. The origin of the form ते appears to be the Skr. adverbial ablative तस, as in चामतस "from the village," in Pr. तो, where the द has been softened through द to त. In Chand it is often written तें, as—

ता के कुण तें उपनाि ||
"From his race sprung."—i. 164.

तुम वही बच सोच ने चथ ||
"Say ye (and) I make him slain from life."—i. 178.
(i.e. give the word and I kill him).

I think the anuswāra here is merely an inorganic addition, as it so frequently is. Concerning the origin of ची, there is much obscurity. No scholar, as far as I know, has as yet thrown any light on it. The most probable supposition is, that it is of the
same origin as ते, but with the particle दि added, so that दि would stand for तही, the vowel being lengthened. This appears to be Vans Taylor’s idea (Gujarati Grammar, p. 64); but it seems also to think the form may have arisen from a fusion of the two forms of the Prakrit ablative in चातु, चादु, which is possible, but not probable, as चातु is too old a form having passed into चाङ and चाउ before the period of the origin of Gujarati.

For the Sindhi खां, etc., Trumpp offers no satisfactory account, merely remarking that it is allied to the objective sign दे (दने), but with the termination of the ablative द्री, द्री, etc., added. More will be said on this point when considering the postpositions.

The Oriya छ appears in this form in the earliest documents we possess, and a fuller form टाछ is common in modern times. It will not, I think, be contested that we have here the Prakrit ablative in चादु; so that the forms would be Skr. खानात, Pr. टानादु; टाछ, टाँछ.

The Hindi affix छ, usually applied to the ablative in modern writings, does not really mean “from,” but “with,” and comes under the head of postpositions; but as it is now used as a case-affix,—that is, with the oblique form of the noun, and not, as pure postpositions are, attached to the genitive or other case,—it will be better to consider it here. छ is softened from an older form छिं, still used constantly in the rustic dialects of Hindi, and this leads us back to the full form सम, which is the Sanskrit adverb सम “with.” Chand uses it after verbs of speaking, just as छ is used in Modern-Hindi—

कहै दूत प्रिचिराच सम।
“Quoth the messenger to Pritkiraj.”—xii. 16.

कहै शति सम कंत।
“Quoth the wife to the husband.”—i. 7.

in which latter instance it precedes the noun to which it belongs.
Sindhi has forms ता, and ते; Gujarati जु or जे, used in poetry in the general sense of "with," though in some grammars erroneously called a locative, probably also belongs to this group; and in Old-Hindi we meet with an intermediate form सन, to which correspond the Sindhi forms साणु and वेणु. In Old-Bengali we meet with সনি, which, however, is probably for সনি, the form used in the modern language. Thus Chandī Dās (a.d. 1460) has—

यमुनार रुजन कद्वीर सुलि मिलिल श्रीमिर सने। — Pad. 1307, 26.
"On the banks of Yamunā, beneath the Kadamba tree, she met with Shyāma."

and Kāśi Dās (Mahābhārata 415, 6. 6):

कार सने बने युद्र को तिन जने।
"With whom in the forest fight the three men?"

Tulsi Dās uses सन in his Ramāyan frequently—

तेह सन याच्यमयक पुनि पाव।
"With him Yājñavalkya afterwards found (it)."—Rāma-kānd. 14.

सै पुनि मिले गुद सन मुनि।
"I afterwards having heard it with my own guru."—ib.

चित्रदर सन वोली कर जारी।
"She spake with Trijātā, clasping her hands together."—Sundar-kānd. 390.

§ 59. THE GENITIVE.—In all the seven languages, and in most of the subordinate dialects, the system that prevails for this case is to add to the oblique form particles which vary their terminations so as to agree with the governing noun. In other words, the genitive case-affix is adjectival, and agrees with the governing noun just as an adjective would, so that, as has been frequently remarked, the construction is not that of the Latin patris eque, but that of paterum eque. Bengali and Oriya having lost all gender and all means of marking the oblique form, have also rejected as useless the adjectival form of the
genitive; but it will be shown that the affixes which they use are closely allied to those used in some of the other languages. The forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Affix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjabi</td>
<td>da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>ja</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>ao</td>
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<td>Marathi</td>
<td>ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>ar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first five languages inflect this form. Thus Hindi has का, के, की; Panjabi दा, दे, दी; दिण्डा; and so with the others. Bengali and Oriya remain unchanged; and omitting them for the present, it will be seen that the principle of making the genitive case of the noun into an adjective runs through all the other five. It also prevails in the allied dialects. Thus Marwari has री, रे, etc.; Mowari ठी; the Konkani dialect of Marathi चो, ची, चे, etc., as well as चो, ची, चे; 1 Kashmiri चंद, चंटि, चंज, etc.

The genitive is the most difficult of all the cases to account for; and, as there has lately been considerable discussion about it between high authorities, one cannot but approach the knotty subject with some trepidation, taking as our starting-point the modern Hindi forms का, के, की. When the governing noun is masc. singular nominative, the genitive takes the affix का, as बापका घोड़ा "the horse of the father." The affix की is used when the governing noun is feminine, no matter what be its number or case, as बाप की घोड़ी "the mare of the father;" बाप की घोड़ीया "the father’s mares." When the governing noun is masculine, but not in the nominative singular, के is used, as बाप के घोड़े को मारा "he beat the father’s horse." Hindi has only these three forms, and the reason of this is, that its adjective is not inflected any more than this (see § 56).

It may next be noticed that there is evidence to show that a letter र has dropped out of all these forms.

1 Cuaha-Rivarâ, Grammatica de lingua Consani (Gen, 1850), p. 98.
The Bhojpuri, a widely-spoken rustic dialect of Bihar in the eastern Hindi area, has in its pronoun of the third person the genitive affixes करा, करी, though I have never heard करी. With this agrees the language of the Chingams or Gipsies of Turkey, whose genitive is formed by koro, which does not change for gender or number, though the closely allied adjective in koro, which Paspati (Tehingianés, p. 53) distinguishes from the genitive, does. Thus, Balamastro manush, "a Greek man;" Balamasteri gaji, "a Greek woman."

The Marwari dialect, as spoken in the present day, uses, as mentioned above, the forms रो, रे, री; thus भायो रे रामगढ़ री बाहो राजारी फोतादार "Here come I the merchant of Ramgarh, the Raja’s treasurer;" फोतादारी करी राजरी जीतू पदरि पारे "I hold the treasurership of the kingdom, from which I have acquired dignity."!

Nepali has की = H. का; का = H. के; and की = H. की. Nepali having set up as a distinct language on the formation of the Hindi kingdom of Kathmandu in A.D. 1323, we should expect to find it perpetuating the Hindi of the date when it separated from the parent stock, and we are thus led to conclude that, as early as the fourteenth century, the र had dropped out of many rustic dialects as regards the noun; while as regards the pronoun, it is retained in all of them to the present day; and, with the exception of M. and S., the genitive of all the personal pronouns in all the languages of this group is formed by an affix whose typical letter is र.

One step further back from modern times takes us to our only authorities for medialia Hindi—the poets. These eccentric gentlemen are very fond of omitting case-affixes altogether, and stringing in one line a number of nouns in their crude form, leaving the reader to make sense of them as best he may. I am not here alluding to Chand, but to writers far more modern than he, as Tulsí Dás and Bihari Lal. When, however, they do

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*Marwari Khyol, p. 3, ed. by Rev. J. Robson, Bawar, 1886.*
condescend to use case-affixes, they use several separate sets of forms.

First, and commonest, are the forms now in modern use: का, के, की; but of these का is generally and in the best editions written को or की. From this we gather that this affix, whatever its origin, is undoubtedly an adjective of old standing, the form को being the older form of the masculine nominative of e-stems, which always end in o in Prakrit, and still retain this o in G. नी and S. खी, as well as in Konkani ची. Examples are:

की
बार नगर निमिष माही
एक किमीघण कौ घर माही ||—Sundar-kānd. 305.

"He burnt the city in a moment.
Only not the house of Vibhishan."

की
जिन्हु की किन्हि सियत बढ़ाई ||—ib.

"Of whom he has made unlimited boasting."

के
मुनाज विमीघण प्रभु के रीती ||—ib. 298.

"Hear, O Vibhishan, the lord's custom."

In this last instance रीती, though feminine, has the masculine oblique form of the genitive; and this would seem to show that के was used with the oblique of both genders, for रीति is here the objective, though without the case-sign.

A few instances may be taken from the Bhaktamāla of Nābhajū (circa a.d. 1600, the tīkā is a little later):—

आये सामदेस भाईं पूछ सामदेस भू खैं दृष कौ प्रसंग खति रंग भर मालियो ||—Bh. 133, 1, tīkā.

"Came Vamdeob afterwards, he asked Namdevā, 'Tell me in full the very pleasant account of the milk.'"

कोक वाच नवरस ग्रास गुंगार की सागर ||

"A new zest in amorous poetry, an ocean of impassioned love."

—ib. 44, resd.

नरसिम्ह को बनुकिरण हीरे हिरणाकुम मर्याद ||

"In imitation of Narasingha, he smeared Hiramaksa (Hiranyakashīpa)."

—ib. 49, resd.
Extremely common in Tulsi Dās is the form कर; this is noticeable because affording a connexion with the Bhojpuri करा and the Gipsy koro. It is not declinable, and does not therefore make the genitive into an adjective. Instances abound, the following are a few:

"Hearing the friendly speech of the monkey."—Sundar-kānd 300.

"To-day the fruit of the good deeds of all has passed away."—Ay-k. 343.

"Quickly take away (this) fool's life."—Sundar-k. 304.

In some copies a feminine form कर occurs; but this is written कर in others.

In the pride of a monkey is in his tail."—Sundar-k. 304.

"Hearing with his ears the word of treachery."—ā. 309.

Kabir uses this form—

"There was there no day nor night,
Of him (i.e. the Creator) tell what is the race and caste?"

—Ram. vi. 5.

It is not, however, frequent in his poems; and, when it occurs, is chiefly used with the pronouns, as in the lines just quoted.

At this point comes in Bengali with its genitive in एर, which, like Tulsi Dās’s genitive in कर, does not change for gender or case. In Old-Bengali this case takes the affix कर, which still survives in certain adjectivally used forms; but, in accordance with modern Bengali pronunciation, now takes long ई, and becomes बार. Thus they say, बारिारि, “of to-day,” बारिारि “of to-morrow,” or “yesterday,” in such phrases as
"your letter of to-day has arrived," "the affair of yesterday;" also तिब्राकार, एवाकार "of that place," "of this place." The Oriya genitive in यर also belongs to this category. In the singular it has lost its ख, because in Oriya the final ख of stems ending in that letter is preserved, so that we must read यर ghar, not, as in H. or P., ghar. From this it results that when the affix यर was added, the ख stood alone between two vowels, and was, according to the general rule, elided. It ought to have thus produced ग्हर + ऐ = ग्हार; but the tendency of Oriya is to shortening unsounded vowels, and, whatever may have been the place of incidence of the accent in ancient times, in the present day it is certainly on the stem-syllable in ग्हार. Consequently, instead of ग्हार, we get ग्हार. In Bengali the same thing occurred, and the present form of the genitive in ऐ is, in all probability, another exemplification of the often-remarked tendency of this language to corrupt ऐ into ऐ. This view is supported by the fact that, in many cases where custom had previously led to the rejection of the final ऐ of the stem, the genitive even in Bengali is formed by ऐ, as in Oriya. If further confirmation were needed of this origin of the ऐ genitive, it would be found in the Oriya plural, where the ख is still preserved. Oriya, as above noted, § 43, adds to the stem the word ग्मन, to form the plural. This word takes in the nom. the form मानि for animate, and मान for inanimate objects; and in the oblique मानन, which is probably for माननि, like the Old-Hindi plural. Adding to मानन the genitive form यर, we get the modern Oriya genitive मानाय, wherein the ख has been preserved, quite according to rule, by being incorporated with the preceding nasal. Bidyapati sings—

कुलकासिनी हिनु कुलदा भेगु ताकर चचन बोहाई।—Pad, 984, 5.
"I was a virtuous woman, I have become unchaste through delighting in his words."

In his poetry, however, as in Kabir's, this form is more
frequently met with in the pronouns; in the genitive of nouns he generally drops the र्, and uses only कः: as—

मुखनक भौति यावायण सम रेखा #—Pad. 983, 2.

"The love of a good man is like a line (engraved on) stone."

प्राप्त सुण कहूँ सव कोई #—Pad.

"Every one will say (it is) the quality of love."

चढ़ने बाह्त मुणालक सूत #—Pad. 100, 6.

"It increases like the fibres of the lotus."

To be classed together with these forms is, I apprehend, the Marathi affix कर, denoting "a resident of," as in चिपकुकर "a man of Chiplun." Here also I would place the Marwari री, where the initial क has been rejected, and the still further corrupted Mewari को, and Kunkani को.

Passing on from कर and its variations, we must come to a fuller form बेरा, बेरी. This was first pointed out as a genitive by Hoerle in his articles in the Journ. As. Soc. B., and I have since found additional confirmation of his view from other instances. The two passages which were first noticed are in Chand.

कियी नट नीमाण पौष्चि सु बेरी #

भिरी दिप्ति सी दिप्ति चान्वयान बेरी #—xxi. 29, 9.

"The kettle-drum made a noise, the armies wheeled,
The sight of the Chāhuvān was lost from view."

That is, the two armies lost sight of each other from the dust they raised. The second passage is very obscure, and the rendering is tentative only; there is, however, no doubt about the genitive.

दैरी गम चंद्र चान्वयान बेरी #

करियं निर्दयन चित्त्वे चँक बेरी #—xx. 141, 7.

"Blindly ran the elephant of the Chāhuvān;
Making a circuit, he surrounded (the enemy) on all four sides."

There are other passages also where this form occurs. In fact, it is used whenever a rhyme is wanted for the preterite of
“To turn.” Kabir, however, uses it in the middle of a verse:

मानस केरि चबार या मति कोई पठे घार॥
कुर चेति चरत है वाघ गद्दहरा गार॥—Sakhi 153.

“The society of human beings, into that let no one hastily plunge; In one field feed the tiger, the ass, and the cow.”

तामस केरि तीन गुन और सदृढ़ तह बास॥
एक तारी तीनि पन मंटा कित वापस॥—Sakhi 142.

“Of ignorance are three qualities, the bee (i.e. life) has there taken up his abode;
On one branch three fruits, the brinjal, sugar-cane, and cotton.”

सावन करा संघरा बृंद परा चलमान॥
सव दुनिया वैष्णव भई गुरुन नामो बाग॥—Sakhi 77.

“(As from) the clouds of Sravan drops fall from the sky,
All the world has become Vaishnava, giving ear to the gurus.”

(Here चलमान=दुनिया, असमान=दुनिया।) Tulsi Dās also knows this affix, thus—

भथि बलक दृण जि त विसरी॥
सगुन माति० भेंट भिय बेरी॥—Ayodhyā-k. 33.

“For many days there was great expectation,
Omens and certainty of a meeting with the friend.”

मुनि बहि उक्ति पवन मुनि बेरी॥
बिहसे रघुपति बापी तन हेरी॥—Lankā-k. 6.

“Hearing this speech of the son of the wind,
Smiles Raghupati looking at the monkey’s body.”

पूणा देखि खार दूषण केरा॥—Aranya-k. 265.

“Seeing the smoke of (the bodies of) Khara and Dūshaṇa.”

The form बेरि, with its changes for gender and case, is also

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1 This is one of Kabir’s obscure didactic utterances. He means that ignorance, or rather the condition of unassisted human nature, has the three qualities of satīs, vajrā, and tamāk, in which life, compared to a bee among flowers, is sunk. It is, he says, as if one branch should bear such different products as those mentioned.
in use in Old-Gujarati, and the range of forms is fuller than in Hindi; thus we have—

With a n. sing. बेरी 
... n. pl. बेरा 
... oblique बेरा and बेरे 

Illustrations are—

चंपक बेरी विटडो || मे राण्डे कः घर ||

Samul Das, Padnavati, 64.

"I have kept at home the son of Champak."

मकम होय हबुरी बेरी धीयही नाखु वाधी सायर \||

"Let there be an order of Your Majesty, I will suck the sea dry."

—id. Angadvedikthi in Korya-d. l. 23.

आहवो बेरा तरंग तजीने तजमां बाहु बूप बाहुः रे

"Having left the waves of Ganges, he goes on to the bank and drinks from a well."

—Narsingh Mohita in Korya-d. ii. 3.

It is a well-known and frequently used affix in Gujarati.

To complete the range of illustrations, I may add here a remark which was accidentally omitted from its right place a page or two back, that Bidyapati's genitive in खः formed by omitting the र of कर, is also found in Old-Hindi. Thus, Tulsi Das has—

पितु आयु सव घरम के टीका ||—Ay.-k. 334.

"(To obey) a father's command is the crown of virtue."

And it occurs in Chand:\—

हरि कु उहारे हिनाक मधि ||

"Hari can save in an instant."—i. 60.

In this place मधि is = मधि, and is used in the third grade of cohesion with the genitive of the governed noun, so that हिनाक is a genitive (हिन = पग), and खः is shortened from कर or कराः.

The various facts that have been adduced have brought us up to the edge of the gap of the dark ages; and, before leaving terra firma for the region of analogy and the cloudland of inference, it may be as well to sum up what we have gained.

Hindi forms its genitive by affixes which produce an adjectival construction; these are का, के, की. Of these का is written को in Nepali, and in many rustic dialects, also in medieval poetry.

Bhojpuri has a pronominal genitive in जरा, जरी. Marwari has री, रे, री. Tulsī Dās and other writers have जर, with a feminine जर, which is doubtful. Oriya has जर in the genitive plural, and जर in that of the singular, which latter is due, as is also the Marwari री, to loss of the क. Bengali had जर in pronouns, and has जर still in certain adjectival formations; and its present genitive जर is formed from जर by loss of क and softening of the स (resulting from the coalition of the final स of the stem with the initial स of the termination) into स, more so. The gypsies have preserved the क and the र both in their genitive koro, which, when used as an adjective, has a feminine keri.

Old-Hindi and Gujarati have a fuller form of this genitive affix—केरा, केरी, केर.

Beyond these facts, there is, as far as we know, nothing further to be adduced; and the question now is, what is the origin of these forms? The form केरी is found in one of those scraps of Apabhraṃśa saws which Śastri Vrajīlal has quoted in his admirable little work. He unfortunately does not give the author’s name, and gives the date as Samvat 1551 (A.D. 1495), which is very modern for Apabhraṃśa; but the language of the lines is older than this date:

"कासी केरी आफरी दासी केरी नेह।
केंच केरी सिंधौ देखावो नेह।"

"Constipation at eighty-six, falling in love with one’s female slave,
Wrapping oneself in a blanket, show that death is near."

This might pass for Old-Hindi or Old-Gujarati; and it is noteworthy that the language is precisely identical with that which
Hemachandra writes about a Prakrit. It may, therefore, be permitted to us to regard the form करी as one which ascends into the Prakrit stage, or that of decaying but still existent synethetical forms, and it is consequently a form which has not yet become a mere affix, but still retains something of the nature of an independent word, and, as such, has a meaning of its own. We shall see, as we go further back in point of time, that in a slightly earlier age this word is capable of being used alone as an integral constituent portion of a sentence.

There has lately been a controversy between Hoernle and Pischel on this very subject; and in a work like this, which professes to lay before the reader such deductions as the author has been able to make from his own observation, and such facts as are generally admitted by scholars, it would be out of place to enter into a lengthened argument upon questions which are still sub judice. After reading and testing as far as I am able the arguments of both sides, the conclusion that I have come to in my own mind is that Hoernle is right, and that the objections of Pischel refer rather to details than to the general argument. The reader may judge for himself, either from the original articles (J.A.S.B., pt. i. p. 124, 1872; Indian Antiquary, vol. ii. pp. 121, 210, 368), or from the following brief, but I trust accurate, abstract of the arguments.

The Prakrits have a word kara, which is used in the plays in the sense of "done by," "connected with," "belonging to," and the like. It is to this word that the genitival form करी is referred by the writers above mentioned. It also occurs as karaka. Hoernle derives it from the Skr. past participle जन; Pischel, following Lassen and Weber, derives it from काय्य. Hoernle's process is as follows: जन becomes in Prakrit करिनो, just as मूर्त becomes मरिनो and ध्रृत changes to घरिनो; then the त drops out according to rule, leaving करिनो, which is the same word under a slightly different method of spelling as Chand's ष्ठ्यी, a form in use all through mediaeval Hindi.
करियो or करी makes करो just as naturally as जाह्व makes ज्ञाह्व through ज्ञाह्व (see Vol. I. p. 135). Pischel seems to mistake Hoernle's meaning, and to labour under the disadvantage of knowing nothing of the modern languages. A question like this is not to be settled, like a matter of Greek or Latin scholarship, merely by collating texts of written works. He urges that keraka is far too modern to have undergone "so vast and rapid" a change as that into Bengali er. But, unless the whole of this work which I am engaged on is wrong, the most striking feature of the seven languages is precisely the "vast and rapid" change which they have undergone; and, in this particular instance, a change that took fifteen centuries to effect is hardly too rapid. He relies on Lassen (p. 118), who, however, admits that his reason for doubting the derivation of केर्वक from कत is merely the absence of an र which could form र in the first syllable by epanthesis. Hoernle has shown how this might be, and has proved the existence of intermediate forms कारित्व and कारियो. The derivation from कार्य is a sort of pis alter, a casual thought which appears to have occurred to Lassen when he was hunting for an analogy to आचार्य = आचेक्ष्वर. It does not seem to have struck him or Pischel that the meaning of karyam will not in any way produce a genitive, while that of krota will. Krota means "done;" and to take as an instance the line of Tulsi Das quoted above, बाप बर बचन = बापियां बचन "the speech made by the monkey," is a phrase which would easily glide into "the speech of the monkey," while the phrase बापिकायं बचन would require to have its meaning violently wrrenched before it could be got to mean anything of the kind. I cannot perceive the drift of Pischel's objection founded on the fact that keraka is always inflected. Of course it is, and so is its descendant Gujarati करी, केरी, etc.; and it is this very quality of being inflected that makes it suitable for an adjectival genitive affix. It is further urged that in the later Prakrit dialects keraka becomes kelaka. This does not concern us, because the later
written Prakrits are as artificial as Sanskrit itself, and probably were utterly unlike the spoken language.

It may then, as a conclusion, be safely stated that Skr. छतमे becomes in Pr. करबो, then करो and करो, from which we get करबो and करो, and that from this, shortened into कर, comes the Mod.-Hindi का; while from कर, rejecting the final vowel as useless, in the two languages which have dispensed with gender and case, the Bengali forms चর and ठर and the Oriya चर and ठर are derived. It is possible that the Mewari को and Konkani को may be similarly derived from केळङ्के; but I prefer to regard them as modifications of an original रो, such as we have in Marwari.

Gujarati has for its genitive affix a series—नो, ते, गु, etc. The early form of this affix, which is found also in Apabhraṃsa, is तलो, तवो, तशु। Instances are—

ध्यान घर हरितंशु चक्षु संस्करित आलंकृ।

"Fix thy thoughts as Hari, O thou of little wit, indolent."
—Narsingh Mehta, Kavya-d. ii. 1.
(Literally, "grasp the meditation of Hari."

सरस नृण हरिताब्राह्मणे व सभो चेतानुसर्या।
तितंतत्त्र सुचित तो जगत चोलि।

"The man who has cultivated the excellent virtues of Hari.
The world celebrates his glory."—ib.

इद्यर्दे केर अच्यात्ति कारण द्वारिका ध्वनं एव शास्ते।

"On account of the shame of Drupad, he rushed from Dwārikā in a breath."—ib. ii. 5.

In this line both forms of the genitive are used, that with केरि and that with तेथ। Another instance from the Apabhraṃsa was quoted in § 16. Another is—

महाराज लक्ष्मी ततो एम भाषि।

"The King of Lankā thus speaks."—ib. i. 16.

Side by side with this affix, the modern affix in भो, etc., occurs:
but this does not prove that it is not a later form of तणी, because the poets habitually employ archaic forms side by side with those of their own day, as we have seen in the quotations from the Hindi poets in this Chapter. Nor does the change of थ to न present any difficulty, as Gujarati is very lax in this matter, and in common parlance, like Hindi, uses न in places where थ is etymologically correct.

Bearing in mind that the principle which runs through the genitives of all these languages is to apply to the noun some affix which shall give it an adjectival sense, it will not seem strange that each language should have selected its own affix from the extensive range of adjectival affixes which Sanskrit offers. In the present instance it is natural to look to the affix तन, in such words as सनातन “perpetual,” from सना “always;” पुरातन “ancient,” from पुरा “formerly;” नितम “new,” from नू “now;” चिरंतम “old,” from चिर “long ago,” न is generally written न in the western Prakrits, and thus तन becomes in Apabhramsa, as we have seen (§ 46). तणी. The meaning of तन accords well with that of an adjectival genitive; and it is not strange to see an affix which in the classical language is of restricted use, extended by the vulgar to every noun in their language. Although in Sanskrit this affix forms adjectives out of adverbs of time only, yet in the Gipsy language we find the corresponding affix ताल extended to adverbs of place; as,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>अग्निलान</td>
<td>अग्नि “fire”</td>
<td>“farmer”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रत्तेत  रत्तित</td>
<td>रत्ती “night”</td>
<td>“nightly;”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अरत्तेत  अरत्तित</td>
<td>अरति “night”</td>
<td>“nightly;”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अगुतेत “firstborn”</td>
<td>अगु “former”</td>
<td>“firstborn”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>दरितेत “distant”</td>
<td>दर “far”</td>
<td>“distant”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And even to nouns, as—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>गावतेत “villager,”</td>
<td>गाव “village”</td>
<td>“villager”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>दकारतेत “kingly,”</td>
<td>दकार “king”</td>
<td>“kingly”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With elision of \( t \), just as in modern Gujarati,

\( angaruna \) "made of coal,"  
\( ang\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{dur}}} \) "coal" (Skr. अग्नि).

\( barasa \) "stony,"  
\( bar \) "stone."\(^1\)

The affix तन्त्र is also in use in some rustic dialects of Hindi, and will probably be found in Chand, though I do not remember to have seen it there.

The Marathi genitive affix चा has been asserted to be derived from the H. जा by the change of क into च; but after much searching I am unable to find a single other instance of this change in the whole of this language, and hesitate to believe that so common a word as the genitive affix should be the result of a phonetic change, which is absolutely isolated and unsupported by a single analogous process (see Vol. I. p. 209). It seems rather to have arisen from the Skr. affix ध, meaning "produced in," "sprung from," in such words as दधिवधार "southern," पाखाल "western." Here, again, it is assumed that an affix of restricted application in Sanskrit has obtained a wider use in the vulgar language. In old Marathi poetry this affix has a lengthened form विया, विये, and विसन; but this additional syllable is merely added to eke out the metre, and is commonly found after other case-affixes also, as in जनि and जनिया for जन.

Sindhi takes as its affix नी, which Trumpp wishes to derive from the Skr. adjectival affix ज through ज to न, a process for which there is no authority. It will be in analogy to the derivations suggested for the G. नी and M. चा, to derive this affix also from a Sanskrit adjectival termination, namely ज (जत), in such words as जन, रज, वज, धज, and the like. The only obstacle to this theory is that नी is added to the oblique form, whereas, if every substantive had been made into an adjective by the addition of ज, only the stem would remain; and the same objection applies to the derivation.

\(^1\) Miklosich, über die mundarten der Zigeuner Europas, II. 23.
suggested for Marathi च: thus घोटकन: equinus, might give घो
कणी, and thence घोड़ा; and but not घोड़ा; as it actually is.
Perhaps among the unthinking vulgar the custom of adding all
the other case-affixes to the oblique form was carelessly extended
to the genitive also. As regards Sindhi, however, it is, as an al-
ternative line of investigation to be pursued, worthy of considera-
tion whether we have not here the relative pronoun च “who,”
thus घरी चो घणी “the master of the houses,” would be origin-
ally, “the master who (is) of the houses,”—the oblique form here
doing duty as a genitive, which is exceedingly probable when
we remember how large a part the genitive occupies in the
formation of the modern oblique.

Sindhi and Kashmiri have a genitive affix, S. सन्द, K. सन्द.
The modifications of the Kashmiri genitival affix are very
eccentric and peculiar, and are given as follows by Elmslie

With singular: Sing. masc. सन्द   fem. संत्र (सन्द),
noun: Pl. masc. सन्द  fem. संज्ञ (संज्ञ)

With plural: Sing. masc. सन्द   fem. संज्ञ (संज्ञ)
noun: Pl. masc. संज्ञ  fem. संज्ञ (संज्ञ)

Here not only does the affix vary in concord with the
governed noun, but it varies with the governing noun also, thus
introducing a double series of confusions. Examples are not
given in the meagre article from which these forms are taken,
and there are contradictions in it which detract from its trust-
worthiness. Moreover, the author having laid down at the
outset a system of transliteration, straightway departs from it;
and by giving us also the words in the Persian character instead
of the Nagari, he still further misleads the reader. All this is
very tantalizing, because the few scraps of information which
we have about Kashmiri are just enough to show that it is one
of the most interesting and instructive languages of the group,
retaining a singularly rich array of archaic words and forms.
There is one peculiarity, however, of which a firm grasp can be taken, namely, the change of initial च into ह. This is a well-known feature in Zend and in those Aryan languages which are situated close to the Zend area (see Vol. I. p. 258). This process seems to explain the origin of the Panjabi genitive in दा, दे, दी, etc. In Panjabi, the change of च into ह is extremely frequent, and it is in its general features a less archaic language than Kashmiri, so that it is not unreasonable to suppose, that while the latter only suffered च to be weakened to ह in the feminine affixes, Panjabi suffered the change to take place in all cases, and we thus postulate an old Panjabi form हदा. This form is still used in many rustic forms of Panjabi. It and सदा are simply the present participle of the verb “to be,” and one often hears सदा हदा = “being,” or हदा सदा, according to the dialect. सदा is the Panjabi version of Pr. सनो, Skr. सन. from the root सन. One can readily understand how a word meaning “being,” when added to the oblique form of a noun, would gradually acquire the sense of a genitive; thus, “the horse being to me,” or “which is to me,” becomes “my horse,” just as in Latin we have the construction “est mihi.” The anuswāro of the present participle is dropped in Panjabi in many verbs, especially in the more cultivated portions of the country, where the typical or classical form of the language would naturally be developed; thus, while the rude herdsman of the southern deserts say सदा mārendā, “beating,” the dwellers in towns say मारदा mārdā. In this way सदा would become हदा, and that again हदा, whence by elision of ह we get the present genitive form ह्र। It is worthy of notice, that this form in ह्र seems to be of comparatively late origin, and that in the Granth we more frequently find the genitive affix खा, as in Hindi.¹

§ 60. The locative.—The traces of the synthetic system still

¹ Trumpp in J.R.A.S., s.s., vol. v, p. 108.
remaining in this case have been commented upon in § 48: here we have to notice the modern case-affixes used to express a locative meaning. These are as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Affix</th>
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<th>Affix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>म</td>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>तै.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjabi</td>
<td>विच</td>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>पै.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>में, मंदिर</td>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>मा.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>मां</td>
<td>Kashmiri</td>
<td>manū (= मण्ड)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>चंत</td>
<td>Gipsy</td>
<td>te.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most important group of these endings is that having श for its characteristic, and we are fortunately able to trace the origin of this affix fully back to the earliest times. It is derived from the Sanskrit adverbially used locative मध्य, meaning "in the middle." Chand uses a great variety of progressive forms of this affix, thus showing that even in his time the changes had been completed, and that he was consciously employing archaisms, as he so often does, when he used forms which were older than the latest में. Instances are, dropping the final ए, and thus giving मध्य.

"क्षमत स घर मध्य वसि "
"Immortal dwelling among mortals."—i, 3.

"ठह वोहि वाणी दल मध्य शायी "
"Having said this speech, he came amongst the army."—xxi, 10.

In this fuller form the word retains the fuller meaning "amongst." Next comes the solution of the semivowel into its vowel माण्ड, and when a long vowel is required माण्ड.

"हुजार सु तीन घर परे घर माण्ड "
"Thousands three fell on the earth."—xxi, 7, 59.

"शोमिनीय मदो राममी माण्ड "
"The witch went amongst the queens."—i, 178.

1 Parpall, p. 55. See also p. 600.
The natural transition from घ + य to घ (see Vol. I. p. 320) gives the form मझ्य.

सुख्य परिय मझ्य बिज-बचाय।
"Fell headlong into the bottomless pit."—i. 79.

सुख्य is here a form of the 3rd person singular preterite for सुर्या, which would be the Hindi rendering of Skr. सोभिते from मोश, and thus means "was set free;" combined with परण्या = पड्या "to fall," it means "was let loose falling," i.e. "fell unrestrainedly or headlong." The order is here, as sometimes in Chand, and often in Sindhhi, reversed, the postposition becoming a preposition.

Connected with this last form are the forms मांझ and मव, with inorganic anuswāra, and the former with lengthened vowel. The final short घ is rejected, a fate which frequently befalls final short vowels in Hindi.

उपवाच मांझ चलि गये भाय।
"They themselves went into the garden."—xxi. 5, 6.

उपवाच is probably a curious termination of उप with Persian ا, after the fashion of उपवन.

की राजव बनन घर मवें।
"What king, in what land."—xxvi. 18.

In the next line we get—

पर्चर उजेन मधू।
"In wealthy Ujain."

पर्चर = Skr. प्रतु "abounding in (wealth)." A lengthened or secondary form, मधार, with a quasi-diminutive termination, is also used, but with the more definite meaning, "in the middle of."

गर नारी लोक महें। पागुन मास मधार।
"The modesty of men and women has gone, in the middle of the mouth of Phāgun."—xxiii. 1, 4.
—alluding to the indecent songs sung at the Holi festival in that month;

"Having received the news, she arrived in the middle of the city.”—i. 178.

"The enemy fled into the middle of the hills and forests.”—i. 206.

A step further brings us to the rejection of the organic portion of the aspirate and retention only of the aspiration (Vol. I. p. 263, &c seqq.), thus producing the extremely common form मँहः.

कञ्चन मँहः कञ्चूरी।
रानी रेडेत नवन शुष्कार।||
"Putting musk into lampblack.
The queen streaks her eyes for ornament.”—i. 20.

श्रार्यपंड मँहः चरत।
"Grazing in Jhärkhand.”—i. 61.

It is frequently lengthened to माही and माहीः.

देखति नृपति वसि नेंद्रा माही।||
"Seeing the king sitting in sleep.”—i. 191.

लयी बीर जलहर पविं धर माही।||
"The hero Jalhan was smitten, he fell in the field.”—xxi. 264.

There is also a corrupt form मँहः.

पिय रन मँहः मरे।
शारी सती स होय।||
"If the husband dies in battle
(And) the wife does not become a Sati.”—xxi. 175.

From this last form, which is properly मँहः, by rejection of the 
comes the present ordinary form मँहः.

एक मास में नवर बसायी।
"In one month he colonized a city.”—i. 218.
The Sindhi and Gujarati forms are only slight dialectic variations from the Hindi type; as is also the Nepali, which has not the anunāsika.

Bengali and Oriya often express the locative by adding the full Sanskrit form मध्ये to the genitive, and Oriya oddly gives the locative ending to this word, so that we often hear ताहार मध्ये, where the last word is the locative of a noun मध्य. Marathi also uses मध्ये in the same way, and in poetry the archaic माजी, as in Tukaram, Abhangas 1887:

विश्वने विश्वल नाहीं दुंिे काहीं || देखौ व नुंि हि तयामाजी ||

"Vithal is the universe, there is nothing besides, thou also art seen in him."

And again—

विरंचजने चेकु ब्रह्मांड सज्जत || तयामाजी बेचु नामा चुकित ||

"Brahma has created the whole universe, in it are his various diversions and skill."—Abb. 1886.

The most common method of expressing the locative, however, in Marathi, is by adding to the oblique form त, apparently derived from the Skr. adverb तात्त "within," which in Prakrit becomes बंती. This particle is, even in classical Sanskrit, used as an affix, as द्वानात्तर, between the teeth. In Marathi the initial vowel is lost, and the two letters त alone remain. Thus, पारा + त = घरात "in a house," हसी "on an elephant," from हसी; मधु + त "in honey," from मधु, with the vowel of the termination lengthened, as is customary in the oblique form.

Of the Bengali ते the most probable origin is from the adverbial ablative तम, of which notice was taken in a preceding paragraph; and Oriya र, which, in its fuller form, is उर, is probably of the same origin,—the two forms, रा and उर, having by degrees been restricted to special meanings of the same case, namely the ablative.

§ 61. In addition to the case-affixes above noticed, which are
specially attached to definite cases, there is a very large number of particles which serve to modify the noun, but which cannot have any definite place assigned to them in the narrow range of cases to which the grammarians have bound down the Aryan declension. They fall into two classes, according as they are attached to the crude form of the noun, or to the genitive case. The classification cannot, however, be carried out very thoroughly, because some of them fall into different categories in different languages. Thus, H. पास "near," (Skr. पासे), is attached to the oblique masculine genitive, as घर के पास "near the house," literally "near of the house;" but M. पामुन, which is the same word as H. पास, is attached to the oblique stem, as घरामुन. It will be better, therefore, to go through the most commonly used and widely current of these postpositions, without attempting to class them under either of the two heads mentioned above. The distinction is important, as indicating the degree of cohesion to which each particle has attained; and thus enabling the student, in the absence of literature, to form an idea of the comparative antiquity of each of them, and thus to measure, to a certain extent, the rate of progress of these phonetic changes which have given rise to the present modern languages.

§ 62. Of wide use is H. आगे "before," used with a genitive; its older form is आगू, still heard in rustic Hindi. Sindhi has आने and आगिच, with oblique genitive in ब, or with ablative in बा. The other languages have—

Panjabi आने and आगिच.
Gujarati आमाल.
Oriya आगरे "आगम.
Bengali आনে (vulgo) एमि.

In all these pairs of words we have derivatives from two cases of the Skr. चय. The words in ब are locatives from बँच.
meaning "in the front;" those in u and o ablative from चारत्, meaning "from the front;" चारत् becomes Pr. चर्गादु, चर्गाणि; and the long अ is in Hindi entirely omitted, and in S. and P. softened to े; while Oriya adds its own locative and ablative case-affixes रे and ः.

Similarly, for the corresponding word "behind," the Old-Skr. adjective चार (vedic) supplies its locative चारे (not used in classical Skr.) and its ablative चारम्. The words in use are—

H. पाहि, पाहि and पाहूः.
P. पिवि विवि.
S. पीचि वुचि.
G. पाहि वाहि, पाहि.
B. पिवि.
O. पाहि... पाहूः.

The nexus ः regularly becomes ः, and then ः, with a preceding long vowel. H. पीचि presents an anomalous long श, for which it is difficult to account. My theory is, that the same process has taken place as in निविह (Vol. I. p. 307), where the nexus is sandpapered, and the ं passes into ः, producing निविहे; thus चारे would become पाहिे, or, owing to the tendency to insert ऴ after ः between two short vowels (Vol. I. p. 138), पिविे, and thus मिविे, which, from imitation of the kindred word मिविे, has been written with ः. The Sindhi has entirely dropped the nexus, and substituted a labial vowel, which is very anomalous. In every case it will be seen that the terminations are respectively locative, meaning "in the rear," and ablative, meaning "from the rear."

A third series, meaning "below," is afforded by the same two cases of the Skr. adj. नीचि "low."

H. नीचि and नीचूः.
P. नीचि व नीचित.
G. नीचि.
B. id.
This series is not so extensively used as the others, as there are two competitors for this meaning: तने, which is the favourite word in B. and O.; and हेठ, which has the preference in P. हेठ “below,” हठो “from below,” हठद “along the under side of;” G. हठ “below;” S. हठ “below,” हठो “from below.” तने requires no explanation, being a simple Skr. locative, one of those strong plain words which is not susceptible of any phonetic change. हेठ is a curious word, and has undergone considerable change. Its origin is Skr. भठ्ठ, which, in Pali and Prakrit, becomes हेठ, by rejection of the initial a, solution of घ into ह, and change of the second a to a short e. Although भठ्ठलाल, a common Skr. adverb, is generally quoted as the origin of this word, yet it would be more in consonance with the regular course of phonetic change to look to a form भठ्ठ: the last element of which would be the root खा (घा), to stand. The P. हठो and S. हठ are, however, regular ablative; and G. हठ is the regular locative, just as the other above quoted words. (Weber, Hāla, pp. 42, 202.)

Skr. उपर “upon,” gives H. उपर, and so in all. With loss of initial a, it yields a long string of words, which have arrived at the position of case-affixes, being joined directly to the oblique form; these are, H. पर, परि, पे “on;” S. परि, G. पर, O. परे, B. परे. With further softening of प into व, it becomes in M. वर, and is closely attached to the noun, being written as one word with it; and so also in Gujarati: not even taking the oblique form of the noun, but the simple stem, as घरवर “on the house,” तबवर “on a tree.”

Skr. खाने gives H. तारे and ताई, which, from having originally meant “in the place,” has grown gradually into an affix meaning “up to,” and even simply a sign of the objective = को; so you may say उस की मारी or उस ताई मारी “beat him.” S. has also ताई and ताई, P. ताई.

From Skr. समष्ट, Pr. समूः and समूः, are derived H. समष्टि, साम्र, समूः, सोः, and सोः; S. साम्ह, सामश्यो, and सामश्ये.
P. साहमि and साहमिनि; G. सहामि, सहामा, सहामे. The M. समी, used like the rest in the sense of coram, in front of, face to face, is rather a modern compound from modern materials, म "with," and मोहरा "front," a recent diminutive from मुख. To this group may also be attached the Oriya कामु, meaning originally "in front of," then "in the presence of (a king)," and so, ultimately, as a substantive, meaning the court or audience-hall of a king or great man, in which sense it takes the locative sign रे, as राजकार्य कामु नियित जना, "he supplicated the king," literally "in the audience of the king." The Hindi writers spell their word in a dozen different ways; but from the terminations of H., as well as the other languages, it is clear, that here also we have the two Skr. cases locative and ablative, as in most of the other postpositions.

Skr. पारि and पार्व "near," H. पास, P. पास and पाह "near," पार्वियों and पार्वि "from near," S. पारि, G. पायि, M. पासी, पासून. Here, again, the locative and ablative.

There are innumerable other postpositions in use in all the languages; they will be found in the dictionary. The point to be observed is the prevalence of forms derived from the Skr. locative and ablative cases, necessitating the placing of the noun to which they are attached in the oblique genitive, or, to speak more clearly, in that form of the genitive suffix which it takes when governed by a noun in the singular oblique.

The structure of the modern noun is thus strikingly homogeneous in all the seven languages, as well as in those cognate dialects which have not yet been thoroughly investigated; and which, owing to the insufficiency of trustworthy data for them, it has been found necessary to exclude from the present inquiry. They have all a stem in four forms—the nominatives of the singular and plural, and two obliques for the two numbers. There are also here and there traces, faint and slight, but still quite unmistakable, of the older synthetical system of the Aryan languages. These traces consist of abraded case-endings,
occasionally removed from the stem, and used as postpositions. Some confusion has crept in—as was natural among generations which had lost the sentiment of synthetical construction—between the various cases, and a form proper to one case has passed over to another, or been extended to all. To supply the distinctness of meaning which the mutilated case-endings no longer afforded, case-affixes, themselves for the most part shortened and simplified remnants of old adjectives, nouns, and participles, have been called in; but though this principle has been introduced into all the languages, the precise words so adopted vary in each case, every language having forms of its own not used by the others. The close relationship of the whole, however, is more fully established by this practice than it would have been had all the languages been in the habit of using precisely the same affixes. Uniformity of principle is a far deeper lying bond and token of esoteric unity than mere surface similarity of individual words: the latter might have been borrowed; the former, being an inborn mental instinct, could not.

The same remark holds good of the still further development of the noun’s capabilities of expression, as shown in the postpositions which do not form cases, but are merely attached to the oblique noun. In these there runs throughout the same principle, though its exemplifications are different. The more we penetrate into the secrets of the structure of these languages, the more do they show themselves to be closely allied by the deepest and most fundamental ties,—the same blood runs in the veins of all, and the same fertile Aryan mind has found expression in their rich and varied formations for its activity, wealth of resource, and πολυμόρφος ἐνέργεια.
CHAPTER IV.

THE PRONOUN.


§ 63. The Personal Pronouns in all the seven languages are singularly homogeneous in type, and their analysis is rendered comparatively easy by the fidelity with which they have preserved the Prakrit forms. In this respect they stand in contrast to the nouns which have so widely departed from the ancient models. The first and second persons run parallel to one another, and have four fundamental forms, namely the nominatives and the obliques in both numbers. The genitive is a possessive pronoun, and, as in the noun, adjectival in form. It will be treated separately.
Of the first person the forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>है, मै [मै]</td>
<td>मुझे, मो</td>
<td>हम</td>
<td>हमें</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjabi</td>
<td>है [मै]</td>
<td>में</td>
<td>अच्छी</td>
<td>अच्छा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>अंगे, अं</td>
<td>मू, मो</td>
<td>अस्ती</td>
<td>अस्ती</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>ज्ञ</td>
<td>मझ</td>
<td>जानही</td>
<td>जानहा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>मो</td>
<td>मझ</td>
<td>जानही</td>
<td>जानहा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>म</td>
<td>मो</td>
<td>जानही</td>
<td>जानहा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>मु</td>
<td>मो</td>
<td>जानही</td>
<td>जानहा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gipsy</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>mēn</td>
<td>anēn</td>
<td>amēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>म</td>
<td>म</td>
<td>हामी</td>
<td>हामी</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above scheme are given the forms which are etymologically correct, rather than those which the people really use, for much confusion has taken place in this respect in modern times in two ways. First, H. P. and M. use for the nominative a form which is really the instrumental; H. P. में has now quite superseded the old and proper nominative है in all but a few rustic dialects; and in M., as far as I can learn, there is no trace of a form है, or anything like it, either in ancient literature or in rustic speech. Oriya and Bengali have for their nominative a form beginning with म, which is characteristic of the Skr. oblique; so have the Nepali and the Gipsy languages. Secondly, Oriya and Bengali have adopted the habit of using their nom. pl. आमि and चाम्हे as singulars, and have invented fresh plurals, O. चर्मामि and B. आमरा, and B. has in addition struck out a plural for सर in the shape of मोरा. Fashion and pandit-influence have succeede in relegating poor सर and मोरा to the domain of "vulgar" speech, and, to a certain extent, Oriya सर also; and so far has this habit gone that many natives refuse to admit that सर and सर are the true old singulars, but, in spite of the obviously plural nature of चन्दे and आमि, persist in regarding them as the genuine singulars.
The nominative singular हैं, हैं, है or है—for these four forms are all one and the same—represents the Sanskrit चाहै, which loses its initial a in the Apabhraṣṭa or vulgar Prakrit, and becomes हैं; which Lassen (Inst. Pr. p. 466) shows to be shortened from the Saunéra चाहै, so that आ stands for म (Vol. I. p. 234). Hence, by elision of म, comes हैं, a form which Panjabi in many of its rustic dialects still retains. Sindhi goes a step further, and rejects the है, while lengthening both vowels. The other form, चै, Trumpp considers as simply contracted from चाहें; but as चाहें had been lost to ordinary speech long before the Sindhi forms began to be excogitated, it is more probable that चै is to be regarded merely as a shortened form of चाहें. Old-Hindi है is the same word as P. हैं with a slight difference of spelling; while Middle-Hindi and Gujarati चै are shortenings of the same by omission of the short internal a. Chand uses हैं, sometimes written हैं, as—

तो हैं क्षणी देह ॥

"Then I quit this body."—i. 157.

सत हैं सचि सुभद्र हैं मात ॥

"All that I am hearing, O mother."—i. 160.

Modern-Hindi and P. चै, which is now the only form in use for "I," is, strictly speaking, like Marathi मी, the instrumental; in Skr. मव, in Apabhraṣṭa मर्, and apparently also मर्, though Lassen is doubtful on this point (Inst. Pr. p. 480). I fail to see why Trumpp calls this an accusative (p. 189). The transition of the instrumental into a nominative is rendered natural by the use of the prayoga, in which the subject takes an instrumental form, and accordingly Chand uses चै only before the prterite of transitive verbs, i.e. in the place where the subject is required to be in the instrumental; in all other places he uses हैं. Thus—

मे सुभद्र साधि बिन चैं वीर ॥

"I heard that the Shah had put out his eyes."—lxv. 110.
—where in Modern-H. we should have में ने मुगा. The modern fashion of saying में ने is founded upon ignorance of the true nature of the word, and contains the instrumental twice over. In Panjabi this error is often avoided, में being used alone as an instrumental; and so also in Gujarati, where में alone is the instr. of थ. Marathi मी is probably from मां; but M. has also two forms of the instrumental, मी and स्वां, the former of which refers back to मां, and the latter to some other corruption of Skr. में, the intermediate links of which are not extant.¹

B. मुं and O. मू appear to have arisen from the Apabhramśa form हुम् by rejection of the initial ह, and have probably passed through a stage in which they were spoken चस्म् and चन्म्: the first र in B. is inorganic. It is in singular accordance, as regards sound, with these forms, that Sindhi, at the other end of the Indian continent, uses also मू as a nominative, as also मो; but, as regards origin, these forms have apparently, like H. में, passed over from the instrumental.

The commonest types of the oblique form in the singular are मो मो and मुं मुं मुं. मो occurs throughout Old and Middle Hindi, Oriya, and Bengali. It appears in the slightly modified forms मू and मां in Sindhi; and, if we are to write Paspati's मन as मां, in the Gipsy also. Although, in treating of the genesis of the oblique in nouns, it was stated that not the genitive alone, but a sort of conflation of all the cases in Prakrit fused down into one lay at the origin of the modern form, yet it was also

¹ Lasum probably reads धनि for ध्र in Vikramaśī, Act iv. (p. 92, Calæ. ed.), where the Calcutta edition reads मति. The line is: ए मति पुष्यि भमनि यार विश्र चंद्रहिम. Here it is clearly a nom. "If I, wandering about the world, shall find my love," as the Skr. gloss gives it; चहुँ परिवर्तन्त भमनि चां प्रियां विविधे। Lasum uses Lasum's edition, which is not procurable here; but if मति is to stand, it is a noteworthy instance of a construction which has now become universal in Hindi, by which the instrumental is used for the nominative even before verbs in the present and future, and not only, as in the Karnaṇि prayoga, before the praterite.
admitted that the genitive had exercised a potent and perhaps slightly preponderating influence. Here, in the pronoun, the genitive has clearly been the foundation of the modern type. The genitive in classical Prakrit and Pali is not here alluded to, so much as that of the Apabhraṃṣa. In the classical Prakrit the genitive stands as मम, मह, मम्म, and मे; हाल्ला uses मम (once), मम्म, मह, म्, and म्य, and पर्ल; and Pali has मम, मम्म, मह्न, and पर्ल. Of all these forms, हाल्ला's मह seems the most popular, and stands one step higher than the Apabhraṃṣa मह, from which comes directly the S. genitive मह. Of the introduction of a into the first syllable in this word, and in II. मह, notice will be taken further on. मह would become मी and मो, just as the objective affix क्ष becomes, as we have seen, की and को. Of मी we have, indeed, no instances; but then we have no writings of the period when it was in use. In Chand and his successors मी, with its oblique affix फ़ि, occurs frequently. First मो, with or without case-affixes—

बिम उधार मी होद ॥
"How shall there be salvation for me."—I. 188.

बह जाति कविजन सूपति ॥ सच गाम मो चंद्र ॥
"Bhat by caste, King of poets, Lord! my name is Chand."—vi. 18.

बैसी कहि मो कह दर पाटङ ॥
"Having thus said for me you find fear."—I. 180.

जो मो सी साच  न कहि ॥
"If you do not speak truth with me."—I. 157.

Secondly, मोहि and its shorter form मुहि:

को मुहि इंद्र निगलिहे ॥
"If Dhundha shall swallow me."—I. 170.

कहिरो मोहिनि वर मोहि ॥
"Quoth the lord of Mohini to me."—I. 192.

मोहि मोहि नाम पिता राज्जाय ॥
"There is no business for me in my father's palace."—Ixiv. 366.
In Old-Bengali also the closely-allied मোষ is the regular form in use. Here the final e is short and =i. Bidyapati has: ।

वि बहुं मोषे निद्रान ॥

"What dost thou say to me after all?"—Pad.

मी बीने स्वपने न हेतरी आन ॥

"Except me, in sleep thou shalt not see another."—Pad.

The other form मुष is derived from मव्य, one of the Prakrit forms of the genitive, and owes its u probably to assimilation to the pronoun of the second person मुष. M. and G., while changing the ध into ध, retain the vowel o, and use मव्य. Chand uses मुষ not only as a genitive, as in

रह धरती मुष पित परपित ॥

"This land (was) my father's and forefathers',"—i. 279; but as an oblique generally, as in

तू मुष बचपहि माई ॥

"Tell thou to me, O mother!"—i. 147.

Modern-Hindi uses a form मुष, which is made by adding e, the usual sign of the oblique in nouns, and indicates the objective case; the affixes of the other cases are added to मुष alone, as मुष पर, से, etc. The genitival origin of the form has been quite forgotten.

Gujarati is very unfixed and irregular in the oblique cases. It takes मज alone for the genitive, at least so say the grammars; and, moreover, makes it the oblique stem, to which case-endings are attached, as मज ने "to me," मज थि "from me." The old poets use also मुष. Thus—

मुषनै तवया चेकली कड़ग करो वो मज ॥

"You form the cruel intention of leaving me alone."

—Tulsidas Kavya-d. i. 4.

In addition to this, however, it uses the form of the genitive (masc. nom.) मारा as a fulcrum for the ablative and locative, as मारा थि "from (of) me," मारा सि "in (of) me;" and the
oblique form of the same मारी as an instrumental and dative. These are confusions arising from the consciousness that the oblique मि was really an old genitive; so that, when they got a new genitive, they used it also as an oblique. One hears in Hindi also, colloquially, such expressions as मेरे से "from me," due to the same sentiment. Marathi elides the final ज of मि in some cases; thus we have मारा and मि "to me," मि and मि "against me." In the locative, it, like G. and H., uses the oblique genitive मि shortened to मि, and with the i further recombined into नि, as a fulcrum for the case-affix, thus producing "in me," precisely parallel to G. मारा मि. Oriya and Bengali use their oblique form मि regularly throughout. O. has, however, one curious exception, making the objective मि or shortened मि (मि), instead of मि, which would be the regular form. As nowhere occurs as a case-affix in O., the only way that I see of accounting for this form is to suppose that we have here a shortening of the affix तारी or तारी, which in H. and others has the sense of an objective, so that मि = मि तारी = मि तारी.

§ 64. In the plural, Oriya preserves the Prakrit form unaltered as regards spelling ने, but pronounces नभा, the insertion of the भ being due to the influence of the preceding labial भ. Bengali नभा appears to be merely a softening of नभा, which in Hindi has undergone transposition, the भ having been thrown back to the beginning of the word, just as the verb है "is," for है, by transposition from भहा, shortened from भहा. Nepali exhibits a form हामि, as my informant writes it, which should probably be हामि; the long i being almost universally written for short i in rural Hindi. This form is transitional to Bengali, and the short i must be regarded as a corruption of the final म of नभा. Gujarati writes नभा, but in a majority of instances the rural population use नभा, which is not necessarily more correct than नभा, though the analogy of
Hindi would lead us to expect it. The Gipsy form *uves*, perhaps
to be written चम, agrees closely with this, and suggests the
possibility of the ह having been simply dropped from the
Prakrit form. M., in its form चान्ही, seems to have done for
the plural the same as it does for the singular, namely, trans-
ferred the form of the instrumental to the nominative; for the
instrumental in Apabhramśa is चन्ही, and the objective चन्हः.
From a confusion of these two would arise चान्ही: this, with
the nasal चान्ही, is now used as the instrumental plural; and
the two forms चान्ही nom. and चान्ही instr. stand to each other
in exactly the same relation as the forms of the singular म***ी***
and म***ी*** instr. It is difficult on any known phonetic principles
to see in चान्ही a derivative from चम.

P. and S. stand alone in having a nom. pl. चउँी. Trumpp
does not offer any satisfactory explanation of this. It is true
that Pr. चन्हः points back to Skr. चम; but we cannot leap over
Prakrit and take our form from Skr. direct; nor, if we did,
would it help us with the long final *i* and anumāsika. A change of
स into ह is a well-known feature of these two languages; but a
reverse change of ह into स is quite opposed to their habits.
Kashmiri has a similar form, which in one vocabulary is written
इस् *aś* or चन्हः, in the other चम.

Kashmiri and that group of ancient Aryan dialects still spoken
in Dardistan differ from the cognate languages of the plains of
India in having a fondness for स, which they often retain in
places where the latter would modify it to ह; and it may be con-
jected that P. and S. derive this form from some intervening
dialect of hill Prakrit which has not come down to us: they
also retain the ह in the oblique cases of the plural. The other
languages derive from the Apabhramśa genitive चन्हः, with
which Oriya is identical. In H. the ह has, as in the nomin-
ative, been thrown back to the beginning of the word. Although
I have given the oblique form as चन्हः, yet in practice this is
hardly ever used, the case-affixes of the plural being added to
हम, as हम को, हम पर. There is also a crude oblique हमे used without affixes, which comes from the Apabh. accusative चम्हे. G. affixes its case signs to a form चमो or to चम, the former being the same as H. हमो, and, like it, seeming to postulate a genitive चम्हाणे, formed on the same principle as the gen. pl. of nouns; the other form चम is clearly from चन्हे. M. चास्त्ता is formed by lengthening the vowels from the same, and so is B. जामा. In fact, all these forms are so closely similar to the Prakrit as to offer no difficulty in their analysis.

§ 65. The second person is an exact parallel to the first, and its forms are as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>तू [ती]</td>
<td>तूः</td>
<td>हम</td>
<td>हम-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjabi</td>
<td>तू</td>
<td>ते</td>
<td>तूः</td>
<td>तूः सा, तूः रा.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>तू</td>
<td>ती, तूः तूः तूः सा, etc.</td>
<td>तूः रा, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>तू</td>
<td>तूः</td>
<td>तम, तमों,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>तू</td>
<td>तूः</td>
<td>तूः हीू,</td>
<td>तूः हीू।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>तृ</td>
<td>तोृ</td>
<td>तृः हीृ,</td>
<td>तृः हीृ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>तृ</td>
<td>तोृ</td>
<td>तृः सी।</td>
<td>तृः सी।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>तृ</td>
<td>तृृ</td>
<td>तृृ कीृ।</td>
<td>तृृ कीृ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gipsy</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>तमजांत्</td>
<td>तमजांत्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a striking uniformity in the nom. sing., for even H. has in many dialects the form तू with amnāsika, though this is rejected in classical Hindi. All the early languages of the Indo-European family have as their base tu. The Skr. ते is exceptional, and, as Bopp shows (Comp. Gr. § 326), the ते belongs to the case-ending, and the आ is inserted between this ending and the base in all instances where the base does not already end in आ, so that before this inserted आ the आ of an
original हू has been hardened to व. Thus we may assume a form हू for the type of this pronoun. The Prakrits exhibit a considerable number of forms; the commonest in scneic Prakrit is हूम, side by side with which is हूच; and in Apabhramśa हूह, where the हू is merely a stop-gap. By eliding च and lengthening the labial vowel we get हू, the commonest form of the nom. in the modern languages. I take no count of the difference observable in the quantity of the vowel, though in some languages we find हू and in others हू, because these languages for the most part, as has been frequently shown, ignore the difference between च and च, उ and उ. Hindi हू is like हू of the first person, the instrumental हर of Apabh. brought over into the nom. It is a word of the rustic and vulgar side of the language, and is only used by the educated classes contemptuously when speaking to inferiors or domesticated animals. In P. it is still the instrumental, just as हू.

The oblique has two principal types, हू and हूह, corresponding to हू and हूह of the first person. हू is used in Old and Middle-Hindi, and still in B. O. and S. and is derived from the genitive of Apabh. हूह, which S. preserves in its genitive under the form हूह alone. हूह, which becomes in M. and G. हूह, is from another Apabh. form of the gen. हूह. Nepali stands alone in having dropped the vowel altogether.

The nominative plural Pr. हूहह is accurately preserved in O हूहह (pronounced हूहह), slightly shortened in B. हूहम; and M. here, as in the first person, takes over the instrumental हूहह in the form हूहह of the nom. and हूहह of the instr., which some ignorantly write हूह. H. here also, as in the first person, writes हूम and हूहम; which latter is the Gipsy form also. Nepali तिमी has singularly changed the characteristic labial vowel to a palatal, just as (§ 51, p. 235) it has तित for हूती.

Panjabi makes its pl. nom. हूहह, which is as great a puzzle as चचम of the first person, and for which I can as yet assign no satisfactory derivation. In this case Sindhi parts company with
P., and exhibits a very great number of forms, which, however, are arrangeable under two types. Thus—

तःतः, तच्छ, तहां, तरे.
ढःढः, चच्छ, चहां, चरे.

The first form in each of the above lines is evidently the real form from which the succeeding ones have arisen by shortening, elision, and other simplifying processes. तहां is, I think, like M. तम्हे, the Apabh. instrumental तम्हे, where the a has been changed to ar, and the m first weakened into aunāsika and then dropped altogether. It might also be accounted for by comparing it with Gujarati, which drops the labial vowel and uses समे. If Sindhi has done this, then the ब is a softening of म, as in H. गांव from गाव. The other series, of which चढः is the fullest form, is quite unparalleled in the whole group. Trumpp's explanation is probably correct, that it comes from a form Pr. चुम्हे. Skr. चुम्हे, where the initial स has been elided and a changed to ar, as in तहां. Even if this be the correct explanation, we have a most unexampled retention of a very archaic form which has never found its way into literature.

In the oblique plural H. uses तम, as in the nom. The other languages mostly retain the form तम्हे, which is the base of the Prakrit pl. in all cases, and stands alone in the genitive. The modern languages generally add long a or anus. as M. तम्हा, B. तोमा, S. तहां, the latter with its parallel series चढः, etc. G. follows Hindi, but substitutes a for u in तम and तमो, which latter agrees with H. तम्हा. Panjabi तहां seems at first sight to agree with the other languages; but the ब is here in reality merely the ordinary Panjabi substitute for the म of तमा.

§ 66. As in the noun, so also in the pronoun, the genitive is really an adjective agreeing with the governing noun in gender
and case. The forms, which depart very much in some cases from the type of the oblique, are here given.

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<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>मेरा</td>
<td>हमारा</td>
<td>तेरा</td>
<td>तुम्हारा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjahi</td>
<td>मेरा</td>
<td>खासाहा</td>
<td>तेरा</td>
<td>तुमाहा, तुहाहा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>मूंज़ बी, etc.</td>
<td>बसां बी, etc.</td>
<td>तंज़ बी, etc.</td>
<td>तंज़ बी, बझ़ी बी, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>मारी</td>
<td>बमारी</td>
<td>तारी</td>
<td>तमारी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>मार्था</td>
<td>बमार्था</td>
<td>तौर</td>
<td>तमार</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>मोर</td>
<td>बमोर</td>
<td>तौर</td>
<td>तमोर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>मोर</td>
<td>बमार</td>
<td>तौर</td>
<td>तोमार</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>मेरी</td>
<td>हाबी</td>
<td>तेरी</td>
<td>तिबी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhojpuri</td>
<td>हमर, धोरी हमार</td>
<td>तुहार, धोरी तुहार</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>मारी</td>
<td>धमारी</td>
<td>तेरी</td>
<td>धारी</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sindhi in this group merely uses the ordinary oblique with the genitive suffixes, and Marathi does the same in its plurals, simply dropping the ह of चस्म and तुम्ह, while in its singular it makes a compound form तब्र + चा = मास्का, and तुब्र + चा = तुम्हा.

Leaving these two languages aside, the rest exhibit, under different forms as respects quantity and attendant vowels, uniformly a type in र, which we have no difficulty in connecting with the older genitive of the noun formed by the affixes तेरा and करा. It has been customary, however, to give a different origin to these forms. Those who have done so have unfortunately taken two extremities of a long chain and compared them together, totally omitting the intermediate forms, with which they were probably unacquainted. Bopp, whose knowledge of Hindustani was necessarily very limited, derives हेरा, तेरा, from Skr. मनो “meus,” लम्पो “tunus,” and in the same way हमारा would be for खमारा (as it is) from खमद्दीय and तुम्हारा from तुम्पाद्धिय. The process is said to be effected by the change of द into द and then to र, just as in the numerals.
Skr. एक्त्र्थ becomes Pr. एक्यार, H. रमार. But we may look in vain in Prakrit for the intermediate forms with र, and the termination रित of Skr. does not produce masc. ध, fem. त, in the moderns.

The pronouns use the same affixes for signs of all other cases as the nouns do—को, ने, मे, ने, र, and the rest; it is therefore fair to assume that they use the same signs in the genitive. Chand uses मी and तो as genitives as well as other oblique cases; but he knows already मेरा and हमारा, using, however, the former rather as a pure genitive, the two latter where possession requires to be clearly indicated.

Thus मी and the genitives in रा are contemporary forms, but perhaps with a slightly different meaning, the former being a pure genitive and oblique, the latter possessive adjectives. In O. and B. मी forms the genitive by adding र; without this it is merely the crude form of the oblique cases. That this र is shortened from कर was shown under the noun; and as in the Oriya noun, so also in the pronoun, this कर is found in full in the pl. अभूगीकर, as well as shortened अभूर. Old-Bengali has a genitive तुरंक, in which, as in the genitive of the noun, we have the shortened form from कर, with dropping of the र.

I see no reason, therefore, to assume any other origin for the genitives of the first two persons in र than that assigned to the similar form in the noun; for even if we were to admit मदिय and its cognate forms to be the origin of the possessive pronoun, we can find no parallel forms for the similar genitive in र of the noun. This र genitive is an obscure and rustic but undoubtedly ancient form, which has only recently been brought to light, first by myself and subsequently by Hoernle. It was not known to Bopp or Lassen; had they known it, they would probably have abandoned the मदिय theory.

The only point in support of that theory is the curious Panjabi genitive pl. बसाहत असाद; but the Panjabi plurals of the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns are formed upon a different system
to those in the other languages, and an argument derived from it would not be fairly applicable to them.

Popular Prakrit has such forms as मह वरी, from which मेरा would naturally flow; and the rustic form of the same, namely मारी, would equally be derived from मह करी. So also in the plural, where Marwari महारी is चम्ह + करी, and शारी for तुहारी, through a well-known Old-II. तिहारी from तुम्ह + करी, where the म has been dropped. Documentary evidence is certainly wanting for earlier forms, but this is because the modern forms were already in use at the dawn of medieval literature.

§ 67. For the pronoun of the third person, a direct descendant of the third person of Sanskrit is not always to be found, its place being generally supplied by the near and far demonstrative pronouns, which are reduced to their simplest elements र and द respectively.

It is first necessary to pick out the few traces remaining of the genuine old third person, which in Skr. starts from a stem त, making, however, its nominative case म: म., चा, तत्. Bopp shows (§ 341) that there is not in Sanskrit a pronoun of the third person with a purely substantive signification, but adduces the stem ख as having originally occupied that place, and given rise to the Pr. च. It is not our province to go beyond what we find in Skr., and it is sufficient to remark on the traces of the stem त which still exist. In Hindi we have चो “he,” but often used as a correlative pronoun, answering to the relative चा. Another form ती has now become an enclitic particle, but in Old-Hindi we find तीन and the oblique form तीन वा, चा. This answers to कीन interrogative, and चीन relative, and all three forms arise from compounding with the pronominal stem the adverb पुन:, Pr. चा, so that तीन is ती चा. Although पुन: means strictly “again,” yet in the moderns it has changed its meaning; and when used as an enclitic, means merely “indeed,”
or nothing at all beyond a little additional emphasis, like the Greek μεν, γε, δε, etc.

सी is used as a correlative in most of the languages, as in Hindi—

को पीता सी मरता

"Whose drinks (it), he dies."

को को बैरी मंगरे सी सी गरे मार

"Whatsoever enemy attacks thee, he falls dead."


In Panjabi it is used in precisely the same way. So also in Sindhi, where it occasionally stands alone, as—

सी हीर सो उस सो चबनु सो चबनु ॥
सी पी सो वाल तो बैरी सो वाल ॥

"He is this, he is that, he is death, he is Allah, He friend, he breath, he foe, he helper."

Trumpp (quoting Sh. Kal. 1. 10), p. 205.

In Marathi ती is sometimes used to mean "he," but its real meaning is "that," the far demonstrative; it is not the third personal pronoun, but an adjective varying in gender according to the substantive with which it is connected—ती m., ती°, ती n. It may therefore be postponed till we come to the correlative.

Gujarati, however, uses ते, pl. ते, as a substantive pronoun = "he." Bengali and Oriya have তে "he," not unfrequently, however, used as an adjective "that." These forms show a softening of the o of Pr. सी; Nepali तः.

The oblique singular is H. तिः; P. तिः, तिः; S. तिः; G. ते; M. तः, तिः; O.-B. ताहः, तः; Nepali तः

All these forms come from the Sanskrit genitive तः. Pr. तः. Chand uses तः and तः, in the latter of which the long vowel is compensatory for rejection of one of the two consonants. He also uses
and shortened ति, forms resting on the Apabhramśa Pr. तह, ताह and ति (Lassen, p. 482). Thus—

चाके देख नहीं।
ति निबंधें के महिष्य।

"(He) of whom there is no body.
Him how can one seize?"—i. 161.

चण्डकाव्य चरित्रमलन।
तासु किसी चट्ट कहिय।

"(Him) whose arms are thunderbolts, who crushes the huts of foes.
Of him the glory Chand speaks."—i. 46.

Here the ति in tāmu is a mere metrical tag. Even in Chand’s time, however, this word was used as an adjective, and instances will be given under the section treating of the demonstrative pronouns. Bengali has in this third person, as in the other two persons, seen fit to have a finer term than the simple ordinary ति, and for this purpose it takes ति, which is really the oblique plural corresponding to the oblique plurals of the other languages—H. ति, P. तिन्ति and तिन्ति, S. ति, M. ति: all of which come from the Pr. genitive ताति with the long अ shortened into ति and still further into ति. Bengali having made ति into a nominative singular, has struck out a new form ति for the oblique, differing only from the ordinary oblique ति by the insertion of anunásika in the first syllable. Oriya, on the contrary, has for the nom. plural no organic form, but adds to the singular its modern plural sign मी, making तिमी; for the oblique it uses either an organic form ताँकर, तांकर or तिमांकर, a genitive of the modern fashion.

§ 68. The demonstrative pronoun falls into two divisions,—that which indicates a person or thing either present or near at hand, and that which indicates a person or thing absent or at a
distance. The former in all Aryan languages has the type 麾, the latter .deleteById or  şimdi. Thus in English, "this" and "these" have the palatal vowel, as contrasted with "that" and "those," which have the guttural and labial vowels. It would be foreign to our present purpose to make any remarks on the evidences of the universal distribution of these two types throughout the range of the Indo-Germanic family; but it may be observed that it is not confined to that family, but is found more or less in all the languages now classed as Turanian; and if we are to admit the fundamental unity of these two groups, this uniformity in so elementary and radical a part of speech is highly significant. Thus in all the Dravidian languages i is the near, and a the far demonstrative, while u holds a middle place between the two,—as in Tamil idu, "hoc," ada, "id;" Telugu idi and adi; Canarese idu, ada; Malayalam ita, ata. So also—

Tamil iean "hic," ocen "ille," (ieaf) "hoc," (ocaf) "illa."
Telugu, iana "hic," randa "ille," idi "hoc," adi "illa."

To return to our own special subject. The seven languages exhibit the following range of forms:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>ह  रह, ए, एह, यह</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjabi</td>
<td>रह, एह</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>र, हि, ह</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>ग (ए)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>हा म, हि म, हे म</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>ए, प्रि, पहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>प</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Near Demonstrative—"this."

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* Caldwell, Dravidian Comp. Gr., p. 333; Campbell, Telugu Gr., p. 77.*
II. Far Demonstrative—“that.”

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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>उ, चौ, वह</td>
<td>उस, वे</td>
<td>उन्, उन्न्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjabi</td>
<td>उह</td>
<td>उस, वह वह</td>
<td>उन्न, उन्ना</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>ज. श. हो</td>
<td>जन, जन हो</td>
<td>जनि.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>आ</td>
<td>आ आचो</td>
<td>आचो.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>deest.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>deest.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>उहा</td>
<td>चो</td>
<td>चहा</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Marathi and Oriya use the correlative, which is also the pronoun of the third person, M. नी, O. वे, instead of the far demonstrative.

In Sanskrit, the primitive type र is overlaid by accretions, which render it somewhat difficult to identify (Bopp, § 360). The form which this pronoun has assumed in classical Sanskrit is जय m., जयचच् f., जयचच् n.; and in Vedic Sanskrit there is a form रत्न neuter, which, however, is used merely as an emphatic particle. Scenic Prakrit has nom. चय m., चयचच् f., चयचच् n.; and an oblique base रम, also रम (Lassen, p. 326; Weber’s Hala, p. 55). The ordinary Apabhraṃsa of the plays has रु, and in the songs in the fourth act of the Vikramorvasī are found loc. pl. रनेश्वर (Skr. र्विश्र); ने “of her” (Skr. चक्ष्या); दुरार्द्धो च ने पणको “and excessive is her affection;” एवं abl. sing. “than it” (Skr. चक्ष्यात्), and other similar forms. But it is perhaps useless to seek for the origin of the modern forms in any written works. They have their origin in all probability in a much lower stratum of popular speech than ever found its way into writing before the time of Chand, whose forms may therefore in this, as in so many other instances, be taken as the furthest point to which researches can at present be pushed back.
The types of the demonstrative in the Prithiraj Basau are the following:

- N. SIng. यह
- Obl. याहि, वाहि.
- Emphatic यहि, वहि.
- N. Pl. ये, रहि, वे.
- Obl. यन, रन, उन, उन.

besides variations caused by the metrical necessities of the poem, and having no value as organic forms.

मोहि रहि आगम बुढ़ि
"To me this scripture is clear."—iii. 28, 2.

Both the nom. pl. of the far and the emphatic singular of the near demonstrative are shown in the lines—

वे वाहि तर्जारि || रहि सुष पङ्क्रि सु कट्ठि ||
"They ply their swords, he catching them in his mouth bites them."
—i. 234, 5.

बिहि बाजु तम रहि ध्रम्म सीन ||
"For what cause have you taken up this religion?"—i. 172, 6.

याहि समुरान की चिर वारि ||
"To complete this is a work firmly resolved on."—i. 87, 6.

Shortened to रहि and oblique in sense:

रहि विद्धि आनज वत उचारिय ||
"In this fashion Anul uttered (his) speech."—i. 155.

The ordinary modern form of the oblique, as in H. रहि, like the oblique of all these pronouns, appears to lead back clearly to the Skr. gen. चक्षु, Pr. चस्म; and the forms रहि, रहा, etc., with the older forms in छि, as मोहि, तोहि, गाहि, वाहि, वाहि,
show the ordinary oblique of the noun, produced by a general fusion of all the oblique cases of the old inflectional system; while the plural oblique in म arises from the Skr. genitive अमि, Pr. अष्टि. Sindhi, however, has its singular oblique in न, and thus differs from all the other languages. This seems to derive its origin from the Apabhraṣṭa forms of the singular oblique रण्य and रण mentioned above.

In practice, no distinction is observed between these two forms of the demonstrative and that of the third person, the demonstratives having to a great extent usurped the place of the latter, and being freely used to signify "he."

To trace the steps by which the various languages have arrived at each of the slight modifications of the general type by which they are distinguished, is a task impossible in the present stage of the inquiry. Much might, doubtless, be accounted for by the phonetic tendencies of each language; but this would not be sufficient to explain the whole. In the absence of a continuous chain of literary monuments which could be trusted to reflect faithfully the actually current speech of their respective periods, it is beyond the power of any scholar, however laborious, to work out all the steps of the problem. Experience has taught us that in India literature is never a faithful reflector of popular speech; and all that can now be done is to point out that one uniform type underlies the whole range of forms in the whole seven languages, and that this type can be traced back to the earliest stage of Aryan speech; while, at the same time, nothing more than the general type, the two leading ideas of for the near, अ and उ for the far, demonstrative, can be with certainty identified.

§ 69. The relative pronoun meaning "he or she who," "that which," and requiring a correlative or answering word in the second clause of the sentence, is indicated in Sanskrit
by the type त, which in Prakrit, followed by the modern languages, becomes त्र. The scheme in the seven languages is this:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>त्रि</th>
<th>जिः</th>
<th>जि</th>
<th>जिन</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Panjabi</td>
<td>त्रि</td>
<td>जिः</td>
<td>जिः</td>
<td>जिन, जिहां</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>त्रि</td>
<td>जिः</td>
<td>जिः</td>
<td>जिन, जिन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>त्रि</td>
<td>जिः</td>
<td>जिः</td>
<td>जिन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>त्रि</td>
<td>जिः</td>
<td>जिः</td>
<td>जिन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>बाह</td>
<td>बाह</td>
<td>बाह</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>बाह</td>
<td>बाह</td>
<td>बाह</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Hindi has also त्रि, Pr. त्रि उषा, which is, like तृण, produced by the incorporation of युषः. From this source, also, springs O. बङ्, in Old-Oriya sometimes written बङ्ग, where the guttural nasal ङ is the first step in the weakening of ङ to anumāsaka. The relative portion of this compound word takes in O., as it does also when uncompounded in O. B. and G., the Magadhi nom. sing. form त्रि, which makes it identical in form with the nom. pl. The oblique forms in all the languages are from the genitive sing. Skr. घ्र, Pr. घ्र, with weakening of the vowel, and Skr. gen. pl. घ्रां (instead of the classical Skr. घाः, which has not been preserved), Pr. घाः. Old-Hindi has its oblique singular बङ्ग, which is more modern in type than the Modern-H. बङ्ग; this latter, however, was probably in use contemporaneously with बङ्ग, as we have in Chand forms बाह and बाहू. The plural in Chand takes an emphatic addition, and is बङ्गी; but this seems to be restricted to the instrumental. Bengali takes this plural in the shape of बङ्गि, and makes it into an honorific singular nominative.
§ 70. The correlative is based on the Skr. स्: and is the same as the pronoun of the third person mentioned in § 67. Many of the forms were given in that section, and all the others may be made on the model of त्वृ by substituting त for त्वृ. Nothing further need be said about it, as it is precisely homogeneous to the relative.

Occasionally an emphatic form of these two pronouns is used formed in H, by adding त्र्त or त्र्त, as त्र्ती, त्र्ती, but in Sindhi only त्र्त is added. It will be observed that, of all the languages, S. and M. alone treat these two pronouns as pure adjectives, and give them the distinctions of gender. S. त्र्त m., त्र्ता f., but in pl. only त्र्त for both genders. M., with its customary redundancy of forms, has all three genders for the nominatives of both numbers, but in the oblique singular only m. and f., and in the oblique plural only one form for all three genders.

§ 71. The interrogative pronoun is just as uniform as all the others; the only difference is, that forms which, though they exist in the other pronouns, are in them kept rather in the background, here come to the fore, and displace in common speech the forms which correspond to those more frequently used in the others. Thus, in the relative and correlative, त्वृ and त्वृ are in Hindi the commoner, त्वृन and त्वृन the rarer forms; but in the interrogative, त्वृन is the ordinary form in modern use, while त्वृ is archaic, poetic and dialectic. The neuter, also, has a form of its own, whose origin ascends to a different Sanskrit word from त्वृ. The type of the interrogative is everywhere त्वृ, just as त्वृ is of the relative. The table of forms is given, because, although exactly corresponding to that of the relative, yet the exhibition of the whole set helps the eye to make the comparison, and brings out more clearly the symmetry of the pronominal forms, which is a striking and beautiful feature of this group of languages.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
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<td>कौँ</td>
<td>किन, किन्हः</td>
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<td>कौँ n.</td>
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<td>के, को</td>
<td>कौँ m., करे f.</td>
<td>के, को</td>
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<tr>
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<td>कोणा</td>
<td>कौँ</td>
<td>कोणाः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>केळ, के</td>
<td>काहा</td>
<td>केमाने</td>
<td>काहाः</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>के</td>
<td>काहा</td>
<td>के</td>
<td>काहाः</td>
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</table>

Sindhi has कोँ only in the neuter; its plural nom. is not used; and in commoner use both in Sindhi and Panjabi is the form S. के m., कर f., P. कहता m., कौँ f., obl. कहै, which is from Skr. कौँ; Pr. कौँ and later कौँ, which in S. merely drops the ह; while in P. the र+ह have been moulded into ह, and then again split into ह+ड. Old-Hindi preserves the symmetry by using nom. को, obl. किह, as—

को किहि भेषिहि जापवी।

"Who (am I), from what race sprung?"—i. 147.

Here, again, comes in the Skr. gen. कथा, Pr. कस्स, as in the relative. Gujarati has singularly introduced a hiatus, writing कथी instead of कौँ; this seems to have arisen from a form कही, which will be explained hereafter. The forms with यु: added are here more widely used than in the other pronouns, perhaps because of the somewhat greater emphasis involved in asking a question. In all languages "who?" more often stands alone, almost like an interjection, than any other pronoun, and thus the Pr. उण, which has sunk into an enclitic, would be more frequently used with the interrogative.

The neuter stands alone in all but a few exceptional instances, and is as follows:
Old-H. कहा, oblique कहि. Modern-H. का, obl. कहि and जिस; and the same in the plural.

P. की, जिस, obl. कास, काह.

S. कोह.

M. काय, obl. काहा, कास, pl. the same, but obl. काशि, with the usual anumāśika of plurals.

O. कण, शि. In Balasore शिस (kia).

B. जिन, जिस.

The origin of all these forms is to be sought for in the Skr. जिन, an old neuter. B. जिने, H. जिस, P. जास, refer back to the genitive, which in Pr. is कास, sometimes also कोस. H. कहा is apparently a conflation of the oblique forms g. कह, abl. कह, loc. कहि, and का the ordinary modern form, from supplying the hiatus of a form कास by खै instead of ह, as in Gujarati.

Prakrit has also an oblique काशि, whence Sindhi केझि by softening of d to e; from its retaining the a in the first syllable the Hindi oblique कहि exhibits a form which postulates a Prakrit काशि.

Gujarati has an unique interrogative जी m., जी /, जु m., the only approach to which in the rest of the group is S. का, used only as a neuter. Vans Taylor (p. 73) refers us back to the acknowledged alliance between प and क in the leading Aryan languages, as in Skr. सन, Greek κοσσ. But it is important to observe that these greater phonetic laws work only in the sphere of the larger groups of the Indo-European family; within the limits of any one particular group, their working, if it exists at all, is very feeble and restricted. It is beyond a doubt that Sanskrit exhibits words containing प which are weaker forms of an older word with क, the stronger form of which has been preserved by the cognate languages. But when once the parent language of the Indian group has preserved and stereotyped a form in क, it is not found that its descendants modify this प.
into य: an initial य stands firm for the most part, at least a change from it into य would be of too radical and wide a nature for the modern Indian languages, which do not deal in those vast organic changes which were at work in the infancy of the world. We must rather look for the origin of this form by the light of changes of such a nature as are prevalent within the restricted limits of our group, instead of hunting up all possible modifications in every country and age to which the Aryan speech has penetrated. If we can with difficulty find a single dubious instance of the change from य to च, so frequent in Sanskrit, among its descendants, we should hardly be justified in going further back still to search for a change, which is in point of time prior to Sanskrit itself.

The origin of वस is to be found in the earlier form क्न, a neuter signifying "what," from which have been constructed a masculine and feminine क्नी and क्नार, which are also used as an indefinite pronoun, and, as will be seen presently, the only form in use for the oblique plural of the indefinite is क्ना. This form would lead us back to Pr. कारिसा, Skr. वीस, from which, as we have seen above, Sindhi and Panjabi draw their interrogative. कारिसा becomes in H. कस, and in Old-Hindi the forms are करस and कस, the latter produced by elision of the short ı. With this last-named form our Old-Gujarati क्नु is identical, for ब is not in this language necessarily the palatal sibilant, but rather the distinction between it and स having been obliterated, and only one sibilant sound remaining, the letter used to express that sound is sometimes स, and sometimes ब, according to the habit or caprice of the scribe; so that we might here also compare the oblique in M. कस or कस, instead of treating it as from a Skr. gen. कस, Pr. कस, which would not account for the final long थ. Sindhi का is probably also of like origin, क being often interchanged with ब in all the modern languages; or कसा might also have lost the ो of its first syllable, and become बा, whence the transition to का is in accordance with the usual law.
It is more probable, however, that both in S. and G. there has been loss of initial Ṛ, as it is not in harmony with the general phonetic laws of this group to suppose the creation of ḫ from Ṛ+Ṛ at so late a date as we must assume, to bring it posterior in point of time to the tenth-century कसा.

It may here also be noticed in passing that the derivation of the forms कोह, कोह, etc., from को वन, को वन, suggested by Taylor, is erroneous. These forms are written in the earlier stages of Hindi कवन and कवन, where the labial vowel and semivowel are indicative of the उ of पुनः. The compound phrase को उषि is not a conjecture, but is constantly found in Prakrit (Lassen, § 32).

§ 72. The indefinite pronoun deviates from the homogeneous type of the other pronouns, and this deviation is explained by its origin. The forms may be given first, and analyzed afterwards. The typical letter is Ṛ, as in the interrogative; and the neuter, as in that pronoun, stands apart from the masculine and feminine. The word now given means “any one.”

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<th>NOM. SING.</th>
<th>NOM. SING.</th>
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<td>Hindi</td>
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<td>किती</td>
<td>छोर्, छै, छिन्नी.</td>
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<td>Panjabi</td>
<td>कोई</td>
<td>किसि, किसि</td>
<td>किरे, किहा.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>कोर्, का.f.</td>
<td>कीहि</td>
<td>के     कनि.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>कोर्</td>
<td>कोर्</td>
<td>के     कषा.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>कोरी, कोष्ठी</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>कावर्सिस, कोर्सिस</td>
<td>काहारिं</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>कह</td>
<td>काहा</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

These forms arise from the compound Skr. कोष्ठि (को ख़मि); the enclitic particle ख़मि in Prakrit slides into composition with the pronoun, and is written in one word कोष्ठि, from which, by
elision of the ष, come the H. P. S. and G. forms. S. often, however, rejects the final र, which is lengthened in the other languages to preserve it, and because it is emphatic. M. has merely added the emphatic particle रि, with र lengthened to र and the ह frequently dropped, to the modern form of the interrogative, so that we have a compound of three parts, को + रि + रि. In Oriya, the final syllable रि appears to be shortened from the demonstrative रि; so that here, also, there is a triple compound खें + रि + रि, literally "who forsooth is he?" O. रि and B. रि are allied, and simply add रि, which may either be the emphatic particle of Skr., or more probably the रि was inserted to prevent hiatus after dropping the रि of कोि (for कोि).

Old-Hindi has कोि and oblique काहर, where the ष or ष of कोि has softened to the labial vowel, and the final short ष has been dropped, as is usual in Hindi. The oblique forms किसिं or किसिं show the oblique of the interrogative with the रि, whose origin has been forgotten, so that it is regarded as a mere emphatic particle. Marathi कोि arises apparently from the fact that ष is regarded as the general type of the oblique, and has been added without reflection. In ordinary current speech it is customary to add एक "one" to this pronoun, so that they say कोिएका एकाचा "of some one;" and the same practice prevails in the nom. pl. of H.; thus कह एक or कह एक some "aliquis, aliquam." The Oriya काहारि is a curious instance of how these forms arise: काहारि is the genitive of the interrogative, and by adding the emphatic रि or रि to it we get काहारि or काहारि, which should be used as a genitive only, so that the oblique would be काहारि; but the genitive form has been extended to all the cases, and they now say काहारि जि "to some one," काहारि ठाप "from some one," and so on.

The plurals of this pronoun are seldom used in most of the languages, and in B. and O. there are no plurals at all, the singular doing duty for them.
The neuter form "something" is expressed as follows:

Old-H. कुक्तु Modern-H. कुक्त; oblique, Old-H. कक्ख, Mod.-H. किस्तु.

but the oblique form is rarely used colloquially.

P. कुक्त, rarely if ever inflected.

S. की; not inflected at all.

G. कुक्त

M. काठी do.

O. किस्ति

B. किस्तु

H. P. O. and B. have a common origin from the Skr. फितित, the final त of which is dropped in Prakrit फितित. The archaic and poetical H. कक्कु seems to point back to a form in which the enclitic चत had been affixed to a neuter कत, instead of कि, thus making कितित; from कक्तु, the त has leapt backward into the first syllable, making the modern कक्त. The change from क to क is hardly to be accounted for by absorption of the anuswara, and must remain unexplained. The three western languages, S, G, and M., do not seem to have any connexion with फितित; but the last two use oblique forms of the masculine indefinite, and the first merely a lengthened form of कि with loss of the anuswara.

§ 73. The reciprocal or reflexive pronoun "self" is in most of the languages a derivative of the Skr. जात्मा "soul, self." As a substantive it means "self," and as an adjective "own." The former is

H. जाप, P. जाप, S. याप, G. जाप, M. जापता, O. जापि, जापाण.

B. जापाणि.

The principle of phonetic change which lies at the root of these modern forms was indicated in Vol. I. p. 330. The process began in Prakrit, as we have चप्या, चापा, side by side
with जन्ता, etc. This latter form has not been adopted by the moderns.

Hindi, followed by P. and G., uses the simple nominative, rejecting one of the two consonants, and lengthening the preceding vowel in accordance with the regular practice in the treatment of the nexus. B., as in वनि, तनि, जिनि, etc., has made for itself a nom. singular out of a plural form. The other languages retain a final य or न, which rests on the Pr. form वन्याण (Var. v. 45), which by his next following sūtra Vararuci extends to all other Sanskrit nouns in न, as युनन् = युनाण, etc. Sindhi adheres most closely to the Prakrit, merely rejecting the first syllable; but the other languages, while they retain the initial य, lengthen it to या, and shorten the second syllable. I am disposed to think that this alteration of quantity is only apparent, and that the forms याण, etc., are really derived from the oblique cases of the Pr. singular, as instrumental याण, gen. याणो। It is observable in the modern Romance languages that where the type of the oblique differs from that of the nom., the modern language adopts the former for all cases; thus we see in Italian monte, where the Latin nom. is moun, and the t occurs only in the oblique cases. The latter being used five times to the one of the nominative, naturally acquires the predominance in the vulgar usage.

आप is declined with the usual case-affixes का, की, etc., in Hindi, when used as an honorific substitute for the pronoun of the second person, so also in P. and the other languages; but it has a special genitive used adjectivally and with a possessive sense, meaning “my, thy, his own,” according to the person in which it is used. This therefore becomes almost a separate pronoun, and has the following forms:

H. आपम्, आपमी阵容, आपमी oblique sing., आपमी oblique pl. (rare आपम, etc.).
P. आपमान, आपी, आपी, आपीद्रा.
S. पाँई की, की, etc.
G. आपनी, ापी, ापः, etc.

M. आपना, ापी, ापः, etc.

O. आपनेंर (rare, निवर is usual).

H. आपन.

These forms are derived from the Prakrit genitive, which is आपनी, and the endings for gender and case seem to have been necessitated by the use of the word as an adjective. Hindi goes a step further, and uses the oblique form, just as though it were the regular oblique of an adjective using आपने की, or more frequently आपने तर्क = scipsum; आपने में and आपने पर may also be heard in conversation, as in the phrases आपने में की मीठी “he thought thus in himself,” आपने पर काम लिया “he took the business on himself,” आपने के परामर्श करे “take counsel with your own (friends).” These forms, though common in the eastern Hindi area, might perhaps be set down as ungrammatical by authorities on the language, these gentry being apt to be capricious and fastidious, and prone to brand as wrong any phrases which they do not use themselves.

There is also a curious word आपस allied to this stem, and used in H. P. and O., always with the affix of the locative, as H. आपस में, O. आपसरे “among our-, your-, them-selves,” as आपस में बाटो “divide it among yourselves.” No origin for this form can be found in any of the Prakrits, nor can the form itself be considered as a locative apart from the case-affix. It is the case-affix which contains the locative idea, and when we remember that में is from मध्य “in the midst,” we shall see that the complement of the idea involved in the whole phrase is a genitive “in the midst of selves.” I therefore hazard the conjecture that this form is like इस, उस, िस, and the rest, a genitive irregularly formed from a vulgar Prakrit आपस, which would postulate a Skr. आपस्क. Now though no such form exists, or ever did exist, yet we have seen in the case of the noun, that the varied inflections of the numerous Sanskrit
nominal bases have all been rejected, and the declension of the $a$-stem taken by the moderns as the type of all nouns; it would not therefore be at all out of keeping with analogy, but rather much in keeping with it, for the modern languages to have in this instance also taken no heed of the peculiar forms of the declension of आज्ञान्, but to have treated it like an ordinary noun of the $a$-stem, and made a genitive in ज्ञा, as in all the parallel cases. In my own mind there is not the shadow of a doubt that this is really what has happened, and this form may be set down as one more illustration of the admitted fact that a type in common use is often extended to all classes, superseding entirely the minor types, and securing simplicity and uniformity in the place of a multitude of divergent forms.

§ 74. Although the pronouns, other than personal, above enumerated, are all, to a certain extent, adjectival, yet in several of the languages they have lost those variations for gender which mark the true adjective; H. यो, for instance, is used both with masc. and fem. nouns, only in M. and S. are they treated as adjectives with separate gender forms. There are, however, certain pronouns which are adjectival in all the languages, and exhibit in their initial letters the types of all the above classes. They express quantity and quality, considered demonstratively, interrogatively, relatively, and so on. As a type of them, the interrogative is here given, the whole series being exhibited in full in a future section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
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<td>Gujarati</td>
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<td>केटला, ॐ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
O. and B. having lost all gender, do not inflect the adjective; they use the following: O. कितये “how much,” B. कत. The former series, that indicating quantity, is based upon Skr. कितन (m.), कितनी (f.), कितन (n.), which in Pr. becomes कितत (Var. iv. 25), also केह. The older Hindi form is केता, which is an immediate descendant of the Pr. form. Thus Chand—

केते नर रिप राजे॥ मए सुरु दातं गरनि॥

“How many men and Rajārshis have there been, (and) gods and demons of you?”—I. 162.

The addition of the affix मा in Bengali indicates affirmation, and the affix seems to have been at first distinct; thus in Old-Bengali मा regularly follows कत (koto), as in Bidyāpati:

कत मा बतने कत पदभूत बिहि बिहि तीरि देल॥

“With how much labour, how many wonders has fate brought to thee!”

—Pad. 1342.

कत मा बतने कत मा गोयसि हिमे गिरि मा लुकाय॥

“With how much labour, how much seer thou coverest it, the snowy mountain will not be hidden.”—Pad. 1342.

In fact, in the eastern area and in Orissa मा and मा are not negatives only, but affirmatives also, the sense depending on the sentence or on the tone of the voice; thus in Oriya:

भी धरकु जिबु ना जिबि

“Will you go to my house? Yes, I will go.”

मा is probably in H. a diminutive (§ 24), and with this agrees the S. and the Marwari कितरी, where री is also a diminutive ending, as is also the जी of G. केटली, and so perhaps is कत of the Marathi. This क is a common addition.
to the pronouns of this series; thus we often hear in eastern H. कितिक, and in M. कितीक; it is, I think, erroneous to connect this र, as some grammarians do, with एक, supposing एक to be used as unus, unus, in Spanish, in the sense of "some." The एर appears to be the sign of the nom. pl., and does not belong to the affix, which latter consists simply of र, a longer form of which is कर, and a longer still जरि, from which कर or जरि is made by omitting the र. Both forms occur with the pronoun केसा in one passage of Chand—

वर्जक देत न होय। ताहि केसे के महिये।

"Of whom there is no body, him how can one seize?"—i. 161.

And,

बिहार दिलू न मिहि। ताहि केसे कर दुखी।

"Where sight does not pierce, there how can one see?"—ib.

वेसे के and बिसे करि literally mean "what kind (of work) having done," and thus, too, कितिक would mean किति करि "how many (works) having done." In the form कएक "some," however, the latter element may be admitted to be एक, and it is often written as two words, especially in modern Urdu.

The group केसा, etc., comes from Pr. करिसा, Skr. कीस्या, as has been already stated. P. and S., more suo, change स into ह, making केह and shortened फिह, to which S. adds the diminutive ending ज्ञि. G. केवो appears to arise from the substitution of े for ो, which is characteristic of the Rajput dialects of Hindi, from which G. sprang.1

There is another series meaning "how great." in some of the languages, which arises from a composition of the Pr. बड़ो (Skr. बृंह) or वड़ो "great." This is S. कड़ो: P. कड़ा,

1 Dr. Bühler's welcome announcement of his discovery in Journals of the Fikradokh-Akhand, or Chronicle of the Chalukyas, leads us to hope that we shall now have some trustworthy data as to this interesting race, valuable for the early history of Gujarati.
The pronoun.

केट; G. बेकड़ी; M. बेजड़ा; O. केटे (indeclinable). Thus Dina-

कौम में तू होर मत भोक्ता।
कुल भई घरि या एडे बछू।
कि तू बापु नाम है बेदे सच।
कुछ बुझत तोर बेदे गुच।

"Thou, drunk with the wine of love, forgetting
Art, thy waist how slight (it is).
What, knowest thou not how small it (is).
Thy twin breasts how heavy?"—Rasakallol. iii. 43.

Hindi does not possess this form, saying instead फितना बड़ा and
the like. Sindhi here, also, uses a diminutive बेड़को meaning
"how small?" a form which is not in use in the other languages.
The whole of these series will be seen in their correspondence
with the adverbs, the generic types running through the whole
with admirable regularity.

§ 75. Sindhi allies itself to Persian and Pushtu by a practice
foreign to its sister tongues of suffixing pronominal signs to
nouns, pronouns, and verbs, a complicated and difficult system,
from which the other languages are fortunately free. These
suffixes are, according to Trumpp (p. 225)—

| SING. | PL.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. मि</td>
<td>के or हे.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. र</td>
<td>न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. मि</td>
<td>मि or न</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Into the intricate changes rendered necessary by the addition
of these suffixes in the terminating vowels of nouns, etc., it is
not necessary here to enter. मि is undoubtedly the Pr. gen. मे,
and is still sounded मे in Pushtu, but म in Persian; र from
Pr. रे by elision of र, so also the third person मि from मे. In
the plural, जे or मे, which appears to be used only with pronouns, is by Trumpp referred to the Pr. form जत् (rather जत्व), which, however, hardly accounts for the anusāsika: a more probable origin would be from जञना, reduced to जनां, and thus to जे and मे; the second person व recalls Pr. ते, and the third person नि from नि, a Pr. gen. pl. of the base नि, which we have already seen is substituted for that of the near demonstrative used as a third person.

The general rule for the method of adding these suffixes appears to be that the noun undergoes merely euphonic changes of its final vowel, but not constructive changes, and the discussion of them pertains rather to the study of the individual language than to that of comparative grammar. The Old-Hindi and Bengali, and to a certain extent also modern colloquial Oriya, exhibit the beginnings of a tendency to this system, which, happily for those who had to speak the languages, did not get beyond the first stage, namely, using the crude form of the personal pronouns, as in Chand’s मै पित् “my father,” तू पारे “thy feet,” and in Mod.-Oriya मे घर “my house.” It wanted but the shortening of the vowel and the change of position to load us with forms like घरमु, पित्तु, and the rest.

§ 76. Not only do the substantive and adjective pronouns run in perfectly analogous series, each distinguished by the typical initial consonant or vowel, but a long string of adverbs also follows this analogy. At the risk of a little repetition, it will probably be as well to group together, so that the eye can take them all in at a glance, the whole of these concurrent forms, in a series of tables.
I. The Near Demonstrative—Type र

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun, &quot;this&quot;</th>
<th>Roud.</th>
<th>Panjabi</th>
<th>Sindhi</th>
<th>Gujarati</th>
<th>Marathi</th>
<th>Odiya</th>
<th>Bengali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;of this kind&quot;</td>
<td>रह</td>
<td>रह, रहा</td>
<td>रह</td>
<td>रह</td>
<td>रह</td>
<td>रह</td>
<td>रह</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;this much&quot;</td>
<td>रहा</td>
<td>रहा, रहा</td>
<td>रहा</td>
<td>रहा</td>
<td>रहा</td>
<td>रहा</td>
<td>रहा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;this big&quot;</td>
<td>रह</td>
<td>रह</td>
<td>रह</td>
<td>रह</td>
<td>रह</td>
<td>रह</td>
<td>रह</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adverb of time, "now"

| Pronoun, "that" | भ. वह, यह | उह | जसा | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  |
| "of that kind"  | वैसा  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  |
| "that much"     | उतना  | उतना | उतना | उतना | उतना | उतना | उतना |
| "that big"      | देस   | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  |

Adverb, "then"

| Pronoun, "thus" | वह   | उले | चिं  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  |
| "there"        | उदर  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  |
| "thither"      | उदर  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  |

II. The Far Demonstrative—Type उ

| Pronoun, "that" | भ. वह, यह | उह | जसा | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  |
| "of that kind"  | वैसा  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  |
| "that much"     | उतना  | उतना | उतना | उतना | उतना | उतना | उतना |
| "that big"      | देस   | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  |

Adverb, "then"

| Pronoun, "thus" | वह   | उले | चिं  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  |
| "there"        | उदर  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  |
| "thither"      | उदर  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  | देस  |

The places marked "dees" are so marked because the languages under which they occur use forms belonging to some other series; thus, for "then," II. uses the form तब, belonging to the correlative series, and has not the form उह, which we should expect in the far demonstrative.
## III. The Relative—Type Ⅲ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>whoever</td>
<td>however</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whomever</td>
<td>however</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of whatever kind</td>
<td>of however</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>howsoever</td>
<td>however</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whatsoever</td>
<td>however</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## IV. The Correlative—Type Ⅳ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>in that way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so much</td>
<td>so big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whichever</td>
<td>however</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whatsoever</td>
<td>however</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*Readily used, and never except in the apodosis of a sentence which has the relative in its protasis.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Marathi</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Gujarati</th>
<th>Marathi</th>
<th>Orissan</th>
<th>Bengali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;who?&quot;</td>
<td>को, कोन</td>
<td>कीय</td>
<td>केष, कोड</td>
<td>कोए</td>
<td>कोगा</td>
<td>किरें, कि</td>
<td>के</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;of what kind?&quot;</td>
<td>कसा</td>
<td>किह्डा</td>
<td>किह्डो</td>
<td>केमो</td>
<td>कसा</td>
<td>केमना</td>
<td>केमना</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;how much?&quot;</td>
<td>कित्ना</td>
<td>कित्ना</td>
<td>कित्तैर</td>
<td>केटो</td>
<td>कित्का</td>
<td>केते</td>
<td>कत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;how big?&quot;</td>
<td>doest</td>
<td>केडा</td>
<td>केडो</td>
<td>केवडो</td>
<td>केवडा</td>
<td>केवड</td>
<td>doest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;when?&quot;</td>
<td>कब, कद</td>
<td>कद</td>
<td>कावडैं</td>
<td>केपरे</td>
<td>केडा</td>
<td>कब</td>
<td>कबान</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;where?&quot;</td>
<td>कहां</td>
<td>किचि</td>
<td>जिति</td>
<td>काहां</td>
<td>कचि, कोड</td>
<td>कोडा</td>
<td>कोडा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;whither?&quot;</td>
<td>किपिर</td>
<td>कि</td>
<td>के</td>
<td>किक्के</td>
<td>कोडुक</td>
<td>doest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;how?&quot;</td>
<td>कूं</td>
<td>किकुर, कोडे कीष</td>
<td>केम</td>
<td>केंस</td>
<td>किपिर</td>
<td>किमन</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The reader will see by casting his eyes down any one of the columns how perfectly symmetrical all the languages are; how H. has यहा, वहा, जहा, नहा, कहा, and रघर, चघर, बघर, निघर, बिघर; Marathi एक्र, बेक्र, तेक्र, केक्र; and the same in all the other languages.

The adverbs will be explained in their proper place, and all the pronouns have been commented on above. The forms in use are often numerous, especially in Sindhi; thus the demonstratives ही and मे are pronounced हे and मे in Lar, or the coast district of Sindhi. In Gujarati the adverb of time appears as कवरे, कारे, कारे, successive stages of shortening; and many other trifling dialectic variations occur; but in the above tables only one, and that the central or typical form, has been recorded, except in cases where two forms appear to be used with equal frequency, in which case both are given. Much of this redundancy of form is doubtless due to the absence hitherto of any settled standard of spelling in all the languages. Native scholars have unfortunately set themselves to improve their mother-tongue by the resuscitation of Sanskrit words, instead of striving to fix the orthography of the words really in use among their contemporaries; and from this misdirected energy of theirs it has too often resulted that the language presents a disjointed heterogeneous aspect, certain parts of it, as the nouns and the nominal part of compound verbs, being highly refined classical Sanskrit; while other parts, as the inflectional and connecting particles, are rude in form and unsettled in orthography. This unfortunate practice, moreover, has misled such European scholars as have taken a cursory glance at the subject into supposing that the modern languages are far more closely allied to Sanskrit than they really are; and Bengali, which, from its phonetics and organic structure, is proved to be a very poor and rustic patois, has had so many "purpurei panni" sewn on to it, that it has been regarded as the eldest daughter of Sanskrit, which has preserved, with greater fidelity than its sisters, the family type.
It is in truth one of the youngest grand-daughters; and an examination of its essential features shows that it has wandered further from the original forms than any of the allied speeches.

§ 77. Besides the pronouns which have been arranged in classes above, there are certain miscellaneous pronouns which it is difficult to classify exactly under any of the heads which have preceded. Such is S. सम् "all," which is declined throughout, so is G. सर्व, while in the other languages it is indeclinable, as H. सभ, P. सम, O. सम्, B. सम. Traces remain of this pronoun having been inflected in Old-H. सह, which seems to be a reproduction of Skr. सह. S. has also an emphatic form समोरे "every one," also compounds समुको and समुकोरे. These two latter are treated as compounds in S., but their equivalents are written as two distinct words in the other languages. In S. it is necessary to regard them as compounds, because सम् being capable of inflection, if it were written as a separate word it would have to be inflected also. Unique, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is the curious S. adjectival pronoun मिस्रीरे, or मिस्रीरे m., मिस्रारे, f., meaning "every," which seems to have come from Skr. मर्य, originally of course meaning "mortal," but subsequently shading off into the meaning of human beings in general, just as Latin homo has become French on, or as in German man has lost its distinctive meaning, and now implies merely "they," "people in general," and the like. मर्य would become मह्यो, and by further softening, aided by the fondness of Sindhi for the i-sound, it would successively be मह्यो, and मह्यो. The ह is merely the emphatic increment, as is shown by the fact of the inflection taking place in the syllable which precedes it as it does in समोरे, also, thus:

Nom. sing. masc. समोरे | Nom. sing. fem. मिस्रारे
Nom. sing. masc. मिस्रीरे | Nom. sing. fem. मिस्रीरे
Obl. sing. masc. | समें हैं | समार, प.
| मिस्रिये हैं |
Nem. pl. com. | समें हैं or सम हैं |
| मिस्रिये हैं or मिस्रिय रे |
Obl. pl. com. | समिनी (= समिन + हैं) |
| मिस्रिनी (= मिस्रिन + हैं) |

The ablative plural shows the form of the synthetic abl. in आ, with the emphatic र है added, thus समिनी. Only the obl. sing. fem. seems to show some divergence. The feminine of an adjective in ए generally ends in द, and its formative or oblique in द, as चंही “dry” (m.), चंही (f.), obl. fem. चंही. What appears to have happened is, that the type of the oblique द has been added to the irregular feminine in द, and the emphatic र altogether omitted.

In समुक ए a double inflection occurs; thus fem. समका, where स is fem. of सम, and का fem. of को; but in the declension no further change takes place in the termination of the first number of the compound, which remains सम throughout.

Although सम is in the languages where it occurs indeclinable, yet H. P. and G. have a declinable adjective from सम, which takes the form m. सारा, f. सारी, obl. सार, and like S. सम, means “the whole.” P. declines सम in the oblique, as समान, समानी; the latter is an instrumental, but is used as an oblique with the objective affix ताई in the first line of Bhai Mihir Singh’s “Punjab da Roshan Kissā.”

बचा साई समानी ताई कुरति ब्रह्म बिजारि।
“The true God who has spread out his power for all.”

Similarly Panjabi makes a declinable word out of the indeclinable H. चीर “other,” also used as a conjunction “and.”

3 This work was written for me by the author, and is in the purest Panjabi of Gujar, a town in the most textile portion of the Panjab, near the banks of the Chenab. The MS. is in my possession, and has never been edited or printed.
This is in Old-H. भूत, and sometimes मू, which betrays its origin from the Skr. preposition भूत. In P. भूर means "other," and it is declined in the oblique pl. भूर्ति "others," and भूर्ति. It has also an indeclinable form भूर्ति, which is analogous to बूधि, and has the genitive case-ending irregularly tacked on to it. In such forms as सम्भूति and भूति, an irregular न has been inserted between the stem and the termination. This is probably due to the tenacity with which all pronouns retain archaic forms; the nom. pl. of the old declension would have been सम्भूति, भूर्ति, and in adding the plural oblique (i.e. Prakrit gun. pl. बूधि) ending, which is न, it has been forgotten that the न of सम्भूति is an inflection, and a new plural base सम्भूति has thus been formed, to which the oblique has been added. The same process has operated in H. चूर्ति, where the न of चूर्ति has similarly been incorporated into the stem. In all languages of the Indo-European family such eccentricities are found in the pronoun, and had their origin at that stage of the progress of language when the old synthetical forms were breaking down and becoming confused, and before altogether disappearing, were being used in a way which would have broken the heart of Cicero to hear. Precisely similar to such forms as सम्भूति is the French "leurs;" the Latin genitive masc. illorum becomes "leur"—"their," and like the modern Indian genitives, has become an adjective, and, as such, has been supplied with the plural sign s, which comes from es, the termination of the Latin accusative, so that "leurs" would be translated back into illorum! just as सम्भूति contains the elements of Skr. स्वायत्त + स्वायत्त. So also Italians, forgetting that loro=illorum is already a genitive, prefix to it the genitive preposition, and say di loro—"of them," as also da loro, "from them," and con loro, "with them," as if a Roman should have said de illorum, de ab illorum, cum illorum. Thus language plays sad tricks with ancient forms, whose meaning has ceased to be felt or understood. Not less eccentrically Hindi says
“among themselves,” as if there had existed a Sanskrit phrase आपस में। Priscian in the one country, and Panini in the other, had, fortunately for their peace of mind, passed away before such processes were invented. Panjabi uses a genitive case-affix with आपस, and makes आपस द्वा, and an objective आपस नू, also an ablative आपस ति. When a form—whether derived from a nominative or from an oblique form—in Prakrit had once established itself in the mind of the hornymbanded Panjabi peasant, he, knowing nothing about direct or oblique forms, treated it as a stem, and added the usual case-endings to it. So true is it that man is not the master of language, but merely the instrument by which the processes of speech develop themselves according to natural laws. Man in fact makes nothing; nature makes, and man merely places materials in such a position that the forces of nature can work on them. Man collects the wood, applies the fire, and sets the pot on it; but the forces of nature thus brought together boil the water in the pot. So man utters sounds by means of his vocal organs, but nature controls the form which his utterances shall take; and man unconsciously works out great and deep-reaching developments of speech far beyond his cognizance or comprehension.

Compound pronouns are in common use, but they present no remarkable features. The laws of their composition may be studied in the grammars of the several dialects, but do not come within the scope of a work which deals with structure only, because structurally they have nothing to be explained beyond what has already been stated when treating of them separately.

Gujarati has two pronouns peculiar to itself. One is पौत, pl. “self or selves,” obl. पौता, the origin of which is by Taylor (p. 73) correctly referred to the Skr. सत:; the व of सत being hardened to घ and the घ dropped, the visarga becomes ञी; and the ablative affix नात, having lost its special signification, has been applied to all the cases of the pronoun. The word seems
to have been formed in two halves, as it were: खो, becoming separately खो and पो, and the affix तत् becoming separately तत्. The word when first compounded must have been used adverbially, "by themselves" or "of itself;" and then, through the common custom of forgetfulness of its origin, the compound has been treated as a noun, pl., and regularly inflected. A regular form योत is still in use, but as a distributive, and with the full form योता added to it; thus तभी योत पोताने वेर गया "they went each to his own house," literally, "they his own, their own, house went."

The other pronoun is पेलो, a remote demonstrative "that," which is also written पेलो. The origin of this word is uncertain. पेलो means "first," but I think this is a different word from पेलो. After प the Gujaratis often insert in speaking an inorganic ह, so that the two words come to be alike. My own idea is that पेलो is shortened from परलो, and that again from परलो, a secondary formation from पर "distant," just as in Panjabi we have उरला "on this side," परला "on that side" (of a river, road, etc.), so that पेलो would literally mean "yonder," just as in the colloquial English of rural counties we hear "yond' man," or "yon man," for "that man," German jener = "that."

§ 78. The language of the Gipsies in various countries of Europe, though its vocabulary is a medley of words taken from the languages of all the lands in which this strange race has sojourned, is purely Aryan in its structure; and Modern-Aryan too, being in many respects quite as far removed from the old synthetical system as any of the seven languages now under discussion. In respect of the pronouns, other than personal, it preserves the traces of its origin very clearly. Thus we have the interrogative को "who?" कौ "what?" with its oblique को, also कल्लू, pl. oblique कल्लू, and the indeclinable का "which." In addition to this, they have a more definite interrogative कावा,
which in sound and meaning is almost identical with G. क्यों. It is singular that they have also the unique (so far as the Indian languages go) G. यह, Gipsy so, from which comes an ablative sōstār, which, when pronounced with the accent on the first syllable sōstār, means "why?" but with the accent on the last syllable sōstār, "because," literally "from what." From this again comes a further interrogative sare "qualis?" parallel to kāś. The Kashmiri, with which the language of the Gipsies is most generally in accord, here diverges from it, and the connexion is closer with Gujarati than with any other of the languages. Kashmiri has चूस and चूस for "who?" or "what?" oblique kas as in Gipsy, but here, as far as the meagre information accessible enlightens us, the resemblance stops, and Kashmiri runs into its usual similarity with Panjabi.

The reflexive pronoun "self" is represented by forms derived from the stem याप्त, as masc. po, fem. pi, obl. pe. An older form, which Paspati (p. 71) says is rare in the present day, is pītāro m., pītāri f., pītāre obl. Here we see याप्त with the loss of its initial a and the old genitive affix ro, ri, re, shortened from koro. With this agrees the possessive of the two first personal pronouns mīnato, -ri, -re, "mine;" tinato, -ri, -re, "thine;" and plurals strikingly Indian anmato, -ri, -re, "our;" tamato, -ri, -re, "your."

But the language still possesses the simple genitives ma, te, as in H. R. O. तो, तो, though it differs from H. in treating them as possessives, and consequently as adjectives, and inflects them for gender and case me m., mi f., me obl.; so also te, ti, te. In addition to the reflexive po, pi, pe, it has also pē = याप्त "each other."

Demonstratives are aha and acaha "this," aha, aroha, "that," akeha and akosha "this here," "that there," which do not ally themselves very closely to the corresponding words in any of the Indian languages. Peculiar also are kādām m., kadayā f.; kadalā nom. pl. m., kadalé f., "this," and odōra "this." Perhaps we are here to suppose the operation of some influence other than Indian.
The demonstratives āka and ēka form sets of parallel pronominal adverbs, just as do the demonstrative types of the Indian group. Thus we have ākātē ēkātē “here and there,” ākotar, ēkotar, “hence,” “thence.” The latter of these corresponds in the manner of its formation to the Panjabi, which expresses “hence” and “thence” by adding the ablative of the old synthetic system under the form थो to the words for “here” and “there” respectively, as रघे “here,” देव “from here,” “hence,” मेव “there,” उम “thence.” In like manner, बर is the sign of the Gipsy ablative. Thus too M. has रजिक “hither,” and the ablative form एकठ “hence,” so also तिक and तिक “thither” and “thence;” and the same method runs through all the languages, for which reason the words expressive of “motion from” have not been given in the lists above exhibited, as they are merely the ablatives of the words expressive of “rest at.”

The only two authorities for the Gipsy, namely Paspati and Miklosich, which are procurable here, do not give a full series of pronouns and pronominal adverbs; and it may be conjectured that, in the rude speech of this people, they are not all to be found. Those noted, however, are in striking conformity with our Indian group.

§ 79. In concluding, amidst constant interruptions, this volume on the Noun and Pronoun, I have a few further remarks to make of a general character. Attention has already been directed in several parts of this volume to the varying nature of the seven languages in point of simplicity; but the geographical aspect of this question remains to be noticed. The most complicated of the seven languages are Marathi and Sindhi, and, as far as we know anything of it, Kashmiri. If Gujarati and Panjabi were as complicated as these three, then we might establish a regular gradation from east to west; for the Oriya and Bengali, the most eastern members of the group, are distinguished by
extreme simplicity; while the Hindi, the central language in position, is central also in this respect, being less simple than B. and O., less complicated than M. and S. It will be remembered that in the First Volume Hindi was noted as central in respect to its phonetics, leaving neither to the peculiarities of the extreme eastern dialects, such as a fondness for long vowels and the s-sound, nor to those of the western dialects, a predilection for short vowels and the i-sound. As regards the structure of the noun, the homogeneity of the western group is disturbed by P. and G. The former, with its structure only slightly less simple than Hindi, lies between the intricate Sindhi and the no less intricate Kashmiri; while the latter also, only a little more full than Hindi, intrudes between Sindhi and Marathi.

The comparatively simple structure of Panjabi, as compared with its neighbours to the north and south, is probably to be ascribed to the fact that the Panjab has been for numerous centuries the battle-ground of India, over whose plains have passed and fought Greek, Persian, Arab, Turkish, and Indian armies; from all, except perhaps the first, of whom the language has imbibed words and ideas, and has been led to reject much of its former complicated structure. Since the establishment of the Musulman on the throne of Delhi, it has been constantly ruled from the Hindi area, and so strong has been, and still is, the influence of Hindi, that the wonder is that anything should be left of a distinctly dialectic character. As it is, in the towns and more civilized portion of the country, Panjabi is fast disappearing, and will in all probability disappear entirely at no distant date.

The simplicity of Gujarati has been frequently explained in these pages by a reference to the fact that it is a dialect of Hindi, separated at an early, but not precisely assignable date, from the parent language, and thus retaining a certain amount of archaism.
§ 80. With regard to the two eastern languages, much remains for future research to make plain. In Orissa the traces of a large non-Aryan element in the population are patent to the most superficial observer, and the same may be said of Bengal; but unfortunately neither of these provinces has as yet been examined, either as to their language or ethnology, as thoroughly as could be desired. The Europeans resident in India are all busy men; no one of us comes here except to work, and as a rule to work very hard. The machinery of Government becomes more complex, and makes greater demands upon the time of members of the administration every year; so that those whose previous training would best qualify them for the task of investigation have as a rule the least leisure for it. It is not possible for scholars in Europe to conduct minute inquiries, because the materials they possess refer rather to ancient than modern India; and it is necessary that one should live in the country itself, and in daily communication with its people, in order fully to breathe the spirit of their customs and institutions, and so to get an insight into the nature of them, such as may indicate the most promising line of inquiry to follow. There are more materials for Orissa than for Bengal, because the former province was more isolated, more homogeneous, more bound up in itself, more a nation in short than Bengal for many centuries; and the records of the great idol-temple at Puri, together with others which are probably still to be found in various holes and corners of this most conservative of Indian provinces, will, when they can be got at and examined, probably yield a rich harvest of facts to the labourer in the departments of history and philology.
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