COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES
OF INDIA:

TO WIT,
HINDI, PANJABI, SINDHI, GUJARATI, MARATHI,
ORIYA AND BANGALI.

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VOL. III.
THE VERB.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., 57 AND 59, LUDGATE HILL.
1879.
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A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES
OF INDIA.
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## BOOK III.—THE VERB.

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CHAPTER I.

STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.


§ 1. The Sanskrit verb, with its long array of tenses, intricate phonetic changes, and elaborate rules of formation, seems to have been subjected at a very early period to processes of
simplification. Indeed, we may be permitted to hold that some, at least, of the forms laid down in the works of Sanskrit grammarians, were never actually in use in the spoken language, and with all due deference to the opinions of scholars, it may be urged that much of this elaborate development arose in an age when the speech of the people had wandered very far away from the classical type. Even if it were not so, even if there ever were a time when the Aryan peasant used polysyllabic desideratives, and was familiar with multiform aorists, it is clear that he began to satisfy himself with a simpler system at a very distant epoch, for the range of forms in Pali and the other Prakrits is far narrower than in classical Sanskrit.

Simplification is in fact the rule in all branches of the Indo-European family of languages, and in those we are now discussing, the verb follows this general law. To make this clear, it may be well to give here, as a preliminary matter, a slight sketch of the structure of the verb as it stands in the Sanskrit and Prakrit stages of development.

In that stage of the Sanskrit language which is usually accepted as the classical one, the verb is synthetical throughout, except in one or two tenses where, as will be hereafter shown, the analytical method has already begun to show itself. By separating the inflectional additions, and unravelling the euphonic changes necessitated by them, we may arrive at a residuum or grammarian's abstraction called the root. These roots, which have no real existence in spoken language, serve as useful and indispensable pegs on which to hang the long chain of forms which would otherwise defy all attempts at reducing them to order. Some writers have lately thought fit to sneer at the philologist and his roots, and have made themselves merry over imaginary pictures of a time when the human race talked to each other in roots only. These gentlemen set up a bugbear of their own creation for the purpose of
STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

pulling it to pieces again. No one, as far as I am aware, has ever asserted that at a given period of the world’s history a certain race of men used such words as bhū, gam, or kar, till some one hit on the ingenious device of adding to bhū the word ami, and, modifying bhū into bhava, burst upon his astonished countrymen with the newly-discovered word bhaveami, “I am.” What has been asserted, and truly too, is that in Sanskrit we find a large number of words expressing the idea of “being,” in which the consonantal sound bh is followed by various vowels and semivowels, which, according to phonetic laws, spring from the vowel ū, and that as, for scientific purposes, some common generic term is required to enable us to include under one head all parts of the verb, we are justified in putting together these two constant unvarying elements, and so obtaining a neat technical expression bhū, to which, as to a common factor, can be referred all the words expressive of “being” in its relations of time, person, and condition. Analysis and arrangement of this sort is an essential part of every science, and the native grammarians had done this such work for us before European skill was brought to bear on the subject.

Verbal roots, then, are grammarians’ tickets, by which actual spoken words are classified and arranged in groups for convenience of investigation. The roots in Sanskrit are mostly monosyllabic, consisting of a consonant followed by a vowel, as bhū, yā, ni, or of a vowel followed by a consonant, as ad, ish, ubh, or of a vowel between two consonants, as kar, gam, pat. Roots may also consist of a single vowel, as i, and in the place of a single consonant there may be a nexus, as grah, pinj, mlai. Those roots which have more than one syllable are usually of a secondary nature, being in some cases produced by reduplication, as jāgar, in others made from nouns, as kumār.

Each verbal root presents six phases or grades of action: active, neuter, passive, causal, desiderative, intensive. All these are distinguished by certain modifications of the letters
of the root, and by certain prefixed and affixed syllables. Thus भु, "to be," undergoes the following modifications:

- **Active**  | bhava.
- **Neuter** | bhūya.
- **Passive** | bhāvaya.
- **Causal** | bubhūsha.
- **Desiderative** | bobhūya.

The causal also is in some cases treated as primary stem, and gives rise to subsidiary forms; thus from pātāya "cause to fall," is made a passive pātya, whence comes a desiderative causal pipātayishā.

Each of these six phases may be conjugated throughout thirteen tenses, in each of which are nine forms representing the three persons of the singular, dual, and plural. It rarely happens in practice that any one verbal root exhibits the whole of these forms, but if we regard the general type, we may fairly say that a Sanskrit verb, as an individual entity, is an aggregate of seven hundred and two words, all agreeing in expressing modifications of the idea contained in the root-syllable, which is the common inheritance of them all.\(^1\) Of the thirteen tenses, nine are conjugated according to certain rules which, with some exceptions, hold good for all verbs in the language, but the remaining four tenses are subject to rules by which they are divided into ten classes or conjugations. These four are the present, imperfect, imperative, and optative; and before we can determine what form a verbal

\(^1\) Namely, 6 phases × 13 tenses × 9 persons = 702. But this is an extreme calculation, for the Subjunctive (Let) is only found in Vedic Sanskrit; and the two forms of the Perfect (Lī) may be regarded as variations of the same tense. Thus the number of tenses may be reduced to ten, viz. Present (Lat), Imperfect (Lān), Optative (Līn), Imperative (Lot), Perfect (Lī), Aorist (Luṅ), Future (Lṛt), Conditional (Lṛti), Second Future (Luṅ), Benefactive (āśīr Līṅ). By this reckoning the number of forms would be 6 × 10 × 9 = 540.
root can take in any of these tenses, we must know what conjugation it belongs to.

Inasmuch also as the Sanskrit grammarians class the active and neuter phases together, we must find out which of these two phases any given verb employs, for the terminations of the tenses and persons are different. Some verbs employ both, but the majority are conjugated only in one of the two, and as there is no rule as to which of the two is to be used, the dictionary is our only guide. The active, or Parasmaipada, as it is called, stands to the neuter, or Ātmanepada, in the same relation as the active in Greek does to the middle voice, and the resemblance is the greater, in that the Ātmanepada, like the middle voice in Greek, uses the terminations of the passive.

Although each of the seven hundred and two words which make up the complete typical Sanskrit verb contains the common root-syllable, yet this syllable does not appear in the same form in each word, but is subject to certain euphonic and other influences which affect both the vowels and consonants composing it, and often materially alter its shape. Thus the verbal root KAR, “do,” appears in classical Sanskrit in the following forms:

1. क्रि Kṛi, in 1 du. pf. Par. chakṛiva, 1 pl. id. chakṛima, 2 s. pf. Ātm. chakṛishe, 1 du., 1 and 2 pl. id. chakṛivahe, chakṛimahe, chakṛidhe; in the whole of the 1 aor. Ātm., as akrishi, akrīthah, akṛita, etc.; in the pass. part. kṛitah, and gerund kṛitvā, and in the benedictive Ātm., as kṛishtītā, etc.

2. क्रि kri, in bened. Par., as kriyāsam, kriyāh, kriyāt, etc., and in the passive present, as kriye, kriyase, kriyate, etc.

3. कर kar, in pres. Par., as karōmi, karōshi, karōti, and before all weak terminations.

4. कृ kür, in pres. Ātm., as kurve, kurushe, kurute, and before strong terminations.

5. कार kār, in pf Par., as chakāra, and 1 aor. Par., as akārsham, also in the causal, as kārayati.
6. ख kr, in 2 and 3 pl. pf. Par., chakra, chakruh, and 1 and 3 s. pf. Åtm. chakre.

In the same way the root ॠU “hear,” appears in some parts of the verb as ॠi, in others as ॠu, ॠu, ऋिन, and ॠव. In the whole range of verbal roots there is perhaps not one which does not undergo more or less modification in the course of being conjugated.

Not only does the root-syllable present itself in various forms in the several tenses, but the terminations of the nine persons differ in each tense, and sometimes one tense will have two sets of terminations. Moreover, the endings of any given tense in one phase, differ from the corresponding ones of the same tense in another phase. Thus the terminations of the present tense are in the active phase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1. ami.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>1. avah.</td>
<td>2. thah.</td>
<td>3. tah.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>1. amah.</td>
<td>2. tha.</td>
<td>3. nti.</td>
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But in the middle phase the same tense ends in

<table>
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<th></th>
<th>1. i.</th>
<th>2. se.</th>
<th>3. te.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>1. avahe.</td>
<td>2. ithe.</td>
<td>3. ite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>1. amahe.</td>
<td>2. dhve.</td>
<td>3. nte.</td>
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This slight outline will suffice to show how vast and intricate are the ramifications of the Sanskrit verb. The reader who has followed the steps by which the noun has been simplified, as shown in the second volume of this work, will not be surprised to find in the present volume how widely the modern verb differs from that of Sanskrit. It was impossible to reduce the verb to anything like the simplicity required by modern speakers without sacrificing by far the greater portion of the immense and unwieldy apparatus of ancient times.

§ 2. Owing to the want of a continuous succession of literary documents, such as exists in the case of the modern Romance
languages of Europe, it is scarcely possible to trace step by step
the changes which have occurred in the verb. It is necessary,
however, to make the attempt, and to piece together such evi-
dence as we have, because the modern verb is an undoubted
descendant of the ancient one, though only a slight trait here
and there recalls the features of its parent, and its structure in
many points can only be rendered intelligible by tracing it
back to the ancient stock whence it sprung.

The first steps in the direction of simplification occur in
Sanskrit itself. Many of the elaborate forms cited by gram-
marians are of very rare occurrence in actual literature, and
some of them seem almost to have been invented for the sake
of uniformity. Three instances of this tendency in classical
Sanskrit may here be noticed.

The perfect tense in Sanskrit, as in Greek, is usually formed
by reduplication, so we have from √तथ "burn," pf. तताप,
√दृश "see," pf. दृश्च, just as λεῖπω makes λειπούσα and τρέπω,
téροφα. But there are certain roots which cannot take re-
duplication, and these form their perfect by an analytical
process. The root is formed into a sort of abstract substantive
in the accusative case, and the perfect of an auxiliary verb is
added to it. The verbs मू "be," चस "be," and छ "do," are
the auxiliaries principally employed for this purpose. Thus—

√उदृ "wet," makes pf. उदृचार, उदृचम वभुव or उदृच अस.
√चकास "shine," " " चकासां चकार, etc.
√बोधय "explain," " " बोधयां चकार, etc.¹

Another instance of the analytical formation is seen in the
future tense made out of the agent of the verb with the present
tense of the auxiliary चस "be." Thus from √वुध् "know,"
comes the agent बोधिता, which with the present of चस makes

S. 1. बोधितासि   P. 1. बोधितासि:
  2. बोधितासि     2. बोधितासि.

¹ Max Müller’s Sanskrit Grammar, p. 172.
A third instance is a form of phrase in which the passive past participle is combined with this same auxiliary चास to form a perfect definite, as आगतोस्मि “I have come,” or, as more faithfully represented by other European languages, “je suis venu,” and as we sometimes say ourselves, “I am come.” Here an analytical construction supplies the place of the perfect. Closely allied to this is the frequent habit in writers of the classical style of expressing the same tense by the neuter of the p.p.p. with the subject in the instrumental, as तेन गते “by him gone,” i.e. “he went,” instead of जगाम.

These are the first faint indications of a method which, in the course of ages, has developed to such an extent as to constitute the leading principle in the organization of the modern verb. By this system a greater facility for expressing nice shades of meaning is obtained. जगाम may mean “he went,” or, “he has gone,” but by the other system each of these two meanings has a phrase peculiar to itself, गतोस्मि meaning “he has gone,” and तेन गते “he went.” Precisely in the same way the Latin had only ego amavi for “I loved” and “I have loved,” but the Romance languages found this insufficient, and they have—

“I loved.” “I have loved,”
French j’aimai j’ai aimé.
Italian io amai io ho amato.
Spanish yo ame yo he amado.

§ 3. The next step in the reduction of the numerous Sanskrit tenses to a more manageable compass is seen in Pali, originally an Indian Prakrit, but which became the sacred language of the Buddhists of Ceylon, having been carried thither in the middle of the third century¹ before Christ, by Mahendra, son of King Aĉoka, and spread thence to Burmah and Siam.

Although the Pali grammarians, in their anxiety to exalt their sacred speech, tell us that the verb has ten conjugations, yet examples of all these are but rarely found.\(^1\) Four of the ten Sanskrit conjugations, the first, fourth, sixth, and tenth, resemble each other very closely even in that language, and are easily brought down to one in Pali. The seventh of Sanskrit also loses somewhat of its peculiar type, which consists in inserting ण between the vowel of the root and the final consonant, or ण before weak terminations. Thus in Skr. √रुध् rudh, "to obstruct," makes its present रुद्धद्धि runaddhi, but in Pali, while the ण is retained, the present is rundhati, after the type of the first class.

Five out of the ten Sanskrit conjugations are thus reduced almost, if not entirely, to one. Of the remaining five, the second of Sanskrit in roots which end in a vowel exhibits some traces of Sanskrit forms, while in those which end in a consonant the types of the first, or Bhû, class prevail. Thus Skr. √या "to go," pr. चाति, Pali also yâti, but

Skr. √मुज् "to rub," pr. मार्टि. Pali majjati, as if from a Skr. मज्जति.
√दुह् "to milk," दोहिति. dohati.
√लिङ् "to lick," लेहिति. lehati.

The third conjugation occasionally takes the reduplication as in Sanskrit, but in many instances prefers the Bhû type. Thus

Skr. √भी "to fear," विभीति. Pali भावति.
√धा "to hold," ध्याति. ध्याति and धिति.

The verb दा, "to give," which belongs to this conjugation, has special developments of its own, and is discussed in § 16.

The fifth, eighth, and ninth classes are very similar even in Sanskrit, for while the fifth adds ज to its root, the eighth adds न; but as all its roots except one already end in न, it

\(^1\) Seven classes are given by Kaccâyana. See Senart, Journal Asiatique, vi. série, vol. xvii. p. 439.
comes practically to pretty much the same thing as the fifth. The ninth adds न, ना, and नी to the root before various terminations. Here Pali draws very slight distinctions, making verbs of the fifth class take नु and ना indifferently, and both fifth and ninth appear occasionally in the guise of the first. Thus—

Skr. √षु “hear,” v. श्रोति. Pali सुरोति and सुश्राति.
√बच् “bind,” ix. बधाति. ” बंधति.
√छ “do,” viii. करोति. ” करोति.
√मन् “think,” viii. मनुति. ” मन्त्रिति.

The reason why the forms of the Bhû conjugation exercise so great an influence, and, like the -as-stem in nouns, so largely displace all the other types, is probably that the first conjugation is by far the largest, containing upwards of nine hundred out of the two thousand roots said to exist in Sanskrit. The second conjugation has only seventy-three, the third but twenty-five, the fourth and sixth about one hundred and forty each. The tenth, it is true, contains four hundred, but it is identical in form with the causal. The fifth has only thirty-three, the ninth sixty-one, while under the seventh class are twenty-five, and under the eighth only nine. These figures, it must be added, are taken from the Dhâtupâtha, a grammarian’s list of roots,¹ which contains many roots seldom, if ever, found in use, so that for all practical purposes the first conjugation covers more than half the verbs in the language. When it is also remembered that the fourth, sixth, and tenth differ but slightly from the first, it is not surprising that the terminations common to these four conjugations should have fixed themselves in the popular mind, and been added by the vulgar to all roots indiscriminately. Nearly all those verbs which retain the type of any conjugation, except the first, are words of extremely common use, which would naturally keep their

¹ Westergaard, Radices Sanskr. p. 342.
well-known forms in the mouths of the people in spite of all rules and tendencies to the contrary.

§ 4. The dual number has entirely disappeared from Pali, and the Ātmanepada, or middle phase, has practically merged into the active, for although Kaccāyana (J. As., vol. xvii. p. 429, sūtra 18) gives terminations for it, yet it is admitted that those of the active may be used instead, and practically it would appear that they are so used. The other phases, as causal, passive, desiderative, and intensive, have their own forms as in Sanskrit.

Among the tenses the chief is the present, and it is in Pali that we first find a tendency to retain throughout the whole verb that form of the root which is in use in the present. This tendency grows stronger in the later Prakrits, and becomes an almost invariable rule in the modern languages. Thus—

future पञ्चित्. " पञ्चिस्तित्.
aorist अपञ्चित्. " अपञ्चि.
gerund फल्का. " पञ्चिला.

Phonetic influences in Sanskrit change this root as regards its final consonant in the different tenses, but Pali, having got hold of the form pach in the present tense, retains it throughout the verb. It is still, however, only a tendency, and not a law, for we find instances in which Pali forms are derived directly from the corresponding tense in Sanskrit. One who should attempt to learn Pali without reference to Sanskrit would find it difficult to understand how the words karoti, kubbati, kayirā, kāhāmi, akāsi, kattum, could all spring from the same verbal root. It is only when the corresponding Sanskrit forms karoti, kurvate, kuryāt, kartāsmi, akūrshāt, kartum, are put by their

1 Or more strictly from an older karyāt not in use in classical Sanskrit. Kuhn, Beiträge, 105.
side, that the thread which connects them all becomes evident. Just so in the Romance languages, Italian so, sa, sapete, sanno, seppi, seem to have very little beyond the initial s in common, till it is perceived that they come from the Latin sapio, sapit, sapitis, sapium, sapui; thus, also, ho and ebbi can only be seen to be parts of the same verb when their origin from Latin habeo and habui is recognized. In Spanish there is the same difficulty, as will be seen by comparing hacer, hago, hace, hace, and hecho, with their Latin originals facere, facio, feci, facere habeo, and factum. In Portuguese, which seems to be the lowest and most corrupt Apabhranṣa of the Romance Prakṛts, the changes are such as almost to defy analysis. For instance, ter, tenho, tinha, tive, terei, correspond to Latin tenere, teneo, tenebam, tenni, tenere habeo: also hei, houve, haja, to habeo, habui, habeam, and sou, he, foi, seja, to sum, est, fui, sit.¹

The tenses of the Pali verb are eight in number.² These correspond to the tenses of the Sanskrit verb, omitting the periphrastic or second future (lut), the benedictive (ācīr liṅ), and the subjunctive (leṭ). The present active is almost exactly the same as the Sanskrit as regards its terminations in the Bhū form, and the middle only differs, and even then very slightly, in the 1 and 2 plural. Thus—

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Skr. 1 pl.} & \text{Pa. 1.} \\
P. & \text{Pa. 2.}
\end{array}
\]

1 Diez, Gramm. d. Romanischen Sprachen, vol. ii. p. 188.
2 The materials for this section are taken chiefly from Kuhn, Beiträge, p. 93 seqq., with some additions from Childers’s Dictionary, and a few remarks of my own.
any class other than the Bhû, it still keeps the personal endings of Sanskrit for that conjugation; thus from √ या “go,” we have—

Pa. S. 1. यामि, 2. यासि, 3. याति; P. 1. याम, 2. याष, 3. याति.

which differs from Sanskrit only in omitting the visarga in P. 1.

The imperative follows the type of the present, and may be thus compared with Sanskrit Parasmaipada,

Skr. S. 1. पचानि, 2. पच, 3. पचत्; P. 1. पचाम, 2. पचत, 3. पचतुः.
Pa. S. 1. पचासि, 2. पचहि, 3. पचतु; P.1. पचाम, 2. पचच, 3. पचति.

and with the अत्तमेनपाद, thus—

Skr. S. 1. पचि, 2. पचस्त, 3. पचतां; P. 1. पचामहि, 2. पचध्यं, 3. पचतां.
Pa. S. 1. पचि, 2. पचस्तु, 3. पचतं; P. 1. पचासि, 2. पचहो, 3. पचत्.

Here the S. 1 Parasmai seems to have arisen from some confusion with the present, as also P. 2. Noteworthy is S. 2, with its ending हि, which, though only found in classical Sanskrit in the second, third, seventh, and ninth conjugations, has crept into all in Pali, and has continued on into the mediaeval period, thus Chand

तिन सु गृह अछी कहहिः।

"Say thou a good word of them."—Pr. R. i. 9.

where कहहि = Skr. कथय (हि). In Vedic Skr. हि appears in all the conjugations. Of the अत्तमेन forms P. 1 seems to be derived from an older form, masai. P. 2 should perhaps be read hvo, not vho, in which case it is a regular resultant from Sanskrit dhv.

The potential is the Sanskrit optative (लिन), thus—

Parasmal.

Skr. S. 1. पचिन्त, 2. पचिस, 3. पचित्; P. 1. पचिम, 2. पचित, 3. पचिस्तः.
Pa. S. 1. पचिस्ति, 2. ध्यासि, 3. ध्य; P.1. ध्याम, 2. ध्याच, 3. ध्युः.
In this tense the point specially to be noticed is the tendency to simplify not only the root-syllable, but the range of terminations also. Having got the syllables *eyya* as the type of the tense, Pali seeks to avoid all further distinctions, and to use as much as possible the personal endings of the present tense. It sometimes conjugates the potential according to the types of other classes, and in this respect follows the lead of the present less faithfully in this tense than in the imperative. Thus, though in the present and imperative of *kar*, it follows the Sanskrit, and has *karoti, karotu*, yet in the potential it treats *kar* as if it belonged to the Bhû class, and has *kareyyâmi* as though from a Sanskrit *kareyam* instead of the actual *kuryâm*. There are other peculiarities about this tense which are not here noticed, as having no bearing upon the subject of the modern languages.

The imperfect has been, to some extent, mixed up with the aorist (luni), and both, together with the perfect, lead us into considerations which are of interest only for Pali itself, not having survived or had any influence on modern developments. They may therefore be passed over as immaterial to our present inquiry.

The future, on the contrary, offers many interesting peculiarities, especially, as will be seen hereafter, in reference to Gujarati and some of the rustic dialects of Hindi. The future is a difficult tense in the modern languages, and every scrap of information which can help to elucidate it deserves special notice. It runs thus in Pali (√ गम् "go")—

Skr. S.1. गमिष्याभि, 2. ओऽसि, 3. ओऽति; P. 1. ओऽसस, 2. चथ, 3. चति.  
Pa. S.1. गमिस्साभि, 2. ओऽससि, 3. ओऽसति; P. 1. ओऽसाम, 2. सच, 3. सचति.
Here the only noteworthy feature is the change of ख into स्त्र. The Ātmanepada follows the same rule throughout. Although the tendency to keep that form of the root which exists in the present leads to divergences from the Sanskrit future type, yet instances occur in which the Sanskrit type is preserved. These occur in reference to that very troublesome feature in the Sanskrit verb, the intermediate र, which is sometimes inserted between the root and the termination, and sometimes not. When it is not inserted, the euphonic laws of Sanskrit require that the final consonant of the root be changed to enable it to combine with the initial consonant of the termination. Thus √धच “cook,” when it has to take the future termination याति, becomes पक् and पक + याति = पच्याति. Here Pali sticks to the form पच, because it is used in the present and makes its future पचिष्यति as though there had been (as there probably was in colloquial usage) a Sanskrit future पचिष्यति with the intermediate र inserted.

In a certain number of verbs, however, it has two forms, one as above retaining the root-form of the present, and the other a phonetic equivalent of the Sanskrit. Kuhn¹ gives the following examples, to which I add the Sanskrit for comparison.

Skr. √अभ “get,” future लक्ष्यते. Pali लक्ष्यति but also चन्हस्यति.
√धच “speak,” वचते. वच्यति.
√धा “put,” ध्वास्यति. धस्यति.
√वस “dwell,” वत्यति. वच्यति but also वसिष्यति.
√किदू “cleave,” कित्यति. किच्यति, किच्यति, किदित्यति.
√भुज “eat,” भोजयति. भोक्यति, भोक्यति, भुमिष्यति.
√मुच “loose,” मोचयति. मोक्यति. मुचिष्यति.
√य “hear,” योषयति. सोस्यति. सुमिष्यति.

¹ Beiträge, p. 115.
The consonantal changes are in accordance with the treatment of the nexus as explained in Vol. I. p. 304. The striving after uniformity is seen, however, in the retention of the alternative forms having the same type as the present, and it is, moreover, worth observing that the forms which reproduce the type of the Sanskrit without the intermediate द्र seem by degrees to have been misunderstood. The illiterate masses, and even those better instructed, seem to have missed the *issati* which so generally indicated to their minds the future tense, and regarded those forms which had not this familiar sound as present tenses. So they made double futures by adding the *issa* to them. Thus from द्रश् "to see," future द्रच्यति, Pali made a form dakkhati, but the people by degrees took this for a present, and made what to them seemed a more correct future dakkhissati. I mention this here as I shall have occasion hereafter to discuss the much-debated question of the origin of the familiar modern stem देखि "see" (see § 17). Another instance is

Skr. √ शक् "be able," future शच्यति. Pa. सकत्वति, whence vulgo सक्षिस्ति.

In one case Pali has a future which points back to a Vedic form:

Classic ditto रोदिस्यति. " रोदिस्तति.

Occasionally the द्र is softened to ह, as in काहिति, काहिति from कारिस्ति, Skr. कारिष्यति. This is noteworthy with reference to Bhojpuri and the eastern Hindi dialects generally.

§ 5. It used to be held that Pali was a descendant of the Magadhi dialect of Prakrit, but this opinion is now, I believe, exploded. Though the question is not yet set at rest, it would seem to have been fairly established that Mahendra was a
native of Ujjayin, and that the language which he carried to Ceylon was the ordinary vernacular of his own province. This dialect was not very different from that of Magadha, and Mahendra may have slightly altered the Magadhi sayings of the great master, by his Ujjayini pronunciation, while retaining the name Magadhi out of deference to the sacred associations which clustered round the birthplace of Buddha.

Be this as it may, the nearest Indian dialect to Pali seems undoubtedly to be the Prakrit of the Bhāgavatī, a sacred book of the semi-Buddhist sect of Jainas. If Hemachandra, himself a Jain and author of several works on Prakrit, were available for reference, our task would be easier; as yet, however, none of Hemachandra’s writings have been printed or edited. Weber’s articles on the Bhāgavatī are at present our only source of information.

In the Jaina Prakrit the ten conjugations of the Sanskrit verb are, with few exceptions, reduced to the Bhû type. In this respect it goes further than Pali, treating as verbs of the first conjugation many which in Pali retain the type of other conjugations. The fifth, seventh, and ninth conjugations, which in Sanskrit insert र with certain variations, are all reduced to one head by regarding the र as part of the root, as is also the case with the च of the fourth class. The a inserted between the root and termination of the Bhû class is used throughout, though occasionally weakened to i, or changed to e from some confusion between this and the e = ayu, which is the type of the tenth class. The following examples will illustrate the above remarks.

1 Kuhn, Beiträge, p. 7.
2 Pischel’s admirable edition of Hemachandra’s Grammar (Orphanage Press, Halle, 1877) has reached me just as this work is going to press, and too late to be of use for this edition, except for a few hasty notes here and there. Mueller’s Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprakrit came into my hands about the same time. I find it enables me to add a few illustrations to this section, which, however, was written in the latter part of 1875.
The tenth class being identical with the first is omitted. It will be seen that the present tense is formed throughout on the model of the first conjugation, the Jain words given above being phonetic modifications of words which would be in Sanskrit respectively harati, vedati, dhati, ardhati, prapanati,
STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

chayati, sunati, bhanjati, karati, grihṇati, and jānati, if all those verbs belonged to the first or Bhû conjugation.

It is not so easy to draw out a full verbal paradigm in this dialect as in Pali, because we have as yet no grammars, and are obliged to fall back on the words that occur in a single text. The range of tenses appears to consist of a present (corresponding to the Sanskrit lat), imperative (loṭ), potential (liṅ), imperfect and aorist jumbled together as in Pali, and future (lrit). The perfect (liṭ) seems to be altogether wanting, as it is in the modern languages.

The present runs thus:—√ नम् “bow.”

S. 1. नमाभि, 2. नमर्, 3. नमति; P. 1. नमास्मि, 2. नमह, 3. नमंति.

Those terminations which contain the vowel e have crept into the conjugation of all verbs from the tenth, to which that vowel, as shortened from aya, must be held strictly to belong, or to causals. Thus in Bhâg. i, 60, we have phâseti, pâeti, sobheti, târeti, pûreti, kîtâti, anûpâlêi, ârâheî, for Sanskrit साृजयति, पालयति, शोभयति, तारयति, पुरूषयति, कीर्तयति, अनुपालयति, आराधयति, respectively. In the last word the causal form becomes the same as the active given above. Of the imperative we have only the S. 2 and P. 2, which are in fact the only persons which an imperative can properly have. The S. 2 takes the ending हि as in Pali with junction vowels ā and e, the P. 2 ends in ह, which, as Weber points out, is from the P. 2 of the present, in Sanskrit घ. Thus—

Skr. √ रच् “shine,” causal रोचय, impv. रोचय, Jaina रोएः.

आद्वा “believe,”...अद्विहि, सद्विहि (pres. सद्वरि).

The potential, of which only the S. 3 is traceable, resembles Pali in using the termination _eyya_ with variant _ejja_.


√ यह "take," " गृहीयात् " गृहीजः.

But there exist some old simple forms derived by phonetic changes from the corresponding Sanskrit tense, as _kujja = kuryat_, _dajja = dadyat_ (Mueller, p. 60).

The future resembles that of Pali, thus—

S. 1. जमिस्सामि, 2. ओवस्सति, 3. ओवस्सइ; P. 1. ओवस्सामो, 2. ओवस्सइ, 3. ओवस्सति.

It also appears with a termination _ihi_ produced by weakening _सं_ into _इं_ and the following _a_ to _i_, thus—

Skr. गमियति, Jain गमिहिति and गमिहिति.

Moreover, there is a trace of the double future like Pali _dakkhisati_.


Here उपपत्ति would phonetically become उववच्छ, and by still further softening उववज्ञात, whence, as if from a present, is formed the future उववज्ञस्ति and उववज्ञहिति.

§ 6. The reduction in the number of tenses necessitates a greatly extended use of participles. This is one great step in the transition from the synthetical to the analytical system. The Sanskrit present active participle takes in that language the characteristics of the ten conjugations, and is declined as a noun in three genders. It ends properly in _ant_, but the nasal is dropped before certain terminations, as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>हरूण</th>
<th>हरूणी</th>
<th>हरूणि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>संधन</td>
<td>संधनी</td>
<td>संधनि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पवन</td>
<td>पवनी</td>
<td>पवनि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पवत</td>
<td>पवती</td>
<td>पवति</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The nasal, however, is retained throughout in Jaina Prakrit, thus—

Skr. जलन् जलन्ति जलत्
Jaina जलंतो जलन्ति जलंते.

This peculiarity is worth remembering; much depends on this retention of the nasal, as will be seen when we come to the modern Sindhi and Panjabi verbs.

Very great interest attaches to the participle of the future passive, which in Sanskrit ends in तथ्. In verbs which do not take intermediate र, this ending is added directly to the root with the usual Sandhi changes; but as Prakrit prefers to insert the र in order to preserve the root-form of the present, it comes to pass that the त of the termination stands alone between two vowels, and in consonance with Prakrit phonetics is elided. The hiatus thus produced is in the Jaina writings filled by ध. If to this we add the regular mutation of ध into घ, we get from तथ् the form घन्त्. In its original meaning this participle corresponds to the Latin in ndus, as faciendus, and expresses that which is to be done, as तथ्या गन्तथ्य “by thee it is to be gone,” i.e. “thou must go.” In this sense it occurs frequently in Bhâgavatî, as for instance in § 56:

Jaina एवं देवाणुप्रियता गंतन्त्रं, चिन्त्रित्यं, निषोपितद्, भुजियां, etc.
Skr. एवं देवाणुप्रियता गन्तन्त्रं, खातां, निषोपितां, भोज्यां, etc.

“Thus, O beloved of the gods, must ye go, must ye stand, must ye sit, must ye eat,” where the last two words postulate a Sanskrit form with the र inserted, such as निषोपितद्, भुजितवं.

It is obvious that it would require no great straining of the sense of this participle to make it into an infinitive, and seeing that as early as this Jaina dialect the use of the regular Sanskrit infinitive in रु has become rare, it follows that recourse should be had to some participial form to supply its place. In this way we find the past passive participle in रुत्, with the त elided and
its place supplied by \( \text{\textit{cher}} \), employed in a construction where we should expect the infinitive. Thus Bhāg. § 54, \( \text{\textit{rūcchāmi pṛthavibhyḥ}} \), \( \text{\textit{sūṛdānibhyḥ, sēndānibhyḥ, smīkṣtānibhyḥ}} \) (Weber, Bhāg. p. 274): "I wish to wander, to take the tionsure, to practise austerities, to learn," as though from Sanskrit forms \( \text{\textit{pratvājitānt, maṇḍapītānt, śēdāpītānt, śrīśāpītānt}} \), the three last being causals formed with \( \text{\textit{āp}} \), as is frequently the case with causals in Prakrit, though of course these forms are not found in Sanskrit. In that language the formation of causals by means of \( \text{\textit{अप}} \) is restricted to a few stems.

More will be said on this subject in a subsequent chapter, but it is necessary here to note an early instance of this process which takes a much wider development in later times, the infinitive in Gujarati and Oriya and several participial constructions and verbal nouns being derived from it.

§ 7. The scenic Prakrits represent a further step in development. Despite the admittedly artificial character of these dialects, they probably retain forms which were at one time in general use, although that time may not have been the epoch when the dramas were written, and without referring to them, the structure of the modern verb could not be clearly understood. It is expedient to avoid discussing this question, lest attention should be drawn away from the real subject of this work, namely, the modern languages. All this part of the present chapter is merely introductory and is only inserted in order to pave the way for a more intelligent appreciation of the origin and growth of Hindi and its fellows.

In the Māhārāṣṭrī or principal poetical dialect all conjugations are reduced to the type of the first or Bhū class, and the same holds good for the Cāuraseni or chief prose dialect. Only here and there do we find faint traces of the peculiarities of other conjugations. Of the six phases only three remain, active, passive, and causal. The passive differs from the active only in the form of the root, the characteristic \( \text{\textit{cher}} \) of the
Sanskrit passive having been worked into the stem, and the terminations of the active being added to it. The Ātmanepada and the dual are of course rejected.

Of tenses these dialects have a still more restricted range than the Jaina Prakrits. They have the present, imperative and future, with traces of the potential. The past tense is chiefly formed by the p.p.p. with auxiliary verbs. Thus from \( \sqrt{\text{वृत्त}} \) "shine,"

Present S. 1. रोचामि, रोचसि, रोचदि.
P. 1. रोचामि, ओँसु, ओँस.

Here are observable those first indications of a confusion of forms, and uncertainty in their use, which are always characteristic of that period in languages when the synthetical structure is breaking down into the analytical. In these dialects, as in Jaina Prakrit, the practice exists of inserting \( \text{ः} \) as a junction vowel; thus we have such forms as कलिमि "I do," Skr. करौमि, instead of करामि, which would be the regular result of treating कृ as a Bhû verb, गङ्गम्ह for गच्छाम, "let us go." The presence of the \( \text{ः} \) in S. 1 and P. 1 is accounted for by its being confused with that construction in which the present of भृ is used with a past participle; thus we find कद्विन्हि "I was made" = Sanskrit कतोदसिः, and पेल्लेन्हि "I have been sent" = Skr. प्रेषितोदसिः.

The imperative has the following forms—


The S. 2 has also forms रोचस, रोचसु, pointing to a Sanskrit Ātmane form रोचस and P. 2 similarly रोचध = Skr. रोचध्, though neither are used in a middle sense, but are equivalents as regards meaning of the Sanskrit active.
The following are a few examples:

- पेक्षस्स “look thou!”
- गृहस्स “bow thou!”
- वहुहि “bear ye.”
- जाधि “go ye.”
- अवेधि “go away.”
- अरोश्लधि “get out of the way!”
- अवलिधि “do.”
- अवरेस्वे “wake up.”

Skr. प्रेक्षस्
Skr. नमस्स
Skr. वहुहि
Skr. याधि
Skr. अपेवि
Skr. अरोश्लधि
Skr. अवलिधि
Skr. अवरेस्वे

The future most usually exhibits the form of the Sanskrit present in याहि = रस्स.

S. 1. रोविचस्सभि, 2. रोविचस्ससि, 3. रोविचस्सइ.
P. 1. रोविचस्सभि, 2. रोविचस्सइ, 3. रोविचस्सति.

This form is used indifferently with roots of all classes as in Pali, but here also there still subsist some traces of a future formed without the intermediate या. Vararuchi (vii. 16, 17) gives the following:—

- Skr. √ याहि “hear,” fut. याधाभि. Pr. सीवच्छेन.
- √ वच्छि “speak,” वचाभि. वोवच्छेन.
- √ गाहि “go,” [गंग्याभि]. गच्छेन.
- √ दहि “weep,” Ved. दोहाभि. रोच्छेन.
- √ विद्यि “know,” बेत्याभि. वेच्छेन.

These forms are, however, justly regarded as exceptions; for the rule in scenic, as in other, Prakrits is to retain throughout the root-form of the present. The regular type of the future is that in issa-, and the above words have also a future formed in the regular way, सुविचस्सइ, विचस्सइ, गमिस्सइ, etc. This सस

1 Some of these are Māgadhi Prakrit, but for my present purpose it is not necessary to draw a distinction between Māgadhi and Cauraseni.
is softened to ह, and the following vowel is weakened to र, producing as characteristic the syllables Ṗhi. Thus—

√ हस् “laugh,” S. 1. हसिद्रिद्वि. 2. हसिद्रिद्वि, 3. हसिद्रिद्वि, etc.

By a forgetfulness of the origin of such forms as सोच्चे, the ordinary future terminations may be added to them too, just like dakkhissati in Pali (§ 4), so that we find सोच्चित्तिके, and सोच्चित्तिके.

The various tenses which in Sanskrit indicate past time have already in Pali and the earlier Prakrits been fused down into one. In scenic Prakrit a further step is taken, and the syllables ia, erroneously written ta in some MSS., are added to the root for all persons of the past tense (Var. vii. 23, 24. Lassen, Inst. Pr., 353). This is probably the neuter of the p.p.p. in Sanskrit, and its use is due to the frequency of the construction with the instrumental. Instead of saying “I saw, I went, I heard,” the people said, “by me seen, gone, heard.” This point is one of great importance in modern Hindi and Gujarati.

§ 8. While the Maharashtri and Çauraseni dialects are considered the principal ones in the dramas, there are yet others of great importance, such as the Mågadhi, with its sub-dialects. Among these, however, it is necessary only to notice that called Apabhranṣa. I do not wish here to touch upon the question whether the dialect called by this name in the dramas really represents the speech of any particular Indian province or not. I assume, for the sake of convenience, that Apabhranṣa is really a vulgar speech further removed from the classical idiom than Maharashtri or Çauraseni. There may have been half a dozen Apabhranṣas, probably there were. In this section I am merely seeking to put together examples of verbal forms in a dialect one step nearer to modern times than the principal scenic Prakrits, and having done so, shall go on to my own special subject.
All that we can expect in the way of tenses after what has been said in the preceding sections, is a present, an imperative, and a future. The rest of the verbal work is done by participles.

√ प्रकृत “ask,” Present S. 1. पुक्तासिं, 2. रसिः, 3. ड्राहः
पुक्तासिं,
रसिः
ड्राहः
P. 1. पुक्ताम्,
2. पुक्त्र, 3. ड्राहः

√ ध “do,” Imperative S. 2. करि�hsi, P. 1. करजः, P. 2. करहः
करी,
करि,
करह,

In the future, although the form with the characteristic issa is found as सुमिससदि = सासिः. Skr. √ स्, yet more commonly we find the form in which स् has been softened to ह; thus

S. 1. कारिहिमि, 2. कारिहिसि, 3. कारिहिः, etc.

The grammarians also give a

P. 1. in झ as कासाधः = कारिषाम.

The participles resemble in most respects those in other Prakrit dialects, but that in तब्य becomes द्रब्य, as कारस्य and कारिः = कारिः (कारिः). The gerund ends in र्य, र्यस्य, and a softened form ब्र्य; the ordinary Čauraseni form द्रश्य, which will be found in several modern languages, is here also used. To the gerund rather than to the infinitive, as the grammarians would have it, seems to belong the form in एव्र्य, as ब्रह्मव्र्य, the exact genesis of which is doubtful, though, as to the final झ, there is an analogy in the true infinitive लहेव्र्य, which very closely approaches to Chand’s forms, as वर्य, वर्य.

In addition to the above forms which are found in scenic Apabhraṣṭa, others and those more genuine fragments of popular speech are to be picked out from scraps that have
been preserved by bards. It is much to be wished that we had more of Hemachandra's works accessible, as in them we should doubtless find a rich mine of such words. Thus for all past tenses there is the participial form in दृढ़ for all three persons, as

उदारिक्षे = उदारितं (दृढ़तं).
क्रिया = क्रियतं.
मृत्यु = मृत्यति.

It has a plural in आ or ए, as:

आया = आगता;
वारिया = वारिता;
उद्दित्या = उद्दिता;

Sometimes also the u of the singular is rejected and a substituted, as मूषिप्रं = मूषितृ. There are other forms to be found in these poems which will be referred to hereafter when the modern forms which they illustrate are under discussion.

As a general result from the preceding brief sketches it may be asserted that Sanskrit, Pali, and the Prakrits taken collectively as the languages of the earlier stage have a common structure, though in different grades. Sanskrit, with its full range of synthetical tenses, yet admits here and there analytical constructions. Pali does the same, though its synthetical tenses are fewer and simpler. The Prakrits reduce the tenses still further, and make greater use of participial constructions. The treatment of the root-syllable also shows a gradually increasing tendency to simplification, for whereas in Sanskrit it is changed in form repeatedly in the various tenses, a practice begins in Pali and grows more common as we go down the stream, of using in all parts of the verb that form of the root which is found in the Sanskrit present.

From the review of these languages given above the passive and causal have been purposely omitted, because the parts which they play in the development of the modern verb are peculiar,
and will be better understood when seen side by side with the modern forms. The desiderative and intensive have left few or no traces of their existence, and may be passed over unnoticed.

§ 9. We may now approach the languages of the present day, and the discussion becomes more minute and particular. Though the verb of the new world has ways of its own, yet it stretches out hands across the gulf of centuries to the old world verb, and supports its claim to descent from it by still preserving traces unmistakeable, though often faint and irregular, of the ancient forms and systems.

As in the noun, so also in the verb, the first thing to be considered is the stem. The modern verbal stem undergoes no changes, but remains absolutely the same throughout all moods, tenses and persons. To this rule there is a small though important exception, consisting of some participles of the preterite passive which are derived direct from the Prakrit forms, and are thus early Tadbhavas. The number of these early Tadbhava participles differs in the various languages. They are most numerous, as might be expected, in Sindhi, which has a hundred and forty of them in a total of about two thousand verbs. In Panjabi, Gujarati and Marathi the number is rather less, while in Hindi only five, and in Bengali and Oriya only two exist. They will be found, together with their derivations, in Chapter III. §§ 46, 47, 48.

With this slight exception the verbal stem remains unaltered throughout. Thus, having got, by means hereafter to be explained, the word sun for “hear,” Hindi simply tacks on to it the terminations; thus sunnā to hear, suntā hearing, sunā heard, sunān I hear, sune he hears, suno hear ye! sunegā he will hear, sunkar having heard.

Primary stems are almost always monosyllabic, but secondary or derivative stems have often more syllables than one. The
latter may be brought under three heads. First, stems derived from Sanskrit roots with which a preposition has already been compounded, principally तत्, चि, प्र, and सं, as utar “descend,” nikal “go out,” pasar “spread,” sankooh “distress.” Second, stems formed by reduplication, as jhanjhan “tinkle,” tharthar “flutter.” Third, stems with an added syllable, as gutak “swallow,” ghastì “drag,” karkach, “bind.”

It was seen above that in the old world verb there were six phases, and that two of these, the desiderative and intensive, have since been lost. The modern verb having to provide for active, neuter, passive, causal and other phases, has been obliged to have recourse to processes of its own, by which it arrives at the possession of a much wider range than Sanskrit can boast of, and does it too by far simpler means. Partly this result is obtained by ingenious adaptations of Prakrit forms, partly by modifications of, or additions to, its own stems, and partly by combining two stems together. It will first, therefore, be necessary to examine what phases the modern verb has, and then to proceed to examine the processes by which it has provided itself with the necessary forms for each phase.

§ 10. Those phases which are expressed by one word may be ranged as regards meaning in a regular scale of grades of action, according to the degree and kind of activity they express. In the following scheme we take the neuter as the point of quiescence, and trace degrees which start, from it towards a positive pole indicating activity, and a negative pole indicating passivity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative Pole</th>
<th>-3</th>
<th>-2</th>
<th>-1</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>+1</th>
<th>+2</th>
<th>+3</th>
<th>+4</th>
<th>Positive Pole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Double Causal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Causal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Double Causal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The foregoing table looks, I fear, somewhat fanciful, but I know not how better to express a matter which is a striking and very important feature in the modern Aryan verb. It may be explained by considering each phase separately.

The neuter verb \(0\) expresses neither action nor passion. It conceives of the subject as in a condition of mere existence, as being something, not doing, and is therefore the simplest phase of verbal description. Pure neuter verbs are ho "be," rah "remain."

The next grade is the active intransitive \(+1\) which conceives of the subject as indeed acting, but acting in such a way that his action does not pass beyond himself to affect an external object, as soch "think," chal "walk," phir "revolve."

The active transitive comes next \(+2\). In this the subject is considered as acting in such a way that his action affects external objects, as mār "beat," khā "eat," pī "drink."

The next grade is the causal \(+3\), in which the subject acts upon an external object in such a way as to cause it to act in its turn upon a second object, as H. sunā "cause to hear," H. phirā "cause to turn."

In some of the languages there is a yet further grade, the double causal \(+4\), in which the subject causes the first object to set in motion a second object, so that it affects a third object, as S. pherā "cause to cause to turn," S. ghārā "cause to cause to wound."

Returning now to the neuter or central point, and starting off again in the opposite direction towards the negative pole, we arrive at the passive intransitive \(-1\). In this phase the subject not only takes no action, but is himself under the influence of exterior agencies. It differs as much from the neuter on one hand as from the passive on the other, and is a sort of middle voice. It is called in Sanskrit grammar Bhāva- or Sahya-bheda, and is principally used in Gujarati, though ex-
isting in the other languages also, as G. abhaḍā "be polluted" (be in a state of pollution), H. ban "be built" (be in process of construction).

The passive (−2) is that phase which regards the subject as no longer an agent, but as being acted upon, as S. dhoja "be washed."

Lastly comes the passive causal (−3), where the subject causes an object to be acted upon by a second object, as M. máravi "cause to be struck."

It must not be supposed that all of these phases are found in every language. On the contrary, in none of the languages are there separate forms for each phase. It is only on reviewing the whole seven in a body that the full range of phases is seen. Generally speaking, the eight phases are represented by six sets of forms:

1. Neuter, including 0, +1 and −1.
2. Active, " +2.

The double causal and passive have separate and distinct forms only in Sindhi. The passive, however, is found in some rustic dialects of Hindi. Generally the use of the passive construction is avoided by having recourse to the passive intransitive (−1) or the neuter (0), the former of which has a distinct form in Gujarati, Old Hindi, and Bengali, and in the construction of sentences in which it is used resembles the active, like vapule in Latin.

Of the above phases the neuter and active are the simplest, the other forms being derived from them by the addition of syllables or internal modifications; the secret of the formation
of the modern verb is therefore to be sought for in the neuter and active.

§ 11. Some verbal stems are found only in the neuter form, others, again, only in the active, while a third and somewhat large class has both a neuter and an active form. For convenience, the first two classes may be called single stems, and the last double stems. Those double stems arise from the circumstance that two separate but, so to speak, twin verbs, have been made by the moderns out of one old Aryan root, each modern stem being derived from a different part of the old verb, as will be shown further on.

Among single stems, those which are neuter (including active intransitive and passive intransitive) supply the place of an active by employing the causal, thus ह. वनना (passive intransitive) "to be made," takes as its corresponding active वनना "to make," which is really a passive causal, meaning "to cause to be made." Those single stems which are active mostly require no neuter, but should it be necessary to express one, the passive intransitive is used, as कहना "to tell," कहलाना "to be called."

Moreover, in Sanskrit there is a class of verbs derived from nouns, and called denominatives, which express the being in the state described by the parent noun, and sometimes (though more rarely) the action of the subject. Verbs of this sort are common in all languages of the Aryan stock, and notably so in modern English, where a verb may be formed almost at will from any noun; thus we say "to eye," "to mouth," "to beard," "to house oneself," "to shoe a horse," etc. In Sanskrit these verbs take the form of the tenth conjugation, or perhaps it would be more correct to regard them as causals. Examples are Sanskrit agadyati "he is in good health," from अगदा "healthy"; chapaldyate "he trembles," from चपलाल "tremulous"; पार्श्वययते "he is learned," or "he acts the
pedant," from pandita "a (so-called) learned man";¹ yoktrayati "he yokes," from yoktram "a yoke." Probably from this cause it arises that there are in the moderns neuter verbs with a causal termination, as M. कड़काविलिन् "to bang," "crack," H. घबराना "to be amazed," चंबलाना "to totter." See § 28.

All these points will be noticed in detail in their proper place, they are cursorily mentioned here as an introduction to the general subject, and to show that there is an interchange and playing to and fro of forms and meanings which is somewhat difficult to unravel, and the more so as in colloquial usage the verbs are often very laxly and capriciously employed.

§ 12. Single neuter verbs are to a great extent early Tadbhavas as far as their stems are concerned, and consequently retain the Prakrit type. Thus they exhibit few or no traces of the tenfold classification of the Sanskrit or of the numerous phonetic changes that take place in the interior of the verb, but follow as a rule the form of the root in the present tense of the Bhû class. Here follows a list of some of the simplest and most used stems in the modern languages derived from verbs which in Sanskrit are Bhû. In the dictionaries the modern verbs are generally shown under the infinitive mood, but in the following lists I have thought it better to give only the stem; the reader can add the form of the infinitives if he wishes to refer to them in the dictionaries, as ह. ना, P. शा or ना, S. शु, G. शु, M. ले, O. रबा. In the Bengali dictionaries verbs are given under the stem alone.

Skr. यू “be,” pres. भवति, Pa. भवति and हौति, Pr. भोदि, होदि, होर, H. हो and so in all, except S. ज़च्र, and in O. होद्र is contracted

¹ A pandit in the present day in India is an individual who is supposed to be deeply read in all the most useless parts of Sanskrit literature, and is densely ignorant and contemptuous of all other branches of human knowledge.
to है. This verb will be treated at full length further on as the chief auxiliary of these languages (see Chapter IV. § 66).


√ लग “stick,” लगति, Pa. लगति and लगति, Pr. लगगइ, where the राग is probably caused by the passive लगति or the p.p.p. लग, H. लग, P. लग, S. लग, in the rest लग. It is neuter in the moderns.


There is little that is remarkable in the above list, the modern forms being regularly produced by the working of the usual phonetic laws. The verb sthā “stand,” being one of the common auxiliaries, demands a fuller notice. Here follow some of the principal tenses in the old languages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>PA.</th>
<th>PR.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>√ खा and झा i. S. 3</td>
<td>तिपटि ठाति</td>
<td>चिष्टि (Māg.), चिष्टि (Caur.), ठाचर, ठाठ (Var. viii. 25, 26).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pres. तिष्टि</td>
<td>प. 3. तिष्टि</td>
<td>चिष्टि, चिष्टि, ठाति.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impv. S. 2. तिष्ट</td>
<td>तिष्टि, ठाति</td>
<td>चिष्टि, चिष्टि, ठाति.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 3. तिष्टु</td>
<td>तिष्टु, ठातु</td>
<td>ठाति.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future S. 3. खस्ति</td>
<td>ठस्ति</td>
<td>ठाहि.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>इन्फ. खातू</td>
<td>ठातू</td>
<td>ठाहि.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.p.p. खिरि</td>
<td>ठिरि</td>
<td>ठाहि.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund खिला</td>
<td>ठला, ठलान</td>
<td>ठि, ठि.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the three forms in that having ठा as its root-syllable has survived to modern times, though in most cases with the dental instead of the cerebral aspirate. In H. there is only a
fragment in the shape of a past participle S. या m. यी f., P. ये m. यी f. S. G. and O. have a whole verb, thus—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>g.</th>
<th>o.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>विखिरण “to be.”</td>
<td>वां (वांव)</td>
<td>विष (वांचित)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td>S. 1. विखिर्ण</td>
<td>वां</td>
<td>वांए</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(=Skr. pres.)</td>
<td>2. विखिर्ण, वी</td>
<td>वां (वांच)</td>
<td>वां</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. विखिर्ण</td>
<td>वां (वांच)</td>
<td>वांए</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. 1. विखिर्ण</td>
<td>वांए</td>
<td>वांई</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. विखिर्ण</td>
<td>वांई</td>
<td>वांच</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• 3. विखिर्णि</td>
<td>वां</td>
<td>वांचि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present part.</td>
<td>वींद्र</td>
<td>वा</td>
<td>वांई</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past part.</td>
<td>विखिर्ण</td>
<td>वांई और वांपि</td>
<td>वांला</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>S. 3. वींद्र</td>
<td>वां</td>
<td>वांचि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P. 3. वींद्र</td>
<td>वां</td>
<td>वांचि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The structure of these forms will be found discussed in Ch. IV. § 69. M. has an old poetical चढ़े “to be,” but from the Pr. form चढ़े there is, as far as I know, only one descendant, and that is the modern Oriya adjective चढ़ा “standing,” which seems to point to Pr. चढ़े, Skr. खिंतं.

It is interesting here to notice the parallel treatment of Sanskrit खि and Latin sta in their respective descendants. Both roots survive, but have almost entirely lost the sense of “standing,” and have come to mean “be,” “become.” In S. G. and O. the above quoted verbs are used as auxiliaries denoting a more special and definite kind of being or becoming, and are thus distinguished from the less definite auxiliaries derived from मु or चास. Sindhi huamu and thiana, Gujarati hovun and thavun, Oriya hoib and thib, stand to each other exactly in the same relation as Spanish ser from esse does to estar (from stare). Thus Pedro es enamorado “Pedro is loving (by disposition),” but Pedro está enamorado “Pedro is in love (with some one).” So el es bueno “he is good (by nature),” but el está bueno “he is
well (in health)." In Italian, although *stare* still means "to stand," yet it is constantly and regularly used in the sense of being, thus *sto leggendo* "I am reading," does not imply that the speaker stands while he reads, but merely indicates that he is engaged in reading; just so an Oriya would say *parhu thãun*. *Stai bene?* "art thou well?" *sta qui vicino* "he is living close by," would be correctly rendered in O. by the exactly parallel expressions *bhala thãi?* and *ethi nika thãe*. In French, as in Hindi, the verb has been lost, and a Frenchman has to use the roundabout expression *il se tient debout* for "he is standing," literally "he holds himself on end," just in the same way as the Indian has to say *kharã hai* literally "he is propped up," (खड़ा = Pr. खड़ा = Skr. खड्ध from √खड्ध to support).

§ 13. Examples of verbs derived from roots which in Sanskrit belong to other conjugations than the first are now adduced to show how completely all traces of the peculiarities of those conjugations have been abandoned.

Skr. √या "go," ii. याति, Pa. याति, Pr. याति and यात्र (the latter as if from a Bhû verb यात्र), H. या, P. M. B. id., G. and O. retain या in some tenses, but in others shorten it to G. ज, O. जः.

√स्ति "sleep," ii. स्तिपति, Pa. सुपति, Pr. सुब्र, सुच्र, सुब्र, H. सो, P. सी, S. सुह, G. सु, B. and O. सो.

√भि "fear," iii. भिबित्ति, Pa. भायति, Pr. भीष्टि, भाष्टि, चौह (Var. iii. 19), M. भि, भे, G. भीह, भीही, भिह (not in the rest).


√प्रक "be able," v. प्रकोति and iv. प्रकति, Pa. सक्रति, सक्रोति, सक्रणोति, Pr. सक्र, सक्रणोति, and सक्रू, H. सक्र, P. सक्र, S. सच, G. M. शक्र.

In नच, as in several other verbs derived from Div roots, the characteristic च of the Div class seems to have got mixed up
with the root and has thus been preserved. Although in sak both Pali and Prakrit retain some traces of the peculiar type of the Su class, the moderns entirely reject them and form as if from a Bhū root, thus H. सके “he can,” postulates a Sanskrit शकति, and so with the other languages.

How the following verb came by its modern form I know not, but all the authorities agree in referring it to बृृ. It is a very common word, and it is just these very common words that are the most difficult to trace. Perhaps बृृ became बृृ, and so बृृ and बृृृृृाृृृृ.1

Skr. बृृ “speak,” ii. बृृृाृृ and बृृृ, Pr. बृृृ (Mrich. 230, end of Act vi.) Old H. बृृृ (o is short in Pr.), H. बृृृ, S. बृृृ, all the rest बृृृ.

§ 14. In the above examples the modern verb retains the form of the present tense, but there is a tolerably large class of stems which retain the type of the p.p.p. of Sanskrit as modified by the Prakrits.2 These verbs express positions of the body, states or conditions whether material or mental, and the possession of qualities. The past participle of the Sanskrit has been treated as an adjective and a new verb formed form it, just as in English we have verbs “to contract,” “to respect,” “to edit,” from the Latin contractus, respectus, editus, the respective past participles of contrahere, respicere and edere.

The modern Romance languages often preserve a long string of nouns derived from a Latin verbal root, while they have lost the verb itself; for instance, French, while it possesses no verb

1 Since writing the above I see that Hemachandra gives bollai as one of the ten Prakritisms of kath; he means it evidently not as derived from kath, which is impossible, but as a popular equivalent (Pischel's Hem. iv. 2). In the same sūtra he gives also sanghaī for kath, in which we see the origin of M. sānghayen “to speak.” Hemachandra has also bollai=kathayishyati (iv. 360), bollium=kathayitum, bollium=kathyante (?), ib. 383. But he gives būne as the equivalent of brā in iv. 391, so that the origin of bol still remains doubtful.

2 This process was indicated by me in Vol. I. p. 179. Hoernle afterwards discussed it as if it was his own discovery in Indian Antiquary, vol. i. p. 357. Perhaps he had not then seen my first volume.
directly representing the Latin *sta* "stand," has numerous nouns from that root, as *station*, *état*, from *statio*, *état* from *status*. From these nouns fresh verbs are derived, as *stationner* and the like. So also the modern Indian languages, while they have lost such roots as *dīp*, *kram*, as verbs, have nouns *dīpa*, *dīyā* and derivatives, also *krama* as a noun with numerous secondary formations.

Analogous to this is the practice we are now discussing of forming verbs from Sanskrit participles, a practice which begins as early as Prakrit, and appears to have arisen from the habit mentioned in § 2 of forming a definite preterite by compounding the participle with *चत*, as in गतोऽसि "I have gone." It was pointed out in § 7 that this practice had been extended in Prakrit so widely that it had resulted in giving a termination in ध्व in the present tense, as in पिसद्रध्व. Examples are:

Skr. विभ "enter," with उप, उपविभ "take a seat," i.e. to pass from a standing to a sitting posture, p.p.p. उपविभ "seated," Pa. उपविथृः, Pr. उविथृः, and later उवच्छृः, whence, by rejection of उ, H. चेठ, P. id., M. चेस, where the last consonant is due to a confusion between चेठ and चस. G. has वेष, which is from Skr. pres. उपविभति. Its p.p.p. is चेठो. S. also विभ by softening of स to ह, p.p.p. चेठो.


Skr. च "cook," पचचि, p.p.p. पक्क, Pa. Pr. पक्क, H. पक "to be cooked," to be in process of cooking (if you ask, "Is dinner ready?" your man answers, पकचि "It is being cooked"), P. पक्क, G. पाक, M. पिक. It also means "to ripen," "to be in course of growing ripe," B. पाक. There is also a stem from the present पचचि, as S. च "to grow ripe," p.p.p. पक्क. H. and all the rest have च, but in the sense of rotting, decaying.

Skr. √ भश्च “break,” p.p.p. भत, Pa. Pr. भगो, H. भाग “to flee” (said originally of an army, “to be broken up and dispersed”), G. भाग, M. भागम्, “to yield, give way,” also भग a, “to break,” O. भाग. Here again there are stems as if from the present form Bhû भजति, Pa. भजति, Pr. भजहूँ, H. भज “to be broken,” and भज (See § 19.)


It is questionable whether we should here class some words which come from √ मूः with छट्. The present would be छन्नतिः, but though the p.p.p. in Sanskrit is छन्नति, yet in such verbs Prakrit forms the p.p.p. on the model of the present tense, and has छन्निः as if from Skr. छन्निः, so that the modern verbs छमर, छमल, and the like keep the type of the present tense as much as that of the participle.

Another very common word is छट् “to rise,” but in this case Prakrit has already adopted this form for all parts of the verb, as has also Pali; thus from √ छट् + खा Skr. makes छखा “to stand up.”

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>S. 3. उत्तिहसित</td>
<td>छट्टहसित, छट्टाति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impv.</td>
<td>S. 2. उत्तिहसित</td>
<td>छट्टह</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 3. उत्तिहसितु</td>
<td>छट्टु</td>
<td>छट्टेअ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>S. 3. उत्ताखसित</td>
<td>छट्टहिसिद्र</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. part.</td>
<td>उत्तिहसित</td>
<td>छट्टलो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.p.p.</td>
<td>उत्तित</td>
<td>छट्टतो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infin.</td>
<td>उत्तायातुं</td>
<td>छट्टातुं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>उत्ताय</td>
<td>छट्टाय, छट्टिहसिता</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here, whatever be the form taken in Sanskrit, both Pali and Prakrit assume a stem छट्, and conjugate it as if it were a Bhû verb throughout. It seems as though छट् being com-
pounded with छा had lost its final consonant, thereby making
a form छहा, whence Prakrit छहूँ. Sanskrit has adopted
the opposite course, and while keeping छहूँ intact, has sacrificed
the स of छहा in the non-conjugational tenses, retaining it in the
conjugational ones where it is prevented from coalescing with
the preposition by the reduplicated syllable. In the moderns we
have H. छठ, P. छठूँ, S. छथ and छठ, and in all the rest छठ.

The stem रहूँ has undergone a change of meaning which is
explainable only by bringing it under this head.

Skr. रहूँ "desert," रहूँति, usually found in Prakrit only in
the p.p.p., रहितः (रहित) in the sense of "deserted," then
almost adverbially, as "without," hence probably the meaning
which it bears in the modern languages, "to stop," "stay,"
"remain," from the idea of being deserted, left behind. It is रहूँ
in H. and all except M. राह, G. रह। It is ancillary in most
of the languages as पढ़ते रहूँ "go on reading." (See § 72, 10).

§ 15. Single active stems exhibit the same method of forma-
tion as the single neuter stems given in § 12. A few examples
are given of roots which in Sanskrit are of the Bhû, or the
closely allied Div, Tud, and Chor classes.

Skr. खाद “eat,” खाद्यति, Pa. खाइ, Pr. खाइ (Var. viii. 27, for खाण्ड्रूँ),
H. खा, and so in all. Gipsy khava, Kash. khyun, Singhalese kanavd.1

Skr. चाव “chew,” चावति, Pr. चब्रूँ, H. चाब, P. चब्र, S. चब्र,
G. M. चाव, O. चोबा, B. चाब.

Skr. पढ़ “read,” पढ़ति, Pa. पढ़, Pr. पढ़ूँ, H. पढ (prah), P. M. G.
id., S. पढ़ूँ (which is only their way of writing पढ), B. पढ, O. पढ़.

Skr. प्रक “ask,” प्रक्ति, Pa. प्रक्ति, Pr. प्रक्त्रुँ, H. पूक्त, P. पूक्त,
G. B. id., M. पूक्त (see Vol. I. p. 218), O. पूक्त, पचार.

Skr. मार्ग (and मूर्ग) “seek,” i. मार्गति, x. मार्गतियति, Pa. मार्गति
and मार्गति, Pr. मार्ग, H. मांग, P. मंग, S. मङ्ग (mang), G. M. माग,
B. मांग, O. माग.


Skr. √ कव् “say,” कथयति, P. कथिति, Pr. कहूँ, कहिए, H. कह, P. S. B. O. id. In M. it is wanting. G. कहूँ, Singh. kiyanavā.

Those roots which belong to other conjugations are almost always reduced to the Bhû type, even if Prakrit retains any of the conjugal peculiarities the moderns do not. They take in most instances the root-form of the present as it occurs in Prakrit, and keep it throughout. Instances are:

Skr. √ ज्ञ “know,” ix. जानाति, Pa. id., Pr. जायाति, also जायेँ (Pr. keeps जाय throughout, but it and Pa. occasionally drop the initial, having जायादि, etc.), H. B. जान, the rest जाय. Gipsy janava, Kash. zānun, Singh. dannavā.

Skr. √ च “do,” viii. करोति, Pa. id. (see § 1 and § 4), Pr. कुरूर and करूर and the stem कर is adopted in most tenses. The moderns universally reject all forms but कर, which they use throughout except in the p.p.p., which is the phonetic equivalent of Prakrit (see § 48).

Skr. √ श्र “hear,” v. सुनोति, Pa. सुनोति, सुनाति, Pr. सुनार, H. सुन, and in all सुन or सुन.

Skr. √ आप “get,” v. आपोति (but also i. आपति), Pa. आपनोति, आपनाति and आपोति, Pr. (see § 5) आव्र, seldom used alone. Old H. आप “to obtain,” also used in the sense of giving.

“Having obtained wisdom and the aid of Sarasen (Saraswati).” —Chand, Pr. R. i. xv.

Also G. आप “to give,” which is the ordinary word in that language, may be from this root or from आप (आ). Far more common is the compound with गा = गा, Pa. as above. Pr. पाव, and later पाव, Old H. and P. पाव, H. पाव and पा, S. पा, O. id., G. पाम, M. पाव, B. पाचो. In all in the sense of finding, getting, obtaining.
Skr. √ गह “seize,” ix. गहाति. The treatment of this root is peculiar. Pa. for the most part takes a form गमह, and Pr. generally गेशह. Some of the principal tenses are given here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>PA.</th>
<th>PR.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. S. 3. गहाति</td>
<td>गमहाति, गमहति</td>
<td>गेशह, गेशहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ātm. Pres. S. 1. गहि</td>
<td>”</td>
<td>”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Aor. S. 3. गमहीत्</td>
<td>गमहिषि, गमहिष्वि</td>
<td>गेशह, गेशहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impv. S. 2. गहास</td>
<td>गमहि, गमहिषि</td>
<td>गेशह, गेशहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 3. गमहातु</td>
<td>गमहिषि, गमहिषिति</td>
<td>गेशह, गेशहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impv. Ātm. P. 2. गमहीत्</td>
<td>गमहिष, गमहिषिति</td>
<td>गेशह, गेशहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut. S. 1. गमहीत्तमसि</td>
<td>गमहिष्ससि, गमहिष्सति</td>
<td>गेशहस्सि, गेशहस्सति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 3. गमहीति</td>
<td>गमहिष्समि</td>
<td>गेशहस्सि, गेशहस्सति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infin. गमहि</td>
<td>गमहितु</td>
<td>गेशह, गेशहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.p.p. गमहि</td>
<td>गमहितो</td>
<td>गेशह, गेशहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund गमहिला</td>
<td>गमहिला</td>
<td>गेशह, गेशहि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are thus two types in Pa. ganh and gah, and three in Pr. genh, gah, and ghe. The double t in ghettum and ghettuna arises, I fancy, from e being short in Pr., and is not an organic part of the word (Var. viii. 15).

In the modern languages H. has गह as an archaic and poetic word. P. also गह. But M. च “take,” is very much used, as also S. चिन्ध, and O. चन, the other languages prefer the stem च from लम्फ. Singh. gannaad, perhaps Gipsy gelava, is connected with this root, though it means rather “to bring.” (Paspati, p. 241.)

§ 16. Some Sanskrit roots ending in vowels have undergone curious and interesting changes in the modern languages. Such is Skr. √ द् “give,” iii. द्द्यति. This is one of the primitive Indo-European race-words, and being such we probably have not got it in its original form in Sanskrit. With the idea of giving is intimately connected that of dividing, or apportioning, and we find in Sanskrit several roots with this meaning, all of which seem to point back to some earlier
common root which has been lost. Thus we have √ṛ, iii. 
√ṛa = “give,” √ṛ or ṛ, ii. ṛa and iv. bāti “divide,”
√ṛa, i. ṛātṛi and ṛi. ṛātṛi. Some grammarians, misunder-
standing a rule of Panini’s about reduplication, have imagined
a √ṛa, i. ṛātṛi, but this does not seem to be entitled to a
separate existence. It is also to be observed that in some roots
in ṛ there are traces of a form in e or ai, which may perhaps
be the older form, as गा and गि “to sing,” घा and घि “to
meditate,” खा and खि “to languish,” चा and घि “to wither,”
चा and चि “to rescue,” मा and मि “to measure.” Also roots
ending in ṛ exhibit in the course of conjugation many forms
in which the root-vowel is changed to i or e. It is not within
our scope to do more than hint at all these points, as possibly
accounting for the fact that at a very early stage the root
द्रa began to be superseded by द्र, and that in the modern
languages the universal form is DE. The principal tenses in
Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit are here shown together.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>PA.</th>
<th>PR.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>S. 1. द्रामि</td>
<td>द्रामिः, द्रे-, द्रम्म द्रज्ञामि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S. 3. द्राति</td>
<td>द्रातिः, द्रे-, द्रातिः द्रज्ञाति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P. 1. द्रमः</td>
<td>द्रमः, द्रम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P. 3. द्रति</td>
<td>द्रे-, द्रटि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impv.</td>
<td>S. 2. द्रेहि</td>
<td>द्रेहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S. 3. द्रातु</td>
<td>द्रातु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ātm.</td>
<td>P. 2. द्रं</td>
<td>द्रं द्रात्त</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut.</td>
<td>S. 3. द्वाखति</td>
<td>द्वाखति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infin.</td>
<td>द्रातुं</td>
<td>द्रातुं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Part.</td>
<td>द्रत्</td>
<td>द्रत्, द्रत्ति, द्रत्ति द्रत्ति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.p.p.</td>
<td>दल्ल</td>
<td>दल्ल, दल्ल, दल्ल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>दल्ल</td>
<td>दल्ल, दल्ल, दल्ल</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Westergaard, Rad. Sanskr. p. 6, note.
Childers thinks the form \textit{de\textit{ti}} has arisen either from Sanskrit \textit{day\textit{a\text{\textbf{te}}}}, or from confusion with the imperative \textit{de\textit{hi}}. The form \textit{dae\textit{j\text{\textbf{a}}}\textit{ti}} he, with great probability, considers as a future on the analogy of \textit{de\textit{kh}} (see § 4). In Çauraseni Prakrit the form दे is used throughout (Var. xii. 4), as also in the moderns. H. दे, P. M. G. इ., S. देख, B. alone has द्रा, O. दे, shortened in some tenses to द्रा. Gipsy \textit{dava}, Kash. \textit{dyun}, Singh. \textit{denava}. This is one of the few irregular verbs in the modern languages; being subjected to numerous contractions, and retaining several early Tadbbhava forms.

Further examples are:


Skr. \textit{ती} “lead,” i. नयति, Pa. नयति, नेति, Pr. नेह, देह (pres. part. नयंतर= Skr. नयन, fut. नयरसं=Skr. देयासि, Impv. देह = Skr. देह). Used in the moderns only in composition, thus—


(b) With परी= परिनी “lead round the sacrificial fire during the marriage ceremony,” hence, “to marry.” Old-H. परण, परण, P. परणा, S. पण, G. M. परण.


The root \textit{छा} “to go,” was mentioned above; with the preposition \textit{छा} forming \textit{छा\textit{या}}, it means “to come,” and it is from this word that the following are apparently derived:

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आइस, O. आस, S. चच seem to come from आगच्छति, but both in B. and O. one often hears आ, thus O. āsilā or ālā, "he came," and S. makes the imperv. ānu, so that there is some confusion between the two roots.

In the roots ending in long i the modern languages have words descended from compound verbs only, and in them the final vowel of the root has dropped out altogether, while in roots ending in long a there is a tendency to soften the final vowel into i or e.

§ 17. A few words must be given to a verb which has been somewhat hotly discussed of late. In all the modern languages except perhaps M., the idea of seeing is expressed by dekh. Kashmiri has deshun, Gipsy dikáva, and Singhalese dikanava. The root is in Sanskrit √ दृश्य, but the present is not in use; instead of it classical Sanskrit uses पश्चति, from which M. derives its verb पाह. Marathi stands alone in using this stem, instead of dekh. From √ दृश्य comes future दृश्वति, and it is from this future that Childers derives the Pali टक्कलति. He shows1 that in the earlier Pali writings it is always used in a future sense, and only in later times becomes a present. As I hinted above (§ 4, p. 16), it is very probable that the vulgar, missing in this word the characteristic issa of their ordinary future, considered it a present, and made a double future दाक्क्ललसति. A similar process has been shown to have taken place in several verbs in Prakrit. Pischel draws attention to a fact pointed out in Vol. I. p. 162 of this work, that there is much similarity between dekh and the Prakrit pekkh from Sanskrit प्रेक्ष. He, however, goes so far as to assume that the word dekh was unknown to the authors of the dramas, that they used pekkh, which has been changed to dekkh by the copy-

1 In Kuhn's Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung, vol. vii. p. 460. Pischel's article is in the same work.
ists who heard this latter word used round them every day, while they did not know of pekh. Unfortunately for this ingenious theory, it happens that the word pekh is extremely common in Hindi, Bangali, and Panjabi literature of the middle ages, and is still used in many rustic dialects of Hindi. The idea of a northern Indian scribe not knowing pekh is quite untenable. Weber (Prakrit Studien, p. 69) has a long article on this subject, controverting the views of Childers as supported by Pischel. The learned professor would derive dekhh from the desiderative of द्रेः, which is द्रेहति, but I am unable to follow the arguments adduced, or to see how a word meaning "to wish to see" should come to mean "to see." Nor do there appear to be any actual facts in support of this theory, such as texts in which the word occurs in a transitional state of meaning or form. The few desideratives that have left any traces in modern times retain the desiderative meaning, as piyásá "thirsty," from pipásu (see Vol. II. p. 81). However, I must say to the learned disputants—

"Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites."

For my own part the impression I derive from the controversy is that dekh is derived through dekhh from dakkh, which is Sanskrit future द्राति turned into a present by a vulgar error. The idea suggested by me (in Vol. I. p. 161 et seqq.) must be modified accordingly. It was not so entirely erroneous as Pischel thinks, for Sanskrit श represents an older क, which seems to be preserved in the future.

§ 18. The examples adduced in the preceding sections will have sufficiently illustrated the most salient peculiarities in the formation of the ordinary single verbs whether neuter or active, and I now pass on to the more difficult subject of the double verbs. As I mentioned before, there is a very large class of these; they appear in two forms, one of which is active and
occasionally even causal, the other is neuter or passive intransitive. It is after much consideration that I have come to the conclusion that this is the right way to regard them. It might be said that the forms which are here spoken of as neutrals are really passives, and a rule might be laid down that these languages often form their passive by what the Germans call umlaut or substitution of weaker vowels. Childers in fact takes this view as regards Singhalese in the article already quoted (J. R. A. S. vol. viii. p. 148). I do not know how the matter may stand in Singhalese, but it is certainly open to much objection as regards the Aryan languages of the Indian continent. The neutrals differ from the actives in two ways in the seven languages, either by a change in the final consonant of the stem or by a change in the vowel only. The latter is by far the more frequent. We must not be misled by the accident that many of these neutrals can only be translated into English by a passive; that is the peculiarity of our own language, not of the Indian ones. In German or in the Romance languages they can be rendered by the reflexive verb. Thus H. खुलना is "to open," i.e. "to open of itself," "to come undone," "to be opened," while खोलना, the corresponding active, is "to open," i.e. "to break a thing open," "to undo." Thus द्वार खुलता "the door opens," is in German "die Thür öffnet sich," in French "la porte s'ouvre." While द्वार खोलता "he opens the door," is in German "er öffnet die Thür," in French "il ouvre la porte." So that फिरना is "sich umkehren," while its active फिरना is "umkehren (etwas)." In English we use verbs in a neuter as well as in an active sense, relying upon the context to make our meaning clear.

Moreover, all the languages have a passive, in some a regularly formed derivative from Prakrit, in others a periphrastic arrangement. It is true that, owing to the large number of neuter stems, this regular passive is not very much used; but it is there nevertheless, and would not have been invented had
forms which I regard as neuters been true "umlautend" passives.

Of the double verbs, then, as I prefer to call them, some differ only in the vowel, and the difference consists in this that where the vowel of the neuter is always short, as a, i or u, the corresponding active has å, e or o, occasionally å or ù. As types may be taken, H. ka\textsuperscript{3}tnå, n, and ka\textsuperscript{3}tnå, a; ph\textsuperscript{3}rnå, n, and ph\textsuperscript{3}rnå, a; kh\textsuperscript{3}lnå, n, and kh\textsuperscript{3}lnå, a; l\textsuperscript{3}pnå, n, and l\textsuperscript{3}pnå, a; guthnå, n, and guthnå, a. Of the other class, in which the final consonant differs, there are so many varieties, that it will be better to discuss them separately. Sindhi has the largest number of them, and it is with Sindhi therefore that we must begin.

§ 19. Trumpp (Sindhi Gr. p. 252) gives a list of these verbal stems, but it would have been out of place for him to have offered any analysis. The following verbs I take from him, but the explanations are my own. The first group consists of these verbs.

(1.) Neuter ending in व्र. Active ending in वच.
1. ब्रह्य "to be bound," ब्रह्य "to bind."
2. ब्रह्य "to be heard," ब्रह्य "to hear."
3. र्रह्य "to be cooked," र्रह्य "to cook."

1. Skr. √वंघ, ix. बधाति, Pa. बघति, Pr. बघः, whence S. बघः, H. बाघः, P. बल्प. In all the rest बाघः a. Skr. passive is बघति, whence Pa. बघति, Pr. बघ़, S. बघः, H.बघ, used as a hunting term "to be caught," also "to stick, adhere," P. बघ़ा. Here, though undoubtedly derived from the passive, the stem बघः is really a neuter or passive intransitive and its conjugation closely resembles the active. There is a regular passive S. बघिजप.  

2. Skr. √वाध् "to know," i. वाधति, iv. वाधति, from the latter come Pa. बाधति and Pr. बाध़, whence S.वाध्, originally "to know," but now meaning "to be heard," H. बाधः "to understand," is active. So also
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O. वज्र, B. वृक्ष, G. वृक्ष. But M. वृक्ष is both a and n. The form of the iv. conjugation is identical with the passive, hence S. makes वृक्ष a neuter and वृक्ष is probably due to a false analogy with बृक्ष.

३. Skr. √ रघ्र or रघ्र i. रघ्रति originally "to destroy," but in moderns always "to cook," Pa. id., Pr. रघ्र, S. रघ्र, H. रघ्र a, and so in all but P. Passive रघ्रति, Pa. रघ्रति, Pr. रघ्र, S. रघ्र, not found in the others.

(2.) Neuter in मि. 

1. लघ्र "to be got;"
   लह्र "to seize;"

2. चघ्र "stuprari" (de muliere),
   चह्र "stuprare" (de viro).

3. वघ्र "to be milked;"
   वह्र "to milk;"


2. Skr. √ यघ्र "coire," i. यघ्रति, Pr. यह्र, S. यह्र, Pass. यघ्रति, Pr. यघ्र, S. यघ्र. Not in the others, except perhaps M. यघ्र, where the aspiration has been thrown back on the जि.

3. Skr. √ दुह्र, ii. दोह्र, Pa. दोह्रति, Pr. दोह्र and दुह्र, S. दुह्र, H. दुह्र and दोह्र, and so in all ए. Pass. दुह्रति, Pa. दुह्रति (Childers writes duḥhati, which can hardly be expressed in Devanagari letters), Pr. दुह्रज्. From this we should expect S. दुह्र. The form दुह्र recalls a similar one in Jaina Pr. सिद्धिः for सिद्धिः (Weber, Bhāg. 389, 429), Skr. सिद्धिः, but this seems to rest upon a doubtful reading of one of those obscure composite characters sometimes found in MSS. written with the thick Indian reed pen. See also Cowell's Var. viii. 59, note.1 Possibly we have here again a false analogy with लघ्र, like वघ्र with बघ्र.

1 Hemachandra collects a number of passives in द्वि from roots ending in ह, dubbhaī, libbhaī, vabbhāī, rubbhaī, from duh, lih, vah, ruh (or ruddh?.).—Pischel, Hṛṣ., iv. 245.
(3.) Neuter in श्र.  

श्रणु “to be envious,”  

Active in ह्र.  

ह्रणु “to torment.”  

Skr. √ द्रह “burn,” i. द्रहति, Pa. द्रहति, Pr. द्रहे, S. उह, H. डाह, द्रहो, Pass. द्रहते, Pa. द्रहति (Childers dayhati), Pr. द्रहे, S. ड्रह.  

(4.) Neuter in च्र.  

1. च्रणु “to be broken,”  

Active in च्र, श्र, न.  

च्रणु “to break.”  

2. च्व्रणु “to be fried,”  

च्व्रणु “to fry.”  

3. च्क्व्रणु “to be plucked,”  

च्क्व्रणु “to pluck.”  

4. सुच्रणु “to be heard,”  

सुच्रणु “to hear.”  

5. ख्व्रणु “to be raised,”  

ख्व्रणु “to raise.”  

1. Skr. √ मज्ज “break,” vii. मज्जति, Pa. मज्जति, Pr. मज्जर; ज्ज becomes in S. ज्ज, hence भज, Pass. भजते, Pr. भज्जर, S. भज (ज्ज = ज्ज), H. मज्ज and भज,  

पुष्पातन भजे किंचि हान।  

“Manliness is broken, fame destroyed.”—Chand, Pr. R. i. 172.  

P. भज, G. भज.  

2. Skr. √ मज्ज or मूज, i. मज्जते, vi. मूजति, Pa. मूजति. Pr. would probably be मूजर. I have not met the word. मूज (Bhág. 278) is from मूज “to enjoy,” S. मूज postulates a Pr. मूज. In the other languages the n occurs. H. मू न “to fry,” and मून, P. मून, G. मू, M. माज, but also मंज, O. माज, B. id., Pass. मूजते, which would give Pr. मूजर, whence S. मूज, but the whole stem is somewhat obscure. P. मूज n.  


4. Skr. √ सु “hear,” which, as already explained, is always सु in Prakrit and in modern languages. Pass. सूयते, Pa. सूयति or सुयति, Pr. generally सुज्जर (Var. viii. 57), also सुब, but a form सुज्जर is also possible, whence S. सुज.
5. Skr. √खंद् “rise,” i. खंदःति, which would give a Pr. खण्डः, whence S. खण्‍डः, Pass. खण्डःति. Pr. खण्डः, S. खण्‍डः. This stem does not seem to occur in the other languages, it is peculiar to S., and must not be confounded with खण्‍डः “to dig,” from Skr. √खन्, nor with Skr. खष्ठ् “to divide.”

(5.) Neuter in स.

1. कृपणः “to be slain,”
   कृपणः “to slay.”

2. गसणः “to be rubbed.”
   गसणः “to rub.”

3. लूपणः “to be scorched.”
   लूपणः “to scorch.”

4. मुपणः “to suffer loss.”
   मुपणः “to inflict loss.”

1. Skr. √क्रूष् and क्रूष् “tear” “drag,” i. क्रूष्, Pr. कुसः, S. कुह्, (स = ह, Vol. I. p. 259), Pass. कुष्ठित, Pr. would be कुसः, whence S. कुस, by rejection of one s. Persian نا “to kill.”

2. Skr. √घृष् “rub,” i. घृष्ठित, Pr. घसः, S. गह्, Pass. घृष्ठित, Pr. घसः and घसः, S. गस्. The other languages have a different series of stems. H. घस and घस, n and a, घसर्त, a, P. id., G. घस and घसः, a, M. घास, घसः, घास n and a, O. B. घस.


There are several other pairs of stems which exhibit special types; all, however, are explainable by the above noted process. Thus—

(6.) Neuter in प.

कुपणः “to be touched,”
   कुपणः “to touch.”

Skr. √कृष् “touch,” i. कृष्ठित, Pa. id., Pr. कृष्. प being unsupported goes out and ह is employed to fill up the hiatus, giving S. कृह्. Pass. कृष्ठित, Pr. कृष्ठित, whence S. कृष्, by rejection of one प. In the other languages only the active is found. Old-H. कृह्, H. कृ, P. कृह् and कृह्, G. कृ, कृ, कृ, O. कृ, B. id.
§ 20. There is a group of words running through nearly all the seven languages in which the divergence between the two members of each pair is slighter than that just discussed. It consists in the final consonant of the neuter being the surd cerebral ॠ, while that of the active is the sonant ॠ; the neuter at the same time has the simple short vowel while the active has the corresponding guna vowel.

The words are in Hindi.

**Neuter.**
1. कूट “get loose,”
2. टूट (तूट) “fall in pieces,”
3. फट “burst, split,”
4. फिट “be discharged,”
5. पुट “be squashed,”
6. बूट “be joined,”

**Active.**
1. छोड “set free.”
2. टोड (तोड) “break.”
3. फाड “tear.”
4. फीड “discharge.”
5. फोड “squash.”
6. बोड “join.”

The process in these words differs somewhat from that in the Sindhi stems in the last section, as will be seen from the following remarks.

1. Skr. √ कूट (also चूट, चूट Westergaard, Rad. Skr. p. 128) “to cut,” vi. कूटित, but the Bhû type would be छोटित, Pr. छोड़, H. छोड़, and so in all except M., which has सोड़, with its usual change of ॠ to स (Vol. I. p. 218). H., which is pronounced chhōr, while M. is sod, is active, and so is the word in all the other languages. It means “to release, let go, loose.”

Pass. कूटिते, Pr. कुटिर, whence H. कूट, and so in all, but M. सूट. It is neuter and means “to get free, be unloosed, slip out of one’s grasp, come untied.”

The modern languages appear to have mixed up with this verb one that comes from a totally different root, namely—

Skr. √ कूट “vomit,” vii. कूष्ठिति, also i. कूष्ठ and x. कूष्ठिति, Pa. कूष्ठिति, Pr. कूष्ठ्रू and कूष्ठ्र, Old H. कूष्ठ, P. कूष्ठ, B. कूष्ठ, O. id., H. कूष्ठ, M. सांड. These words all mean “to reject, abandon,” and thus
come round to the same meaning as फ्लड, with which in consequence B. confuses it. So does Oriya. Even so early as Pali the meaning has passed over from that of vomiting to rejecting, releasing and the like. In modern H., however, फ्लड means its rather than vomiting, and M. फ्लड means "to spill," with secondary senses of "giving up," "letting go."

2. Skr. √ चुट "break" (n), i. चुटतिः, iv. चुट्यति, Pr. चुट्य, H. चूट and चूट, with abnormally long u, P. चूट, S. चूट, B. id., M. चूट. It is neuter in all and means "to be broken, to break itself." Being neuter in Sanskrit, a new process has to be brought into play, namely, causal चोटयति, H. तौड, and so in all but S. टॉड. It is active, meaning "to break in pieces, tear, smash."

3. Skr. √ फ्लट has three forms, each of which has left modern descendants, and there is a different shade of meaning to each of the three groups.

(a) √ फ्लट "split," i. फ्लटति, Pa. फ्लट and फ्लटि (ट = ड = ल), Pr. फ्लटर and फ्लट्, H. फ्लट (rustic फाट), P. S. फट and फाट, the rest only फाट, neuter.

Causal फ्लटयति, Pr. फाटिं, H. फाट and so in all. This group with stem-vowel A indicates the splitting, cleaving, or rending asunder of rigid objects. Thus we say in H. काट घुप में फटे "the wood splits, or cracks, in the sun," but काट की टांगी से फाटे "he cleaves the wood with an axe."

(b) √ स्फाट "hurt," x. स्फाट्यति, but also vi. स्फाटति, Pr. स्फाट्, H. फाट, and so in all but P. फट, neuter.

Causal स्फाटयति, Pr. स्फाट्त् and स्फाट्ड, H. फेट, पेट and पेड, and so in all but B. active. This group, with stem vowel I, implies, gently loosening or breaking up into small pieces. It is used for beating up into froth, winding thread, untying; also metaphorically getting out of debt, discharging an obligation, and in P. injuring.

(c) √ फ्लट "burst open," i. फ्लटिः, vi. फ्लटिः, Pa. फुटिः,
Pr. फुट or फुड़ (Var. viii. 53), H. फुट and फूट, all the rest फुट, except P. फुट, neuter.

Causal स्फोटयति, Pr. फोड़र, H. फोड़, and so on in all but B. फोट. Words with the stem vowel U imply the breaking or bursting of soft squasy things, as a ripe fruit, a flower bud, a boil and the like. Only in M. is there some idea of splitting or cracking, but there also the more general idea is that of squashing, as डोळे पुड़ते “the eyeballs burst.”

6. Skr. √ जुट or जुड़, a somewhat doubtful root, looking like a secondary formation from जुज़्ज. It must have had a definite existence in the spoken language as its descendants show. They appear to have treated it as a neuter pres. जुढ़ति, जुटति. Pa. and Pr. do not appear to know this root, which, however, is very common in the moderns. H. जुट “to be joined,” also जुड़, and so in all.

Causal जोटयति, H. जोड़, and so in all except P. जुड़ and जुड़, meaning “to join two things together.”

These instances suffice to exhibit the nature of the parallel that exists between twin verbs of this class, which is a somewhat limited one.

§ 21. More usual is the difference which consists simply in the change of vowel of which I will now give some examples:

1. Skr. तू “cross over,” i. तरति, Pa. तरि, Pr. तरर, in all तरा “to be crossed over,” metaphorically “to be saved.”

Causal तारयति “to take one across, save,” Pa. तारेति, Pr. तारेद and तीरेद (Var. viii. 70). In all तार “to save.” The word is one which belongs chiefly to religious poetry, but its compound form with उज्ज is a word of every-day use; viz.

2. Skr. उन्नू, Pres. उत्तरति “descend,” H. उत्तर, and in all except S. It is न, and is used with a very wide range of meanings all akin to
that of coming down; as alight, descend, fall off, drop down, disembark, abate, decrease.

Causal उत्तारयति “take down,” H. उतार, and so in all except G. and O. Active, meaning “pull down, take off, unload, discharge, cast out.”

3. Skr. व्र “die,” vi. धियते, Pa. मरति, Pr. मरै, H. मर, and so in all.

Causal मारयति, Pa. मारपिति, Pr. मारै, H. मार in all, but not necessarily meaning “to kill.” It rather means “to beat”; the sense of killing is generally expressed by adding to मार the ancillary ढाल “throw” (see § 72, 12).

4. Skr. व्र “move,” i. सरति, Pr. सरै. In H. सर neuter, means “to be completed,” and in all it has the general sense of being settled, getting done. In O. to come to an end, be done with, as से कर्म सरि गला “that affair is done with.”

Causal सारयति, Pr. सारै, H. सार “to finish,” and in all. In O. this verb becomes ancillary (see § 72).

5. Skr. व्र “seize,” i. हृति, Pa. id., Pr. हृदै. This verb is peculiar. H. हृ a, “to seize,” so also in G. P. B. In these languages it has the sense of winning a game, a battle, or a lawsuit. In M. हृ means first to carry off, then to win. In this sense it is active, as ब्याये पहिच्छा डावास श्रमर छघे मांडले ते म्यां हृले “In the first game he staked 100 rupees, that I won.” When used as a neuter, it means to lose, as मी वाह हरले “I lost the lawsuit.”

Causal हारयति, Pa. हारपिति and हृति, Pr. हारै, H. हार, and so in all but M. n. In these languages it means to lose at play, etc. M. is here also somewhat difficult, and Molesworth admits that हार and हृ are sometimes confused. Thus it is active in the sense of

1 See Molesworth’s Marathi Dict. s. v. हृ and हार.
winning, as म्याँ लाघि शंभर श्वपे हारिे “I won from him 100 rupees.”

The use of the causal in the sense of losing goes back to Sanskrit times, where the meaning is “to cause to seize,” and then “to permit (another) to seize,” hence “to lose.” So also in Prakrit, in Mr. 38, the Samvâhaka says: भागधियविष्मद्रातेद दशशुभरमङ्जूदे हारिदे (Skr. भागधियविष्मस्तण्यादेशशुभरमङ्जूति हारितं sc. मया) “By the untowardness of fortune I lost ten suvarnas at play.” From this and similar instances it would appear that in M. it would be etymologically more correct to use हार in the sense of winning, and हार in that of losing; which usage would be more in unison with that of the cognate languages. In Kash. हारिि is stated to mean both lose and win, but there must be some way of distinguishing the two meanings.

Some more examples may now be given of pairs of words derived from Sanskrit roots ending in a consonant.

If I am right in my derivation, there must either have been a third root फर (as in फाट, फाट, फाट), or the moderns have softened ए to ई, the former is the more probable. H. फिर ए “to turn (oneself),” “to spin round,” “revolve,” and so in all except G. It is perhaps on the analogy of similar roots, and not directly from a causal of फर, that all the moderns have फिर a “to turn (a thing) round,” “to make it revolve.”

2. Skr. √ चूत “to move to and fro” (a). Allied to this is चूत, i. चूति, apparently unknown in Pali, Pr. चूत्र, H. चूल, P. M. चूल, B. चूल, meaning to be dissolved by stirring in water, as sugar or similar substances, “to melt.”

Causal चूति, Pr. चूत्र, H. चूल, P. चूल and चूल, G. M. O. चूल, B. चूला “to dissolve substances in water.”

3. Skr. √ पत् “fall,” i. पति, Pa. id., Pr. पड़ (Var. viii. 51), H. पड़ “to fall,” and so in all.
Causal पातयति, Pa. पातिति, Pr. पाड़ि, H. पाड़ “to fell,” and so in S. G. M. B., but somewhat rare in all.

4. Skr. √ शद् “decay,” i. and vi. शोचिति, Pr. सड़ि (Var. viii. 51), H. चड़, and in all “to rot.”

Causal शाद्यति, Pr. साड़ि, P. and S. साड़ “to destroy by decomposition.” This root is perhaps connected with Sanskrit √ श्यट् “to be sick,” whence ख in Prakrit and the moderns.

5. Skr. √ नम् “bow,” i. नमति. It is both a and n in Sanskrit, but strictly would be active intransitive, as in the moderns. Pa. नमति, Pr. शमः, H. नम and नेव, P. नें (nei), S. न्यं, B. नू, O. नू, नोभः (ो) “to bow oneself down,” “to prostrate oneself.”

Causal नामयति, Pa. नामिति, Pr. शामित, H. नाव, ना, P. निवा, S. नवा, B. नाम, नुया, O. नुंचाइ “to bow or bend,” used as an active with the words “body” or “head” as objects, H. सीस नावना “to incline the head.” द्वार आदि पद नायित्व माया। “Coming to the door, bowed his head to (the Guru’s) feet.”—T. R. Ay-k. 63.

In very common use is the diminutive H. चिड़ि, P. S. id., but in S., meaning “to bury,” “press down.” M. uses the compound form from Skr. अवनति, Pr. चोचित (p.p.p. चोचितो = अवनत, Hâla, 9, Mr. p. 165), M. चोचित and चोचित n “to stoop.” Perhaps S. चोचि “to listen,” a, is to be referred to this, from the idea of bending the head to listen.

The following word is full of difficulties, and I am not able to elucidate it clearly.

Skr. √ छु “drag,” i. कर्षिति and vi. कर्षिति, Pa. कर्षिति, Pr. करिसूि, so, at least, says Var. viii. 11, but in Mr. 253 occurs कर्षिमि = कर्षिमि.

The Skr. p.p.p is छत्, which would give Pa. and Pr. काठु. Perhaps this is another instance of a verb derived from p.p.p. 1 H. काठ a, “to drag

1 Hemachandra gives six popular equivalents of क्रश—कड़द्धा, साड़द्धा, अंतह, अनाचोहा, अयाचोहा, and अिन्चा, as well as करिसि.—Pischel, Hem. iv. 187. With regard to the four last, see the remarks on khainch in § 22.
out," "extract," "to take something out" (from a box, etc.), P. कटुर and खटु, S. कट, G. B. कात, M. O. काद. H. has a corresponding neuter कट "to be taken out," "to flow forth," "issue," which is perhaps from the p.p.p. Var. viii. 40, gives Pr. बेठृ = Skr. बेटित, which affords an analogy for a Pr. कटृ like the Pali, very much used in the compound with निस; thus—

Skr. निक्कृष्, i. निक्कृष्टि, Pa. रिक्कृष्टि "to turn out of doors, expel;" as to Pr. in Mr. 354 occurs फ़क्खृ "begone!" and in the line above फ़क्हालिखि "turn him out." For the change of जृ to झृ, Var. viii. 41 उदैष्टि = उदैष्टि affords an analogy, as the change in both words occurs only in composition. Several of the moderns have pairs of words, thus:

H. निकल n, "go out," P. निक्कल, S. निकर, G. निकठू, O. निकठू, and H. निकाल a, "turn out," P. निक्काल, S. निकार, निकर. In the above quoted passages of Mr., the scholiast renders निक्कालिखि by निक्कालिखि, erroneously for निक्कालिखि, from निस् and कस्, but this is not the etymological equivalent, for निस् with निस् has left a separate set of descendants, whose meaning is, however, almost the same as nikal and its group. Thus we find H. निकस n, "go out," P. निक्स, G. id., and H. निकास a, "to turn out," often used in a milder sense, "to bring out," the substantive निकास is frequently used to mean the issue or completion of a business, also as a place of exit, as पानी का निकास नहीं "there is no exit for the water," P. निक्कास.

§ 22. As exhibiting the phonetic modifications of the root syllable, as well as the treatment of roots in respect to their phase, whether active or neuter, the list which is here inserted will be useful. In the next section will be found some remarks on the deductions to be made from these examples.

Skr. रेप "heat," i. तपति, Pa. id., Pr. तत्तृ. In Sanskrit it is both a and n, so also in Pali. In the latter the passive तपति (Skr. तपति) means to be distressed, to suffer, and in this sense Pr. uses तत्तृ, as in
jaha dītho tavāi khalo, "as the bad man is distressed when seen" (Hāla, 229). Causal तपति “to cause to burn,” Pa. तपति “to distress,” Pr. ताव. The moderns take it as a neuter. H. तप n, “to be heated, to glow,” and so in all but B. तप. H. ताव “to beat,” P. ताउ, ता, G. ताव, M. id., B. तावा.

Skr. √विप “smear,” vi. विपपति, Pa. id., Pr. विपृ, विपृ, H. वीप, लेप, P. विप, विम, विम, S. विंब, लिम, G. लिप, M. लेप, B. लेप, O. लिप. Pass. लिपते, Pa. लिपपति, Pr. लिपद्र, H. लिप “to be smeared with,” M. लिप, G. लेप, which is the reverse of the others.

Skr. √कात “cut,” vi. दपति, also i. काति, Pa. not given. If the Bhū type be taken, as it generally is, then Pr. should have कटू (on the analogy of कटू = कटति). I have not met with it. The Bhū type being Atmanepada would result in a modern neuter, thus we get H. कट “to be cut,” P. कट, S. कट, M. id., B. कट “to wither,” become flaccid, O. कट.

The causal is कर्नयति, whence G. pass. intrans. (—1) कटा, but if formed on the usual type would give a Pr. काट्ति, whence H. काट “to cut,” S. M. B. O. id.

Skr. √ध्व धः “tie,” i. धन्थति, ix. धन्ताति, Pa. धन्ति, धन्यति, Pr. धंश्टि. Hence H. G. गांठ a, “to knot,” P. गंठ, गंठ, S. गंठ, M. गांठ, गांध, both a and n, G. गांठ a, B. गांठ, गांध, O. गंठ. Passive धन्ति used in a reflexive sense, whence H. गंठ “to be knotted,” or गंठ without anuswara, P. गंठ, G. गंठ (—1). H. has also forms गंध n, and गांध a, the former from Pr. गंध, Mr. 157.

The p.p.p. गृहति appears in Pr. as गृहति, perhaps as if from a Skr. गृहति. Hence we have a pair of verbs, H. गृष “to be threaded (as beads on a string),” P. गृष “to be tightly plaited (as hair), to be strong, well-knit (as limbs),” M. गृष and गृष “to become tangled, to be difficult or involved (an affair),” G. गृष, and H. गृष “to thread,” G. गृष.

Skr. √तल “totter,” i. तलति (perhaps connected with √चल titubare, see Vol. I. p. 210). I have not found it in Pr.; it is n in Skr. and thus

Skr. √तुच्, तूल "raise," "weigh," i. तौलति, x. तूलधिति and तूलयः, Pa. तूलतिः, Pr. तूलद्, H. तौल, तौल a, "to weigh," P. तौल, S. तौर, G. id., M. तूल, both a and n, B. तौला and तूल, O. तौल. Pass. तूलते, would be Pr. तूलद्, H. तूल n., "to be weighed, to weigh," i.e. to be of a certain weight, P. id., S. तूर, B. O. तुल.

Skr. √खात् "prop," v. खाननति, ix. खानाति. P. if the verb is not given in Childers, it would be धनाति, Pr. धमद्, H. धाम्, also spelt धाम and धान a, "to prop, support," P. धमद् or धमद्, S. धंप, G. धाम, B. धामा, O. धाम. Pass. खानाते; there is also an Ātmane conjugation खाते. From this latter probably H. धम, धम, धन n., "to be supported, to be restrained," hence "to stop, cease," P. धंम, S. धम, G. धंम, M. धम, धाम, धान. It also means "to stand," especially in G.

The p.p.p. is खात्, Pr. खड्, whence Old-H. ढाडा "standing," as गोपी जन वीरक है चिन्ततिः सब ढाडी। "All the Gopis on the terrace standing and looking."—S. S. Bāl līla, 47, 14. On the analogy of this the modern colloquial H. खडा is probably to be derived from a Pr. खड्, from खात्, √खान. P. has खडा adj. "standing," whence a verb खड to "stand."

Skr. √च्छु with िन्, िन्तूत्, i. िन्तति "to come to an end, be finished," Pr. िशब्रत्व, means "to return," pa ितत्ति joveṣaḥ aikkantam = िन्तति चोद्व योजित्कान्तरं "Youth when once passed does not return again" (Hāla, 251), but we may postulate a form िशब्रत्, whence H. िविव्वन, "to be finished, to be done with, used up," P. id., S. िविव्व or िविवेर, B. िविव्ब, O. id. On the analogy of similar words H. िविब्र, िविव्व a, "to finish," P. id., S. िविवेर, B. O. िविब्र, it might also come from िपतति = Pr. िशब्रत्, but the meaning is less appropriate.
Skr. √ घट् with वि, विघट, i. विघटति "be destroyed," Pa. विघटति, Pr. विघड़ृ. With loss of aspiration, H. बिगड़ n., "to become useless, to be spoilt," P. id., S. बिगिड़, G. बगड़, M. retains the aspirate बिघड़, B. O. बिगड़. Causal विघटयति, but Pa. विघटेति, with characteristic long vowel of causal, Pr. I have not found; it would be बिघड़ेर, H. बिगड़ a, "to spoil," P. S. G. id., M. बिघड़.

There are, as might be expected, many verbs, and those often the very commonest, in the modern languages, which cannot be traced back to any Prakrit stem with any degree of certainty. Others, too, though they preserve traces of a Prakrit origin, cannot be connected with any root in use in Sanskrit. These are probably relics of that ancient Aryan folk-speech which has lived on side by side with the sacred language of the Brahmins, without being preserved in it. Sometimes one comes across such a root in the Dhâtupâtha, but not in literature; and occasionally the cognate Aryan languages of Europe have preserved the word, though it is strangely missing in Sanskrit. An instance in point is the following:

H. लाद a, "to load," P. लढ़, more from analogy than anything else, S. लड़. In all the rest लाद.

H. लड़ n, "to be loaded;" not in the others. Bopp (Comp. Gloss. s. v.) suggests a derivation from √ आस, p.p.p. आत "tired," or √ आम, p.p.p. आन "tired." This would seem to be confirmed by Russian klad" "a load," klazha "lading," na-kkladewat "to load;" Old-High-German hlatu, Anglo-Saxon hladan "to load," hlad "a load," Mod. High-German laden. The wide phonetic changes observable between various members of the great Indo-European family so seldom occur between Sanskrit and its daughters, that I am disposed to think that neither Skr. आत nor आन could well have given rise to a Hindi lād. It seems more probable that this is a primitive Aryan root which has, for some reason unknown to us, been left on one side by classical Sanskrit.
Of doubtful, or only partially traceable, origin, are the following:

H. खोइ and खोइ a, “to dig,” P. id., S. खोट, खोड, G. खोढ, M. खोइ, खूड, B. खूड. And H. खूड, खूड “to be dug.” With this pair I propose to connect H. खोज a, “to open,” P. खोच्च, खोज्ज, S. G. M. खोज, B. O. खूज, and H. खूज n, “to come open,” P. खुच्छ, S. खूज, G. M. id. Pr. has a verb खूज, and this root is also given in the Dhātupāṭha as existing in Sanskrit, though not apparently found in actual use. The Sanskrit form is probably √खष्ट्य “to divide,” with which another root खष्ट्य “to dig,” has been confused, unless, indeed, the noun खष्ट्य, “a portion,” is formed from √खष्ट्य, and is the origin of √खष्ट्य. The Prakrit occurs in Mr. 346, कूबस्मि खुडिट्टपाष खण्डकांगणि घ डुडन “Like a golden pot with its string broken, sinking in a well,” where the scholiast renders कूष्ट्य किरिट्टपाष्टि, etc. Also in Mr. 219, चुड़िठि निन्ने गोवालअश्वालु स्थ खुडिटि, “While the sun was only half risen the cowherd’s son escaped,” i.e. broke out. It is probable that the two senses of digging and opening in the two modern pairs of verbs arose from a primitive idea of breaking or dividing.

H. बूड or बूड n, “to dive, be immersed, sink,” S. बूड, G. बूड, M. B. O. id., and H. बौड a, “to drown, to immerse,” S. id., बौड occurs in M. and S., not as active of बूड, but for मोड (मूढ) “to shave.” Apparently, an inverted form of this stem is the more commonly used H. बूड n, “to sink,” used in all; it has no corresponding active form. The origin of these words is to be found in Pr. बूड (Var. viii. 63), which appears to be the same as वुढ्डा in दरवुढ्डावुढ्डिनवुढ्डा महुआरो, “(With) the bee a little dipped, (quite) dipped, undipped” (said of the bee clinging to a kadam branch carried away by a stream).—Hāla, 37. The Sanskrit lexicographers give a √बूड “to cover,” but no instances of its use. The reversed form गुड्डब is also in use in Prakrit, as in the quotation

1 Buḍḍaī =masjatī.—Pischel, Hem. iv. 101.
from Mr. 346, given under खोड above, where the speaker is a Chandāla or man of the lowest caste, who may be held to speak a low form of Apabhraṃṣa. It is perhaps another of those Aryan roots which Sanskrit has rejected. The classical language uses instead मुड़ि, Latin mergere.

H. मेट, मेट [a], "to meet" (to join any one), मंढ [a], "to close, shut," P. मंड, S. मेट and मीड, G. मेट, M. मिड, both [a] and [n], B. मेट, मंड, O. मेट; and H. मिड "to stand close to, to be crowded," P. id., S. G. id., M. मेट, B. मिड "to approach near to," O. मिड "to be tight." The general idea is that of closeness or a crowded state. There is also a substantive मीड "a crowd." From the meaning I was led to suppose (Vol. I. p. 176) a derivation from a Sanskrit p.p.p. चमक "near," which, however, has been disputed. The question must for the present be left undecided.

H. मेट "to efface," P. S. id., and more common H. मिट [n], "to be effaced, to fail, wear out" (as a writing or engraving), and so in all. Of this stem, all that can be said is, that it is probably connected with मृष "rubbed," p.p.p. of चृण, though one would expect a Pr. मिट्ट or मुट्ट, and H. मीट. There are two other stems ending in ट, which present nearly the same difficulty, viz.:

H. पिट "to be beaten," ऐसा करोगे, तो पिटोगे "If you act thus, you will get a beating," P. पिट्, M. पिट, both [a] and [n], B. and O. पिट [a], and H. पीट [a], "to beat," not in the others. In Prakrit there is पिटु "to beat," पिटिझ्य एटे चेंड ष्टिचालिहि "Having beaten this slave, turn him out" (Mr. 354, again in the mouth of a Chandāla), and पिटिझ्यदेश्व विश्व पुष्टोभि बोटिझ्यदेश् "I must roll about again like a beaten jackass" (Mr. 107). Here, unless this is a non-Sanskritic old Aryan root, we can only refer to पिट "ground, broken," p.p.p. of चित "to grind," but this is hardly satisfactory, as this root has a descendant, H. पीस "to grind," and पिस [n], "to be ground."

H. लेट [n], "to lie," "to be in a recumbent posture," and मिट [n], "to
wallow,” P. लट, लट, S. लट, G. M. id. Probably connected with लोट; but there does not appear to be any Prakrit root to which it can be traced. The nearest Sanskrit root is √ लो to lie down;” loṭṭai = svapiti.—Pischel, Hem. iv. 146.

There is next to be noted a small group of stems ending in च, concerning which also there has been some controversy.

Skr. √ ची “buy,” ix. चीषा and चीषी, Pa. चिषा, Pr. किष, H. किन, S. गिन्न (is not the ह here due to some confusion with Pr. गिन्न = ग्रह “take”?), B. O. जिन. This is a single verb, the complications occur in the following compound with चि, चिक “sell,” ix. चिक्रीषा, Pa. चिक्रीषा, Pr. चिक्रीष, S. चिक्रा a, “to sell,” O. चिक, Gipsy biknáva. But in H. चिक is n, “to be sold, to be exposed for sale,” as चावल आज सत्र चिकता “rice is selling cheap to-day.” In M. चिक is both a and n, as चिकेल तसें चिकेल “when it is ripe it will sell.” So also P. S. चिक n, “to be sold.” For the active H. has बेच sometimes pronounced बेच “to sell,” as आज चावल बेचता “he is selling rice to-day.” P. बेच, G. बेच, B. बेच. When we remember that all verbs are prone to take the forms of the Bhū type, it is intelligible that चिक should mean both “to sell” a, and “to be sold” n, for the Paras-mai of the Bhū form would be चिक्रण, and the Ātmane चिक्रण, and the final syllable being rejected as in √ ची and √ ची mentioned above, the stem resulting in both cases would be चिक. S. and Gipsy have retained the श of the Pr. चिक्रण. But whence comes the च in बेच?

H. बेच, commonly pronounced बेच “to pull, drag,” is a similar word. P. बेच and बेज, G. M. बेँच, B. बेँच and बेंच, O. id. Also H. बेच n, “to be dragged,” B. बेच, बेच “to be dragged or distorted (the face), to grin, make faces, writhe,” M. बेच. From the meaning we are led to think of Sanskrit √ धय “to drag,” and although this root has been shown to have given rise to another pair of verbs kaṛh and kārh, and in composition to ni-kal and ni-kāl, yet it is not impossible that, used
in a different sense, it may have originated another set of words like khench and its congener.\(^1\)

H. पड़ण्ड “to arrive” न, written in various ways as पड़ण्ड, पड़च, पड़क, P. पड़ण्ड, S. पड़ण्ड, G. पड़ण्ड, पोंच, M. आ., B. पड़ण्ड or पड़ा, O. पढ़ण्ड. In the dialects are some curious forms, as Marwari पूँग and पृग, which also occurs in Chand, and in Nepali. Chand uses also a form पड़ह, as दिन दौय मंद नीके पड़ह के “In two days one easily arrives (there).” Pr. R. i. 175. In Old-Gujarati also there is a verb पड़होत, e.g. चढ़ कहें नारदने से वक्तव्य भाव न पड़होत “Says Nala to Nārada, this story does not arrive at mind” (i.e. is not probable).—Premeśand Bhat, in K. D. ii. 74. S. पड़ण्ड has p.p. पड़तो, which latter looks as if it were from प्र + सूप, but this will not account for the च. Hoernle (Ind. Ant. i. 358) derives this word from the old Hindi adverb पड़ “near,” and कर “make,” assuming a change of क into च; but though this change occurs in the ancient languages, there are only very few and doubtful traces of its existence in mediæval or modern times, and I do not think we can safely base any argument upon so rare a process. Hoernle goes so far as to consider H. पुकार “to call,” as the causal of पृग, which he says was (or must have been) anciently पुक. There is another possible derivation from Skr. प्रादृष्ट्व “a guest,” which becomes in H. पाद्नa, but this fails to explain the final च.

Some light may perhaps be thrown on the subject by some stems in the moderns ending in ज, for as ज arises from ट + य, so च arises from त + य (Vol. I. p. 326). Thus:

H. भेज a, “send,” P. आ. Here we have Skr. √ भंड “cleave,” “separate.” Causal भेजयति, which would make a passive भेजति “he is made to separate,” i.e. “he is sent away.” If we take the active causal as the origin of this word, we must admit an elision of the vowel between ध

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\(^1\) See note to Kṛṣh in § 20. The cognate verb aīchnd is also in use in the moderns.
and $y$; or, taking the simple passive भिन्नति, we may assume that there was a neuter मिज्ज “to be sent,” from which the active भेज “to send,” has been formed; bhiṣṭ, however, is not found.

H. बजः n, “to sound,” P. id., S. वजः and बजः, G. बजः, M. बाजः, B. id.
Also H. बाजः a, “to play (music),” and n, “to sound.” Probably from Skr. वद् “speak,” causal वाद्यति, Pa. वद्रति and वद्रिति, the passive of the causal is Skr. वायति, Pa. वज्रति “to be beaten,” i.e. “to be caused to speak,” as vajjanti bheriyo “drums are beaten.” Hence the modern bājī. The short form bāj is apparently due to analogy.

§ 23. It is the business of the lexicographer, rather than of the grammarian, to work out the derivations of all the verbs in these languages, and even he would probably find the task one of insuperable difficulty in the present elementary state of our knowledge. It is hoped that the examples and illustrations given above will have enabled the reader to gain some insight into the general principles which have governed the modern languages in the process of forming their verbal stems. To conclude this part of the subject, I will now point out what seem to me to be the laws deducible from the examples above given, and from many others which, to avoid prolixity, I have not cited.

Single neuter stems are derived (i) from the Prakrit present tense of Sanskrit neuter verbs, or (ii) from the Prakrit passive past participle, or (iii) Prakrit has assumed one form for all parts of the verb, which form has been handed down to the modern languages almost, if not entirely, unchanged. Types of these three processes respectively are ho, baith, and uth.

Single active stems are formed from the Prakrit present of active verbs, and in cases where the verb in Sanskrit is not conjugated on the Bhû type, Prakrit usually, and the moderns always, adopt the Bhû type. Here, also, Prakrit has occasionally taken one form of root and used it throughout, and
the moderns have followed the Prakrit. Types of these classes are pariḥ, kar, and ghen.

In the double verbs two leading processes are observable. Where the root is conjugated actively, or is active in meaning in the ancient languages, the modern active is derived from it, and in that case the modern neuter is derived from the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit passive, as in labhanu, lahanu, or as chhor, chhuf. Where the ancient root is neuter, the modern neuter is derived from it, and in this case the active is derived from the ancient causal, as in tut, tor, or mar, már.

These rules, if further research should eventually confirm them, do not provide for every modern verbal stem, as there are many whose origin is obscure and doubtful. It is highly probable that as we come to know more about these languages, we shall find out other processes which will throw light upon the method of formation of many now obscure stems.

It should here also be noted that even where the same stem occurs in the same, or nearly the same, form in all the languages, it is not used in the same phase in all. Marathi and Sindhi have different sets of terminations for neuter and active, so that the fact of the neuter and active stem being the same creates no difficulty, the distinction of meaning being shown by the terminations. Thus in M. गांठ, if treated as a neuter, would be conjugated thus: Present ganthato, Past ganthalā Future ganthel, etc.; but if as an active, thus: Present ganthito, Past ganthilen, Future ganthil. In this language, therefore, we often find a verb used either as active or neuter; while in Hindi, which has one set of terminations for all stems, the difference between active and neuter can only be marked by the stem. In several rustic dialects of Hindi, however, and in the mediaeval poets, we often find the neuter verb with a long vowel, but confusion is avoided by giving to the active verb the terminations of the causal, thus बढ़ा "to grow big," "increase," makes its active बढ़ाना "to make big," and rustic and
poetical Hindi often uses वाहना for the neuter, as ऐसो देव प्रकट
gोवर्धन। जाके पूजे बाहे गोधन।। “Such a god is manifest in
Govardhana, from the worship of whom wealth of cattle in-
creases.”—S.S. Govardhanilà, ii. 15, et passim. So also बाहत जैक्यं
मूनालख सूत।। “It grows like the threads of the lotus.”—Padm.
This subject will be more fully discussed under the causal.

§ 24. Gujarati, as will have been noticed in the examples
given in the last section, often wants the neuter stem with the
short vowel, but has in its place a form in which अ is added to
the stem, the included vowel of which is short. This form is
not incorrectly treated by some grammarians as the ordinary
passive of the language. It should, however, in strictness, be
recognized as the passive intransitive (that form marked —1 in
the scale, § 10). The rules for its formation are simple, in
stems, whether neuter or active, having अ as the included
vowel, it is shortened to ए, as—

वाच “read,” वचा “be read.”
बांक “mark, test.” बंका “be tested.”
सांभां “hear,” संभां “be heard.”

The shortening does not always take place when the included
vowel is ए or अ, though from the way in which short and long
vowels are used indiscriminately in Gujarati, it is not safe to
lay down a hard and fast rule on this point, thus—

शीख “learn,” शीखा (शीखा) “be learnt.”
शीव “sew,” शीवा (शीवा) “be sewn.”

Where the stem ends in a vowel, ए is inserted to prevent
hiatus, as—

न्द्रा “wash,” न्द्रा “be washed.”
खा “eat,” खा “be eaten.”
बिस्त्री “fear,” बिस्त्री “be feared.”

1 Vans Taylor, Gujarati Grammar, p. 81, from which most of the following
remarks are borrowed, though I diverge from him in some points in which his views
seem to be open to correction.
With regard to the meaning and method of using this phase, it appears that its construction resembles that of the neuter, while it implies either simple passiveness, habit, or power. As a simple passive, रामधी रावण गरायो “Rāvana was killed by Rāma,” आ वेत्त भृ बी वरावू “In this field seed has been sown;” as expressing habit, एवं कहेवाय के खबर “thus it is correctly said,” i.e. “this is the correct way of expressing it;” आ द्या बचन मूर्ति जषायबे “this boy is (usually) thought to be stupid;” as expressing power or fitness, तेनायथी चढ़ाय नहीं “he cannot walk,” literally “by him it is not walked;” राजा बी आवाय कराय नाह “a king cannot (or must not) do injustice;” कूनी चभधायो माटे एवं पाशी पीवाय नाह “the well has become impure, therefore its water is not drunk.” Some of the words which take this form are, to all intents and purposes, simple neuters in meaning, like abhadāyo in the sentence just quoted, which means “to be ceremonially impure,” and points back to a Sanskrit denominative, as though from य “not,” and भद्र “good,” there had been formed a verb चभद्रायति “it is not good.” So also चपराढु “to be used,” “to be in use,” as एक चर्य ना व प्रवाय चपराय के “two affixes are in use with one meaning,” postulates from चापार, a denominative चापारायति, or perhaps the causal of वि + आ + पु = चापारायति. This seems to be the real origin of this phase, though some would derive it from a form of the Prakrit passive. At any rate, the two stems just quoted (and there are several others of the same kind) look more like denominatives than anything else, though in others this form inclines more to the passive signification, as भीमक सुता नू वटन सुधाकर देखीने शोभाय। चढ़मा तो छोप पामी आभामा संताय। “Having seen the moon-like face of the daughter of Bhimaka in its beauty—The moon wasted away, having hidden itself in the clouds.”—Premānand in K.-D. ii. 74. Here शोभा is “to be beautiful,” and looks like a denominative, but संताय has more of a passive or reflexive meaning, “to be hidden,” “to hide oneself.” Again, दमयती नू चढ़ देखी
STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

Seeing the belly of Damayanti, the lake dried up,” (ib. ii. 75), literally “was dried up.” So also घर बालवे कूलो बोळः बे म चोलवाय। “When the house has caught (fire), he has a well dug, how can this fire be put out?” —K.-D. i. 184. The verb चोलवा is also written होला, and is probably the same as O. चोल “to descend, alight,” M. चोहल “to trickle, flow down,” which I take to be from चप + सू = चयपरति, Pr. चोशल (Māgadhi), and with change of स to ह = चोहल. It is used in the sense of removing oneself, thus: चले दे चोशलध “ho there! get out of the way!” (Mr. 210), and causal चोशालध मए शालवा “I have got the cart out of the way,” (ib. 211) = Skr. चयपरिता. This phase is conjugated throughout all the tenses, thus चोलव “to be lost.” Present चोलव “he is lost,” Future चोलणे “he will be lost,” Preterite चोलणे, चोलणे, or चोलणे के “he has been lost,” and in active verbs it is used in the Bhava-prayoga, as a sort of potential, as तेनाथी चोडाय “he can loose,” तेनाथी चोडाय “he could loose,” तेनाथी चोडाय “he will be able to loose.”

As to the other languages, a similar form is found in the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi, used as a simple passive, as पकड “seize,” पक्ष “be seized,” as हम पक्डारत वा “I am being seized.” In this dialect, however, there are signs, as will be shown further on, of a passive similar to that in use in classical Hindi. In the old Maithil dialect of Bidyāpati, which is transitional between eastern Hindi and Bengali, this form is found; thus, सिंकता जल जैके घलहि गुवायल “As water poured out on the ground is dried up.” —Pad. 984. घरही बोटावल गोकुलचांद। “(He who is) the moon of Gokul rolled himself on the earth.” —P.K.S. 77. जनु इंटीवर पवने पल्लिल चलि मरे उजटाय। “As a lotus pressed down by the wind is tilted by the weight of bees” (var. lect. भुरि = by a swarm). —Pad. 1352.

1 This is equivalent in meaning to our English saying, “When the steed is stolen, shut the stable door.”
There seems to be some difficulty in deducing this form from a Prakrit passive. One of the methods in which the passive in Prakrit is formed is by resolving the $y$ of Sanskrit into $ta$ or $ä$, Skr. खायति = Pr. खाईचंद्रि; and it is supposed that this छ्र has become ख्र, and subsequently ख्र, but no instances of intermediate forms are found; it would seem, therefore, more correct to suppose that this form originates from the causal of Sanskrit in those instances where the causal characteristics are used to form denominatives, and has from them been extended to other verbs. Neither explanation, however, is quite satisfactory, and the question is one which must be left for further research.

§ 25. The regular Passive (phase —2) is found only in Sindhi, Panjabi, and in some rustic dialects of Hindi. It arises from the Prakrit passive in ज्ञा (Var. viii. 58, 59). Thus Skr. गृयते = दुपीज्ञा, गमयते = गमीज्ञा, हसयते = हसीज्ञा. In Sindhi the passive is formed by adding ज or ज to the neuter or active stem.¹ Thus—

पूज्य “to bury,” Passive पूज्य “to be buried.”
घटज्य “to lessen,” , घटज्य “to be lessened.”

A passive is also made from causal stems, as—

विज्ञ्य “to lose,” Passive विज्ञ्य “to be lost.”

Here, also, we find denominatives which have no corresponding active form, and have scarcely a passive sense, as उत्कृष्ण “to long for,” where the causal termination used in Sanskrit for denominatives appears to have been confused with the ज्ञा of the passive. Thus Skr. उत्कृष्ण “longing,” makes a verb उत्कृष्णयति “to long for,” whence the Sindhi उक्कियनानु. So also असुपृष्ण “to be entangled,” which seems to be from Skr. अंजूल, or अंजूरि “a finger,” whence we may suppose a verb

¹ Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 258.
“to be intertwined (like the fingers of clasped hands);” डमरण्यति “to be angry,” from डमर “anger,” Skr. डमर “uproar,” of which the denominative would be डमरण्यति.

In cases where the vowel of the active stem is long in the imperative, but shortened in the infinitive, the passive retains the long vowel. Thus

पीढः “drink thou,” पिर्चण्य “to drink,” पीरण्य “to be drunk.”
पूृढः “thread thou,” पूर्चण्य “to thread,” पूृरण्य “to be threaded.”
पौष “wash thou,” पौरण्य “to wash,” पौषरण्य “to be washed.”

A similarly formed passive is used in the Marwāri dialect of Hindi, spoken west of the Aravalli hills towards Jodhpur, and thus not very far from Sindh. Instances are—

करणो “to do,” करिजणो “to be done.”
खावणो “to eat,” खावीजणो “to be eaten.”
लेणो “to take,” लेजणो “to be taken.”
देणो “to give,” देजणो “to be given.”
आवणो “to come,” आवीजणो “to be come.”

Thus they say तिं हि सूं खवीजणो नहीं = H. सूं से आया नहीं जाता “by me it is not come,” i.e. “I am not coming.” चाहू सूं खवीजणो नहीं = H. तूम से नहीं खाया जायगा “by you it will not be eaten,” i.e. “you will not (be able to) eat it.” This passive construction is frequent in the Indian languages, but usually with the negative expressing that the speaker is unable or unwilling to do a thing.¹ The insertion of र instead of व in ले and दे is peculiar and unaccountable.

Panjabi also has a synthetical passive, though rarely used. It is formed by adding दे to the root, and is probably derived from that form of the Prakrit passive which ends in ता, as

¹ I have to thank Mr. Kellogg, of Allahabad, author of the best, if not of the only really good Hindi Grammar, for communicating this form to me in a letter. I was previously unaware of it.
mentioned above. This form of the passive is only used in a few tenses, thus मारन “to beat,” Passive present मै शारी “I am beaten,” Future मै शारीचांग “I shall be beaten,” Potential (old present) मै शारीचां “I may be beaten.”

With these exceptions, there is no synthetic form for the passive in the modern languages. This phase is usually formed by an analytical process. It is not much used, the construction of sentences being more frequently reversed, so as to make the verb active. The large number of neuter verbs also renders a passive for the most part unnecessary. It does exist, however, and is formed by adding the verb भो “to go,” to the past participle of the passive, भो doing all the conjugational work, and the participle merely varying for number and gender.

Thus from मार “beat,” H. Sing. मारा जाना “to be beaten” म., मारी जाना f., Plur. मारे जाना m., मारी जाना f., P. मारिया जाना m., मारी f., Plur. मारे m., मारी f. Gujarati also uses this method side by side with the passive intransitive, as मारो “to be beaten,” with the participle varied for gender and number as in the others. M. मारिया जान, B. मारा भाइ, O. मारा बिवाह. In these two last the participle does not vary for gender or number.

Occasionally in G. and M. a passive is formed by adding the substantive verb to the past participle, thus M. गारी बांधती “the cow was tied,” and G. खानू करियो के “the book is made;” such a construction would in the other languages be incorrect, or, if used at all, would have a different meaning altogether.

The use of जाना “to go,” to form a passive, seems somewhat unnatural; होना “to be,” would occur as the most fitting verb for this purpose. I am tempted to hazard a conjecture that the use of जाना in this way has arisen from the Prakrit passive form in जिजा. This, as we have seen above, has given a regular
passive to Sindhi and Marwari, and it seems possible that the masses who had quite forgotten, or had never known, the meaning of the added ज, may unconsciously have glided into the practice of confounding it with the ज of the common word जा, which would lead them to consider the verbal stem preceding it as a passive participle. Thus a form मारिजे "he is beaten," would easily pass into मारा बाए, as in modern Hindi. The process must, of course, have been unconscious, as all such processes are, but the supposition does not involve a more violent twisting of words and meanings than many others which are better supported by actual facts.

The non-Aryan party have something to say on this head.¹ They point out that the Dravidian languages, like our seven, largely avoid the use of the passive by having recourse to neuter verbs, and that with them, as with us, the neuter is often only another form of the same root as the active. Indeed, the similarity in this respect is very striking, the process is, to a great extent, the same in both groups, though the means employed are different. The passive does not, strictly speaking, occur in the Dravidian languages; a clumsy effort is sometimes made to produce one, by adding the verb padu "to happen" (Sanskrit पत, modern Aryan पड़) to an infinitive or noun of quality. This process, however, is as strained and foreign to elegant speech as the construction with जा is in the Aryan group. It appears, also, that the verb poyu "to go," is also used in Tamil to form a passive, as also a verb meaning "to eat," which latter is parallel to our North-Indian expression मार खाना "to eat a beating" = "to be beaten." In this, as in so many other instances of alleged non-Aryan influence, the known facts do not justify us in saying more than that there is a resemblance between the two groups of languages, but that it is not clear which borrowed the process, or whether it was ever

¹ Caldwell, pp. 353, 364 (first edition).
borrowed at all. There is no reason why it should not have grown up simultaneously and naturally in both families.

§ 26. We now come to the Causal, an important and much used phase of the verb. Sanskrit forms the causal by adding the syllable aya to the root, which often also takes guṇa or vriddhi, वृ “do,” causal कारयति. There is, however, in Sanskrit a small class of verbs which form the causal by inserting प between the root and the characteristic aya. These are principally roots ending in a vowel; but in Pali and the Prakrits the form of the causal in प has been extended to a very large number of stems, in fact to nearly every verb in those languages. In Pali, however, its use is optional, thus ध “cook,” causal pācheti, pāchayati, pāchāpeti, pāchāpayati. In Prakrit, also, there are the two processes, by the first of which the aya of Sanskrit becomes e, thus कारयति = Pr. कारेद, हासयति = हासिद (Var. vii. 26), and by the second the inserted प is softened to व, thus giving कारवेद or कारवे (ib. 27). It is from this form, and not from aya, as I erroneously supposed in Vol. I. p. 20, that the modern causal arises. Even in Prakrit the e in kārāveṇ is frequently omitted, as it is also in kāreṇ, and we find such forms as kārāṁ, tāraṇ, side by side with kāravaṇ (Weber, Hala, p. 60), so that there remains only द्व for the modern causal.

Among the modern languages Marathi stands alone in respect of its causal, and, as in so many other points, exhibits a hesitation and confusion which confirm the impression of its being a backward language which has not so thoroughly emancipated itself from the Prakrit stage as the others. Whereas these latter have passed through the period in which rival forms conflicted for the mastery, and have definitely settled upon one type to be used universally, the former pre-

sents us with several alternative suffixes, none of which appears to have obtained undisputed prominence. The authorities for Marathi consist of the classical writers, the one dictionary-maker, Molesworth, and a host of grammarians, all of whom differ among themselves, so that one is driven to ask, "who shall decide when doctors disagree?"

The competing forms are: \textit{ava}, \textit{iwa}, \textit{iva}, \textit{avi}, \textit{āva}, \textit{āvi}, and one sees at a glance that they are all derived from one source, the causal with व, modified in Prakrit to व. The difficulty lies in the vowels. Where one authority gives a causal in \textit{ava} to a particular verb, another makes the causal of that same verb by adding \textit{iwa}, and so on. Stevenson (Marathi Grammar, p. 87) teaches that \textit{ava} is the ordinary form, as \textit{basāṇen} "to sit," \textit{basāvanen} "to seat." This type, however, he adds, is peculiar to the Konkan or lowlands along the coast; in the Dakhin or centre table land above the passes the form \textit{iwa} is more used, as \textit{karaṇen} "to do," \textit{karivaṇen} "to cause to do." A third form \textit{avi} is said to be "of a middle class," and not characteristic of either dialect, as \textit{karavineṇ}. It is to be noted here that the causal suffix, strictly speaking, ends with the \textit{e}, and the vowels that follow this letter may fairly be regarded as mere junction vowels, used to add the terminations to the stem. In those of the cognate languages which use \textit{a} as the causal suffix, the junction vowel used is either \textit{i}, as B. \textit{karā-i-te}, O. \textit{karā-i-bā}, S. \textit{karā-i-nu}, or \textit{u}, as Old-H. \textit{karā-u-nā}, P. \textit{karā-u-ṇā}, or hardened to \textit{a}, as G. \textit{karā-va-vun}. Dismissing, then, the final vowel as unconnected with the suffix, we get for Marathi four types, \textit{av}, \textit{āv}, \textit{iw}, \textit{tv}. Of these four \textit{āv} approaches most closely to the Prakrit, and may therefore be regarded as the original type from which, by a shortening of the vowel, comes \textit{av}, which, all things considered, is perhaps the most common and regular; a further weakening of the vowel produces \textit{iw}; and the fourth form, \textit{tv}, probably owes its long vowel to the Marathi habit of lengthening vowels at the end of a word, or
in a syllable, where the stress or accent falls. Thus all four forms may be used, as

करणे "to do," करवणे, करावणे, करिवणे, करीवणे; also करिविणे, and करीविणे "to cause to do."¹

Causals may be formed from every verb in the language, whether neuter, active, active or passive intransitive. The meaning of the causal differs, of course, according to that of the simple verb.

Those formed from simple neuters or active intransitives are generally merely actives in sense, as

बस "sit," बसव "seat."
भिंद "meet," भिंढव (junction vowel र) "mix."
निज "sleep," निजव "put to sleep," "soothe."

Those from actives are causal in meaning, as

मार "strike," मारव "cause to strike."
शिक "teach," शिकव "cause to teach."

Those from passive intransitives are passive causals, as

फिर "turn" (i.e. be turned), फिरव "cause to be turned."
कट "be cut," कटव, कटाव "cause to be cut."

Simple roots ending in vowels insert a व between the stem and the suffix to avoid hiatus, as

खा "eat," खावव (junction vowel र) "cause to eat."

So also with roots ending in ू, as

लिख "write," लिखवव "cause to write."

The various forms of the causal suffix in Marathi may be regarded as types of a stage of transition which the other lan-

¹ Godbole's Marathi Grammar, p. 102, § 279.
guages have passed by. The following are examples of the causal in these latter:

विख "write," H. P. B. O. S. विखा "cause to write," (H. Pres. लिखता, Pret. लिखाया, Aor. लिखाई, or लिखाय, or लिखावे.)

पढ "read," id. पढा "cause to read."

सुन "hear," id. सुना "cause to hear."

In Hindi, as in the other languages, the causal of a neuter verb is, in effect, nothing more than an active, as

बन "be made," बनाना "make."

बोलना "speak," बुलाना "call" (i.e. "cause to speak.")

चलना "move," चलाना "drive."

जागना "be awake," जगाना "awaken."

उठना "rise," उठाना "raise."

पकना "be cooked," पकाना "cook."

So also in the case of double verbs given in §§ 20, 21, the active form, with long vowel in the stem syllable, may be regarded as a causal. In fact, it might be said, looking at the matter with reference to meaning, that the modern languages have two ways of forming the causal, one in which the short vowel of the stem is lengthened, the other in which ā or some other suffix is added. Looking at it in another way with reference to form, the division which I have adopted commends itself, the forms with a long vowel in the stem being regarded as actives, those with the added syllable as causals. In point of derivation, however, both forms are causals. There is a wonderful, though unconscious, economy in our languages; where Prakrit has more types than one for the same phase of a verb, the modern languages retain them all, but give to each a different meaning. For instance, Prakrit has three types for the passive, one in which the final consonant of the stem is doubled by absorption of the च of Skr. as ɡamyate = ɡammaī,
a second in *ta*, as *gamyate* = *gamiḍi*, and a third in *iśa*, as *gamyate* = *gamiṭṭa*. The first of these types, having lost whatever might remind the speaker of its passive character, has been adopted in the modern languages as the form of the simple neuter verb, the second survives in the Panjabi passive, as *mārīḍa* = *mārtādi*, the third in the Sindhi and Marwari passive given in § 25. So, also, it seems to me that the two types of the Prakrit causal have been separately utilized; that which corresponds to the Sanskrit type in *aya* with long or guṇa vowel in the stem, has become in the moderns an active verb, as *hārayati* = *hāreś* = *hār*; *troṭayati* = *torēi* = *tor*; while that which takes the प causal is preserved as the ordinary causal of the moderns, as *kārayati* (*kārapayati*) = *kāreś* = *kārā*.

Often, however, both forms exist together, and there is little or no apparent distinction between them; thus from फटना are made both फटाना and फटाना, from हरना are made हारना and हराना, and so in many other instances.

The causal, properly so called, namely, that with the suffix अ, अव, etc., has always a short vowel in the stem syllable, except in a few instances where the stem vowel is vṛiddhi, in which case it is sometimes retained. Thus in the double verbs the causal suffix may be regarded as added to the neuter form, as in

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<tr>
<th>NEUTER</th>
<th>ACTIVE</th>
<th>CAUSAL</th>
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<tr>
<td>तपा</td>
<td>ताच</td>
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<tr>
<td>घुल</td>
<td>घोल</td>
<td>घुना</td>
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</table>

In such cases, however, we more commonly find the double or passive causal.

Single verbs with a long or guṇa stem-vowel have causals with the corresponding short or simple vowel, as in the examples बोलना and बुलना, जागना and जगाना given above.

Verbs whose simple stems end in a vowel insert a semivowel before the termination of the causal, and change the vowel of the stem, if अ, इ, or ए, into औ, if अ or औ, into उ. The semivowel
used is sometimes व or र, but more commonly ल. Thus, लेना “to take,” लिखना “to cause to take,” but—

H. देना “give,” दिखना “cause to give.”
जीना “live,” जिखना “cause to live.”
पीना “drink,” पिखना “give to drink.”
खाना “eat,” खिखना “feed.”
धोना “wash,” धुखना “cause to wash.”
सोना “sleep,” सुखना “put to sleep.”
रोना “weep,” रखना “make to weep.”

In a few cases of stems ending in ह, or in aspirates, the ल is optionally inserted, as

H. कहना “say,” कहना and कहला ना “cause to say,” “be called.”
देखना “see,” दिखना ” दिखला ना “show.”
सीखना “learn,” सिखना ” सिखला ना “teach.”
बैठना “sit,” बिठना (or बेठ) ” बिठला ना (बेठ) “seat.”

A similar method exists in Sindhi, but with र instead of ल, as is customary with that language, as

दिखरण “give,” दिखरङण “cause to give.”
चुखरण “leak,” चुखरङण “cause to leak.”
दिखरण “sit,” दिखरङण “seat.”
सिखरण “learn,” सिखरङण “teach.”
उदरण “rise,” उदरङण “raise.”
सुखरण “sleep,” सुखरङण ” put to sleep.”

Here the र is inserted after the causal suffix, and this was probably the method originally in force in Hindi, for we find in the mediæval poets such words as दिखरणा “to show,” and even in modern colloquial usage बैठरणा is quite as common

1 Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 256.
as bīthlānā. Gujarati forms its causal in an analogous way, but uses झ instead of र, as

धावळु “suck,”
शीवळु “sew,”
वागळु “sound,”
धवळु “give suck.”
श्रीवळु “cause to sew.”
वगळु “strike” (a bell, etc.)

After words ending in a vowel, the suffix takes च to prevent hiatus, and so also after छ, as

वा (वळु) “be,”
खाणु “eat,”
देवु “give,”
सह्वु “endure,”
कोर्वु “rot,”
धवळु “cause to be.”
खवळु “feed.”
द्रवळु “cause to give.”
सेहवळु “cause to endure.”
कोहवळु “cause to rot.”

This language, like Hindi, also reverses the position of the long vowel of the causal suffix, and uses such forms as dhavarāv, khavarāv, with change of झ to र.

There is nothing remarkable about the Panjabi causal, which is identical with Old Hindi, merely retaining the junction vowel u, as khilā-u-nā, dikhā-u-nā. In both these languages the old form āu has, in a few instances, changed to o instead of ā, as

भिगोना “to wet,” from भीगना “to be wet.”
ढबोना “to drown,” ” ढबना “to be drowned.”

Bengali and Oṛiya have only the causal form in ṛ with junction vowel i, as B. karā-i-te, O. karā-i-bā, and use this form in preference to that with the long stem vowel, even in those causals which are, in meaning, simple actives.

There are thus, independently of the stem with the long or guṇa vowel, which I prefer to treat as an active, two separate systems of forming the causal in the seven languages: one starting from the Prakrit causal in āve, and exhibiting the forms āva, ava, iva, ēva, ēv, āv, o, ā; the other starting, I know
not whence, but probably from a method in use in early Aryan speech, which has only been preserved by the classical language in a few instances, and exhibiting the forms ār, āḍ, āṭ, rā, ṇa. Whether these two forms are connected by an interchange between the two semivowels ɻ and ə, is a problem which must remain for future research. Such a connexion is not impossible, and is even, in my opinion, highly probable.

§ 27. The Passive Causal may be also called the double causal. The use of either term depends upon the point of view of the speaker, for whether I say, “I cause Rām to be struck by Shyām,” or, “I cause Shyām to strike Rām,” the idea is the same. As regards form, the term double causal is more appropriate in some languages. In H. and P. this phrase is constructed by adding to the stem H. बा, P. वाच, in which we should, I think, recognize the syllable āv of the single causal shortened, and another āv added to it, thus from sun “hear,” comes causal sunā, “cause to hear,” “tell,” double causal sunvā,¹ “cause to cause to hear,” “cause to tell;” here, as sunā is from the fuller form sunāv, so sunvā is from sunāv+āv=sunav+ā=sunvā. This double or passive causal is in use mostly with neuter and active intransitive stems, whose single causal is naturally an active, as बनान “be made,” बनान “make,” बनवान “cause to be made.” Thus they say, गढ़ बनाता “The fort is being built;” ध्वरे गढ़ बनाता “The architect is building the fort;” and राजा ध्वरे के द्वारा गढ़ बनवाता “The king is causing the fort to be built by the architect.” In this last sentence, and in all similar phrases, the nature of the construction is such that we can only translate it by the passive causal, we could not render “The king causes the architect to build,” etc., by बनवान in any other way than by putting “architect”

¹ Generally, the semivowel in this form is pronounced softly, almost like the English w, so that sunvānā would more nearly represent the sound than sunvānā. The v, however, in all Indian languages is a softer sound than our v.
in the ablative with द्वारा or से. When we are told, therefore, that this phase means "to cause to do" (the action of a neuter verb), the assertion, though correctly expressing the form, is incorrect as to the meaning; the dictionary-makers here halt between two opinions. Thus

उठ "rise," उठा "raise" (i.e. "cause उठवा "cause to be raised"
  to rise"),
  (i.e. "cause A to cause
  B to rise").

कट "be cut," बाट "cut,"
  कटवा "cause to cut."
खल "be open," खोल "open,"
  खलवा "cause to open."

In double verbs, like those just quoted, however, the single
causal in आ may be used, as कटा "cause to cut." As a general
rule, the exact meaning of stems in this phase must be gathered
from the sentence in which they are used.

Sindhi makes its double causal by inserting रा (Trumpp,
257), as

विच "be weary," विचा "make weary,tire," विचारा "cause to make
  weary."

घाच "wound," घारा "cause to wound," घारारा "cause to cause to
  wound, or cause (another)
  to be wounded."

Stack: instances also passive causals formed on the same
model as ordinary passives, thus

सड "be on fire," साड "burn," साडा "cause to burn," साडारा "be caused
to be burnt."

One example given by him shows a full range of phases, as

धापस "to be sucked, to issue" (as milk from the breast),
  neuter; धारस "to suck the breast," active; धारास "to be
  sucked," pass.; धारपस "to give suck," neut. pass.; धारारस "to
  suckle," caus.; धारारास "to be suckled," pass. caus.;
धाराराज्रु “to cause (another) to suckle,” double caus.;
धाराराज्रु “to cause to be suckled by another,” double pass. caus. The whole of these forms, however, are rarely found in one verbal stem. The double causal is common enough, thus from the causals mentioned in the last section are derived double causals—

सुम्हाराज्रु “to put to sleep,” सुम्हाराज्रु “to cause to put to sleep.”
उधाराज्रु “to raise,” उधाराज्रु “to cause to raise” (H. उठवाना).

§ 28. Although the suffixed syllables shown in § 26 generally and regularly indicate the causal phase, yet there are numerous verbs having this suffix which are neuter, active intransitive, or passive intransitive. As mentioned in § 11, these stems are probably built on the model of Sanskrit denominatives, and owe their long vowel to the aya or aya of that form. Hence they come to resemble in form modern causals.

In Sindhi these stems have a development peculiar to that language, and have a corresponding active phase like the double stems mentioned in § 19. Trumpp gives (p. 252, et seqg.) the following examples:

**Neuter.**

उधासामणु “to be extinguished,”
उधड़ासामणु “to fly,”
उधारणु “to be born,”
उधारणु “to be satiated,”
उधासामणु “to be on fire,”
उधासामणु “to be contained,”
उधासामणु “to be passed, to pass” (as time),
उधासामणु “to grow less,”

**Active.**

उधासामणु “to extinguish.”
उधासामणु “to make fly, to spend.”
उधासामणु “to bring forth.”
उधासामणु “to satiate.”
उधासामणु “to burn.”
उधासामणु “to contain.”
उधासामणु “to pass the time.”
उधासामणु “to lessen.”
In this group the neuter stems have the type āpa and āma, which, if we regard them as derived from the Prakrit type ābe of the causal, will appear as respectively a hardening and a softening of the ō of Prakrit. In some cases the neuter form is clearly derived from the older causal, as in मांस "to contain," rather, "to go into," Skr. √मा "to measure;" but मास, Skr. caus. मापति "to cause to measure," where, by a natural inversion of the sense, the causal has become neuter. In the case of जास the process by which the meaning has been arrived at from Sanskrit जण is less clear. The other stems are also obscure, and I possess no data on which to establish any satisfactory explanation.

Sindhi stands alone in respect of this group; Hindi and Panjabi have a number of neuter stems with causal terminations, which stand on a different footing, and recall by their meaning the Sanskrit denominatives, having no corresponding active forms, as—

H. बिसाना "to be abashed," "to shrink away."

बियाना "to be worn out."

कुंबियाना "to itch."

घबराना "to be agitated," "to be in fear" P. घवराउणा.

घमाना "to bask in the sun."

चंचलाना "to tremble," "to be unsteady." P. id.

P. घरसाउणा "to grow soft" (a scar).

कुम्भिलाना "to wither," "to grow flaccid." P. id.

In words of this class, also, a syllable र्य is often inserted, as बिसियाना "to grin." P. बिब्रिजाउणा id.

This type is evidently closely connected with the passive of Gujarati and other dialects given in § 24, which I have been led by the considerations here mentioned to regard as a passive
intransitive. It seems also to be connected with the passive intransitive in B. in such passages as राजपुत्र हृदेन् रूप अबिधि जानाय || “He must be a king’s son, by his appearance and marks (of birth) it is known.”—Bhārat, B.-S. 378, where जानाय = जानाते, “it appears,” “it is evident,” a construction exactly parallel to the Gujarati phrases quoted in § 24.

Marathi has similarly neuters with a causal type, which recall the method of formation of the Sanskrit denominative, inasmuch as they are referred by the grammarians to a nominal origin, thus—

कडका “a cracking or crashing sound;” कडकावच्यो “to crack, crash;” कडकाबच्यो “to roar at;” “to make a crashing noise.”
कमता (from Persian م ک “deficient,” कमतावच्यो “to grow less.”
करकर “a grating sound,” करकरावच्यो “to grind the teeth.”
कांचा (Skr.) “doubt,” कांचावच्यो “to be doubtful.”

—but this may also be formed from the two words क य “why?” कस “how?” and would thus mean “to why-and-how,” “to hum and ha;” just as they use in Urdu the phrase لہیٹ و الل کز “to prevaricate,” literally to make “would that!” and “perhaps.”

A distinction may apparently be drawn in many cases between forms in अव and those in अवि, the former being rather denominatives, and as such neuter, while the latter are causals. Thus from घोरका “little,” “few,” घोरकावच्यो “to grow less,” and घोरकावच्यो “to make less,” but the authorities accessible to me are not agreed about this point, and I therefore hesitate to make any definite assertion on the subject. Molesworth gives, for instance, दरकावच्यो n, “to bellow,” “bluster,” and दरकावच्यो “to frighten by bellowing;” also दरावच्यो “the act of roaring at,” from दरावच्यो or दरविच्यो “to intimidate,” where
the $i$ of the infinitive seems to be represented by $a$ in the noun.

On the other hand, the close connexion of these neuters with the passive type is seen in S., where the passive characteristic रु is used, according to Stack, convertible with the neuter, having the short vowel. Thus द्वार्यु or द्वार्यजु “to be satiated;” while there are also verbs of two forms, one with the neuter type, the other with the causal type, but both having a neuter sense, as दर्तु and दरार्यु “to grow loose or slack.”

Further examples are—

द्वार्यु and द्वार्यजु “to grow less;” also द्वारम्यु “to decrease.”
द्वारकार्यु and द्वारकिजु “to fade,” “tarnish.”
मार्यु and मार्यजु “to be contained in.”

It is not certain how far later and better scholars like Trumpp would confirm the accuracy of Stack’s definition. He seems to be somewhat inaccurate and careless in drawing the distinction between the various phases of the verb.

§ 29. Secondary verbs are not so numerous as secondary nouns, and those that exist have, for the most part, a familiar or trivial meaning. They are formed by the addition of a syllable to the verbal stem, or to a noun. This latter feature is especially common in H. verbs formed from feminine nouns in aka (Vol. II. p. 31), thus Behari Lâl.

कुटी न भित्रिुता की रक्रक रक्रकी जोवन चंग ||

“The splendour of childhood has not ceased, (yet) youth shines in the limbs.”—Sats. 17.

Here the substantive रक्रक “glitter,” “splendour” (probably formed from स्व रक्र), gives rise to a verb रक्रकना “to shine.” Similarly all the nouns quoted in the passage referred to in Vol. II. have verbs formed from them as there stated. It is un-
necessary to give a list of them, and it may be here observed that in languages which, like English, have advanced far into the analytical stage, great freedom of formation exists, so that many words may be used either as nouns or verbs. Many nouns have, in common usage, verbal terminations added to them, and thus become verbs. We see constantly in modern English, French, and German, new verbs thus formed, as, for instance, by adding -ize, -iser, or -isiren, as colonize, coloniser, colonisiren, several of which have not found their way into dictionaries. The same is the case with our Indian languages, and it is impossible here to follow or set forth all these constantly arising innovations. Those which have received the sanction of literature will be found in the dictionaries, and many more will probably be admitted to the dictionaries of the future, if the authors of those works are wise enough to keep pace with the actual growth of language, and do not permit an overstrained purism to prohibit them from truly recording the language as it exists in their day.

I will content myself with giving a few examples of this class of verbs from Marathi, which, as I have before noticed, is very rich in forms of this kind. This language has secondary stems formed by the addition of चट, चट, चट, चट, चट, चट, चट, a series the items of which seem to indicate a progressive softening from some earlier type. Thus—

चासणि "to rub" (Skr. घासणि), secondary stems चसरणि "rub," घसरणि "slip," घसरणि (a potential form) "graze the skin," "be practised in" (an art or science), घसरणि "scour" (pots), घसरणि a, "rub off, deface," n, "be rubbed," "be despoiled of." Analogous is H. घसीटणि "drag."

दुबणि "to sink" (rarely used), दुबणि, दुभौ, दुमणि, "to splash about in the water," दुबणि id., दुबणि "to plunge into water," (causal) दुबणि "to dip."
STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

मांग "place," मांगारे "to arrange."

माप "pat," मापते "to pat," मापले "to back water," "to steady a vessel by short strokes of the oars while working the sails."

डेंड "stick," डेंडणे "to press, punish," डेंडपणे "to compress," डेंडावणे "to stiffen," compare B. डंडार्ते "to stand up."

Materials are, unfortunately, deficient, so that in the present state of research, no thorough analysis can be made. Nor can any definite separation into classes be effected. As so many verbs of this kind, however, are derived from nouns, the course to be pursued would probably be to affiliate each group of verbs to that formation of nouns with which it corresponds, verbs which add क to the primary stem being regarded as formed from nouns in क, and so on. In this method no further explanation is required for secondary verbs, as the origin of the affirmative syllable has been explained under the noun. Thus the secondary verbs, whose added syllable is at, or vat, are explained under nouns so ending in Vol. II. p. 65, those having at, at, or cognate forms, are referable to the nouns in Vol. II. p. 90, and so on.

§ 30. Reduplicated and imitative verbal stems are very common. The former usually express sounds, or motions, while both frequently partake of the denominative character and type.

In Hindi the second syllable usually contains the same consonants and vowels as the first, and the question arises whether the first or the second of the two syllables is the original, in other words, whether reduplication is effected by prefixing or affixing a syllable. The following examples show that the reduplicated syllable, whichever it be, contains, as a rule, the same vowel as the original.

(a) with a.

खटखटाना "to knock, pat, rap," from खटखट n.f. onomatopoea.


(structure of verbal stems)

खड़ल्डाना “to clatter, rattle, jar,” from खड़क n. f. onomatopoea.
खलठ्डाना “to bubble, simmer,”
खलखळाना “to rumble” (of bowels, Gk. κορκομψομένω, βορβομπότα), onomatop.
गङङगळाना “to quiver,” probably connected with गङ्ग q.d. “to be seized and shaken.”
छलछळाना “to mutter, murmur.”
झङझळाना “to flap, flop,” from झळाना “to fall off.”
झळझळाना “to tinkle, jingle, clank,” Skr. झञञञञ.
झलझळाना “to glitter, glare, throb,” Skr. झञञ.
फळफळाना “to flutter, twitch,” Skr. स्फळ?
घरघराना “to tremble, quiver,” probably onomatop.

(β) with i.
खिलखिलाना “to giggle, chuckle, titter,” onomatop.
गिलगिलाना “to quiver, waver” (the voice in supplication), dimly traceable to Skr. गी, गीति?
घिरघिराना “to turn sick at,” from घिर “disgust,” Skr. घृणा; there are also verbs घिखिखाना, घिखौना and घिखाना.
घिखिखाना “to squeak,” onomatop.
घिखिखाना id.
ग्लिरग्लिराना “to rave, rage, scold.”
ग्लिनग्लिनाना “to twang,” onomatop.

(γ) with u.
खुपखुपाना “to envy, be spiteful,” perhaps from Skr. खुभ through H. खुभन and खुप “to pierce.”
गुगुगुनाना “to mutter.”
चुपचुपाना “to be silent, to move about quietly,” from चुप “silent.”
चुलचुलाना “to itch, tickle.”
बुलबुलाना “to be soft or squasy.”
कुसुमकुषाण "to whisper," onomatop.
शुरुराण "to powder, sprinkle."

The above exhibit the ordinary type of this class, in which both syllables are the same. In some cases, where the root-syllable ends in a nasal, the first syllable of the reduplicated word softens the nasal to anusvāra, as in गुंगनाणा, चंचलाणा "to throb," and even with ल, as चंचलाणा "to be unsteady," where the reduplication takes place already in Sanskrit चंचल. From the analogy of this last word we may conclude that the latter of the two syllables is the original one, and that reduplication has been effected by prefixing a syllable. There is, however, another class of such words, in which the second syllable differs from the first in the initial consonant, which, for some reason, is generally a labial. Thus side by side with खड़खदाणा, खलखलाणा are found खदखदाणा and खलखलाणा with the same meaning. So also चुलचुलाणा and चुलचुलाणा, the latter with the different, though allied, meaning of being restless or fidgety. In other examples there is some slight difference of meaning in the various forms, thus from चर, which has the general sense of moving, come the adjectives चरचरा "talkative," चररा "acrid, pungent," चरफरा "active," चरवरा "expert, alert," whence the verbs चरचराणा "to crackle, to sputter, to scold," चरिरणा "to smart," चरफराणा "to shake, swing," चरवराणा "to speak plausibly, to wheedle." Other instances are—

कणपटाणा "to toss, tumble, flounder."
खड़वड़ाणा "to be on fire."
खिलखिलाणा "to flicker."
तड़फडाणा "to flutter."
तिरिर्मिराणा "to dazzle, glisten."
कणपटाणा "to stagger."
खड़वड़ाणा "to stammer, stutter."
In Panjabi, as also to a great extent in other languages, there is a tendency to use a reduplicated substantive with an ancillary verb, rather than a reduplicated verb itself. These substantives are, to a large extent, imitative or onomatopoetic, as ठों ठों करना “to bang, to pop,” expressing the sound of a gun going off, छुं छुं करना “to pipe,” as young birds. It has, however, a large number of the same words, as Hindi. Of these, the following may be cited: चिठपिठाउण “to prate, sputter,” चिठपिठाउण “to smart,” चुलचुलाउण and चुलबुल “to flutter,” ब्रह्मणगाउण “to tingle” as the limbs when benumbed.

In Sindhi, also, I find reduplicated nouns, but few, if any, verbs, and the language does not appear to be rich even in those. From लहलह “blaze,” comes लहलहाल “to blaze;” and a few more may be found, but the large group given in Hindi, to which many more might have been added, is either not existent or not recorded.

Gujarati is fuller in this respect, as कडकडवुं and कडकडवुं “to rattle,” also खडखडवु; चटपटवु “to fret,” चणचणवु “to throb, smart,” कचकचवु “to clink, clank,” also चणचणवु; फडफडवु “to flap, to scold,” and फडफडवु; लडबडवु “to shake, rock.” In its vocabulary Gujarati agrees in the main with Hindi.

As might be expected from the genius of Marathi, there is a great variety of such verbs, more even than in Hindi. In examining only the first consonant of the alphabet, numerous formations of this kind are observed. Thus from क्रान्त for Skr. क्रान्त “fatigued,” by prefixing a shortened form क, they make क्रांक्रांतै “to be distressed, to starve,” and क्रांक्रांतै “to worry, harass.” From the onomatop. कच “brawl,” “noise,” “row,” comes first a reduplicated noun कचकच, and then कचकचै “to gnash the teeth,” कचचचै “to screech,” कचकरै “to slip, give way with a noise.” With a second syllable added, beginning
(as we have seen in H.) as such syllables often do with a labial, is the imitative substantive कचमच expressive of "squashing," "muddling of soft substances," also of "things grating on the ear," or "being gritty in the mouth," whence कचमचन (from कचमचन) "to dabble with mud," "to stir," "to finger," which, from a sort of remembrance of मठ "dirt," is often changed into कचमठ "to make a mess by dabbling." Another imitative syllable, which it is not necessary to regard as formally derived from Sanskrit कठ "cut," or from कठ "trouble," though the existence of these words has probably led the native mind in that direction, is कठ expressive of "teasing, quarrelling;" whence कठठठ "to wrangle, tease by squabbling;" "to make harsh or cracking sounds." Allied to this is the word कडकड expressive of "the snapping of little things," whence कडकड, which may be generally rendered "to go kaḍkaḍ," that is, "to crash, crack, peal, to squabble, to hiss and bubble as hot water, oil," etc., also, "to be violently angry." Perhaps connected with this is कडमड "to be feverish, to glow, ache," which, from some remembrance of मोड "breaking," is also pronounced कडमोड. In these outlying words, the irregular cavalry of language, forms melt into one another, like a cloud of Pandours or Cossacks hovering on the outskirts of an army, bound by no law, and disregarding all the acknowledged tactics. A list here follows:

कणकण "to be feverish," from कण and कणकण "feverishness,"
"heat and throbbing," "cramp."
करकर "to caw" (as a crow), from करकर "cawing" or any other harsh sound.
कठठठ "to glow with heat, to be qualmish" (as the stomach), from कठठठ a word meaning "all sorts of disorders brought on by heat, or rage," possibly connected with Sanskrit कलह "dispute."
कसकसणे “to ache, shudder, palpitate,” from कसकस “pains and aches.”
कठठठणे the same as कठठठणे.
कठठठणे “to writhe, yearn.”
किचिचिचणे “to chatter” (as a monkey), from किचिचिच “any gritty or sharp clacking sound.”
कुणकुणणे “to whisper, mutter, murmur,” from कुणकुण “low, soft murmuring.”

Under other letters the following may be quoted:
खडखडणे “to go to work smartly,” from खडखड “smartly, quickly,” connected with खट, which in all the languages means “quick!” “look sharp!”
खणखणणे “to tinkle, tingle, ring.”
खठठठणे “to glitter, sparkle.”
खुरखुरणे “to trickle, ooze, pine away.”
फरफरणे “to twitch, flutter.”
मिरमिरणे “to sting, be pungent.”

In Bengali such forms are less common, it is by nature the language of a poor scanty population, and when Bengal became rich and populous, new ideas were expressed by borrowing from Sanskrit, instead of forming new words from the existing resources. There are numerous reduplicated nouns, but these are verbalized rather by adding the verb kar, than by making a new verb. Thus, where M. makes a verb jhanjhananen, B. prefers to say জন জন or জনজন করিতে. The following are a few examples:

ঝাণঝাণিতে “to buzz, growl.”
ঝিকঝিক কারিতে “to blaze, glitter.”
টনটন কো “to throb, ache.”
টিপটিপাইতে “to fidget, twitch.”
Many of these words are, as it has been seen, onomatopoeic, and in a language so unfixed as Bengali, it is impossible to say how many are really admitted into the proper stock of the language, and how many are mere local or individual peculiarities. Thus Bharat Chandra adorns, or disfigures, his poems by innumerable fanciful words of this sort, which probably no one but he ever used, and which he has merely invented for the occasion, e.g.

\[\text{श्रोण्यं कक्कुण रणरण गुपर}.
\text{घुनु घुनु घंघर बोली.}
\]

"The bracelets go jhan jhan! the anklets go ran ran!
Ghunu ghunu goes the girdle of bells."—B.-S. 299.

The remarks made about Bengali apply equally to Oriya, in which there is not any very extended use either of reduplicated or onomatopoeic nouns or verbs.

§ 31. Occasional mention has been made in the foregoing sections of some of the stems used in the Gipsy verb. That strange, wandering, low-caste people has, however, picked up many of its words from Iranian and Slavonic, as well as from non-Aryan sources. But true to the original instincts of its race, it has retained Aryan stems for its most common words, only adopting new words to express the few new ideas which, in spite of its nomad unsociable life, have been forced upon it by circumstances.

Rejection of initial \(h\) occurs in many words, as as\(ā\)\(c\)a "to
laugh," Skr. √हस, even when the initial h has arisen from an earlier aspirated letter, as in uvāva “to become,” Skr. √मू, Pr. नू. An a is also prefixed to roots, as arakāva “to guard, to find,” Skr. √रच, H. रखना; and in the impersonal verb arāttilotar “it is night,” Skr. रात्रि. As might be expected, however, the Prakrit or modern form of verbal stems is that generally adopted. Thus katāva “to spin,” H. कातना, kerāva “to do,” H. करना, kināva “to buy,” Skr. √क्री, H. कीनना, ghoshāva “to clean,” Skr. √घृष, H. घिसना “to rub,” but घृष्ध gives a Pr. घृष, whence this word, also pronounced kho-shāva. Kovliovāva, from kovlo uvāva, Skr. कोमल, with हो “to be,” “to be soft;” khānjiovāva, from khānj uvāva, “to scratch, to itch,” Skr. क्षण्डू “itch,” H. खाज, खजली. Khāsiovāva, also khāsāva, “to cough,” Skr. √कास, but H. खासना. Khandāva “to dig,” Skr. √खन, khāva “to eat,” Skr. √खाद, Pr. खा, H. id., but the nomads of northern Rumelia use a form khaderāva, which preserves the d of Sanskrit. Khāniovāva for khino uvāva, Skr. खिन्न with हो “to be fatigued.”

There are three very similar verbs which illustrate the principle of stem-formation in this language well; ghedāva “to assemble,” ghelāva “to bring,” ghenāva “to count.” The last of these three reminds us of Skr. √गण, H. गिनना, for the gh is only so written to secure the g being pronounced hard; the p.p. is ghendo, Skr. गेधित; ghedāva is apparently for ghen dāva, the latter word meaning “to give,” and being added as an ancillary, just as देना is in H., so that ghen dāva = H. गिन देना. Its p.p. is ghedino, and that of dāva is dino, Pr. दिन, Old-H. दीन्ह and देना, which confirms this derivation. Similarly, ghelāva is ghen láva, where láva means “to take,” H. लेना. From these two examples, it would appear that the ghe of ghedāva and ghelāva is not connected with ghenāva, but is Skr. √घ, Pr. गेषु “to take.”

Strange perversions of meaning occur, as might be expected, thus chalavāva, Skr. √चल, H. चलना, should mean “to cause to
move,” H. चलाना. It means, however, “to beat,” thus jā, dik kon chalāvela o udār, “Go, see who knocked at the door!” This is singularly close to the Indian languages. We might say in H. jā, dekh kon chalāya dwār ko. The confusion between the two meanings of Skr. √चर् is apparent here also. In Skr. चर and चाल mean “to move,” and the former, by a natural transition, is used also of cattle grazing. In H. they are kept apart, चलना meaning “to move,” and चरना “to graze.” In Gipsy charáva “to eat,” makes its p.p. chalo, the causal charaváva is “to lead out cattle to pasture,” and a neuter verb chariováva or chaitiováva “to be satiated.” Again, chalaráva “to be satiated with,” p.p. chalardo “full,” “satisfied.”

Frequently, as in the Indian languages, a primitive verb is wanting, and its place supplied by a compound, thus they say, chumi dáva “to kiss,” Skr. √चुम, H. चूमना, but the Gipsy is = चूम देना. So, also, chungárá dáva “to spit,” probably to be referred to Skr. √चीव्, and connected with H. छौक, M. छोक “sneeze.”


Under त we find taváva “to cook,” Skr. तप p.p. tavdo, Skr. तापित, alsoatto “hot,” Pr. तत्, Skr. तस, H. तता. Connected with this probably are tāp dáva, tāv dáva, “to beat,” where Skr. ताप, H. ताव, has passed over from the meaning of heat through that of vexation into that of beating. The neuter is tabiováva or tapiováva “to be burnt,” as in leskeré sheresté tábiolas shamdán “at his head burnt a candle.” A more modern form with the characteristic l of the p.p. in M. G. B. and O. is tablo “hot.” A derivative is tabaráva (a causal) “to cause to burn.”
It is apparent, from these examples, which might be indefinitely increased, that the base of Gipsy verbal stems is the Prakrit, in its earlier as well as its more modern forms; that the phases of the Indian verb are also fairly represented; that the practice of using ancillaries is also not unknown; and that thus this wild and wandering race has carried with it, wherever it has gone on the face of the earth, the principles and sentiments of speech formation which it inherits from the land of its birth, the deserts of the Indus and the Chenab.
CHAPTER II.

THE SIMPLE TENSES.

CONTENTS.—§ 32. Classification of Tenses.—§ 33. The Simple Present or Aorist.—§ 34. The Imperative.—§ 35. The Future in Old Hindi and Gujarati.—§ 36. Type of the Active Verb in Sindhi and Marathi. § 37. Synopsis of the Simple Tenses in all Seven Languages.—§ 38. Simple Tenses in the Gipsy Verb.

§ 32. The preceding Chapter has dealt only with the stem, or that part of the verb which remains unchanged throughout all moods and tenses; we have now to consider the processes used to express the various relations which the idea involved in the stem is capable of undergoing.

The tenses of the modern verb fall naturally into three classes or grades, and it is surprising that so patent a fact has not been noticed by any of the grammar-writers. It is impossible to give, as some writers do, a fixed number for the tenses in any of our languages, for the combinations are almost infinite; but a broad, general classification would, one might suppose, have suggested itself to the most mechanical compiler. The grammar-writers, however, including even authors so superior to the general run as Trumpp and Kellogg, have been, for the most part, led away by giving their attention, in the first place, if not exclusively, to the meanings of the various tenses. This practice has led them to lose sight of the primary idea as evolved out of the structure of each tense. Had the structure been first considered, it would have been easy to discover which of the many conventional senses of a given tense
was its primary and legitimate one, and by adhering to this process, a more simple and natural classification of tenses would have been arrived at.

Kellogg does, indeed, clearly grasp the principles of the structure of the Hindi verb, but he is too metaphysical in his considerations about the meaning of each tense, and has adopted a phraseology which cannot but prove bewildering to the student, and which scientific linguists are not likely to adopt.

In Sindhi Trumpp divides the verb into simple and compound tenses. The simple present is by him called the Potential, though he is well aware of the fact that it is really the old Sanskrit present indicative, and in his philological notes duly recognizes the fact. His classification is sufficient for Sindhi, though it would hardly cover all the tenses in the cognate languages. As usual, he is, in this respect, much in advance of all other grammar-writers on the modern languages. In the Grammars of Gujarati, Marathi, and Oriya, the same distinction between simple and compound tenses is preserved, though in many cases erroneously worked out.

It appears to me, however, that for purposes of comparison between all the languages of this group, a finer distinction still is required, and I would suggest a threefold division, which it will be my business in the following pages to substantiate and describe in detail.

First, there are the simple tenses,—exact modern equivalents of corresponding tenses in the Sanskrit and Prakrit verb, whose form is due to the ordinary processes of phonetic change and development, and in which the old synthetic structure, though very much abraded, is still distinctly traceable.

Secondly, the participial tenses, formed from participles of the Sanskrit verb, used either alone, or with fragments of the Sanskrit substantive verb, worked into and amalgamated with them so as to form in each case one word only. In the latter
case these tenses have a pseudo-synthetical appearance, though the principle on which they are formed is really analytical.

Thirdly, compound tenses, in which the base is a participle with an auxiliary verb added to it, but not incorporated into it, each person of each tense thus consisting of two words in juxtaposition.

A further development of the analytical system produces the large class of verbs with ancillaries, in which the master-stem, so to call it, remains unchanged, and the ancillary does all the work of conjugation. Each of these classes will now be considered in its turn. The present chapter is devoted to the first class, or simple tenses.

It must here also be noted that the seven languages have but one conjugation each, that is to say, that the terminations and methods of forming tenses in use in any one language are applied without variation to every verb in that language. A partial exception may, at first sight, seem to occur in Sindhi and Marathi, in both of which there is one method for conjugating neuter, and another for active verbs. It will be shown, however, that though at first sight the terminations of the neuter verb seem to differ from those of the active, as in M. मी उड़ते "I escape," n, but मी छोड़ती "I set free," a, yet in reality the scheme of terminations is one and the same for both, and the difference is due to a process of preparing the root to receive terminations, and to the abrasion of those terminations, in some cases from euphonic causes, and not to the existence of a double system of conjugation.

§ 33. First among the simple tenses comes, in all the languages, the old Sanskrit present indicative, which, in form, preserves clear traces of its origin, though, as in its abraded condition it now no longer indicates with sufficient clearness present time, it has wandered away into all sorts of meanings, and is given by grammarians under all sorts of titles. Con-
sidering the very vague meanings which it now expresses, especially in regard to the note of time, it has seemed to me that the Greek term "aorist" more accurately describes this tense in its modern usage than any other. The fact that it is a present, no matter what additional indefinite meanings may be attached to it, is, however, necessary to be borne in mind, and I think that in modern grammars it should always head the list of tenses, as the simplest and most genuine, and legitimately first in order, of them all. In those languages of this group with which I am personally acquainted, I can assert, from my own experience, that it is far more frequently used in colloquial practice as a present, pure and simple, than our grammar-writers, basing their views too much on the literary aspects of the languages, would have us believe.

The terminations of the aorist in the classical form of each language in the present day are the following. (For the full forms, see the tables at the end of this chapter.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Sing. 1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>Plur. 1</th>
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<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>जा ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>चो ए</td>
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<td>ए</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjabi</td>
<td>चाँ ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>चो अष</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>चाँ ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>चो अनि</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>चं ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>रघि (वे) चो ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>ए एस (चस) ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>चां अत</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>ए उ</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>च (६) अनि</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>ज़ दस</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>च (६) एन (आन)</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third person singular is the same in all the languages, ending universally in ए. In Oriya poetry it ends in चह, and this now somewhat antiquated form is still occasionally heard, as in करह "he does," चटह "it is." The form in चह is in use in the rustic dialects of Hindi and Gujarati, as is also the intermediate form ए. It seems certain that this universal ए has been formed from चह, the termination of this person in
Prakrit, and corresponds to the Sanskrit चरितः. Thus चरितः becomes चल्रू, चलि, and चलि. The rustic Hindi forms चलहिः, चलहिः, चलहिः, are, I think, to be explained by the Prakrit process of inserting य and ह to fill a hiatus; thus चरितः becomes चलहिः and चलहिः. In the hill dialects of Kumaon and Garhwal the final vowel is lost, and they say चल for चलि. The same takes place in Nepali.

The third person plural similarly points to the same person in the Sanskrit present. Oriya has here preserved the termination unaltered, as करनि “they do,” मारनि “they beat,” though in common conversation there is a tendency to drop the final i, and to say karant, mårant. P. S. and B. have lost the त, and with it P. and B. have rejected the vowel also, which Sindhi retains. Hindi has softened the nasal consonant to anunāsika, and Gujarati has rejected the nasal altogether, so that the 3 plural is the same in form as 3 singular. This also is the case in the dialects of Hindi spoken in Rajputana, which have मारि “they strike,” where classical H. has मारि. After the rejection of the त, which is a phonetically anomalous, though widely used process, the remaining form would be चरिः, as मारनि, closely approximate to which is Garhwālī मारन. The Braj form मारि is deducible also from मारनि, through an intermediate माररि and माररि. The last-named form is still in use in the Eastern Hindi area, and has in Bhojpuri modulated into माररि; while the type माररि is preserved in the Oudh and Riwa form माररि, where य has been substituted for र, and an inorganic second anunāsika added, concerning which there will be more to say presently.

Marathi stands alone in preserving the त of the Sanskrit anti. In old Marathi the final vowel is preserved and lengthened, as उठती “they rise;” in the modern language उठत. In the Konkani dialect1 all three persons of the plural are said to end

1 Grammatica da Lingua Concani (Goa, 1859), p. 74.
in *ti*. Thus in the Portuguese method of transliteration, which
is not very accurate, the words are thus written, *amē assati* "we
are," *tumē assati* "ye are," *te assati* "they are." We should
probably write असति = classical M. असत. The author tells
us, however, that one may also say *amē assau" we are," which
is classical M. first person plural आस्ती असू, though in Konkani
it may be used for all three persons of the plural.

The second person singular ends in ए in H. and G., and is
from Skr. अस by elision of स, thus चलसि, चलहि, चलइ, चले
(Braj), चले. In B. it formerly ended in असि, but the final
vowel has been rejected, and the a weakened to i, thus देखि
"thou seeest;" this form has been excluded from literature, but
is extremely common in speech. In M. also the स has persisted,
as सुटि "thou dost get free," where the e is apparently due to
the epenthesis of the final i of an earlier सुटि. The i may,
however, be dropped altogether, without leaving any trace, and
one may say सुट. P. and S. take anunāsika, as करें "thou
doest," which is perhaps due to the influence of the ह, which
has disappeared. The termination रस is often heard among
the lower classes in the Hindi area, but always in a past sense,
and extended to all persons, as िहि "he did," िहि "he
said" (also I or thou). The O. termination उ for this person
is abnormal, and I am at a loss to account for it.

The second person plural in all but M. ends in ओ, for though
B. and O. write ओ, they pronounce ओ, and when emphasis is
used, ओ. There is no difficulty in affiliating this termination to
the corresponding Skr. 2 plural in था, through Pr. धा and हा,
thus चलह "ye go," where, by elision of ह and conflation of the
two vowels, we should get चलच and चला. The final ओ has
been lengthened to ओ, as in the plural of nouns. Marathi also
forms this person on the analogy of its noun, in which the final
anuśvara is typical of the plural, so that we get चला. The
process, however, is quite modern, for in the mediæval poets
the second person plural ends in ओ without anuśvara.
There is some obscurity about the first person in both numbers. In H. and G. the singular ends in अं (अं), while the plural ends in एँ (एँ); but in S. M. and O. it is the plural which ends in अं, while एँ is in M. and O. the termination of the singular. Now if we look to the earlier forms, it would seem more natural to derive चलें from चलामि, where the presence of the final र accounts easily for the एँ, and so the plural चलाम: with its Prakrit representative चलास्य would regularly result in अं. Moreover, in many dialects even of Hindi, the plural is still चलां and चलीं, चलूं, चलों. In the Rajputana dialects it is चलां, which agrees with the singular of modern P. and S. For five of the languages Skr. चलामि softened to चलांद र would become चलाईं, whence M. and O. चलैं “I go,” and further shortened, B. चालि id., while the rejection of final र gives P. चलो, S. हृला “I go.” The singular, therefore, in these five is easily understood. So also is the plural, for Skr. चलाम:, Pr. चलास्य, would become चलां and चलां, and whence dialectic H. चलां (Rajputana), चलूं, चलीं, चलों (in the Himalayan dialects), S. हृलूं, M. id., G. चलुं. But how are we to account for the singular and plural in H. and G.? It seems as if an inversion of the two persons had taken place. It is probable enough that a form originally plural should have become singular, because natives universally speak of themselves as “we” even when only one person is speaking. In this way the plural form may have passed over into a singular. And this tendency would be further developed by the fact that in H. and G. the languages which make the singular end in न, the pronoun of the first person was, in mediæval times, and dialectically still is, हैं, so that it would be natural to say हैं करौं “I do,” on account of the identity of sound. In the other languages this pronoun has dropped out of use (see Vol. II. p. 302): Even if this conjecture be disapproved, and if it be thought that the singular करौं is derived from Pr. करामि by loss of the final ए and softening of the म into anusvāra, we are still as far as ever from the
origin of the plural in *en.* I think that this might perhaps be accounted for by the form of the third person plural having passed over into the first. That forms belonging to one person or case do often get extended to other persons or cases, is generally admitted. In the Riwa dialect of H. the 1 pl. ends in न, as मारन् “we strike,” which seems to be connected with the 3 pl. of P. S. and B., and in most of the dialects the 1 pl. is identical with 3 pl. Now the 3 pl. has a right to an *i,* coming as it does from a Skr. -anti, and the presence of the *n* in the Riwa, and other eastern Hindi dialects, points to the same source. The inorganic anuswāra in poetic Hindi, as मारिहि “they strike,” and dialectic forms, seems to have arisen from a feeling that final anuswāra was the proper type of plurality, and thus depends upon a false analogy with the plural of nouns. The widespread Bhojpuri dialect has मारिं both for 1 pl. and 3 pl., where the ending retains the nasal and the *i,* though the latter is lengthened. We may, however, also suppose that करें 1 pl., “we do,” is really the singular, and that the real plural having been used for a singular, the real singular became a plural. For though a native is fond of speaking of himself individually as “we,” yet the consciousness of only one person being referred to might lead him to use the singular verb, just as the Muhammedans in Orissa, in their corrupt Urdu, say हम करुंगाद “I will do,” literally “nos faciam,” a plural pronoun with a singular verb. So, also, the French peasant says “je faisons,” “j’avons;” and the English one “we goes,” “he do,” “they says.”

The above remarks leave this difficult point still far from elucidation. It is surprising that none of the grammarians have observed the existence of the difficulty, or offered any hints towards its solution. It is further complicated by the fact that P. and G. insert *i,* औ, *ay* or *iy* between the stem and the termination of the 1 pl., thus P. पढ़े, पढ़िे, G. पढ़िे, पढ़िे “we read.” Here it has been suggested that the Apabhraṅga
form in *iṃo* is the origin, thus *हृस्मो* “we laugh” became *हृस्मो* and *हृस्मो*, but the change from म to य is unusual.

On the whole, then, the correspondence of the modern forms of this tense with those of the ancient synthetical present is so close that there can be no doubt as to its derivation therefrom. The terminations, however, have been so much worn away, and in some respects confused with one another, that the tense itself no longer indicates present time with sufficient definiteness, and other forms, which will be treated of hereafter, have been called in to supply the place of a present. This tense has thus become vague, and in modern times is often used in both a future and a past sense. In Marathi grammars it is set down as an “Habitual Past,” so that मी चुटें means “I used to get loose.” In Panjabi it is given as an indefinite future, as मैं चढ़ा “I would send,” or, “I am going to send.” It bears this meaning also in Hindi. Still, in literature, it is frequently the present, and nothing else, while in Bengali it is used as an “historic present,” namely, that tense which is used by historians when, to give vigour to their style, they speak of past events in the present tense, thus *तत्परे कतक-गुली लोकः गिया पाठरा संग्रहा करें, दामन समाये गैकाखानी बारा पाठरा खासिया पारे,* “After that several people went and collected stones, suddenly a great block of stone slipped and fell;” where *kare* and *pare*, though they must be translated by preterites, are really the old synthetic present. This practice is extremely common in modern Bengali, both in the literary and in the colloquial style.¹

It is unnecessary further to pursue the question of the

¹ In the Gujarati grammars of Leckey and Edalji this tense appears several times over. It is the first present and first habitual past of the Indicative mood, first Aorist of the Subjunctive, first present of the second Potential and the Optative. All this merely means that it is used in the senses which, in a Latin or Greek verb, would be assigned to those tenses; but as the words are the same in all, it would be quite as accurate, and much simpler, to record it once only, and note that it is used in a variety of senses.
various senses in which this tense is now employed, as the point is one which belongs not to the domain of comparative philology, but to the grammar of each individual language. The name "aorist," which I have suggested, has the advantage of being indefinite as to time, and in this way represents fairly the scope of the tense.

§ 34. The next simple tense is the Imperative, and this, like the aorist, is descended from the imperative of the ancient languages. As might be expected, it closely resembles the aorist or old present, and has the following scheme of endings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. 1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>P. 1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>अ</td>
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<td>Panjabi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
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<td>ओ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>अ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this scheme only the second persons singular and plural have been given for P. S. and G., because the other persons are the same as the aorist. This is also true of H., the aorist being used as a potential in all these languages, the first and third persons of both numbers can only be considered imperatives in so far as the potential is itself imperative, just as in Latin and other Indo-European languages. So we may say in H. parihe "he reads," or, "let him read." It was shown in §§ 4, 5, etc., that even in Pali and the Prakrits the present and imperative had been confounded together, a practice that has paved the way for the modern system.

It is only in M. O. and B. that the third singular has a

1 This mark means that the 2 sing. is the simple stem, as kar "do thou!" pari "read thou!"
separate form, which may in all cases be traced back to the Skr. 3 sg. चतु, Pr. चउ, which in M. becomes चो. In M., however, the termination च for this tense is also in use. To the same origin may be ascribed the O. द and B. उक, the final क of which, however, presents considerable difficulty. It will be discussed along with a similar termination in the future.

The third plural in M. O. and B. is parallel to the singular, and is connected with Skr. भन्तु, just as the corresponding person in the aorist is with Skr. भल्ल्य. In O., owing to the influence of the final u, this termination is often written ुतु, as karuntu “let them do,” jāintu “let them go.”

In all but S. the second singular is the bare verbal stem. In M. a final च is heard, and slightly also in B. and O. In the dialect of Northern Gujarat a य is sounded after the final consonant, as कय “do thou,” वेक्य “speak thou,” चाय “go thou.” But in the rest this person ends with the final consonant, as kar “do,” dekh “see.” In the H. mediaeval poets this person often ends in हँ, as stated in §§ 4, 5, 7, corresponding to which is a plural in च, as

तुम्ह भेज़ तुम्ह भेज़ सुप जनप जोध

“Seize ye! seize ye! muttering of war.”—Chand, Pr. R. xix. 33.

This form is also found in G., and in Old-M. takes the shape of ए, as पावि “find thou!” for पावइ, from पावहि, with inorganic anuswara. Sindhi, which causes all its words to end in a vowel, makes this person end in और, which is apparently only a weakening of the final vowel of the stem. The dialectic forms of H. present few noteworthy peculiarities, in some cases the forms which Kellogg gives as imperatives are really other tenses used imperatively. Thus the form मारव “beat ye!” common in the eastern area, is really a future, “ye shall beat.” Often, too, in colloquial Hindi, and in Urdu, in giving an order,
the future is used, as राम को च्रिन्दे संग लात्रोगे “You will bring Rām with you,” that is, “bring him with you!” So also the infinitive, as यह सव काम आजही करना “Do all this work today,” literally, “(Take care) to do,” इस रिस्न को चुका दें तब चली जाना “Pay this debt, and then go away.”1

Most of the seven languages have, in addition to the ordinary imperative, a respectful form used in addressing a superior, or in entreating and asking a favour. This, in Hindi, ends in Sing. दृश्य, Plur. दृश्यो. In P. this form is seldom employed, and when used, may be considered as borrowed from H. In the other languages are—

Sindhi Sing. 2. दृश्य, एलेज़, Plur. 2. दृश्यो, एलेज़.
Gujarati , दृश्य, , दृश्यो.

In a few stems in H. which end in e, ज is inserted between the stem and the termination, the final vowel being changed to इ, as ले “take,” लीजिये, दे “give,” दीजिये; the stem कर “do” is in this case changed to की, making कीजिये “be pleased to do.” Sindhi sometimes takes in the singular दृश्य instead of दृश्य, probably on the analogy of the simple imperative, which ends in य; and in the plural, instead of दृश्यो, the forms दृश्या, दृश्यार, दृश्याह, दृश्याध are used when great respect is implied, as विज्ञ “be pleased to go,” सुपण्डज “be pleased to hear.” Many of the rustic dialects of Hindi have also this form; thus Rajputana दृश्य, दृश्य, दृश्य, or simply दे, as मारिज़, मारिज़, मारिज़ “be pleased to strike.”

Vararuchi (vii. 20, 21, 22) teaches that जिज़ा and जिज़ा may be optionally substituted for the affixes of the present and future, also for those of the imperative, in verbs which end in a vowel. In Old-Marathi, accordingly, a form with inserted ज is found in present, past, and future, as well as imperative, as करिज़तो “he does,” करिज़ता “he did,” करिज़ल “he will do,” करिज़े “do

1 Pincott’s Sakuntalâ, p. 12, a first-rate text-book in admirable idiomatic Hindi.
thou,” in which the junction vowel between the inserted ज and the termination has been changed to e. As, however, the inserted ज is also a type of the passive, this form has occasionally been mistakenly used in a passive sense, as मी मारिजती “I am struck.” Lassen (p. 357) refers this increment to the Skr. potential, which is confirmed by the Pali forms quoted in § 4, and by the dotted ज in S., which usually indicates that a double letter has existed. The च of the Skr., as in पिचिं, is doubled in Pa. नचियामि, and hardened to जच in Pr., whence the modern ज with lengthening of the preceding vowel in H., and change of e to a in G. (cf. G. दुःख = देख). As Vararuchi, in extending the use of this increment to present and future, is writing of the Maharashtri dialect, it is not surprising that the modern Marathi should show a wider use thereof than the sister idioms, in which the sense of a potential has passed over into that of a respectful imperative, or, as Trumpp well calls it, precative.

To this tense belong the two M. words स्न्ह्याजेजि and पाहिजेजि. The former is the precative of स्न्ह्यि (Skr. व्याण) “to speak,” and means literally, “be pleased to say;” in modern times it means “that is to say,” “i.e.,” “videlicet,” as अध्य स्न्ह्याजेजि घोड़ा “एच्वा, that is to say, a horse.” It has also a future form स्न्ह्याजेजि, meaning “in that case,” as पांजस पंजला स्न्ह्याजेजि पीक होरेल “If rain falls, then (or, in that case) there will be a crop.” The latter, with a plural पाहिजित, and a future पाहिजित, is from पाहिजि “to see,” literally “please to see,” and means “it ought,” as है काम केले पाहिजि “this work ought to be done,” literally “please to see (that) this work is done;” “see” being used in M., as in English, in the sense of “seeing to,” “providing for,” “taking care for.”

Similar to these is the H. चाहिजे, lit. “please to wish,” but

1 See Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary under these words; also Godbol's Marathi Grammar, p. 92.
meaning "ought," and, like याहि in M., used with the past participle, as यह काम किया चाहिे "this work ought to be done." Colloquially, however, and even among good writers, चाहिे is often, like other ancillary verbs, constructed with the oblique form of the infinitive, and it would not be absolutely incorrect to say करिे चाहिे. In fact, the construction both in M. and H. with the past participle remounts to a period when the participial character of this form was not yet forgotten. Since, however, the past participle in H. has come to be used simply as a preterite, this construction has lost its significance. Not so in M., where, as will be seen hereafter, the distinction between the preterite and participle still survives.

Gujarati has an analogous formation in the word जोिे "it is wanted," French "il faut," Italian "bisogna." It is from the verb जोिे "to see," and is used with a dative of the subject, as मेिे वीिे वर जोिे नहिे "I want no other blessing," like Latin "mihi necesse est, oporet, decet," etc. It is conjugated throughout the full range of tenses, as सफर मांे जे कांि जोिे हूं "Whatever was required for the voyage," जे मारे हरि जोिे तो "Should I require venison, then . . . ."

§ 35. A simple future derived from the old synthetical tense exists only in Gujarati and in Old-Hindi. The tense is as follows, taking the stem kar "do," as a type:

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<td>Old-H. करििं करिि करिि</td>
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Kellogg (Gr. p. 238) gives the following interesting transitional type from eastern Rajputana:—

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THE SIMPLE TENSES.

There are, in fact, four types of the future in the modern languages, having for their characteristics respectively the letters स, ग, ल, and छ. The sa type has a variant हा. The ga, la, and ba types belong to the class of participial tenses, and will be discussed under that head. The sa type, with its variant हा, found in G. and Old-H., with dialectic variations in several of the modern rustic dialects of H., is the only one which is directly derived from the corresponding Sanskrit and Prakrit tense. It is the Sanskrit future in ishya, as in karishyami, which, as already pointed out in § 4, becomes in Pali karissami, and retains that form in the higher Prakrits. The transition from this to the eastern Rajput करूँ seems to rest upon the confusion between the first persons of the singular and plural already noticed in H.; for Rajp. करूँ, though now a plural, represents करिस्तामि better than does करूँ, which latter leads to Pr. plural करिस्तास्म, just as does G. करिः. The G. 1 sing. करिः has rejected all terminations, and lengthened the preceding vowel; this form is also, in the general confusion, due to the corruption of personal affixes, used for the 2 sing. The second and third persons of both numbers may be traced back to the corresponding persons of the Prakrit just as in the aorist, and the loss of the i in the second syllable is probably due to the neglect of vowels in G., where the first plural even is written in three ways, as करिः, करिः, or करिः. The orthography of G. is, it will be remembered, still unfixed.

In most of the Prakrits the future has undergone a further weakening, by which the स्त of the higher types has been resolved into ह, so that we get such forms as गमिःहिःति side by side with गमिःस्तति. It is from this weakened form that the Hindi type is derived. Thus 3 sing. करिः represents Pr. करिः from करिःति; 3 pl. करिः हिः करिः हिः, and so on. Here also come in the old Purbi forms करिः हि, करिः ब्रह्मि, which are transitional from Pr. to Old-H. In poems in the Braj dialect occur such forms as करिः हिः, करिः, where the ai has crept into
the second syllable, probably from the analogy of the ga type karai-gd. The commonest form is that given above, with short i in the second syllable. This is Chand’s ordinary future, as

हम सावंत सब जुशिङ्गि॥
राज चद्रेश न जाय॥

“We nobles all will fight,
(That) the kingdom of the Chandel may not perish.”
—Pr. R. xxi. 94.

कै सिर तुमहि समयिहि॥
कै सिर घरिहि कछ॥

“Either I will yield my head to thee,
Or I will put the umbrella on my head.”—Pr. R. i. 279.
(i.e. I will either die or conquer.)

कनवज जूटि रिधि सब हरिहि॥
पाकि जुध माहिबि करिहि॥

“Having plundered Kanauj, I will carry off all your riches,
After that, I will fight at Mahoba.”—ib. xxi. 87.

It is also the ordinary future throughout Tulsi Das’s Ramayan, as

सबहि भंगिति पिय सेवा करिहि॥
 मारग जनित सबल भ्रम हरिहि॥

“In every manner I will serve my beloved,
I will take away all the fatigue of the journey.”
—Ay-k. 399.

Also universally in Kabir, as

ना जानो कब मारिहि कब धर कब प्रदेश॥

“Ye know not when he (i.e. death) will strike, whether at home or abroad.”—Ram. xix. 5.

बजरि न ऐसी बही थाना॥

“You will never find such a place again.—ib. xliii. 2.

where बही = पाइहि 2 pl. fut. of पाना “to find.”

When the ga future, which is now the ordinary type in Hindi, arose, cannot be clearly defined. It is not in use in the
mediaeval poets, and, as has been shown above, it has not succeeded in expelling the old synthetical future from the rustic dialects.

§ 36. In M. and S. the terminations of the old present or aorist, and those of the imperative in S., seem at first sight to differ in the active from those in the neuter verb, and some remarks are necessary in explanation of this peculiarity. The neuter सुट्टें "to get loose," and the active सोडें "to set free," are thus conjugated in the present in M.

**SING. 1.** 2. 3. **PL. 1.** 2. 3.
सुट्टे सुटें (॰टें) सुटे सुटू सुटँ सुटत.
सोडीं सोडीस सोडी सोडू सोडां सोडीत.

Similarly in S. the neuter हलणु "to go," and the active कड़णु "to give up," conjugate the present thus:—

**SING. 1.** 2. 3. **PL. 1.** 2. 3.
हलणा हली हले हलू हलो हलनि.
कड़ण्डा कड़ण्डें कड़े कड़ण्डूं कड़ण्डौ कड़ण्डनि.

On comparing these two sets of forms, it will be seen that the active differs from the neuter by insertion of र in M., and of र in S. This inserted vowel has, however, disappeared in some persons, as in M. first and second plural, and in S. third singular, and, optionally, also second singular and third plural. Some writers on Marathi seek to derive the forms of the neuter from those of the Skr. अत्मानेपद, and the forms of the active from those of the Parasmaipada. There is, however, a fatal objection to this argument in the fact that the Skr. अत्मानेपद had died out of use so early as the Prakrits, and that the neuter forms of M. agree closely with the forms in use in the other languages, where there is nothing to lead us to look for
an origin from the Ātmanepada, inasmuch as the known changes of the Parasmaipada afford a satisfactory explanation, and in those languages the type which in M. is restricted to neuter verbs is used for both neuter and active. A more probable supposition is that which would derive the forms of the active in M. and S. from the Skr. causal, the characteristic aya having been changed in Pr. to e, and still further shortened in S. to i, while in M. the personal terminations have been blended with the य of aya into a long vowel; thus M. सोड़ी presupposes an earlier form सोडवाण or सोडो, for it must be noted that the termination य resulting from Skr. चति, Pr. चार, has been dropped in this word. So in the first sing. S. चारिणी represents an older छोटवाणि, and is thus earlier in type than M. सोड़ी, for सोडिणी, through सोडवाण. The second singular in which the personal termination is retained also supports this view, for in it the characteristic य holds the same place in the word as the characteristic aya of the Sanskrit causal, namely, between the stem and the termination: so it does in Sindhi in all the persons. The value of the comparative method is shown in cases like this where a student, who is guided by the facts of one language only, is liable to be misled, owing to want of the light supplied by the sister languages.

It is only in S. that the imperative differs in the active from that in the neuter. According to strict rule, the second singular of neuter verbs ends in u, as मर्यु "to die," imperative मय "die thou;" while in active verbs it ends in र, as पालयु "to cherish," imperative पालि "cherish thou." Trumpp, however, gives a long list of active verbs whose imperative ends in u, while there are others which take both terminations. It is impossible, at present, satisfactorily to account for this irregularity, but it seems probable that active verbs in S. derived from actives in Sanskrit form the imperative in u, while those which are derived from S. causals form it in र. Should this suggestion be confirmed by further research, the र would
appear to be the representative of the Skr. *aya* of the causal. Thus while Skr. सर produces S. नस, Skr. पालिय produces S. पालि, shortened from पालि (Pr. पालिहि). The second plural of neuters ends in ṥ, as हळो “go ye!” while that of actives ends in io or yo, as कवियो or कवियो. The earlier form in ḫo (Pr. रृख) is also in use as छविहि.

In the following list there is no reason why the imperative should not end in u, notwithstanding the rule, for the words are derived from simple Sanskrit active verbs of the Bhû conjugation, or, if in Sanskrit of other conjugations, yet reduced to the Bhû type in Prakrit.

| पढ़ु "to read," imp. पढ़   | Skr. √पढ़   | imp. पढ़   |
| पढ़ु "see,"    पढ़   | पश्चि " पश्   |
| विषु "grind," विष   | √विष   | "विषि, but Pr. पोस (Hem. iv. 185). |
| चरु "graze,"  चर   | चर   |
| रखु "keep,"    रख   | रख   |
| कहु "say,"   कह   | चर   | कहय, but Pr. कह   (Hem. iv. 2). |

आखु "to inform," makes आखु and आखि, it is from Skr. आखा, imperative आखाहि, from which comes regularly आखि, through a form आखिहि, but this verb may be also neuter, as in "tell! tell!" and would thus, by the masses, be formed like neuters, and have आखु. धंवु "to blow" (with bellows), makes धंवु and धंवि, it is from Skr. ध्या, imp. धम, whence regularly धंवु. Here the form धंवि, the ordinary form for actives, may have been introduced from forgetfulness of the special reasons for that ending in u. As a general result, it may be suggested that each of these peculiar verbs requires to be traced back to its origin, in which case there will generally be found some special reason for the divergence from the normal type.
§ 37. Here follows a table showing the simple tenses in each language. A common verbal stem in each is given to exhibit the method of adding the terminations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>M Wells</th>
<th>Oriya</th>
<th>Marathi</th>
<th>Gujarati</th>
<th>Sindhi</th>
<th>Pushto</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Old Hindi</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dekh &quot;see.&quot;</td>
<td>kar &quot;do.&quot;</td>
<td>saf &quot;escape.&quot;</td>
<td>chhod &quot;leave.&quot;</td>
<td>hal &quot;go.&quot;</td>
<td>mar &quot;hear.&quot;</td>
<td>dekh &quot;see.&quot;</td>
<td>dastan &quot;tell.&quot;</td>
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**Affirmative** | **Impersonal** | **Reject.**
§ 38. The simple tenses in the Gipsy verb, as given by Paspati and Miklosich, differ very widely from the Indian type, and it is difficult to grasp their forms, so much have contraction and a slurring habit of pronunciation weakened the original terminations. The present among the Rumelian gipsies has the following endings: S. 1. a, 2. sa, s, 3. ̀l; Pl. 1. sa, s, 2. na, n, 3. na, n. Thus from kerāva "to do"

Sing. 1. kerāva, or keráv.  Pl. 1. kerása, or kerás.
  2. kerásą, kerás.  2. keréna, kerén.
  3. kerélą, kerel.  3. kerena, kerén.

Of the two forms, those ending with a are the fuller and more correct forms, and those ending in the consonant which precedes the a are used in ordinary conversation. The S. 2 sounds also keresą, kerés. Here we distinguish two junction-vowels á and e, as ker-á-sa, ker-é-sa, a peculiarity which recalls the practice in Prakrit by which the e originally proper to the tenth conjugation is often used in verbs of the Bhû and other types, and as often omitted in causals; so we have पुक्खामि and पुक्खिमि, रोवामि and रोविमि, द्वारि and द्वारिर, करि and करिर. But with regard to the terminations, there is much difficulty; we recognize, indeed, the termination āmi of S. 1. in Paspati’s āva, or āv, and asi in his āsa, or ās. So also antī, Pr. entī, re-appears in ena or en. The ela, el of S. 3. may stand to atī in the same relation as the ila of O. and M. p.p.p. does to Skr. ita; but if so, it is a strange confirmation, and from an unexpected quarter, of what is as yet little more than an unsupported hypothesis. In the P. 2. the ena, en may have been borrowed from P. 3. for we have seen similar cases in the other languages, but the P. 1. with its ending in s, is entirely inexplicable.

The Syrian gipsies have retained a fuller form of the S. 1, as jāmi "I go," āvami "I come," stāmi "I am," and the following almost pure Prakrit words; bhēmi "I fear," chinemi "I cut,"
dāmi, domi "I give," jānami, jānemi "I know," enemi "I bring" (from आशी), kinimi "I buy" (की), and others (Miklos. ii. 4).

The imperative is the only other simple tense, it has the forms ker "do thou," kerēn, do ye," me kerēl "let him do," me kerēn "let them do." The meaning and origin of this prefix me is not explained by Paspati, and I am not aware of anything in the Indian languages with which it can be connected. It is probably a construction borrowed from modern Greek, or Turkish, or some of the languages spoken in or near Rumelia. The imperative is, in its general form, precisely analogous to the languages of our group, but there is nothing specially noteworthy about it.
CHAPTER III.

THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.


§ 39. So widely has the modern verb diverged from its parent, that the simple tenses, in which there still remain traces of the ancient synthetic structure, are, as we have just seen, extremely few. Far more numerous in all the languages are those tenses which are formed by the aid of a participle derived directly from the Prakrit. These tenses may be divided into two classes, (1) consisting either of a participle alone, as in H. chaîtâ “he moves,” which is really “moving (he is),” or of a participle, to which are attached much-worn fragments of the old Sanskrit substantive verb, as in M. hasatos “thou laughest,” which is really “laughing thou art,” Pr. hasanto ’si (whether the remnant of the substantive verb still appear, or whether it have entirely dropped out, in either case the principle underlying the formation is the same, and words
like H. *chaltā*, and M. *hasatos*, belong, therefore, to the same category): (2) consisting of a participle, to which is subjoined a substantive verb, the two words standing separate, but forming one phrase, as in H. *dekhtā hai* "he sees," i.e. "he is seeing," M. *līhtt āhe* "he is writing."

Between these two classes there is this fundamental difference, that in the former the traces of the substantive verb which do exist are still in the Prakrit stage of development, whereas in the latter the substantive verb, which is combined with the participle, is not in the Prakrit shape, but is a later form, evolved by the languages out of the Prakrit.

The first of these two classes I propose to call "participial tenses," and they will be treated of in this chapter; the second I shall call, following the example of the grammarians, "compound tenses," and shall reserve their discussion for another chapter.

The participle used in the formation of tenses may be traced back to the Prakrit equivalents of the following Sanskrit participles.

1. The present Active (Parasmay.), as in चचन् *m.*, चचली *f.*, चचत् *n.*
2. The past Passive (with inserted र्), as in छतस् *m.*, छता *f.*, छतः *n.* (Pr. कारिश्री etc.).
3. The future participle Passive or verbal adjective, as in द्रातवयस् *m.*, *द्रातवया* *f.*, *द्रातवयं* *n.*

To these must be added certain much abraded forms of special past participles, which are used in a peculiar way in three of the languages, as will be shown hereafter, and it must be borne in mind that, especially in the case of the past participle passive (noted as p.p.p.), it is the Prakrit forms that are to be looked to, rather than those which occur in classical Sanskrit. The classical language does not prefer to insert the intermediate र् in the p.p.p., but the popular languages do prefer it to a very great extent, so much so, that it has almost
become the rule to insert it, and the cases where it is omitted may be classed as exceptions.

§ 40. The participle of the present active in Pali and the Prakrit takes the forms of the a-stem of nouns, and retains the nasal throughout; thus पचते m., पचती f., पचत n. The variations introduced by the conjugational peculiarities of the Sanskrit verb are neglected, and all roots take this one form.

Sindhi reproduces this universal Prakrit form with softening of त into त, and declines it for gender and number thus (ह ल “go”)—

Sing. हलंद्रो m., हलंदी f. Pl. हलंद्रा m., हलंदिज़ f., “going.”

In active verbs, with which must be reckoned causals, the characteristic ई appears (§ 36), but here lengthened to ई, as (भर “fill”)—

Sing. भरींद्रो m., भरींदी f. Pl. भरींद्रा m., भरींदिज़ f. “filling.”

There are some minor exceptions and contractions which may be learnt from the special grammar of the language, but the forms given above are the regular types.

Panjabi retains the nasal in verbs ending in vowels, as जादा “go,” जादा “going,” हो “be,” जंदा “being,” सैद “serve,” सीजंदर “serving.” In some of the rustic dialects the nasal is retained also after stems ending in a consonant, thus I have heard मारंदा or मारंदा “beating.” In the classical dialect, however, the nasal is omitted after a consonant, as singular मारंदा m., मारंदी f.; plural मारंदे m., मारंदीब्झां f. Not unfrequently the द is dropped, and we hear जाना, ज्ञान for जाओ, जंदा.

Hindi has two sets of forms; one indeclinable originally ended in ant, and still exists in several rustic dialects with the termination at. Chand inserts or omits the nasal at pleasure, to suit his metre, as चरन तीन भजंत “possessing three feet”
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

(Pr. R. i. 61); अवन सुनत होय भंग। "the ear hearing, it is broken" (ib. i. 159); रजत "shining," सजत "arraying," सुभत "being beautiful," करत "being cut," etc. (ib. vi. 18), but बजत "playing (music)," चढत "mounting (a horse)" (xix. 3). Tulsi Das chiefly uses the latter form, as जात "going" (Râm. S.-k. 7); गुजत "humming" (ib. 9); यात "meditating," पाचत "finding," भावत "being pleased," गावत "singing" (all in Ay-k. 1); and this is also common in most mediaeval poets, thus Bihari Lall घरत "placing" (Sat. 6), परत (पडत) "falling" (ib.), सोइत "being beautiful," लसत "appearing," चह्रयत "looking" (ib. 7, 9, etc.). Kabir जयत "living" (Râm. 30, 5); बंधत "being bound" (ib. 31, 3). It survives in all the dialects of the eastern Hindi area, in Oudh, Riwa, and Bhojpur, and even in the Gangetic Doab.

The other form ends in a vowel, and is in use in classical Hindi, as sing: मारता m., मारती f.; pl. मारते m., मारतो f. "beating." In the Braj dialect it takes the forms मारत m., मारति f.; pl. मारत m. f. The Garhwali dialect preserves the older form, as मारती, but has also, as have the Rajputana dialects, मारती. Kellogg gives also a Kumaon form मारू, which probably arises from मारती, just as Panjabi झाटा from झंटा.

It would seem that, to account for the co-existence of these two forms, one ending in a consonant, and the other in a (=o), we must have recourse to Hoernle’s theory of the ka-affix, and derive तरत, करत from Pr. करतो, while we derive करता, करता from a Pr. करतको. The ka-theory, however, thus begins to assume rather formidable dimensions, and will, ere long, require a whole treatise to itself.

Gujarati has also two forms, one indeclinable ending in ताई, as छोडतां "loosing," the other declinable, as sing. छाइतो m., ती f., तू n.; pl. छोडता m., ती f., तां n. The terminations are those of the adjective in this language (Vol. II. p. 150). There is also a form of the indeclinable participle in ते, as छोडते, which,
like the Bangali, is apparently the locative singular, while that in ताम has the ending of the old nom, pl. neuter, though, in sense, it approaches more to the locative, as मारा बंधनें छोड़ता तरा दान्त भागा "If in loosing my bonds thy teeth should break."¹ Vans Taylor, however, distinguishes two separate words with this ending, one of which he would derive from the locative singular of Sanskrit feminines, as गंगायाम, the other he would derive from the Skr. infin., as कूँ. The first form he assumes to have been the origin of such phrases as मारे आवती "on my coming," the second, of such as करतां शिखविषे "he teaches to do." This, however, is very doubtful.²

Two forms are also observable in Marathi, or rather two sets of forms. The indeclinable ends in त, ता, and ताना, as सुटत, सुटता, सुटताना. The first of these agrees with Hindi, the second with Gujarati, and the third is merely the second with an enclitic particle ना added for emphasis. In active verbs the characteristic त appears, as सोड़त, सोड़तां, सोड़ताना "loosing." There is also a declinable form, which, however, is not now used as a participle, but appears in the third person of the present tense, thus sing. सुटता m., सुटती f., सुटतें n.; pl. सुटते m., सुटता f., सुटतें n.

Oriya has only one form for the present participle. It is indeclinable, ending in च or छ, as देखू, देखू "seeing." Of these two forms, that with the nasal is the older, though now less used, and probably comes from the Pr. neuter in ल, though the intermediate steps are not easily traced.

Even in the earliest writings in Bengali there is no regular present participle, but a form derived from the locative of the Prakrit is in use. It ends in रै, as देखबै, and is now used as an "infinitive, meaning "to see." Literally, it means "in seeing," and is used in this sense by Bidyāpati, and the older poets. Thus केस निन्धापित बहे जल धारा। "In wringing (or

¹ Leckey, Grammar, p. 179. ² Grammar, p. 113.
from wringing) her hair there flows a stream of water” (Pr. K.-S. 13, 15); हेराइते हद्दे हानम पाँचवान। “On seeing (her), love smote him in the heart” (ib. 15, 7). Even here, however, it becomes almost an infinitive, as जाइते पेखनु नाहू गोरी। “I saw the fair one go to bathe (i.e. in going, or while going)” (ib. 13, 13); कानु हेराइते एवे भेल परमाद। “In seeing (or to see) Kānh, there has been now delight” (ib. 20, 10). So Bhārat शुनाइते शुनिते पाइँव समाचार। “By causing to hear, and by hearing, I shall obtain news” (Bidya S. 247).

§ 41. Having thus given the forms of the present participle, we next proceed to exhibit the tenses constructed therefrom, either with or without the addition of fragments of the old substantive verb, and it will be seen that there is great variety in the practice of the respective languages, though all the variations are sufficiently alike to justify their being classed generally as structurally present tenses. In some cases the sense of present time is more clear and definite than that afforded by the old present of the synthetic system, or, as we now call it, the aorist, while in others it has wandered away in different directions.

Sindhi, to begin with, makes this participle into a future. In the third person of both numbers the participle is used without any addition, thus

Sing. हलंद्रे m., हलंद्री f. Pl. हलंदरा m., हलंदिर्ज़ f. “he, she, etc., will go.”

The second person, however, retains traces of the substantive verb अस् “to be,” though much abraded and indistinct, it runs

Sing. हलंद्रे m., हलंदिण्ण फ. Pl. हलंदर्म m., हलंदिंज़ f. “thou, ye, etc., will go.”

The singular masculine ends in विष, just as does the corre-

1 This section follows, for the most part, Trumpp, pp. 289, 291, etc.
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sponding person of the aorist, and we may resolve it thus, halando asi = halánd' asi = halánd' aí = halándë. The anuswāra is here, probably, as in the aorist, put in to fill up the hiatus caused by loss of s, and first stood over the a of aí; when these two syllables were contracted into one, it took its place over that one. In the singular feminine we start from halándë asi, where the final long i of the participle is shortened, and asi = aí = ē, giving halándë, a form still in use, though Trumppp gives as the classical type the still further contracted halándëā. The plural masculine arises from halándë stha, where stha has become tha, and then ha; the h being dropped, we get halándëa = halando, subsequently resolved into its present form halándaū. The plural feminine is merely the feminine of the participle, there is no trace of the substantive verb.

In the same way may be explained the first person of both numbers.

Sing. हलंदोबसि m., हलंदीबसि f. Pl. हलंदासिं m., हलंदासिः f.

Here, again, we meet an instance of the curious change of स्र into स, which we observed in the Panjabi and Sindhi pronouns of the first person plural चवसि and चवसा (Vol. II. p. 308). Thus halando asmi becomes halando asi, then halandu 'si, the final o being shortened to u. In the feminine, however, the elision of the a of asmi cannot take place by the old laws of Sandhi; instead, the t of the participle changes to its semivowel, producing halandy asi, which the Sindhians in the present day write either as above, or हलंदबसि, or even हलंदिबसि. As to the termination सी of the plural, I am disposed to regard it as formed by analogy from a singular चसि, rather than, with Trumppp, as a derivative of Skr. स�, which, if the म be rejected, would yield सो or सु, but not, according to any known processes, सी.

§ 42. Closely analogous to the Sindhi future is the definite present in Marathi. In this tense, as in the S. future, the third
person preserves no trace of the substantive verb, and in this respect curiously resembles the periphrastic future of Sanskrit (bodhitāśmi, bodhitāsi, but bodhitā).

The participial form which enters into the composition of this tense is, apparently, not used alone in a participial sense. करितो or करिता would always imply "he does," never "doing." For the purely participial sense the indeclinable participles given in the last section are used.

There is much more difficulty in tracing out the Marathi persons than those of Sindhi, not only because the remains of the substantive verb are more abraded, but because in the second and third persons there are two sets of terminations, one of which is used when the sense is that of the indicative present, the other when it is conditional.

Beginning with the third person, we have these forms (сут "escape"):

Indicative. Sing. सुटतो m., ती f., तें n. Pl. सुटतात m., f., n., "he, she, etc., escapes."

Conditional. Sing. सुटता m., ती f., तें n. Pl. सुटते m., बा f., तीं n., "were he, etc., to escape."

Here the indicative strikes us at once as the older type; adjectives do not now in M. end in श in the masculine singular, though they did so in Maharashtri Prakrit; the to of the indicative therefore preserves the earlier form. So also in the plural there is but one form for all three persons which contains the verb संति, in Old-M. changed to अति, just as in the third plural of the aorist, but with disregard of the varying terminations for gender of the modern participle. The conditional, on the other hand, is simply the modern participle, with its full range of endings for number and gender.

The second person runs thus:

Indicative. Sing. सुटतोस m., तीस f., तेंस n. Pl. सुटतां m., f., n.

Conditional. Sing. सुटतास m., तीस f., तेंस n., Pl. सुटतां m., f., n.
Again, in the indicative, the older ending in o, suṭatos = suṭato 'si (asi); while in the conditional, suṭatās = suṭatā asi, with the modern ending in á. The plural, however, is the same in both, and agrees in termination with the aorist. The first person is the same in both indicative and conditional, and is—

Sing. सुटतों m., तं f., तीं n. Pl. सुटतों m. f. n.

Final anuswāra here represents probably Pr. sing. amhi, pl. amho; but the sandhi is irregular, as f. suṭatē = suṭati amhi; the variant suṭatyē, used in the Konkan, is more regular for suṭaty amhi. The pl. suṭatō = suṭatā amho, where, again, the steps of transition to suṭatō are difficult to work out.

§ 43. A similar use of the participle, in a conditional sense, occurs in Bengali and Oriya. In the former, the present tense is made up by using an auxiliary, and it will come under discussion in the next chapter, but the conditional has traces of the old Pr. form of the verb, and therefore belongs to this place. The tense is (dekh “see”—

Sing. 1. देखिताम, 2. देखितिस, 3. देखित. Pl. 1. देखिताम, 2. देखिता, 3. देखितेन.

The participle here has lost its terminations for gender, as the Bengali adjective has (Vol. II. p. 147): dekhitām therefore = dekhitā asmi = dekhitā amhi in the sing., and dekhitā amhu in the pl., lit. “seeing I am;” dekhitis = dekhitā asi, where, on the analogy of the aorist, the i has crept into the penultimate (now ultimate) syllable; dekhitā similarly = dekhitā stha, whence dekhitā tha = dekhitāha = dekhitā. So, also, dekhitēn = dekhitā (s)āntī, with the same treatment of the verb as in the aorist. The third singular is the simple participle.

In Oriya this tense runs thus :

Sing. 1. देखिति, 2. देखि, 3. देखिता. Pl. 1. देखि (तू), 2. देखि, 3. देखिति.
in this tense is preserved the older form of the participle Pr. dekhanto, O. dekhantá, which, as usual, appears unchanged in the third sing., as also the pl. Pr. dekhante preserved in the 3 pl. The other persons exhibit only slight modifications of the terminations of the aorist, which are those of the Sanskrit present asmi, asi, etc.

In B. and O. this tense is used with গেছি (গেছি) “if,” prefixed, “if I were to do,” etc.; when used alone, it means “I might or should do,” and in B. narrative it occasionally appears as an habitual past, “I used to do.”

It should also be mentioned that just as the Bengali pandits have banished the old singular of the pronoun and declared it vulgar, so they have branded the singular number of all their tenses as low, and those grammarians who write under pandit influence gravely assure us that “the singular and plural are the same in Bengali verbs, and it is the nominative case before them which determines whether they are singular or plural” (Yates’s Gr., ed. Wenger, p. 43). When they come to the real old singular, their agitation is extreme, they are too honest to leave it out, and too fastidious to put it in. So they preface it thus, “If a person speaks with the greatest humility of himself, or with the greatest contempt of another, he employs this form; but it is not found in good composition. We should have been happy to pass it over entirely; but to enable the student to understand what he will but too often hear (alas! yes, far too often, in the mouths of ninety-nine out of every hundred persons in Bengal), it seems necessary to give one example” (ib. p. 47).

The best Bengali poets had not discovered that these forms of their mother-tongue were low or vulgar down to the beginning of the present century. In a page opened at random in the Mahabarat of Kasiram Das occur রহিল “he remained,” বলিলা “he said,” জিজ্ঞাসিলা “he asked,” দিয়াছি “he has given,” হোঁড়ি “he shall be.” Kabi Kankan uses পড়িও “thou
shalt fall,” मरीज “thou diedst,” आकिनु “I was;” and Bharat Chandra, दिनिज “thou hast done,” पातु “I found,” and innumerable other forms, which would be classed as vulgar by the purists of the present day.

§ 44. In the remaining languages, Hindi, Panjabi, and Gujarati, both forms of the present participle are used as an indefinite present tense, without any trace of the old substantive verb. The indeclinable form occurs constantly in Chand, thus कातिक करत पड़कर समान। गोकृत महातम सुनत कान। “In Kartik he performs ablutions at Puhkar, and hears with his ears the glories of Gokarn.”—Pr. R. i. 198. The long list of words of this form in vi. 39, describing the fight at the darbâr, may be construed either as participles or present tenses. It is one of those scarcely translatable jingles of which Chand is so fond भुकंत धार धार सों। बजंत मार मार सों। भुकंत धार धार सों। तबंत मार तार सों। and so on for fifty lines. Perhaps the meaning may be thus roughly paraphrased—

They thrust with sword-edge biting,
They shout the shout of smiting;
They crouch from weapons sweeping,
They watch the steel blade leaping.

The meaning is clearer in other places. चबल पवन पावक समान। तपस्यत सुताप मन। सुकंत सरोवर मचत कीच। ततलकंत मीठ तन। (Pr. R. lx. 17), “The wind blows like to fire, distressing the mind (as if with) penance, the tanks dry up, the mud is stirred up, the fishes’ bodies pant.” So in Bihari Lal, मकराष्ट गोपाल के कुंडल सोहत कान। घरी वनी हिय घर समर डोढी लजम निशान। “The dolphin-shaped earring shines (sohat) in the ear of Gopal, as the flag of love appears (lasat) at the threshold while he enters the heart” (Sat. vi.). He constantly uses the feminine Braj form in ति both as a participle and a present. कहै नदेवर की कुवत कुलतिय कलह दरानिः। पंजर
"The virtuous wife does not repeat the bad words of her husband's younger brother, fearing (dārāti) a quarrel, but dries up with fear, like a parrot when a cat approaches its cage" (Sat. xv.).

In classical Hindi both forms are used as a present tense, it is unnecessary to give instances, as the practice is universal. The same is the case in P., where मैं चढ़दूँ "I send," is the ordinary indefinite present. सक्कर दो रोटी सुंदे काढी दे सुंदे पाँचदे "They put a lump of sugar in the mouth of the boy and girl."\(^1\)

Classical Hindi also uses this participle, with "if" prefixed as a past conditional; thus they say जढ़ि मैं जार्गरता तो कबड्दी नहीं जाता "Had I known, I never would have gone,"—a similar practice to that of O. and B. mentioned in the last section.

The declinable participle is used in G. as a past habitual, or as a subjunctive aorist, according to the grammarians, so that झे छोटतो means "I used to loose," or, "I should loose." In the former sense it is employed in the same way as the old present or aorist झे छोड़े. The example given is तमे वराचर भाग राखता (pl. masc.) नहीं "you used not to keep a fair share."\(^2\) Most commonly, however, it is used with an auxiliary verb in a variety of meanings, this language being very fertile in the production of compound tenses.

§ 45. The passive past participle in Sanskrit has many forms; the simplest, though least widely used, in the classical language, is, however, that in ita (itas, itā, itam), as पतित "fallen." The त ि of the affix, as would be expected, becomes in the higher Prakrits त, and in the more common dialects falls out altogether; thus we have ड्राब्बिंद्रं = डाबित "lost," मुखित्रयिं = मूखित: "robbed," गहिंद्रं = गृहितं "taken," and many others.

But Var. vii. 32 admits even in Maharashtri the form from

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1 "Panjab Customs," in Appendix to Panjabi Grammar, Loodhiana, p. 91.
2 Leckey, Grammar, p. 160.
which the द्र has entirely dropped, and instances हसिंथ for हसिंत “laughed,” पटिं for पटिय “recited,” and this form has become the type of most modern languages. In Old-Hindi this participle regularly ends in sing. ची m., द्री f., pl. द्र m., द्री f., as जच्छी m., जच्छी f., etc., “burnt.” Here the च represents the द्र of the Prakrit, hardened into a semivowel before the final vowel. In the feminine it is merged in the द्र of the affix, and in the plural lost altogether, for जच्छि easily passes into जच्छि.

Chand uses this form throughout, as तन रि बोि गाि द्रव यान। “his body remained bright, he went to the abode of the gods” (i. 299); कै ळी “done,” गाबी “gone,” etc. It is, however, more frequently used as a tense than as a participle, and further illustrations will be given in a following section.

The form in ची lasts all through the mediaval poets, and is still in use in the dialects of Rajputana and in Braj. In the former a slight change has occurred, sing. मारीं, pl. मारी, while in Kumaon the form is sing. मारियो, pl. मारिया.

Modern classical Hindi has sing. मारा m., मारी f.; pl. मारि m., मारी f., “struck.”

Panjabi retains the द्र of the Prakrit, and has sing. मारिया m., मारी f.; pl. मारि m., मारिया f., “struck;” so also does Sindhi, sing. हिच्छि or हिच्छि m., हिच्छि f.; pl. हिच्छा m., हिच्छि f. Trumpp seems to be here in error in saying that the च has been inserted to fill the hiatus caused by the elision of the द्र. It is rather the द्र of द्रोि hardened to a semivowel, as in Old-ह. and P.

Oriya has rejected the final syllable, just as it has in its present participle, and has an indeclinable past participle in द्र, as देक्कि. This is never used alone, but only in composition, with an auxiliay forming a tense. The past participle used to form the passive ends in द्र, like ह., as देक्कि जिबा “to be seen.”

The same form is found in Gujarati, as sing. कोद्धि (chhodyo) m., कोद्धी f., कोद्धु (chhodyū) n.; pl. कोद्धा m., कोद्धी f., कोद्धा n.

G., however, in common with M. B. and O., has another
form of this participle ending in an affix, whose special type is \( \text{ल} \). The forms may be brought together for comparison—

**G. Sing.** क्रेछिला \( m., \) क्रेछिली \( f., \) क्रेछिलु \( n. \)

**M. (neuter) Sing.** सुट्टिला \( m., \) सुट्टिली \( f., \) सुट्टिलु \( n. \)

**" (active) "** सोडिला \( m., \) सोडिली \( f., \) सोडिलु \( n. \)

**G. Pl.** क्रेछिला \( m., \) क्रेछिली \( f., \) क्रेछिला \( n. \)

**M. (neuter) Pl.** सुट्टिला \( m., \) सुट्टिला \( f., \) सुट्टिलु \( n. \)

**" (active) "** सोडिला \( m., \) सोडिला \( f., \) सोडिला \( n. \)

---

**B. दीखिल, in Old-B. दीखिला (only used as a tense combined with अस), दीखिले “having seen.”**

**O. दीखिल (the same), दीखिले id.**

The Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi has also an indeclinable past participle मार्क, in some districts also मारिला, from which it forms a tense.

Here the junction vowel varies much. In B. O. and the active of M. it is रू. In G., on the other hand, it is उ, while in the neuter of M. it is आ. M. has a long string of verbs, both active and neuter, with the junction vowel आ; some of these are causals by origin, as पट "flee," p.p. पट्टिला, for पलाआला (as in B. and O. पलाआल). Others, again, owe the long vowel to a Skr. आ, as उड "fly," p.p. उड़ा, Skr. उड़ूप्पित \( \sqrt{} \text{उ+ड} \) डी. Others are denominatives, as दै "be dazzled," दैपाला, Skr. दैपालित; there are, however, some which I am not able to explain on any of the above grounds. The list comprises about thirty verbs only, and in twenty-five of them participles, with the junction vowel आ, are also in use.

The usual explanation of this form in इ is that it is derived from the Skr. p.p.p. in इता, through Pr. इदो, by change of \( \text{द} \) to \( \text{ा} \), and thence to ल. The change is undoubtedly possible as far as ल and ल are concerned, or as far as त and द are concerned; but the change from द to ल is a great stumbling-block. The great authority of Lassen (p. 363) is usually quoted in
support of this view, but even he cannot avoid being struck by the coincidence between this and the Slavonic preterites in l.

As regards the change from टू to ठू, it is observable that it only occurs in those Skr. preterites which contain a cerebral. Thus च्वत बक बक (Mr. 270). Here, however, there was evidently a form कर्त्त = कद्ध = कह, so that there is no question of a ठू at all. So also in बवव for अपूर्त = अपरतः = अपरत = अपर (Mr. 227). The only other instance known to me is गड़े for गत (Mr. 276), but here we may fairly assume a false analogy with कढ़े = कहः. So widespread a form as the modern participle in l must rest upon some firmer proof than the rare examples given above.

I am disposed to think that we have in this participle the survival of an ancient form which has not been preserved in classical Sanskrit, nor in the written Prakrits. Perhaps (but here I tread on ground somewhat beyond my own domain) that type of the passive past in Skr. which ends in न or ख may be the classical representative of this ancient form; thus we have from स्तू “cut,” सूत, from स्तिद् “clease,” स्तित; and in some roots both forms, that in त and that in न, stand side by side, thus स्तू “fill,” makes पूत्ति and पूर्ति; स्तू “push,” सूत and सूतः.

Even in the Slavonic languages, however, the characteristic l of the preterite is thought to have arisen from an original ठ, and that again from ठ.\(^1\) If this be so, we have here an ancient change which took place before the separation of the various members of the Indo-European family, and not a mere local corruption confined to Indian ground. In Russian the preterite is a participle with forms for gender, thus from तूलत् “to make,” pret. sing. dielal’ m., dielalaśdielalo n., pl. dielali mfn.\(^2\)

In Servian the same form occurs, трё “to shake,” has—

Sing. трéсao m., трéсla f., трéсло n.
Pl. трéсли m., трéсле f., трéсла n.

\(^1\) Rapp, Verbal-organismus, vol. i. p. 99.
\(^2\) Reiff, Russ. Grammar, p. 97; Rapp, vol. i. 137.
Compare Marathi—

Sing. tràsalà, tràsalî, tràsalê.
Pl. tràsale, tràsalyâ, tràsali

from चासिः "to trouble." The similarity is striking, and seems to be more than a mere accidental coincidence. Moreover, the connection between this Slavonic l and n is shown in more than one instance. Thus, the Russian verb has from nes "to drag" a pret. past sing. nesén m., neséna f., neseno n., pl. neseny. The same form occurs in the Czech.

But we are getting beyond bounds. The comparison is attractive, and, if there were time to study the Slavonic languages as well as the Indian, might perhaps be worked out to some conclusive result. All that can be said at present is that two groups of the same family have a preterite in l, and that there may be some connection between the two; while, on the other hand, the derivation of this preterite from a past participle in t seems strained and ill-supported as regards the Indian group, and if true for the Slavonic group, must have occurred a long while ago, before the separation of the families, and has strangely failed to leave any traces of itself in the most important language of the Indian group in its most cultivated stage.

§ 46. Let us turn to matters more within our scope. The passive past participle is the only part of the modern verb which affords an exception to the general rule of the unchangeableness of the stem-syllable. Each one of the modern languages has a few such participles, which, being derived from the Prakrit developments of the Skr. p.p.p., differ from their respective verbal stems, which latter are derived generally from the form of the root used in the present tense. These early Tadbhava participles, as they may justly be called, are most numerous in Sindhi. Trumpp gives (p. 273) a list of no
less than 140 of them, a number which far exceeds that to be found in any other of the languages. They owe their existence chiefly to the omission in Skr. of the intermediate र, so that the affix ि of the p.p.p. is added directly to the root, and when this root ends in a consonant, there arises a strong or mixed nexus, which in Prakrit has to be dealt with according to the ordinary phonetic laws. Sometimes, as we saw in § 14, the stem of the verb itself is entirely borrowed from the p.p.p., and in that case the modern participle does not differ from the rest of the verb; but when the ordinary stem is derived from the older present, and only the participle from the old p.p.p., the two differ so much that it is difficult at first sight to recognize the connection between them.

The verbs given in § 19 have mostly old Tadbhava participles, and it is through these participles that the clue is found to the derivation of the verb. Thus—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEM.</th>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>P.P.P.</th>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>PR.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>बन्ध्य “be bound”</td>
<td>वंभू</td>
<td>बन्ध्यo (quasi वंधित बन्ध्यo)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बंध्य “bind”</td>
<td></td>
<td>बंध्यo</td>
<td>बंध्य</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुञ्छ “be heard”</td>
<td>वुञ्छ</td>
<td>बुञ्छo</td>
<td>बुञ्छ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुञ्छ “hear”</td>
<td></td>
<td>बुञ्छo</td>
<td>बुञ्छ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रञ्घ “be cooked”</td>
<td>रञ्घ</td>
<td>रञ्घo</td>
<td>रञ्घ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रञ्घ “cook”</td>
<td></td>
<td>रञ्घo</td>
<td>रञ्घ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लञ्घ “get”</td>
<td>लञ्घo</td>
<td>लञ्घ</td>
<td>लञ्घ</td>
<td>लञ्घo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लञ्घ “be got”</td>
<td></td>
<td>लञ्घ</td>
<td>लञ्घ</td>
<td>लञ्घo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लञ्घ “be milked”</td>
<td>लञ्घ</td>
<td>लञ्घ</td>
<td>लञ्घ</td>
<td>लञ्घo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लञ्घ “milk”</td>
<td></td>
<td>लञ्घ</td>
<td>लञ्घ</td>
<td>लञ्घo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लञ्घ “torment”</td>
<td>लञ्घo</td>
<td>लञ्घ</td>
<td>लञ्घ</td>
<td>लञ्घo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लञ्घ “break”</td>
<td></td>
<td>लञ्घ</td>
<td>लञ्घ</td>
<td>लञ्घo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>यञ्घ “be fried”</td>
<td>यञ्घo</td>
<td>यञ्घ</td>
<td>यञ्घ</td>
<td>यञ्घo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>यञ्घ “fry”</td>
<td></td>
<td>यञ्घ</td>
<td>यञ्घ</td>
<td>यञ्घo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Analogy of
### The Participial Tenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>चिन्त “be broken”</td>
<td>√चिन्त</td>
<td>चिन्तनो</td>
<td>चिन्त</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चिन “break”</td>
<td>चिन</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुन “be heard”</td>
<td>चुन</td>
<td>सुन्त्रो</td>
<td>सुन</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुन “hear”</td>
<td>चुन</td>
<td>सुन्त्रो</td>
<td>सुन्त</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कह “raise”</td>
<td>खान्त</td>
<td>खान्त</td>
<td>खान्त</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कु़ “kill”</td>
<td>कु़</td>
<td>कु़तो</td>
<td>कु़</td>
<td>कु़</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कृत “be killed”</td>
<td>कृत</td>
<td>कृतो</td>
<td>कृत</td>
<td>कृत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गह “rub”</td>
<td>गाँठ</td>
<td>गाँठो</td>
<td>गाँठ</td>
<td>गाँठ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गस “be rubbed”</td>
<td>गाँठ</td>
<td>गाँठो</td>
<td>गाँठ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कु़ “touch”</td>
<td>कु़</td>
<td>कु़तो</td>
<td>कु़</td>
<td>कु़</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कृ “be touched”</td>
<td>कृ</td>
<td>कृतो</td>
<td>कृत</td>
<td>कृ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The exact coincidence of these participles with the Sanskrit and Prakrit confirms the derivation of the verbal stems given in § 19. There are many others equally instructive as retaining the Prakrit form; thus, for instance, we can explain the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>सिंब “smear,”</td>
<td>√सिप</td>
<td>सिपन</td>
<td>सिप</td>
<td>सिप</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तप “warm,”</td>
<td>तप</td>
<td>ततो</td>
<td>तत</td>
<td>तत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुकृ “sleep,”</td>
<td>खाप</td>
<td>सुतो</td>
<td>सुत</td>
<td>सुत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पा “get,”</td>
<td>प्राप</td>
<td>पातो</td>
<td>पात</td>
<td>पात [?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आण “bring,”</td>
<td>आण</td>
<td>आन्तो</td>
<td>आन</td>
<td>आन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ह “weep,”</td>
<td>हदू</td>
<td>हतो</td>
<td>हद</td>
<td>हद</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So also the origin of उधनु “wipe out,” is obscure, till we look at the p.p.p. उधनो, which leads to Skr. उध, and then we see that ughanu is for ughanam = udgharshaṇam. The participles in this similarly explain themselves, as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>द्रिश “see,”</td>
<td>द्रष्ट</td>
<td>द्रिठी</td>
<td>द्रष</td>
<td>द्रिठी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वस “rain,”</td>
<td>वृष्ण</td>
<td>वृठो, वृठो, वृठो</td>
<td>वृष</td>
<td>वृठ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*Note: The translations and explanations are based on the English language, with Sanskrit and Prakrit participles and glosses. Each entry includes the stem (S.), Skr., P.P.P., Skr., and Pr. columns for the participles.*
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

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S. SKR. S. P.P.P. SKR. PR.
पित्र, पेट्र “enter,” √प्रविध् पिठो पिठो (H. पेट्र) पिठो
विच् “sit,” √उपविध् वेठो उपविध् उविठो (H. वेठ) उविठो
पीस “grind,” √पिष् पिठो पिष् पिठो पिठो
तुस “be pleased,” √तुष् तुठो तुष् तुठो तुठो

The next three words have old Tadbhava participles in almost all the languages of this group:

दिद्रपु “give,” p.p.p. दिनो, Pr. दिशो. दिद्रपु “do,” कीतो, किछो, कयो, Skr. हत, Pr. किचो, see करु under H.

मरु “die,” मौ, मुचो, Skr. मृत, Pr. मुचो.

Another class is composed of denominatives or neuter verbs with the causal type दम (§ 28). These are

Infin. घोष “to boil over,” p.p.p घोषो
   ,, घोष “to be extinguished,” घोषो
   ,, घोष “to fly,” घोषो
   ,, घोष “to decrease,” घोषो
   ,, घोष “to be burnt,” घोषो
   ,, विसामु “to be extinguished,” विसामो
   ,, विकामु “to be sold,” विकामो

There is, as already mentioned, considerable obscurity as to the derivation of these words: उदामानु is, however, certainly from Skr. उद-द्य, p.p.p. दिना; उहामानु perhaps from Skr. उत-क्षी, p.p.p. क्षीणा; विकामानु from Skr. विक्रि, p.p.p., however, not क्रिा, but क्रिता. On the analogy of those verbs whose p.p.p. ended in ना, may have been formed the modified p.p. in ना for all verbs of the class, regardless of the fact that in the classical language the causal p.p. would end in अपिता, e.g. स्थापिता. In
Hindi, also, stems ending in दः take this p.p. in नो in the poets as फिरा, p.p. फिरानो, or apocopated न, as रिसा p.p. रिसान.

The above remarks explain nearly half the words in Trumpp's list, for the rest the uncertainty is too great to admit of satisfactory explanation. Trumpp, for instance, would derive झार्पू "to satisfy," and झारपू "to be satisfied," from Skr. दृष्ट, तपति, but the p.p. झार्च्रो can hardly represent तृष्ण. Others again there are whose p.p. is intelligible, while the infinitive is not. जुते "engaged" (in work) explains itself by Skr. जुक, Pr. जुचो, clearly enough, but its infinitive should be जुजहा or जुजहा (Pa. जुजजति). Whence then comes it that the infinitive is जुजहा? So also rudho "busily employed" is clearly Skr. रुद्ध (रुद्र), one form of the infinitive रुजहा is regularly derived from Skr. रुजहते, but what are we to say to another form रुब्रहा or रुब्रहा?

Panjabi has several of the same early Tadbhava participles as Sindhi, and a few of its own. The total number, however, is much smaller than in Sindhi. The commonest are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>P.P.</th>
<th>Skr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>करना</td>
<td>किदा</td>
<td>झूता (dialectically also कीटा).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जाना</td>
<td>सिथा, गदा</td>
<td>गात (also जाया = Skr. यात).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जाना</td>
<td>बाना</td>
<td>वात.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>देखना</td>
<td>दिह्ना</td>
<td>दृष्ट (also दिह्ना more Sindhico).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>देखा</td>
<td>दिया, दिया</td>
<td>द्र.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लेखा</td>
<td>लीता, लीता</td>
<td>लब्ध, instead of classical लब्ध.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वर्षा</td>
<td>वर्षा</td>
<td>वृद्ध.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खाना</td>
<td>खाधा</td>
<td>खाधित.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पीछा</td>
<td>पिछा</td>
<td>पतित, Sindhi id. through पद्ध्रो.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बन्धा</td>
<td>बंध</td>
<td>ब्रद.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पंक्ताना</td>
<td>पंक्ता</td>
<td>परिच्छन्न? H. परि.च्छाना.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सिचा</td>
<td>सीता</td>
<td>सेवित.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सीता</td>
<td>सूता</td>
<td>सुत्र.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.P.</td>
<td>SKR.</td>
<td>PR.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पढ़ चशा &quot;arrive,&quot;</td>
<td>पढ़तो, पढ़ो</td>
<td>करिश्चो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रिंभशा &quot;cook,&quot;</td>
<td>रिंभा</td>
<td>कर्मं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विस्राह्वा &quot;marry,&quot;</td>
<td>विस्राह्वतो</td>
<td>विस्राह्वती</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कहिंशा &quot;say,&quot;</td>
<td>कहिंशा</td>
<td>कहिंशत.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रहिंशा &quot;remain,&quot;</td>
<td>रहिंशा</td>
<td>रहिंशत.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the two last the र has leapt over into the preceding syllable, and kihâ, rihiâ, are for kahiâ, rahihâ, respectively. The above list nearly, if not quite, exhausts the early Tadbhava participles of Panjabi, and Hindi influence is already at work in favour of the ordinary type.

§ 47. Gujarati has, like Panjabi, a smaller number of these participles than Sindhi.
In the instances of *kidho, bihidho, khadho, bidho*, and *didho*, we have probably formations based on the analogy of *lidho*, for the exception of *bidho*, which may owe its *dh* to a combination of the *h* and *d* of Pr. *vihido*, there is no older form which would yield *dh*. The origin of these forms will be more fully inquired into under Hindi, where they are well illustrated.

So far does the original meaning of these participles appear to have been obscured, that from them a participle ending in *elo* is also formed, and they say *kidhelo, didhelo*, and the like, where the participial element occurs twice. The ordinary verb having two forms of participle, one in *yo*, the other in *elo*, the verbs in the above list were bound to have them also, and instead of adding *elo* to the stem, and making *karelo, lielo*, it has been added to the already formed early Tadbhava participle.

There appears to be a slight difference in meaning between the two forms of the Gujarati past participle, that in *elo* being somewhat more emphatic than that in *yo*. Thus *हे आयो छुँ* "I am come," but *हे आविलो छुँ* "I am come," (emphatically).

Marathi has early Tadbhava participles, and it has others, which are accounted irregular by the grammarians from other causes. The former are not numerous, and are chiefly found in the same stems as in the other languages. Thus we have—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>P.P.P.</th>
<th>Marathi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>जा “go,”</td>
<td>प.प.प. नेळा</td>
<td>जा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चे “come,”</td>
<td>” आबा</td>
<td>चे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मर “die,”</td>
<td>” मेळा</td>
<td>मर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ले “take” (wear),</td>
<td>” खाबा</td>
<td>ले</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कर “do,”</td>
<td>” केळा</td>
<td>कर</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Stems ending in य exhibit त in the participle, as

खण्ड “dig,”  p.p.p. खट्ता
स्वरण “speak,”  ” स्वरण
हायण “slay,” ” हाट्या

The explanation of these words is apparently to be found in a contraction of syllables; thus Skr. √खण्ड “dig” forms regularly p.p.p. खात, but the न being changed to य in Prakrit, a p.p.p. खण्डत would be legitimately formed, whence खण्ड, to which, forgetful of the fact that this is already a participle, M. adds its own participial termination या, and by rejection of the nasal arrives at खट्ता. So also √भण्ड, p.p.p. भण्डत, whence भण्ड and भण्ड + या. Skr. ह्रण has p.p.p. ह्रत, but a Pr. form ह्रणत would be, and is, used, whence ह्रण, and the stem-vowel having been lengthened, हात + या.

To a similar retention of the न of the Skr. p.p.p. may be attributed the following, though the etymology is in some cases very obscure:

देचे “take,”  देचेत्या “taken.”
धु “washed,”  धुत्या “washed.”
बच “see,”  बच्या “seen.”
माग “ask,”  मागित्या “asked.”
सोंग “tell,”  सोंगित्या “told.”
घाळ घाल “put,”  घालत्या “put.”
खा “eat,”  खाया “eaten.”

In § 15 it was shown that Pr. inserts त in forms like ghettum, ghettuna, which may be a retention of त in grihita. In the next four words on the list there seems to be a double participle, as in G. kidehelo, etc. The origin of घाल is unknown to me, it looks like an early causal of देचे take. In खा the p.p. is apparently a contraction of खाद्यत्या, Skr. खाद्यत.
§ 48. Hindi has very few of these participles. In the classical language only the following are in use:

करना “do,” किया “done.”
मरना “die,” मृत्रा “dead.”
लेना “take,” लिया “taken.”
देना “give,” दिया “given.”
जाना “go,” गया “gone.”

All the other verbs in the language form this participle from the common stem used in all the other tenses, though in the mediaeval poets some of the old Tadbhava participles are found, as दीठन “seen,” तुझन “pleased,” (तुश्न) in Chand. The three verbs kar, le, and de, however, have several peculiar forms in Old-ह, and in the mediaeval poets, which are still heard in some of the rustic dialects. There are three parallel forms:

कर has i. कीयौ or कियौ. ii. कीनौ or किनौ. iii. कीघौ or किघौ.
दे ” i. दीयौ or दियौ. ii. दीनौ or दिनौ. iii. दीघौ or दिघौ.
ले ” i. लीयौ or लियौ. ii. लीनौ or लिनौ. iii. लीघौ or लिघौ.

The curious thing about these three verbs is that every two of them have borrowed a form peculiar to the third. For kiyau is properly the participle of kar, Skr. छत, Pr. छिद्रौ and कियौ. It has been borrowed by le and de. So dinau belongs to de, Skr. द्न्त, Pa. and Pr. दिखौ, and has been borrowed by kar and le. Also didhau belongs to le, Skr. लभ, Pa. and Pr. लघौ, and has been borrowed by kar and de. We cannot get kinau or kidhau phonetically from √ छ, nor diyau and didhau from √ द्न, nor liyau and linau from √ लभ, without forcing etymology. These three verbs are so constantly used together, and fall in so conveniently for rhymes in the poets, that it is not surprising that, in the general decay and confusion of forms out of which the modern languages sprung, they should have borrowed from one another. To begin with
our oldest author, Chand, कियी, लियी, and दियी, all occur frequently, with the first vowel both long and short, and the final vowel occasionally cut off if it happens to be in the way of the metre. क्या कियी चंद्रीह || “The girl made lamentation” (Pr. R. i. 171). It is long in

कियी तब चित चिही दिस ||
“She then made reflection on all sides.”—xx. 20.

कियी चचन की साज ||
“He made preparation for going.”—xx. 28.

Apocopated, as दीय and कीय in

गढ पतिक गढ भार दीय ||

पूरब दिस तन गमन कीय ||

“He entrusted the fort to the castellan,
Made a going to the eastern country.”—xx. 29.

कीय सब बोलि बंब बच्चिय ||

“Took all shouting and playing on drums.”—ib.

A form with a occurs for le and de only, as लची विप्र गुर वोज || “Took Brahmans and gurus, saying” (ib. 20), and द्र जु क्या चचन घर || “When the maiden gave her troth to the bridegroom” (ib. 22).

Commonest by far is the second form with either long or short vowel, in the latter case generally with doubling of the following consonant, and very frequently with the last vowel apocopated. Of these types that with the double consonant is nearest to the Prakrit, and thus presumably the oldest, the rejection of one consonant and lengthening of the preceding vowel is a later feature. In Chand, however, there is no distinction between the two; so that one rhymes with the other, as in

गैर महल प्रियराज सबी सबका रस दिसनव ||

कुसम पटा सिर पाग लाग कंद्रप रस कीनव ||

“In his private apartments Prithiraj dallied with his wives and attendants,
In saffron robes and turbanned head he made the sport of love.”

—xxi. 22.
So also जूट धरति निधि जिन्नव "having plundered the land, he has taken treasure" (xxi. 89). In this passage the preceding line ends with विन्नव. (In Hindi av=au, so kinnav is to be read kinnau, etc.)

विन्नवित वरं जगन निधि नारिँद "
"Smiling the king accepted the espousal."—xx. 23.

सहस घट्ट सिव उपर कीनी "
तीन उपास नैंम तब कीनी "
"He poured (gave) a thousand jars over Śiva, Then he took a vow to fast three (days)."—i. 189.

See also the quotation at p. 268 of Vol. II.
Instances of the apocopated form occur chiefly at the end of a line; as

दस कोस जाय सुक्काम कीन "
विच गाम नगर पुर जूट कीन "
"Having gone ten kos he made a halt, Villages and towns between he plundered."—i. 208.

परिमाल जुढ़ पर डाकम दीन "
"Parimal gave the order for fighting."—xxi. 5.

The third form is more frequently found with de, to which it least of all belongs, and has an additional termination iyā sometimes attached to it, as

दान मान घन दिनिय "
"He gave gifts and honours abundant."—i. 342.

In this passage it rhymes with जिन्नव, which ought perhaps to be read जिन्नव "having taken."

There is an instance of the natural change into the palatal in

सगरी जाव जाय बंध जिन्नव "
आलहा उद्दल उतरन न दिनिय "
"Carts and boats he went and stopped; Ālhā and Udal he suffered not to alight."—xxi. 86.
for हिंदी and दिन्दी respectively. This latter occurs frequently, in a slightly altered shape—

बर दीघी धूँढा चरिद ॥

“Dhundhā gave a blessing to the king.”—i. 305.

प्रिचिराज ताहि दो देस दिच ॥

“Prithirāj gave him two provinces.”—ib. 307.

All three types may be found repeatedly throughout the poem. In later times, as in Tulsi Das and in Braj poetry generally, these verbs take the forms नीन्नी, कोन्नी, and दीन्नी, and the last syllable is occasionally apocopated as in Chand. Thus Tulsi Das—

एहि विचिद द्राह चिया सब कोन्नी ॥

विचिनवत नहाइ तिकाकुजिर दीन्नी ॥

“In this way he performed all the ceremony of cremation,
Having duly bathed, he presented the offering of sesamum.”

—Ay-k. 894.

मोहि उपदेस दीन्नि गुर नीका ॥

“The guru hath given me good advice.”—ib. 928.

तै कत नीन्न संग कतवार ॥

“Then why has he taken an army with him?”—ib. 982.

The above examples may suffice for these special types, which have no analogy with other preterites in H. Oriya and Bengali have few such forms, for O. मला and कला are merely contractions of मरिला and करिला, from मर “die,” and कर “do,” respectively. From जा “go,” O. गला, B. चेल, is about the only real old Tadbhava in those two languages.

§ 49. The participial tenses formed from the past participle are analogous to those from the present. In ordinary Hindi the participle itself is used as a past tense, without any relic of the substantive verb; it will have been noticed that in all the passages quoted in the last section, the participle must be translated as a preterite, and this is the case in the modern language,
both for active and neuter verbs, as bolā “he said,” kiyā “he did.” In the mediæval poets, however, and to this day in the rustic dialects of Oudh and the eastern Hindi area, there exists a preterite with terminations retaining traces of the incorporation of the old substantive verb. Before these terminations the long ā and ī of the p.p. masculine and feminine are shortened, and the vowel of the masculine is often replaced by e. Thus we have (mār “strike”)—

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<tr>
<th>Sing. 1</th>
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<th>3.</th>
<th>Pl. 1</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m. मार</td>
<td>मार</td>
<td>मार</td>
<td>मारिनिः</td>
<td>मारिक</td>
<td>मारिनिः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. मारिंद</td>
<td>मारिंड</td>
<td>मारिउ</td>
<td>मारिनिः</td>
<td>मारिक</td>
<td>मारिनिः</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also in m. मारिंद, etc. In the sing. 2, 3, the syllable सि is often added, as मारिसि, and varied into हि, as मारिहि m., मारिसि, मारिहि/f. Thus चबिंद हरि हिंद धरि रघुनाथा “he went rejoicing, holding in his heart Raghunâtha” (Tulsi Das, Ram. Sund-k. 4), देविंद नयन राम कर दूता “I have seen with my eyes the messenger of Ram” (ib. 12). Tulsi does not observe the gender very closely, if at all,—पुनि परीह्रेव सुखानि उ परि “Again she gave up even dry leaves” (Bal-k. 155), यूढिसि लोगन काह उकाह “She asked the people, why is this rejoicing?” (Ay-k. 87). But the feminine is kept in प्रियवादिनि सिय द्रोहिंद तोहि “The flatteress has given instruction to (has prompted) thee” (Ay-k. 101). The type ending in si, though used for both 2 and 3 sing., more strictly belongs, I think, to 2 sing. from Skr. asi; but in this tense the traces of the substantive verb are so much abraded that it is difficult to speak with certainty about them. The following handful of instances, taken at hazard from one page of the Sundara-kânda of Tulsi’s work, will show the various senses in which this affix is used: खाएि फल वह विटप उपारे “He eats the fruit, and tears up the bushes” (S-k. 40), कहु मारिसि कहु मतेसि कहुक मलायेवि िरि “Some he slew, some he trampled under foot, some he caused to mix with the dust,” कह लांखिम कवन तें
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

कीसा। केिहि के वल घालिसि वन खीसा। कीहि अरवण सुनेसि नहि मोहि। सा। मारिसि निशिचिर केिहि अधराधा। “Saith the lord of Lanka, who art thou, and what? By whose strength hast thou torn to pieces the forest, hast thou never heard of my fame, ... for what fault hast thou killed the demons?” (ib.) Panjabi throws no light on the subject, as it does not use this form, but employs the participle simply as a tense, as mā, tā, uh māriā, “I, thou, he, smote.” Indeed, to such an extent in H. and P. has this custom of using the bare participle as a preterite tense prevailed, that it cannot now be used in any other sense, and if we wish to say “smitten,” we must not use H. mārā or P. māriā alone, but must add the participle of the modern substantive verb, and say H. mārā hād, P. māriā hoā. The only trace in P. of the old substantive verb is to be found in a dialectic form which I have often heard, though it does not seem to be used in writing, as कीतोस “he did,” which is probably to be referred to S. कीतोस। The grammarians, however, suppose that kītos is in some way a metathesis of us ne kita, so that kīta + us = kītos. The instrumental, however, of uh “he,” is not us ne, but un; us ne is Hindi, and would hardly have been resorted to in the formation of a pure dialectic type like this. Moreover, in the 1 plural we have such expressions as खांद्रिसां, which is evidently khānde + ’sā, for usā = asināh.

Different from modern, but strikingly similar to mediæval, Hindi in this respect is Sindhi, which does not employ the participle singly as a preterite, but, except in the 3 sing. and pl., has relics of the substantive verb incorporated with it, thus (hal “go”)—

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<th>PL. 1</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m. हृतिउसि हृतिउए हृतिउबो हृतिउआसि हृतिउउ हृतिउआ</td>
<td>हृतिउउसि हृतिउउबो हृतिउउआसि हृतिउउउ हृतिउउआ</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>f. हृतिउबसि हृतिउबए हृतिउबो हृतिउबआसि हृतिउबउ हृतिउबआ</td>
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By comparing these terminations with those of the S. future,
which is based upon the present participle (§ 41), it will be seen that they are absolutely identical, thus:

- halandu -si corresponds to haliu -si.
- halandia -si    "    halia -si.
- halandâ -sî    "    haliâ -sî.
- halandiû -sî    "    haliû -sî.

etc.

and the terminations may, in the case of the preterite, therefore, as well as in that of the future, be referred to the old Skr. verb as in various degrees of decay.

Marathi exhibits the same analogy between the present and the preterite; to its p.p. in ला m., ली f., ले n., etc., it adds the same terminations as to the present p. in ता m., ती f., ते n., etc. Thus

Sing. 1. सुंभो m., सुंभि f., सुंभो n.
  2. सुंभास m., सूंभि f., सूंभेय n.
  3. सुंभा m., सूंभि f., सूंभेय n.

Pl.  1. सुंभो m.f. n.
   2. सुंभां id.
   3. सुंभि m. सूंभि f., सूंभे न.

The forms exactly agree with those of the present, as will be seen by turning to § 42. There is no conditional as in the present. When it desires to use this form in an adjectival sense, M., having apparently forgotten its originally participial nature, adds another एला, thus we get मेंलि जनावर “a dead animal,” काकीता पुष्प “a made (i.e. experienced) man.” The fact so well established for S. and M. may help us to understand, if we cannot fully explain, the preterites of O. and B., which are formed in the same way. From a p.p. देखिला, O. constructs a preterite, thus—

Sing. 1. देखिलङ्  2. देखिलङ  3. देखिलङ,  
Pl.  1. देखिलङ्ग  2. देखिलङ  3. देखिलङ,
where the terminations correspond exactly with those of the conditional, which is similarly formed from the present participle.

Bengali does the same (pace the Pandits), as—

Sing. 1. দেখিয়া 2. দেখিল 3. দেখিল।
Pl. 1. দেখিয়াম 2. দেখিল 3. দেখিলি।

Here the 3 sing. has also দেখিলি with a final ক, as in the imperative and future, concerning which see § 53. The 1 sing. in নু is frequently heard in speaking, and is very common in the old poets, as চরণপদ পেখনু রামা “I saw the fair one looking woe-begone” (Bidyapati, vii. 1), where some read পেখনু।

In Gujarati the participle is used alone as a preterite in both forms, that in গো and that in এলো, but more frequently a modern substantive verb is added for greater clearness. This language has no traces of the old incorporated Sanskrit as.

§ 50. In the past tenses of all but B. and O. the prayogas or constructions mentioned in Vol. II. p. 264, are employed. In most of the languages, indeed, their use is restricted to the past tenses. The direct or kartा prayoga is used with neuter verbs, and requires the subject to be in the nominative case, while the participle, which does duty for a preterite, changes with the gender of the speaker. Thus

H. বহ বোঝা “he spoke,” বে বলে “those men spoke.”
বহ বোঝী “she spoke,” বে লোঝী “those women spoke.”

So, also, in P. S. and G. In M. the principle is the same, though there is more variety of forms:

তো মহত্বা “he said,” তে মহতি “Illi dixerunt.”
তী মহত্বী “she said,” ত্বা মহত্বা “illa dixerunt.”
তে মহতি “it said,” তী মহত্তী “illa dixerunt.”

And so through all the persons except 1 and 2 plural, where no
distinction of gender is necessary, as the speaker is known. In the active verb, however, the karma or objective construction is used, where the subject is put in the instrumental, the verb agreeing in number and gender with the object. Thus, H. 

\[ \text{मैं ने तुम से बड़े कठोर वचन कही हैं} \] "I have spoken very harsh words to you" (Sak. 33). Here the subject maṅ ne is in the instrumental, the verb kahe hañ is masc. plural, to agree with the object vachan. 

\[ \text{देव ने वैसा ही जोग मिला दिया} \] (ib. 39) "Destiny has joined just such a joining" (has brought about such a marriage).

So also in M. the p.p. is declined for all three genders in both numbers so as to agree with the object, as व्याचि, पोठी, वाचिले "he read the book," where vāchili is fem. sing., to agree with pothī. In M. and S. many verbs are both active and neuter, in which case the preterite has a double construction, direct or kartu when the verb is used as a neuter, objective or karma when it is used as an active. So also in G. The distinction appertains to syntax, and not to formlore, and need not be more than mentioned here.

There is also a third or impersonal construction technically known as bhāva, in which the object is not expressed, and the verb, therefore, remains always in the neuter. In M., however, this construction is used even when the object is expressed, as व्याचि बाजा मारिले "he beat him," literally "by him to him beaten."

§ 51. The participle of the future passive, which in Sanskrit ends in तथ, plays an important part in the modern verb in some languages. It does not, like the two previously noticed participles, form modern participles, but rather various kinds of verbal nouns, such as in Latin grammar we are familiar with under the names of gerunds and supines, also the infinitive. The Latin gerund itself is, however, closely allied to the participle of the future passive, for amandi, amando, amandum, are
respectively the genitive, dative, and accusative of *amandus*. There is, therefore, a participial nature inherent in these forms which justifies their inclusion in the present chapter. The Skr. *tavya* becomes in Pr. *daava*, and with elision of the *d, avva*. Thus Skr. वोधितब्ब, Pr. वोधिद्रब्ब, वोधिच्रब्ब. So also Pr. करिद्रब्ब, करिच्रब्ब, which must be referred to a Sanskrit form करितव्य rather than to the classical form करचव्य, for Prakrit, as mentioned before, generally takes no heed of Sanskrit subtleties about inserting or omitting the intermediate र, but treats all verbs alike, as if that letter were inserted, and it naturally gives the type to its modern descendants in all cases.

The treatment of the form so inherited from the Prakrit differs in the various languages, both in form and meaning.

Sindhi uses it as a present passive participle ending in *ibo*, Pr. जरिचबरी, losing the *a* and the first *v* of the suffix, becomes करिवो, meaning “being done.” The transition from the original sense of “that which is to be (or must be) done,” into “that which is being done,” is simple and natural. Examples are—

बुसाटफु “to choke,”
बुसाटिबो “being choked.”
ढोहु “to cheat,”
ढोहिबो “being cheated.”
झलफु “to seize.”
झलिबो “being seized.”

Gujarati differs from Sindhi in rejecting the र and retaining the च, thus making करवो “being done,” as कोडवो *m.*, चो./*f.*, डु *n.*, etc., “being loosed;” लाववो, however, means “bringing,” where the sense has become active. The neuter of this form does duty as an infinitive, as जवु “to go,” of which more hereafter.

In Marathi the vowel preceding the *vv* is lengthened, and one *v* rejected, giving a form करवङ्ग, which is the same for active and neuter verbs. The meaning, to judge by the

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1 Trumpp, p. 54.
examples quoted, has also changed, for although properly the same as in the older languages, “that which has to be done,” it is used in constructions where it implies “the doing” of a thing only. It takes all three genders, and is commonly used also in the genitive and dative cases करावाचि and करावचास, or करावस. Thus ने मी करावचास सिंध आहि “I am ready to do that” (i.e. “to the doing of”), आपणाची काही बोलावचि आहि “I have something to say to you,” i.e. “with you something of that which must be said I am.” Thus it approximates somewhat to the infinitive of G., as in the following passage:

न कराव संग। वाटे दुरावचि जग॥
सेवावा एकांत। वाटे व बोलावी मात॥
जन धन तन। वाटे लेखावं वमन॥

“It is proper not to associate, to be separated from the world;
It is proper to preserve solitude, not to speak at all;
People, wealth, self it is proper to consider as vomit.”
—Tukaram. Abh. 1885.

Here राते (Skr. रचते) means “it seems,” i.e. “it seems proper,” like Latin decet, oportet, licet, used impersonally, and the participle agrees with the object. Thus सांग and एकांत being masc., the participles are masc. करवा and सेवा; मात (Skr. माता) being fem., बोलावि is fem. also; जग, वमन neut., hence दुरावचेन, लेखावेन neut. The original meaning of a passive participle may be exhibited by supposing the sentence to be “society is not to be made . . . this seems proper,” which is easily inverted into the rendering given above.

When used in the genitive or dative case, the व sometimes drops out, and they say, for instance, आश्वस देशांतरी जावचि पडेल “We shall have to go to another country,” for जावचि, literally “to us in another country of going it will fall.” Latin would here use the corresponding passive participle, Nobis eundum erit, or Skr. gantavyam asti.

Punjabi has apparently no trace left of this participle, nor
has classical Hindi, but in rustic Hindi, especially in the eastern parts of its area, as well as in Bengali and Oriya, this participle exists. In Bhojpuri it ends in वे or वे, without any junction-vowel, and means the doing of anything, as सुनवे न कैलन sunbe na kailan, “they did not make a hearing,” i.e. “they would not listen,” मानवि न कारिहि मानवे ना कारिहान, “they will not make an obeying,” i.e. “they will not obey.”\(^1\) It is more emphatic than a simple preterite or future, and implies that the persons referred to obstinately refused to hear or obey.

In B. and O. it is a simple infinitive, but as a noun is declined in all cases, thus B. O. दीर्घिचा “to see,” genitive दीर्घिचार “of seeing,” etc. As a noun, it also implies the act of doing anything, as O. भछड गीत शृंगिचा दोष चौट गाढबा त पाप “the hearing of, or listening to, obscene songs, is a fault, the singing (of them) is a crime” (see § 74).

§ 52. The tenses formed from this participle come next to be considered. In Sindhi the old substantive verb is incorporated, just as in the tenses derived from the present and past participles, but it is used to form a future passive from active verbs only, as (चहड “abandon”), “I shall be abandoned,” etc.

Sing. m. 1. छडवृसि 2. छडविं 3. छडवो
   f. 1. छडविचारसि 2. छडविचिं 3. छडवि
Pl. m. 1. छडवासी 2. छडव उ 3. छडवा
   f. 1. छडविचिंसी 2. छडविचं 3. छडविचं

Here the terminations are precisely identical in every respect with those of the active future and preterite, exhibited in the preceding sections.

In Gujarati this participle used alone, and inflected for

\(^1\) Kellogg, Grammar, p. 231.
gender, constitutes what the grammar-writers are pleased to call the second present of the second potential mood. It is, however, really a construction of the objective, or karma, kind, in which the verb agrees with its object, and the subject or agent is in the instrumental or (as usual in G. in this construction) in the dative; thus they say मारे or में कौड़ियो “I ought to release,” i.e. “by me it is to be released,” तोरे or तें वीशवाश करबे “you ought to have confidence,” i.e. “by thee trust is to be made,” Skr. लया विश्वास: कर्तव्यः.

The genitive case also, oddly enough, forms a tense of its own, also with no trace of the old substantive verb, as कौड़ियां. m., नी f., स् n. The meaning seems hardly, if at all, distinguishable from that of the nominative, and the construction is objective, as in that tense; thus जी काम चामारे करबानु “the work which we ought to do.” I am not altogether satisfied, however, with the explanation of this tense as the genitive of the above participle, and would suggest that it may possibly be derived from the अत्माने. pres. part. in māna, like bhava-māna. It is possible, I think, that though the Ātmanepada has dropped out of use at an early epoch, yet that this participle, not being specially recognized as belonging to that phase of the verb, may, in some dialects, have held its own. From the want of documents of the intermediate period, however, the question is one which must remain, for the present at least, obscure.

Marathi combines the terminations used by it in the indicative present and past, with this participle also, but, from a memory of its origin, employs the tense so formed somewhat in the same way as G., namely, as indicating that a thing ought to be or should be done. From this strict and primary sense other subsidiary meanings branch out, as might be expected. The neuter verb uses the direct or kartā construction, also the bhāva or impersonal; the active uses the karma and bhāva. As it is only in the direct construction that the verb is conjugated
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

for person, it is only in the neuter verb that the verbal terminations occur. Thus (*suit "escape")—

Sing. m. 1. सुताव 2. वास 3. वा Pl. 1. वे 2. वैत 3. वि
  • f. सुतावी वी वी वा वात वा
  n. सुताविं वें वे वीं वीत वी

The 2 plural here differs from the other tenses in preserving a separate form for all three genders, in which the final t recalls the termination of the 2 plural of the Sanskrit optative.

In the active verb with the karma construction, the participle is declined for all three genders of both numbers, but in the nominative case only, and the agent is in the instrumental, thus वां, तू or भागे सोडावा -वी -वं, etc., "I, thou, he, should loose." In both neuter and active, when the bhāva construction is used, the verb stands in the neuter singular with all persons, as सुतावं or सोडावं.

Stevenson (p. 101) distinguishes no less than fourteen different senses of this tense, but the distinctions seem somewhat too finely drawn, and belong rather to the department of conventional usage than to that which deals with the organism and structure of the language.

With a short a preceding the characteristic व, which is all that remains of the participial ending, M. forms a whole potential mood, which may even be looked upon as a separate phase of the verb. Thus*(sod "loose")—

Aorist(Past habitual) मजा सोडवे "I used to be able to loose" (rare),

Present " सोडवते "I can loose,"
Preterite " सोडविं "I could loose" (rare),
Future " सोडविर "I shall be able to loose,"
Imperfect " सोडवत होति "I could have loosed,"
Pluperfect " सोडविं होति "I had been able to have loosed,"


and so on, through all the range of compound tenses. The construction is the Bhâva or impersonal throughout, showing that the form originates from the participle, and is to be literally rendered "by me to be loosed it is, or was," which accounts for the neuter form being used.

§ 53. It is to this place that I would now refer the ba type of the future as used in B. and O., and in the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi. It has been usual to compare these tenses with the Latin future in bo, as amabo, and the comparison is tempting, but, as I now think, delusive. It rests upon the supposition that the b of the termination represents the substantive verb bhû; but to this there are the seemingly fatal objections that bhû, in its modified form of bhava, had from very early times become ho, losing its labial element altogether, and that the present tense bhavâmi, etc., though much changed and worn away in modern times, always retains its characteristic vowel o, sometimes shortened to u or resolved into ua. It is only when an i follows the o, that the combination oi is at times shortened to e, as in O. hebâ=hoibâ.

Judging by the analogy of the cognate languages, it seems that we ought now to see in the B. and O. future the Skr. participle in taryâ, in combination with the present tense of ās. The forms are (dekh, "see")—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B. Sing.</th>
<th>O.</th>
<th>Bhojpuri.</th>
<th>B. Pl.</th>
<th>O.</th>
<th>Bhojpuri.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>०घिब</td>
<td></td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
<td>०घिबि ०बेक्</td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
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<td>०घिबि</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
<td></td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
<td>०घिबि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 3 sing. and 3 pl. of Bhojpuri may be excluded from this
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

group, as they belong to the sa or ha type of the future (§ 35). The dialect of Riwâ has some forms of the ba type, as 2 sing. मारिब्रेस, 1 pl. मारिब्र, मारब्र, and मारिब्रेस, 2 pl. मारिब्रा. The dialect of Oudh (Avadhî) has 1 sing. मारब्रूं, 2 मारिब्रेस, मारब्रे, 1 pl. मारब्र, 2 मारब्रो, and in the old Purbi dialect मारब márab is used for all three persons of both numbers.

There is thus apparent a general tendency to the use of the ba type of future throughout the eastern area of the Aryan territory in India, and it will be seen by comparing either B. or O. terminations of the future with those of the tenses formed by those languages from the present and past participles respectively, that they are almost, if not quite identical. Thus O.—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. dekhant -i</td>
<td>dekhil -i</td>
<td>dekhib -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dekhant -u</td>
<td>dekhil -u</td>
<td>dekhib -u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dekhant -ā</td>
<td>dekhil -ā</td>
<td>dekhib -ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1. dekhant -ā</td>
<td>dekhil -ā</td>
<td>dekhib -ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dekhant -a</td>
<td>dekhil -a</td>
<td>dekhib -a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dekhant -e</td>
<td>dekhil -e</td>
<td>dekhib -e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the analogy of the other languages compels us to see in these terminations abraded fragments of the present tense of as, when combined with the present and past participles, the same process of reasoning leads us to see the same element in combination with the future participle, and the 2 sing. of the Riwâ and Avadhi dialects further confirms this view by having preserved, like Marathi, the characteristic s of the Skr. 2 sing. asi. There is the same agreement of the final vowel in these three tenses of the B. verb, though it is not so accurately preserved as in the more archaic Oriya. Thus B. dekhîb-a does not correspond with dekhît-âm, and dekhil-âm. So, also, B. dekhît-is differs from dekhîl-i and dekhîb-i. There is, however, sufficient general similarity, and the differences consist
mostly in this, that one tense has preserved a more archaic form than the other, thus dekhitām preserves Skr. asmi, Pr. amhi, better than dekhiba, dekhitis preserves the s of asi, while dekhili and dekhibi have rejected it. Thus, while the abrasion of the substantive verb has been carried to so great a pitch in these two languages as almost to obliterate all traces of it, yet, from the general analogy of cognate forms, there is little doubt that we have in the ba future the Skr. participle in tavya. The final k in the 3 sing. of B. is a phenomenon for which I have in vain sought an explanation; the most probable one is, I think, that which considers it merely as a tag, or meaningless addition, but why a tag should have been added to this person merely, and not to others also, remains to be explained.

§ 54. The two remaining types of the future may appropriately be introduced here. They are certainly participial tenses, though not participial in the same sense or on the same plan as the other tenses discussed in this chapter; they are, in fact, exactly the reverse. Whereas, in the other participial tenses, it is the modern stem which is the participle, and the ancient verbal additions are a present tense, in the two types of future, which we shall now examine, the modern stem is a present tense, and the ancient verbal addition is a participle.

The first of the two is the ga type. This consists in adding H. sing. गा m., गी f., pl. गे m., गी f., to the aorist, and the same in P. except the pl.f., which is मँग्र. In the pl.f. H. also ordinarily drops the anuswāra. This type is only found in H. and P. The tense runs thus (sun “hear”), “I will hear,” etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H. Sing. 1.</th>
<th>सुनेगः</th>
<th>2. सुनेगः</th>
<th>3. सुनेगः</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>, Pl. 1.</td>
<td>सुनेगः</td>
<td>2. सुनेगः</td>
<td>3. सुनेगः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Sing. 1.</td>
<td>सुखंगः</td>
<td>2. सुखंगः</td>
<td>3. सुखंगः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>, Pl. 1.</td>
<td>सुखंगः</td>
<td>2. सुखंगः</td>
<td>3. सुखंगः</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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If the reader will compare this example with that of the aorist in § 33, it will be at once apparent that this tense is formed by adding the syllables ġā, ġī, etc., to that tense. Among the Mahomedans of Delhi and other large cities, this form is used even as a present, and one frequently hears such a word as haigā, for hai “it is.” There can be little doubt that this ġā is the Skr. p.p. गत, Pr. गती, गयो, गचो. In H., as mentioned in § 48, the p.p. of jānā “to go,” is gayā m., and this in the mediæval poets is often shortened to ġā. The f. is गते ġate, which easily becomes ġī, so also pl. m. गए becomes ġe. The meaning of the tense is thus, “I have gone (that) I may do,” a construction which recalls our English idiom “I am going to do,” and French “je vais faire.” The participial nature of the affix is shown by its being inflected for gender and number in concord with the agent.

This type seems to be of late origin. It is not much, if at all, known or used by the early writers, who, except when they use the future of the ba type, generally express a future sense by the aorist only. As this method grew by degrees to be felt insufficient, the participle was added to give greater distinctness.

§ 55. The second type is that which has ġ for its characteristic. Among the classical dialects Marathi only employs this form, and there has been much speculation about the Marathi future by those who only looked to the language itself. It had, however, long been known that a future with this type existed in the Marwāri dialect, belonging to the Hindi area, and spoken over a large extent of country in Western Rajputana. The able researches of Kellogg have recently placed us in possession of two more instances of a future of this type spoken in Nepal and by the mountaineers of Garhwāl, and Kumaon in the Himalayas, who are by origin Rajputs from the
plains. Thus, the Marathi future now no longer stands alone, and we are in a position to compare the whole group of futures of the la type (*par* "fall," *mâr* "strike," *ho* "be," *suf, sod").

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>Marwâri</th>
<th>1. पडूळी</th>
<th>2. पडैली</th>
<th>3. पडैलो</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Garhwâli</td>
<td>1. मारलो</td>
<td>2. मारिखो</td>
<td>3. मारलो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kumaoni.</td>
<td>1. मारखंती</td>
<td>2. मारलो</td>
<td>3. मारलो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nepali.</td>
<td>1. हौिा</td>
<td>2. हौवास</td>
<td>3. हौिा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marâthi</td>
<td>(neuter. 1. सुटें</td>
<td>2. सुटसील</td>
<td>3. सुटेल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(active. 1. सोडीन</td>
<td>2. सोडिसील</td>
<td>3. सोडील</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLURAL</th>
<th>Marwâri</th>
<th>1. पडाला</th>
<th>2. पडोला</th>
<th>3. पडेला</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Garhwâli</td>
<td>1. मारला</td>
<td>2. मारिखा</td>
<td>3. मारला</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kumaoni.</td>
<td>1. मारखंला</td>
<td>2. मारला</td>
<td>3. मारला</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nepali.</td>
<td>1. हौंखा</td>
<td>2. हौिला</td>
<td>3. ढानन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marâthi</td>
<td>(neuter. 1. सुटू</td>
<td>2. सुटाल</td>
<td>3. सुटटील</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(active. 1. सोडूं</td>
<td>2. सोडाल</td>
<td>3. सोडिटील</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these dialects the aorist has had added to it a form लो sing. and जा pl., which does not appear to be inflected for gender, but has only sing. and pl. masc. So far as it goes, however, it directly corresponds to H. and P. *gâ, ge*, etc., and like them points to a participial origin. In Marathi the inflectional terminations have been dropped, and in some cases even the *la* itself. The 1 sing. of the neuter aorist is सुटें, and adding ल to this, we get सुटेल, which, being difficult to pronounce, has glided into सुटेल. In the 1 pl., however, the ल has simply been rejected, so that it is the same as the aorist. In the 2 sing. the aorist has सुटस, but, as has already been shown, this is a contraction from सुटसि, and सुटसि + ल =
सुटलिं, from the Marathi habit of lengthening the vowel of a final syllable. In the 2.pl. (aorist सुटति) the ल has neither been fused with the anuswāra into न, as in the 1 sing., nor has it altogether dropped out, as in the 1 pl.; but there is no trace of the anuswāra; the reason of this is that the anuswāra in this person is not organic; the older language has simply ॄ, as सूटा, and it is to this that the ल has been added, and not to the modern form. The third person singular and plural is still simpler; aor. सूटे + ल = सूटेल, and (archaic) सूटत्ऎ + ल = सूटतेल. The same process is followed by the active verb exactly.

I look upon this ल as the shortened form of a sing. लो m., ली f., pl. ला m., ली m., of which the feminine is apparently not in use, and I derive it from Skr. लग्, p.p.p. लय, Pr. लर्गो, of which the gg has been reduced to g according to ordinary practice, and the single g has then dropped out, leaving लस्त्रो, shortened into लो. This derivation is confirmed by the fact that in all the languages this verb is used in the sense of beginning to do any thing, as in H. कमल लगा, “he began to do.” In M. especially it is used in a very wide range of applications, and सुटल appropriately means “he begins (that) he may do,” in other words “he is about to do,” “he will do.”
§ 56. I give here, for convenience of comparison, a tabular view

I.—**Present Participle Active.**

Sanskrit प्रचारति **m.,** प्रचारती **f.,** प्रचारत **n.**

Prakrit प्रचारति **m.,** प्रचारती **f.,** प्रचारत **n.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Panjabi</th>
<th>Sindhi</th>
<th>Gujarati</th>
<th>Marathi</th>
<th>Oriya</th>
<th>Bengali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participle.</strong></td>
<td>देखता <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>देखता <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>देखता <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>देखता <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>देखता <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>देखता <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(a) declinable.</strong></td>
<td>1. जादा <strong>व्य.</strong> देखतादा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>जादा <strong>व्य.</strong> देखतादा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>जादा <strong>व्य.</strong> देखतादा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>जादा <strong>व्य.</strong> देखतादा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>जादा <strong>व्य.</strong> देखतादा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>जादा <strong>व्य.</strong> देखतादा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong> देखतादा <strong>व्य.</strong> etc.</td>
<td>मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong> देखतादा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong> देखतादा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong> देखतादा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong> देखतादा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong> देखतादा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong> देखतादा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(b) indeclinable.</strong></td>
<td>देखत देखत</td>
<td>देखत देखत</td>
<td>देखत देखत</td>
<td>देखत देखत</td>
<td>देखत देखत</td>
<td>देखत देखत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S. 1.</strong></td>
<td>देखता <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
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<td>मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>देखता <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
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<td>मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>हजारता <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>हजारता <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
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<td>हजारता <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>हजारता <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदा <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pl. 1.</strong></td>
<td>देखती <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>देखती <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
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<td>मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>हजारती <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
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<td>हजारती <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
<td>हजारती <strong>व्य.</strong> मारदी <strong>व्य.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 On account of the multiplicity of forms in Marathi, the masculine only of the indicative and conditional are given in this table.
II.—Past Participle Passive.

Sanskrit क्रत्सा m., क्रता f., क्रतं n. — Prakrit क्रिथ्रो m., करो f., करिभं n.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>HINDI.</th>
<th>PANJABI.</th>
<th>SINDHI.</th>
<th>GUJARATI.</th>
<th>MARATHI.</th>
<th>ORIYA.</th>
<th>BENGALI.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. 1</td>
<td>मारा ०४ी</td>
<td>मारिच्छा ०४ी</td>
<td>हलिसि ०४ी</td>
<td>कोडरो ०४ी</td>
<td>सुटला ०४ी</td>
<td>सोडिस्ता ०४ी</td>
<td>ट्रिक्सिल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>मारा ०४ी</td>
<td>मारिच्छा ०४ी</td>
<td>हलिसि ०४ी</td>
<td>कोडरो ०४ी</td>
<td>सुटला ०४ी</td>
<td>सोडिस्ता ०४ी</td>
<td>ट्रिक्सिल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>हलिसि ०४ी</td>
<td>कोडरो ०४ी</td>
<td>सुटला ०४ी</td>
<td>सोडिस्ता ०४ी</td>
<td>ट्रिक्सिल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>मारि ०४ी</td>
<td>मारि ०४ी</td>
<td>हलिसि ०४ी</td>
<td>कोडरा ०४ी</td>
<td>सुटला ०४ी</td>
<td>सोडिस्ता ०४ी</td>
<td>ट्रिक्सिल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>मारि ०४ी</td>
<td>मारि ०४ी</td>
<td>हलिसि ०४ी</td>
<td>कोडरा ०४ी</td>
<td>सुटला ०४ी</td>
<td>सोडिस्ता ०४ी</td>
<td>ट्रिक्सिल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>हलिसि ०४ी</td>
<td>कोडरा ०४ी</td>
<td>सुटला ०४ी</td>
<td>सोडिस्ता ०४ी</td>
<td>ट्रिक्सिल</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and कोडिस्तो, etc.
### III.—Future Participle Passive.

Sanskrit बौधित्वस् m., व्या f., भव्य n. Prakrit बौधिद्र, बौधियः.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participle (Infinitive, etc.)</th>
<th>HINDI.</th>
<th>SINDHI.</th>
<th>GUJARATI.</th>
<th>MARATHI.</th>
<th>ORIYA.</th>
<th>BENGALI.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. 1. पढ़िвер्</td>
<td>पढ़िविसि ¹</td>
<td>पढ़िविे</td>
<td>सुतावा ²</td>
<td>सोडावा ²</td>
<td>देखिबि</td>
<td>देखिबि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. पढ़िविे</td>
<td>पढ़िविे</td>
<td>सुतावास</td>
<td>सोडावा ²</td>
<td>देखिबि</td>
<td>देखिबि</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. deest</td>
<td>पढ़िविे, etc.</td>
<td>सुताविे</td>
<td>सोडाविे</td>
<td>देखिबि</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1. पढ़िविसारि</td>
<td>पढ़िविसारि</td>
<td>सुताविे</td>
<td>सोडाविे</td>
<td>देखिबि</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. पढ़िविउ</td>
<td>पढ़िविउ</td>
<td>सुताविे</td>
<td>सोडाविे</td>
<td>देखिबि</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. deest</td>
<td>पढ़िविविे</td>
<td>सुटाविे</td>
<td>सोडाविे</td>
<td>देखिबि</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ See other dialectic forms in § 53.  
² Only the masculine is given from want of space.
§ 57. The only participial tenses in the Gipsy verb are those formed from the past participle. This participle is sometimes regularly formed from the modern verbal root, and sometimes, as in the other languages, is an early Tadbhava, perpetuating the type of the Prakrit participle.

There are, as in the other languages, three types of this participle ending in (1) to or do, (2) lo, (3) no. Examples of the first type are—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ánda} & \text{va "to carry,"} \quad \text{ando,} \quad \text{Skr. ánî, p.p.p. ánîta, S. āndo.} \\
\text{ji} & \text{vá} \text{va "to live,"} \quad \text{jivdo,} \quad \text{"jív,} \quad \text{"jívita.} \\
\text{ke} & \text{rá} \text{va "to do,"} \quad \text{kerdo,} \quad \text{"kří,} \quad \text{"krít, Pers. karda.} \\
\text{nash} & \text{á} \text{va "to depart,"} \quad \text{nashto,} \quad \text{"naç,} \quad \text{"nashţa.} \\
\text{chin} & \text{á} \text{va "to cut,"} \quad \text{chindo,} \quad \text{"chhid,} \quad \text{"chhinna.}
\end{align*}
\]

Of the second type—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{avá} & \text{va "to come,"} \quad \text{alo,} \quad \text{"âyâ,} \quad \text{"âyât, M. álâ, B. O. áila.} \\
\text{já} & \text{va "to go,"} \quad \text{gelo,} \quad \text{"yâ,} \quad \text{"yât, M. gelâ, B. gela, O. galâ.} \\
\text{dik} & \text{á} \text{va "to see,"} \quad \text{diklo,} \quad \text{B. dekhila, O. dekhilâ.}
\end{align*}
\]

Of the third type—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dá} & \text{va "to give,"} \quad \text{dino,} \quad \text{"dâ,} \quad \text{"datta, Pr. dinho, O.-H. dinną, dîná} \\
\text{lá} & \text{va "to take,"} \quad \text{lino,} \quad \text{"labh,} \quad \text{"labdna, O.-H. linná, lîná.} \\
\text{rov} & \text{á} \text{va "to weep,"} \quad \text{rovno,} \quad \text{"rud,} \quad \text{"rudita, Pr. runno, S. runo.} \\
\text{uryá} & \text{va "to fly,"} \quad \text{uryano,} \quad \text{"uddî,} \quad \text{"uddîna, S. udāno.}
\end{align*}
\]

The Aorist is formed by adding the terminations of the old substantive verb, thus from \text{lino "taken"—}

Sing. 1. linom, 2. linân, 3. linâs,
Pl. 1. linân, 2. linân, 3. linâs "I took," etc.
So from kerdo "done," comes

Sing. 1. kerdóm, 2. kerdán, 3. kerdás,
Pl. 1. kerdám, 2. kerdán, 3. kerdás "I did," etc.

And from muklo "abandoned" (Skr. mukta)—

Sing. 1. muklóm, 2. muklán, 3. muklás,
Pl. 1. muklám, 2. muklán, 3. muklás "I left," etc.

This proceeding is strictly analogous in principle to the method employed in Sindhi, to which, of all the Indian languages, that of the Gipsies bears the closest relation.

The future is formed by prefixing to the present tense the word káma, Skr. kám "desire," and thus means "I wish to do," etc. Thus keráva "I do," kamakeráva "I will do," i.e. "I wish to do." The prefixed word does not vary for number or person. This method of forming the future is, as Paspati (p. 101) points out, borrowed from modern Greek, in which thēlao contracted to thè and thà, is used in this way, as thà ἐπάγω "I will go." There is nothing strictly analogous to this method in our seven languages, though the futures of the ga and lu types are formed on a not very dissimilar principle.
CHAPTER IV.

THE COMPOUND TENSES.

CONTENTS.—§ 58. Definition of the Compound Tenses and Auxiliary Verbs.—§ 59. The Root as, Present Tense.—§ 60. Imperfect in Panjabi and Gipsy.—§ 61. as with a Negative.—§ 62. Compound Tenses formed with as.—§ 63. The Root achar; Discussion as to its Origin.—§ 64. Tenses derived therewith.—§ 65. Compound Tenses formed therewith.—§ 66. bhū;—the Simple Tenses.—§ 67. id.;—the Participial Tenses.—§ 68. Compound Tenses formed therewith.—§ 69. sthā.—§ 70. yā.—§ 71. Ancillary Verbs Defined.—§ 72. Examples of Ancillaries:

§ 58. Further removed from the old synthetical type than either of the preceding classes of tenses is that class which now comes under discussion. It is by means of this class that the seven modern languages, after having rejected the numerous and complicated formations of the Sanskrit verb, have secured for themselves the machinery necessary for the expression of very delicate shades of meaning. So numerous, indeed, are these shades of meaning, and so fine are the distinctions between them, that it is very difficult for a foreigner to catch them.

The tenses in question are constructed by adding to the participles already mentioned various tenses of certain auxiliary verbs, and in a few instances by adding these auxiliaries to the simple present, or aorist. The auxiliaries themselves are modern formations capable of being used alone, and are traceable to well-known Sanskrit roots through processes partly Prakritic and partly post-Prakritic. Pali and the Prakrits carry the verbs in question through certain grades of change,
and the modern languages either preserve the Prakrit form unchanged, or subject it to further changes of their own, such changes being often governed by laws unknown to the Prakrit stage of development.

The roots so employed are चस्, मृ, खा, या, and another, whose origin is somewhat obscure in Sanskrit, but which appears in Prakrit under the form चच्छ. It will be necessary first to examine each of these roots and draw out the modern forms to be affiliated to each, after which the tenses formed by them may be arranged in order.

§ 59. Ās. This root means "to be," and is the simple copula like Latin esse (see under sthā in § 12). Only the present tense can be clearly traced in the modern languages, though there are some detached fragments here and there which may possibly represent other tenses. These will be noted further on. In Sanskrit the root belongs to the second or ad conjugation, in which the terminations are added direct to the root, thus giving rise to various euphonic changes in accordance with the laws of Sandhi. Pali and the scenic Prakrits, in contradiction to their usual practice of employing the bhū type for all roots, retain in this verb the ad type. Omitting the dual, the tense runs—

Skr. Sing. 1. asmi, 2. asi, 3. asti.
" Pl. 1. smaḥ, 2. stha, 3. santi.
Pa. and Pr. Sing. 1. asmi, 2. asi, 3. aththi.
" amhi.
" Pl. 1. asma, 2. attha, 3. santi.
" amha.

In Prakrit the initial vowel is often elided as 'mhi, 'mha. These forms, however, belong to the scenic Prakrit, which, as Pischel has shown, is really almost as artificial a language as Sanskrit, and on comparing the corresponding tense in the modern languages, it seems difficult, if not impossible, to derive it from the scenic forms. We are not justified in assuming
that the modern tense was derived, according to different phonetic laws, from those which have guided and effected the transformations of other words in these languages. On the contrary, in the absence of a continuous chain of documents exhibiting the gradual changes that have taken place, we have nothing to guide us but the general principles of phonetic evolution, which we have been able to formulate for ourselves from undoubted instances. We have numerous well-established cases in which the Prakrit, followed by the moderns, has conjugated a verb according to the bhū type, though in classical Sanskrit it follows some other conjugation; indeed, it may, I think, be considered as proved that the forms of the bhū conjugation have swallowed up all other conjugational types, just as much as those of the as stem in nouns have driven out all other declensional forms. In this view there would be strong reasons for postulating the existence of a present tense of √चस्त् conjugated after the bhū type, thus—

Sing. 1. asāmi, 2. asasi, 3. asati.
Pl. 1. asāmah, 2. asatha, 3. asanti.

It is only from such a form as this, the existence of which, though I am not aware of any text in which it is found, may fairly be inferred from analogy, that the modern forms can, in accordance with the ordinary laws of development, be derived.

Beginning with Sindhi as the most archaic, or nearly so, this tense runs thus—

Sing. 1. च्रांहिया, 2. च्रांहि, च्रांहिः, 3. च्रांहि.
Pl. 1. च्रांहियूँ, 2. च्रांहियो, 3. च्रांहिनि.

Now, barring the troublesome superfluity of anunāsikas which the Sindhians have seen fit to bestow on this aorist, the forms are strikingly similar to those of the Sanskrit tense postulated above. The 3 sing. āhe is contracted from ahaē, which, again, is good Prakrit for asati, but it could hardly be deduced from asti, which, as we have seen, naturally results in
Prakrit atti. The terminations of the other persons agree with those of the aorist of the active verb given in § 33, and those are obviously and admittedly derived from the terminations of the bhū type. I am unable to account for the peculiarity of this tense using the forms of the active verb, where we should naturally have expected those of the neuter, chaṅgā, etc. like ḍvaṅ, etc. Trumpp does not notice this point, and as I am not in possession of any documents in mediæval Sindhi, I have no materials on which to form an opinion. It is to be hoped that the learned author, in the next edition of his very valuable grammar, will furnish some elucidation of this curious anomaly. This tense is all that remains to us in Sindhi of the Sanskrit substantive verb as.

Only the aorist, also, has survived in Marathi, which has—

Sing. 1. chaṅh, 2. chaṅhs 3. chaṅh.
Pl. 1. chaṅhō 2. chaṅhā 3. chaṅhit.

These are the regular terminations of the aorist in the neuter verb, only the 1 plural differs slightly, having chaṅ instead of chaṅ. In M., as in S., the initial vowel is lengthened, the reason for which is not obvious, as there has been no loss of consonants requiring compensatory lengthening. M., like S., has only this one tense from as. No traces of it are found in G. or O., except in a negative form, which will be treated of in the next section.

Hindi and Panjabi agree very closely in the aorist. Classical Hindi represents, however, a modern development of this tense. In the mediæval writers, and in the present dialects of the eastern and central Hindi area, the older form is preserved thus—

SINGULAR.

Old-H. 1. chaṅhūṃ 2. chaṅhi 3. chaṅhih
Avadhā. 1. chaṅhūṃ 2. chaṅhs 3. chaṅhi
Riwal. 1. ḍuṅ, chaṅ 2. ḍī 3. ḍī, chaṅ
The 3 singular in the poets is sometimes written with, and sometimes without, the last \( h \), as in Kabir ज्ितिा षुच लोक एक अरहर "There is one line of duty in the world" (Ram. Ivi. 1), or written as a disyllabic word, as राम नाम अरहर निज साहु। "The name of Ram is itself the true one" (ib. Ixiv. 5), or with long \( i \), metri gratia, धर्म कह सब पानी अरहर। "Religion, he saith, is all (one like) water" (ib. Lxxiii. 5). The 1 singular occurs in रहर संभारे राम विचारे कहत अरहर (for अरहर) जो पुकार हो। "Pause and attend, ponder on Ram, thus I am calling aloud, oh!" (ib. Kah. 7). So also in Tulsi Das, तिसं मति फिरी अरहर जसि भावि। "Thus her mind is changed as fate decrees" (Ay-k. 117), राम चराचर नाथक अरहर। "Ram is lord of things moveable and immovable" (ib. 445), विधि करतब उबरे सब अरहर। "The laws of duty are all reversed" (ib. 617), सुगम सकल मय तुम्ह कह अरहर। "All roads are easy to thee" (ib. 574).

By aphaeresis of the initial \( a \) we get the ordinary classical Hindi tense—

Sing. 1. हौं, हैं, 2. हैं, 3. हैं. Pl. 1. है, 2. है, 3. है।

The classical language uses हैं in the 1 sing., but है is used in the poets, in Braj, and in the rustic dialects. Between हैं, used as a singular, and हैं, used as a plural, there is the same confusion as in the same persons of the aorist in the ordinary verb (§ 33). The form है seems to belong more naturally to a Pr. ahāmu, and है to ahāmi, and we are led to suspect that an inversion of the two words has taken place. Avadhi 2 sing. ahes has, like M., a variant ahas, both of which lead back to an older ahasi, just as 3 sing. ahai does to ahati. It is obvious that had \( a/s \) not been treated as a bhū verb, there would have
arisen no such types as *ahai* and *hai*; for *asti* goes into *atthi*, which would have led to something very different.

Panjabi closely follows H., having—

Sing. 1. हौं, 2. हैं, 3. है।  
Pl. 1. हौं, 2. हैं, 3. हैः.

It has also, as noticed in § 54, a form of this tense with the participial addition गा m., गी f., etc., as—

Sing. 1. हांगा, 2. हेंगा, 3. हेंगा,  
Pl. 1. हांगे, 2. हेंगे, 3. हेंगे “I am,” etc.,

where the type of the future is mixed up with that of the present. I have heard this form used mostly at the end of a sentence, where the speaker seems to hesitate, as if he felt the want of something more to say, and ultimately adds a गा. It is also used undoubtedly, as when you suggest a possible explanation of some difficulty, and your companion answers “well, perhaps it is so”—हेंगा.

The same form occurs in the Kanauji dialect of Hindi.

The present of this verb in the dialect of the Rumilian Gipsies (Paspati, p. 80) adheres more closely to the Sanskrit. It runs thus—

Sing. 1. isौम, 2. isौन, 3. isौ।  
Pl. 1. isाौम, 2. isाौन, 3. isाौ।

§ 60. Panjabi has also an imperfect in a great many forms which must apparently be affiliated to this root. First there is a purely participial form—

Sing. 1, 2, 3, सा m., सी f.  
Pl. सौ m., सीौं f., “I, thou, he was,” etc.

Then गा is added as in the present, giving सागा, सीगी, सीें, सींगीौं। I do not remember ever to have heard this form, but it is given in the लोडियाना grammar. One often hears सी, which is properly feminine singular, used for the mascu-
line singular, and plural also. Moreover, there is a defective form having only some of the persons, which looks somewhat inflectional. The singular 2 and 3, and plural 2, are supplied by parts of खा.

Sing. 1. सं.  Pl. 1. सं.  3. सन, सैन.

To this, also, is added गा, thus

Sing. 1. सांगा m., सांगी f.
Pl. 1. सांगि m., सांगिराँ f.  3. सनगि m., सनगिराँ f.

Yet another and extremely common form in colloquial usage prefixes है to this type—

Sing. 1. हैसं.  2, 3. हैसी.
Pl. 1, 2. हैसे m., हैसीराँ f.  3. हैसन.

Most of these forms are dialectic, and, as such, in use only in certain parts of the country. The participial form given first is probably the original; seeing how much the past tenses of the Sanskrit verb had fallen out of use at an early period, we are, perhaps, hardly justified in looking for anything but a participial origin for a modern past tense, and in this view we might postulate a p.p.p. asita. On the other hand, however, it so happens that the imperfect of as is one of the few imperfects of Skr. verbs, which did live on into the Pali and Prakrit, and the inflectional form of this tense can be phonetically derived therefrom, thus—

Skr. Sing. 1. असं, 2. असी: 3. असीत.
Pl. 1. अससं, 2. असस्त, 3. असत.
P. Sing. 1. सं, 2. सी, 3. सी.
Pl. 1. सं, — 3. सन.

If we take this view it would seem that the tense was originally inflectional, but that all other verbs in the language having a participial construction, this also was, by the common
process of mistaken analogy, considered participial also, and औ being the ordinary termination of the feminine, सी was erroneously taken for a feminine, and a masculine सा was invented to suit it, together with the plurals से and सीचा. This reasoning will account also for the fact that सी is often used for the masculine singular. Whether the origin of this multiform tense be participial or inflectional, it is abundantly clear that the present usage of the language presents a maze of confused forms, which, their origin having been forgotten, have become mixed together in great variety.

Here, I would provisionally refer the imperfect in the Braj dialect of Hindi, which is participial in form, and does not vary for person. It is sing. हूँ m., हू f., pl. है m., है f. A variation of this form in Western Rajputana (Márwár) has sing. हूँ, pl. हा. I think we must see in this form a p.p.p. of as, with loss of the initial vowel, and change of स into ह.

So, also, here would, on the same principle, come in two preterites or rather imperfects—

Kanaṣuji. Sing. हरतो m., हरती f.
Pl. हरते m., हरती f., “I, etc., was.”

Gujarati. Sing. हरतो m., हरती f., हरतु n.
Pl. हरता m., हरती f., हरता n. id.

which appear to come from Pr. present participle चन्तो “being.” The change of meaning from a present to an imperfect has an analogy in the treatment of the corresponding tense of the verb हो (§ 67).

The Gipsy language has retained an imperfect of this root, not directly derived from the Skr. imperfect, but formed by the addition of the syllable as to the present.¹

Sing. 1. isómas, 2. isánas, 3. isás (isí+as).
Pl. 1. isámas, 2. isánas, 3. isás.

¹ Paspati, p. 80. Miklosich, vol. ii. p. 15, has a long dissertation on the subject, which, however, is very confused and bewildering to read.
THE COMPOUND TENSES.

This language uniformly makes an imperfect from every root by adding as to the present, but the process is so foreign to our Indian languages as to have no interest for us in the present inquiry.

§ 61. The derivatives of as in the present tense are in some languages curiously bound up with the negative into a tense which exists in those languages in which there is no trace of the positive form. Thus Oriya, which has no positive present as, has a complete negative present, "I am not, etc."

Sing. 1. నుండి, 2. నోడి, 3. నుండి.
Pl. 1. నాండి, 2. నాడి, 3. నాండితి.

Here the u in the first syllable of the singular is due to some confusion with the tense of bhū, to be noted hereafter; but though this form is common in writing, the peasantry often say simply నండి, "he is not." The insertion of this u is accounted for by supposing it to have slipped over from the following syllable, thus, nuhe would be for na hue, and nuhanti for na huanti. Nuhanti, and not nāhanti, is the older form, as in—

कष्यप हर्द्य नुहन्ति निरद्यः।

"Merciful-hearted they are not, but pitiless."—Rasak. vi. 18.

There being in O. no positive present from as, the survival of the negative present has naturally been accounted for by referring it to the only positive present remaining, namely, that from bhū; but this seems to be a false analogy, because, as will be shown later on, in many constructions the negative is used without the u, and is generally so used by the rustic classes.

G. has नयी for all persons of both tenses, they say जङ्ग नयी "I am not," हं नयी "thou art not," है नयी "he is not." This is a case of forgetfulness of the origin of a word leading to its use being extended to cases where it has no right to be, for
is clearly derived from चत्य, the Pr. form of चासित with न prefixed, and thus, strictly speaking, belongs only to the 3 sing.

The negative of as is kept distinct from that of bhū in Marathi, the former runs thus—

Sing. 1. नाही, 2. नाहीत, 3. नाही. Pl. 1, 2. नाही, 3. नाहीत.

In Hindi नहि and नहीं are used to mean simply “not,” and if they ever had any verbal meaning, have now quite lost it. In Sindhi the negative prefixed merely coalesces with it, without in any way influencing it, or bringing about any change in its form; thus नाही or नझाही “he is not.”

§ 62. The present tense from as is added to the simple and participial tenses of the neuter, active, or causal stem, to form a class of compound tenses, having significations somewhat more definite than the participial tenses when used alone. In some cases, however, no additional strength of meaning seems to be gained. In the following examples it will suffice to quote the 3 singular in each tense, from which the reader can form the rest for himself.

Hindi adds the present of as to the present and past participles of the ordinary verb, to form a definite present and definite preterite respectively, as—

Def. Present . देखता है “he is seeing.”
Def. Preterite देखा है “he has seen.”

Colloquially, also, one sometimes hears a tense formed from the aorist of the verb, and that of the auxiliary, as आवे है “he comes.” This usage prevails more in the Western Hindi area, where the language is transitional to Gujarati, and is not approved of in classical speech.¹

¹ Kellogg, p. 206.
Panjabi has the following:—

Def. Present जांदू है “he is going.”
Def. Imperfect जांदू सा “he was going.”
Def. Preterite गिरा है “he has gone.”
Pluperfect गिरा सा “he had gone.”

Sindhi has, like Hindi, the two definite tenses:—

Def. Present हजांदू आहि “he is going.”
Def. Preterite हजिलिरो आहि “he has gone.”

Marathi has a wider range; it forms two separate tenses, one from the indeclinable, another from the declinable form of its present participle, a definite perfect from its past participle, and a sort of future with its noun of agency (§ 75). In the last-named instance, however, we have hardly a tense, but rather a participial construction—

Def. Present लिहित आहि “he is writing.”
,, (Emphatic) लिहितो आहि “he is writing.”
Def. Preterite लिहिला आहि “he has written.”
Future लिहिलार आहि “he is about to write.”

The other languages having no traces of this auxiliary, naturally have no tenses formed by it.

§ 63. ACHH. This root must be taken next, in order to preserve the natural sequence of tenses in the modern verbs. It has been customary hitherto to accept without inquiry the assumption that the auxiliaries of this form are derived from as; but there are considerable difficulties in the way of admitting this view, which appears, as far as I can trace it back, to have arisen from Vararuchi, xii. 19 (Sauraseni), asterachchha. But the next sūtra gives tipāṭṭhi, as far as we can see from the very corrupt state of the text, and the parallel passage from the Sankshipta Sāra (Lassen, App. p. 51) gives only atthi,
though fragments of a present tense achchāhaī, etc., are quoted by Lassen (p. 346) from the latter authority. By his reference to p. 266, the author would seem to favour a derivation from asti by inversion atsi, as ts we know (Vol. I. p. 317) migrates into अः, but this will not account for the other persons of the tense.

It does not, however, follow that Vararuchi, in quoting achchh as an equivalent for as, ever meant that the former was phonetically evolved from the latter. He is merely giving us the popular equivalent of the classical word. Just in the same way he tells us (viii. 68) that vuṭṭa and khuppa are used for Skr. masj, but no one supposes that vuṭṭa can, by any known process of phonetic change, be derived from masj. It is simply a popular word used instead of a refined one. So, also, when he tells us that achchh is used instead of as, we are not bound to believe that he means to say that the former is derived from the latter, but simply that it is in use side by side with it. Hemachandra, in the same way, gives many popular equivalents of Skr. roots, which are not derivatives from those roots.

Weber, Hala, p. 41, rejects, and with justice, the idea of any connection between the two words, and suggests that acch is a form of gach (√ gam), "to go." This view is supported by citations from the Bhāgavati (i. 411, etc.), as e.g. acchejja và citthejja và nisseyya và uyattejja, "Let him go, or stand, or sit down, or rise up." In the examples quoted from the Saptaśatakam, however, the word bears more often the opposite meaning of standing still; and often may be rendered by either one or the other; thus—

tuppāṇaṇā kino ac-
chasi tti ia pucchiāī vahuāi.—Sapt. 291.

Here Weber translates, "Why goest thou with anointed face?" but the scholiast has kim tishṭāhasi, "why standest thou?" The general meaning of the passage is merely "why art thou" thus, i.e. "why have you got your face anointed?" So in 344,
asamattamanorahain acchanti mithunaim, it must be rendered, “They are (or stand) with their desires unfulfilled.” In another passage, 169, it has still more unmistakeably the meaning of stay:

acchau tava manaharam
piyai muhadamsanam aimahapsgham
tagamachettasima
vi jhatti diitha suhvei,

literally, “Let stand (or let be) the heart-entrancing, very precious sight of the face of my love, even the boundary of the fields of her village, when seen, straightway delights.” He means a sort of hyperbole, as we might say, “Her face delights, said I? not her face merely—(or, let alone her face)—why even the sight of the village where she lives delights.” Here acchaith is 3 singular imperative; the idiom is in common use in modern speech; thus in O. they would say tahu dekhibတ thau, tahar grum sismadhya dekhiba anand ate, “Let the seeing of her stand aside, the seeing of her village boundary merely is delight.” It is like the use of the word alam in Sanskrit. Parallel to the use of O. cha in this construction is that of cha in B. Thus, Bhârat Chandra—

उपोषे उपोषे चोक हैल मृत प्राय।
शानुक चत्तर कथा जल नाहि प्राय।

“From long fasting the folk were nearly dead, 
Let alone food, they could not (even) get water.”—Mânsingh, 446.

Literally, “Let the matter of food stand (aside),” see § 69. In the Chingana or Gipsy also ach means “to remain,” “to stand.” Thus, opré pirende achâva, “I stand on my feet,” or simply, “I stand,” Paspati “se tenir debout;” achilo korkoro “he remained alone,” ate achilom “here I am,” literally “here I have remained;” achen devleesa “remain with God,” “good-bye” (i.e. “God be with ye”), Pasp. “Salutation très-commune parmi les Tchingianés.”
Not to multiply examples, the use of this verb in a sense which, whatever its original meaning, has become almost equivalent to that of "being," is well established in the Jaina Prakrit and in Hāla. The apophesis of an initial consonant is rare. In scenic Prakrit it is confined almost entirely to the root ज (jāna), as in अन्दासि = jānāsi, अनाबेदि = ājñāpayati, etc. Also in उन्म् = punaḥ, and a few other words.

But I would suggest that this word may after all be nothing more than a form of Skr. अकश् akśh, "to appear." This root seems to have borne in Skr. rather the meaning of "to reach, pervade" (see Williams's Dict. s.v.), but if we are to connect with it अष्ठि "eye," as seems probable, the meaning of "to see," or "to appear," would be natural to it. It will be shown presently that the various languages have forms ending in अ, स, and ख, and all these three forms phonetically point to an earlier च."

Leaving Prakrit scholars to decide whence comes this stem अच्छ to अष्ठि (Weber writes it in both ways), we may, I think, start from the fact that there is such a stem in Prakrit, and we have the opinion of a high authority for disputing its connection with अस्ति. Indeed, as has already been shown, अस्ति so regularly passes into अच्छ in the moderns, that it is difficult to conceive by what process it could ever have become अच्छ. I

1 Hemachandra's evidence seems conclusive against any connection between अक्ष and गम, for he has a sutra to the effect that words of the class गम take the termination चा; the list consists of the four words gacchāī (gam), icchāī (ish), jacchāī (yam), and occhāī (f.).—Pischel, Hem., iv. 215. If occhāī were only gacchāī, with loss of the initial consonant, it would hardly be given as a separate instance of the rule. In another passage occurs a use of this word exactly similar to that from Hala quoted above—

jāmahiṃ visamī kajjagaī jivahāṃ majjhe ei
tāmahīṃ acchāī iaru jaṇu suaṇu vi antarudei,

"As long as [your] circumstances in life go badly (literally 'as long as a difficult condition of affairs goes in life'), so long, let alone (acchāī) the base man, even the good man keeps aloof (literally 'gives an interval')," "Tempora si fuertium nubila, solus eris." Kajjagaī = kāryagati, iaru = itara.
have preferred to treat it as a separate stem altogether, and I think this treatment will be found to be to a very great extent justified by the examples from the modern languages which I shall now adduce.

§ 64. Classical Hindi, Panjabi, and Sindhi, do not retain any traces of this root. M. has, however, a complete verb आस्, which we should refer, I think, to this root, resting on the well-known peculiarity of M., by which it changes च्, especially when derived from an earlier च, into स (Vol. I. p. 218). The Sanskrit √as having in M. become अहे, an affiliation concerning which there can be no doubt, we are driven to seek for a different origin for M. ase, and we find it appropriately and in full accordance with known phonetic processes in चक्त्. M. has the following tenses:—

1. Aorist—

Sing. 1. आसिः, 2. आसस्, 3. आसे।
Pl. 1. आसूः, 2. आसा, 3. आसत्,

where the terminations exactly correspond with those of the aorist in the ordinary verb.

2. Simple imperative—

Sing. 1. आसूः, 2. आस, ऐस्, 3. आसो।
Pl. 1. आसूः, 2. आसा, 3. आसोत्.

3. Simple future—

Sing. 1. आसेन्, 2. आसतिलः, 3. आसेल।
Pl. 1. आसूः, 2. आसाल, 3. आसतील।

4. Present formed with present participle and Sanskrit substantive verb—

Masc. Sing. 1. आसतोः, 2. आसतोस्, 3. आसतो।
Pl. 1. आसतोः, 2. आसता, 3. आसतात।
5. Conditional similarly formed. Sing. 3 masc. चर्चित, etc.,
as in the ordinary verb.

3 masc. चर्चिता, etc.

चर्चिता, etc.

Oriya comes next, with an aorist of old simple present only,
which is thus conjugated—

Sing. 1. चर्चित, 2. चर्चित, 3. चर्चित.
Pl. 1. चर्चित, 2. चर्चित, 3. चर्चिता.

There being no formation from ज/ as in O., this tense does
 duty for the simple “I am, thou art,” etc. With lengthening
of the first vowel, in accordance with its usual practice, Bengali
has a present, and an imperfect; but in modern times the initial
long vowel of the latter has been entirely dropped, so that we
now have—

Present Sing. 1. चाचिन, 2. चाचिन, 3. चाचिन “I am,” etc.
Pl. 1. चाचिन, 2. चाचिन, 3. चाचिन.

Imperfect Sing. 1. चिल, 2. चिल, 3. चिल “I was,” etc.
Pl. 1. चिल, 2. चिल, 3. चिल.

Though used as an imperfect, this latter tense is in form a
preterite, corresponding to देखिनु, etc., of the regular verb.
The loss of the initial अ is comparatively recent, for it is re-
tained in so late a poet as Bhârat Chandra (A.D. 1711–1755).
चाचिनल विस्तर ठाट प्रथम बयेसी “She was (i.e. had been) very
wanton in her youth” (Bidya-S. 246). It is common enough,
also, in the other Bengali poets, जे ताल बेताल सिय चाचिनल
tोमार “What vicissitudes were experienced by you” (Kasi-
M. 284), and the poets of the present day freely permit them-
selves the use of this form as a poetic licence when their metre
requires it.

Passing westwards from Bengal, we come to the extreme
eastern limits of Hindi, in the Maithila province (Tirhut, Purnia, etc.), where the rustic dialect has the following present:


It has also a feminine singular छी, plural छीं, uninflected for person.

Close to the Bengali frontier, near the junction of the Mahanandâ and Kankai rivers, they speak a curious sort of mixture of Hindi and Bengali, and have a present—


Further west, in the same district, one hears—


In Bhojpuri, for the present is often heard छी, which is unchanged throughout both persons. This widely-used form seems to confirm the supposition of the derivation from छूँ, for छ changes both to छँ and to कँ.

From the Himalayan districts of Kumâon and Garhwal, Kellogg (p. 201) gives a present of this verb, and it is in use in Eastern Rajputana. It is also the ordinary substantive verb in Gujarati—

SINGULAR.

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PLURAL.

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The first and third of these have also a preterite participle
THE COMPOUND TENSES.

in type like most of the preterites. Thus in Kumâon they say sing. कियो, pl. किया or किया, which seems to point to a Skr. p.p.p. चियत = Pr. चियो. In Eastern Rajputana there is sing. छो, pl. का.

Although modern classical Hindi does not use this root, yet it is found with the initial vowel in the shape of an indeclinable present participle in the old poets, as in Tulsi’s Ramayan—

अाप चियत जुवराज पद् राममि देव नरेश

"Thyself remaining, give the heir-apparentship to Ram, O king!"

―Ay-k. 11.

That is, "during thy lifetime," literally "thou being." The dictionary-writers erroneously give this as a Tadbhava from चियत, with which it has nothing to do.

It is worthy of consideration whether the forms of the imperfect in P. given in § 60 should not be referred to this root rather than to as. The change of छ into स so characteristic of M. would thus find a parallel in Panjabi.

Gujarati has also a present participle indeclinable छतां and छते "(in) being," and declinable छतों m., ती f., तू n.; pl. छता m., ती f., तू n. "being."

§ 65. The compound tenses formed by the addition of this auxiliary are most numerous, as might be expected, in Marathi, that language having a larger range of tenses of the auxiliary itself than the sister-tongues. First, a present habitual is formed by adding the present of the auxiliary to the present participle of the verb, as राहत चसतो "he is living," i.e. "he habitually resides," बिहीत चसतो "I am (always employed in) writing."

Next, a past habitual, by adding the aorist of the auxiliary to the present tense, as बसत चसे "he was in the habit of sitting." It will be remembered that in M. the aorist has the sense of a past habitual in modern times. This compound
tense seems to differ very little in meaning from the simple tense.

There is also a compound present of the conditional, wherein the leading verb is in the present participle and the auxiliary in the conditional present. It is used with जर “if” prefixed, either expressed or understood, as जर काम करीत बसता “If he were doing the work,” पाऊँस पडन बसता “(If) rain were to fall (as it is now falling).” The same tense of the auxiliary, when used with the past participle, serves as a conditional preterite, as पडन बसता “he would have fallen (if, etc.).”

With the preterite of the auxiliary and the present participle of the leading verb is constructed a present dubitative, as तो जात बसना तर ते काम बाला सांगा “If he should be going, then entrust this affair to him.” Similarly, with the same part of the auxiliary and the past participle of the leading verb is made a past dubitative or pluperfect, as तो बाला बसना तर “Should he have arrived, then, etc.”

So, also, with the future participle and the past auxiliary, as जर तो जाणार बसना तर मला सांग “Should he be about to go, then tell me.”

The future of the auxiliary also forms three tenses with the present, past, and future participles of the leading verb respectively. It is difficult to give these tenses any definite name; the senses in which they are employed will be seen from the following examples:—

1. Present participle of verb + future of auxiliary—

तुझ्या बाप तुज्या चार पाहित बसेल “Your father will be waiting for you” (i.e. is probably now expecting you; vāता pāhat=“looks at the road,” idiomatic for “expects”).

2. Past participle of verb + future of auxiliary—

तो बाला बसेल “He will have come” (i.e. “has probably arrived by this time”).
3. Future participle of verb + future of auxiliary—

मी जिह्नेशार चमेख "I may be now going to write" (i.e. "I shall probably be writing presently").

The above is a fair illustration of the remark which I have frequently made before, that the modern verb, while throwing aside all the intricacies of the synthetical system of tenses, still manages to lose nothing of its power of expressing minute shades of meaning. On the contrary, by its almost unlimited power of forming compound tenses, it obtains a fullness and delicacy of expression, which even the synthetic verb cannot rival. Indeed, this fullness is at times somewhat embarrassing, for the subtle distinctions between one tense and another are very difficult to grasp, and, as might be expected, careless or uneducated speakers are unable to observe them accurately. The minute analysis of these various tenses belongs to the domain of syntax rather than to that of formlore, and a very long dissertation might be written upon the numerous shades of meaning involved in each one of them. The selection, for instance, of the different parts of the leading verb and auxiliary depends, to a great extent, upon the method of reasoning employed unconsciously by the speaker. These compound tenses are, in fact, rather phrases than tenses, and much depends upon whether the speaker regards the action as already past, or as actually being done with reference to the rest of the sentence. When we translate one of these phrases into English, or any other language, we do not really translate, but substitute our own way of expressing the idea for the native way. A literal word-for-word translation would be almost unintelligible. Thus, in the sentence above, राम जात असालात, तार तेक खाम त्यालात सांगात, the words are actually, "Ram going was, then that affair to him tell," where the speaker, as it were, pictures to himself that his messenger, after receiving orders, goes to Ram and finds that he was just going, and therefore
tells him the affair. Complicated and of course unconscious undercurrents of thought like this underlie much of the elaborate mechanism of the compound tenses in all our seven languages, and we often find natives of India who can speak English composing in our language elaborate sentences of this sort, to the entire disregard of our English idioms, because they think in Hindi or Marathi, and then translate the idea into English. This fact, which all observant Englishmen who have lived long in India must have noticed, lies at the root of much of the difficulty which our countrymen experience in making themselves understood by natives. They think in English, and render word for word into Hindi or Marathi; thus probably producing a sentence which means something widely different from what they intended. It is the same with all foreign languages; until a man learns to think in the foreign language, and utter his thoughts in the shape that they have in his mind, he can never hope to speak idiomatically. In seeking to explain the compound tenses of the modern Indian verb, therefore, it is necessary to analyze the connection and sequence of mental impressions to which they owe their origin, a task for the metaphysician, and not for the student of comparative philology.

Gujarati has also a plethora of compound tenses, but they are less complicated than Marathi, perhaps because the language has been less cultivated. In the simpler languages delicate nuances of expression do not exist, and if one wishes to translate any such phrases into one of these simple languages, it must be done by a long string of sentences. Thus, in trying to exact from a wild forester of the Orissa hills an answer to the question, "Did you know that Ram had run away before you went home or afterwards?" one has to go to work in this way, "Ram fled?" Answer, ho! (Yes). "You knew that fact?" ho! "You went home?" ho! "When you reached home they told you 'Ram is fled,' thus?" answer nâ! nâ! (No! No!).
"When you did not go home, before that, they told you?" ho! So to get out the meaning of the Marathi sentence quoted above, "If he should be going, then entrust this affair to him," one would have to say, "Near him you having gone, he 'I am now going' having said, this word having heard this matter to him you will tell." Perhaps in citing an Orissa wild man of the woods, I am taking an extreme case; but the remarks will hold good, more or less, for all the peasantry and lower classes all over India, and it must be remembered that the expression "lower classes" means in India eight-tenths of the whole population.

The compound tenses formed with the auxiliary के in G. are the following:—

1. Definite present; aorist of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as करे के "he does."

    Sometimes both verb and auxiliary lose their final vowel, as कर छ for करे के "thou dost," कर छ "he does." करो छ for की "ye do," etc.

2. Definite preterite; p.p. of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as बायो के "he has given," active used in karma construction with instrumental of subject. तैषे काम बजावेतु के "he has performed the work;" neuter in kartā, as जे चढ़्यो के "I have ascended."

3. Another definite preterite with the second form of the p.p. in elo, as छड़ेतो के "I have ascended." There seems to be no great difference of meaning between this and the last.

4. Definite future; future participle of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as बाजारी के "he is about to eat."

5. Another tense with the second form of the fut. part. in vāno, as जे करवानो के "I am going to do." The uninflected form of the future participle in ār may also be used, as ते शु करनार के "What art thou going to do?" These definite futures differ from the simple future in implying intention and
definite purpose, much as in German *er will thun* differs from
*er wurd thun*.

The auxiliary *कर* is sometimes also used after another auxiliary
derived from *भु*, as *छॉड़तो होय कर* "he is (now) loosing."
Of the tenses so formed more will be said further on.

It seems from comparing the examples given of these tenses
that there is not for each one of them a distinct special
meaning, but that they are used somewhat vaguely, the
auxiliary being added or omitted at pleasure. This is certainly
the case in Hindi, as will be seen below; and in the poets, who
are our only guides for the mediaeval period, metrical necessities,
rather than any desire to bring out a particular shade of
meaning, appear to determine which form shall be used.

Those dialects of Hindi which possess tenses from this root,
use them also as auxiliaries. Eastern Rajputana has the de-
finite present formed by the two aorists, that of the verb and
that of the auxiliary, मार्गः करू "I am beating," also a preterite
composed of the p.p. of the verb and aorist of auxiliary, as
मार्यो कर् "I have beaten." There seems to be some anomaly
in this latter, for in the preterite of the active verb *कर* is added
to all six persons, whereas, when used with the substantive
verb हो "be," the auxiliary is participial sing. को, pl. का.
Perhaps we hardly know enough of these rustic forms as yet
to be able to draw accurate distinctions.

Garhwali forms its definite present from the present parti-
ciple and the aorist मार्गः (or मार्डू) करू "I am beating;" and
its preterite in the same way from the p.p. and aorist मारेकर
"he has beaten," मारा करन "they have beaten." So does
Kumaoni, present मार्नू करू, preterite मारी कर; but in these,
also, there is still room for more accurate analysis, and a wider
range of observations requires to be made in remote and little
known parts of the country.

1 Kellogg, Grammar, p. 240.
Bengali has four well-defined tenses. The definite present and imperfect are formed respectively by incorporating the aorist and imperfect of the auxiliary into one word with the locative case of the present participle, thus—

Def. Present  

Def. Imperfect  

In the latter of these tenses the 1 pl. has in ordinary speech to a great extent usurped the place of the 1 sing., and we more frequently hear—

By incorporating the same tenses of the auxiliary into one word with the conjunctive participle (see § 73), it forms a definite preterite and a pluperfect, as

Def. Preterite  

Pluperfect  

Here, also, is common for 1 sing. Wonderful corruptions occur in pronunciation in these tenses: च्य लoses its aspirate and becomes छ, so that we hear for कारिनेक a word that sounds körche, and may be written करचे, for हॉटेषे “is” Vulgo होचे (होचे), for देखियांत्र देखिह (देखिह), and for देखियांत्र देखिलेम, or देखिलेम (देखिलेम ?). So also for चालितेक “goes” चालोचे (चलचे). These forms are freely used in conversation by educated persons, and some recent authors of comic novels and plays introduce them into the mouths of their characters. The same remark applies to all tenses of the verb, and it is a curious subject for speculation, whether the growth of literature will arrest the development of these forms, or whether they will succeed in forcing their way into the written language, and displace the longer and fuller forms now in use. If the latter event takes place, we shall see enacted before our eyes the process of simplifica-
tion which has been so fertile a cause of the formation of the present types in the whole neo-Aryan group. I anticipate, however, that the purists, aided by the conservative influence of a literature already copious, will ultimately carry the day against the colloquial forms.

Oriya has the four tenses corresponding to Bengali, but only two of them are formed with the auxiliary we are now discussing, the definite present and the definite preterite—

Def. Present कह चरिति “I am doing” (pres. part. karu “doing”).
Def. Preterite कारि चरिति “I have done” (p.p. kari “done”).

Here, also, colloquially, the auxiliary is generally incorporated with the verb, and they say कचिनिं and चारिति respectively. In the south of the province, also, the older form of the present participle in छ prevails, and one hears कचिनि “he is doing,” and contracted छिं “he is.”

§ 66. भुः. This widely-used root took as early as the Pali and Prakrit period the form हो; and in that form it has come down to modern times. As the ordinary substantive verb “to be,” it has a full range of tenses in all the languages, and it not only serves as an auxiliary, but takes to itself the tenses of the other auxiliaries like any other verb. In the latter capacity it need not here be discussed, as the remarks which have been made concerning the ordinary verbs will apply to this verb also.

Although, हो is the general form of this root in all the Indian languages, yet there are one or two exceptions in which the initial भ is retained. In Pali, both bhavati and hoti are found for 3 sing. pres., abhava and ahuvā impf., bhavatu and hotu impt., and in Sauraseni Prakrit we find bhodū= bhavatu, bhavia = bhūtā, and the like. Distinct traces of the retention of the भ are still in existence in some rustic dialects of Hindi, and in the old poets. In the latter, a p.p.p. sing. मयी m., मद्र f., pl. भए, is extremely common, used alone as a preterite, or with the
THE COMPOUND TENSES.

verbal endings, as भेद, भया, etc. It is also contracted into 
भा; and in the modern form भया “was,” may be heard 
commonly in the mouths of the lower orders all over the Hindi 
area of the present time. This form presupposes a Pr. भविष्य 
=a Skr. भविष्य, with elision of the व, and य called in to fill 
up the hiatus. I give from Kellogg the dialectic forms 
(Gr. p. 236)—

SINGULAR.

| Kanaujī | 1. 2. 3. भयि m., भयं f. |
| Braj.    | 1d. भयि m., 1d. |
| Old-Pûrbi | 1. भयं m., भा, 2. भयं m. 3. भयं m., भा |
| Avadhi. | भयं f., भयं f. |
| Riwâi.  | 1. 2. 3. भा, भ. |
| Bhojpuri | 1. भोजली, भेली, 2. भेल, 3. भेलस, भेल. |

PLURAL.

| Kanaujī | 1. 2. 3. भए m., भईं f. (also भचि m.). |
| Braj.    | 1d. |
| Old-Pûrbi | 1. भचि, भे m. 2. भचि, भचि m. 3. भचि, भे m. |
| Avadhi. | भचि f., भचि f., भचि f. |
| Riwâi.  | 1. 2. 3. भचि, भचिन्ध. |
| Bhojpuri | 1. भोजली, भेली, 2. भेलह, 3. भेलन. |

The verbal affixes are the same as those in the ordinary verb 
explained at § 33. Chand uses the same form as in Braj and

1 Kanaujī may be taken to mean the speech of the country between the Ganges and Jumna, the heart of the Hindi land; Braj, that of the right bank of the Jumna; Old-Pûrbi, of the country north of the Ganges from the Gandak river eastwards; Avadhi, that of Oudh (Avadh); Riwâi, of the country south of the Ganges and between the Chambal and the Son rivers. Braj and Old-Pûrbi are the 
dialects in use in the mediæval poets generally.
Kanauji, thus भयो कोटि तामस ताम || “He became violently disturbed with anger” (Pr. R. i. 48), अर्णगपाल भयो राज || “Anangapål became King” (iii. 17), पुढ़ कथा ज्ञायो भई || सनी खुल कहों चरुमाह || “How the former matter happened, listen while I tell the wonderful tale” (iii. 15), पुढ़ होत भई मृत्य || “While the son was being (born), she became dead” (i. 170), मए आदि ब्रहंत कविता जिति || “As many poems as have been (written) first and last” (i. 10), मए विकल लोग घाइल उ ताप || “The folk became distressed, (being) wounded and heated” (xxi. 5). Contracted मन भो ह्रास कल्प पुनि आद्य || “Laughters became (arose) in her mind, then after pity came” (iii. 10). The use of this tense is so common in Chhand as to supersede the other form of the preterite हुआ to a great extent.

A few examples may be added from Kabir: दुतिया नाम पारबती भयक || तप करता संकर को द्यत || “Her second name was Pârvati, the ascetic (i.e. Daksha) gave her to Śankara.” (Ram. 26, 5), चेके पुढ़ख चेकः नारी ||, ततिरिक्षिनियान भी चारी || “One male (energy), one female, from them were produced four kinds of living beings” (ib. 6), एक ब्रह्म ब्राह्मार ते यह सब जग मयो पसार “From one egg, the word Om, all this world has been created” (ib. 8). In these three quotations all three forms of the participle are used side by side.

Tulsi Das does not confine himself to Old-Pûrbi forms, but uses, also, those classed above under Braj, as मयो बहोरि मयो तरह खारा “It filled again and thus became salt (i.e. the sea)” (Lanka-k. 3), वेतुबंध महो मोर चार || “The Setubandh became very crowded” (ib. 10). But the Pûrbi form is more common, as in साक्ष नांद पूक्त त्व भयक “Bowing his head, thus he was asking” (Kis-k. 2), करितु दुड़वत कहत तन्त भयक “Making salutation, thus he was saying” (Ar-k. 259). The contracted form is also very common, as मन मूर्चि पाहि मय साहू || “He became (or was) enraptured at meeting with the beloved” (Ay-k. 441).
Closely connected with the Bhojpuri भेल is the form भेल, used by the half-Bengali half-Maithil poet Bidyapati, as in भून भेल मन्दिर भून भेल नगरी। भून भेल द्यादिए भून भेल सगरी। “Empty has become the temple, empty has become the city, empty have become the ten regions, empty has become everything!” (Pr. K.S. 118), कोकिल कलर्वे मति भेल भोरा। “From the sound of the koil’s notes my mind has become distracted” (ib. 120). It does not vary for gender or person.

I am not aware of the existence in any of the other languages of this type with the initial भ. It is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, confined to the rustic Hindi dialects mentioned above. In all other respects Hindi keeps to the type हो, like the cognate languages.

The aorist has the following forms:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. होइं आ 2. होए 3. होए</td>
<td>1. होएँ 2. होइँ 3. होइँ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. होइं अ 2. होइं 3. होइं</td>
<td>1. होइं 2. होइं 3. होइं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. जोइं 2. जोईं 3. जोईं</td>
<td>1. जोइं 2. जोइं 3. जोइं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. होइं अ 2. होइं 3. होइं</td>
<td>1. होइं 2. होइं 3. होइं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. होइं 2. होइं 3. होइं</td>
<td>1. होइं 2. होइं 3. होइं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. होइं 2. होइं 3. होइं</td>
<td>1. होइं 2. होइं 3. होइं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. हौ 2. हौ 3. हौ</td>
<td>1. हौ 2. हौ 3. हौ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Hindi this tense, as mentioned before, is frequently used as a potential in all verbs, and especially so in हो, where, owing to the existence of an aorist with signification of “I am,” etc., from हो, the tense derived from हो is more usually employed to mean “I may be.” The Pârbatia or Nepali dialect also uses this tense as a potential, thus—

Sing. 1. हौ, 2. हौ, 3. हौ. Pl. 1. हौ, 2. हौ, 3. जन.

Several peculiarities call for notice in this tense. In classical Hindi there is the usual diversity of practice always observed in stems ending in अ or ए, as regards the method of joining the
terminations. Thus we have for 1 sing. हो in addition to हों; 2 and 3 sing. are written होए, होय, होवि, and हो; 1 and 3 pl. होए, होय, होवि, हो; 2 pl. हो as well as होवि, which makes it identical with the same person in the aorist of as.

Dialectically the chief peculiarity, which, like most dialectic forms, is merely an archaism preserved to modern times, consists in the hardening of the final o of हो into v. This is observable in the Rajputana dialects, and partially also in that of Riwâ (Kellogg, p. 233).

**SINGULAR.**

Rajp. 1. ढौं 2. ढै 3. ढै

Riwâ. 2. ढास 3. ढाय.

**PLURAL.**

1. ढौंर 2. ढौरो 3. ढौर.

2. ढाव 3. ढांच.

This peculiarity is more marked in the simple future noted below. It also occurs in M., where the aorist, as shown above, when used as a past habitual = “I used to be,” takes the terminations of the active verb; but when used as a simple present, those of the neuter, as—

Sing. 1. होय 2. होस 3. होय.

Pl. 1. हों 2. हौं 3. होत.

The same combination occurs throughout this tense when used negatively = “I am not,” as—

Sing. 1. नहूँ 2. नहैस 3. नहै.

Pl. 1. नहों 2. नहौं 3. नहौत (नहौत).

and in other parts of the verb affirmative and negative.

In Sindhi this root is throughout shortened to हू, and when the vowel is lengthened by the influence of affixes, it becomes हू, rarely हो, except in poetry, where 3 sing. हौँ is met instead of ढौँ. The j, which in some forms of Prakrit is inserted between the stem and its termination, appears here also, as—

Sing. 1. ढौँ 2. ढौँ 3. ढौँ.

Pl. 1. ढौँ 2. ढौँ 3. ढौँन.

Oriya sometimes shortens o to u, but in that language the distinction in pronunciation between these two vowels is so
slight that in writing also the people often confuse the two. In a great part of this verb, however, the o is changed to a very short e. This is generally, but not always, due to a following i, where, from the shortness and indistinctness of the o-sound, o + i = a + i = ai = e. Thus 2 sing. is in full हैठ, though generally pronounced हो। In Bengali the o is generally written a, that vowel having in B. usually the sound of short, harsh o, like the o in English not, rock, etc. Thus it comes to pass that हैय and हैन may be regarded, either as shortened from होय and होन respectively, and thus derivable from हो, or as equivalents of H. हि and हैं, and so to be referred to as। In practice, certainly, the meaning in which they are used favours the latter hypothesis.

The imperative in H. is the same as the aorist, except 2 sing., which is simply हो “be thou.” In the Rajput dialects the 2 sing. is है, 2 pl. होजो; the former occurs also in Chand as a 3 sing. in सब वोलि कहको है सिद्धि सिद्धि। “All speaking, said, ‘May there be success, success!’” (i. 178) The Riwa dialect has 2 sing. जास, 2 pl. जाव, like the present.

P. 2 sing. हो, 2 pl. होजो। S. has 2 sing. हि and होउ, 2 pl. हो and जयो। G. for 2 sing. and 2 pl. both हो।

M. Sing. 1. होञ्ज 2. हो 3. होञ्ज, होज।
O. । 1. जए 2. हो 3. हैउ।
B. । 2. होउ, हैउ 3. हउक।

M. Pl. 1. होञ्ज 2. जया 3. होञ्ज, होज।
O. । 1. हैउँ 2. जञ्ज 3. हेउणु।
B. । 2. हैउँ 3. हउँ।

The respectful form of the imperative follows that of the other verbs in the various languages। H. here inserts ज, making होजिये “be pleased to be,” G. होज़।

Nepali has somewhat abnormally 2 sing. हस, 2 pl. होस। The simple future in G. is formed according to the usual
rule; but here again we meet the tendency so common in B.
and O., to express the o sound by a, so that side by side with
the regular forms होई, होि, etc., we have also sing. 1. होई,
2. होि, 3. होि; pl. 1. होई, 2. होि, 3. होि, which we must
apparently pronounce hōṣk, hōṣe, etc.

The simple future in old and rustic Hindi is regularly
formed, as होिहि “I shall become,” etc.; but in this tense the
employment of the type हि is very common, both in the poets
and among the peasantry of the western area. Thus—

**SINGULAR.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Braj.</th>
<th>1. होई</th>
<th>2. होि</th>
<th>3. होि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Rajp.</td>
<td>1. हि</td>
<td>2. हि</td>
<td>3. हि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have also the curious transitional form of East Rajpu-
tana which approaches so closely to G.—

**PLURAL.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>1. हि, हि</th>
<th>2. हि</th>
<th>3. हि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>1. हि, हि</td>
<td>2. हि, हि</td>
<td>3. हि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further details of these dialectic forms will be found in
Kellogg’s admirable grammar. When the wilder parts of the
country, at present little known to Europeans, shall have been
more fully explored, we may expect to obtain many finer gra-
dations of transition; for all over India the Gujarati proverb
holds true, “Every twelve kos language changes, as the leaves
change on the trees.”

The Braj form is interesting to students from the fact of this
dialect having become at an early date the traditional literary
vehicle of the Krishna-cultus, and thus to a certain extent a
cultivated classical language. Its forms, however, are found
in Chand long before the revival of Vaishnavism. He uses the
full form होिहि, a shortened form होिहि, and the Braj हि.
Also occasionally होि in a future sense, which is probably a
form of the 3 sing. aorist for हि (हि). Examples are प्रि
होिहि ति बंसि || “His race shall become extinct” (Pr.-R. iii.
§ 67. The participial tenses are formed as in the ordinary verb. The present participle is in Old-H. जवंत, as in Chand भसन जवंत निवारि "Laughing being prevented" (Pr.-R. i. 6). In modern H. the classical form is होता ज. होती ज., Braj होतु; and in most of the rustic dialects simply होत indelizable. In the Rajputana dialects the form होती is found. The other languages have P. झंटा, S. झंटी, G. होता, M. होत, होतां,
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होतांत, O. हूँ, B. होते, though really the locative of a present participle is used as an infinitive.

The past participle is in ह. one of the old Tadbhava class mentioned in §§ 46, 47, and as such takes its type from Skr. मृत्, ह. हा। The vowel of the stem is in the present day commonly pronounced short झा, and this practice is not uncommon in the poets. P. होरा, S. झोरे, G. होरे, होयो, होयलो.

M. has a strange participle झाला, which may be explained as phonetically resulting from an older form झाला, shortened from होयाला। I can trace nothing similar in any of the cognate languages, though the change from हूँ to हा is perfectly regular. In the poets a form झाला is found, and even झाला। These types have led some writers to regard this participle as derived from the root या। This, however, is very doubtful. Tukaram always uses जा, as आजी पूर्वे नवस। धन्य झाला हा दिवस। “To-day our vows are heard, blessed has become (is) this day” (Abh. 508).

O. होिँ, हेला, B. होिँर, हेिँ

The future participle is in M. झाला, O. हेव, B. हर, contracted to हूँ (होबूँ).

These participles serve as tenses, either with or without the remains of the old substantive verb, just as in the regular verb, and need not be more particularly illustrated.

One point, however, deserves a passing notice. The present participle in M. forms with the aid त of the substantive verb as a regular present, as 3 sing. होितो m. होिती f. होित n. But the slightly different form of this tense, which in the ordinary verb (§ 42) expresses the conditional present, is in the case of हो employed as an imperfect. Thus, while the form just given, होिता, etc., means “he becomes,” the conditional form होिता, etc., means “he was.” This usage is analogous to that of the G. हतो, etc., mentioned in § 40, and agrees with a form of preterite used in Braj Hindi, sing. हती m., हती f. etc. It has been
suggested that this latter is derived from Skr. भूत; but against such a derivation must be set the fact that bhūta had at a very early epoch lost its t and become in Pr. hūam, hōam, and the like; also that in Chand the anusvāra of the present participle is still preserved, as in दुब जंतो दुबनिय भोर । (Pr.-R. i. 49), "Brahman became to Brahman hostile;" and a few lines further on in the same passage दुब जंतो सिंगिय रिपथ “There was one Śrīnga Rishi.”

§ 68. The tenses of the regular verb formed by the additions of parts of the verb ho are numerous, but vary in the different languages. In Hindi we have mostly tenses with a general sense of doubt or contingency, in which those compounded with the present participle run parallel to those formed with the past participle. Thus with गिरता “falling,” and गिरा “fallen” (gir “to fall”) —

1. गिरता होज (aorist of ho) “I may be falling,” which may be called a definite present subjunctive or contingent; as in answer to a question हमारी घर को जाते “Are you going to my house?” one might answer जाता होज “I may be going (but am not sure).”

2. गिरता होगा (future of ho shortened from होजगा) “I shall or must be falling,” a future contingent, or doubtful; as in asking राम खबरौ खाता है “Is Ram coming now?” the reply is, हां खाता होगा “Yes, he will be coming,” or, “he must be coming,” i.e. “I suppose he is now on his way here.”

3. गिरता होता “(If) I were falling,” conditional present definite. This is very rarely used, but it seems to denote a phase of action which could not, when occasion requires, be otherwise expressed. It may be illustrated thus: राम जदि भागता होता तो मैं उसकी रोकता “If Ram were now running away, I would stop him” (but as he is not, there is no need for me to do so). It is the present participle of the auxiliary used in a conditional sense, as in the simple verb.
4. गिरा होज़े “I may have fallen.” Also somewhat rare. In answer to तुम ने उसके नाम कब्बौ सुना “Have you ever heard his name?” one might say सुना होज़े “I may have heard it” (but have now forgotten it).

5. गिरा होगा “I must or shall have fallen.” This is a very commonly used tense. Thus जब्बा होगा is a frequent answer where a person is not sure, or does not care; and is almost equivalent to “I dare say,” “very likely,” “I shouldn’t wonder.” Also, it indicates some degree of certainty, as राम ने संबाद् पाया है “Has Ram received the news?” Answer, पाया होगा “He will have received it,” meaning “Oh yes, of course he has,” or with a different inflection of voice, “I dare say he has.”

6. गिरा होता “(If) I had fallen.” Hardly ever used, except in a negative sentence. I do not remember to have heard it in conversation; though an analogous form with the participle of रहू may be heard in eastern Hindi, as तुम जब्दे कब्बौ आए रहती “If you had come yesterday.” The only instance Kellogg gives is apparently from a translation of the Bible (John xv. 22) जो मैं च आया होता उन का पाप न होता “If I had not come . . . they had not had sin.”

Panjabi makes a somewhat different use of the tenses of हो. In this language हो, when used as an auxiliary, has rather the sense of continuance in an act, than that of doubt or contingency. Thus we find the ordinary definite present जांदा है “He is going,” side by side with a continuative present with हो, जांदा जंदा है “He kept on going;” also, “He is in the habit of going.” So, also, there is a continuative imperfect जांदा जंदा सा “He kept on going,” “He was always going.” Similarly, there are two forms of the future, one with the simple future of हो (like No. 2 in Hindi given above) जांदा होविगा “He will probably be going,” and a continuative form containing हो twice over, जांदा जंदा होविगा “He will probably be always going.” Thus, to the question उह जितमांज चिर उथे
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रहि० द्रोहिणा “How long will he be stopping there?” the answer might be, उह उह द्रा चर है उह ता सदा सरबदा उहे रहि० डंडा द्रोहिणा “His home is there, he will probably always be stopping there.” With जे “if” prefixed, the tense जांदा डंडा means “If I were in the habit of going.”

Parallel to the above are two tenses with the aorist of ho: जांदा होवा “I may be going,” and with “if” prefixed, “If I should be going;” and जांदा डंडा होवा “I may be constantly going,” “If I should be always going.”

With the past participle they combine the present participle of ho, as रक्षिता डंडा “I would have put,” and conditionally, जे मैं रक्षिता डंडा “If I had put,” “If I should have put;” as in उह जे बचपेट्रा बकीों दे हस्त दिता डंडा ता सानु मिलिता डंडा “If he had given the money into the care (lit. hand) of the merchant, then we should have got it.”

There is also a combination of the past tense with the aorist of ho, as गिता होवे “He may have gone,” or, “If he has (perchance) gone.”

Colloquially, they frequently also insert होराह pleonastically in phrases where it is difficult to attach to it any definite meaning. Thus उन घजिता है “he has sent,” and घजिता होराह है “he is having sent.” In this latter phrase there is, perhaps, implied the idea of the action having been performed some time ago, and being still in force, so that it harmonizes with the generally continual meaning of ho as an auxiliary in Panjabi. Also, though it is not noticed in the grammar, I remember having heard frequently this word हौह, repeated probably for emphasis, as मारिता हौहा हौहा “beaten” (repeatedly, or very much indeed).

In Sindhi the present and past participle are both compounded with the aorist of ho to form potentials, thus—1. हलंद्रो जए “he may be going;” 2. हलिखी जए “he may have gone.” There does not appear to be in this language so strong a sense of doubt, or of continuance, in these combinations, as in
H. and P., probably because ho plays a more important part in S. than does as, which is represented by only one tense, or achh, which is not represented at all.

3. हुल्लाड़ी हँड़े "he was going." This is the present participle of the verb with the preterite of ho.

4. हुल्लाड़ी हँड़े "he had gone." The past participle with the same. These two are exactly parallel.

5. हुल्लाड़ी हँड़े "he will be going." Definite future, made up of present participle with future of ho.

6. हुल्लाड़ी हँड़े "he will have gone." Past future, the past participle with the same. These two are also exactly parallel.

In the passive phase of active verbs there are also six tenses formed by the same process, whereof 2, 4, and 6 are the same as in the active, or, in other words, these two tenses may be construed either actively or passively, according to the structure of the sentence. Trumpp gives them twice over, probably for this reason:

1. कड़्ड़ियो काने "he may be being released." Future participle passive (§ 51) with aorist of ho.

3. कड़्ड़ियो हँड़े "he was being released." The same with preterite of ho.

5. कड़्ड़ियो हँड़े "he will be being released." The same with future of ho.

Gujarati employs ho in the following tenses (Taylor, p. 92), mostly dubitative (chaḍ “ascend”):

1. Present participle + aorist, चड़ंतो हँड़े "he is ascending." Definite present.

2. The same + future, चड़ंतो हँड़े "he may be ascending." Contingent present.

3. The same + pres. part. indeclinable, चड़ंतो हँड़े "(if) he were ascending." Subjunctive present.

A parallel group with past participle:

1. Past p. + aorist, चड़ो हँड़े "he has ascended." Definite preterite.
2. The same + future, चढळो हो शे “he may have ascended.” Contingent preterite.
3. The same + pres. p. ind., चढळो हो त द “(if) he had ascended.” Subjunctive preterite.

The same combinations may be formed with the p.p. in elo, as चढळो हो य, but there does not seem to be any very great difference in the meaning.

Also a group with future participle; in the form vāno (see § 52)—
1. Fut. p. + aorist, चड्बाणो हो य “he is about to ascend.” Definite future.
2. The same + future, चड्बाणो हो शे “he may be about to ascend.” Contingent future.
3. The same + pres. p. ind., चड्बाणो हो त “(if) he were about to ascend.” Subjunctive future.

An example of the use of the last of these tenses is ते में चौड़वाणो हो तो चौड़ि “If he were going to (or had intended to) release me, he would have released me (long ago).” Three similar tenses are formed by combining the three above parts of the auxiliary with the participle in ār or āro, which, as in Marathi, is rather the noun of the agent, and will be discussed further on (§ 75).

Compound tenses in Marathi are formed so largely by the auxiliaries derived from as and aĉh, that there is comparatively little left for ho to do. It is used in the following tenses:

Imperfect, made up of present part. and imperfect of ho, as तो चैत होता “he was coming.”

“Incepto-continuative” imperfect, as the grammar-writers call it, made from the present part. and the preterite of ho, as तो चैतता झावा “he began to speak.” This is rarely used.

Future preterite formed by the future participle and imperfect of ho, as मी लिबिसियार हो तो “I was to have written,” i.e. “It had been arranged that I was to write under certain circumstances.” The example given is मी काल चायचा केढ़े चेशार
Future continuous composed of the present participle and future of ho, as ती बोलता होंदिस्त "he will begin to speak" (and go on speaking).

Imperfect subjunctive, from the subjunctive (future pass. part.) and imperfect of ho used in the Karma prayoga, as ला सांगिवे होति "you should have told," lit. "by you to be told it was." This may also be expressed by using पाहिजे "ought," as मला चालालिं पाहिजे होति "I ought to have walked."

Another preterite phrase is formed by adding the imperfect of ho to the neuter genitive of the future pass. part., as मला चालालिं होति "I had to walk," i.e. "I was obliged to walk."

It will be seen that all these instances of the use of ho as an auxiliary are rather elaborate verbal phrases than tenses, ingenious and successful attempts at filling up the gap caused by the loss of a large range of synthetical tenses and participles from the earlier stage of language.

This verb is not used as an auxiliary in O. or B., though it is used as an ancillary to form a pedantic sort of passive with Tatsama p.p. participles, as B. प्रेरित होिते, O. पूरित हिवा "to be sent." This, however, forms no part of the actual living languages of either Orissa or Bengal, and may be passed over with just this much notice.

§ 69. sthā. The Pali and Prakrit forms of the various tenses of this verb were given in § 12, where also the principal parts of the verb in S. G. and O. were given. In Hindi there is only one part of this verb in use as an auxiliary, namely, the participial tense था "was," sing. था m., थी f.; pl. थे m., थी f. ¹

¹ I had formerly connected this tense था with G. and Braj hato and been thus led to refer it to as; but further research, aided by the dialectic forms brought to light by Kellogg and others, has led me to abandon that view, and to adopt that given in the text—dies dixit docet.
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This form is, I believe, shortened from चिन्त्रो, and that again from the Skr. p.p.p. रिख्यत. It is therefore analogous to the shortened forms of other p.p. participles so largely employed in the modern languages. We saw in Vol. II. p. 275, how the genitive postposition kā had been evolved by a long and varied process from Skr. kṛita; so, also, gā in the H. and P. future from gata, bhā in Old-Hindi from bhūta, lā and la in M., and other futures from lagna; and in exact parallelism to these is thā from sthīta.

The Kanauji Hindi has sing. चो m., ची f.; pl. चि m., ची f.; but the Garhwāli still preserves a fuller type in sing. चोय m., चोई f.; pl. चोया m. Nearer still to sthīta, and with incorporation of the Skr. root as, so as to make a regular imperfect, is the Nepali "I was," etc.—

Sing. 1. चियां 2. चिस 3. चिया. Pl. 1. चियुं 2. चियी 3. चिया.

Nepali is not an independent language, but merely a dialect of Hindi. The people who speak it call it Pārmatiya or mountain Hindi; it may therefore appropriately be taken into consideration in arguing as to the origin of Hindi forms. था is used in Hindi in two tenses only.

1. With present participle, चोलता था "was speaking." Imperfect.

2. With past participle, चोला था "had spoken." Pluperfect.

In P. सा is occasionally used, though सा, in its numerous forms, is far more common: This verb is also used with a full range of tenses in Sindhi. Trumpp\(^1\) calls it an auxiliary, but I can find no instances of its being used to form tenses of the ordinary neuter or active verb like as or bhū, and it takes parts of the latter to form its own compound tenses. There are, however, two parts of sthā in use as auxiliaries in Sindhi, the former of which थो probably = रिख्यत: nom., and the latter

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\(^1\) Grammar, p. 305.
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चै=ख्ति loc. चो agrees with the subject in gender, and is used to form with the aorist an indefinite present—

Sing. 1. हृणै चो m. हृणै ची f.
Pl. 1. हृणू चा m. हृणू चैजू f., “I go,” etc.

This auxiliary differs from all others in the seven languages, in that it may be put before the principal verb. चै has the same peculiarity, and is used to make a continuative imperfect with the past participle of the principal verb; it does not vary for gender or person. Thus—

Sing. 1. हृणुतसिः चे 2. हृणिणेः चे.
Pl. 1. हृणिणासीले चे, etc., “I used to go,” or simply “I was going.”

Examples are—

च चालू चार जे चार चे विडहं “Two women were quarrelling (the vidhayuni) about a child.”

हिंडी च जणा परे परेदेवहिं चे बिहिं “Two men were going (the bid) to a foreign country.”

Here the auxiliary precedes, and with reference to the suggested origin of this auxiliary from the locative sthite, it is more natural that it should do so, for the verb, whether in a simple or compound tense, naturally comes last in the sentence, so that the phrase “I am (in the act or condition of) having gone,” is rendered “in having been, I am gone.”

G. has also the full verb in all its tenses, and it may apparently be used as an auxiliary just as ho. As regards meaning, हृणू is more powerful than हृणू; the latter, also, is more powerful than चै. There are thus three grades of substantive verb. चै “he is,” is merely the copula; हृण “he is, or becomes,” is a definite expression of existence; चाच “he remains,” is positive and prolonged existence. The distinction,

1 Stack, Grammar, pp. 134, 135.
as pointed out before, is analogous to that between ser and estar in Spanish.

शर्वूः forms compound tenses by taking parts of हथौं as auxiliaries, just as the ordinary verb, thus—

Imperfect यतो ह्रती, as in ते लठारे यती ह्रती “That fight was going on.”

Preterite ययो ह्रय के, as in तेनु मन करण ययुं ह्रय के “His heart has become hard.”

Dubitative present यतो ह्रेगे, as in ते है यतावो यतो ह्रेगे “Therefore you may now be regretting,” and so on.\(^1\)

In Oriya this verb plays a somewhat different part. It is there used not as a second auxiliary side by side with ho, but to the exclusion of it, and forms, with the participles of the principal verb, a range of well-defined tenses, which cannot be expressed otherwise.

1. With the present participle (kar “do”) कर “doing”—

   a. Aorist of ठां कर क्षाए, karu thâē, “he is (or was) doing.” Continuative present.

   b. Preterite , कर ठिला, karu thilâ, “he was doing.” Imperfect.

   c. Future , कर ठिबं, karu thibō, “he will be doing.” Continuative future.

2. With the past participle करि “done”—

   a. Aorist of ठां करि क्षाए “he has (usually) done.” Habitual preterite.

   b. Preterite , करि ठिला “he had done.” Pluperfect.

   c. Future , करि ठिबं “he will have done.” Future past.

The difference between 1a and 2a is very delicate, and rather difficult to seize. Karu thâē implies that a person habitually

\(^1\) The examples are from Leckey, Grammar, pp. 76, 81.
does an act, and thus that he was doing it at the time mentioned, according to his usual custom. Thus, to a question से हाटें समु िचला "Was he sitting in the market?" the answer might be हां सेठ बसु िचाए "Yes, he always sits there;" and thus it is implied that he was sitting there at the time referred to. So again, कविराज जिते बैठे आसिला तु मलहिद िचाए "When the doctor came, I was getting well," implying that I had been improving before he came, and continued to do so. Kari thāē, on the other hand, literally, "He remains having done," implies a habit which is not necessarily in force at the time referred to, as भारता प्रति नाहार बड़ राग होर िचाए "He is always very angry with his wife," not implying that he is actually angry at the moment of speaking. It is also used of an action which lasted some time, but has now ceased, as से समये चाक़र बड़ कांश होर िचाए1 "At that time I had a bad cough," implying that he had a cough which lasted a long while, but from which he has now recovered. Both tenses thus imply continuity, but the former indicates continuity still existing, the latter continuity in past time, which has now ceased.

There are similarly two imperatives formed respectively with the present and past participles—

a. कश िचा "Remain thou doing."

b. कार िचा "Remain thou having done."

Here, also, the same fine distinction is drawn as in the other tenses. गोबिंद से काम कम िचार "Let Gobind go on doing that work." But, as Hallam well remarks (Grammar, p. 153), "The Oriya very often uses a past participle in his mode of thought, where we should use the present."2 He illustrates this tense

1 Hallam, Oriya Grammar, p. 78.
2 I had the advantage of assisting Mr. Hallam when he was writing his grammar, and the definition of this tense was a source of much difficulty and discussion. He consulted a large number of natives, both educated and uneducated, the former as to the rationale, and the latter as to the practice. The latter, without knowing the reason why, often corrected karu thā into kari thā instinctively, and a large range of observations led to his adopting the definition in which I have followed him.
thus: "Suppose a person should say to another, 'Do that work so,' and the person addressed should reply, 'I have done it so,' and the first speaker should then say, 'Well, always do it so,' or, 'Continue to do it so,' this last phrase would be expressed by this tense." Ex. gr.:—

तुभि वेंहि काम सेमति कर् "Do that work so."

Answer मु सेमति करिच्छे "I have done it so," or, "as (you order) so I have done."

Rejoinder बछा सेमति करि था "Well, always do so," literally, "thus having done, remain."

Here, if we used karu thā, we should imply that the person addressed was actually doing the work while we were speaking, while kari thā is used when he is not actually working.

Lastly, there is a pair of tenses with the conditional—

कर थान्ता "he might be doing," or, "if he were doing."

करि थान्ता "he might have done," or, "if he had done."

These explain themselves.

Bengali does not employ the primary form of this auxiliary, but has instead a secondary stem derived from it. This is याक, which is conjugated throughout in the sense of remaining, and partakes of the combined senses of continuity and doubt peculiar to this verb. There are, strictly speaking, no compound tenses formed by this verb, and the method of its employment is rather that of an ancillary verb.

§ 70. या. This root takes the form जा, and is used in H. P. M., occasionally in G. and B., and usually in O., to form the passive voice. G. having a passive intransitive of its own (§ 24), does not often have recourse to this verb, and S. having a regularly derived synthetical passive (§ 25), dispenses with it altogether. When used as in H. P. and M. to form a passive,
it is compounded with the past participle of the principal verb, as (dekh "see")—

H. Aorist देखा जाए "he is seen." P. दिठा जावि.

Imperative, देखा बाचि "be ye seen." दिठा बाचि.

Future देखा जाएगा "he will be seen." दिठा बाचेगा.

So also in M. and O. The various tenses of जा are formed in the same manner as other verbs. When compounded with any other part of the verb than the past participle, जाद is ancillary, and is used in various other senses.

There has been, in former times, much discussion about this form of the passive, some writers declaring it inelegant, others considering it unusual and opposed to the genius of the Indian languages, while some have even gone so far as to deny its existence altogether. The most discerning inquirers, however, admit it as a form in actual use, though they point out certain circumstances which obviate the necessity for recourse to it. Such are the existence of a large class of neuter verbs, the practice of changing the object into a subject, and figurative expressions like "to eat a beating," मार क्षाना, "it comes into seeing," देखने में अटा, and the like. Speaking as one who has lived in daily and hourly intercourse with natives of India for nearly twenty years, I can testify to the use of this form by speakers of Hindi, Panjabi, Bengali, and Oriya frequently, and even habitually. Idiomatically, many other ways of expressing the passive idea undoubtedly exist, and in some languages, as Bengali and Marathi, हो may be used to form a passive. There are phrases and occasions, however, where it would be more idiomatic to use the passive जाद than any other construction, and we may conclude that, though its use is somewhat restricted, it is erroneous to describe it as always inelegant and unidiomatic, and still more so to deny its existence altogether.
§ 71. By using the expression "compound tense" in a wider sense than that in which it has been employed in the former part of this chapter, we may legitimately include under it that large and varied class of phrases in which two verbal stems are used together to express one idea. In such a combination the first verb remains unchanged, and all the work of conjugation is performed by the second, which acts, so to speak, as a hand-maid to the first. For this second verb I have thought it advisable to employ the term "ancillary," as expressing more clearly than any other that occurs to me, the actual relation between the two. The ancillary verb differs from the auxiliary, in that the former runs through all the tenses of the verb, and the principal verb on which it waits remains unchanged, while the latter only forms certain specified tenses in composition with several parts of the principal verb, being attached now to the present, now to the past or future participle. Thus, the tenses formed by the aid of auxiliaries are integral portions of the primary simple verb. In the case of the ancillary, on the other hand, it, together with the principal verb, forms, in fact, a new verb, which, though consisting of two elements, must be regarded for conjugational purposes as essentially one throughout. Thus, the elements már "strike," and dál "throw," combine into the compound verb már dálná "to kill," which is conjugated through the whole range of simple, participial, and compound tenses of dálná, már remaining unchanged.

Grammarians have invented many strange names for these verbs with ancillaries, calling them Frequentatives, Inceptive, Permissives, Acquisitives, and many other -ives. It would, perhaps, be simpler not to seek to invent names for all, or any of them, but merely to note the combinations that exist with their meanings. Indeed, it is hardly possible to group them into classes, because, in practice, some ancillaries may be combined with any verb in the language, while others again
can only be combined with one or two specific verbs. Moreover, there are exceptions to the general rule that a verb with an ancillary runs through the whole range of tenses, for some ancillaries are only employed in one tense, or in two tenses; thus lag, in Hindi, is usually only employed in the past tense, as kahne lagâ “he began to say.” Some again are formed in only one tense in one language, while they may be used in several tenses in another language.

The subject is a very wide one, for the number of primary verbal stems in the seven languages being small, they are driven to express complicated ideas by combining two of them together. They have also lost the facility of expressing such ideas which is possessed by most original Aryan languages, through the upasargas, or prepositions, and can no longer develop from one simple root a variety of meanings by prefixing pra, abhi, upa, or sam. Under such circumstances they have taken a number of their commonest verbs and tacked them on to other verbs, in order to imply that the action expressed by the principal verb is performed under the conditions expressed by the added, or, as we may call it, the ancillary verb. As might be expected, however, while the principle is the same in all seven languages, the method of its application, and the particular ancillaries used, differ, to some extent, in the several languages. It will be better to take each ancillary separately, exhibiting the general effect of each as combined with different parts of the principal verb.

§ 72. Ancillaries may be attached not only to other verbs, but even to themselves; the verb to which they are attached is placed in the conjunctive participle, and remains in that form throughout. Another class, however, exists, in which the principal verb is in the infinitive mood, which, as Kellogg justly observes, is not strictly a case of a compound verb, but
that of one verb governing another, and in this view would more properly be regarded as a matter of syntax. Inasmuch, however, as certain well-known and constantly-used phrases of this kind have grown up in all the languages, whose use, to a great extent, supplies the want of regular tenses, it will be better to give them all here, so as to complete the survey of the modern verb in all its aspects. It must be noted, also, that in Hindi, and occasionally in P. M. and G., the conjunctive participle loses its final syllable, and thus appears in the form of the simple stem; that it is the participle, and not the stem, is shown by the analogy of the other languages, and by isolated instances of the preservation of the participial form even in Hindi.

1. दे "give," and ले "take," are in H. widely used as ancillaries, and the meanings which are obtained by their use are somewhat varied. In a general way, it may be said that de is added to verbs to express the idea that the action passes away from the subject towards the object, while le implies that the action proceeds towards the subject. Thus de can, strictly speaking, be used only with actives and causals; and in some cases adds so little to the meaning of the principal verb, that it appears to be a mere expletive. With active verbs examples are—

कंक "to throw;" कंक देना "to throw away."

निकालना "to take out;" निकाल देना "to turn out, eject."

Thus घर से धान निकाल "he took the rice out of the house," where the idea is, that the man being outside went in and brought out the rice; but in सुध को घर से निकाल दिया है "he has turned me out of the house," it would be understood that the speaker had been forcibly ejected.

रखना "to put;" रख देना "to put away, lay by."

मारना "to strike;" मार देना "to beat off."
With causals it is used very frequently, and with scarcely any perceptible change of meaning—

समझाना and समझा देना “to explain.”
गिराना ” गिरा देना “to cause to fall, or to throw down;” *
बैठाना ” बैठा देना “to seat, or to put into a seat.”

Perhaps one can sometimes trace in the form with देना a sense of the action having been done with some force, while in the simple verb the idea of force is wanting, but in the majority of instances no such distinction could be traced. There is occasionally some additional emphasis, as in the common phrases देना “give,” and ले लो “take,” where the ancillary is added to itself, but these expressions belong more particularly to the Urdu side of the language.

When attached to the infinitive of another verb, देना implies permission, as जाने देना “let (him) go,” हम को बैठने देने “please let me sit down.”

P. uses देना in the same way as H., but it does not appear to be so used in Sindhi. In G. it is added to the conjunctive participle of another verb to give emphasis, it also expresses impatience, but, in both cases, like H., with a general idea of the action being from the speaker towards the object. Thus तब देना “to abandon,” तबी देखी “let (it) alone!” “let go!” नाखुब “to throw,” नाखे देखी “throw (it) away!” But as in H., with the infinitive it implies permission, जबू “to go,” जबा देतू “to allow to go,” पडा देतू “to let fall,” जखा देतू “to permit to write.”

M. has the same usage of देना; when added to the conjunctive participle it has the same senses as in H., as लिखन देशी “to write,” खोलन देशी “to dig;” in both of which phrases there is only a little additional emphasis implied, or perhaps an idea of finishing and having done with, as “write it off,” “dig it up and have done with it,” as in टाकून देना “throw it away.”
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With the infinitive it implies permission, as मला जाओ जै “suffer me to go,” बारा खिछे देव नाहि “the wind will not let me write.”

Precisely similar is the usage in O. and B., as O. फिंटाज़ दिय “break it open,” literally, “having caused to open, give;” but with the infinitive मते चामिकाज़ देवा नाहि “he would not let me come.”

Bengali uses this verb with the conjunctive to imply completeness or emphasis, as पुजूद्र दियिया दियादिक I have seen the book,” that is, “I have examined or perused it.” With the infinitive it, like the rest, signifies permission, as आमारे पड़िते दिलिए ना “They did not allow me to read.”

2. ले is in all respects used similarly to जै, but with exactly the opposite meaning, namely, that of the action being directed towards the speaker, or the subject. In this construction its meaning is often very slightly different from that of the simple verb. Thus we may say, पीता “he drinks,” and पी लेता “he drinks up,” or “drinks down,” in the latter case implying a more complete action. With causals it is used when the action is towards the subject, as राम श्री हमारे पास बुजा लो “call Ram to me,” where the simple verb बुजाना merely means “to call.” The distinction between the use of दे and ले is well shown when added to रखना “to put;” thus रख लो means “put it away (for your own use),” but रख लो “put it down (and leave it).” There is, as Kellogg has shown, a sense of appropriating a thing to oneself involved in ले.

P. follows the usage of H., but has less frequent recourse to this ancillary. S. uses निचय, which is the same word as ले, in the sense of “taking away,” which in H. is expressed by जे जाना, as in सांडेर समुंद्र जे निचः दे निच्छा “In crossing the ocean they were forcibly carried off.” (Trumpp, p. 340). In another instance, however, the meaning is more that of simple taking, मानाथ निचय “to bring back,” literally, “having caused to return, to take.”
In G., the meaning is the same as in H., acquisition, or action towards the speaker or subject, as in समजी लेबु “to understand,” i.e. “to make oneself acquainted with,” शीखी लेबो “learn (this),” i.e. “acquire this knowledge.”

M., as before remarked, uses घे, where its sisters have घे. It is used freely in all combinations involving the idea of taking, and seems, like many other ancillaries, to be often used pleonastically. Perhaps, however, we ought to make allowance for the trains of thought which, in the minds of native speakers, underlie the expressions which they use, and, in this view, to admit that an idea of taking may be present to their minds in expressions which, in our mode of thought, would not involve such an idea. It is difficult to get a native to concentrate his mind upon what he is actually saying or doing, he will always mix up with his present speech strange undercurrents of nebulous fancies as to what he did or said last, or what he is going to do or say next, and this habit influences his speech and produces phrases which, to the practical European mind, seem unnecessary and confusing. Thus Molesworth (s.v. घे) reckons as pleonastic the use of this ancillary in लबकर खान कहल घा “quickly having bathed take.” Here the word “take” is probably inserted from a feeling that the person addressed is wanted again after he has had his bath. Thus, if you were about to send a man on an errand, and he asked (as a native usually does) to be allowed to bathe and eat first, you might use the above sentence. In Hindi one would use औद “to come,” in the same way, as झट बदना करके आबो. If you did not use some ancillary or other, it might be understood that you did not want the man’s services after he had bathed. In another phrase पौरण घट पौल उजन चेतबा “The child burnt his hand,” judging from the analogy of similar phrases in the cognate languages, I feel that if चेतला were not used, the person addressed would be capable of supposing that
the child burnt the whole of his hand up, whereas, what is really meant is, that the child got a burn on his hand.

The O. verb नेत्रा is used as in H., as कागज पत्र बुझि नेदू "I will take charge of the papers and accounts," where he means that he will take them and study them, it is literally "having understood I will take."

So also with B. लख्रो, as चित्री पदार्था लखें "they took and read the letter."

3. आ "come," जा "go," as also the cognate stems in the other languages, when used as ancillaries, stand to each other in the same contrast as le and de. H. आ is not very widely used, and principally with neuter verbs; it implies doing a thing and coming back after having done, and thus has a certain sense of completing an action. Thus बनाना "to be made," बन आना, or sometimes colloquially, बने आना "to be completely done, successfully accomplished," खित को तेख ग्राया है "Having seen the field, I am come," i.e. "I have been and looked at the field," and he implies, "I have examined it, and am now ready to make terms for the rent of it." The usage is similar in P., though rarely heard.

The equivalent of आ in S. is आच्छि, pres. part. आदू "coming," p.p. आयो "come." It is used with the infinitive to mean beginning to do, and this usage is thus different from that of H. and P. Thus वसाश्र आच्छि "to come to rain," or, as we should say, "to come on to rain," as—

विकु वसाश्र आईयू सारंगु चढ़ियो सेज ||

"The lightnings have begun to rain, the rainy season has ascended (his) couch."—Trumpp, p. 344.

G. आव is used in the sense of coming into action, or into use, becoming, and is used with the present participle, as ब्रह्मलु आव "to become spoilt." But far more frequently आवी, the conjunctive participle, takes other ancillaries after it.

व्र in M. is also used in a potential sense, but generally, as
far as I can learn, with the indeclinable form of the present participle, and with the subject in the dative case; thus it literally means "to me, to you, etc., it comes to do," as मना जाता चेतो "I can go," lit. "to me going comes." Similar to this is the use of अन्न in H. as an independent verb, chiefly in negative sentences, as उसको लिखिकापडी आती नहीं "He does not know how to read and write," lit. "To him reading-writing comes not." So also in O. and B.

4. जा "go," is used more frequently, and in a wider sense than जा। In H. it implies completeness or finality, as खाता "eat," खा जाता "eat up," चले जाता "go away," where the principal verb preserves the termination of the conjunctive participle. In the familiar compound हो जाता "to become," the ancillary adds a little distinctness to the idea of the principal. So, also, in कह, or कह, जाता; thus, if a man is hesitating or fumbling over a story or message, you say कह जातो, i.e. "Speak out!" or "Out with it!"

When added to neuter verbs (especially the double verbs mentioned in § 18), it seems to add no special meaning, and one may say दूरता or दूर जाता "to be broken;" भिखाना or भिख जाता "to meet" or "be obtained." Colloquially, and especially in the past tense, the form with जाता is far more commonly heard than that without it; thus, for "it is broken," one hears दूरत गया twenty times for once of दूरता. This practice seems to confirm what was conjecturally advanced in § 25, concerning the origin of the use of जाता to form a passive, as compared with the Sindhi passive in जा.

Sindhi uses, in a similar way, its stem चड़ा "go" (impt. चड़, p.p. चड़ो, pres. p. चड़ो, चड़ो), from Skr. चड़्रु, Pr. चढ़. Thus, चड़ी चड़ा "to take off," मरी चड़ा "to be dead," i.e. "to go, having died." चढ़ी चड़ा "to ascend," i.e. "to go, having ascended." There is also a phrase in which it is added to चड़ा "to lift," as खड़ी चड़ "be off!" "go away!" The
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general effect of this ancillary may thus be taken to be that of completeness. Trumpp gives the following examples (p. 340):

यो जड़ति हु वड़ो तड़ति हरी विच्छो "When he was grown up, then he died" (say "died off"). 

सूँहिनि जो सलाह चढ़ू त वोरि लंच वर्मे "Take the advice of the pilots that thou mayst pass over (or pass through and escape from) the flood tide."

Completion or finality is also indicated by jā in G., attached to the conjunctive participle, as in H. and P.; when added to the present participle, it implies continuance, as जख़तौ जा “go on writing.”

In M. B. and O., this stem is not used as an ancillary.

5. सक “be able,” is attached to the stem-form or apocopated conjunctive participle of all verbs in H. to imply power, as चच जकता “he is able to walk,” कर जकेगा “he will be able to do.” It is rarely, if ever, used alone in correct speaking, though one sometimes, in the eastern Hindi area, hears such an expression as हम सकेंगे नहीं “I shall not be able.” This, however, is probably to be regarded merely as an elliptical phrase for हम कर सकेंगे नहीं “I shall not be able to do.”

In P. also it is used always as an ancillary, as वाच सकदा है “he is able to read,” and is conjugated throughout the verb. In S. the corresponding verb सजयु is used with the conjunctive participle in the same sense, as करे सजयु “to be able to do.”

In all these three languages this verb may be added to the inflected form of the infinitive, though in H. and P. this construction is avoided by those who desire to speak elegantly. Still one often hears it, as जाने सकता नहीं “he cannot go,” and in the eastern Hindi area it is very common, as well as in the Urdu spoken by Musulmans in all parts of India. Among these latter, indeed, karne saktā is much commoner than kar saktā.

It is used in G. as in H., and may also be used in M., but in this latter language the existence of another method of expressing potentiality (§ 54) renders its use less frequent.
B. and O. do not know this ancillary. In its place they use पार in B. with the infinitive, as कारते पारिते “I can do,” in O. with the past participle, and generally with the future of the ancillary, as कार रारिव्या “I shall be able to do,” where we should use the present. Thus in asking, “Can you tell me his name?” one would say ताहारे नाम काम रारिव्या, literally, “Shall you be able to say his name?”

6. लग “begin” (see § 12). In H. and P. with the infinitive, as देखि लगता “he began to see.” The ancillary is mostly used in the preterite, indeed almost exclusively so; for देखि लगता “he begins to see,” would be inelegant, and, I believe, quite unidiomatic. S. uses the same construction, as चुकि जागिरत “he began to cry.” So also G., as मारवाज जागिरत “to begin to strike,” and M. with infinitive of the principal verb, as मारत जागिरत “he began to strike,” but also with the dative of the future passive participle, as कारवायस जागिरत “he began to do.” B. the same, as कारते रागिल “he began to do,” O. कारिवाकू जागिरत.

7. चुक “fail,” hence “leave off, cease to do.” In H. added to the conjunctive part. in the sense of having already finished, as खा चुका “he has done eating,” जब खा चुकका “when he shall have done eating.” P. does not use this verb in this sense. S. uses चुक, as in करी चुकका “to have finished doing;” but it has also other ways of expressing this idea, as by रहूँ “to remain,” वटूँ “to take,” निमूँ “to be ended,” वसि करूँ "d.
G. करी चुकका “to have finished doing.” B. the same, as दिया चुकियाँ “I have done giving.” O. uses सार, as खाई सारिलि “I have done eating,” से कर्म होर सारिलि “That business is quite finished.” B. also uses फेत “throw,” in this sense, as बिलिया केलिचें “They have done speaking.”

8. Marathi has two verbs not used in the other languages, टेंगो and टाको, which are employed in many senses, and the distinction between which appears to be, at times, hard to draw.
The compound tenses.

The illustrations given, however, show that each word is faithful to its original meaning; देवम् = खापनि, and consequently means "put," while टैक्षणि = खान, and means "throw away." These two words stand to each other in the same contrast as ले and में in H., thus है कापड़ घड़ी कहस्त्र टैव "Fold up this cloth and lay it by," ती गाय वांधून टेव "Tie up that cow" (having tied, put), but खाणी पोषी व्यास टेजन टाक "Give him up his book" (i.e. "give it him and let him go"), ते झाण उप्युन टाक "Root up that tree" (i.e. "uproot and throw away").

9. कर "do," is used in the sense of repetition or continuance, in H. with the perfect part., as खाया करता "he always comes," तम को ऐसा किया करते हो "Why do you keep on doing so?" In Sindhi this sense is obtained by repeating the verb in the required tense after itself in the conjunctive participle, as सो हरकु पढ़ाई दो पढ़ा "Even that, that letter I read over and over again" (Trumpp, p. 343), where the participle has the emphatic द added to it. G., like H., uses करदु with the inflected form of the p.p., as कराँ करदु "to keep on doing," वांचा करदु "to keep on reading." The various uses of karnā in forming compounds both with nouns and verbs are so numerous and peculiar, that they cannot be inserted here, but must be sought for in the dictionaries of the respective languages, and, still better, by those who have the opportunity, from the mouth of the people.

10. रह "remain," differs from कर, in that it implies continuance in a state, while कर implies repetition of an action. In H. and P., with the conjunctive participle, as वैद्ध रहना "to remain sitting," वैढ़ रहतेहि "They are going on with their play;" also with the present participle, as नदी बहती रहती "The river flows on continually," labitur et labetur. There is a curious phrase in Hindi, जाता रहना (literally, "to remain going") used for "to be lost and gone," as an euphemism for death; thus मेरा बाप जाता रहा है "My father is dead (has passed
away);” also for loss of things, as उसका सब घन जाता रहा “All his property is gone.” I do not find this idiom in the sister languages.

Sindhi uses रहशू in the sense of continuance, as बींदू रहबंदू बीरनी मिसिर शाम “He goes on travelling in fatigue from Egypt and Syria” (Trumpp, p. 344). The same sense is produced by वतशू “to turn, wander,” as बीजलु घोडा चारिनदू वती “Bijalu goes on grazing the horses” (ib.). In both cases the principal verb is in the present participle.

G. employs रहू, which is its version of रह with conjunctive participle for continuance, as बह्री रहेवु “to remain doing,” and with the present participle in the sense of completion, as चढली रहेवे “he ascends completely.”

This ancillary is truer to its original meaning in M., where it implies leaving off, refraining, with the genitive of the future participle, as मारायचा राहि ला “he left off beating.” This sense recalls that of Skr. रहित = “deprived of.”

B. and O. do not use this verb as an ancillary. B. substitutes for it याखू, and O. रा.

11. चढू “fall,” implies generally accident, as in H. जानना “to know,” जान पडना “to be found out” (i.e. “to be known by an accident”), as उस का दोष जो जान पडे तो हम भी नहीं बचेंगे “If his fault should be found out, then we, too, shall not escape.” So also in G., as चढूगुं चू “to stick to,” चढूगो पडवुं “to become attached to, to get caught in.” M. uses it with the dative of the future participle, as तू चारयख दीलास महसूस मला भेया घालायास पडित “On account of your being attacked with fever, I have to waste my time in travelling,” literally, “to me the throwing away of journeys falls.” Here the sense is that of necessity, as also in बायको वेलो तर घर बालायास पडिल “If you marry a wife, you will have to set up house.” The same idea is expressed in H. by adding पड to the infinitive, as तुम को जाने पडगा “You will have to go (whether
you like it or not);” so also in B. जार्ते पड़िव, where it also implies subjection, or falling into a state, as घरा पड़िल “he got caught,” as सुन्दर पड़िके घरा शुनि विबा पड़े घरा “Hearing that Sundar had been caught, Bidya falls to the ground” (भारत B.-S. 359, where there is a pun on the double use of the phrase), घुँमिया पड़िल “he fell asleep,” मारा पड़िल “he caught a thrashing.” The same in O., as घरा पड़िकि (for पड़ि बड़ि) “he has been caught.”

This verb sometimes precedes the principal verb in the sense of doing a thing accidentally, and is then put in the past participle. In this sense I would explain the sentence quoted by Kellogg (p. 195) एक बाघ पड़ा फिरता था “A tiger happened to be prowling about,” literally, “a tiger fallen was prowling,” the word “fallen” being used to express accidentally arriving. In P. the verb takes the form पड़िता (= पतन), and the p.p. is पिट्ठा; thus they say उह पिट्ठा खाँदा है “He is engaged in eating,” where the sense is rather that of continuance; when put after the principal verb, it implies setting to work at a thing, as तुरन्त “to walk,” तर पड़िता “to set out on a journey.” So also in Sindhi, where the verb has the form पड़िता, the conjunctive participle पड़े or पड़े precedes another verb with the sense of emphasis or energy, as वसुह सो विहार जो पडे पुराणो न थिए “Buy those goods which do not grow old” (Trumpp, p.341); here पडे न थिए means rather “do not happen to become,” “are not likely to become.” खऱ्यो, the conjunctive of खऱ्यो “to lift,” is used in the same way, but the two verbs appear to be contrasted much as le and de in H., khaṇi being used where activity, pat where receptiveness or accident is implied. Thus खऱ्यो बिखऱ्यो “to set to work writing,” खऱ्यो बज़ाए “he sets himself to play (music).” The past participle पिघ्नि is also prefixed with much the same effect, as तंगि में तजिला विविधिविनि बागे पिघ्नि विघ्नि “In it flashes like lightnings are found” (or “take place,” or “appear;” Trumpp, ib.).

12. The above are the principal, if not the whole, of the
ancillaries in general use. There are, indeed, a few others, but their use is restricted to one or other of the languages. Thus पाना "to find," is used with an infinitive in Hindi in the sense of being able, or being permitted, to do a thing. The verb in this construction is neuter, as में उसको देखने नहीं पाया “I was not allowed to see him,” तुम घर के भीतर जाने नहीं पात्रोग नििे “You will not be permitted to go inside the house;” so also in B. पढ़िे पातर न न “I am not able to read,” that is, not because I do not know how to read, but because I cannot find leisure, or cannot get the book.

ढालूणा “to throw,” is used in H. with verbs implying injury to show that force also was used, as—

मारना “to strike,” मार ढालूणा “to kill.”
तोड़ना “to break,” तोड़ ढालूणा “to dash in pieces.”
काटना “to cut,” काट ढालूणा “to cut down, hack, hew.”

There are, besides, numerous combinations of two verbs, in which the latter of the two does all the work, the former remaining unchanged; but for these the reader is referred to the Dictionary, though, as far as I have seen, Molesworth’s Marathi dictionary is the only one where they will be found fully treated.
CHAPTER V.

OTHER VERBAL FORMS.

CONTENTS.—§ 73. THE CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§ 74. THE INFINITIVE.
§ 75. THE AGENT.—§ 76. SINDHI VERBS WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.—
§ 77. CONJUGATION OF STEMS ENDING IN VOWELS IN HINDI, PANJABI, AND
SINDHI.—§ 78. THE SAME IN MARATHI.—§ 79. THE SAME IN BENGALI AND
ORIYA.

§ 73. The participles of the present, past, and future, being
used in the formation of tenses, it has been found necessary to
depart from the natural order of the verb, and to discuss them
in Chapter III. There remains, however, a very widely used
and important participle, which is not employed to form a tense.
From the fact that it is used to connect one clause with another,
and thus helps the native speaker or writer to build up those
interminable sentences of which he is so fond, it has been
called, very appropriately, the Conjunctive Participle. It
implies “having done,” and the sense of the clause in which it
is used remains incomplete until another clause containing a
finite verb is added; thus, instead of saying, “Next morning he
woke and arose, bathed, ate, dressed, collected his goods, loaded
them on his camel, bade farewell to his friend, and started on
his journey,” the Indian languages would say, “Having woken,
having risen, having bathed, having eaten, having dressed,
having collected his goods, having loaded them on his camel,
having bidden farewell to his friend, having started on his
journey, he went.”

Sanskrit has two forms of this participle, one in ला, as मूीवा “having been,” the other in च, as संभूव “having met.” Each
of these forms has left descendants in the modern languages, and although the form in ya is, in classical Sanskrit, restricted, for the most part, to compound verbs, yet this peculiarity has been overlooked in the spoken languages, and simple verbs, as well as compound ones, are treated as having this form also.

Thus in Prakrit we find शुनिल = Skr. शुन "having heard," as well as सिष्क्य = निष्क "having gone out." So also दूर = दू "having given," चौरिल = चौरिल "having stolen," गदु = गद "having gone," सिंच = सिंह "having sprinkled," गृहील = गृहील "having taken."

In Old-Hindi this participle ends in i, as बि "having done," चि "having gone," which is apparently the Prakrit form with loss of the final a, thus—

सुनि कारक नृपराज प्रशु || भौ आनंद सुभार ॥

"Having heard the paper, King Prithiraj was glad, being pleased."
—Pr. R. xii. 52.

Chand, however, in his more archaic passages, uses a form in ya, and one in aya, as—

भूगति भूमि किय कार ॥
बेट सिंचिय लल पूरन ॥
वीर सवय लय मध ॥
म्यान चंकूर सजूर ॥

"Taking possession of the earth, like a garden plot,
Irrigating it with the fullness of the Veda, as with water,
Having placed good seed in its midst,
Up sprung the shoot of knowledge."—Pr. R. i. 4.

Here किय "having made," and भूगति किय = mod. भोग करके "having made (or taken) possession," सिंचिय "having watered," लय = लवय "having placed."

Mediaeval Hindi has regularly the form ending in र, as राम वचन मूः गूढ़ सुनि "Having heard the gentle mystic speech of Rama" (Tulsi, Ram. Bālk. 113), पंडित भूले गढ़ सुनवेद्र । "Sages having read the Veda erred as to its qualities" (Kabir, Ram.
34, 1), भक्ति विसुध जो धर्म सु सब अधर्म करे गयो “The religion that is opposed to devotion (bhakti), all that having made (i.e. having declared), irreligion he sang” (Bhaktamāl, Mūl. 30).

From the habitual neglect of final short vowels, it results that this participle often appears in the form of the bare stem, as in the verbs with ancillaries given above, and this form, appearing to be not sufficiently distinct, a secondary form has arisen, which is now the ordinary one in modern Hindi. This consists of adding के, करे, करके, करकर, and even करकर्के to the stem, namely, the conjunctive participle of करना “to do;” as देख कर “having seen,” जाकर “having gone.” The first of these forms के is softened from के, which, again, is from करे, the older form of the conjunctive part. of करना, and is used in the mediæval poets and in Braj and the rustic dialects to this day. Thus Kabir बज बिधी के चित्र बनाइके हृि रचि क्रीडा रास “Having made many kinds of appearances (मया), Hari has arranged the sport and pastime (of the world;” Hindola, 16). It having thus become customary to add the participle of कर to all verbs, it has been added to कर itself, thus making करके and करकर, and this reduplicated form again is added to other verbs. In all the dialects we find such forms as मारिके, मारके, मार, मारि, and even apocopated as Garhwali मारिक and मारि “having beaten.” Kumaoni has a curious compound form मारिवे “having beaten,” which is probably the old form मारि with वे “time” (Skr. वेला), literally, “at the time of beating.”

In the case of the common verb हो, the conjunctive participle, like the future, takes in Old-Hindi the forms होइ and है, especially the latter, as गुष्ठ भक्ति एक न्यायी नही है सके। “Guru-bhakta alone could not remain apart” (sak ancillary with conjunctive of हो—“could be;” Bhaktamāl, 116, 1), रजनी चंद्र कूप है जाए “The night becomes as dark as a well” (Kabir, Ram. 16, 4), मानुस बड़े बड़े है आचि “Very great men came” (lit. “having become very great;” ib. 17, 6).
P. is the same as II., and with the latter closely agrees O., which forms this participle by short i, as देखि “having seen.” This form also appearing too indefinite, in ordinary conversation they add करि, often pronounced किरि, as देखिकरि “having seen.” O. has also another, and in the classical speech the only admissible, form in ile, as मारिले “having beaten,” which is also used in B., and in both appears to be the old locative case of the past participle, and is thus literally “in having beaten.” The old form of the locative case having in O. fallen into disuse, the same has taken place in the participle; thus arise the forms देखिलारि “in having seen,” and देखिलारि “from having seen,” which are respectively the locative and ablative, formed after the modern fashion by adding टारि and टारि, the initial syllable of which is rejected (Vol. II. p. 274).

B. has, besides the form in ıle, one in iyā, which approaches closer to the Prakrit, as पडिया “having fallen,” बसिया “having sat,” घरिया “having seized.” This latter form is that which is used to string together long sentences, in preference to the form in ıle, which is used more in short sentences. Thus Bhārat—

चान कल्य पुन्त चाह्य फिरिया फिरिया।
पिंजरेर पारि मत वेडाय घुरिया।

“Another craftily looks, repeatedly turning round,
Like a bird in a cage walks round and round.”
—Bidyā-S. 245.

literally, “having turned, having turned, looks,” and “having twisted round, walks.”

S. has four forms for this participle. Neuter verbs take the ending i, as वरि “having returned;” active and causal verbs have е, as मले “having rubbed,” both of which correspond to the Pr. ending ia. Less widely used is a form in iq or yo, as मोरेयो “having returned,” घोयो “having washed,” which is identical with the p.p.p. Thirdly, the inserted jja of Prakrit reappears here, as from खपायू “to lift,” खेपिजे “having lifted.”
Lastly, S. follows the example of H., and adds करे, the conjunctive of करणु “to do,” as वरी करे “having returned.”

G. resembles S., having its conjunctive in ॐ, as होई “having become.” Ordinarily it puts this participle in the objective case, adding the postposition में, often dropping the anuswāra, as करीवे or करीवे “having done,” देरीवे “having given.” As G. makes no distinction between ॐ and ॐ, this is often written with short ॐ, as देरीवे.

M. stands quite alone, having its conjunctive in अन, as जाएन “having gone,” होई “having been.” This is sometimes written चीन, and in the poets takes an increment, and appears as जानिया, चीनिया, as तुम्हापाशी चाहिया चेजानिया काय || (Tul. Abh. 1888) “What is the good of my going to you?” (literally, “I near you having come, what?”) देरीनिया वेश मूणावी जन || तालाक मरण वेति मज। “Having seen men in fine clothes and ornaments, I am ready to die at once” (ib.).

This form is the old Maharashtri Pr. form in अन, shortened from तूण, Skr. लान, accusative of ला (Lassen, p. 367), and has undergone singularly little change. I see in this a confirmation of the belief that modern Marathi is really the representative of the Maharashtri Prakrit, for it is only in Maharashtri that the conjunctive in अन, तूण, is found. All the prose dialects without distinction take forms of the conjunctive derived from the Skr. -या; this consideration seems to be fatal to the theory (Trumpp, p. 283; V. Taylor, p. 114, § 256) which would derive the G. conjunctive in इन from M. अना. Setting aside the absence of any analogy for a change from अु to ॐ in such a connection, there is abundant evidence that G. is, by origin, a Rajput dialect belonging to that large group of dialects which we roughly class under the name of Hindi, and Śastri Vrajālāl (G. Bh. It. p. 3) points out the great gulf that exists between G. and M., as also the close connection of G. with the northern dialects. We have therefore strong reasons for not looking to M. for the origin of any G. form. The
latter has, like the rest of the eastern Hindi group, Sauraseni for its parent, and the form in -ine, when compared with that in i in the same language, points clearly to the Sauraseni conjunctive in ia with a modern case-postposition ne or nen added.

§ 74. The Infinitive is, in all the languages, a verbal noun declined throughout all the cases of the noun. Its numerous forms may all be grouped under two general types, which may be called the Ba, and the Na types respectively.

The Ba type is found in the rustic dialects of Hindi, in Bangali, Oriya, and Gujarati, and is declined as a noun. It occurs in the oldest Hindi poems. Chand has it in—

यो चिलुक वा रहि | तो ताहि हिलिवि को आवि ||

"If any one makes delay, he comes to strike him."—Pr. R. i. 198.

उठि चरिवि को धायी ||

"Rising up, rushed to fight."—ib. i. 254.

It takes the junction-vowel i, and in these passages is in the accusative case. It may be rendered "to or for the purpose of fighting." This form does not once occur in the Ramaini (रमिनी) of Kabir, and only rarely in his other works. I have noted तारिवि को "to cross over," चबिवि (चमा्वि) "to urge on," in the Rekhtas. It is more common in Braj, and in Tulsi Das's Ramayan, where, besides the form with junction-vowel i, as तारिवि "to break," occurs also a shorter form in ab, as फिरव "to return." In the dialects (Kelllogg, p. 241) occur the following (मार "strike"):—

Braj मारिवि, East Rajput मारवि, West Rajp. id. Old-Pûrbi मारब, Avadhi, and Riwai id.

In Gujarati, this is the only form of the infinitive. It is declined as an adjective for all three genders, thus—

Sing. लावि m., लाववि f., लाववि n.

Pl. लाववि m., ओवि f., ओवि n. "to bring" or "the act of bringing."
and agrees with the object, as mentioned in § 52, where it is used to constitute a tense. In the neuter singular it performs the functions of a simple infinitive, as गान्ने “to sing,” करन्ने “to do.”

In Uriya it is the ordinary infinitive, as बसिबार “to sit,” and, though without gender, is declined for case, as—

Gen. बसिबार “of sitting,” एत्ते बसिबार जागा “this is a place of sitting,” i.e. “a fit place to sit in.”

Loc. बसिबारे “In sitting,” बसिबारे चक्षू हेव नहीं “in sitting nothing will become,” i.e. “you will do no good by sitting still.”

Acc. बसिबाक “to or for sitting,” बसिबाक हेव “for sitting it will become,” i.e. “you will have to, or must, sit.”

Abl. बसिबास “from sitting,” सेठ बसिबास सरदीलागिब “from sitting there a chill will attack,” i.e. “if you sit there, you will catch cold.”

Bengali does not use this form as its ordinary infinitive, having utilized for that purpose the locative of the present participle, as है ते “to be” (lit. “in being”), चारिते “to remain,” जाइते “to go;” but it is used in the genitive case to form a sort of gerund or verbal noun, as बङ्ग बसिबार ताल आढ़े “It is the time of sowing, or for sowing, seed.” More common still is its employment with जेठ, कारण or निमित्ते “for the sake of,” as देखिबार जने “for the sake of seeing,” कारिबार निमित्ते “for the sake of doing.”

The infinitive of the Gipsies ends in छा, and probably belongs to this group. Paspati writes कराने “to do,” लाने “to take,” दाने “to give,” सोदाने “to sleep,” मांगाने “to ask,” रुडाने “to weep,” which may be transliterated perhaps कराव, लाव, दाव, सोवाव, मंगाव, रुवाव respectively. These are words of the Chingana or Turkish Gipsies. Those in Bohemia ap-
parently drop the final a and shorten the ä, as chorav “to steal” (चोरव), kerav “to do” (करव), chinnav “to tear” (चिन्नव). Those in Wallachia appear to pronounce the termination as ao (अयो or अयो?), as jao “to go” (जायो), hao “to eat” (हायो), peo “to drink” (पेयो).1

In all these languages the idea of an infinitive glides off imperceptibly into that of a verbal noun, and the Ba form thus reveals its origin from the Sanskrit future passive participle in तथ, from which, as we have seen in Ch. III. § 51, many tenses are formed.

The Na type occurs in Hindi, as also in P. S. M. It has two forms in H., one archaic and poetical ending in ana, the other modern and classical in nà. The first of these two forms I would derive from the Sanskrit verbal noun in anam, as करण “doing,” पतन “falling.” It is in frequent use, uninflected, throughout the poets, thus—

प्रस्थातन तिन वंधन विचारि ॥
“Having plotted to stop his virility.”—Pr. R. i. 178.

कियो चलन की साज ॥
“He made preparation to go.”—ib. xx. 28.

जंग जुरन बालिम जुमार ॥
“To join battle a terrible warrior.”—ib. xx. 31.

सब कहीं मोहि जान दे माई ॥
“I speak truth, suffer me to go, mother.”—Tulsi-Ram. S.-k. 7.

राम सेल बन देखन जाहिं ॥
“They go to see the hill and forest of Râm.”—ib. Ay-k. 91.

It is unnecessary to give more instances of this very common form. It still survives in Kanaugi, as मारन “to strike.” The other form in ना was anciently written चौरन, and is always so written in Braj, as मारनी “to strike,” आवनी “to come.” This form I now agree with Hoernle in deriving from the Sanskrit

1 Miklosich, Zigeuner Europas, part ii. p. 9.
future participle in *anta*, so that from करणीय, through Pr. करणीत्रि and करणुत्रि, would come Old-H. करना, M. करें, and P. करना. I, however, would refer the S. करथु to the verbal noun in *anam*, because the final vowel is short, and, as in all similar nouns, reproduces the final o = u of the a-stem (see Hoernle's essay in J.A.S.B. vol. 42, p. 59, etc.). The two forms of the infinitive are thus analogous in respect of their derivation, and the fact of the existence side by side of two sets of forms with precisely similar meaning is explained by that of there being two participles of similar meaning in Sanskrit, both of which have left descendants.

Under these altered lights I must withdraw the opinion formerly held by me as to the origin of the infinitive in *nā*. That in *ana* is now obsolete, except in Kanauji, and the *nā* form is declined as a noun in á, making its oblique in e, as karne kā “of doing,” karne meṇ “in doing.” In M. the infinitive is also declined as a noun of the sixth declension (Vol. II. p. 192), thus gen. karanyā chā “of doing,” dat. karanyā lā “to doing.” In Sindhi, however, the infinitive vindicates its claim to be considered as a descendant of the verbal noun in *anam* by exhibiting the declension of masculines (i.e. neuters) in u; the oblique ends consequently in a, as ginhana jo “of buying,” ginhana meṇ “in buying,” etc. This would not be the case were the S. infinitive derived from the participle in *anta*.

M. has an infinitive peculiar to itself ending in १, as महै “to die,” which is comparatively little used, and only with the present tense. I am unable to suggest any thoroughly satisfactory explanation of this form which does not appear to have any analogy in the cognate languages. It may be the only descendant of the Skr. infinitive in *tum*, with elision of the t, but this is somewhat doubtful. To this place must also be referred the B. infinitive or verbal noun in á, as करा “to do,” or “the act of doing,” which, after stems ending in a vowel, appears as या, the y of which is not pronounced; thus हर्षोया
pronounced “hówā,” द्रेष्टोया “dewā.” The origin of this form is not clear to me, but it is probably connected with the participle in त्या.

§ 75. On the basis of the infinitive in ना is formed the agent. This, in Hindi, is made by adding to the oblique of the infinitive the words वाला, हारा; as करनेवाला “a doer,” द्रेष्टनेहारा “a seer.” Of these the former is apparently Skr. पालक “protector, keeper.” Thus Skr. गोपालक “cowherd,” becomes ह. गाला; as to the latter there is some difference of opinion, some would derive it from Skr. मारक “holder,” others from कारक “doer.” I myself incline to the latter view; the क would be elided when it ceased to be initial, and its place supplied by ह, which is often used to fill an hiatus. This is Trumpp’s opinion (Grammar, p. 75), who shows that in S. this form of the agent exists as हारो or हारु—respectively कारका and कारा, as in—

सिरभारो “to create,” सिरचाहारो (क) “creator,”
सिभारो “to write,” सिखाहारो (क) “writer,”

also in its original form of हारो or हारु, with nouns, as छोडो “quarrel,” छोडाखाश “quarreller.”

Kellogg (p. 245) refers to the phrase धारक धारवं in Chand’s first verse as confirming the derivation from धारक; but this identification rests on a translation of that verse very confidently put forward by a writer whose high estimate of himself as a translator of Hindi has not yet been confirmed by the opinion of scholars in general. The translation in this particular instance is extremely uncertain, and no argument can be based on it.

Hindi has also an agent in वे, as करवेया “a doer,” रखवेया “a keeper,” which is shortened from चारिया, a dialectic form of वाला. It is confined almost to rustic speech, though the shorter form चारा is not uncommon in the poets. H. वाला may be added also to nouns, to imply the doer of an action, or
the person who takes care of a thing, in which latter respect
the original meaning of pâlaka is well preserved. Thus
घरवाला “one who takes care of a horse.” So also in P.
घरवाला “husband,” i.e. one who takes care of or maintains the
house, and still more frequently घरवाली f. “wife.” Sindhi
changes ल to र more suo, and has चारो, as घरवालो “house-
holder,” from घर “house,” and डिच्सवारो “giver,” from
डिच्स “to give,” H. देखाला.
Chand uses the form in हार, shortened from हारा, to make a
sort of future participle, in the verb हो “be.” Thus—
होर होन्हार सोता हरन ||
“The rape of Sita, which was to be, takes place.”—Pr. R. iii. 27.
Also—
तं कहु होन्हार पञ्चानिय ||
“Thou knowing something of futurity.”—ib. xxi. 92.
हन्हार एसी जये। कही जु आल्हू उपाय ||
“It is written thus as destined to be, the plan which Alha has spoken.”
—ib. xxi. 94.

Probably, also, to this place belongs the affix चारी in words
like पटवारी “a village accountant,” the च being an indication
of a lost क, from कारी (कारिन) “doer.”

In M. and G. this form loses its initial consonant, and ap-
ppears simply as अरा. In G. it is incorporated into one word
with the verbal noun in अना, of which, except in this con-
junction, no traces remain. Thus from होसु “to be,” comes
होनार “one who is.” But, just as in the Old-H. होन्हार, the
sense of futurity has usurped the place of the original idea of
agency, and होनार now means “he who, or that which, is to
be,” as सबे होनार ते होय। गृह चीना चीनु नही कोय || “That
which in truth is (destined) to be, comes to pass, except truth
there is nothing else” (Samaldas, Leckey, p. 64). It also takes
the long अ, as चनार or चनारी “that which is about to become,”
from चनु “to become,” शकनार “that which is able,” from
"to be able;" and is in practice used simply as a remote future tense, less immediate in its action than the simple future of the sa type, but equally common. Thus एट्रा मार्टेज ब्रमे तेन मार्नार "For this very reason we are about to kill thee;" पोताना धर्मेन कदी क्रोडार नधी "He will never forsake his religion," in other words, "he is not a forsaker (H. क्रोडनेरारो) of, or one who is likely to forsake, his religion;" जे बीजाने मारेन शुष्क भोगवनारो ह्वतो "Having killed another, I was about to enjoy happiness," literally, "I was becoming an enjoyer" (Leckey, p. 161).

It is probably owing to the absence of any derivative of the verbal noun in ana that the grammar-writers have failed to understand the true origin of this form, and have supposed it to be composed of the verbal stem and a suffix nár or náro, so that chhoḍānáro is by them divided chhoḍa-náro, instead of chhoḍān(a)-(h)áro.

A similar misapprehension has occurred in M. In that language, also, ār, ārā, are used, added to the infinitive in खें, to make, not a noun of the agent, but a future participle, so far, at least, as the meaning goes. Thus from करे खें come कर्षार "a doer," and कर्षारा, obl. कर्षारे. But these are used in the sense of "one who is about to do," as in G. So चेतारे लोक is "the people who are coming," i.e. "who are expected to come." Godbol, at p. 109 of his excellent Marathi Grammar, indicates rightly the origin of this tense, and illustrates it by such nouns as Skr. कुमार, Pr. कुम्बार, M. कुमार. Other grammarians, however, still speak of "the participle in खारा."

This noun, used, as above explained, participially, is employed to form compound tenses, § 62. In H. and P. the noun in वाळास (not वाळा) is used in a future sense, as वृह जनिवाला था "he was just about to go." This is not perhaps a classical phrase, but it is one which one hears a dozen times a day from the mouths of people of all classes.

In O. one also hears a form in वाळास added to the infinitive,
as पाइवाच्छौयाला ‘‘a receiver.’’ I suspect, however, that this is a recent introduction from the Hindi. There is no v in Oriya, and in trying to express the sound, they imitate the Bengalis, and put that form of ध which it has as the last member of a nexus (the ya-phala as they call it), behind an ब्र. They pronounce this extraordinary combination wa, and not oya, as it should be. The natural genius of the language has no form for the agent; instead of saying ‘‘the speaker,’’ they would say, ‘‘he who speaks,’’ or, if educated, would use the Sanskrit agent in त.

B. had, in its original state, apparently no noun of the agent. In modern times, recourse has been had to Sanskrit agents, which have been used whenever required, but colloquially it is easy to do without a nomen agentis, by slightly varying the arrangement of the sentence, and this is generally the course pursued. Such forms as कर्ता ‘‘doer,’’ दाता ‘‘giver,’’ used in literature, are, of course, Sanskrit pure and simple, and as such do not concern our present inquiry.

§ 76. The pronominal suffixes which are peculiar to Sindhi among the languages of the Indian group are also affixed to verbs, and, indeed, much more copiously used in that connection than with nouns. At Vol. II. p. 334, these suffixes, as applied to nouns, were briefly treated; they require more elaborate handling under verbs. It was mentioned, at the place cited above, that in this respect Sindhi allied itself with the neighbouring Aryan group of the Iranian languages, especially with Persian and Pashtu. I am not in a position to analyze the Persian and Pashtu analogies, and with respect to the latter language, though Trumpp has shown (Zeitschrift d. D. M. G. vol. xxiii. p. 1) that it is in many respects more closely allied to the Indian than to the Iranian group, yet it is so evidently a border language, transitional between the two, that to admit it to the present work would carry me beyond the limits of my
undertaking. It will suffice merely to notice, without attempting to discuss, the suffixes of that language as they occur in analogy with Sindhi.

These suffixes are used to bring the object of the verb's action into one word with it, and may be thus considered as datives, accusatives, or whatever case expresses the nature of the action of any particular verb. They are the same in form as those attached to nouns, and stand thus in comparison with Persian and Pashto:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. मि</td>
<td>1. जे, हें</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. दू</td>
<td>2. व</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. सि.</td>
<td>3. नि, न.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. आम</td>
<td>1. मा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. आत्</td>
<td>2. शमा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. आश</td>
<td>3. शमा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. me</td>
<td>1. mu, um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. de</td>
<td>2. mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. e.</td>
<td>3. e.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taking the aorist of the active verb as the simplest tense, we find the suffix simply added without affecting any phonetic changes in the termination of the verb. Thus—

Sing. 1. चाँद छाड़ रिया “I let go,” with suff. of 2 sing. छाड़ियाँ “I let thee go,” छाड़ियाँसि “I let him go,” with suff. of 2 pl.

Sing. 2. तू छाड़िए “thou lettest go,” with suff. of 1 sing. छाड़िएमि “thou lettest me go,” and so on.

Pl. 3. हें छाड़िनि “they let go,” with suff. of 3 sing. छाड़िनिसि “they let him go,” and so on.

The imperative is treated exactly in the same way. The respectful form takes रज्ञा in the singular in this connection, not रज्ञे, as छाड़ियाँमि “Please to let me go,” छाड़ियाँसि “Please to let him go.”

In the participial tenses a still greater variety of forms results from the change of the termination for gender in the third
person singular and plural. The first person, however, also undergoes changes. Thus, in the present participle used as a future, हंदूसि “I shall be,” m., becomes हंदीसां, and हंदिसि “I shall be,” f., becomes हंदीसां. So that we get forms—

m. हंदीसां “I shall be to thee,” हंदीसांसि “I shall be to him.”

f. हंदीसां “I shall be to you,” हंदीसांसि “I shall be to them.”

So, also, the plurals हंदासि m., and हंदिसि “we shall be,” become respectively हंदासू and हंदिसू. The second person remains unchanged, merely affixing the personal suffixes. In the third person m. हंदो is shortened to हंदू, and f. हंदी to हंब or हंद; pl. m. हंदा becomes हंद, except with the suffix of the first person plural, as हंदासू “they shall be to us,” but हंदव “they shall be to you;” pl. f. remains unchanged.

The past participle used as a perfect tense undergoes analogous changes. Thus—

1 Sing. m. होसि “I was,” becomes होसां, as होसां “I was to thee.”

" f. ऊबसि " " ऊबसां, " ऊबसांसि “I was to him.”

1 Pl. m. ऊबासि “we were,” “ ऊबासू,” ऊबासूसि “we were to them.”

" f. ऊबूसि " " ऊबूसू, " ऊबूसूसि “we were to you.”

The second and third persons remain almost unchanged. In active verbs, however, where only the 3 sing. is used, owing to the objective construction; a somewhat different system prevails. The subject, which in other languages is put in the instrumental, may in S. be indicated by a suffix, and the object being also shown by a suffix, it arises that the verb may have two suffixes at the same time. Thus “I forsook thee,” would be in ह. मे ने तुम्हे छोड़ा, lit. “by me thee forsaken,” where the subject is in the instrumental, and the object in the accusative, case, the verb (i.e. participle) being left in the masc. singular, because there is no neuter in ह. In म., which has a neuter,
the Bhāva or impersonal construction is used, as ग्यां तुभा सोडिलि
"by me to thee released," as though it were a me tibi relictum
(est). Sindhi expresses this sentence by one word क्रियामानर, i.e. chhadio-man-i = “forsaken-by me-thee.” Thus there arises
a long string of forms for every possible combination of the
agent and the object. A few may be given as examples; a full
range will be found by those who desire to pursue the question
further in Trumpp (p. 371):

क्रियामानसि “I have forsaken him.”
क्रियादेवसि “he has forsaken him.”
विद्यार्थस्थिनिः “he caused him to sit.”
विद्यार्थिनि “they said to her.”
विद्यार्थिनि “she said to them.”

The suffixes denoting the agent are हें sing. and हँ pl., which
Trumpp considers to be shortened from हृ “by him,” instr.
of ही “this,” and ओहि “by them,” instr. pl. of हि “that,”
respectively.

A curious proof of the antiquity of these complicated forms
with suffixes is afforded by the fact, that in connection with
them the 3 sing. aorist of च्रोस्त् appears still in its old Pr.
form of चर (चरिः), § 59. This form exists only in combina-
tion with the pronominal suffixes, whereas the ordinary form
चाह is used both with and without suffixes. Thus they say
चाहिं and चाहिं “there is to me,” as in the line—

गुढ़ी चाहिं गाल्हडी आउ चाहिं ता चोरिहां।
“There is to me a secret matter, come near, then I will tell it.”
—Trumpp, p. 350.

It is used just as in Latin “est mihi,” in the sense of “I have,”
as चाहिं “I have,” चाही (for चाहिः) “thou hast,” चाहिः “he
has,” चाहू (for चाहंज) “we have,” चाहव “ye have,” चाहिः
“They have.” It is incorrect to say with Trumpp (loc. cit.)
that *atha* has in S. "been transferred to the plural." The verb remains in the 3 sing. throughout, and takes suffixes of both numbers and all three persons.

In the compound tenses the suffixes are attached to the auxiliaries, leaving the principal verb unchanged. Both single and double suffixes are used in this way, just as with the simple and participial tenses. Thus *किचो होर "thou hadst made,"
*जृहि स्थितमयार (गिजडन्तं) कि ब्रेन सेरारियो हरऱि* (for *झारऱि*) तरिं
*कॆ निहरारें* "He looked towards that servant whom he had previously instructed," literally, "Which servant previously by him instructed, to that (one) by him looked" (Trumpp, p. 379).

It is tempting to look for the origin of this habit of using suffixes to the Semitic languages, which, from the early conquests of the Arabs in Persia and Sindh, may have had an influence upon the speech of those countries. On the other hand, however, the presence of a precisely similar habit in Italian and Spanish, seems to show that there exists a tendency to such constructions even in the Aryan family; for I suppose that even if we see in the Spanish forms a trace of Arab influence, no such motive power can be argued for any part of Italy, unless it be Sicily.

In Italian there are separate forms for the suffixed personal pronouns, and when used with a verb in the imperative or infinitive, these suffixed forms are incorporated into the verb; thus they say *rispondetemi* "answer me," *parlategli* "speak to him," *datele* "give her," *imagerllo* "to imagine it," *offrileci* "offer us." Double suffixes are also used, as *assicuratemene* "assure me of it," *dateglierlo* "give it to him," *mandateglierlo* "send them to him."

So also in Spanish, *vino á verme* "he came to see me," *vengo á socorrerte* "I come to help thee," *quiero castigaros* "I will punish you," *dejeme* "let me go," *pasandome* "as I was passing," *escribale* "write to him," *diles* "tell them." Here, also, double
suffixes may be used, as decretelo “to tell it thee,” mostradnosla “show her to us.”

It is noticeable, however, that this habit in Italian and Spanish is modern, and does not exist in Latin, any more than it does in Sanskrit. Is it, then, a result of the confusion of forms that sprung into existence simultaneously with the decay of the old synthetic system, or is it an adoption of a Semitic principle? Diez finds the origin of the suffixed pronouns in shortened forms of the dative and accusative of Latin, which were already in use in the classical period. It remains, however, to be explained how this peculiarity arose in the Romance group, in one member of the Iranian, and two members of the Indian group, only, and nowhere else in all the wide range of the Indo-European family.

§ 77. Having now gone through all the forms of the modern Indian verb, the subject may be closed by some remarks on the way in which the terminations are added to those verbal stems which end in a vowel. So many of these terminations begin with vowels, that a hiatus necessarily ensues, and the modern languages, though they do not, as a rule, object to a hiatus, do in this particular make occasional efforts to avoid it.

Hindi stems end only in long vowels—ā, ē, ē, o. Some grammarians call those stems which end in a long vowel open roots, and those which end in a consonant close roots. This terminology has nothing to recommend it, and there is no advantage in retaining it. The tenses whose terminations begin with vowels are the aorist, future, imperative, and past participle.

Before terminations beginning with ā or o, no attempt is made to soften the hiatus, but before ē and e there is sometimes inserted a य or व. As types may be taken the stems जा “go,”

OTHER VERBAL FORMS.

पी “drink,” छू “touch,” दे “give,” and बो “sow.” The aorist of these five is as follows:

SINGULAR.

1. जाओं 2. जाए, जावे, जाय 3. id.
1. पीूँ 2. पीए, पीवे 3. id.
1. कूूँ 2. कूए 3. id.
1. देवे, दूँ 2. देवे, दे 3. id.
1. बोवूँ 2. बोए, बोवे 3. id.

PLURAL.

1. जाएँ, जावें, जायँ 2. जाव्रो 3. जाएँ, जावें, जायँ
1. पीएँ, पीवें 2. पीव्रो 3. पीएँ, पीवें
1. कूूँ 2. कूव्रो 3. कूूँ
1. देवें, दूँ 2. देव्रो, दौँ 3. देवें, दूँ
1. बोवें, बोएँ 2. बोव्रो 3. बोवें, बोएँ

The common stems de and le usually suffer contraction by the elision of their final vowel, and one more commonly hears do “give!” lo “take!” dूंगा “I will give,” lूंगा “I will take,” than the full forms.

The future and imperative follow the same rule as the aorist. In the past participle of stems ending in अ, ू is inserted before the अ of the termination, as चा “come,” p.p.p. चा-चू-चा (आया), पा “find,” खा “eat,” खाया. But in the poets, especially in Tulsi Das, instead of चू we find चू commonly inserted. Thus, एझि बिझि राम सबहि समुझा ए “In this way Ram explained to all” (Ay-k. 457). आवा “came,” बनावा “made,” पावा “found,” गावा “sang,” for आवा, बनावा, पावा, गावा respectively. Kabir uses both forms indifferently. Thus in Ram. 48, i. पठावा “caused to read,” पावा “found,” but in the next, Ram. 49, पावा and आवा. In the fem. sing., however, and in the pl. m. and f., the junction-letter व is not used, thus आई “she came,” बनाई “she made,” fem. sing., आवी, पावी masc. pl. As all
causals end in ā, these forms are of frequent occurrence, and sometimes even an ṛ is inserted, as चनाइया. In the old ha future, the ā of the stem and the initial i of the termination frequently coalesce into ऐ, as—

ककउ द्रिवस जननी घर घोरा ऐ।
कपिन्ध सहित ऐंहं रघुवीरा ऐ।
निनिचर मारि तुमधू हे जंहं ऐ।
तिंह पूर नारदादि जश जंहं ऐ।

"For a few days, mother, sustain thy courage,
Raghubir will come with the monkeys,
Slaying the demons, will carry thee off;
The three worlds, Nārada and all shall sing his praise."

—Tulsi, Ram., S.-k. 36.

where ऐहं = आइहं, जंहं = जाइहं, and गंहं = गाइहं; so also we find ऐहं "they will find," for पार्वः, mod. पाविने (Tulsi, Ram., S.-k. 10). In other places, however, we find the junction-letter व, as पावइहं, आवइहं, etc.

In Panjabi the junction-letter for the aorist, imperative, and future is regularly व, as जावे "he goes," जावेगा "he will go," but before o it is omitted, as जावो "go ye," जावोगे "ye will go." For the past participle it is र, as होर आ "been," masc. sing., and is omitted before e, as होए "been," masc. pl. In the three first-named tenses the व is regularly inserted in pure प., but in speaking it is now sometimes, under the influence of Hindi, omitted, and देगा is heard instead of the more characteristic देवेगा.

In Sindhi all verbal stems end in a vowel, those stems, which in other languages end in a consonant, having in that language a short a or i. In this class of stems, before the neuter infinitive in चणू, a व is inserted, as प "fall," infin. पचणू; नि "bow," infin. ननचणू. Before the active infinitive in दणू no junction-letter is employed, as म "measure," infin. मदणू.
Stems, whether active or neuter, ending in $i$ and $u$, and sometimes those ending in $o$, shorten those vowels in the infinitive, as—

पी “drink,” infin. पिभङ्गु
पू “string,” पूभङ्गु
घो “wash,” घभङ्गु
रो “weep,” रभङ्गु
हो “be,” हभङ्गु

but, on the other hand, ठी “carry,” has infin. ठभङ्गु; and stems in $a$, including causals, retain the long vowel, as—

गाभङ्गा “speak,” infin. गाभङ्गारफु
फेरा “cause to turn,” फेरारफु.

The aorist follows generally the type of the infinitive, retaining the short vowel. In the persons च is inserted as in प., except before $u$ or $o$; thus पवां “I fall,” is declined—

Sing. 1. पवां 2. पवें 3. पवें. Pl.1. पवं 2. पवेऽ 3. पवेऽ.

The च may be dropped before 2 and 3 sing., as चए “thou sayest,” or “he says.” The common verb दिभङ्गु “to give,” undergoes contraction in this, as in all the other languages; thus 2 sing. देह “thou givest,” not दिए। 3 pl. देइन, not दिभङ्गि।

Verbs ending in $a$ insert श before $a$, $u$, and $o$, as शुद्धां “I grow old,” शुद्धां “we grow old,” शुद्धां “ye grow old.”

The imperative and other tenses follow the general rule, which may, for Sindhi, and, to a great extent, for the other languages also, be thus stated; the junction-letters are च and य, च is omitted before vowels of its own organ, as $u$ and $o$, and य is omitted before $i$ and $e$; before $a$ both are employed, but preferentially च after short vowels, and य after long ones.

Thus, in the present participle, which is used as a future, च is either inserted or omitted, as—
OTHER VERBAL FORMS.

पववु “to fall,” पवंदो “falling.”
पिख्रु “to drink,” पिखंदो “drinking.”
घुख्रु “to wash,” घुखंदो “washing.”

Contraction also occurs, as चवसु “to speak,” चूंदो (चसंदो) जङ्रु “to be,” झंदो (झंदो) डिख्रु “to give,” डोंदो (ढंढो).
The past participle regularly ends in रो or यो, and the inserted व is naturally dropped before it, thus—

चवसु makes चयो, not चयो.
नवसु “नयो” नयो (Old-H. नाया).

If the stem ends in a palatal vowel or consonant, the i of the termination is dropped, as—

पिख्रु “to become,” पिख्रो, not पिख्रो = धि + रो.
कङ्रु “to speak,” कङ्रो.
सोख्रु “to inquire,” सोख्रो.

Passives naturally drop the euphonic व of the active infinitive before their palatal junction-vowel, as—

चवसु “speak,” Imperative चठ, Passive चङ्रसु “to be spoken.”
पवसु “fall,” पठ, पठ “to be fallen.”

The stems quoted above, as shortening their radical long vowel before the termination of the infinitive active, naturally retain the long vowel in the passive, as—

यी “drink,” पीख्रु “to be drunk.”
ू “string,” पूख्रु “to be strung.”
घी “wash,” घोख्रु “to be washed.”

There is very little to notice, in this respect, about G. The orthography of that language is still in so unfixed a state, that it is impossible to seize upon any principles as to junction-letters. One writer will insert them, while another omits them, or the same writer will insert them on one page and omit them on the next. Thus we find होए, होय, होञ्ज्र, होञ्च written in-
differently, also ढर्चे and ढर्ण. Until the natives of that province make up their minds as to how their language ought to be spelt, it is impossible for foreigners to evolve any laws or rules on the subject.

§ 78. Marathi is slightly more sensitive to hiatus, and has a greater fondness for the य-sound than the other languages. There exists, consequently, in some persons of certain tenses, a system of Sandhi for Tadbhava words and forms, which differs in its general principles from that prevailing in Sanskrit. The grammar-writers, unfortunately, either omit entirely or only casually note these important combinations. The following remarks are offered as a contribution to the subject.¹

The tenses of the M. verb, whose terminations begin with a vowel, are the aorist, imperative, future, and subjunctive, also the participles present and past, the conjunctive and infinitive. These are for the neuter verb; in the active verb the र, which is inserted between the stem and termination, causes a collision of two vowels in the other tenses also. Verbal stems ending in all the vowels except ए have here to be considered (खां “eat,” पिं “drink,” घे “take”).

Aorist, (in modern usage past habitual)—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. खार्डें</td>
<td>1. खार्डें</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. खार्डेस</td>
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But in the 3 sing. चे, पी are used, so also देस, चेस in 2 sing., and in the 3 pl. the final डे is elided. In 2 sing. both डे and ए are changed to the palatal semivowel before य, though not before य, so that we have या, या side by side with पीएं (not छूं), चें (not छूं).

¹ For the illustrations to this section I have to thank Captain G. A. Jacob, Inspector of Schools, Punâ, who kindly furnished me with details which are wanting from most of the grammars.
In the future there is similarly in 2 pl. खाल, खाल, खाल, and so also in the imperative 2 pl. चा, चा; चे “come,” makes aorist 2 pl. चा, future चाल, and occasionally one hears चे aorist 3 sing. for the more regular चे.

In the subjunctive the semivowel occurs again, as लावा, लावा, but लावा simply from चे. This last verb should, by analogy, form लावा, but the double य in such a position would be unpronounceable, and a single य is therefore exhibited. It must not be supposed that the e of चे has simply been dropped.

For the potential the termination of the present चेतें might have been expected to be simply added to the verbal stem, as no hiatus would thus be caused. But the origin of this form from the Skr. part. in तब renders this course impossible. The त of तब having suffered elision, there naturally results an hiatus. Thus from खादितत्व, Pr. खाइतत्व gives खावव, the first व supplying the place of the lost द, so that in the potential we get not खाववें, but खाववें. Similarly पीववें, घेववें, चेववें, and even in stems ending in ह, as लिख “write,” लिखववें.

Stems ending in उ preserve the hiatus almost throughout, thus धु “wash”—

Aor. धुरें, धुरेस, धुरे; धुजे, धुजा (but धुजत).
Fut. धुरेन, धुरेल, धुजे; धुआल, धुतील.
Subj. धुआवा or धुवावा.
Pot. धुववें.

In the present participle only त is added, not देत or धेत, as खात, पीत, बेत, धेत, धुत, and in the past participle the semi-vowel is generally used, as—

खा p.p. खाखा “eaten.”
ले “पखाला “put on.”
भे “पखाला “feared.”
वि “पखाला “brought forth.”
पी “पखाला or पिखा “drunk.”
Some stems avoid the hiatus by insertion of त, as चेतला, घुत्ता (see § 47), which is also used in some stems ending with a consonant.

The conjunctive is खाजन, पीजन, घेजन, चेजन. These are all the forms in which an initial vowel of a termination comes in contact with a final stem-vowel, and it will be observed that the change of the latter into a semivowel occurs generally before a or ā, but not before ĩ or ā. When the stem-vowel is u or o, the semivowel is added to, not substituted for, the vowel, as in घुवाला, not घाला. From this and other instances in word-building, and in the formation of the case of the noun, it would appear that the labial and palatal vowels are more permanent and less liable to change in Marathi than the guttural vowel.

It is somewhat difficult to follow the author of the Portuguese grammar of the Konkani dialect, in consequence of the peculiarity of the system of transliteration which he uses, and only half explains, but there would appear to be several forms peculiar to that dialect. Thus he tells us that चे makes its past part. yelo or ailo, which latter he calls "marattismo," as if all Konkani were not Marathi. चे makes gheilo (perhaps चेला), as well as ghetio (चेला). Qhatā (खा) makes gheio (खेला) "outros dizem qhailo" (खाजला), he adds, "ambos irregulares," though the latter, from a Marathi point of view, would be more normal than the actually used खाजला. Perhaps the author would call it a "marattismo." Generally speaking, it would appear from the specimens of Konkani given by Burnell,1 that the termination of the p.p. consists of ली, ली, ले, etc., added to the stem without an intermediate vowel, as बसली "sat" (M. बसला), पड़ले "fell" (M. पड़ला), राखली "remained" (M. राखली), and the like.

The differences between Konkani and Marathi do not, I

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1 Specimens of South Indian Dialects (Mangalore).
think, entitle the former to be considered a distinct member of the Aryan group, but rather a dialect of the latter, which has been subjected very largely to Dravidian influences. Parallel to it, on the opposite coast of India, is the *Aryan* spoken in Ganjam and Vizagapatam, which, though radically Oriya, has, nevertheless, been much Dravidianized by the influence of the Telugu which surrounds it. Both Ganjam Oriya and Konkani Marathi show traces of this influence not only in pronunciation, but even in structure. There is much to be said on this subject, were this the proper place for it, and, from the known results in languages under our own eyes of Dravidian influences on Aryan speech, we might base considerations as to the probable extent and nature of those influences in former times. The subject would require a whole treatise to itself.

§ 79. In Bangali no attempt is made to avoid hiatus, the verbs ending in vowels simply add the terminations without any change. Thus याओ "go" (pronounced jā), makes—

**Singular.**

Aorist. 1. याओ 2. याहैस 3. याय. 1. याअ 2. याब्रो 3. यान.

Present यारतिखेत्रि, subjunctive यारताम, and so on.

Contraction, however, takes place in the 3 pl. of the aorist, as in चान for थाण, इन (hōnō) for होएन, and in the familiar verb डेय "give," almost throughout; thus we have—

**Singular.**

Aor. 1. देय 2. देस 3. देय. 1. देय 2. देज्रो 3. देन
Pres. 1. देतिखे, etc.

Pret. 1. देजनु 2. देजलिस 3. देजन. 1. देजलाम 2. देजले 3. देजिलन

Fut. 1. देज 2. देजी 3. देजबे. 1. देज 2. देजवाखे 3. देजबेन,

contracted from देय, देतिखेत्रि, देजनु, देजबे, etc., respectively.

As a rule, however, though in ordinary speech many of the forms of stems in vowels are very much contracted, yet in
writing the full forms are always used. It is only in a few very familiar words that the contractions are admitted into the written style of the present day. The old poets, however, writing more freely and naturally, employ them frequently. Thus Bhârat Chandra, मजुमदारे संगे जिला घोडा चढ़ारहा “He took Majumdiâr along with him, having mounted him on a horse” (Mansingh, 417), where जिला is for जान, from जाने “to take.” So he constantly uses कह for कहें “says,” as कौटाल हासिया कह। कहिंते राज ना हूँ। “The Kotwal laughing, says, Are you not ashamed to say so?” (Bidyâ-S. 356), also कब for कहिं, as हाय हाय कि कब बिधिरे “Alas! alas! what shall I say to fate?” (ib. 360), and दिन for दिन aorist 3 sing., as चारे दिना कतदुख मधे दिन कतसुख “First having given how much pain, they give in between how much pleasure” (ib. 359).

The contractions admitted in Oriya are similar to those in Bangali, but the language does not avoid the hiatus in any way; and in both O. and B. the terminations are almost universally preceded by short i, which does not combine with the preceding vowel, but in pronunciation often disappears altogether. Thus they say, O. खाल “wilt thou eat?” for खारादू. In a few words the vowel of the root has gone out, thus from जा “go,” we have जिबि “I will go,” for जारिबि; from या “remain,” infin. यिबि for यारिििा; पा “find,” however, retains its vowel, as पारिबि, पारिबि, पारििा. Also जा and या retain their vowels everywhere except in the preterite, future, and infinitive.
CHAPTER VI.

THE PARTICLE.


§ 80. The seven languages are rich in adverbs, and have a specially symmetrical range of pronominal adverbs, corresponding to the several classes of pronouns. The forms were given in Vol. II. pp. 336–38, in order to show their analogy to the pronouns, but nothing was said in that place about their origin; it will now be necessary to consider them more closely. The pronominal adverbs may be at once assumed to have sprung from the pronouns to which they respectively correspond, by the incorporation of some noun indicative of time, place, manner, and the like. On the other hand, the adverbs which have no pronominal meaning are clearly derived from various cases of nouns, whether substantives or adjectives. Participles, also, in virtue of their seminominal character, are used adverbially, either in their original form, or with certain modifications. Adverbs, therefore, may be divided into two classes, nominal and pronominal, with reference to their origin, and into three general categories of time, place, and manner, with reference to their meaning. To these must be added adverbs of confirmation and negation, and certain little helping words which are more adverbial in their nature than anything else. It is also to be noted that, while on the one hand simple nouns are often used adverbially, on the other hand, adverbs are
capable of being used as nouns with postpositions after them, as in H. तब की चाट, lit. "the word of then," i.e. "the matter that took place then," चल के राजा लोग "the kings of now," i.e. "those of the present day."

§ 81. (1). Pronominal adverbs of time.—The near demonstrative is H. चल, G. है, M. एवं, O. एव. All these hang together, and are apparently compounds of the Skr. वेला "time," with the type of the demonstrative च, द, or ए. The fuller form in O. shows this, it is एते वेले, which is clearly the locative case of a masculine वेल, literally, "in so much time." G. has prefixed a ह, but many words in G. may be indifferently written with ह or च; there is, therefore, nothing organic about this letter when met with in this connection. In M. एवं also the ह seems to be somewhat anomalous. There are also, however, many other forms for "now" in the various languages, which appear to be unconnected with वेला.

Hindi is mostly, however, faithful to the type in च; thus in Braj चि, Marwari चमि, and still more clearly Bhojpuri एवर, which approaches to the O. एव. The same type runs through all the pronominal forms, as जब "whenever," तब "then," कब "when." Bhojpuri जबि, तबि, कबि, Braj जबि, तबि, कबि. The Skr. forms यदि, तदि, कदि appear in H. जदि, तदि, कदि, and in the dialectic forms, जदि, जदि, जदि, जदि, जबि; as also तदि, तदि, कदि, etc.; the forms with the palatal and labial vowels have, I think, arisen from the incorporation of the affirmative particle हि or ह "indeed," of which more further on.

Panjabi फण, G. S. हाणि, B. एवन, and a dialectic form in O. उकहु, all meaning "now," are to be referred, as the B. form clearly shows, to the Skr. चण "instant, moment." For the rest of the series P. has जदि, तदि, कदि. S., however, has another type हिंहि, हङ...
for the other members of the series it has जड़िही “whenever,”
तड़िही “then,” कड़िही “when?” which arise from the Skr. यट्टा,
etc., with the emphatic है, which has changed the preceding vowel into the य which is so common in S. They also write कड़िं and कड़िः as dialectic variations; also जा, ता (but not का),
where the द of यट्टा has suffered elision.

G. has, besides हवे, also हमणा, हवड़ा, and for the rest ज्वारे,
tेरारे, श्वारे, commonly contracted into ज्वारे, etc., in which
we see the Skr. वार “time.” Owing to the G. peculiarity in
respect of initial ह, we have also चमणा, and with a modernized
form of Skr. बच “here,” ब्वारे (बच वारे) “at this time,”
“now.”

M. is consistent throughout एब्धां, जेब्धां, तेब्धां, केब्धां. In
Old-M. forms जेब्धां, etc., occur, showing that the modern भ
व्ह is an inversion from भव. The suggested origin from Skr.
कट्टा, by aspirating the द and adding ा, the termination of
the locative (Godbol, p. 75), is unsatisfactory. M. has also a
series जेब, etc., meaning “while,” “as long as,” which recalls
H. जब with inorganic anunāsika.

O. has the fuller forms, जेति बेचि, etc., and जेब explained
above; the former is quite as frequently used as the latter, if
not more so. “Time is made for slaves,” and not for Oriyas.

B. जब्धन, तब्धन, etc., uniformly, pronounced जोक्ष्ण or जोक्ष्णो,
etc. H. adds constantly ह for emphasis, as अभी “now”
(अब्धह), कभी “sometimes” (कव्धह), and with the negative कभी
नहै “never.”

For the indefinite pronominal adverb “ever,” “sometimes,”
the other languages have, P. करी (कद्दही), करीं, कर, S. कड़हीं,
G. कट्टी, M. कधी, B. कब्दन, O. केबे, केबेधि। All these are re-
peted to signify “sometimes,” as P. कट्टी कद्री, M. कधी कधों.

The above express definite or quiescent time; for progressive
time, whether past, as “since,” or future “until,” the adverbs
above given are used as nouns with case-affixes. Thus H. बच
से “from now,” “henceforth,” तब से “thenceforth,” कब से
"since when?" जब से "from the time when," or with the older affix तैं in the poets, as in जब तैं राम व्याहि घर धायि। "From the time when Ram married and came home" (Tulsi-Rám, Ay-k. 5), P. जाद्रों, S. जळ्ठाको, जळ्ठाको, जळ्ठाकल; where को is probably a shortened form of कर, an oblique from कः, which we may connect with काल "time," as in हिंदूर "now." The long अ or ओ of jaḍihā, jaḍīho, as contrasted with the i of जळ्ठी, seems to indicate an oblique form. G. हमळाधियों "henceforth," आदारधीयों, and apparently also आरधीयों, and the rest of the series. They also say आदार यक्री "henceforth." M. uses सम or मतिं, which are not pronominal. Neither B. nor O. have special forms for this idea.

To express "until" in Old-H. लगि, ली, ली, in modern H. लग, तवक, and तक, are affixed to the pronominal adverb, as in Chand—

तव लगि कष दृष्ट तन ॥
तव लगि धिं मुंहि गात ॥
जब लगि हृं चायी नहीं ॥
तौ पार न सेवात ॥

"Till then, pain and poverty of body,
Till then, my limbs were light (i.e. mean),
So long as I came not to thee,
And worshipped not at thy feet.—Pr.-R. i. 276.

Here, as always in H., the negative has to be inserted, and we must translate जब लगि by "so long as." This idiom is not peculiar to H., but is found in many other languages. In modern Hindi जब तक राम घर को नहीं चावि "So long as Rām comes not home," i.e. "until he comes," and the same in P.

S. has हैसी or एसीताई "up to this time," बोसी or होसीताई "up to that time," where ताई, as explained in Vol. II. p. 298, is Skr. खाचि, which, from meaning "in the place," has grown to mean "up to." सी, I suppose, is a contraction of समय "time."

The Hindi series यहाँ, वहाँ, जहाँ, तहाँ, कहाँ, is composed of the pronominal bases with हाँ, which we are justified in referring to Skr. खाने; thus तहाँ = तस्माने. The dental is preserved in several dialectic forms (Kellogg, p. 265), as Marwari छठी, छठी, हठी "here," उठी, etc., "there," Avadhi एठियां, बोठियां, Bhojpuri एठाँ, एठाँँ. But the Braj दूम, दूम, is, I think, by Kellogg rightly referred to the Skr. series अच, तच, etc. The Bundelkhandi form याँ is probably only another way of pronouncing याँ, as we find in Old-Bengali such words as खसाः for खसाः (modern खসाःया). To sthāne, also, are to be ascribed the P. forms इत्य, उत्त, etc. S. has not only दिति, विदित, etc., which may come from चच, चच, but दित्य, which agrees with P., and ह़िते, which is, I suspect, like हिकड़ी "one," an instance of a ह being put on to the front of a word without any etymological cause.

G. has various forms चाँदी, घाँची, हरी, घरी "here," and the same variety through all the series. The adverbial part agrees with H. Shortened forms यां, लां, कां, and even तां, कां, are also in use.

M. agrees closely with P. and S. in its series इच्छिः, इच्छिः, etc., where the final anuswāra, like that of Bhojpuri एठाँँँ, preserves the n of sthāne. But कीट "where," has the cerebral.

O. having first made sthāna into ठा, proceeds with the declension through its own affixes, and has thus a modern locative ठाँँ, in ठाँँँ. सेठाँँ. The final ठ is often dropped, and ठा, सेठा, or even shortened ठिः, सेठिः are used. B. uses खाँचि, which seems to come from खाने on the analogy of खंभो = खंभ (Var. iii. 14) and खाणु = खाणु (ib. iii. 15). For "where," however, it has a more regular form कोया, in older Bengali कोयাচ, as तार मत सवासिनी पाइब कोयाच "Where shall I find a female saint like her?" (Bharat, Bidyā-Ś. 399), where the final य for य is a relic of the e of sthāne. We also find हेठा and हेठाय "here," etc.
THE PARTICLE.

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In the case of the adverbs of this group, as in those of time, the case-affixes are used, as H. कहां से “from where?” “whence?” G. चांहां थी “hence,” P. वित्वे “whence?” But this practice is only in force to imply motion from a place. To express motion towards a place a separate set is used.

In classical H. the adverbial element is घर, as इघर “hither,” उघर “thither.” The dialectic forms are very various. Bhojpuri has एमहर, उमहर, as also एने, उने, etc.; in eastern Behar one hears एमहर, हमहर, and many others. Kellogg quotes also a curious form from Riwâ एझे जेत, एझे कियोत, or एझे मुह. If we take the original of all these forms to be घर, that is a word of many meanings both in Skr. and H.; but I am disposed to connect the series with M. महर “face,” G. मोहंडु i.e., a diminutive from Skr. मुख, so that the older adverbial element would be महर, as in Bhojpuri, whence नह, which would, by a natural process, slide into नर and घर. For the Riwâ form I can suggest no origin.

The S. and M. forms seem to be connected, and with them I would associate the common O. expressions ए चाड़ि “in this direction,” “hither” (घो चाड़ि, को चाड़ि, etc.), which are locatives, and ए चाड़, etc., “from this place,” “hence,” which are ablative. The Sindhi adverb, as usual in that language, is written in a dozen ways, but the simplest form is एझे “hither,” and एझे “hence,” which, like O., are respectively locative and ablative. Marathi has what is apparently a fuller form रकड़े “hither,” locative, where the adverbial portion is कड “a side,” said to be from Skr. कट “hip, loin.” It has also an ablative series रकडून “hence.” May we not here throw out a crumb for our Non-Aryan brethren? There is a long string of words in our seven languages of the type अढ़ा, and our Sanskrit dictionaries give अढ़ “to join,” also “to stop.” On the other hand, Telugu has ikkada “here,” ikkadiki “hither,” which looks very like M. ิกคำ. So, also, in Telugu akkaḍa “there.” All the Dravidian languages have a root अढ, which,
in various forms, has a range of meanings such as "to be near," "close," "to cross," "to stop," and the like. They may have borrowed from the Aryans, or the Aryans from them. It by no means follows, as the opposite party always assume, that when a word is common to both groups, it must have been originally Dravidian. In the O. expression चार्ड is a noun meaning "direction," and is used in that sense independently of its adverbial employment with the pronoun.

(3). Pronominal adverbs of manner.—The Hindi series या, या, या, etc., and for the near demonstrative and interrogative respectively softened forms यू and यू, vary very little in the dialects. Marwari has ज, ज “thus,” and, together with Braj and Mewari, has the far demonstrative, which is wanting in the classical dialect, वै or वै. Mewari adds कर and गा, as देंकर, देंगा “thus,” which Kellogg looks on as from Skr. थ and गम respectively, and rightly so; for even in classical H. we have कूकर “how?” and in Chand and the poets कर or क (के) are added to all this pronominal series at will.

The older form of this group is still preserved in the Purbi form रम or रम, चिम, चिम, चिम. Chand has both this series and the modern one in च, as च भयी रियि ज्ञवघूि। "Thus the Rishi was absorbed in thought" (Pr.-R. i. 48), च रह तथापः प्रमाणं। च जानि कोविंदेः चेवं।। "Thus this story is proved, as learned folk know" (ib. xiii. 5), पद्मावतः रम के चची। हरपि राज प्रविराज। “King Prithiraj, rejoicing, thus (ina) led away Padmāvatī,” (ib. xx. 35), तहां सु केम फिज़ी गमन। “How can one go there?” (ib. i. 90). Tulsi Das has रम, चिम, चिम, etc., as in तन पशुह कदनी चिम कांणी “Her body was in a sweat, she trembled as a plantain-tree (trembles).”—Ram. Ay-k. 131.

M. may be excluded, as it has no series of this type, but merely the neuter of the adjective pronoun, as चसे, जसे, तसे. All the other languages have closely allied words. B. एमन, एमन, एमन, एमन, “thus,” जेमन, etc.; the first two are nominatives, the last two locatives. O. एमत, जेमत, locatives; also
ए परि, the pronominal type, with a postposition. G. एम, जेम, where the termination has been lost, also for demonstrative आम. This series is sometimes written ज्यम, ल्यम, क्षम, but जेम is the more common, as in कीति यदि देव नी विस्तीमे जेम सूरज ना पसरे कीपन। "The fame of Nala was spread abroad, as spread the rays of the sun" (Premânand in K.-D. ii. 71).

Next in order comes the Old-Purbi H. एम, etc., and, with the nasal weakened, probably through an intermediate form एम, and change of the semivowel to its vowel, P. एम and एम or aiṇ, and the full series जिजी, निजी, किजी, as well as one without the i, जी, ती, etc., to which is allied H. जी, etc., for जिजी. S. rejects the labial element in एम, होम, एम, and the rest of the series.

In this instance B. and O. preserve the fuller forms, and the other languages fall away by degrees, in the order given above. The whole group points, in my opinion, clearly to a type in मत or वत. This is still more clearly seen by comparing the pronominal adjective of quality in B. and O. एममत, सेममत, for मन्त्र is the regular Prakrit form of the masc. मत, just as वन्त्र is of वत in Skr. It is true that the existing Skr. series means rather quantity than manner, thus—

इयान्, इयति, इयत "so much,"
कियत "how much?"
एतावान्, ओवति, ओवत "so much,"
यावत् "as much as."

But the affixes mat and vat imply possession, and thus naturally pass over into the idea of manner. It seems that we have in the modern group this affix added to the ordinary range of pronominal types, and thus a formation of a later kind, rather than a direct derivation from the Skr. Kellogg's suggestion of a derivation from a Skr. series in tha, of which only ittham and katham are extant in the classical writings, fails to account for
the Old-Purbi and G. forms, as well as for those in B. and O. Also the S. form रूच seems to be more naturally referred to an earlier *emana*, through *enan*, than to *ittham*, unless, indeed, we regard the anuswāra as inserted to fill the hiatus left by elision of *itth*. S. does, undoubtedly, insert anuswāra to fill a hiatus; but as the cognate languages have a ध just where the anuswāra in S. occurs, it is more natural to regard the one as a weakening of the other, and the final anuswāra in H. and P. as the same, pushed one syllable forwards, so that H. धी would be for an older form श्च. As the change, whatever it was, was completed before our earliest writer Chand’s days, there is no actual proof forthcoming.

§ 82. Adverbs derived from nouns and verbs.—Under this head may be classed certain words such as those given in Vol. II. p. 296, which are either postpositions or adverbs, according to the connection in which they are used. In either case they are, by derivation, locative cases of nouns. Some are peculiar to one or two languages, while others are common, in one form or another, to the whole group. I do not, of course, undertake to give them all, but only a selection of those most commonly used, so as to show the practice of the languages in this respect. There are, for instance, H. अने “before,” and पीछे “behind,” which are used adverbially in the sense of “formerly” and “afterwards” respectively, that is, with reference to time, and in this sense take, like the pronominal adverbs, the case-affixes, as अने की बात “the former matter,” lit. “the matter of formerly,” पीछे के हुए में कहाँ नहीं “I will not tell the suffering that followed,” lit. “the suffering of afterwards.” So also with नीचे “below,” and the other words given at Vol. II. p. 296.

Strictly referring to time definite are H. आज “to-day,” P. चा, S. चा, etc. (Vol. I. p. 327), from Skr. चा; also H. अग्नि from Skr. अग्नि “dawn.” This word has two meanings,
it is used for both “yesterday” and “to-day.” In rustic H. we have the forms काल, कालि, कालह, and कालह (see Vol. I. p. 350). As the Skr. means only “dawn” in general, it is used in the moderns in the double sense, but in cases where the meaning might not be clear from the context, a word meaning past is employed when “yesterday” is intended, and a word meaning future when “to-morrow” is implied. It also takes case-affixes, as कल की लड़ाई में घायल हुआ “He was wounded in yesterday’s battle,” but कल की लड़ाई में घायल हुए “If I shall be wounded in to-morrow’s battle.” G. कालि, S. कालह, कालह, M. काल.

So also are used the following:—Skr. परवस् “the day after to-morrow.” In the moderns it has also the sense “the day before yesterday,” as H. परसौ, and dialects परसौं, परस्तौं, परसौं. P. परसौ, S. परसौं, परसौं, seem to be used only in the first meaning. G. परसौं, M. परसौं. O. has पर always in combination with दिन, and where the sentence does not of itself sufficiently indicate the meaning, they add the words “gone” and “coming” to express it more clearly, गत पर दिन “the day before yesterday,” and आसंता पर दिन “the day after to-morrow.”

H. goes a step further still, and has तरसौ “three days ago,” or “three days hence,” where the first syllable is probably Skr. ति “three.” Similarly S. तरसौं, but also with rejection of initial त, चरिं. Kellogg quotes dialectic forms in H. चरिः, चरिः, चरिः, चरिः. In H. we have even a still further तासौ “four days ago,” which is rarely, however, used, and the initial of which, I conjecture, comes from चन्द, as though it were for चन्द तासौ “another day (besides) three days ago.”

H. सवेर “early,” “betimes,” and सवेर, or more usually सवेर “late,” are Skr. स and च, compounded with वेरा respectively. S. सवेर and सवेर, also सवेर, besides the adjectively used forms सवेरो and सवेरो, as well as सवेरो. In this sense is also used H. सकालि, सकारि, O. and B. उ।; in O. it is frequently used in
the sense of “early in the morning,” also “early to-morrow morning,” as ताज जाइ पारिभु नसि सकालि जिजु “To-day we shall not be able to go, we will go early to-morrow morning.” H. here uses तडके, conjunctive participle of तडना “to break,” as we should say “at break of day;” also भोर “dawn” is used in H. and O., भोरे in B. for “at dawn;” where G. has वाहळो, M. बाहाळ (Skr. उद्य “sunrise”). Common also is Skr. प्रभात, B. id., G. परभाति, of which the Oriyas make पाहाळि “at dawn;” in Eastern Bengal one hears पाहा. The H. भोर is probably connected with the Skr. भा in some way not very clear. G. has a curious word मठसके “at dawn,” probably connected with मठवू “to meet,” and, like Skr. सब्जा, indicating the meeting of darkness and light.

“Rapidly,” “quickly,” “at once.”—This idea is expressed by derivatives of the Skr. वक्, principally from the p.p.p. लरितम्, which is used adverbially already in Skr. The forms are: H. तुरंत, M. तूळे, G. तुरत, तरत, लरीत, S. तूळो, O. B. तुरंत, लरित. M. has a peculiar word लबकर “at once, quickly,” Skr. लब (वळ “to cut”) “a minute,” M. लबणि “to flash, twitch, move quickly.” It is not found in any other language. Commoner, however, is H. हट “quick!” reduplicated हटणट, M. हटक, S. हटपटि and चटपटि, O. हट, हटपट, B. हट, from Skr. हटिति. “Immediately” is also expressed in M. by तकाल, O. and B. तत ब्यावात, but these are pedantic. H. P. M. and S. have also a word चचाचक; H. also चचाचक “suddenly,” “unexpectedly,” corresponding to which is G. चचाचिते, चोचिती, pointing to a derivation from च्र and चिन्त “to think;” though I am disposed also to remember Skr. चमकार, H. चौक, in this connection. O. and B. use हटात, literally ablative of Skr. हट, meaning “by force.” It is used generally of sudden and forcible action, but also in sentences where no force, only surprise, or a sudden fright, occurs. Similarly in H. and G. एकाएक “all of a sudden,” M. एकाएक, are used.

Among adverbs of place, considerable divergences exist, each
language having a large stock of words peculiar to itself, in addition to those which are common to the whole group. Sindhi is rich in words of this class, most of which are of somewhat obscure origin. Thus we find a small group with the typical ending in उ, as आढ़ो “opposite,” चोड़ो “near,” चोड़िरो diminutive of the preceding. Peculiar to S. is also बेझो “near,” with its diminutive बेझिरो. सूधो “accompanied by,” O. सुधा, is by Trumpp referred to Skr. सायँ “with,” and साधो “near,” to सहित, probably correctly. See the remarks on the postposition से in Vol. II. p. 274, and on the Nepali ablative in सित, Vol. II. p. 235. From adverbs with the affixes आहो and आरो are formed certain adjectives which may, in their turn, be again used adverbially as well as adjectively, that is, they may either stand alone uninflected, or may agree with a substantive in gender and number. Thus—

चौरें “on this side,” चौराहों “somewhat on this side.”
आगणि “in front,” आगाहों “somewhat in front.”
पोराहों “behind,” पोरताहों “somewhat behind.”
सदे “upon,” सदाहों “somewhat higher up.”
मंद्री “in,” मंद्राहों } “somewhat inside.”

This last word recalls the old poetic Hindi मधार used in Chand (see Vol. II. p. 293). They may also take the feminine ending आहीं, as चगाहीं, सचाहीं. ¹

Simple ablatives or locatives of nouns are also used adverbially, as—

पुढ्रों “from behind,” abl. of पोढ़ “the rear.”
पुढ्री “from behind,” ” पुढ़ि “the back.”

¹ Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 385.
Sindhi thus preserves the case-endings more strictly than the other languages. The latter mostly take the Prakrit locative, or ablative, and entirely reject the terminations.

Hindi has ज्ञात् "elsewhere," Skr. ज्ञच, निकत् "near," also नवरि (dialectically नौह and नवरी); परि "on the other side," मीतर "within," Skr. मम्बनतरे, बाहिर, बाहर "outside," Skr. बहिस, and others.

M., like S., has मांगि, but in the sense of "before," also पुढ़े "before," पखाड "beyond," वर "above," जवहर "near," which are peculiar to itself. In the other languages there is nothing deserving special mention; the subject has already been treated in Vol. II. p. 296.

Adverbs of manner.—While the adverbs of place, being also, in their nature, postpositions, and as such used to form cases, do not call for special mention, adverbs of manner are not so used,
and it is to them that the term adverb, in its more special sense, correctly applies. Such words as *âge* "before," *pitchhe* "behind," and the others, may, indeed, be properly regarded as adverbs when they are used alone, but when in conjunction with nouns, they become true postpositions, giving to the relations of the noun a more extended application. Adverbs of manner, on the other hand, are, for the most part, adjectives used adverbiaally, and this practice is common in all Aryan languages. In Sindhi, which preserves distinctions obliterated in the other languages, adjectives may, as pointed out above, be used adverbiaally by being undetermined, or, in their true use as adjectives, by agreeing with the subject in gender and case. Thus, to quote the instances given by Trumpp:

चौथितोंदे कुए हिंकिए उन मांडे वे भरि में वृह कियो

"By chance one mouse made a hole near that granary."

Here *ochito-ê* is an adjective in the nom. sing. masc. with emphatic *ê*, and although by the accident of the construction it is in the same case as the subject *kue* "a mouse," yet it is evidently used adverbiaally.

तिड़हों जब हारे जाल घणो रोदे माड विरियोसि

"Then having shed tears much, having wept much, his mother returned."

Here *ghano* is an adjective in the nom. sing. masc., and clearly does not agree with *mâû* "mother," which is feminine; it must be regarded as used adverbiaally.

हुबू लग्नि कोसिङ्द झाड़ा तपनि झोङ्ग

"The winds strike hot, the days burn fiercely."

In this sentence I do not think we should regard the adjectives as used adverbiaally; झुङ्ग "winds," is a noun in the nom. pl. fem. and कोसिङ्ज  "hot" agrees with it, so also झोङ्ग

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1 Sindhi Grammar, p. 386.
"days," is nom. sing. masc. and डाढ़ा "fierce, excessive" (Skr. दृढ़), agrees with it; so that we might more literally translate, "the hot winds strike, the fierce days burn."

In Marathi and Gujarati also, where adjectives have the full range of three genders, they are often made to agree with the noun in constructions, where in English they would be used adverbially. When intended to be adverbially used, they stand in the nom. sing. neuter, ending in य and घ G. In Bengali and Oriya, where no gender exists, it is impossible to draw the same line of distinction, and this remark applies also to that numerous class of adjectives in Hindi and Panjabi, as also in all the other languages, which are indeclinable, or which, ending in mute a, do not vary their terminations. Those adjectives in H. and P. which end in आ masc. and टī fem., when used adverbially, stand in the former gender and do not vary with the noun.

§ 83. Conjunctions.—In Hindi the common word for "and" is ओर, Old-H. ओष्ठ, ओव, from Skr. ओपर "other." In B. and O. it loses the final consonant, B. ओ, O. ओउ. In B., however, ओइ, pronounced ebong, is very common; and ओर "also." P. ओति, often shortened into ओ, probably from Skr. ओति "at the end," "afterwards," as well as ओ (ओपर). S. ओउ, ओर, ओ or ओ, in which the fondness of S. for the ए-sound comes out. G. uses generally ओता literally "then." It has besides ओ and ओर for "also," which belong to the group from ओपर. G. ओनि, shortened ओ, I am disposed to connect with P. ओति, and ascribe to Skr. ओति. In the former case the ओ has been lost, in the latter the ओ. It may, however, be allied to M. ओथ़ि, ओथ़खि "and," from Skr. ओथ "other." In all the languages, however, the shorter conjunction ओ is in use, side by side with the words given above. The ordinary Skr. ओ has left no descendants. The Gipsies use te or ta, which agrees with P., also ओ, which is Persian ओ.
THE PARTICLE.

"Also."—H. भी, Skr. अणि हि, Pr. वि हि. The various steps from अणि downwards are all retained in S. धि, धि, भि (for बहि), and भि. The other forms पुणि, पुणि, पिणि, are from Skr. पुनर् "again," and show a gradual change from the u to the i, in accordance with S. proclivities. P. चार्छ means literally "near to," locative of नाथ "near." G. पण, meaning also "but," is from पुणर्. B. uses श्रो, and O. भि.

"But" is very frequently expressed even in Hindi by the Arabic words इलिक, बलिक, and Persian मगर; and in the other languages also. Pure Sanskrit are परंतु and किन्तु, as well as चरण (Skr. चर). In Hindi पर (Skr. चर) is also used, and in P., which also uses छपर, and a strange form एपर, in the initial syllable of which we may recognize an incorporation of the near demonstrative pronoun, so that it means "rather than this." P. has also मगरा, मगी, probably corruptions of कर. Peculiar to P. and S. are the forms P. हथर्, S. हथा, हथि, and emphatic हथाथि and हथाथि "but rather." These are ablatives from हथि, and the idiom may be paralleled by our English phrase "on the other hand." S. has also पर "but," and पण, in which latter it agrees with G. It also uses मगरि, having added a final i to कर. G. and M., in addition to पण, use also परंतु, O. किन्ता and पर, B. किन्तु and वरर.

"Or."—H. वा, अथवा, which are Skr., with ब for व. The Arabic या ० is very common, and commoner still is कि, probably shortened from Skr. बिवा. This कि is colloquially common in nearly all the languages. G. writes it के, where e is short. M. lengthens the vowel and retains the nasalization की, also using चथवा, as does G. P. के, चथवा, and वा. S. के and को. B. uses several varieties of बिवा, as बिवा, बिवा, कि, and वा, also चथवा. O. the same.

"If."—Skr. यदि, generally pronounced and written यदि, is universal. H. shortens it into जदि and जि (= जि, with loss of ड) and जि, by rejection of final i, and ड goes out, its place
being supplied by छ and उ; thus जवि = जवि = जावि = जो. Persian अबर is also very common. P. ज and जबर. This last introduces कर for करि “having done.” S. ज.

"Although."—Skr. चाहि is used in B. O., also in H., but more common is जो भि “if even.” P. has मावि, literally "one may think," or "it may seem." B. also uses जदि जो “if even.” S. तोड़े, तोिे, sometimes with जे prefixed, जे तोड़े; this, too, is literally "if even," for तोड़े alone is used to mean "either," "even," and is apparently really the correlative तो (तदि = तदि) with a diminutive affix. It is not found in the other languages. G. जो पण “but if.” In all cases there is a correlative; thus to H. जो or जो भि answers तो or तो भि "then," or "even then;" to P. मावि answers ताता भि; to G. जो पण, answers तो पण, and so in all. In B. and O., as in written H., the correlative is Skr. तथापि “yet.”

"Because."—H. काँकि literally "for why." B. and O. use Skr. कारण “cause,” and जे हेतु or जे हेतुक. G. माटे, probably Skr. मावि, which is also sometimes used in O. in the sense of "only," "merely," "for the simple reason that." G. has also कमि “for why,” and shorter कांकि. S. जेला, जेस्त्या, where the last syllable is for जारि “for” (see Vol. II. p. 260). S. also uses a string of forms with का "why?" as काजै, का लाङ्घ, and को ता, को जो. The correlatives “therefore,” etc., take the त form तेलां “etc.”

These instances may suffice to show the general principles on which the languages proceed in forming their conjunctions. There is, as in other respects, a general similarity of process, accompanied by variations of development.

§ 84. Interjections.—The various spontaneous or involuntary sounds, some of them hardly articulate, by which sudden emotions are expressed, are scarcely susceptible of rigid scientific analysis in any language. Everywhere we find ha! ho! or ah! oh! and the like. Surprise, fear, disgust, delight, and
other sentiments are often displayed by grunts, shakes, turns of the head, or movements of the hands, and among the people of India the hands play so large a part in conversation that they may almost be said to speak for themselves. It is only the Englishman who can converse with his hands in his pockets.

In Hindi the principal interjections are है, हो, चौहो, चो “Ho!” or “Oh!” है is used to superiors, as है धर्मावतार “O incarnation of justice!” which is the common method of addressing a Magistrate or Judge, है प्रसु “O Lord!” है पिता “O father!” है, चौहो, and चो, have no special tone of respect or disrespect. Sorrow is shown by आ, आह, आए, हा हा, अहह “alas!” whence the common cry of native suitors, or persons applying to a ruler for redress, दोहाए literally “twice alas!”

One often hears दोहाए khudāwanda, दोहाए Angrez Bahādūr, which is as much as to say “grant me justice,” or “listen to my complaint.” Others are फ्रिफ्रै “fie!” चुप “hush!” अह, चोह “ah!” a cry of pain; चू चू disgust; हत तेरी, an expression with a suspicion of indecency about it, like too many of the native ejaculations, meaning “begone,” and at times with a menacing tone “how dare you?” I suspect the word now spelt हत was originally हट from हटना “to go away,” “be stopped,” and तेरी the feminine genitive of तू “thou,” is explained by such filthy expressions as तेरी मा “thy mother.”

Two men are quarrelling, and one says to the other “अह, तेरी माँ,” “oh thy mother.” The person addressed at once understands that some gross and filthy insult to his mother is intended, for indiscriminate foul abuse of each other’s female relations is a favourite weapon with the natives of India. Thus the innocent word साजा or शाजा “brother-in-law,” has become the lowest term of abuse in these languages, the obscene imagination of the people immediately grasping the idea involved in this assumption of relationship.

Panjabi has mostly the same as Hindi. A very favourite
interjection of surprise with Panjabis, though it is also used by
the other languages, is वाह, and doubled वाह वाह. The simple-
minded Panjabi says "wâh! wâh!" to every new thing he
sees, and this favourite exclamation helps to form the once
terrible war-cry of the fighting Sikhs, "wâh wâh! fatih
guru ji!"

All the other languages have these common interjections,
several of which are also Persian or Arabic more or less cor-
rupted. Thus the Persian شاد باش shâd bâsh, "be joyful!" is
used everywhere as a term of encouragement, "well done!"
and is used to stimulate workers to increased efforts, to express
approbation, or to kindle flagging courage. It appears mostly
without the अ, as shabâsh, shabâshe, sabâs, according to the
language in which it is used.

A few special remarks are due to a very widespread word
which is claimed by the Non-Aryan writers, घरे, छरे or रे. This is used to call inferiors, to rebuke impertinence, in scold-
ing or quarrelling, and in most languages takes also a feminine
form छड़ी, छी, री. Dr. Caldwell shows¹ that this word is
also in use in the Dravidian group, and is there understood to
mean "O slave!" Hemachandra, however (ii, 201), knows
it as used in addressing (sambhâshâne), and in dalliance
(ratikalahe). For reproach (kshepe) he prescribes छरे. I do
not dispute the Non-Aryan origin of this word, but it must
have found its way into Aryan speech at a very early date, and
has therefore to a great extent, lost its sense of rebuke, for it is
often used merely to call attention, and in friendly conde-
scension to an inferior, and there has sprung up beside it a
form घरवे, used also in the same tone. The interchange of घ
and र need cause no difficulty, being, especially in early
writers, extremely common. There does not appear to be
any Sanskrit origin for this word, and the fact that in the

Dravidian group it can be traced to a definite meaning, is one which carries great weight.

In O. and B. रें is only used in calling males; when addressing females, O. uses ली, and B. गो। Thus O. आस ली, मा बजारकू जिबा “Come along, mother, let us go to the bazar;” B. निविद्दे धनी शुन गो जननि “The lady entreats, ‘hear me, oh my mother’” (Bhârat, Vid.-S. 338). ली, घोजी are also used in B. in contempt or reproof. Both these words seem to be fragments of लोगो, from Skr. लोक in the sense of “person,” the word लोग or लोगार्द being used to indicate the women of the speaker’s family, and especially his wife, whom it is not considered proper to speak of directly.

§ 85. It is necessary to revert to the subject of postpositions, although they were partially discussed in Vol. II. p. 295, because in that place they were regarded in only one of their two aspects, namely, as factors in the declensional system. Here they must be looked at as parts of speech, corresponding to prepositions in the western Aryan languages.

In Hindi, in addition to the postpositions mentioned in Vol. II., may be cited as very common the following, some of which are also used as adverbs. Thus बाहिर “without” (Skr. बहिः) is used as a postposition with the genitive case, as घर के बाहिर “outside the house,” or even without the genitive sign, as द्वार बाहिर “outside the door.” So also पार “across,” “on the other side of,” is very commonly used with the direct form of the noun in the phrase नदी पार “across the river,” “on the other side of the river.” So also समेत “with,” “accompanied by,” as सूर सामेत समेत “accompanied by his peers and paladins,” the meaning of the postposition from सम + चा + र requires this construction.

बीच “in,” “in the middle of,” सिरे “at the end of” (Skr. शिरस्), कङे “near to,” “at the house of” (Skr. कङ्छ), संग “with,” हाथ “by means of,” हि “at,” “at the house of”
are also colloquially common, both with and without the sign of the genitive, but more frequently with it.

Panjabi has ॠ “near,” literally, “in the bosom of,” कोठो “from the side of,” विच “in,” which is the regular sign of the locative, पार “on the other side,” and पार वार “on both sides” (of a river, valley, etc.), as well as the Hindi words given above.

The postpositions in Sindhi are more numerous, and are divided, more clearly than in the other languages, into two classes, those which are added direct to the oblique form of the noun, and those which are added to the genitive. Of the first class are मर or मरि “on,” “leaning on” (Skr. भर), where in H. मर rather means “full,” as कोस भर “a full kos;” तोड़ and तोनक “up to,” which Trumpp regards as an emphatic locative from तोड़ “end;” जो, जिंद्र, जीत्र, जिए, “like” (Skr. यथा); डो, डौंह, दे “towards,” with an ablative form दूहां “from the direction of” (perhaps from Skr. दिश); रे, रिच्र, “without” (Skr. चर्चे); सां, साण, से, सेन “with” (Skr. सम; cf. B. सन).

S. सूधा “along with,” H. सूधा and सूध “with,” O. सूधा or सबू सूध “together with,” “all taken together,” from Skr. सार्थम, according to Trumpp and others, but the O. usage seems to refer rather to Skr. शुद्ध, in the sense of संशुद्ध “completed.”

S. सीत्रा “up to,” “till” (Skr. सीमा), P. सी and सीउं, appears occasionally to be used as a postposition, and one or two others of less importance complete the list.

1 Platts (Grammar, p. 195), from whom I take this list, is the first writer to give the real origin and meaning of this word, which I, in common with most of my countrymen, had hitherto confounded with यहाँ “here.” There was no need for Platts to be so very dogmatic and arrogant about this and one or two similar small discoveries. He should try to bear the weight of his stupendous erudition more meekly. We may be thankful, however, to him for condescending to make a few mistakes occasionally, to bring himself down to our level. Such are the remarkable bit of philology in note 1, page 164, and his remarks on the intransitive in notes to pp. 171, 174. He who undertakes to correct others, should be quite sure he is right himself first.
Of the second class are बाद्रों, बाधू, बाद्रो “without,” P. बाधू, बाधू id. This rather means “owing to the absence of,” as in the passage quoted by Trumpp, तान सूरिंद्र भाषा सेवक देखा बाधू दोस जे “Then they were considered by the hero as thorns in the absence of his friend.” It is probably connected with Skr. विना in the sense of being bound or impeded. विना “without” (Skr. विना), is also common in H. P. B. and O. In M. विना, and G. विना and वना (विना, वनाः).

S. जान and जन “for the sake of,” correspond to H. P. जिवे, and are used like it, either with or without the genitive particle; but in S. the meaning is the same in both cases, while in H. it differs; thus उस जिवे “for that reason,” but उस के जिवे “for the sake of him.”

While in the other languages the postpositions, when not used as case-signs, are almost invariably joined to the genitive with the masculine oblique case-sign, in Sindhi they may take the ablative or accusative. Thus आद्री “in front,” may take the accusative. It is probably like O. आद्री “in the first place,” or with a negative आद्री न “not at all,” “at no time;” thus आद्री बेंट गला नहीँ literally “to begin with, he did not go there,” that is to say, “he never went there at all,” locative of Skr. आद्री “beginning.”

बाद्री “within,” Skr. वंत्र, but more probably from Persian آندر. बाद्री “near to,” बारा “apart, without,” कांशी “for the sake of,” contracted from कारेशे; मद्री “upon,” loc. of मद्री “head,” वाणी “like to,” बेंटी “near to,” are also used in the same way.

In Marathi, besides the postpositions which are exclusively employed in forming cases, there are some which are added direct to the oblique form of the noun, and others which require the genitive case-sign.

Of the former kind are वर “on” (Skr. उपपरि), which is generally written as one word with the noun, as घरार वर “on
the house," घर "till to-morrow." A longer form is वर्तमान, which is declined as an adjective, generally meaning "up." Others are बाहर "out," अंत "in," कड़ "at," कहूँ "by means of," वांछन "without," विषय "about," "concerning," literally "in the matter (of)," मान "behind," "formerly," पुढ़ "before," "in future," खा "under."

There is nothing specially worthy of note in the remaining languages which do not vary from Hindi very widely, either in the words they use, or in the manner of using them.

§ 86. The survey of the seven languages is here ended; the thinness of matter and illustration, in some respects, is due to the want of material, the difficulty of procuring books, and the absence of persons who might be consulted. Others, who enjoy greater advantages in these respects, will, in future times, supplement and supersede much that is defective and erroneous in this outline. Amru’lkais sings—

\[
\text{वो माँ उम्रो दामेट खशाशुऽ नृसेह}
\]

\[
\text{पिठुऩकां अत्यन्त अगुयऽ वै आली}
\]

FINIS.
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The Roman numeral indicates the volume, and the Arabic numeral the page. Only those words are here given which form the subject of some discussion, or illustrate some rule. A hyphen before a word indicates that it is a termination.

NOTE.—When the anuswâra precedes a strong consonant, it is not the nasal breathing, but the nasal letter of the varga of that consonant, and is therefore the first element in a mixed nexus. It must be looked for at the end of each varga.

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FINIS.
CATALOGUED.

Rec'd 28/1/80

V.R. Cat. 4/12/75
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES
OF INDIA:
TO WIT,
HINDI, PANJABI, SINDHI, GUJARATI, MARATHI,
ORIYA AND BANGALI.

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ETC., ETC.

VOL. III.
THE VERB.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., 57 AND 59, LUDGATE HILL.
1879.
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A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES
OF INDIA.
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CHAPTER I.

STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.


§ 1. The Sanskrit verb, with its long array of tenses, intricate phonetic changes, and elaborate rules of formation, seems to have been subjected at a very early period to processes of
simplification. Indeed, we may be permitted to hold that some, at least, of the forms laid down in the works of Sanskrit grammarians, were never actually in use in the spoken language, and with all due deference to the opinions of scholars, it may be urged that much of this elaborate development arose in an age when the speech of the people had wandered very far away from the classical type. Even if it were not so, even if there ever were a time when the Aryan peasant used polysyllabic desideratives, and was familiar with multiform aorists, it is clear that he began to satisfy himself with a simpler system at a very distant epoch, for the range of forms in Pali and the other Prakrits is far narrower than in classical Sanskrit.

Simplification is in fact the rule in all branches of the Indo-European family of languages, and in those we are now discussing, the verb follows this general law. To make this clear, it may be well to give here, as a preliminary matter, a slight sketch of the structure of the verb as it stands in the Sanskrit and Prakrit stages of development.

In that stage of the Sanskrit language which is usually accepted as the classical one, the verb is synthetical throughout, except in one or two tenses where, as will be hereafter shown, the analytical method has already begun to show itself. By separating the inflectional additions, and unravelling the euphonic changes necessitated by them, we may arrive at a residuum or grammarian's abstraction called the root. These roots, which have no real existence in spoken language, serve as useful and indispensable pegs on which to hang the long chain of forms which would otherwise defy all attempts at reducing them to order. Some writers have lately thought fit to sneer at the philologist and his roots, and have made themselves merry over imaginary pictures of a time when the human race talked to each other in roots only. These gentlemen set up a bugbear of their own creation for the purpose of
STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

pulling it to pieces again. No one, as far as I am aware, has ever asserted that at a given period of the world's history a certain race of men used such words as bhū, gam, or kar, till some one hit on the ingenious device of adding to bhū the word ami, and, modifying bhū into bhave, burst upon his astonished countrymen with the newly-discovered word bhaveāmi, "I am."

What has been asserted, and truly too, is that in Sanskrit we find a large number of words expressing the idea of "being," in which the consonantal sound bh is followed by various vowels and semivowels, which, according to phonetic laws, spring from the vowel ə, and that as, for scientific purposes, some common generic term is required to enable us to include under one head all parts of the verb, we are justified in putting together these two constant unvarying elements, and so obtaining a neat technical expression bhū, to which, as to a common factor, can be referred all the words expressive of "being" in its relations of time, person, and condition. Analysis and arrangement of this sort is an essential part of every science, and the native grammarians had done this work for us before European skill was brought to bear on the subject.

Verbal roots, then, are grammarians' tickets, by which actual spoken words are classified and arranged in groups for convenience of investigation. The roots in Sanskrit are mostly monosyllabic, consisting of a consonant followed by a vowel, as bhū, yā, nī, or of a vowel followed by a consonant, as ad, īsh, ubh, or of a vowel between two consonants, as kar, gam, pat. Roots may also consist of a single vowel, as ā, and in the place of a single consonant there may be a nexus, as grah, pinj, mlaı. Those roots which have more than one syllable are usually of a secondary nature, being in some cases produced by reduplication, as jāgar, in others made from nouns, as kumār.

Each verbal root presents six phases or grades of action: active, neuter, passive, causal, desiderative, intensive. All these are distinguished by certain modifications of the letters
of the root, and by certain prefixed and affixed syllables. Thus भू bhū, "to be," undergoes the following modifications:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Active</td>
<td>bhava.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuter</td>
<td>bhūya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>bhāvaya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal</td>
<td>bhāvaya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desiderative</td>
<td>bubhūsha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensive</td>
<td>bobhūya.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The causal also is in some cases treated as primary stem, and gives rise to subsidiary forms; thus from pātaya "cause to fall," is made a passive pātya, whence comes a desiderative causal pippātayisha.

Each of these six phases may be conjugated throughout thirteen tenses, in each of which are nine forms representing the three persons of the singular, dual, and plural. It rarely happens in practice that any one verbal root exhibits the whole of these forms, but if we regard the general type, we may fairly say that a Sanskrit verb, as an individual entity, is an aggregate of seven hundred and two words, all agreeing in expressing modifications of the idea contained in the root-syllable, which is the common inheritance of them all. Of the thirteen tenses, nine are conjugated according to certain rules which, with some exceptions, hold good for all verbs in the language, but the remaining four tenses are subject to rules by which they are divided into ten classes or conjugations. These four are the present, imperfect, imperative, and optative; and before we can determine what form a verbal

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1 Namely, 6 phases × 13 tenses × 9 persons = 702. But this is an extreme calculation, for the Subjunctive (Lat) is only found in Vedic Sanskrit; and the two forms of the Perfect (Līt) may be regarded as variations of the same tense. Thus the number of tenses may be reduced to ten, viz. Present (Lat), Imperfect (Lān), Optative (Lān), Imperative (Lot), Perfect (Līt), Aorist (Lūn), Future (Lūt), Conditional (Lūt), Second Future (Lūt), Benefactive (āśīr Līn). By this reckoning the number of forms would be 6 × 10 × 9 = 540.
root can take in any of these tenses, we must know what conjugation it belongs to.

Inasmuch also as the Sanskrit grammarians class the active and neuter phases together, we must find out which of these two phases any given verb employs, for the terminations of the tenses and persons are different. Some verbs employ both, but the majority are conjugated only in one of the two, and as there is no rule as to which of the two is to be used, the dictionary is our only guide. The active, or Parasmaipada, as it is called, stands to the neuter, or Âtmanepada, in the same relation as the active in Greek does to the middle voice, and the resemblance is the greater, in that the Âtmanepada, like the middle voice in Greek, uses the terminations of the passive.

Although each of the seven hundred and two words which make up the complete typical Sanskrit verb contains the common root-syllable, yet this syllable does not appear in the same form in each word, but is subject to certain euphonic and other influences which affect both the vowels and consonants composing it, and often materially alter its shape. Thus the verbal root KAR, "do," appears in classical Sanskrit in the following forms:

1. क्र Kṛi, in 1 du. pf. Par. chakṛiva, 1 pl. id. chakṛima, 2 s. pf. Âtm. chakṛishe, 1 du., 1 and 2 pl. id. chakṛivahe, chakṛimahe, chakṛidhee; in the whole of the 1 aor. Âtm., as akṛishi, akṛithāh, akṛita, etc.; in the pass. part. kṛitah, and gerund kṛitvā, and in the benedictive Âtm., as kṛishtṣhta, etc.

2. क्रि kri, in bened. Šar., as kriyāsam, kriyāh, kriyāt, etc., and in the passive present, as kriye, kriyase, kriyate, etc.

3. कर kar, in pres. Par., as karōmi, karoshi, karoti, and before all weak terminations.

4. कुर kwr, in pres. Âtm., as kurve, kurushe, kurute, and before strong terminations.

5. कार kār, in pf. Par., as chakāra, and 1 aor. Par., as akārsham, also in the causal, as kārayati.
6. अ kr, in 2 and 3 pl. pf. Par., chakra, chakruḥ, and 1 and 3 s. pf. हृ. chakre.

In the same way the root ईर"hear," appears in some parts of the verb as ईि, in others as ईर, ईआ, ईि, and ईा. In the whole range of verbal roots there is perhaps not one which does not undergo more or less modification in the course of being conjugated.

Not only does the root-syllable present itself in various forms in the several tenses, but the terminations of the nine persons differ in each tense, and sometimes one tense will have two sets of terminations. Moreover, the endings of any given tense in one phase, differ from the corresponding ones of the same tense in another phase. Thus the terminations of the present tense are in the active phase

Singular 1. ami. 2. si. 3. ti.
Dual 1. avah. 2. thah. 3. tah.
Plural 1. amah. 2. tha. 3. nti.

But in the middle phase the same tense ends in

Singular 1. i. 2. se. 3. te.
Dual 1. avahe. 2. ithe. 3. ite.
Plural 1. amahe. 2. dhve. 3. nte.

This slight outline will suffice to show how vast and intricate are the ramifications of the Sanskrit verb. The reader who has followed the steps by which the noun has been simplified, as shown in the second volume of this work, will not be surprised to find in the present volume how widely the modern verb differs from that of Sanskrit. It was impossible to reduce the verb to anything like the simplicity required by modern speakers without sacrificing by far the greater portion of the immense and unwieldy apparatus of ancient times.

§ 2. Owing to the want of a continuous succession of literary documents, such as exists in the case of the modern Romance
languages of Europe, it is scarcely possible to trace step by step the changes which have occurred in the verb. It is necessary, however, to make the attempt, and to piece together such evidence as we have, because the modern verb is an undoubted descendant of the ancient one, though only a slight trait here and there recalls the features of its parent, and its structure in many points can only be rendered intelligible by tracing it back to the ancient stock whence it sprung.

The first steps in the direction of simplification occur in Sanskrit itself. Many of the elaborate forms cited by grammarians are of very rare occurrence in actual literature, and some of them seem almost to have been invented for the sake of uniformity. Three instances of this tendency in classical Sanskrit may here be noticed.

The perfect tense in Sanskrit, as in Greek, is usually formed by reduplication, so we have from √तप् “burn,” pf. तताप, √दृश् “see,” pf. दृशः, just as λείπω makes λέιπων and τρέπω, τέρποφα. But there are certain roots which cannot take reduplication, and these form their perfect by an analytical process. The root is formed into a sort of abstract substantive in the accusative case, and the perfect of an auxiliary verb is added to it. The verbs मू “be,” चस् “be,” and ह “do,” are the auxiliaries principally employed for this purpose. Thus—

√उदृती “wet,” makes pf. उद्दार्थ चकार, उद्दार्थ बमुष्ट or उद्दार्थ आस.

√चकास स “shine,” चकासो चकार, etc.
√बोधय “explain,” बोधयो चकार, etc.

Another instance of the analytical formation is seen in the future tense made out of the agent of the verb with the present tense of the auxiliary चस् “be.” Thus from √बुध् “know,” comes the agent बोधिता, which with the present of चस् makes

S. 1. बोधिताभिष्
P. 1. बोधिताभिषः

2. बोधिताभिषि
2. बोधिताभिषः

1 Max Müller’s Sanskrit Grammar, p. 172.
A third instance is a form of phrase in which the passive past participle is combined with this same auxiliary स्व to form a perfect definite, as आगतेऽसि “I have come,” or, as more faithfully represented by other European languages, “je suis venu,” and as we sometimes say ourselves, “I am come.” Here an analytical construction supplies the place of the perfect. Closely allied to this is the frequent habit in writers of the classical style of expressing the same tense by the neuter of the p.p.p. with the subject in the instrumental, as तेन गतं “by him gone,” i.e. “he went,” instead of जगाम.

These are the first faint indications of a method which, in the course of ages, has developed to such an extent as to constitute the leading principle in the organization of the modern verb. By this system a greater facility for expressing nice shades of meaning is obtained. जगाम may mean “he went,” or, “he has gone,” but by the other system each of these two meanings has a phrase peculiar to itself, गतेऽसि meaning “he has gone,” and तेन गतं “he went.” Precisely in the same way the Latin had only ego amavi for “I loved” and “I have loved,” but the Romance languages found this insufficient, and they have—

“I loved.”
French j’aimai
Italian io amai
Spanish yo ame

“I have loved,”
j’ai aimé.
io ho amato.
yo he amado.

§ 3. The next step in the reduction of the numerous Sanskrit tenses to a more manageable compass is seen in Pali, originally an Indian Prakrit, but which became the sacred language of the Buddhists of Ceylon, having been carried thither in the middle of the third century before Christ, by Mahendra, son of King Aṣoka, and spread thence to Burmah and Siam.

Although the Pali grammarians, in their anxiety to exalt their sacred speech, tell us that the verb has ten conjugations, yet examples of all these are but rarely found. Four of the ten Sanskrit conjugations, the first, fourth, sixth, and tenth, resemble each other very closely even in that language, and are easily brought down to one in Pali. The seventh of Sanskrit also loses somewhat of its peculiar type, which consists in inserting न between the vowel of the root and the final consonant, or न before weak terminations. Thus in Skr. √ूधः rudh, "to obstruct," makes its present रुणद्धि runaddhi, but in Pali, while the न is retained, the present is rundhati, after the type of the first class.

Five out of the ten Sanskrit conjugations are thus reduced almost, if not entirely, to one. Of the remaining five, the second of Sanskrit in roots which end in a vowel exhibits some traces of Sanskrit forms, while in those which end in a consonant the types of the first, or Bhû, class prevail. Thus Skr. √या "to go," pr. चाति, Pali also yâti, but Skr. √मूढः "to rub," pr. माति. Pali mājati, as if from a Skr. माति.

√दूढः "to milk," दोहाति. dohati.
√लिहृ "to lick," लेहाति. lehati.

The third conjugation occasionally takes the reduplication as in Sanskrit, but in many instances prefers the Bhû type. Thus Skr. √भी "to fear," विभृति. Pali vabhātī.

√धा "to hold," दृष्ठाति. "दृष्ठाति and दृष्ठति."

The verb दान्, "to give," which belongs to this conjugation, has special developments of its own, and is discussed in § 16.

The fifth, eighth, and ninth classes are very similar even in Sanskrit, for while the fifth adds न to its root, the eighth adds र; but as all its roots except one already end in न, it

1 Seven classes are given by Kaccâyana. See Senart, Journal Asiatique, vi. série, vol. xvii. p. 439.
comes practically to pretty much the same thing as the fifth. The ninth adds ु, ना, and नी to the root before various terminations. Here Pali draws very slight distinctions, making verbs of the fifth class take नु and ना indifferently, and both fifth and ninth appear occasionally in the guise of the first. Thus—

Skr. √कु “hear,” v. कुशोति. Pali सुषोति and सुषाति.

The reason why the forms of the Bhū conjugation exercise so great an influence, and, like the -as-stem in nouns, so largely displace all the other types, is probably that the first conjugation is by far the largest, containing upwards of nine hundred out of the two thousand roots said to exist in Sanskrit. The second conjugation has only seventy-three, the third but twenty-five, the fourth and sixth about one hundred and forty each. The tenth, it is true, contains four hundred, but it is identical in form with the causal. The fifth has only thirty-three, the ninth sixty-one, while under the seventh class are twenty-five, and under the eighth only nine. These figures, it must be added, are taken from the Dhatupātha, a grammarian's list of roots,¹ which contains many roots seldom, if ever, found in use, so that for all practical purposes the first conjugation covers more than half the verbs in the language. When it is also remembered that the fourth, sixth, and tenth differ but slightly from the first, it is not surprising that the terminations common to these four conjugations should have fixed themselves in the popular mind, and been added by the vulgar to all roots indiscriminately. Nearly all those verbs which retain the type of any conjugation, except the first, are words of extremely common use, which would naturally keep their

¹ Westergaard, Radices Sanskr. p. 342.
well-known forms in the mouths of the people in spite of all rules and tendencies to the contrary.

§ 4. The dual number has entirely disappeared from Pali, and the Ātmanepada, or middle phase, has practically merged into the active, for although Kaccāyana (J. As., vol. xvii. p. 429, sūtra 18) gives terminations for it, yet it is admitted that those of the active may be used instead, and practically it would appear that they are so used. The other phases, as causal, passive, desiderative, and intensive, have their own forms as in Sanskrit.

Among the tenses the chief is the present, and it is in Pali that we first find a tendency to retain throughout the whole verb that form of the root which is in use in the present. This tendency grows stronger in the later Prakrits, and becomes an almost invariable rule in the modern languages. Thus—

future पञ्चिति. " पञ्चिस्तिति.
aorist अपञ्चिढ्ढित्. " अपञ्चि.
gerund पञ्चक. " पञ्चिला.

Phonetic influences in Sanskrit change this root as regards its final consonant in the different tenses, but Pali, having got hold of the form *pach* in the present tense, retains it throughout the verb. It is still, however, only a tendency, and not a law, for we find instances in which Pali forms are derived directly from the corresponding tense in Sanskrit. One who should attempt to learn Pali without reference to Sanskrit would find it difficult to understand how the words karoti, kubbati, kayirā, kāhāmi, akāsi, kattum, could all spring from the same verbal root. It is only when the corresponding Sanskrit forms karoti, kurvate, kuryāt, kartāsmi, akārṣhit, kartum, are put by their

1 Or more strictly from an older karyāt not in use in classical Sanskrit. Kuhn, Beiträge, 105.
side, that the thread which connects them all becomes evident. Just so in the Romance languages, Italian so, sa, sapete, sanno, seppi, seem to have very little beyond the initial s in common, till it is perceived that they come from the Latin sapio, sapit, sapitis, sapium, sapui; thus, also, ho and ebbi can only be seen to be parts of the same verb when their origin from Latin habeo and habui is recognized. In Spanish there is the same difficulty, as will be seen by comparing hacer, hago, hice, hare, and hecho, with their Latin originals facere, facio, feci, facere habeo, and factum. In Portuguese, which seems to be the lowest and most corrupt Apabhranṣa of the Romance Prakṛtis, the changes are such as almost to defy analysis. For instance, ter, tenho, tinha, tive, terei, correspond to Latin tenere, teneo, tenebam, tennui, tenere habeo: also hei,houve, haja, to habeo, habui, habeam, and sou, he, foi, seja, to sum, est, fui, sit.\(^1\)

The tenses of the Pali verb are eight in number.\(^2\) These correspond to the tenses of the Sanskrit verb, omitting the periphrastic or second future (luti), the benedictive (ācīr liṅ), and the subjunctive (leṭ). The present active is almost exactly the same as the Sanskrit as regards its terminations in the Bhū form, and the middle only differs, and even then very slightly, in the 1 and 2 plural. Thus—

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Skr. 1 pl. } & \text{पचामहे.} \\
\text{Pa. 1. } & \text{पचामहे.}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{2. पचछे.} & \text{2. पचछे.}
\end{array}
\]

In this tense, as in many others, Pali is not very instructive, it clings too closely to the Sanskrit. It is, however, necessary to give a sketch of its forms, because they exhibit the first traces of that gradual change which has led to the modern conjugation. Even when the Pali conjugates a verb according to

\(^{1}\) Diez, Gramm. d. Romanischen Sprachen, vol. ii. p. 188.

\(^{2}\) The materials for this section are taken chiefly from Kuhn, Beiträge, p. 93 seqq., with some additions from Childers's Dictionary, and a few remarks of my own.
any class other than the Bhû, it still keeps the personal endings of Sanskrit for that conjugation; thus from √ या "go," we have—

Pa. S. 1. यामि, 2. यासि, 3. याति; P. 1. याम, 2. यास, 3. याति.

which differs from Sanskrit only in omitting the visarga in P. 1.

The imperative follows the type of the present, and may be thus compared with Sanskrit Parasmaiapada,

Skr. S. 1. पचानि, 2. पच, 3. पचत; P. 1. पचाम, 2. पचत, 3. पचतु.
Pa. S. 1. पचासि, 2. पचहि, 3. पचत; P. 1. पचाम, 2. पचच, 3. पचति.

and with the Âtmanepada, thus—

Skr. S. 1. पचि, 2. पचस्त, 3. पचतां; P. 1. पचासिः, 2. पचस्तं, 3. पचतां.
Pa. S. 1. पच, 2. पचस्तु, 3. पचत; P. 1. पचासि, 2. पचहि, 3. पचत.

Here the S. 1 Parasmai seems to have arisen from some confusion with the present, as also P. 2. Noteworthy is S. 2, with its ending हि, which, though only found in classical Sanskrit in the second, third, seventh, and ninth conjugations, has crept into all in Pali, and has continued on into the mediaeval period, thus Chand

तिन सु गद्ध हृ चक्षी कहहि॥

"Say thou a good word of them."—Pr. R. i. 9.

where कहहि = Skr. कथय (हि). In Vedic Skr. हि appears in all the conjugations. Of the Âtmane forms P. 1 seems to be derived from an older form, masai. P. 2 should perhaps be read hvo, not vho, in which case it is a regular resultant from Sanskrit dhv.

The potential is the Sanskrit optative (लिन), thus—

**Parasmai.**

Skr. S. 1. पचिं, 2. पचिः, 3, पचित; P. 1. पचिम, 2. पचित, 3. पचिगुर.
Pa. S. 1. पचिसिः, 2. पचिसि, 3. पचित; P. 1. पचिसि, 2. पचिसि, 3. पचित.
Atmane.

Sk. S. 1. पचिय, 2. पचिण्यस्, 3. पचित्; P. 1. पचिमनि, 2. पचिध्व, 3. पचिरन्.
Pa. S. 1. पचियं, 2. पचियो, 3. पचिय; P. 1. पचियाम्हिै, 2. यष्ट्रो, 3. पचर.

In this tense the point specially to be noticed is the tendency to simplify not only the root-syllable, but the range of terminations also. Having got the syllables eyya as the type of the tense, Pali seeks to avoid all further distinctions, and to use as much as possible the personal endings of the present tense. It sometimes conjugates the potential according to the types of other classes, and in this respect follows the lead of the present less faithfully in this tense than in the imperative. Thus, though in the present and imperative of kar, it follows the Sanskrit, and has karoti, karotu, yet in the potential it treats kar as if it belonged to the Bhû class, and has kareyyâmi as though from a Sanskrit kareyam instead of the actual kuryâm. There are other peculiarities about this tense which are not here noticed, as having no bearing upon the subject of the modern languages.

The imperfect has been, to some extent, mixed up with the aorist (luñ), and both, together with the perfect, lead us into considerations which are of interest only for Pali itself, not having survived or had any influence on modern developments. They may therefore be passed over as immaterial to our present inquiry.

The future, on the contrary, offers many interesting peculiarities, especially, as will be seen hereafter, in reference to Gujarati and some of the rustic dialects of Hindi. The future is a difficult tense in the modern languages, and every scrap of information which can help to elucidate it deserves special notice. It runs thus in Pali (√ गम् “go”)

Pa. S. 1. गमिस्सामि, 2. ओससिः, 3. ओसति; P. 1. ओसाम, 2. सच, 3. सति.
Here the only noteworthy feature is the change of ख into स्त्र. The Ātmanepada follows the same rule throughout. Although the tendency to keep that form of the root which exists in the present leads to divergences from the Sanskrit future type, yet instances occur in which the Sanskrit type is preserved. These occur in reference to that very troublesome feature in the Sanskrit verb, the intermediate र, which is sometimes inserted between the root and the termination, and sometimes not. When it is not inserted, the euphonic laws of Sanskrit require that the final consonant of the root be changed to enable it to combine with the initial consonant of the termination. Thus अङ “cook,” when it has to take the future termination यति, becomes एक्त and एक्त + यति = पाच्ति. Here Pali sticks to the form पाच, because it is used in the present and makes its future पाच्चति as though there had been (as there probably was in colloquial usage) a Sanskrit future पाच्चति with the intermediate र inserted.

In a certain number of verbs, however, it has two forms, one as above retaining the root-form of the present, and the other a phonetic equivalent of the Sanskrit. Kuhn\(^1\) gives the following examples, to which I add the Sanskrit for comparison.

Skr. √ लल् “get,” future लल्प्ति. Pali लच्छिति but also लभास्ति.

√ वच् “speak,” √ वच्छति. √ वच्छति.
√ धा “put,” √ ध्यास्ति. √ धस्ति.
√ वस् “dwell,” √ वस्यति. √ वच्छति but also वसिस्ति.
√ खिद् “cleave,” √ खिद्यति. √ खिद्यति, √ खिद्यति, √ खिद्यति.
√ भुज् “eat,” √ भोज्यति. √ भोज्यति, √ भोज्यति, √ भुजिस्ति.
√ सुच् “loose,” √ सोच्यति. √ सोच्यति, √ सोच्यति, √ सुचिस्ति.
√ ग्रु “hear,” √ ग्रोष्यति. √ सोस्ति, √ सुजिस्ति.

\(^1\) Beiträge, p. 115.
The consonantal changes are in accordance with the treatment of the nexus as explained in Vol. I. p. 304. The striving after uniformity is seen, however, in the retention of the alternative forms having the same type as the present, and it is, moreover, worth observing that the forms which reproduce the type of the Sanskrit without the intermediate र seem by degrees to have been misunderstood. The illiterate masses, and even those better instructed, seem to have missed the issati which so generally indicated to their minds the future tense, and regarded those forms which had not this familiar sound as present tenses. So they made double futures by adding the issa to them. Thus from हृश् “to see,” future द्र्ष्यति, Pali made a form dakkhati, but the people by degrees took this for a present, and made what to them seemed a more correct future dakkhissati. I mention this here as I shall have occasion hereafter to discuss the much-debated question of the origin of the familiar modern stem देख् “see” (see § 17). Another instance is

Skr. ✓ शक् “be able,” future पश्चयति. Pa. सक्षयति, whence vulgo सक्षिस्सति.

In one case Pali has a future which points back to a Vedic form:

Classic ditto रोदिष्यति. “रोदिस्सति.

Occasionally the स्त्र is softened to ह, as in काह्ति, काह्यिति from करिष्यति, Skr. करिष्यति. This is noteworthy with reference to Bhojpuri and the eastern Hindi dialects generally.

§ 5. It used to be held that Pali was a descendant of the Māgadhi dialect of Prakrit, but this opinion is now, I believe, exploded. Though the question is not yet set at rest, it would seem to have been fairly established that Mahendra was a
native of Ujjayin, and that the language which he carried to Ceylon was the ordinary vernacular of his own province. This dialect was not very different from that of Magadha, and Mahendra may have slightly altered the Māgadhi sayings of the great master, by his Ujjayini pronunciation, while retaining the name Māgadhi out of deference to the sacred associations which clustered round the birthplace of Buddha.

Be this as it may, the nearest Indian dialect to Pali seems undoubtedly to be the Prakrit of the Bhâgavatî, a sacred book of the semi-Buddhist sect of Jainas. If Hemachandra, himself a Jain and author of several works on Prakrit, were available for reference, our task would be easier; as yet, however, none of Hemachandra's writings have been printed or edited. Weber’s articles on the Bhâgavatî are at present our only source of information.

In the Jaina Prakrit the ten conjugations of the Sanskrit verb are, with few exceptions, reduced to the Bhû type. In this respect it goes further than Pali, treating as verbs of the first conjugation many which in Pali retain the type of other conjugations. The fifth, seventh, and ninth conjugations, which in Sanskrit insert च with certain variations, are all reduced to one head by regarding the च as part of the root, as is also the case with the च of the fourth class. The a inserted between the root and termination of the Bhû class is used throughout, though occasionally weakened to i, or changed to e from some confusion between this and the e = aya, which is the type of the tenth class. The following examples will illustrate the above remarks.

1 Kuhn, Beiträge, p. 7.
2 Pischel's admirable edition of Hemachandra's Grammar (Orphanage Press, Halle, 1877) has reached me just as this work is going to press, and too late to be of use for this edition, except for a few hasty notes here and there. Mueller's Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jaineprakrit came into my hands about the same time. I find it enables me to add a few illustrations to this section, which, however, was written in the latter part of 1875.
Skr. √ ह "take," i. हरति Jaina हरति, हरद. √ विद्र "know," ii. वैति "वैद्र. " √ धा "put," iii. द्वाति विद्र धाति "विद्र धाति.

√ सिद् "succeed," iv. सिद्धि धाति "सिद्धिः.

but आराध "propitiate," आराध्यि "आराध्यि.

√ आप "get," v. आपि धाति. पाउष्ठः the न being treated as part of the root.

√ चि "gather," v. चिनोति "चिनोति, चिन् but also चि-च्चाः, with the same confusion between the च्च of v. and च्च of viii. as occurs in Pali.

√ हु "hear," v. हुष्णेति पड़ुसिद्धि "promises."

√ सुश्रु "touch," vi. सुशृणि "सुशृणि.

√ मेज् "break," vii. मन्तिक "मन्तिक.

√ छ "do," viii. करौति "करौति.

√ यह "take," ix. मृलातिति "गौरीहुः, here again the य has passed into the root.

√ चा "know," ix. जानाति जायति.

The tenth class being identical with the first is omitted. It will be seen that the present tense is formed throughout on the model of the first conjugation, the Jain words given above being phonetic modifications of words which would be in Sanskrit respectively हरति, वेदति, धाति, अरद्धति, प्रापनति,
ohayati, suṇati, bhanjati, karati, grihṇati, and jānati, if all those verbs belonged to the first or Bhû conjugation.

It is not so easy to draw out a full verbal paradigm in this dialect as in Pali, because we have as yet no grammars, and are obliged to fall back on the words that occur in a single text. The range of tenses appears to consist of a present (corresponding to the Sanskrit lat), imperative (loṭ), potential (liṅ), imperfect and aorist jumbled together as in Pali, and future (līrit). The perfect (lit) seems to be altogether wanting, as it is in the modern languages.

The present runs thus:—√ नम् “bow.”

S. 1. नमासि, 2. नमसि, 3. नमति; P. 1. नमामि, 2. नमह, 3. नमिति.
नमेमि, नमेसि, नमेति; नमेमो, नमेति.
नमह; नमिति.

Those terminations which contain the vowel e have crept into the conjugation of all verbs from the tenth, to which that vowel, as shortened from aya, must be held strictly to belong, or to causals. Thus in Bhâg. i. 60, we have phāseti, pāleti, sobheti, tīreti, pūreti, kīteti, anupāleī, ārāheī, for Sanskrit यथृयति, पालयति, शोभयति, तारयति, पूरयति, कौरत्यति, अनुपालयति, आराधयति, respectively. In the last word the causal form becomes the same as the active given above. Of the imperative we have only the S. 2 and P. 2, which are in fact the only persons which an imperative can properly have. The S. 2 takes the ending हि as in Pali with junction vowels ā and e, the P. 2 ends in ह, which, as Weber points out, is from the P. 2 of the present, in Sanskrit । Thus—

Skr. √ कृत् “shine,” causal रोचाय, impv. रोचय, Jaina रोएहि.

अधा “believe,” ” अधिहि, ” सह्हाहि (pres. सह्हहि).

The potential, of which only the S. 3 is traceable, resembles Pali in using the termination *eyya* with variant *ejja*.


√ यह “take,” ” गृहीयात् ” गेखिज्ज.

But there exist some old simple forms derived by phonetic changes from the corresponding Sanskrit tense, as kujja = kuryāt, dajja = dadyāt (Mueller, p. 60).

The future resembles that of Pali, thus—

S. 1. जमिस्सामि, 2. द्द्द्दस्सत्, 3. द्द्द्दस्सू; P. 1. द्द्दस्सामि, 2. द्द्द्दस्सू, 3. द्द्दस्सित.

It also appears with a termination *ihi* produced by weakening स्स into स्स and the following अ to इ, thus—

Skr. गमिश्चति, Jaina गखिहिति and गमिहिति.

Moreover, there is a trace of the double future like Pali dakhissati.


Here उपपद्स्सति would phonetically become उववच्छ, and by still further softening उववज्ञ्ज्ञ, whence, as if from a present, is formed the future उववज्ञ्ज्ञस्सत and उववज्ञ्ज्ञाहिति.

§ 6. The reduction in the number of tenses necessitates a greatly extended use of participles. This is one great step in the transition from the synthetical to the analytical system. The Sanskrit present active participle takes in that language the characteristics of the ten conjugations, and is declined as a noun in three genders. It ends properly in ant, but the nasal is dropped before certain terminations, as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M.</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>N.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>पचन्</td>
<td>पचनी</td>
<td>पचत्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>संधन</td>
<td>संधती</td>
<td>संधत</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

The nasal, however, is retained throughout in Jaina Prakrit, thus—

Skr. जलन् जलनी जलत्
Jaina जलनो जलनी जलन्

This peculiarity is worth remembering; much depends on this retention of the nasal, as will be seen when we come to the modern Sindhi and Panjabi verbs.

Very great interest attaches to the participle of the future passive, which in Sanskrit ends in तथ. In verbs which do not take intermediate र, this ending is added directly to the root with the usual Sandhi changes; but as Prakrit prefers to insert the र in order to preserve the root-form of the present, it comes to pass that the न of the termination stands alone between two vowels, and in consonance with Prakrit phonetics is elided. The hiatus thus produced is in the Jaina writings filled by य. If to this we add the regular mutation of य into य, we get from तथ the form यथ. In its original meaning this participle corresponds to the Latin in *ndus*, as *faciendus*, and expresses that which is to be done, as तथा गलथ “by thee it is to be gone,” i.e. “thou must go.” In this sense it occurs frequently in Bhāgavatī, as for instance in § 56:

Jaina एवं देवाज्ञिया गंतथ, चिन्हियाह, निसीतियाह, भूजियाह, etc.
Skr. एवं देवाज्ञिया गलथ, खातथ, निष्टथ, भोजथ, etc.

“Thus, O beloved of the gods, must ye go, must ye stand, must ye sit, must ye eat,” where the last two words postulate a Sanskrit form with the र inserted, such as निष्टितथ, भूजितथ.

It is obvious that it would require no great straining of the sense of this participle to make it into an infinitive, and seeing that as early as this Jaina dialect the use of the regular Sanskrit infinitive in र has become rare, it follows that recourse should be had to some participial form to supply its place. In this way we find the past passive participle in रत, with the न elided and
its place supplied by \textit{∫}, employed in a construction where we should expect the infinitive. Thus Bhāg. § 54, \textit{रूक्त्वाल्मि पञ्चान्यं}, \textit{मुंडान्यं}, \textit{वेधान्यं}, \textit{सिक्क्वान्यं} (Weber, Bhāg. p. 274): "I wish to wander, to take the tonsure, to practise austerities, to learn," as though from Sanskrit forms \textit{प्रवान्यं}, \textit{मुष्कापितं}, \textit{वेधापितं}, \textit{शिश्वापितं}, the three last being causals formed with \textit{अप}, as is frequently the case with causals in Prakrit, though of course these forms are not found in Sanskrit. In that language the formation of causals by means of \textit{प} is restricted to a few stems.

More will be said on this subject in a subsequent chapter, but it is necessary here to note an early instance of this process which takes a much wider development in later times, the infinitive in Gujarati and Oriya and several participial constructions and verbal nouns being derived from it.

§ 7. The scenic Prakrits represent a further step in development. Despite the admittedly artificial character of these dialects, they probably retain forms which were at one time in general use, although that time may not have been the epoch when the dramas were written, and without referring to them, the structure of the modern verb could not be clearly understood. It is expedient to avoid discussing this question, lest attention should be drawn away from the real subject of this work, namely, the modern languages. All this part of the present chapter is merely introductory and is only inserted in order to pave the way for a more intelligent appreciation of the origin and growth of Hindi and its fellows.

In the Māhārāṣṭrī or principal poetical dialect all conjugations are reduced to the type of the first or Bhû class, and the same holds good for the Cauraseni or chief prose dialect. Only here and there do we find faint traces of the peculiarities of other conjugations. Of the six phases only three remain, active, passive, and causal. The passive differs from the active only in the form of the root, the characteristic \textit{∫} of the
Sanskrit passive having been worked into the stem, and the terminations of the active being added to it. The Ātmānepada and the dual are of course rejected.

Of tenses these dialects have a still more restricted range than the Jaina Prakrits. They have the present, imperative and future, with traces of the potential. The past tense is chiefly formed by the p.p.p. with auxiliary verbs. Thus from \( \sqrt{\text{शुच}} \) “shine,”

Present S. 1. रोचामि, 2. रोचसि, 3. रोचदि.

रोचसि, रोचदि.

रोचसि, रोचदि.

P. 1. रोचामो, \( \acute{o} \text{मु} \), \( \acute{o} \text{म} \), 2. रोचध, \( \acute{a} \text{म} \), 3. रोचलि.

रोचम, \( \acute{o} \text{म} \), \( \acute{o} \text{र्हो} \), \( \acute{o} \text{म्ह} \), \( \acute{a} \text{त्य} \), \( \acute{a} \text{ध} \).

रोचिमो, \( \acute{o} \text{मु} \), \( \acute{o} \text{दृत्य} \).

Here are observable those first indications of a confusion of forms, and uncertainty in their use, which are always characteristic of that period in languages when the synthetical structure is breaking down into the analytical. In these dialects, as in Jaina Prakrit, the practice exists of inserting \( \text{ः} \) as a junction vowel; thus we have such forms as कलिमिः “I do,” Skr. करोमि, instead of करामि, which would be the regular result of treating कर as a Bhū verb, गान्ध्रस्व for गान्ध्रम, “let us go.” The presence of the \( \text{ः} \) in S. 1 and P. 1 is accounted for by its being confused with that construction in which the present of \( \text{चस्त} \) is used with a past participle; thus we find कान्ध्रस्विः “I was made” = Sanskrit कान्ध्रस्विः, and पेस्त्त्रस्विः “I have been sent” = Skr. प्रेतत्तोस्विः.

The imperative has the following forms—


रोचादि रोचउ. रोचह.

The S. 2 has also forms रोचस्व, रोचस्व, pointing to a Sanskrit Ātmane form रोचस्व and P. 2 similarly रोचध = Skr. रोचध, though neither are used in a middle sense, but are equivalents as regards meaning of the Sanskrit active.
The following are a few examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>प्रेक्ष्यसि</td>
<td>&quot;look thou!&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वच्चसि</td>
<td>&quot;bow thou!&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वहुधि</td>
<td>&quot;bear ye.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जाधि</td>
<td>&quot;go ye.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अवघि</td>
<td>&quot;go away.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>शोशलधि</td>
<td>&quot;get out of the way!&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भोलिधि</td>
<td>&quot;do.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जगेधि</td>
<td>&quot;wake up.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Skr. ध्रु "hear," fut. ध्रोधामि. Pr. सोच्छेन.

√ वचच "speak," "वच्चामि.
√ गम "go," "गम्यामि."
√ गह "weep," "वेदा. गहस्मि.
√ विद्व "know," "विद्वेधामि."

This form is used indifferently with roots of all classes as in Pali, but here also there still subsist some traces of a future formed without the intermediate र. Vararuchi (vii.16, 17) gives the following:—

Skr. √ व "hear," fut. ध्रोधामि. Pr. सोच्छेन.

√ वच "speak," "वच्चामि."
√ गम "go," "गम्यामि."
√ विद्व "know," "विद्वेधामि."

These forms are, however, justly regarded as exceptions; for the rule in scenic, as in other, Prakrits is to retain throughout the root-form of the present. The regular type of the future is that in issa-, and the above words have also a future formed in the regular way, सृष्टिस्त्र, वर्चिस्त्र, गमिस्त्र, etc. This स्त्र

1 Some of these are Magadhi Prakrit, but for my present purpose it is not necessary to draw a distinction between Magadhi and Çauraseni.
is softened to Ṛ, and the following vowel is weakened to Ṛ, producing as characteristic the syllables ihi. Thus—

√ Ṛस् “laugh,” S. 1. Ṛसिहिंमि. 2. Ṛसिहिसि. 3. Ṛसिहिस्, etc.

By a forgetfulness of the origin of such forms as सोच्चं, the ordinary future terminations may be added to them too, just like dakkhissati in Pali (§ 4), so that we find सोच्चिस्सति, and सोच्चिस्सिति.

The various tenses which in Sanskrit indicate past time have already in Pali and the earlier Prakrits been fused down into one. In scenic Prakrit a further step is taken, and the syllables ia, erroneously written ṛa in some MSS., are added to the root for all persons of the past tense (Var. vii. 23, 24. Lassen, Inst. Pr., 353). This is probably the neuter of the p.p.p. in Sanskrit, and its use is due to the frequency of the construction with the instrumental. Instead of saying “I saw, I went, I heard,” the people said, “by me seen, gone, heard.” This point is one of great importance in modern Hindi and Gujarati.

§ 8. While the Maharashtri and Çauraseni dialects are considered the principal ones in the dramas, there are yet others of great importance, such as the Māgadhi, with its sub-dialects. Among these, however, it is necessary only to notice that called Apabhranṣa. I do not wish here to touch upon the question whether the dialect called by this name in the dramas really represents the speech of any particular Indian province or not. I assume, for the sake of convenience, that Apabhranṣa is really a vulgar speech further removed from the classical idiom than Maharashtri or Çauraseni. There may have been half a dozen Apabhranṣas, probably there were. In this section I am merely seeking to put together examples of verbal forms in a dialect one step nearer to modern times than the principal scenic Prakrits, and having done so, shall go on to my own special subject.
All that we can expect in the way of tenses after what has been said in the preceding sections, is a present, an imperative, and a future. The rest of the verbal work is done by participles.

√प्रक ‘ask,’ Present S. 1. पुच्छामि, 2. ोप्रसि, 3. ोप्राद्य.

ोपुच्छामि,
ोप्रसि ोप्राद्यः.

P. 1. पुच्छाम, 2. पुच्छः, 3. ोप्रान्ति.

√ख ‘do,’ Imperative S. 2. करिष्ठि, P. 1. करः, P. 2. करः.

करि, करिष्ठि, करः.

कर, कराः.

In the future, although the form with the characteristic issa is found as सुमिरिष्ठि = करिष्ठि, Skr. √ख, yet more commonly we find the form in which स्थ has been softened to ह; thus

S. 1. करिष्ठिमि, 2. करिष्ठिसि, 3. करिष्ठिर, etc.

The grammarians also give a

P. 1. in ह as कासाः = करिष्ठम.

The participles resemble in most respects those in other Prakrit dialects, but that in तव becomes तृण, as कराचु and करिस्त्र = करित्वम् (करित्वम). The gerund ends in पिय, पिय, and a softened form बि; the ordinary Çauraseni form रृष्ठ, which will be found in several modern languages, is here also used. To the gerund rather than to the infinitive, as the grammarians would have it, seems to belong the form in एतन्द्र, as लहेपञ्ज, the exact genesis of which is doubtful, though, as to the final ह, there is an analogy in the true infinitive लहेपञ्ज, which very closely approaches to Chand’s forms, as वरणः, वरणवु.

In addition to the above forms which are found in scenic Apabhraṃça, others and those more genuine fragments of popular speech are to be picked out from scraps that have
been preserved by bards. It is much to be wished that we had more of Hemachandra’s works accessible, as in them we should doubtless find a rich mine of such words. Thus for all past tenses there is the participial form in दृष्ट for all three persons, as

जानिःचान = जानिः (ञात).  
कानिः = कानिः.  
चापिः = चापिः.

It has a plural in चा or चा, as:

चाय = चायिता;  
चारिं = चारिता;  
उट्टीय = उट्टीता;

Sometimes also the u of the singular is rejected and a substituted, as भनिःच = भनिः. There are other forms to be found in these poems which will be referred to hereafter when the modern forms which they illustrate are under discussion.

As a general result from the preceding brief sketches it may be asserted that Sanskrit, Pali, and the Prakrits taken collectively as the languages of the earlier stage have a common structure, though in different grades. Sanskrit, with its full range of synthetical tenses, yet admits here and there analytical constructions. Pali does the same, though its synthetical tenses are fewer and simpler. The Prakrits reduce the tenses still further, and make greater use of participial constructions. The treatment of the root-syllable also shows a gradually increasing tendency to simplification, for whereas in Sanskrit it is changed in form repeatedly in the various tenses, a practice begins in Pali and grows more common as we go down the stream, of using in all parts of the verb that form of the root which is found in the Sanskrit present.

From the review of these languages given above the passive and causal have been purposely omitted, because the parts which they play in the development of the modern verb are peculiar,
and will be better understood when seen side by side with the modern forms. The desiderative and intensive have left few or no traces of their existence, and may be passed over unnoticed.

§ 9. We may now approach the languages of the present day, and the discussion becomes more minute and particular. Though the verb of the new world has ways of its own, yet it stretches out hands across the gulf of centuries to the old world verb, and supports its claim to descent from it by still preserving traces unmistakeable, though often faint and irregular, of the ancient forms and systems.

As in the noun, so also in the verb, the first thing to be considered is the stem. The modern verbal stem undergoes no changes, but remains absolutely the same throughout all moods, tenses and persons. To this rule there is a small though important exception, consisting of some participles of the preterite passive which are derived direct from the Prakrit forms, and are thus early Tadbhavas. The number of these early Tadbhava participles differs in the various languages. They are most numerous, as might be expected, in Sindhi, which has a hundred and forty of them in a total of about two thousand verbs. In Panjabi, Gujarati and Marathi the number is rather less, while in Hindi only five, and in Bengali and Oriya only two exist. They will be found, together with their derivations, in Chapter III. §§ 46, 47, 48.

With this slight exception the verbal stem remains unaltered throughout. Thus, having got, by means hereafter to be explained, the word sun for "hear," Hindi simply tacks on to it the terminations; thus sunnā to hear, suntā hearing, sunā heard, sunān I hear, sunē he hears, suno hear ye! sunegā he will hear, sunkar having heard.

Primary stems are almost always monosyllabic, but secondary or derivative stems have often more syllables than one. The
latter may be brought under three heads. First, stems derived from Sanskrit roots with which a preposition has already been compounded, principally उत्, निच्, प्र्, and स्, as utar "descend," nikal "go out," pasar "spread," sankoch "distress." Second, stems formed by reduplication, as jhanjhan "tinkle," tharthar "flutter." Third, stems with an added syllable, as gurJak "swallow," ghasīṭ "drag," karkach, "bind."

It was seen above that in the old world verb there were six phases, and that two of these, the desiderative and intensive, have since been lost. The modern verb having to provide for active, neuter, passive, causal and other phases, has been obliged to have recourse to processes of its own, by which it arrives at the possession of a much wider range than Sanskrit can boast of, and does it too by far simpler means. Partly this result is obtained by ingenious adaptations of Prakrit forms, partly by modifications of, or additions to, its own stems, and partly by combining two stems together. It will first, therefore, be necessary to examine what phases the modern verb has, and then to proceed to examine the processes by which it has provided itself with the necessary forms for each phase.

§ 10. Those phases which are expressed by one word may be ranged as regards meaning in a regular scale of grades of action, according to the degree and kind of activity they express. In the following scheme we take the neuter as the point of quiescence, and trace degrees which start from it towards a positive pole indicating activity, and a negative pole indicating passivity.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Negative Pole</th>
<th>-3</th>
<th>-2</th>
<th>-1</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>+1</th>
<th>+2</th>
<th>+3</th>
<th>+4</th>
<th>Positive Pole</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passive Causal</td>
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<td>Active Intransitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Casual</td>
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<td>Casual</td>
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<tr>
<td>Double Casual</td>
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<td>Double Casual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The foregoing table looks, I fear, somewhat fanciful, but I know not how better to express a matter which is a striking and very important feature in the modern Aryan verb. It may be explained by considering each phase separately.

The neuter verb (0) expresses neither action nor passion. It conceives of the subject as in a condition of mere existence, as *being* something, not *doing*, and is therefore the simplest phase of verbal description. Pure neuter verbs are *ho* "be," *raḥ* "remain."

The next grade is the active intransitive (+1) which conceives of the subject as indeed acting, but acting in such a way that his action does not pass beyond himself to affect an external object, as *soch* "think," *chal* "walk," *phir* "revolve."

The active transitive comes next (+2). In this the subject is considered as acting in such a way that his action affects external objects, as *mār* "beat," *khā* "eat," *pā* "drink."

The next grade is the causal (+3), in which the subject acts upon an external object in such a way as to cause it to act in its turn upon a second object, as H. *sunā* "cause to hear," H. *phirā* "cause to turn."

In some of the languages there is a yet further grade, the double causal (+4), in which the subject causes the first object to set in motion a second object, so that it affects a third object, as S. *pherā* "cause to cause to turn," S. *ghārā* "cause to cause to wound."

Returning now to the neuter or central point, and starting off again in the opposite direction towards the negative pole, we arrive at the passive intransitive (−1). In this phase the subject not only takes no action, but is himself under the influence of exterior agencies. It differs as much from the neuter on one hand as from the passive on the other, and is a sort of middle voice. It is called in Sanskrit grammar *Bhāva-* or *Sahya-bheda*, and is principally used in Gujarati, though ex-
isting in the other languages also, as G. abhaḍa “be polluted” (be in a state of pollution), H. ban “be built” (be in process of construction).

The passive (−2) is that phase which regards the subject as no longer an agent, but as being acted upon, as S. dhoija “be washed.”

Lastly comes the passive causal (−3), where the subject causes an object to be acted upon by a second object, as M. māravi “cause to be struck.”

It must not be supposed that all of these phases are found in every language. On the contrary, in none of the languages are there separate forms for each phase. It is only on reviewing the whole seven in a body that the full range of phases is seen. Generally speaking, the eight phases are represented by six sets of forms:

1. Neuter, including 0, +1 and −1.
2. Active, +2.

The double causal and passive have separate and distinct forms only in Sindhi. The passive, however, is found in some rustic dialects of Hindi. Generally the use of the passive construction is avoided by having recourse to the passive intransitive (−1) or the neuter (0), the former of which has a distinct form in Gujarati, Old Hindi, and Bengali, and in the construction of sentences in which it is used resembles the active, like vapulo in Latin.

Of the above phases the neuter and active are the simplest, the other forms being derived from them by the addition of syllables or internal modifications; the secret of the formation
of the modern verb is therefore to be sought for in the neuter and active.

§ 11. Some verbal stems are found only in the neuter form, others, again, only in the active, while a third and somewhat large class has both a neuter and an active form. For convenience, the first two classes may be called single stems, and the last double stems. Those double stems arise from the circumstance that two separate but, so to speak, twin verbs, have been made by the moderns out of one old Aryan root, each modern stem being derived from a different part of the old verb, as will be shown further on.

Among single stems, those which are neuter (including active intransitive and passive intransitive) supply the place of an active by employing the causal, thus Ḫ. वनना (passive intransitive) "to be made," takes as its corresponding active वनना "to make," which is really a passive causal, meaning "to cause to be made." Those single stems which are active mostly require no neuter, but should it be necessary to express one, the passive intransitive is used, as कहना "to tell," कहलाना "to be called."

Moreover, in Sanskrit there is a class of verbs derived from nouns, and called denominatives, which express the being in the state described by the parent noun, and sometimes (though more rarely) the action of the subject. Verbs of this sort are common in all languages of the Aryan stock, and notably so in modern English, where a verb may be formed almost at will from any noun; thus we say "to eye," "to mouth," "to beard," "to house oneself," "to shoe a horse," etc. In Sanskrit these verbs take the form of the tenth conjugation, or perhaps it would be more correct to regard them as causals. Examples are Sanskrit agadyati "he is in good health," from अगदा "healthy"; chapaldyate "he trembles," from chapala "tremulous"; panditāyate "he is learned," or "he acts the
pedant," from *pandita* "a (so-called) learned man";¹ *yokrayati* "he yokes," from *yoktram* "a yoke." Probably from this cause it arises that there are in the moderns neuter verbs with a causal termination, as M. कड़काविणि "to bang," "crack," H. घवराणा "to be amazed," चचबाणा "to totter." See § 28.

All these points will be noticed in detail in their proper place, they are cursorily mentioned here as an introduction to the general subject, and to show that there is an interchange and playing to and fro of forms and meanings which is somewhat difficult to unravel, and the more so as in colloquial usage the verbs are often very laxly and capriciously employed.

§ 12. Single neuter verbs are to a great extent early Tadbhavas as far as their stems are concerned, and consequently retain the Prakrit type. Thus they exhibit few or no traces of the tenfold classification of the Sanskrit or of the numerous phonetic changes that take place in the interior of the verb, but follow as a rule the form of the root in the present tense of the Bhû class. Here follows a list of some of the simplest and most used stems in the modern languages derived from verbs which in Sanskrit are Bhû. In the dictionaries the modern verbs are generally shown under the infinitive mood, but in the following lists I have thought it better to give only the stem; the reader can add the form of the infinitives if he wishes to refer to them in the dictionaries, as H. ना, P. शा or जा, S. शू, G. बुं, M. शं, O. रबा. In the Bengali dictionaries verbs are given under the stem alone.

Skr. √ मू "be," pres. भवति, Pa. भवति and *होति*, Pr. भोदि, होदि, होइ, H. हो and so in all, except S. ज्ञ, and in O. होइ is contracted

¹ *A pandit* in the present day in India is an individual who is supposed to be deeply read in all the most useless parts of Sanskrit literature, and is densely ignorant and contemptuous of all other branches of human knowledge.
to है. This verb will be treated at full length further on as the chief auxiliary of these languages (see Chapter IV. § 66).


√ लग् “stick,” लगति, Pa. लगति and लगति, Pr. लगइ, where the र ग is probably caused by the passive लगति or the p.p.p. लग, H. लग, P. लग, S. लग, in the rest लग. It is neuter in the moderns.


√ भस् “wander,” Pa. भसति, Pr. भसइ (Vik. iv. 3 passim), H. भस, भस, भस, P. भस, मरस, भस or भस, S. भस, भस, भस, भस, भस, G. भस, भस, M. भोव, भोव.

There is little that is remarkable in the above list, the modern forms being regularly produced by the working of the usual phonetic laws. The verb स्थात “stand,” being one of the common auxiliaries, demands a fuller notice. Here follow some of the principal tenses in the old languages:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>PA.</th>
<th>PR.</th>
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<tr>
<td>√ खा and दा i. S. 3)</td>
<td>तिट्टति ठाति</td>
<td>चिद्दि० (Màg.), चिद्दि० (Caur.), ठाइ (Var. viii. 25, 26).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pres. तित्तति</td>
<td>तिट्टति, ठाति</td>
<td>चिद्दि, चिद्दि, ठाइ.</td>
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<tr>
<td>P. 3. तित्तति</td>
<td>तिट्टति, ठाति</td>
<td>चिद्दि, चिद्दि, ठाइ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impv. S. 2. तित्त</td>
<td>तिट्ट, ठातु</td>
<td>चिद्दु, चिद्दु, ठाउ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 3. तित्तु</td>
<td>तिट्टु, ठातु</td>
<td>ठाउ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future S. 3. खागति</td>
<td>ठस्सति</td>
<td>ठाइहिः.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infin. खातु</td>
<td>ठातु</td>
<td>चिद्दु.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.p.p. खाईं</td>
<td>ठईं</td>
<td>ठिव्र, ठिय्र.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund खाईला</td>
<td>ठला, ठलान</td>
<td>ठिच, ठिय्र.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Of the three forms in that having ठ as its root-syllable has survived to modern times, though in most cases with the dental instead of the cerebral aspirate. In H. there is only a
**STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.**

fragment in the shape of a past participle S. धा m. धी f., P. धे m. धी f. S. G. and O. have a whole verb, thus—

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<tr>
<td><strong>Infinitive</strong></td>
<td>घि</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td>S. 1. घिाः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. घिे, घी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. घिे</td>
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<tr>
<td>P. 1. घिाः</td>
<td>घहाः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. घिी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. घिीनि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present part.</td>
<td>घोंदो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past part.</td>
<td>घिी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>S. 3. घोंदो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P. 3. घोदर</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The structure of these forms will be found discussed in Ch. IV. § 69. M. has an old poetical वहि “to be,” but from the Pr. form चिह्न there is, as far as I know, only one descendant, and that is the modern Oriya adjective चिह्ना “standing,” which seems to point to Pr. चिह्न्यं, Skr. ख्वतं.

It is interesting here to notice the parallel treatment of Sanskrit धि and Latin sta in their respective descendants. Both roots survive, but have almost entirely lost the sense of “standing,” and have come to mean “be,” “become.” In S. G. and O. the above quoted verbs are used as auxiliaries denoting a more special and definite kind of being or becoming, and are thus distinguished from the less definite auxiliaries derived from भु or भस्. Sindhi huam and thianu, Gujarati hovun and thavun, Oriya hoib and thib, stand to each other exactly in the same relation as Spanish ser from esse does to estar (from stare). Thus Pedro es enamorado “Pedro is loving (by disposition),” but Pedro está enamorado “Pedro is in love (with some one).” So el es bueno “he is good (by nature),” but el está bueno “he is
well (in health).” In Italian, although stare still means “to stand,” yet it is constantly and regularly used in the sense of being, thus sto leggendo “I am reading,” does not imply that the speaker stands while he reads, but merely indicates that he is engaged in reading; just so an Oriya would say parhi thāun. Stai bene? “art thou well?” sta qui vicino “he is living close by,” would be correctly rendered in O. by the exactly parallel expressions bhala thāū? and ethi nikaṭ thāe. In French, as in Hindi, the verb has been lost, and a Frenchman has to use the roundabout expression il se tient debout for “he is standing,” literally “he holds himself on end,” just in the same way as the Indian has to say kharā hai literally “he is propped up,” (खड़ा = Pr. खड़ा = Skr. क्षय्य from √क्षम् to support).

§ 13. Examples of verbs derived from roots which in Sanskrit belong to other conjugations than the first are now adduced to show how completely all traces of the peculiarities of those conjugations have been abandoned.

Skr. √ या “go,” ii. याति, Pa. यान्ति and याचन्ति (the latter as if from a Bhū verb याचन्ति), H. जा, P. M. B. id., G. and O. retain जा in some tenses, but in others shorten it to G. ज, O. जि.
√ ख्यप “sleep,” ii. खयपाति, Pa. सुपाति, Pr. सुव, सुचू, सुबे, H. सो, P. शी, S. सुह, G. सु, B. and O. सो.
√ भी “fear,” iii. विभेदित, Pa. भायति, Pr. भीन्ति, भायति, भीन्ति (Var. iii. 19), M. भि, भे, G. भी, भी, भी, (not in the rest).
√ प्रकु “be able,” v. प्रकृति and iv. प्रकृति, Pa. सकृति, सकृति, सकृति, Pr. सकृि, सकृण्याति, and सकृि, H. सक, P. सक, S. सघ, G. M. शक.

In nach, as in several other verbs derived from Div roots, the characteristic च of the Div class seems to have got mixed up
with the root and has thus been preserved. Although in sak both Pali and Prakrit retain some traces of the peculiar type of the Su class, the moderns entirely reject them and form as if from a Bhū root, thus H. सके "he can," postulates a Sanskrit श्वकन्ति, and so with the other languages.

How the following verb came by its modern form I know not, but all the authorities agree in referring it to √बू। It is a very common word, and it is just these very common words that are the most difficult to trace. Perhaps बू became बूर, and so बूल and बोल.¹

Skr. √बू "speak," ii. बृन्दति and बृन्ते, Pr. बोढ़र (Mrich. 230, end of Act vi.) Old H. बृल (ो is short in Pr.), H. बोल, S. बोल, all the rest बोल.

§ 14. In the above examples the modern verb retains the form of the present tense, but there is a tolerably large class of stems which retain the type of the p.p.p. of Sanskrit as modified by the Prakrits.² These verbs express positions of the body, states or conditions whether material or mental, and the possession of qualities. The past participle of the Sanskrit has been treated as an adjective and a new verb formed from it, just as in English we have verbs "to contract," "to respect," "to edit," from the Latin contractus, respectus, editus, the respective past participles of contrahere, respicere and edere.

The modern Romance languages often preserve a long string of nouns derived from a Latin verbal root, while they have lost the verb itself; for instance, French, while it possesses no verb

¹ Since writing the above I see that Hemachandra gives bolīai as one of the ten Prakritisms of kath; he means it evidently not as derived from kath, which is impossible, but as a popular equivalent (Pischel's Hem. iv. 2). In the same sūtra he gives also sāṅgāi for kath, in which we see the origin of M. sāṅgane "to speak." Hemachandra has also bolīai=kathyāshyati (iv. 360), bolīiṃ=kathayitum, bolīiṃ =kathiane (?), ib. 383. But he gives drūva as the equivalent of brā in iv. 391, so that the origin of bol still remains doubtful.

² This process was indicated by me in Vol. I. p. 179. Hoernle afterwards discussed it as if it was his own discovery in Indian Antiquary, vol. i. p. 357. Perhaps he had not then seen my first volume.
directly representing the Latin sta "stand," has numerous nouns from that root, as station, étage, from statio, état from status. From these nouns fresh verbs are derived, as stationner and the like. So also the modern Indian languages, while they have lost such roots as dīp, kram, as verbs, have nouns dīpa, dīyā and derivatives, also krama as a noun with numerous secondary formations.

Analogous to this is the practice we are now discussing of forming verbs from Sanskrit participles, a practice which begins as early as Prakrit, and appears to have arisen from the habit mentioned in § 2 of forming a definite preterite by compounding the participle with आत, as in गतीसिस्मृ "I have gone." It was pointed out in § 7 that this practice had been extended in Prakrit so widely that it had resulted in giving a termination in र्थ to the present tense, as in पौधर्थ. Examples are:


Skr. √ पच "cook," पचति, p.p.p. पग, Pa. Pr. पचो, H. पच "to be cooked," to be in process of cooking (if you ask, "Is dinner ready?") your man answers, पचत "It is being cooked"), P. पच, G. पच, M. पिक. It also means "to ripen," "to be in course of growing ripe," B. पच. There is also a stem from the present पचति, as S. पच "to grow ripe," p.p.p. पचो. H. and all the rest have पच, but in the sense of rotting, decaying.
P. सूखम्, S. G. M. सूख, B. O. गृष्ण.

said originally of an army, “to be broken up and dispersed”), G. भंड, M. भंड, “to yield, give way,” also भंड e, “to break,” O. भंड. Here again there are stems as if from the present form Bhū भंडति, Pa. भंडति, Pr. भंडहृ, H. भंड “to be broken,” and भंड. (See § 19.)


It is questionable whether we should here class some words which come from √ मृ with उद्ध. The present would be उद्धरति, but though the p.p.p. in Sanskrit is उद्ध्रत, yet in such verbs Prakrit forms the p.p.p. on the model of the present tense, and has उद्थरिष्ट as if from Skr. उद्धरित, so that the modern verbs उमर, उभ, and the like keep the type of the present tense as much as that of the participle.

Another very common word is उद्ध “to rise,” but in this case Prakrit has already adopted this form for all parts of the verb, as has also Pali; thus from √ उद्ध + खा Skr. makes उत्त्या “to stand up.”

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<tr>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>PA.</th>
<th>PR.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>S. 3. उत्तितित</td>
<td>उत्तितित, उद्धारित</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impv.</td>
<td>S. 2. उत्तिद</td>
<td>उद्ध</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S. 3. उत्तित्रु</td>
<td>उद्ध</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>S. 3. उत्ताखिति</td>
<td>उद्धिसिद्धि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. part.</td>
<td>उत्तितित</td>
<td>उद्धि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.p.p.</td>
<td>उत्तिति</td>
<td>उद्धि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infin.</td>
<td>उत्ताङ्ग</td>
<td>उद्धां</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>उत्ताच</td>
<td>उद्धाच, उद्धि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here, whatever be the form taken in Sanskrit, both Pali and Prakrit assume a stem उद्ध, and conjugate it as if it were a Bhū verb throughout. It seems as though उद्ध being com-
pounded with ट्ठा had lost its final consonant, thereby making a form ठहा, whence Prakrit ठहूँ. Sanskrit has adopted the opposite course, and while keeping ठहूँ intact, has sacrificed the स of खहा in the non-conjugational tenses, retaining it in the conjugational ones where it is prevented from coalescing with the preposition by the reduplicated syllable. In the moderns we have H. ठठ, P. ठठ, S. ठथ and ठठ, and in all the rest ठठ.

The stem ठठ has undergone a change of meaning which is explainable only by bringing it under this head.

Skr. √ ठठ “desert,” ठठित, usually found in Prakrit only in the p.p.p., ठठित्रो (= ठठित्र) in the sense of “deserted,” then almost adverbially, as “without,” hence probably the meaning which it bears in the modern languages, “to stop,” “stay,” “remain,” from the idea of being deserted, left behind. It is ठठ in H. and all except M. राह, G. राह. It is ancillary in most of the languages as पढ़ते ठठो “go on reading.” (See § 72, 10).

§ 15. Single active stems exhibit the same method of formation as the single neuter stems given in § 12. A few examples are given of roots which in Sanskrit are of the Bhû, or the closely allied Div, Tud, and Chor classes.

Skr. √ खाṭ “eat,” खा०ति, Pa. id., Pr. खा० (Var. viii. 27, for खा०च्र०), H. खा, and so in all. Gipsy khava, Kash. khyun, Singhalase kanavd. 1


Skr. √ पढ़ “read,” पढ़ति, Pa. id., Pr. पढ़०, H. पढ़ (parh), P. M. G. id., S. पढ़ (which is only their way of writing पढ़), B. पढ़, O. पढ़.


Skr. √ मार् (and मृत्त) “seek,” i. मारगति, x. मारगयति, Pa. मारगति and मारगति, Pr. मारग, H. मांग, P. मंग, S. मंग(mang), G. M. मांग, B. मांग, O. मांग.


Skr. कह़ “say,” काह़ति, P. काह़ति, Pr. काह़, काह़, H. कह़, P. S. B. O. id. In M. it is wanting. G. केह, Singh. kīyanāvā.

Those roots which belong to other conjugations are almost always reduced to the Bhū type, even if Prakrit retains any of the conjugal peculiarities the moderns do not. They take in most instances the root-form of the present as it occurs in Prakrit, and keep it throughout. Instances are:

Skr. जान “know,” ix. जानाति, Pa. id., Pr. जाति, also जान (Pr. keeps जान throughout, but it and Pa. occasionally drop the initial, having आति, etc.), H. B. जान, the rest जान. Gipsy janava, Kash. zānun, Singh. dannavā.

Skr. चू “do,” viii. कऱति, Pa. id. (see § 1 and § 4), Pr. कऱ and कर and the stem कर is adopted in most tenses. The moderns universally reject all forms but कर, which they use throughout except in the p.p.p., which is the phonetic equivalent of Prakrit (see § 48).

Skr. सुन “hear,” v. सूनोति, Pa. सूनोति, सूनाति, Pr. सुनाइ, H. सुन, and in all सुन or सुन.

Skr. आप “get,” v. आपोति (but also i. आपति), Pa. आंपोति, आपनाति and आपोति, Pr. (see § 5) आव, seldom used alone. Old H. आप “to obtain,” also used in the sense of giving.

आप एव सरसं सबल॥

"Having obtained wisdom and the aid of Sarasen (Saraswati)."
—Chand, Pr. R. i. xv.

Also G. आप “to give,” which is the ordinary word in that language, may be from this root or from आप (आप). Far more common is the compound with प्र = प्राप, Pa. as above. Pr. पाप, पाप, Old H. and P. पाप, H. पाप and पा, S. पा, O. id., G. पाप, M. पाप, B. पाप. In all in the sense of finding, getting, obtaining.
Skr. √ गः “seize,” ix. गःति. The treatment of this root is peculiar. Pa. for the most part takes a form गःहति, and Pr. generally गःह. Some of the principal tenses are given here.

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<th>SKR.</th>
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<th>PR.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>गःहति</td>
<td>गःहहति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अत्मप्र.</td>
<td>गःह्रि</td>
<td>गःह्रि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Aor.</td>
<td>गःह्रि</td>
<td>गःह्रि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impv.</td>
<td>गःहाष्</td>
<td>गःहाष्, गःहाष्टि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 3. गःहाष्टि</td>
<td>गःहाष्टि</td>
<td>गःहाष्टि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impv. अत्म. P. 2.</td>
<td>गःहीदंगे</td>
<td>गःहीदंगे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut.</td>
<td>गःहीयालि</td>
<td>गःहीयालि</td>
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<td>गःहीयालि, गःहीयालि</td>
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<tr>
<td>Infin.</td>
<td>गःहीयति</td>
<td>गःहीयति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.p.p.</td>
<td>गःहीत</td>
<td>गःहीत, गःहीद्रो, गःहीद्रो, गःहीद्रो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>गःहीला</td>
<td>गःहीला</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are thus two types in Pa. ganh and gah, and three in Pr. genh, gah, and ghe. The double t in ghettum and ghettuna arises, I fancy, from e being short in Pr., and is not an organic part of the word (Var. viii. 15).

In the modern languages H. has गह as an archaic and poetic word. P. also गह. But M. च “take,” is very much used, as also S. गिन्द्र, and O. चेन, the other languages prefer the stem चे from बस्मि. Singh. gannavd, perhaps Gipsy gelava, is connected with this root, though it means rather “to bring.” (Paspati, p. 241.)

§ 16. Some Sanskrit roots ending in vowels have undergone curious and interesting changes in the modern languages. Such is Skr. √ द्रा “give,” iii. द्राति. This is one of the primitive Indo-European race-words, and being such we probably have not got it in its original form in Sanskrit. With the idea of giving is intimately connected that of dividing, or apportioning, and we find in Sanskrit several roots with this meaning, all of which seem to point back to some earlier
common root which has been lost. Thus we have \( \sqrt{\text{द्र}}, \) iii. \( \text{द्राति} \) “give,” \( \sqrt{\text{द्र}} \) or \( द्रो, \) ii. \( \text{द्राति} \) and iv. बति “divide,” \( \sqrt{\text{द्राय}}, \) i. \( \text{द्रायति} \) and द्रे i. \( \text{द्रे} \). Some grammarians, misunderstanding a rule of Panini’s about reduplication, have imagined a \( \sqrt{\text{द्रू}}, \) i. दृष्टि, but this does not seem to be entitled to a separate existence.\(^1\) It is also to be observed that in some roots in द्र there are traces of a form in त्र or त्री, which may perhaps be the older form, as गा and गी “to sing,” या and यी “to meditate,” खा and खी “to languish,” चा and ची “to wither,” जा and जी “to rescue,” मा and मी “to measure.” Also roots ending in द्र exhibit in the course of conjugation many forms in which the root-vowel is changed to त्र or त्री. It is not within our scope to do more than hint at all these points, as possibly accounting for the fact that at a very early stage the root द्र began to be superseded by द्रे, and that in the modern languages the universal form is \( \text{DE} \). The principal tenses in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit are here shown together.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>PA.</th>
<th>PR.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. S. 1. द्रास्ति</td>
<td>द्रास्ति, द्रि, द्रम</td>
<td>द्रे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>द्रास्ति, द्रि, द्रम</td>
<td>द्रे, द्रू</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 3. द्राति</td>
<td>द्राति, द्रि, द्रज्जाति</td>
<td>द्रे, द्रू</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>द्राति, द्रि, द्रज्जाति</td>
<td>द्रे, द्रू</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. 1. द्रा:</td>
<td>द्रा</td>
<td>द्रे, द्रि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. 3. द्राति</td>
<td>द्राति</td>
<td>द्रे, द्रि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impv. S. 2. द्रे</td>
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<td>द्रे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 3. द्रातु</td>
<td>द्रातु</td>
<td>द्रा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åtm. P. 2. द्रे</td>
<td>द्रे, द्राय</td>
<td>द्रा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut. S. 3. द्रास्ति</td>
<td>द्रास्ति</td>
<td>द्रा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infin.</td>
<td>द्रातु</td>
<td>द्रा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Part.</td>
<td>द्राति</td>
<td>द्रा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.p.p.</td>
<td>द्रा</td>
<td>द्रा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>द्रा</td>
<td>द्रा, द्रा, द्रिद्रा</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Westergaard, Rad. Sanskr. p. 6, note.
Childers thinks the form _deti_ has arisen either from Sanskrit _dayate_, or from confusion with the imperative _dehi_. The form _dañjati_ he, with great probability, considers as a future on the analogy of _dekh_ (see §4). In Çauraseni Prakrit the form _ू_ is used throughout (Var. xii. 4), as also in the moderns. H. _ू_, P. M. G. _id_, S. _हूँ, B. alone has _ू_, O. _ू_, shortened in some tenses to _ू_. Gipsy _dava_, Kash. _dyun_, Singh. _denava_. This is one of the few irregular verbs in the modern languages; being subjected to numerous contractions, and retaining several early Tadbhava forms.

Further examples are:

Skr. ृ पा “drink,” i. पिवति [Vedic पाति, there is also ृ पी, iv. पीति], Pa. पिवति and पिवऽ, Pr. पिबृहः, H. पी, S. and B. पि, in all the rest पी. Gipsy _piêuva_, Kash. _chyun_, perhaps through an old form _pyun_, Singh. _bonava_, p.p.p. _bì_.

Skr. ृ ची “lead,” i. चाचि, Pa. चाचि, चेति, Pr. चेतः, चेदः (pres. part. चाचंति = Skr. चन्य, fut. च्यद्वंस = Skr. चेद्यासि, Impv. चेदः = Skr. चय). Used in the moderns only in composition, thus—

(a) With आ = आनी “bring,” Pa. आनेति, Pr. आोइह, H. आन “bring,” in all the rest आय. Kashm. _anun_, Gipsy _anāva_.

(b) With परि = परिनी “lead round the sacrificial fire during the marriage ceremony,” hence, “to marry.” Old-H. परण, परण, P. परणाङ्ख, S. परण, G. M. परण.

Skr. ृ डी “fly,” with उढ़ = उड़ी “fly up,” i. उड़ति, iv. उड़त्यति, Pr. उड़ृह, H. उड़ (उ) “to fly,” and so in all. S. has उड़र, probably a diminutive. Kashm. _wudun_, Gipsy _uryāva_.

The root या “to go,” was mentioned above; with the preposition आ forming आय, it means “to come,” and it is from this word that the following are apparently derived:

Skr. आया “come,” ii. आयाति, Pa. _id_, Pr. आआइ, आइ, H. आ “to come,” P. _id_, G. आि, M. चे, Gipsy _avāva_, Kash. _yun_. The B.
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आइस, O. चा, S. ब्र च seem to come from आगच्छति, but both in B. and O. one often hears आ, thus O. आिि or आिि, "he came," and S. makes the imperv. आ, so that there is some confusion between the two roots.

In the roots ending in long ी the modern languages have words descended from compound verbs only, and in them the final vowel of the root has dropped out altogether, while in roots ending in long आ there is a tendency to soften the final vowel into े or े.

§ 17. A few words must be given to a verb which has been somewhat hotly discussed of late. In all the modern languages except perhaps M., the idea of seeing is expressed by देख. Kashmiri has देशुन, Gipsy दिकावा, and Singhalese दिकानावा. The root is in Sanskrit √ स्तुष, but the present is not in use; instead of it classical Sanskrit uses पश्चति, from which M. derives its verb पाह. Marathi stands alone in using this stem, instead of देख. From √ स्तुष comes future दिच्छति, and it is from this future that Childers derives the Pali दक्खति. He shows¹ that in the earlier Pali writings it is always used in a future sense, and only in later times becomes a present. As I hinted above (§ 4, p. 16), it is very probable that the vulgar, missing in this word the characteristic इस, of their ordinary future, considered it a present, and made a double future दक्खिसति. A similar process has been shown to have taken place in several verbs in ख्राक्रित. Pischel draws attention to a fact pointed out in Vol. I. p. 162 of this work, that there is much similarity between देख and the Prakrit पेक्ख from Sanskrit प्रेश. He, however, goes so far as to assume that the word देख was unknown to the authors of the dramas, that they used पेक्ख, which has been changed to देख by the copy-

¹ In Kuhn's Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung, vol. vii. p. 450. Pischel's article is in the same work.
ists who heard this latter word used round them every day, while they did not know of pekh. Unfortunately for this ingenious theory, it happens that the word pekh is extremely common in Hindi, Bangali, and Panjabi literature of the middle ages, and is still used in many rustic dialects of Hindi. The idea of a northern Indian scribe not knowing pekh is quite untenable. Weber (Prakrit Studien, p. 69) has a long article on this subject, controverting the views of Childers as supported by Pischel. The learned professor would derive dekkh from the desiderative of द्रृ, which is दिद्ध्रचति, but I am unable to follow the arguments adduced, or to see how a word meaning "to wish to see" should come to mean "to see." Nor do there appear to be any actual facts in support of this theory, such as texts in which the word occurs in a transitional state of meaning or form. The few desideratives that have left any traces in modern times retain the desiderative meaning, as piyásá "thirsty," from pipásu (see Vol. II. p. 81). However, I must say to the learned disputants—

"Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites."

For my own part the impression I derive from the controversy is that dekh is derived through dekkh from dakkh, which is Sanskrit future द्रचतिं turned into a present by a vulgar error. The idea suggested by me (in Vol. I. p. 161 et seq.) must be modified accordingly. It was not so entirely erroneous as Pischel thinks, for Sanskrit श represents an older श, which seems to be preserved in the future.

§ 18. The examples adduced in the preceding sections will have sufficiently illustrated the most salient peculiarities in the formation of the ordinary single verbs whether neuter or active, and I now pass on to the more difficult subject of the double verbs. As I mentioned before, there is a very large class of these; they appear in two forms, one of which is active and
occasionally even causal, the other is neuter or passive intransitive. It is after much consideration that I have come to the conclusion that this is the right way to regard them. It might be said that the forms which are here spoken of as neuters are really passives, and a rule might be laid down that these languages often form their passive by what the Germans call umlaut or substitution of weaker vowels. Childers in fact takes this view as regards Singhalese in the article already quoted (J. R. A. S. vol. viii. p. 148). I do not know how the matter may stand in Singhalese, but it is certainly open to much objection as regards the Aryan languages of the Indian continent. The neuters differ from the actives in two ways in the seven languages, either by a change in the final consonant of the stem or by a change in the vowel only. The latter is by far the more frequent. We must not be misled by the accident that many of these neuters can only be translated into English by a passive; that is the peculiarity of our own language, not of the Indian ones. In German or in the Romance languages they can be rendered by the reflexive verb. Thus H. खोलना is "to open," i.e. "to open of itself," "to come undone," "to be opened," while खोलना, the corresponding active, is "to open," i.e. "to break a thing open," "to undo." Thus द्वार खोलता "the door opens," is in German "die Thür öffnet sich," in French "la porte s'ouvre." While द्वार खोलता "he opens the door," is in German "er öffnet die Thür," in French "il ouvre la porte." So that फिरना is "sich umkehren," while its active फिरना is "umkehren (etwas)." In English we use verbs in a neuter as well as in an active sense, relying upon the context to make our meaning clear.

Moreover, all the languages have a passive, in some a regularly formed derivative from Prakrit, in others a periphrastic arrangement. It is true that, owing to the large number of neuter stems, this regular passive is not very much used; but it is there nevertheless, and would not have been invented had
forms which I regard as neuters been true “umlautend” passives.

Of the double verbs, then, as I prefer to call them, some differ only in the vowel, and the difference consists in this that where the vowel of the neuter is always short, as a, ə or ū, the corresponding active has ā, e or o, occasionally ī or ō. As types may be taken, H. kaṭnā, n, and kāṭnā, a; pḥīrṇā, n, and phernā, a; khulnā, n, and kholnā, a; lipnā, n, and lipnā, a; guthnā, n, and gūthnā, a. Of the other class, in which the final consonant differs, there are so many varieties, that it will be better to discuss them separately. Sindhi has the largest number of them, and it is with Sindhi therefore that we must begin.

§ 19. Trumpp (Sindhi Gr. p. 252) gives a list of these verbal stems, but it would have been out of place for him to have offered any analysis. The following verbs I take from him, but the explanations are my own. The first group consists of these verbs.

(1.) Neuter ending in ऋ. Active ending in घ.

1. रन्ध्न “to be bound,” रघ्न “to bind.”
2. रण्ध्न “to be heard,” रघ्न “to hear.”
3. रन्ध्न “to be cooked,” रघ्न “to cook.”

1. Skr. चंध, ix. चन्द्र, Pa. चंधति, Pr. चंधन, whence S. चंध, H. चंध, P. चंध. In all the rest चंध a. Skr. passive is चन्धति, whence Pa. चन्धति, Pr. चन्धन, S. चन्ध, H.चन्ध, used as a hunting term “to be caught,” also “to stick, adhere,” P. चन्ध n. Here, though undoubtedly derived from the passive, the stem चन्ध is really a neuter or passive intransitive and its conjugation closely resembles the active. There is a regular passive S. चन्धन.

2. Skr. चत “to know,” i. चोधति, iv. चोधति, from the latter come Pa. चोधति and Pr. चोध, whence S. चत, originally “to know,” but now meaning “to be heard,” H. चत “to understand,” is active. So also
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O. बृह्, B. बृह्, G. बृह्. But M. बृह् is both a and a. The form of the iv. conjugation is identical with the passive, hence S. makes बृह् a neuter and बृह्य is probably due to a false analogy with बृह्य.

3. Skr. √ रघ्य or रघ्य i. रघ्यतिः originally “to destroy,” but in moderns always “to cook,” Pa. id., Pr. रघ्य्र्, S. रघ्, H. रघ्य a, and so in all but P. Passive रघ्यति, Pa. रघ्याति, Pr. रघ्य्र्, S. रघ्, not found in the others.

(2.) Neuter in भ. Active in ह.

1. लभ्य “to be got,” लह्य “to seize.”
2. यभ्य “stuprari” (de muliere), यह्य “stuprare” (de viro).
3. जभ्य “to be milked,” जह्य “to milk.”


2. Skr. √ यभ् “coire,” i. यभति, Pr. यह्य, S. यह्, Pass. यभति, Pr. यभ्र्, S. यभे. Not in the others, except perhaps M. यभ्र्, where the aspiration has been thrown back on the ज.

3. Skr. √ जह्, ii. दोहित्, Pa. दोहित्, Pr. दोह्र् and जह्, S. जह्, H. जह् and जह्, and so in all a. Pass. जह्र्, Pa. जहिति (Childers writes ḍuḥiati, which can hardly be expressed in Devanagari letters), Pr. जह्र. From this we should expect S. जह्. The form जह्र recalls a similar one in Jaina Pr. सिक्क्र for सिक्क्र (Weber, Bhāg. 389, 429), Skr. सिक्षति, but this seems to rest upon a doubtful reading of one of those obscure composite characters sometimes found in MSS. written with the thick Indian reed pen. See also Cowell’s Var. viii. 59, note.1 Possibly we have here again a false analogy with लभ्, like जह् with जह्र.

1 Hemachandra collects a number of passives in ह from roots ending in ह, दुभह्य, लिभहाय, वाभहाय, रुभहाय, from duh, lih, vah, ruh (or ruhd ?).—Pischel, Hgm., iv. 245.
(3.) Neuter in प्र. "to be envious;"

Active in ह्र. "to torment."


(4.) Neuter in ज. "to break."

1. भज्जति, Pa. भज्जति, Pr. भज्जत्; ज बन्धु in S. ज, hence भज, Pass. भज्जति, Pr. भज्जत्, S. भज (ज्ज = जू), H. भज and भज,

पुष्पातन भजे किंतु हान।

"Manliness is broken, fame destroyed."—Chand, Pr. R. i. 172.

P.भज, G. माजः.

2. Skr. भज्ज or भृज, i. भजति, vi. भृजति, Pa. भृजति. Pr. would probably be भृज. I have not met the word. मुच्छ (Bhāg. 278) is from भृज "to enjoy," S. मुच्छ postulates a Pr. मुच्छ. In the other languages the न occurs. H. मुन "to fry," and मून, P. मुन, G. मृज, M. मुज, but also मुंज, O. माज, B. id., Pass. मृजति, which would give Pr. मुज्ज, whence S. मुज, but the whole stem is somewhat obscure. P. मृजः.


4. Skr. शु "hear," which, as already explained, is always सु in Prakrit and in modern languages. Pass. शृङ्खलते, Pa. सृङ्खलति or सृङ्खलति, Pr. generally सृङ्खलाः (Var. viii. 57), also सुङ्खल, but a form सृङ्खल is also possible, whence S. सुङ्खल.
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5. Skr. √खँड् “rise,” i. खँडऩि, which would give a Pr. खंड्र, whence S. खण्ड़, Pass. खंडति, Pr. खंड़, S. खण्ड़. This stem does not seem to occur in the other languages, it is peculiar to S., and must not be confounded with खानुष् “to dig,” from Skr. √खन्, nor with Skr. खष्ट् “to divide.”

(5.) Neuter in स Active in ह्र.

1. कुसानु “to be slain,” कुहानु “to slay.”
2. गसानु “to be rubbed.” गहानु “to rub.”
3. लूसानु “to be scorched.” लूहानु “to scorch.”
4. मुसानु “to suffer loss.” महानु “to inflict loss.”


2. Skr. √घृष् “rub,” i. घृषऩि, Pr. घसः, S. गहः, Pass. घृषऩि, Pr. घसः and घसः, S. गसः. The other languages have a different series of stems. H. घस and घस, n and a, घसऩत, a, P. id., G. घस and घसः, a, M. घास, घसः, घासः n and a, O. B. गस.


There are several other pairs of stems which exhibit special types; all, however, are explainable by the above noted process. Thus—

(6.) Neuter in प Active in ह्र.

कृपानु “to be touched,” कृहानु “to touch.”

Skr. √कृप् “touch,” i. कृपऩि, Pa. id., Pr. कृपः. प being unsupported goes out and ह्र is employed to fill up the hiatus, giving S. कृहः. Pass. कृपऩि, Pr. कृपः, whence S. कृप, by rejection of one प. In the other languages only the active is found. Old-H. कृहः, H. कृ, P. कृह and कृहः, G. कृ, कू, कँो, O. कू, B. id.
§ 20. There is a group of words running through nearly all the seven languages in which the divergence between the two members of each pair is slighter than that just discussed. It consists in the final consonant of the neuter being the surd cerebral ट, while that of the active is the sonant त; the neuter at the same time has the simple short vowel while the active has the corresponding guna vowel.

The words are in Hindi.

**Neuter.**

1. कुट "get loose,"
2. दुर (दुर) "fall in pieces,"
3. फट "burst, split,"
4. फट "be discharged,"
5. फुट "be squashed,"
6. सुट "be joined,"

**Active.**

छोड "set free."
टोड (टोड) "break."
फाड "tear."
फेड "discharge."
फोड "squash."
वोड "join."

The process in these words differs somewhat from that in the Sindhi stems in the last section, as will be seen from the following remarks.

1. Skr. वृट (also चुट, चुट Westergaard, Rad. Skr. p. 128) "to cut," vi. कुटित, but the Bhū type would be छोटित, Pr. छोड़, H. छोड़, and so in all except M., which has सोड़, with its usual change of छ to स (Vol. I. p. 218). H., which is pronounced chhor, while M. is sod, is active, and so is the word in all the other languages. It means "to release, let go, loose." Pass. वृट्यतु, Pr. बुट्यर, whence H. बुट, and so in all, but M. बुट. It is neuter and means "to get free, be unloosed, slip out of one's grasp, come untied."

The modern languages appear to have mixed up with this verb one that comes from a totally different root, namely—

Skr. वृट "vomit," vii. कुटित, also i. छटित and x. छटचाति, Pa. कुटिति, Pr. कुड़िर and कुड़िर, Old H. कुड़, P. कुड़, B. क्रांड़, O. id., H. क्रांड़, M. सांड़. These words all mean "to reject, abandon," and thus
come round to the same meaning as छौट, with which in consequence B. confuses it. So does Oriya. Even so early as Pali the meaning has passed over from that of vomiting to rejecting, releasing and the like. In modern H., however, छांडना retains the meaning of vomiting, and M. सांड means "to spill," with secondary senses of "giving up," "letting go."

2. Skr. √उट्ट "break" (n), i. चूटति, iv. चूर्तयति, Pr. तोड़ति, H. तूट and टूट, with abnormally long u, P. टुट, S. टट, B. id., M. टट. It is neuter in all and means "to be broken, to break itself." Being neuter in Sanskrit, a new process has to be brought into play, namely, causal चौटयति, H. टोड़, and so in all but S. टोड़. It is active, meaning "to break in pieces, tear, smash."

3. Skr. √फट्ट has three forms, each of which has left modern descendants, and there is a different shade of meaning to each of the three groups.

(a) √फट्ट "split," i. फटति, Pa. फरति and फलति (ट = ड = ल), Pr. फलठ and फठठ, H. फट (rustic फट), P.S. फट and फाट, the rest only फाट, neuter.

Causal फटयति, Pr. फाड़ति, H. फाड़ and so in all. This group with stem-vowel A indicates the splitting, cleaving, or rending asunder of rigid objects. Thus we say in H. काठ घूप में फटे "the wood splits, or cracks, in the sun," but काठ की टांगी से फाड़े "he cleaves the wood with an axe."

(b) √सिफट्ट "hurt," x. सिक्षटयति, but also vi. सिफटति, Pr. सिफठ, H. सिफ़ट, and so in all but P. सिफ़ट, neuter.

Causal सिफटयति, Pr. सिफ़ट and सिफ़ट, H. सिफ़ट, सिफंट and सिफ़ंट, and so in all but B. active. This group, with stem vowel I, implies, gently loosening, or breaking up into small pieces. It is used for beating up into froth, winding thread, untying; also metaphorically getting out of debt, discharging an obligation, and in P. injuring.

(c) √सुट "burst open," i. स्फोटति, vi. स्फटति, Pa. सुटति,
Pr. फूटृ or फूट ह (Var. viii. 53), H. फूट and फूट, all the rest फूट, except P. फूट, neuter.

Causal स्फोटयति, Pr. फोड़, H. फोड़, and so on in all but B. फोट. Words with the stem vowel U imply the breaking or bursting of soft squishy things, as a ripe fruit, a flower bud, a boil and the like. Only in M. is there some idea of splitting or cracking, but there also the more general idea is that of squashing, as डोळे फुटे “the eyeballs burst.”

6. Skr. √जुट or जुड़, a somewhat doubtful root, looking like a secondary formation from युज. It must have had a definite existence in the spoken language as its descendants show. They appear to have treated it as a neuter pres. युजति, जुड़ति. Pa. and Pr. do not appear to know this root, which, however, is very common in the moderns. H. जुट “to be joined,” also जुड़, and so in all.

Causal जेटयति, H. जोड़, and so in all except P. जूड़ and जूड़, meaning “to join two things together.”

These instances suffice to exhibit the nature of the parallel that exists between twin verbs of this class, which is a somewhat limited one.

§ 21. More usual is the difference which consists simply in the change of vowel of which I will now give some examples:

1. Skr. √तृ “cross over,” i. तरति, Pa. id., Pr. तर्र, in all तर “to be crossed over,” metaphorically “to be saved.”

Causal तारयति “to take one across, save,” Pa. तारि, Pr. तारिव and तीरिव (Var. viii. 70). In all तार “to save.” The word is one which belongs chiefly to religious poetry, but its compound form with उद्ध is a word of every-day use; viz.

2. Skr. √उत्, Pres. उत्तरयति “descend,” H. उतर, and in all except S. It is उ, and is used with a very wide range of meanings all akin to
that of coming down; as alight, descend, fall off, drop down, disembark, abate, decrease.

Causal उत्तारणति “take down,” H. उतार, and so in all except G. and O. Active, meaning “pull down, take off, unload, discharge, cast out.”

3. Skr. √ म “die,” vi. धियति, Pa. मरति, Pr. मरिः, H. मर, and so in all.

Causal नारणति, Pa. नारणिति, Pr. नारिः, H. मार in all, but not necessarily meaning “to kill.” It rather means “to beat”; the sense of killing is generally expressed by adding to मार the ancillary डाल “throw” (see § 72, 12).

4. Skr. √ स “move,” i. सरति, Pr. सरस. In H. सर neuter, means “to be completed,” and in all it has the general sense of being settled, getting done. In O. to come to an end, be done with, as से कर्म सरि गला “that affair is done with.”

Causal सारणति, Pr. सारिः, H. सार “to finish,” and in all. In O. this verb becomes ancillary (see § 72).

5. Skr. √ ह “seize,” i. हरति, Pa. id., Pr. हरर. This verb is peculiar. H. हर a, “to seize,” so also in G. P. B. In these languages it has the sense of winning a game, a battle, or a lawsuit. In M. हर means first to carry off, then to win. In this sense it is active, as त्वांने पहिल्या डावास शंभर केघे मांडले ते म्यां हरले “In the first game he staked 100 rupees, that I won.” When used as a neuter, it means to lose, as मी वाचू हरलेला “I lost the lawsuit.”

Causal हारणति, Pa. हारणिति and हरिति, Pr. हारिः, H. हार, and so in all but M. n. In these languages it means to lose at play, etc. M. is here also somewhat difficult, and Molesworth admits that हार and हर are sometimes confused. Thus it is active in the sense of

1 See Molesworth’s Marathi Dict. s. v. हर and हार.
winning, as म्यां बांचि शंभर चूचे हारले “I won from him 100 rupees.”

The use of the causal in the sense of losing goes back to Sanskrit times, where the meaning is “to cause to seize,” and then “to permit (another) to seize,” hence “to lose.” So also in Prakrit, in Mr. 38, the Samavaha says: भागधेवविश्वात्र दशशुभिर्म जूठे हारिये (Skr. भागधेयविनिमत्वत्या दशसुभिर्म जूठे हारित्त sc. मया) “By the untowardness of fortune I lost ten suvarnas at play.” From this and similar instances it would appear that in M. it would be etymologically more correct to use हार in the sense of winning, and हार in that of losing; which usage would be more in unison with that of the cognate languages. In Kash. हारम is stated to mean both lose and win, but there must be some way of distinguishing the two meanings.

Some more examples may now be given of pairs of words derived from Sanskrit roots ending in a consonant.

1. Skr. फर and सुर “tremble,” i. सरति, Pa. फरति, Pr. पुरः. If I am right in my derivation, there must either have been a third root स्फर (as in स्फर, स्फर, सुर), or the moderns have softened a to i, the former is the more probable. H. फर n “to turn (oneself),” “to spin round,” “revolve,” and so in all except G. It is perhaps on the analogy of similar roots, and not directly from a causal of स्फर, that all the moderns have फर a “to turn (a thing) round,” “to make it revolve.”

2. Skr. घूर्ण “to move to and fro” (n). Allied to this is घुस, i. घोठति, apparently unknown in Pali, Pr. घोठ्र, H. घुस, P. M. घुस, B. घुस, meaning to be dissolved by stirring in water, as sugar or similar substances, “to melt.”

Causal घोठयति, Pr. घोठित, H. घोल, P. घोल and घोठ, G. M. O. घोठ, B. घोल “to dissolve substances in water.”

3. Skr. गत “fall,” i. गतित, Pa. id., Pr. पड़ (Var. viii. 51), H. पड़ “to fall,” and so in all.
Causal पातयति, Pa. पातति, Pr. पाडि, H. याड “to fell,” and so in S. G. M. B., but somewhat rare in all.

4. Skr. √चड् “decay,” i. and vi. चड़ति, Pr. सड़ (Var. viii. 51), H. चड़, and in all “to rot.”

Causal शास्त्रयति, Pr. साड़, P. and S. साड “to destroy by decomposition.” This root is perhaps connected with Sanskrit √शट् “to be sick,” whence चट in Prakrit and the moderns.

5. Skr. √जम् “bow,” i. जमति. It is both a and n in Sanskrit, but strictly would be active intransitive, as in the moderns. Pa. जमति, Pr. शम, H. जम and नेन, P. नेउ (nei), S. नेंब, B. नू, O. धू, नौ (०) “to bow oneself down,” “to prostrate oneself.”

Causal नामयति, Pa. नामति, Pr. शास्त्र, H. नाव, ना, P. निवा, S. नेवा, B. नाम, नुया, O. धूआँ “to bow or bend,” used as an active with the words “body” or “head” as objects, H. तौस नावना “to incline the head.” द्वार आद पद्न नावनात्मा “Coming to the door, bowed his head to (the Guru’s) feet.”—T. R. Ay-k. 63.

In very common use is the diminutive H. निंड़, P. S. id., but in S., meaning “to bury,” “press down.” M. uses the compound form from Skr. अवनमति, Pr. चोण्ड (p.p.p. चोण्डचोण्ड = अवनत, Hâla, 9, Mr. p. 165), M. चोण्डव and चोण्डव न “to stoop.” Perhaps S. चोणा “to listen,” a, is to be referred to this, from the idea of bending the head to listen.

The following word is full of difficulties, and I am not able to elucidate it clearly.

Skr. √छु “drag,” i. कूर्ति and vi. छुर्ति, Pa. कुर्ति, Pr. करिसह, so, at least, says Var. viii. 11, but in Mr. 253 occurs कटामि = कथामि. The Skr. p.p.p. is छु, which would give Pa. and Pr. कछु. Perhaps this is another instance of a verb derived from p.p.p.1 H. कछ आ, “to drag

1 Hemachandra gives six popular equivalents of krah—kadhâī, sâdâhâî, anchâî, anâchchâî, ayâchâï, and âîchâî, as well as karisâ.—Pischel, Hem. iv. 187. With regard to the four last, see the remarks on khainch in § 22.
out," "extract," "to take something out" (from a box, etc.), P. कठ्ठ and खठ्ठ, S. कठ, G. B. काड, M. O. काढ. H. has a corresponding neuter कठ "to be taken out," "to flow forth," "issue," which is perhaps from the p.p.p. Var. viii. 40, gives Pr. च्व्वद्र = Skr. च्वद्र, which affords an analogy for a Pr. कठ्ठ like the Pali. Very much used in the compound with निस; thus—

Skr. निष्कृष्, i. निष्कष्टपति, Pa. निष्कष्टपति "to turn out of doors, expel;" as to Pr. in Mr. 354 occurs ष्क्रस "begone!" and in the line above ष्क्रस "turn him out." For the change of ढ to स, Var. viii. 41 उद्दृष्टि = उद्दृष्टि affords an analogy, as the change in both words occurs only in composition. Several of the moderns have pairs of words, thus: H. निकल n, "go out," P. निक्कल, S. निकर, G. निकत्त, 0. निकित्त, and H. निकाल a, "turn out," P. निक्काल, S. निकार, निकर. In the above quoted passages of Mr., the scholiast renders निकालिहे by निकालश्य, erroneously for निकालास्य, from निस and कस, but this is not the etymological equivalent, for निस with निस has left a separate set of descendants, whose meaning is, however, almost the same as निकल and its group. Thus we find H. निकस n, "go out," P. निकस, G. id., and H. निकस a, "to turn out," often used in a milder sense, "to bring out," the substantive निकस is frequently used to mean the issue or completion of a business, also as a place of exit, as पानी का निकास नहीं "there is no exit for the water," P. निकास.

§ 22. As exhibiting the phonetic modifications of the root syllable, as well as the treatment of roots in respect to their phase, whether active or neuter, the list which is here inserted will be useful. In the next section will be found some remarks on the deductions to be made from these examples.

Skr. तथ "heat," i. तपति, Pa. id., Pr. तप्त. In Sanskrit it is both a and n, so also in Pali. In the latter the passive तपति (Skr. तपते) means to be distressed, to suffer, and in this sense Pr. uses तप्त, as in
jahā diṭṭho tavaī khalo, "as the bad man is distressed when seen" (Hāla, 229). Causal तापयति "to cause to burn," Pa. तापिति "to distress," Pr. ताव्र. The moderns take it as a neuter. H. तप, n, "to be heated, to glow," and so in all but B. ताप. H. ताव "to beat," P. ताऊ, ता, G. ताव, M. id., B. तावा.

Skr. √ लिप "smear," vi. लिप्यति, Pa. id., Pr. लिप्र, लिब्र, H. लोप, लेप, P. लिप, लिम्र, लिस्र, S. लिंब्र, लियं, G. लिप, M. लेप, B. लेप, O. लिप. Pass. लिपयते, Pa. लिप्यति, Pr. लिप्याद्, H. लिप, "to be smeared with," M. लिप, G. लेप, which is the reverse of the others.

Skr. √ कत "cut," vi. कत्तिति, also i. कर्तिति, Pa. not given. If the Bhû type be taken, as it generally is, then Pr. should have कट (on the analogy of वट = कर्तिति). I have not met with it. The Bhû type being अत्मानेपदा would result in a modern neuter, thus we get H. कट "to be cut," P. कटु, S. कट, M. id., B. कट "to wither," become flaccid, O. कट. The causal is कर्तयति, whence G. pass. intrans. (—१) कटा, but if formed on the usual type would give a Pr. काटे, whence H. काट "to cut," S. M. B. O. id.

Skr. √ गथ् रन् "tie," i. गाण्धति, ix. गा२न्ति, Pa. गाण्धति, गाण्धिति, Pr. गाण्धृ। Hence H. G. गांठ a, "to knot," P. गंठ, गंठु, S. गंध, M. गांठ, गांघ, both a and n, G. गांठ a, B. गांट, गांघ, O. गाण्ध। Passive गाण्धिति used in a reflexive sense, whence H. गांठ "to be knotted," or गांठ without anuswara, P. गांठ, G. गांठा (—१). H. has also forms गंघ n, and गांघ a, the former from Pr. गाण्ध, Mr. 157.

The p.p.p. गाण्धित्य appears in Pr. as गुप्त्य, perhaps as if from a Skr. गृहित्य. Hence we have a pair of verbs, H. गृष "to be threaded (as beads on a string)," P. गृष "to be tightly plaited (as hair), to be strong, well-knit (as limbs)," M. गुष्ट and गुष स "to become tangled, to be difficult or involved (an affair)," G. गुथा, and H. गृष "to thread," G. गृष।

Skr. √ टल् "totter," i. टलित (perhaps connected with √ चल titubare, see Vol. I. p. 210). I have not found it in Pr.; it is n in Skr. and thus

Skr. √ तूलः, तूल "raise," "weigh," i. तूलति, x. तूलति संस्कृत, तूल रूपः, Pa. तूलति, Pr. तूलाः, H. तूलः, तूल a, "to weigh," P. तूलः, S. तूल, G. इदः, M. तूलः, both ए and ए, B. तूलः and तूल, O. तूल. Pass. तूलति, would be Pr. तूलाः, H. तूलः, "to be weighed, to weigh," i.e. to be of a certain weight, P. इदः, S. तूर, B. O. तूर.

Skr. √ खास् "prop," v. खास्निति, ix. खास्नाति. Pa. the verb is not given in Childers, it would be खास्नि, Pr. खास्नि, H. खास्नः, also spelt खायः and खाबः, "to prop, support," P. खास्न् or खास्न्, S. खास्न, G. खायः, B. खामः, O. खायः. Pass. खास्नि; there is also an ामने conjugation खास्नि. From this latter probably H. खास्न, खाम, खाब n., "to be supported, to be restrained," hence "to stop, cease," P. खास्न, S. खाम, G. खाम, M. खाम, खाम, खाव. It also means "to stand," especially in G. The p.p.p. is खास्त्व, Pr. खास्त, whence Old-H. खास्त ि "standing," as गोपी जन वीर्य हैं चित्ति सव ठायिण। "All the Gopis on the terrace standing and looking."—S. S. Bāl līla, 47, 14. On the analogy of this the modern colloquial H. खडः is probably to be derived from a Pr. खडः, from खास्त्व, √ खाम. P. has खडः adj. "standing," whence a verb खडः "to stand."

Skr. √ वृद्ध with त्र, निवृद्ध, i. निवृद्धिः "to come to an end, be finished," Pr. शिवृद्ध, means "to return," na piitāt jovasām aikkantam = न निवृद्धिः चौवच्छ ज्ञतिकालं "Youth when once passed does not return again" (Hāla, 251), but we may postulate a form शिवृद्ध, whence H. निवृद्ध n., "to be finished, to be done with, used up," P. इदः, S. निवृद्ध or निवृद्ध, B. निवृद्ध, O. id. On the analogy of similar words H. निवा, निवृद्ध a, "to finish," P. इदः, S. निवृद्ध, B. O. निवृद्ध, it might also come from निवृत्तिः = Pr. शिवृद्ध, but the meaning is less appropriate.
Skr. √ घट् with विः विघट, i. विघटइि “be destroyed,” Pa. विघटइि, Pr. विघटड़. With loss of aspiration, H. बिगड़ n, “to become useless, to be spoilt;” P. id., S. बिगिड़, G. बिगड़, M. retains the aspirate बिघड़, B. O. बिगड़. Causal बिघटयि, but Pa. विघटइि, with characteristic long vowel of causal, Pr. I have not found; it would be बिघटढ़, H. बिगड़ a, “to spoil,” P. S. G. id., M. बिघटड़.

There are, as might be expected, many verbs, and those often the very commonest, in the modern languages, which cannot be traced back to any Prakrit stem with any degree of certainty. Others, too, though they preserve traces of a Prakrit origin, cannot be connected with any root in use in Sanskrit. These are probably relics of that ancient Aryan folk-speech which has lived on side by side with the sacred language of the Brahmins, without being preserved in it. Sometimes one comes across such a root in the Dhātupātha, but not in literature; and occasionally the cognate Aryan languages of Europe have preserved the word, though it is strangely missing in Sanskrit. An instance in point is the following:

H. लद्द a, “to load,” P. लड़, more from analogy than anything else, S. लड़. In all the rest लद्द.

H. लद्द n, “to be loaded;” not in the others. Bopp (Comp. Gloss. s. v.) suggests a derivation from √ लम्, p.p.p. आन् “tired,” or √ लम्, p.p.p. आन् “tired.” This would seem to be confirmed by Russian klad’ “a load,” klazha “landing,” na-kladevat’ “to load;” Old-High-German hlatu, Anglo-Saxon hladen “to load,” hlad “a load,” Mod. High-German laden. The wide phonetic changes observable between various members of the great Indo-European family so seldom occur between Sanskrit and its daughters, that I am disposed to think that neither Skr. आन् nor आन् could well have given rise to a Hindi lād. It seems more probable that this is a primitive Aryan root which has, for some reason unknown to us, been left on one side by classical Sanskrit.
Of doubtful, or only partially traceable, origin, are the following:

H. खोद and खोड़ a, “to dig,” P. id., S. खोट, खोड़, G. खोद, M. खोद, खोड़, B. खुद़. And H. खुद़, खुड़ “to be dug.” With this pair I propose to connect H. खोज a, “to open,” P. खोजह, खोजन, S. G. M. खोज, B. O. खुज, and H. खुज n, “to come open,” P. खुजह, S. खुज, G. M. id. Pr. has a verb खुड़, and this root is also given in the Dhātupātha as existing in Sanskrit, though not apparently found in actual use. The Sanskrit form is probably ṣ्रेण “to divide,” with which another root खन “to dig,” has been confused, unless, indeed, the noun खण्ड, “a portion,” is formed from खन, and is the origin of खण्ड. The Prakrit occurs in Mr. 346, गूब्र्मि खुट्टपास्त कहाकलश ज दुखल “Like a golden pot with its string broken, sinking in a well,” where the scholiast renders कूपे खण्डपास्त, etc. Also in Mr. 219, चुड़ुदिट्टनचरे गोचाब्रुट्टारचे खुट्टो, “While the sun was only half risen the cowherd’s son escaped,” i.e. broke out. It is probable that the two senses of digging and opening in the two modern pairs of verbs arose from a primitive idea of breaking or dividing.

H. बुड़ or बुड़ n, “to dive, be immersed, sink,” S. बुड़, G. बुड़, M. B. O. id., and H. बोड a, “to drown, to immerse,” S. id., बोड occurs in M. and S., not as active of बुड़, but for मोड (मुढ़) “to shave.” Apparently, an inverted form of this stem is the more commonly used H. बुड़ n, “to sink,” used in all; it has no corresponding active form. The origin of these words is to be found in Pr. बुड़ (Var. viii. 68), which appears to be the same as वुढ्छ in daravuddavuddhanivuddha mahuaro, “(With) the bee a little dipped, (quite) dipped, undipped” (said of the bee clinging to a kadam branch carried away by a stream).—Hāla, 37. The Sanskrit lexicographers give a वुड़ “to cover,” but no instances of its use. The reversed form गुढ़म्ब is also in use in Prakrit, as in the quotation

1 Buḍḍāi =masjati.—Pischel, Hem. iv. 101.
from Mr. 346, given under खोड above, where the speaker is a Chandāla or man of the lowest caste, who may be held to speak a low form of Apabhraṃṣa. It is perhaps another of those Aryan roots which Sanskrit has rejected. The classical language uses instead मूजी, Latin mergere.

H. बेट, बेट a, “to meet” (to join any one), बेद a, “to close, shut,” P. बेड, S. बेट and मीढ, G. बेट, M. भिड, both a and n, B. बेट, बेड, O. बेट; and H. भिड “to stand close to, to be crowded,” P. id., S. G. id., M. बेट, B. भिड “to approach near to,” O. भिड “to be tight.” The general idea is that of closeness or a crowded state. There is also a substantive मीढ “a crowd.” From the meaning I was led to suppose (Vol. I. p. 176) a derivation from a Sanskrit p.p.p. बम्यणि “near,” which, however, has been disputed. The question must for the present be left undecided.

H. बेट “to efface,” P. S. id., and more common H. मिट n, “to be effaced, to fail, wear out” (as a writing or engraving), and so in all. Of this stem, all that can be said is, that it is probably connected with मृष “ rubbed,” p.p.p. of वृष, though one would expect a Pr. मिट or मृष, and H. मोट. There are two other stems ending in ट, which present nearly the same difficulty, viz. :

H. पिट “to be beaten,” ऐसा करोगे, तो पिटोगे “If you act thus, you will get a beating,” P. पिट, M. पिट, both a and n, B. and O. पिट a, and H. पोट a, “to beat,” not in the others. In Prakrit there is पिट “to beat,” पिटिच्य एट चेवं छिकालिहि “Having beaten this slave, turn him out” (Mr. 354, again in the mouth of a Chandāla), and पिटिद्वाहे विच्छ पुशोवि बोरिद्वं “I must roll about again like a beaten jackass” (Mr. 107). Here, unless this is a non-Sanskritic old Aryan root, we can only refer to पिट “ ground, broken,” p.p.p. of विष “to grind,” but this is hardly satisfactory, as this root has a descendant, H. पीस “to grind,” and पिस n, “to be ground.”

H. लेट n, “to lie,” “to be in a recumbent posture,” and लिड n, “to
wallow,” P. लठ, लिट, S. लेट, G. M. id. Probably connected with लोट; but there does not appear to be any Prakrit root to which it can be traced. The nearest Sanskrit root is शृ “to lie down,” loṭṭai = svapiti.—Pischel, Hem. iv. 116.

There is next to be noted a small group of stems ending in च, concerning which also there has been some controversy.

Skr. शृ “buy,” ix. श्रीषाति and श्रीषीति, Pa. श्रीषाति, Pr. श्रीषात्, H. कीन, S. गिन्न (is not the ह here due to some confusion with Pr. गेरह = ग्रह “take”?), B. O. गिन. This is a single verb, the complications occur in the following compound with विच, विची “sell,” ix. विक्रीषाति, Pa. विक्रिषाति, Pr. विक्रिषाद्, S. विक्रिष a, “to sell,” O. विक्स, Gipsy bikñava. But in H. विक is n, “to be sold, to be exposed for sale,” as चावल आज सखा बिकता “rice is selling cheap to-day.” In M. विक is both a and n, as विकि तें पिकि “when it is ripe it will sell.” So also P. S. विक n, “to be sold.” For the active H. has बेच sometimes pronounced वेच “to sell,” as आज चावल बेचता “he is selling rice to-day.” P. बेच, G. वेच, B. वेच. When we remember that all verbs are prone to take the forms of the Bhū type, it is intelligible that विक should mean both “to sell” a, and “to be sold” n, for the Paras-mai of the Bhū form would be विक्रियति, and the Ātmane विक्रियति, and the final syllable being rejected as in शृ and शृ mentioned above, the stem resulting in both cases would be विक्स. S. and Gipsy have retained the श of the Pr. विक्रिषाद्. But whence comes the च in बेच?

H. बेच, commonly pronounced बेच “to pull, drag,” is a similar word. P. बिच and बिंज, G. M. बेच, B. बेच and बेच, O. id. Also H. बेच n, “to be dragged,” B. बिच, बिंज “to be dragged or distorted (the face), to grin, make faces, writhe,” M. बिच. From the meaning we are led to think of Sanskrit श्रय “to drag,” and although this root has been shown to have given rise to another pair of verbs karh and kārh, and in composition to ni-kal and ni-kāl, yet it is not impossible that, used
in a different sense, it may have originated another set of words like
khench and its congers.

H. पक्क “to arrive” n, written in various ways as पक्क, पक्क, पक्क, P. पक्च, S. पक्च, G. पोक्च, पेंच, M. id., B. पक्च or पक्च, O. पक्च. In the dialects are some curious forms, as Marwari धृग and पुग, which also occurs in Chand, and in Nepali. Chand uses also a form पहे, as दिन दोष सात नैको पहे “In two days one easily arrives (there).” Pr. R. i. 175. In Old-Gujarati also there is a verb पहोत, e.g. गृह कहे नारटीरे से वाबाण भाव न पहोतो “Says Nala to Nārada, this story does not arrive at mind” (i.e. is not probable).—Premānand Bhaṭ, in K. D. ii. 74. S. पक्चक has p.p.p. पहोतो, which latter looks as if it were from प्र + सूप, but this will not account for the च. Hoernle (Ind. Ant. i. 358) derives this word from the old Hindi adverb पक्छ “near,” and कर “make,” assuming a change of क into च; but though this change occurs in the ancient languages, there are only very few and doubtful traces of its existence in medieval or modern times, and I do not think we can safely base any argument upon so rare a process. Hoernle goes so far as to consider H. पकार “to call,” as the causol of पुग, which he says was (or must have been) anciently पुक. There is another possible derivation from Skr. प्रागृहेऽ “a guest,” which becomes in H. पक्ना, but this fails to explain the final च.

Some light may perhaps be thrown on the subject by some stems in the moderns ending in छ, for as छ arises from ढ + च, so च arises from त + च (Vol. I. p. 326). Thus:

H. भेज a, “send,” P. id. Here we have Skr. √भिष “clove,” “separate.” Causal भेजेि, which would make a passive भेजि “he is made to separate,” i.e. “he is sent away.” If we take the active causal as the origin of this word, we must admit an elision of the vowel between d

1 See note to Kṛṣṇa in § 20. The cognate verb aicnd is also in use in the moderns.
and $y$; or, taking the simple passive भिजते, we may assume that there was a neuter भिज "to be sent" from which the active भिज "to send," has been formed; भिज, however, is not found.

H. बज़ $n$, "to sound," P. id., S. चरग and चरज़, G. चरज़, M. चाज़, B. id. Also H. बाज़ $a$, "to play (music)," and $n$, "to sound." Probably from Skr. वृज् "speak," causal वाद्यजति, Pa. वद्रति and वद्रति, the passive of the causal is Skr. चायति, Pa. वञ्जति "to be beaten," i.e. "to be caused to speak," as vajjanti bheriyo "drums are beaten." Hence the modern bāj. The short form bāj is apparently due to analogy.

§ 23. It is the business of the lexicographer, rather than of the grammarian, to work out the derivations of all the verbs in these languages, and even he would probably find the task one of insuperable difficulty in the present elementary state of our knowledge. It is hoped that the examples and illustrations given above will have enabled the reader to gain some insight into the general principles which have governed the modern languages in the process of forming their verbal stems. To conclude this part of the subject, I will now point out what seem to me to be the laws deducible from the examples above given, and from many others which, to avoid prolixity, I have not cited.

Single neuter stems are derived (i) from the Prakrit present tense of Sanskrit neuter verbs, or (ii) from the Prakrit passive past participle, or (iii) Prakrit has assumed one form for all parts of the verb, which form has been handed down to the modern languages almost, if not entirely, unchanged. Types of these three processes respectively are ho, baith, and uth.

Single active stems are formed from the Prakrit present of active verbs, and in cases where the verb in Sanskrit is not conjugated on the Bhû type, Prakrit usually, and the moderns always, adopt the Bhû type. Here, also, Prakrit has occasionally taken one form of root and used it throughout, and
the moderns have followed the Prakrit. Types of these classes are \(parh\), \(kar\), and \(ghen\).

In the double verbs two leading processes are observable. Where the root is conjugated actively, or is active in meaning in the ancient languages, the modern active is derived from it, and in that case the modern neuter is derived from the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit passive, as in \(labhanu\), \(lahanu\), or as \(chhor\), \(chhuf\). Where the ancient root is neuter, the modern neuter is derived from it, and in this case the active is derived from the ancient causal, as in \(tuṭ\), \(tɔ̄\), or \(mar\), \(mār\).

These rules, if further research should eventually confirm them, do not provide for every modern verbal stem, as there are many whose origin is obscure and doubtful. It is highly probable that as we come to know more about these languages, we shall find out other processes which will throw light upon the method of formation of many now obscure stems.

It should here also be noted that even where the same stem occurs in the same, or nearly the same, form in all the languages, it is not used in the same phase in all. Marathi and Sindhi have different sets of terminations for neuter and active, so that the fact of the neuter and active stem being the same creates no difficulty, the distinction of meaning being shown by the terminations. Thus in M. गांठ, if treated as a neuter, would be conjugated thus: Present \(gāṇṭhato\), Past \(gāṇṭhalā\) Future \(gāṇṭhel\), etc.; but if as an active, thus: Present \(gāṇṭhito\), Past \(gāṇṭhilen\), Future \(gāṇṭhil\). In this language, therefore, we often find a verb used either as active or neuter; while in Hindi, which has one set of terminations for all stems, the difference between active and neuter can only be marked by the stem. In several rustic dialects of Hindi, however, and in the mediaeval poets, we often find the neuter verb with a long vowel, but confusion is avoided by giving to the active verb the terminations of the causal, thus बढना “to grow big,” “increase,” makes its active बढाना “to make big,” and rustic and
poetical Hindi often uses बाढ्ना for the neuter, as ऐसो देव प्रकट गोवर्द्धन। जाके पूजे बाढ़ गोघन। "Such a god is manifest in Govardhana, from the worship of whom wealth of cattle increases."—S.S. Govardhanilā, ii. 15, et passim. So also बाह्दत जैक्सु मूनालक सूत। "It grows like the threads of the lotus."—Padm. This subject will be more fully discussed under the causal.

§ 24. Gujarati, as will have been noticed in the examples given in the last section, often wants the neuter stem with the short vowel, but has in its place a form in which ā is added to the stem, the included vowel of which is short. This form is not incorrectly treated by some grammarians as the ordinary passive of the language. It should, however, in strictness, be recognized as the passive intransitive (that form marked —1 in the scale, § 10). The rules for its formation are simple, in stems, whether neuter or active, having ā as the included vowel, it is shortened to a, as—

बांच “read,”
बंचा “be read.”
ब्रांक “mark, test.”
ब्रंका “be tested.”
सांमंठ “hear,”
संभंठा “be heard.”

The shortening does not always take place when the included vowel is े or ौ, though from the way in which short and long vowels are used indiscriminately in Gujarati, it is not safe to lay down a hard and fast rule on this point, thus—

शीख “learn,”
शीखा (शीखा) “be learnt.”
शीच “sew,”
शीचा (शीचा) “be sewn.”

Where the stem ends in a vowel, ं is inserted to prevent hiatus, as—

न्द्व “wash,”
न्द्वा “be washed.”
खं “eat,”
खं “be eaten.”
विंधी “fear,”
विंधीच “be feared.”

1 Vans Taylor, Gujarati Grammar, p. 81, from which most of the following remarks are borrowed, though I diverge from him in some points in which his views seem to be open to correction.
STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

With regard to the meaning and method of using this phase, it appears that its construction resembles that of the neuter, while it implies either simple passiveness, habit, or power. As a simple passive, रामये रावण मरयो “Rāvana was killed by Rāma,” आ खितर माँ बी वायु “In this field seed has been sown;” as expressing habit, एवं कहावाय के कहर “thus it is correctly said,” i.e. “this is the correct way of expressing it;” आ छोगरी कूस्खं जसकवे “this boy is (usually) thought to be stupid;” as expressing power or fitness, तेनाथे चवाय नयं “he cannot walk,” literally “by him it is not walked;” राजा की अवाय कराय नाह “a king cannot (or must not) do injustice;” कूने चर्मदायो माटे एनु पायी पीवाय नाहं “the well has become impure, therefore its water is not drunk.” Some of the words which take this form are, to all intents and purposes, simple neutrals in meaning, like abhadāyo in the sentence just quoted, which means “to be ceremonially impure,” and points back to a Sanskrit denominative, as though from आ “not,” and भद “good,” there had been formed a verb भद्याति “it is not good.” So also वपरातु “to be used,” “to be in use,” as एक चर्के को वे प्रवाय वपराय के “two affixes are in use with one meaning,” postulates from वापार, a denominative वापाराति, or perhaps the causal of वि + आ + यू = वापाराति. This seems to be the real origin of this phase, though some would derive it from a form of the Prakrit passive. At any rate, the two stems just quoted (and there are several others of the same kind) look more like denominatives than anything else, though in others this form inclines more to the passive signification, as भोमक सुता दु सदन सुधाकर देखीने शोभाय चन्द्रमा तो चिरा पामी आंमती संताय “Having seen the moon-like face of the daughter of Bhimaka in its beauty—The moon wasted away, having hidden itself in the clouds.”—Premānand in K.-D. ii. 74. Here शोभा is “to be beautiful,” and looks like a denominative, but संताय has more of a passive or reflexive meaning, “to be hidden,” “to hide oneself.” Again, द्मयती नु उदर देखी
"Seeing the belly of Damayanti, the lake dried up," (ib. ii. 75), literally "was dried up." So also घर लाक्रुण बारे, कूले बोड़वे ए ब्रधि वेम चोलवाय। "When the house has caught (fire), he has a well dug, how can this fire be put out?" —K.-D. i. 184.¹ The verb चोलवा is also written होला, and is probably the same as O. चोल्ह "to descend, alight," M. चोहल् "to trickle, flow down," which I take to be from अन + भृ = अन्यस्रति, Pr. चोलद्व (Māgadhi), and with change of स to ह = चोहल. It is used in the sense of removing oneself, thus: चले ले चोलध "ho there! get out of the way!" (Mr. 210), and causal चोलाजिदा मए शच्चडा "I have got the cart out of the way," (ib. 211) = Skr. अनसारिता. This phase is conjugated throughout all the tenses, thus ंवानु "to be lost." Present चोलाए "he is lost," Future चोलाए "he will be lost," Preterite चोलायो, चोलायो, or चोलायो के "he has been lost," and in active verbs it is used in the Bhava-prayoga, as a sort of potential, as तेनाधी चोलाय "he can loose," तेनाधी चोलाय "he could loose," तेनाधी चोलाय "he will be able to loose."

As to the other languages, a similar form is found in the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi, used as a simple passive, as पकड "seize," पकड "be seized," as हम पकड़ात वा "I am being seized." In this dialect, however, there are signs, as will be shown further on, of a passive similar to that in use in classical Hindi. In the old Maithil dialect of Bidyapati, which is transitional between eastern Hindi and Bengali, this form is found; thus, निकता जल जैंक घलहि गुकायल "As water poured out on the ground is dried up."—Pad. 984. घरमी बोटायल गोकुलन्द "(He who is) the moon of Gokul rolled himself on the earth."—P.K.S. 77. जनु इत्यवर पनि पैसल बलि भरे उलटाय। "As a lotus pressed down by the wind is tilted by the weight of bees" (var. lect. लुरि = by a swarm).—Pad. 1352.

¹ This is equivalent in meaning to our English saying, "When the steed is stolen, shut the stable door."
There seems to be some difficulty in deducing this form from a Prakrit passive. One of the methods in which the passive in Prakrit is formed is by resolving the $y$ of Sanskrit into $ta$ or $ia$, Skr. खाति = Pr. खाईचिदि; and it is supposed that this र् has become य, and subsequently या, but no instances of intermediate forms are found; it would seem, therefore, more correct to suppose that this form originates from the causal of Sanskrit in those instances where the causal characteristics are used to form denominatives, and has from them been extended to other verbs. Neither explanation, however, is quite satisfactory, and the question is one which must be left for further research.

§ 25. The regular Passive (phase — 2) is found only in Sindhi, Panjabi, and in some rustic dialects of Hindi. It arises from the Prakrit passive in िजja (Var. viii. 58, 59). Thus Skr. ग्रुयate = सुनिज्जित, गम्यate = गमिज्जित, हस्यate = हसिज्जि. In Sindhi the passive is formed by adding इ or ज to the neuter or active stem. Thus—

पूर्ण “to bury,” Passive पूर्ण “to be buried.”
घटज “to lessen,” Passive घटज “to be lessened.”

A passive is also made from causal stems, as—

विज्जि “to lose,” Passive विज्जि “to be lost.”

Here, also, we find denominatives which have no corresponding active form, and have scarcely a passive sense, as उक्खपत्यय “to long for,” where the causal termination used in Sanskrit for denominatives appears to have been confused with the िजja of the passive. Thus Skr. उक्ख “longing,” makes a verb उक्खयति “to long for,” whence the Sindhi ukkandiyanu. So also चन्दगिदय “to be entangled,” which seems to be from Skr. अचूल, or अचूर “a finger,” whence we may suppose a verb

1 Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 258.
“to be intertwined (like the fingers of clasped hands);” डिजर्नणु “to be angry,” from डमच “anger,” Skr. डमन “uproar,” of which the denominative would be डमरवयति.

In cases where the vowel of the active stem is long in the imperative, but shortened in the infinitive, the passive retains the long vowel. Thus

पीउ "drink thou,” पिन्यणु “to drink,” पीवणु “to be drunk.”
पूउ “thread thou,” पुन्यणु “to thread,” पूद्यणु “to be threaded.”
चोउ "wash thou,” चुन्यणु “to wash,” चोइणु “to be washed.”

A similarly formed passive is used in the Marwārī dialect of Hindi, spoken west of the Aravalli hills towards Jodhpur, and thus not very far from Sindh. Instances are—

करणो “to do,” करीजणो “to be done.”
खावणो “to eat,” खवीजणो “to be eaten.”
लिणो “to take,” लिरीजणो “to be taken.”
द्रेणो “to give,” द्रीरिजणो “to be given.”
आवणो “to come,” आवीजणो “to be come.”

Thus they say रहें सुं अनवीजी नहीं = H. मुष्ट से आया नहीं जाता "by me it is not come,” i.e. “I am not coming.” रहें सुं खवीजीजी नहीं = H. तुम से नहीं खाया जायगा “by you it will not be eaten,” i.e. “you will not (be able to) eat it.” This passive construction is frequent in the Indian languages, but usually with the negative expressing that the speaker is unable or unwilling to do a thing.¹ The insertion of र instead of व in ने and रै is peculiar and unaccountable.

Panjabi also has a synthetical passive, though rarely used. It is formed by adding रै to the root, and is probably derived from that form of the Prakrit passive which ends in ता, as

¹ I have to thank Mr. Kellogg, of Allahabad, author of the best, if not of the only really good Hindi Grammar, for communicating this form to me in a letter. I was previously unaware of it.
mentioned above. This form of the passive is only used in a few tenses, thus मार्ना “to beat,” Passive present मैं मारीदा “I am beaten,” Future मैं मारीचांगा “I shall be beaten,” Potential (old present) मैं मारीचां “I may be beaten.”

With these exceptions, there is no synthetic form for the passive in the modern languages. This phase is usually formed by an analytical process. It is not much used, the construction of sentences being more frequently reversed, so as to make the verb active. The large number of neuter verbs also renders a passive for the most part unnecessary. It does exist, however, and is formed by adding the verb जा “to go,” to the past participle of the passive, जा doing all the conjugational work, and the participle merely varying for number and gender.

Thus from मार “beat,” H. Sing. मारा जाना “to be beaten” m., मारी जाना f., Plur. मारे जाना m., मारीं जाना f., P. मारिचा जाना m., मारी जाना f., Plur. मारे m., मारीचां f. Gujarati also uses this method side by side with the passive intransitive, as मारवी जावं “to be beaten,” with the participle varied for gender and number as in the others. M. मारिचा जावि, B. मारा जान्ते, O. मारा जिवा. In these two last the participle does not vary for gender or number.

Occasionally in G. and M. a passive is formed by adding the substantive verb to the past participle, thus M. गाई बांधवी होती “the cow was tied,” and G. चंब कहीं के “the book is made;” such a construction would in the other languages be incorrect, or, if used at all, would have a different meaning altogether.

The use of जाना “to go,” to form a passive, seems somewhat unnatural; होना “to be,” would occur as the most fitting verb for this purpose. I am tempted to hazard a conjecture that the use of जाना in this way has arisen from the Prakrit passive form in īṭa. This, as we have seen above, has given a regular
passive to Sindhi and Marwari, and it seems possible that the masses who had quite forgotten, or had never known, the meaning of the added $j$, may unconsciously have glided into the practice of confounding it with the $j$ of the common word जा, which would lead them to consider the verbal stem preceding it as a passive participle. Thus a form मारििे “he is beaten,” would easily pass into मार जाए, as in modern Hindi. The process must, of course, have been unconscious, as all such processes are, but the supposition does not involve a more violent twisting of words and meanings than many others which are better supported by actual facts.

The non-Aryan party have something to say on this head. 1 They point out that the Dravidian languages, like our seven, largely avoid the use of the passive by having recourse to neuter verbs, and that with them, as with us, the neuter is often only another form of the same root as the active. Indeed, the similarity in this respect is very striking, the process is, to a great extent, the same in both groups, though the means employed are different. The passive does not, strictly speaking, occur in the Dravidian languages; a clumsy effort is sometimes made to produce one, by adding the verb $padu$ “to happen” (Sanskrit पत्त, modern Aryan पढ़) to an infinitive or noun of quality. This process, however, is as strained and foreign to elegant speech as the construction with $jā$ is in the Aryan group. It appears, also, that the verb $poyu$ “to go,” is also used in Tamil to form a passive, as also a verb meaning “to eat,” which latter is parallel to our North-Indian expression मार खाना “to eat a beating” = “to be beaten.” In this, as in so many other instances of alleged non-Aryan influence, the known facts do not justify us in saying more than that there is a resemblance between the two groups of languages, but that it is not clear which borrowed the process, or whether it was ever

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STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

borrowed at all. There is no reason why it should not have grown up simultaneously and naturally in both families.

§ 26. We now come to the Causal, an important and much used phase of the verb. Sanskrit forms the causal by adding the syllable aya to the root, which often also takes guṇa or vṛiddhi, \( \sqrt{अ} \) “do,” causal कार्यति. There is, however, in Sanskrit a small class of verbs which form the causal by inserting प between the root and the characteristic aya. These are principally roots ending in a vowel; but in Pali and the Prakrits the form of the causal in प has been extended to a very large number of stems, in fact to nearly every verb in those languages. In Pali, however, its use is optional, thus \( \sqrt{पच्} \) “cook,” causal pācheti, pāchayati, pāchāpeti, pāchāpayati.\(^1\) In Prakrit, also, there are the two processes, by the first of which the aya of Sanskrit becomes e, thus कार्यति = Pr. कारेः, ह्रासयति = ह्रासेः (Var. vii. 26), and by the second the inserted प is softened to व, thus giving कारवेः or कारवेः (ib. 27). It is from this form, and not from aya, as I erroneously supposed in Vol. I. p. 20, that the modern causal arises. Even in Prakrit the e in kārāveī is frequently omitted, as it is also in kāreī, and we find such forms as kāraī, tāraī, side by side with kārāvaī (Weber, Hala, p. 60), so that there remains only āv for the modern causal.

Among the modern languages Marathi stands alone in respect of its causal, and, as in so many other points, exhibits a hesitation and confusion which confirm the impression of its being a backward language which has not so thoroughly emancipated itself from the Prakrit stage as the others. Whereas these latter have passed through the period in which rival forms conflicted for the mastery, and have definitely settled upon one type to be used universally, the former pre-

sents us with several alternative suffixes, none of which appears to have obtained undisputed prominence. The authorities for Marathi consist of the classical writers, the one dictionary-maker, Molesworth, and a host of grammarians, all of whom differ among themselves, so that one is driven to ask, "who shall decide when doctors disagree?"

The competing forms are: ava, iva, iva, avi, āva, āvi, and one sees at a glance that they are all derived from one source, the causal with उ, modified in Prakrit to उ. The difficulty lies in the vowels. Where one authority gives a causal in ava to a particular verb, another makes the causal of that same verb by adding iva, and so on. Stevenson (Marathi Grammar, p. 87) teaches that  ava is the ordinary form, as basanen “to sit,” basavanen “to seat.” This type, however, he adds, is peculiar to the Konkan or lowlands along the coast; in the Dakhin or centre table land above the passes the form iva is more used, as karanen “to do,” karivanen “to cause to do.” A third form avi is said to be “of a middle class,” and not characteristic of either dialect, as karavinen. It is to be noted here that the causal suffix, strictly speaking, ends with the e, and the vowels that follow this letter may fairly be regarded as mere junction vowels, used to add the terminations to the stem. In those of the cognate languages which use आ as the causal suffix, the junction vowel used is either i, as B. karā-i-te, O. karā-i-bā, S. karā-i-ṇu, or u, as Old-H. karā-u-nā, P. karā-u-ṇā, or hardened to va, as G. karā-va-vaṇ. Dismissing, then, the final vowel as unconnected with the suffix, we get for Marathi four types, av, āv, iva, āv. Of these four āv approaches most closely to the Prakrit, and may therefore be regarded as the original type from which, by a shortening of the vowel, comes av, which, all things considered, is perhaps the most common and regular; a further weakening of the vowel produces āv; and the fourth form, āv, probably owes its long vowel to the Marathi habit of lengthening vowels at the end of a word, or
in a syllable, where the stress or accent falls. Thus all four forms may be used, as

करणे “to do,” करवणे, करावणे, करिवणे, करोवणे; also करविणे, and करोविणे “to cause to do.”¹

Causals may be formed from every verb in the language, whether neuter, active, active or passive intransitive. The meaning of the causal differs, of course, according to that of the simple verb.

Those formed from simple neuters or active intransitives are generally merely actives in sense, as

बस “sit,” बसव “seat.”

मिळ “meet,” मिळव (junction vowel ू) “mix.”

चिज “sleep,” चिजव “put to sleep,” “soothe.”

Those from actives are causal in meaning, as

मार “strike,” मारव “cause to strike.”

शिक “teach,” शिकव “cause to teach.”

Those from passive intransitives are passive causals, as

फिर “turn” (i.e. be turned), फिरव “cause to be turned.”

कट “be cut,” कटव, कटाव “cause to be cut.”

Simple roots ending in vowels insert a ृ between the stem and the suffix to avoid hiatus, as

खा “eat,” खावव (junction vowel ू) “cause to eat.”

So also with roots ending in ृ, as

लिख “write,” लिखवव “cause to write.”

The various forms of the causal suffix in Marathi may be regarded as types of a stage of transition which the other lan-

¹ Godbole’s Marathi Grammar, p. 102, § 279.
guages have passed by. The following are examples of the causal in these latter:

लिख “write,” H. P. B. O. S. लिखा “cause to write,” (H. Pres. लिखता, Pret. लिखया, Aor. लिखि, or लिखय, or लिखते.)

पढ “read,” id. पठा “cause to read.”

सुन “hear,” id. सुना “cause to hear.”

In Hindi, as in the other languages, the causal of a neuter verb is, in effect, nothing more than an active, as

बना “be made,” बनाना “make.”
बोला “speak,” बुलाना “call” (i.e. “cause to speak.”)
चला “move,” चलाना “drive.”
जागा “be awake,” जगाना “awaken.”
उठा “rise,” उठाना “raise.”
पका “be cooked,” पकाना “cook.”

So also in the case of double verbs given in §§ 20, 21, the active form, with long vowel in the stem syllable, may be regarded as a causal. In fact, it might be said, looking at the matter with reference to meaning, that the modern languages have two ways of forming the causal, one in which the short vowel of the stem is lengthened, the other in which à or some other suffix is added. Looking at it in another way with reference to form, the division which I have adopted commends itself, the forms with a long vowel in the stem being regarded as actives, those with the added syllable as causals. In point of derivation, however, both forms are causals. There is a wonderful, though unconscious, economy in our languages; where Prakrit has more types than one for the same phase of a verb, the modern languages retain them all, but give to each a different meaning. For instance, Prakrit has three types for the passive, one in which the final consonant of the stem is doubled by absorption of the च of Skr. as gamyate = gammaĩ,
a second in ta, as gamyate=gamiḍi, and a third in ijja, as gamyate=gamiṣḍi. The first of these types, having lost whatever might remind the speaker of its passive character, has been adopted in the modern languages as the form of the simple neuter verb, the second survives in the Panjabi passive, as māridā=māridi, the third in the Sindhi and Marwari passive given in § 25. So, also, it seems to me that the two types of the Prakrit causal have been separately utilized; that which corresponds to the Sanskrit type in aya with long or guṇa vowel in the stem, has become in the moderns an active verb, as hārayati=hāreĩ=hār; troṭayati=toreĩ=tor; while that which takes the प causal is preserved as the ordinary causal of the moderns, as kārayati (karāpayati)=karāreĩ=kārā.

Often, however, both forms exist together, and there is little or no apparent distinction between them; thus from फटना are made both फाटना and फटाना, from हरना are made हारना and हराना, and so in many other instances.

The causal, properly so called, namely, that with the suffix ṣa, ṣe, etc., has always a short vowel in the stem syllable, except in a few instances where the stem vowel is vṛiddhi, in which case it is sometimes retained. Thus in the double verbs the causal suffix may be regarded as added to the neuter form, as in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>neuter</th>
<th>active</th>
<th>causal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>तप</td>
<td>ताव</td>
<td>तपा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घुल</td>
<td>घोल</td>
<td>घुला</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In such cases, however, we more commonly find the double or passive causal.

Single verbs with a long or guṇa stem-vowel have causals with the corresponding short or simple vowel, as in the examples बोलना and बुलाना, जागना and जगाना given above.

Verbs whose simple stems end in a vowel insert a semivowel before the termination of the causal, and change the vowel of the stem, if ṣa, ṣe, or e, into i, if ṣ or o, into u. The semivowel
used is sometimes च or र, but more commonly ल. Thus, लेना “to take,” लिखना “to cause to take,” but—

H. देना “give,” दिखाना “cause to give.”
जीना “live,” जिखाना “cause to live.”
पीना “drink,” पिलाना “give to drink.”
खाना “eat,” खिलाना “feed.”
घोना “wash,” घुलाना “cause to wash.”
सोना “sleep,” सुलाना “put to sleep.”
रोना “weep,” रुखाना “make to weep.”

In a few cases of stems ending in ह, or in aspirates, the ल is optionally inserted, as

H. कहना “say,” कहाना and कहलाना “cause to say,”
“be called.”

देखना “see,” दिखाना
सीखना “learn,” सिखाना “teach.”
बैठना “sit,” बिठाना (or बैठ) ” बिठलाना बैठ “seat.”

A similar method exists in Sindhi, but with र instead of ल, as is customary with that language, as

ढियू “give,” ढियारू “cause to give.”
चुडू “leak,” चुडारू “cause to leak.”
विहू “sit,” विहारू “seat.”
सिखू “learn,” सिखारू “teach.”
उठू “rise,” उठारू “raise.”
सुमहू “sleep,” सुमहारू “put to sleep.”

Here the र is inserted after the causal suffix, and this was probably the method originally in force in Hindi, for we find in the mediaeval poets such words as दिखार्नां “to show,” and even in modern colloquial usage बैठालिन्ा is quite as common

1 Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 256.
as bithláná. Gujarati forms its causal in an analogous way, but uses छ instead of ०, as

धावू “suck,”
शीवू “sew,”
वागू “sound,”
धवाडू “give suck.”
शीवाडू “cause to sew.”
वागाडू “strike” (a bell, etc.)

After words ending in a vowel, the suffix takes व to prevent hiatus, and so also after ह, as

था (थवू) “be,”
खाडू “eat,”
देवू “give,”
सेहवू “endure,”
कोहवू “rot,”
धवाडू “cause to be.”
खवाडू “feed.”
द्वाडू “cause to give.”
सेहवाडू “cause to endure.”
कोहवाडू “cause to rot.”

This language, like Hindi, also reverses the position of the long vowel of the causal suffix, and uses such forms as dhavarāv, khavarāv, with change of छ to र.

There is nothing remarkable about the Panjabi causal, which is identical with Old Hindi, merely retaining the junction vowel u, as khilā-u-nā, dikhā-u-nā. In both these languages the old form āu has, in a few instances, changed to o instead of ā, as

भिगोना “to wet,” from भीगना “to be wet.”
ढबोना “to drown,” , ढबना “to be drowned.”

Bengali and Oriya have only the causal form in ā with junction vowel i, as B. karā-i-te, O. karā-i-bā, and use this form in preference to that with the long stem vowel, even in those causals which are, in meaning, simple actives.

There are thus, independently of the stem with the long or guṇa vowel, which I prefer to treat as an active, two separate systems of forming the causal in the seven languages: one starting from the Prakrit causal in āve, and exhibiting the forms āva, ava, iva, iva, āv, āu, o, ā; the other starting, I know
not whence, but probably from a method in use in early Aryan speech, which has only been preserved by the classical language in a few instances, and exhibiting the forms ār, āḍ, āḷ, ṛḍ, īḷa. Whether these two forms are connected by an interchange between the two semivowels ī and e, is a problem which must remain for future research. Such a connexion is not impossible, and is even, in my opinion, highly probable.

§ 27. The Passive Causal may be also called the double causal. The use of either term depends upon the point of view of the speaker, for whether I say, "I cause Rām to be struck by Shyām," or, "I cause Shyām to strike Rām," the idea is the same. As regards form, the term double causal is more appropriate in some languages. In H. and P. this phrase is constructed by adding to the stem H. वा, P. वात्, in which we should, I think, recognize the syllable āv of the single causal shortened, and another āv added to it, thus from sun "hear," comes causal sunā, "cause to hear," "tell," double causal sunvā,¹ "cause to cause to hear," "cause to tell;" here, as sunā is from the fuller form sunāv, so sunvā is from sunāv+āv=sunav+ā = sunvā. This double or passive causal is in use mostly with neuter and active intransitive stems, whose single causal is naturally an active, as बनाना "be made," बनाना "make," बनवाना "cause to be made." Thus they say, गढ बनाता "The fort is being built;" घरवर गढ बनाता "The architect is building the fort;" and राजा घरवर के द्वारा गढ बनवाता "The king is causing the fort to be built by the architect." In this last sentence, and in all similar phrases, the nature of the construction is such that we can only translate it by the passive causal, we could not render "The king causes the architect to build," etc., by बनवाना in any other way than by putting "architect"

¹ Generally, the semivowel in this form is pronounced softly, almost like the English w, so that sunvānā would more nearly represent the sound than sunvānā. The v, however, in all Indian languages is a softer sound than our v.
in the ablative with द्वारा or से. When we are told, therefore, that this phase means "to cause to do" (the action of a neuter verb), the assertion, though correctly expressing the form, is incorrect as to the meaning; the dictionary-makers here halt between two opinions. Thus

उठ "rise," उठा "raise" (i.e. "cause उठवा "cause to be raised"
to rise"), (i.e. "cause A to cause B to rise").

कट "be cut," बोट "cut," कटवा "cause to cut.
खुल "be open," खोल "open," खुलवा "cause to open."

In double verbs, like those just quoted, however, the single causal in द may be used, as कटा "cause to cut." As a general rule, the exact meaning of stems in this phase must be gathered from the sentence in which they are used.

Sindhi makes its double causal by inserting rā (Trumpp, 257), as

विच "be weary," विचा "make weary, tire," विचारा "cause to make weary."

घा "wound," घारा "cause to wound," घारारा "cause to cause to
wound, or cause (another) to be wounded."

Stack: instances also passive causals formed on the same
model as ordinary passives, thus

सड "be on fire," साढ "burn," साडा "cause to burn," साडारख "be caused
to be burnt."

One example given by him shows a full range of phases, as धापय "to be sucked, to issue" (as milk from the breast),
neuter; धाइय "to suck the breast," active; धारीय "to be
sucked," pass.; धापिजय "to give suck," neut. pass.; धाराइय "to
suckle," caus.; धाराराइय "to be suckled," pass. caus.;
§ 28. Although the suffixed syllables shown in § 26 generally and regularly indicate the causal phase, yet there are numerous verbs having this suffix which are neuter, active intransitive, or passive intransitive. As mentioned in § 11, these stems are probably built on the model of Sanskrit denominatives, and owe their long vowel to the *aya* or *āya* of that form. Hence they come to resemble in form modern causals.

In Sindhi these stems have a development peculiar to that language, and have a corresponding active phase like the double stems mentioned in § 19. Trumpp gives (p. 252, *et segg.*) the following examples:

**NEUTER.**

- ज्ञामणु "to be extinguished,"
- उड़ण्यु "to fly,"
- जापणु "to be born,"
- द्रापणु "to be satiated,"
- खापणु "to be on fire,"
- मापणु "to be contained,"
- विहापणु "to be passed, to pass"
  (as time),
- हपापणु "to grow less,"

**ACTIVE.**

- ज्ञापणु "to extinguish,"
- उड़पणु "to make fly, to spend,"
- जपणु "to bring forth,"
- द्रापणु "to satiate,"
- खापणु "to burn,"
- मापणु "to contain,"
- विहापणु "to pass the time,"
- हपापणु "to lessen."
In this group the neuter stems have the type ṛa and āma, which, if we regard them as derived from the Prakrit type ābe of the causal, will appear as respectively a hardening and a softening of the ो of Prakrit. In some cases the neuter form is clearly derived from the older causal, as in साप्त “to contain,” rather, “to go into,” Skr. चा “to measure;” but माप्त, Skr. caus. साप्ति “to cause to measure,” where, by a natural inversion of the sense, the causal has become neuter. In the case of जाप्त the process by which the meaning has been arrived at from Sanskrit जन्त is less clear. The other stems are also obscure, and I possess no data on which to establish any satisfactory explanation.

Sindhi stands alone in respect of this group; Hindi and Panjabi have a number of neuter stems with causal terminations, which stand on a different footing, and recall by their meaning the Sanskrit denominatives, having no corresponding active forms, as—

H. खिसाना “to be abashed,” “to shrink away.”
खियाना “to be worn out.”
ख़बराना “to itch.”
घबराना “to be agitated,” “to be in fear” P. घबराउँगा.
घमाना “to bask in the sun.”
घंघराना “to tremble,” “to be unsteady.” P. id.

P. घबराउँगा “to grow soft” (a scar).

कुम्हाना “to wither,” to grow flaccid.” P. id.

In words of this class, also, a syllable र्य is often inserted, as खिसियाना “to grin.” P. खिसियाउँगा id.

This type is evidently closely connected with the passive of Gujarati and other dialects given in § 24, which I have been led by the considerations here mentioned to regard as a passive
intransitive. It seems also to be connected with the passive intransitive in B. in such passages as राजपुत्र हैवे रूप लिखिते जानाय। “He must be a king’s son, by his appearance and marks (of birth) it is known.”—Bhârat, B.-S. 378, where जानाय = जानाचे, “it appears,” “it is evident,” a construction exactly parallel to the Gujarati phrases quoted in § 24.

Marathi has similarly neuters with a causal type, which recall the method of formation of the Sanskrit denominative, inasmuch as they are referred by the grammarians to a nominal origin, thus—

कडका “a cracking or crashing sound;” कडकाविषे “to crack, crash;” कडकाविषेन “to roar at,” “to make a crashing noise.”
कमता (from Persian لح) “deficient,” कमताविषेन “to grow less.”
करकर “a grating sound,” करकराविषेन “to grind the teeth.”
कांचा (Skr.) “doubt,” काँचाविषेन “to be doubtful.”

—but this may also be formed from the two words को “why?” कसा “how?” and would thus mean “to why-and-how,” “to hum and ha;” just as they use in Urdu the phrase لیکہ تکریکا “to prevaricate,” literally to make “would that!” and “perhaps.”

A distinction may apparently be drawn in many cases between forms in अव and those in अवि, the former being rather denominatives, and as such neuter, while the latter are causals. Thus from घोरका “little,” “few,” घोरकाविषेन “to grow less,” and घोरकाविषेन “to make less,” but the authorities accessible to me are not agreed about this point, and I therefore hesitate to make any definite assertion on the subject. Molesworth gives, for instance, घडकाविषेन n, “to bellow,” “bluster,” and घडकाविषेन “to frighten by bellowing;” also घडाविषेन “the act of roaring at,” from घडाविषेन or घडिलिन “to intimidate,” where
the $i$ of the infinitive seems to be represented by $a$ in the noun.

On the other hand, the close connexion of these neuters with the passive type is seen in S., where the passive characteristic द्राय is used, according to Stack,Convertiblely with the neuter, having the short vowel. Thus द्रायसु or द्रायाजसु “to be satiated;” while there are also verbs of two forms, one with the neuter type, the other with the causal type, but both having a neuter sense, as दिरसु and दिरायसु “to grow loose or slack.”

Further examples are—

द्रायसु and द्रायिसु “to grow less;” also द्रायायसु “to decrease.”

d्रायिसु and द्रायिजसु “to fade,” “tarnish.”

मायसु and मायाजसु “to be contained in.”

It is not certain how far later and better scholars like Trumpp would confirm the accuracy of Stack’s definition. He seems to be somewhat inaccurate and careless in drawing the distinction between the various phases of the verb.

§ 29. Secondary verbs are not so numerous as secondary nouns, and those that exist have, for the most part, a familiar or trivial meaning. They are formed by the addition of a syllable to the verbal stem, or to a noun. This latter feature is especially common in H. verbs formed from feminine nouns in aka (Vol. II. p. 31), thus Behari Lāl.

कुटी न शिखरता की द्राय द्रायकी जो वन चंग ¶

“The splendour of childhood has not ceased, (yet) youth shines in the limbs.”—Sats. 17.

Here the substantive द्रायक “glitter,” “splendour” (probably formed from व जसु), gives rise to a verb द्रायकना “to shine.” Similarly all the nouns quoted in the passage referred to in Vol. II. have verbs formed from them as there stated. It is un-
necessary to give a list of them, and it may be here observed that in languages which, like English, have advanced far into the analytical stage, great freedom of formation exists, so that many words may be used either as nouns or verbs. Many nouns have, in common usage, verbal terminations added to them, and thus become verbs. We see constantly in modern English, French, and German, new verbs thus formed, as, for instance, by adding -ize, -iser, or -isiren, as colonize, coloniser, colonisiren, several of which have not found their way into dictionaries. The same is the case with our Indian languages, and it is impossible here to follow or set forth all these constantly arising innovations. Those which have received the sanction of literature will be found in the dictionaries, and many more will probably be admitted to the dictionaries of the future, if the authors of those works are wise enough to keep pace with the actual growth of language, and do not permit an overstrained purism to prohibit them from truly recording the language as it exists in their day.

I will content myself with giving a few examples of this class of verbs from Marathi, which, as I have before noticed, is very rich in forms of this kind. This language has secondary stems formed by the addition of छट, छट, छट, छड़, छठ, छठ, छर, a series the items of which seem to indicate a progressive softening from some earlier type. Thus—

चासणे "to rub" (Skr. √ गृह्), secondary stems गसरणे "rub," गसरणे "slip," गसवरणे (a potential form) "graze the skin," "be practised in" (an art or science), गसावणे "scour" (pots), गसरणे a, "rub off, deface," n, "be rubbed," "be despoiled of." Analogous is हृ. घसीटणा "drag."

हुबणे "to sink" (rarely used), हुबणे, हुभो, हुमो, "to splash about in the water," हुबणे id., हुबणे "to plunge into water," (causal) हुबणे "to dip."
 Materials are, unfortunately, deficient, so that in the present state of research, no thorough analysis can be made. Nor can any definite separation into classes be effected. As so many verbs of this kind, however, are derived from nouns, the course to be pursued would probably be to affiliate each group of verbs to that formation of nouns with which it corresponds, verbs which add क to the primary stem being regarded as formed from nouns in क, and so on. In this method no further explanation is required for secondary verbs, as the origin of the affirmative syllable has been explained under the noun. Thus the secondary verbs, whose added syllable is अ, or वात, are explained under nouns so ending in Vol. II. p. 65, those having अ, अ, or cognate forms, are referable to the nouns in Vol. II. p. 90, and so on.

§ 30. Reduplicated and imitative verbal stems are very common. The former usually express sounds, or motions, while both frequently partake of the denominate character and type.

In Hindi the second syllable usually contains the same consonants and vowels as the first, and the question arises whether the first or the second of the two syllables is the original, in other words, whether reduplication is effected by prefixing or affixing a syllable. The following examples show that the reduplicated syllable, whichever it be, contains, as a rule, the same vowel as the original.

(a) with अ.

खटखटाना "to knock, pat, rap," from खटखट n. f. onomatopoea.
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to clatter, rattle, jar,” from स्त्रोतक n.f. onomatopoea.
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to bubble, simmer,”
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to rumble” (of bowels, Gk. κορκονυγέω, βορβορύγεω), onomatop.
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to quiver,” probably connected with प्रु d. “to be seized and shaken.”
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to mutter, murmur.”
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to flap, flop,” from स्त्रोतक “to fall off.”
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to tinkle, jingle, clank,” Skr. स्त्रोतरक्षा.
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to glitter, glare, throb,” Skr. ज्वलः?
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to flutter, twitch,” Skr. स्त्रोतक?
रत्नरक्षा “to tremble, quiver,” probably onomatop.

(β) with i.
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to giggle, chuckle, titter,” onomatop.
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to quiver, waver” (the voice in supplication), dimly traceable to Skr. श, गीति?
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to turn sick at,” from स्त्रु “disgust,” Skr. गृहः;
there are also verbs स्त्रोतरक्षा, स्त्रोतरक्षा and स्त्रोतरक्षा.
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to squeak,” onomatop.
स्त्रोतरक्षा id.
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to rave, rage, scold.”
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to twang,” onomatop.

(γ) with u.
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to envy, be spiteful,” perhaps from Skr. चुभ through H. चुभ and स्त्रोतरक्षा “to pierce.”
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to mutter.”
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to be silent, to move about quietly,” from स्त्रु “silent.”
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to itch, tickle.”
स्त्रोतरक्षा “to be soft or squasy.”
The above exhibit the ordinary type of this class, in which both syllables are the same. In some cases, where the root-syllable ends in a nasal, the first syllable of the reduplicated word softens the nasal to anuswāra, as in गुंगनाना, चन्चनाना “to throb,” and even with ल, as तिललाना “to be unsteady,” where the reduplication takes place already in Sanskrit चंचल. From the analogy of this last word we may conclude that the latter of the two syllables is the original one, and that reduplication has been effected by prefixing a syllable. There is, however, another class of such words, in which the second syllable differs from the first in the initial consonant, which, for some reason, is generally a labial. Thus side by side with खलखलाना, खलखलाना are found खंबखंबाना and खलखलाना with the same meaning. So also चुलचुलाना and चुलचुलाना, the latter with the different, though allied, meaning of being restless or fidgety. In other examples there is some slight difference of meaning in the various forms, thus from चर, which has the general sense of moving, come the adjectives चरचरा “talkative,” चरचरा “acrid, pungent,” चरचरा “active,” चरचरा “expert, alert,” whence the verbs चरचराना “to crackle, to sputter, to scold,” चरचराना “to smart,” चरचराना “to shake, swing,” चरचराना “to speak plausibly, to wheedle.” Other instances are—

- कटपटाना “to toss, tumble, flounder.”
- झुझवडाना “to be on fire.”
- श्वश्वमिलाना “to flicker.”
- तड़फडाना “to flutter.”
- तिरिमिराना “to dazzle, glisten.”
- भट्टपटाना “to stagger.”
- लड़वडाना “to stammer, stutter.”
In Panjabi, as also to a great extent in other languages, there is a tendency to use a reduplicated substantive with an ancillary verb, rather than a reduplicated verb itself. These substantives are, to a large extent, imitative or onomatopoetic, as ढोँढारा "to bang, to pop," expressing the sound of a gun going off, धुँचुँचारा "to pipe," as young birds. It has, however, a large number of the same words, as Hindi. Of these, the following may be cited: चिड़ियाँता "to prate, sputter," चिड़ियाँता "to smart," चुलचुलात्ता and चुलबुल "to flutter," बच्चोंता "to tingle" as the limbs when numbed.

In Sindhi, also, I find reduplicated nouns, but few, if any, verbs, and the language does not appear to be rich even in those. From लहलह "blaze," comes लहलहारा "to blaze;" and a few more may be found, but the large group given in Hindi, to which many more might have been added, is either not existent or not recorded.

Gujarati is fuller in this respect, as कड़कड़ुं and कड़कड़ावं "to rattle," also खड़कड़ुं; चटपटवं "to fret," चशमचण "to throb, smart;" क्रलकरा "to clink, clank," also घण्डरण; फड़फड़ुं "to flap, to scold," and फड़फड़ावं; लड़बड़ुं "to shake, rock." In its vocabulary Gujarati agrees in the main with Hindi.

As might be expected from the genius of Marathi, there is a great variety of such verbs, more even than in Hindi. In examining only the first consonant of the alphabet, numerous formations of this kind are observed. Thus from क्राण्त for Skr. ज्ञान "fatigued," by prefixing a shortened form क, they make क्रांतां "to be distressed, to starve," and क्रांतां "to worry, harass." From the onomatop. कच "brawl," "noise," "row," comes first a reduplicated noun कचकच, and then कचकचिं "to gnash the teeth," कचकचिं "to screech," कचकचिं "to slip, give way with a noise." With a second syllable added, beginning
(as we have seen in H.) as such syllables often do with a labial, is the imitative substantive कचमच expressive of "squashing," "muddling of soft substances," also of "things grating on the ear," or "being gritty in the mouth," whence कचमच (from कचमच) "to dabble with mud," "to stir," "to finger," which, from a sort of remembrance of मठ "dirt," is often changed into कचमठ "to make a mess by dabbling."

Another imitative syllable, which it is not necessary to regard as formally derived from Sanskrit कह "cut," or from कठ "trouble," though the existence of these words has probably led the native mind in that direction, is कठ expressive of "teasing, quarrelling;" whence कठठ "to wrangle, tease by squabbling," "to make harsh or cracking sounds." Allied to this is the word कडकड expressive of "the snapping of little things," whence कडकड, which may be generally rendered "to go kaḍkaḍ," that is, "to crash, crack, peal, to squabble, to hiss and bubble as hot water, oil," etc., also, "to be violently angry." Perhaps connected with this is कढ़ढल "to be feverish, to glow, ache," which, from some remembrance of मोड "breaking," is also pronounced कढ़ढल. In these outlying words, the irregular cavalry of language, forms melt into one another, like a cloud of Pandours or Cossacks hovering on the outskirts of an army, bound by no law, and disregarding all the acknowledged tactics. A list here follows:

कणकण "to be feverish," from कण and कणकण "feverishness,"
 "heat and throbbing," "cramp."
करकर "to caw" (as a crow), from करकर "cawing" or any other harsh sound.
कटटकठ "to glow with heat, to be qualmish" (as the stomach), from कटटकठ a word meaning "all sorts of disorders brought on by heat, or rage," possibly connected with Sanskrit कलह "dispute."
कसकसण्‌ “to ache, shudder, palpitate,” from कसकस “pains and aches.”
कसकसण्‌ the same as कसकसण्‌.
कसकसण्‌ “to writhe, yearn.”
किचकिचण्‌ “to chatter” (as a monkey), from किचकिच “any gritty or sharp clacking sound.”
कुणकुणण्‌ “to whisper, mutter, murmur,” from कुणकुण “low, soft murmuring.”

Under other letters the following may be quoted:
श्रुद्धश्रुण्‌ “to go to work smartly,” from श्रुद्धश्रुण्ड “smartly, quickly,” connected with श्रुत, which in all the languages means “quick!” “look sharp!”
श्रणश्रणण्‌ “to tinkle, tingle, ring.”
श्रक्षणक्षणण्‌ “to glitter, sparkle.”
शुरुरुरण्‌ “to trickle, ooze, pine away.”
फरफरण्‌ “to twitch, flutter.”
मिरमिरण्‌ “to sting, be pungent.”

In Bengali such forms are less common, it is by nature the language of a poor scanty population, and when Bengal became rich and populous, new ideas were expressed by borrowing from Sanskrit, instead of forming new words from the existing resources. There are numerous reduplicated nouns, but these are verbalized rather by adding the verb kar, than by making a new verb. Thus, where M. makes a verb jhanjhananen, B. prefers to say झन झन or झच्चन करिते. The following are a few examples:

घणघणाइते “to buzz, growl.”
श्विकलित करिते “to blaze, glitter.”
टनटन को “to throb, ache.”
टिपटिपाइते “to fidget, twitch.”
STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEM.

Many of these words are, as it has been seen, onomatopoetic, and in a language so unfixed as Bengali, it is impossible to say how many are really admitted into the proper stock of the language, and how many are mere local or individual peculiarities. Thus Bharat Chandra adorns, or disfigures, his poems by innumerable fanciful words of this sort, which probably no one but he ever used, and which he has merely invented for the occasion, e.g.

श्रनस्य कङ्कण रङ्गरङ्ग नूपर ।
घनु घनु घंघुर लोल ॥

"The bracelets go jhan jhan! the anklets go ran ran! Ghunu ghunu goes the girdle of bells."—B.-S. 299.

The remarks made about Bengali apply equally to Oriya, in which there is not any very extended use either of reduplicated or onomatopoetic nouns or verbs.

§ 31. Occasional mention has been made in the foregoing sections of some of the stems used in the Gipsy verb. That strange, wandering, low-caste people has, however, picked up many of its words from Iranian and Slavonic, as well as from non-Aryan sources. But true to the original instincts of its race, it has retained Aryan stems for its most common words, only adopting new words to express the few new ideas which, in spite of its nomad unsociable life, have been forced upon it by circumstances.

Rejection of initial h occurs in many words, as asâva "to
laugh," Skr. \(\sqrt{\text{हस}}\), even when the initial \(h\) has arisen from an earlier aspirated letter, as in uvāva "to become," Skr. \(\sqrt{\text{भू}}\). Pr. हो. An \(a\) is also prefixed to roots, as arakāva "to guard, to find," Skr. \(\sqrt{\text{रज}}\), H. रखना; and in the impersonal verb arāttilotar "it is night," Skr. रात्रि. As might be expected, however, the Prakrit or modern form of verbal stems is that generally adopted. Thus katāva "to spin," H. कातना, kerāva "to do," H. करना, kināva "to buy," Skr. \(\sqrt{\text{की}}\), H. कीनना, ghoshāva "to clean," Skr. \(\sqrt{\text{घूष}}\), H. घिसाना "to rub," but घूष might give a Pr. घूष, whence this word, also pronounced kho-shāva. Kovliovāva, from kovlo uvāva, Skr. कोमल, with हो "to be," "to be soft;" khānjiovāva, from khānj uvāva, "to scratch, to itch," Skr. कण्ठू "itch," H. खाज, खुजली. Khāsiovāva, also khāsāva, "to cough," Skr. \(\sqrt{\text{कास}}\), but H. खासना. Khandāva "to dig," Skr. \(\sqrt{\text{खंद}}\); khāva "to eat," Skr. \(\sqrt{\text{खाद}}\), Pr. खा, H. id., but the nomads of northern Rumelia use a form khaderāva, which preserves the \(d\) of Sanskrit. Khāniovāva for khino uvāva, Skr. खिन्न with हो "to be fatigued."

There are three very similar verbs which illustrate the principle of stem-formation in this language well; ghedāva "to assemble," ghelāva "to bring," ghenāva "to count." The last of these three reminds us of Skr. \(\sqrt{\text{गन}}\), H. गिनना, for the \(gh\) is only so written to secure the \(g\) being pronounced hard; the p.p. is ghendo, Skr. गिएन; ghedāva is apparently for ghen dāva, the latter word meaning "to give," and being added as an ancillary, just as देना is in H., so that ghen dāva = H. गिएन देना. Its p.p. is ghedino, and that of dāva is dino, Pr. दिनो, Old-H. दीन्हा and देना, which confirms this derivation. Similarly, ghelāva is ghen lāva, where lāva means "to take," H. लेना. From these two examples, it would appear that the ghe of ghedāva and ghelāva is not connected with ghenāva, but is Skr. \(\sqrt{\text{घह}}\), Pr. गेष घ "to take."

Strange perversions of meaning occur, as might be expected, thus chalavāva, Skr. \(\sqrt{\text{चल}}\), H. चलना, should mean "to cause to
move,” H. चलणा. It means, however, “to beat,” thus jā, dik kon chalavela o eudār, “Go, see who knocked at the door!” This is singularly close to the Indian languages. We might say in H. jā, dekh kon chalāya dwār ko. The confusion between the two meanings of Skr. √चर् is apparent here also. In Skr. चर and चल mean “to move,” and the former, by a natural transition, is used also of cattle grazing. In H. they are kept apart, चलणा meaning “to move,” and चरण “to graze.” In Gypsy charāva “to eat,” makes its p.p. chalo, the causal chara-vāva is “to lead out cattle to pasture,” and a neuter verb chāriovāva or chāliovāva “to be satiated.” Again, chalarāva “to be satiated with,” p.p. chalardo “full,” “satisfied.”

Frequently, as in the Indian languages, a primitive verb is wanting, and its place supplied by a compound, thus they say, chumi dāva “to kiss,” Skr. √चुम्व, H. चूमना, but the Gypsy is = चूम देना. So, also, chungār dāva “to spit,” probably to be referred to Skr. √चीव्, and connected with H. छोग्क, M. शोग्ख “sneeze.”


Under त we find tavāva “to cook,” Skr. तप p.p. tavdo, Skr. तापित, also tạo “hot,” Pr. तत्त, Skr. तत्स, H. तत्त. Connected with this probably are tāp dāva, tāv dāva, “to beat,” where Skr. ताप, H. ताव, has passed over from the meaning of heat through that of vexation into that of beating. The neuter is tabiovāva or tapiovāva “to be burnt,” as in leskeré sheresté tábiolas shamándán “at his head burnt a candle.” A more modern form with the characteristic l of the p.p. in M. G. B. and O. is tablo “hot.” A derivative is tabarāva (a causal) “to cause to burn.”
It is apparent, from these examples, which might be indefinitely increased, that the base of Gipsy verbal stems is the Prakrit, in its earlier as well as its more modern forms; that the phases of the Indian verb are also fairly represented; that the practice of using ancillaries is also not unknown; and that thus this wild and wandering race has carried with it, wherever it has gone on the face of the earth, the principles and sentiments of speech formation which it inherits from the land of its birth, the deserts of the Indus and the Chenab.
CHAPTER II.

THE SIMPLE TENSES.

CONTENTS.—§ 32. Classification of Tenses.—§ 33. The Simple Present or Aorist.—§ 34. The Imperative.—§ 35. The Future in Old Hindi and Gujarati.—§ 36. Type of the Active Verb in Sindhi and Marathi. § 37. Synopsis of the Simple Tenses in all Seven Languages.—§ 38. Simple Tenses in the Gipsy Verb.

§ 32. The preceding Chapter has dealt only with the stem, or that part of the verb which remains unchanged throughout all moods and tenses; we have now to consider the processes used to express the various relations which the idea involved in the stem is capable of undergoing.

The tenses of the modern verb fall naturally into three classes or grades, and it is surprising that so patent a fact has not been noticed by any of the grammar-writers. It is impossible to give, as some writers do, a fixed number for the tenses in any of our languages, for the combinations are almost infinite; but a broad, general classification would, one might suppose, have suggested itself to the most mechanical compiler. The grammar-writers, however, including even authors so superior to the general run as Trumpp and Kellogg, have been, for the most part, led away by giving their attention, in the first place, if not exclusively, to the meanings of the various tenses. This practice has led them to lose sight of the primary idea as evolved out of the structure of each tense. Had the structure been first considered, it would have been easy to discover which of the many conventional senses of a given tense
was its primary and legitimate one, and by adhering to this process, a more simple and natural classification of tenses would have been arrived at.

Kellogg does, indeed, clearly grasp the principles of the structure of the Hindi verb, but he is too metaphysical in his considerations about the meaning of each tense, and has adopted a phraseology which cannot but prove bewildering to the student, and which scientific linguists are not likely to adopt.

In Sindhi Trumpp divides the verb into simple and compound tenses. The simple present is by him called the Potential, though he is well aware of the fact that it is really the old Sanskrit present indicative, and in his philological notes duly recognizes the fact. His classification is sufficient for Sindhi, though it would hardly cover all the tenses in the cognate languages. As usual, he is, in this respect, much in advance of all other grammar-writers on the modern languages. In the Grammars of Gujarati, Marathi, and Oriya, the same distinction between simple and compound tenses is preserved, though in many cases erroneously worked out.

It appears to me, however, that for purposes of comparison between all the languages of this group, a finer distinction still is required, and I would suggest a threefold division, which it will be my business in the following pages to substantiate and describe in detail.

First, there are the simple tenses,—exact modern equivalents of corresponding tenses in the Sanskrit and Prakrit verb, whose form is due to the ordinary processes of phonetic change and development, and in which the old synthetic structure, though very much abraded, is still distinctly traceable.

Secondly, the participial tenses, formed from participles of the Sanskrit verb, used either alone, or with fragments of the Sanskrit substantive verb, worked into and amalgamated with them so as to form in each case one word only. In the latter
case these tenses have a pseudo-synthetical appearance, though the principle on which they are formed is really analytical.

Thirdly, compound tenses, in which the base is a participle with an auxiliary verb added to it, but not incorporated into it, each person of each tense thus consisting of two words in juxtaposition.

A further development of the analytical system produces the large class of verbs with ancillaries, in which the master-stem, so to call it, remains unchanged, and the ancillary does all the work of conjugation. Each of these classes will now be considered in its turn. The present chapter is devoted to the first class, or simple tenses.

It must here also be noted that the seven languages have but one conjugation each, that is to say, that the terminations and methods of forming tenses in use in any one language are applied without variation to every verb in that language. A partial exception may, at first sight, seem to occur in Sindhi and Marathi, in both of which there is one method for conjugating neuter, and another for active verbs. It will be shown, however, that though at first sight the terminations of the neuter verb seem to differ from those of the active, as in M. मी बुझ "I escape," n, but मी सोड़ी "I set free," a, yet in reality the scheme of terminations is one and the same for both, and the difference is due to a process of preparing the root to receive terminations, and to the abrasion of those terminations, in some cases from euphonic causes, and not to the existence of a double system of conjugation.

§ 33. First among the simple tenses comes, in all the languages, the old Sanskrit present indicative, which, in form, preserves clear traces of its origin, though, as in its abraded condition it now no longer indicates with sufficient clearness present time, it has wandered away into all sorts of meanings, and is given by grammarians under all sorts of titles. Con-
sidering the very vague meanings which it now expresses, especially in regard to the note of time, it has seemed to me that the Greek term "aorist" more accurately describes this tense in its modern usage than any other. The fact that it is a present, no matter what additional indefinite meanings may be attached to it, is, however, necessary to be borne in mind, and I think that in modern grammars it should always head the list of tenses, as the simplest and most genuine, and legitimately first in order, of them all. In those languages of this group with which I am personally acquainted, I can assert, from my own experience, that it is far more frequently used in colloquial practice as a present, pure and simple, than our grammar-writers, basing their views too much on the literary aspects of the languages, would have us believe.

The terminations of the aorist in the classical form of each language in the present day are the following. (For the full forms, see the tables at the end of this chapter.)

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<td>ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>बर</td>
<td>चर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>चर</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>बर</td>
<td>चर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>दं</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>चों (चे)</td>
<td>चो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>एस (चस)</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>बर</td>
<td>चर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>उं</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>चर (अ)</td>
<td>चनि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>दस</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>चर (अ)</td>
<td>एन (अन)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third person singular is the same in all the languages, ending universally in ए. In Oriya poetry it ends in चर, and this now somewhat antiquated form is still occasionally heard, as in करइ "he does," अटइ "it is." The form in चर is in use in the rustic dialects of Hindi and Gujarati, as is also the intermediate form ए. It seems certain that this universal ए has been formed from चर, the termination of this person in
Prakrit, and corresponds to the Sanskrit चृति. Thus चृति becomes चलौ, चलि, and चले. The rustic Hindi forms चलाहि, चलब्य, are, I think, to be explained by the Prakrit process of inserting य and ह to fill a hiatus; thus चृति becomes चलाहि and चलब्य. In the hill dialects of Kumaon and Garhwâl the final vowel is lost, and they say चल for चलि. The same takes place in Nepali.

The third person plural similarly points to the same person in the Sanskrit present. Oriya has here preserved the termination unaltered, as करति "they do," मारति "they beat," though in common conversation there is a tendency to drop the final ि, and to say karant, mārant. P. S. and B. have lost the त, and with it P. and B. have rejected the vowel also, which Sindhi retains. Hindi has softened the nasal consonant to anunâsika, and Gujarati has rejected the nasal altogether, so that the 3 plural is the same in form as 3 singular. This also is the case in the dialects of Hindi spoken in Rajputana, which have मारि "they strike," where classical H. has मारि. After the rejection of the त, which is a phonetically anomalous, though widely used process, the remaining form would be चृनि, as मारति, closely approximate to which is Garhwâli मारन. The Braj form मारि is deducible also from मारति, through an intermediate मारान्द and मारर्ष. The last-named form is still in use in the Eastern Hindi area, and has in Bhojpuri modulated into मारी; while the type मारर्ष is preserved in the Oudh and Riwa form मारंच, where य has been substituted for र, and an inorganic second anunâsika added, concerning which there will be more to say presently.

Marathi stands alone in preserving the t of the Sanskrit antes. In old Marathi the final vowel is preserved and lengthened, as उठतो "they rise;" in the modern language उठत. In the Konkani dialect1 all three persons of the plural are said to end

1 Grammatica da Lingua Concani (Goa, 1859), p. 74.
in ti. Thus in the Portuguese method of transliteration, which
is not very accurate, the words are thus written, amī assati “we
are,” tumī assati “ye are,” te assati “they are.” We should
probably write असति = classical M. असत्र. The author tells
us, however, that one may also say amī assau “we are,” which
is classical M. first person plural असही असूर, though in Konkani
it may be used for all three persons of the plural.

The second person singular ends in उ in H. and G., and is
from Skr. आसि by elision of स, thus चलसि, चलहि, चलइ, चलें
(Braj), चलें. In B. it formerly ended in आसि, but the final
vowel has been rejected, and the a weakened to i, thus तैकिसि
“thou seeest;” this form has been excluded from literature, but
is extremely common in speech. In M. also the स has persisted,
as सुटेस “thou dost get free,” where the e is apparently due to
the epenthesis of the final i of an earlier सुटसि. The i may,
however, be dropped altogether, without leaving any trace, and
one may say सुटस. Ṛ. and S. take anunāsika, as कीरे “thou
doest,” which is perhaps due to the influence of the ह, which
has disappeared. The termination रस is often heard among
the lower classes in the Hindi area, but always in a past sense,
and extended to all persons, as विधिस “he did,” वाहिस “he
said” (also I or thou). The O. termination र for this person
is abnormal, and I am at a loss to account for it.

The second person plural in all but M. ends in ो, for though
B. and O. write च, they pronounce ो, and when emphasis is
used, ो. There is no difficulty in affiliating this termination to
the corresponding Skr. 2 plural in था, through Pr. धा and हा,
thus चलह “ye go,” where, by elision of ह and conflation of the
two vowels, we should get चलच and चला. The final आ has
been lengthened to ो, as in the plural of nouns. Marathi also
forms this person on the analogy of its noun, in which the final
anusvāra is typical of the plural, so that we get चला. The
process, however, is quite modern, for in the mediæval poets
the second person plural ends in आ without anusvāra.
There is some obscurity about the first person in both numbers. In H. and G. the singular ends in अं (अं), while the plural ends in एं (एं); but in S. M. and O. it is the plural which ends in अं, while एं is in M. and O. the termination of the singular. Now if we look to the earlier forms, it would seem more natural to derive चले from चलामि, where the presence of the final र accounts easily for the एं, and so the plural चलाम: with its Prakrit representative चलाम्य would regularly result in अं. Moreover, in many dialects even of Hindi, the plural is still चलउं and चलौं, चलूं, चलौं. In the Rajputana dialects it is चलां, which agrees with the singular of modern P. and S. For five of the languages Skr. चलामि softens to चलांग, whence M. and O. चले “I go,” and further shortened, B. चालि id., while the rejection of final र gives P. चले, S. हला “I go.” The singular, therefore, in these five is easily understood. So also is the plural, for Skr. चलामि, Pr. चलाम्य, would become चलउं and चलाउं, whence dialectic H. चलां (Rajputana), चलूं, चलौं, चलौं (in the Himalayan dialects), S. हलूं, M. id., G. चलूं. But how are we to account for the singular and plural in H. and G.? It seems as if an inversion of the two persons had taken place. It is probable enough that a form originally plural should have become singular, because natives universally speak of themselves as “we,” even when only one person is speaking. In this way the plural form may have passed over into a singular. And this tendency would be further developed by the fact that in H. and G. the languages which make the singular end in उं, the pronoun of the first person was, in mediæval times, and dialectically still is, हूँ, so that it would be natural to say हूँ करै “I do,” on account of the identity of sound. In the other languages this pronoun has dropped out of use (see Vol. II. p. 302): Even if this conjecture be disapproved, and if it be thought that the singular करै is derived from Pr. करामि by loss of the final य and softening of the m into anuswāra, we are still as far as ever from the
origin of the plural in \textit{en}. I think that this might perhaps be accounted for by the form of the third person plural having passed over into the first. That forms belonging to one person or case do often get extended to other persons or cases, is generally admitted. In the Riwa dialect of H. the 1 pl. ends in \textit{n}, as मारन \textit{"we strike,"} which seems to be connected with the 3 pl. of P. S. and B., and in most of the dialects the 1 pl. is identical with 3 pl. Now the 3 pl. has a right to an \textit{i}, coming as it does from a Skr. \textit{-anti}, and the presence of the \textit{n} in the Riwa, and other eastern Hindi dialects, points to the same source. The inorganic anuswāra in poetic Hindi, as मारहिं \textit{"they strike,"} and dialectic forms, seems to have arisen from a feeling that final anuswāra was the proper type of plurality, and thus depends upon a false analogy with the plural of nouns. The widespread Bhojpuri dialect has मारें both for 1 pl. and 3 pl., where the ending retains the nasal and the \textit{i}, though the latter is lengthened. We may, however, also suppose that कैं 1 pl., \textit{"we do,"} is really the singular, and that the real plural having been used for a singular, the real singular became a plural. For though a native is fond of speaking of himself individually as \textit{"we,"} yet the consciousness of only one person being referred to might lead him to use the singular verb, just as the Muhammadans in Orissa, in their corrupt Urdu, say हम karुंगा \textit{"I will do,"} literally \textit{"nos faciam,"} a plural pronoun with a singular verb. So, also, the French peasant says \textit{\textquoteleft je faisons,\textquoteright} \textit{\textquoteleft j'avons;}\textit{ and the English one \textit{"we goes,"} \textit{"he do,"} \textit{"they says."}}

The above remarks leave this difficult point still far from elucidation. It is surprising that none of the grammarians have observed the existence of the difficulty, or offered any hints towards its solution. It is further complicated by the fact that P. and G. insert \textit{i}, \textit{I}, \textit{ay} or \textit{iy} between the stem and the termination of the 1 pl., thus P. पढ़े, पढ़ी, पढ़े, पढ़ी \textit{"we read."} Here it has been suggested that the Apabhraṃṣa
form in *imo* is the origin, thus हृसिमी “we laugh” became हृसियो and हृसिचे, but the change from म to च is unusual.

On the whole, then, the correspondence of the modern forms of this tense with those of the ancient synthetical present is so close that there can be no doubt as to its derivation therefrom. The terminations, however, have been so much worn away, and in some respects confused with one another, that the tense itself no longer indicates present time with sufficient definiteness, and other forms, which will be treated of hereafter, have been called in to supply the place of a present. This tense has thus become vague, and in modern times is often used in both a future and a past sense. In Marathi grammars it is set down as an “Habitual Past,” so that मी युटे means “I used to get loose.” In Panjabi it is given as an indefinite future, as मी चहा “I would send,” or, “I am going to send.” It bears this meaning also in Hindi. Still, in literature, it is frequently the present, and nothing else, while in Bengali it is used as an “historic present,” namely, that tense which is used by historians when, to give vigour to their style, they speak of past events in the present tense, thus *tatpare katak-guli lokā giyā pāthara sangrahā kare, emana samaye ekakhāni baqā pāthara khasiyā pare,* “After that several people went and collected stones, suddenly a great block of stone slipped and fell;” where *kare* and *pare,* though they must be translated by preterites, are really the old synthetic present. This practice is extremely common in modern Bengali, both in the literary and in the colloquial style.¹

It is unnecessary further to pursue the question of the

¹ In the Gujarati grammars of Leckey and Edalji this tense appears several times over. It is the first present and first habitual past of the Indicative mood, first Aorist of the Subjunctive, first present of the second Potential and the Optative. All this merely means that it is used in the senses which, in a Latin or Greek verb, would be assigned to those tenses; but as the words are the same in all, it would be quite as accurate, and much simpler, to record it once only, and note that it is used in a variety of senses.
various senses in which this tense is now employed, as the point is one which belongs not to the domain of comparative philology, but to the grammar of each individual language. The name "aorist," which I have suggested, has the advantage of being indefinite as to time, and in this way represents fairly the scope of the tense.

§ 34. The next simple tense is the Imperative, and this, like the aorist, is descended from the imperative of the ancient languages. As might be expected, it closely resembles the aorist or old present, and has the following scheme of endings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. 1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>P. 1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi कृ</td>
<td>व ¹</td>
<td>एं</td>
<td>वृ</td>
<td>अं</td>
<td>एं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjabi</td>
<td>व</td>
<td>वृ</td>
<td>वृ</td>
<td>वृ</td>
<td>वृ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>उ</td>
<td>वृ</td>
<td>वृ</td>
<td>वृ</td>
<td>वृ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>व</td>
<td>वृ</td>
<td>वृ</td>
<td>वृ</td>
<td>वृ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi कृ</td>
<td>व</td>
<td>वृ</td>
<td>कृ</td>
<td>आ</td>
<td>चौत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>एं</td>
<td>उ</td>
<td>उ</td>
<td>ब (६)</td>
<td>बनु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>व</td>
<td>उक</td>
<td>ब (६)</td>
<td>उन्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this scheme only the second persons singular and plural have been given for P. S. and G., because the other persons are the same as the aorist. This is also true of H., the aorist being used as a potential in all these languages, the first and third persons of both numbers can only be considered imperatives in so far as the potential is itself imperative, just as in Latin and other Indo-European languages. So we may say in H. parhe "he reads," or, "let him read." It was shown in §§ 4, 5, etc., that even in Pali and the Prakrits the present and imperative had been confounded together, a practice that has paved the way for the modern system.

It is only in M. O. and B. that the third singular has a

¹ This mark means that the 2 sing. is the simple stem, as kar "do thou!" parh "read thou!"
separate form, which may in all cases be traced back to the Skr. 3 sg. चतु, Pr. चउ, which in M. becomes यो. In M., however, the termination त्र for this tense is also in use. To the same origin may be ascribed the O. त and B. उक, the final त्र of which, however, presents considerable difficulty. It will be discussed along with a similar termination in the future.

The third plural in M. O. and B. is parallel to the singular, and is connected with Skr. चन्तु, just as the corresponding person in the aorist is with Skr. चन्ति. In O., owing to the influence of the final u, this termination is often written untu, as karuntu “let them do,” jāintu “let them go.”

In all but S. the second singular is the bare verbal stem. In M. a final त्र is heard, and slightly also in B. and O. In the dialect of Northern Gujarat a य is sounded after the final consonant, as कर “do thou,” चोक “speak thou,” चाख “go thou.”

But in the rest this person ends with the final consonant, as kar “do,” dekh “see.” In the H. mediæval poets this person often ends in हि, as stated in §§ 4, 5, 7, corresponding to which is a plural in हि, as

तुम्हें बिंदु तुम्हें बिंदु मुनिं जोंपि जोंध।

“Seize ye! seize ye! muttering of war.”—Chand, Pr. R. xix. 33.

This form is also found in G., and in Old-M. takes the shape of ए, as पाति “find thou!” for पावरें, from पावहि, with inorganic anuswāra. Sindhi, which causes all its words to end in a vowel, makes this person end in य, which is apparently only a weakening of the final vowel of the stem. The dialectic forms of H. present few noteworthy peculiarities, in some cases the forms which Kellogg gives as imperatives are really other tenses used imperatively. Thus the form मारब “beat ye!” common in the eastern area, is really a future, “ye shall beat.” Often, too, in colloquial Hindi, and in Urdu, in giving an order,

1 Vans Taylor, Grammar, p. 89.
the future is used, as राम को धर्म से संग जानोगी “You will bring Rām with you,” that is, “bring him with you!” So also the infinitive, as यह सब काम आजही करना “Do all this work today,” literally, “(Take care) to do,” इस रिश को उपका निखो तव चली जाना “Pay this debt, and then go away.”

Most of the seven languages have, in addition to the ordinary imperative, a respectful form used in addressing a superior, or in entreating and asking a favour. This, in Hindi, ends in Sing. दृष्टि, Plur. रथि. In P. this form is seldom employed, and when used, may be considered as borrowed from H. In the other languages are—

Sindhi Sing. 2. दृशि, एशि, Plur. 2. दृशो, एशो.
Gujarati „ „ दृशि, „ „ दृशो.

In a few stems in H. which end in e, ज is inserted between the stem and the termination, the final vowel being changed to ल, as ले “take,” लोजियै, दे “give,” दोजियै; the stem कर “do” is in this case changed to की, making कोजियै “be pleased to do.” Sindhi sometimes takes in the singular दृश instead of दृशि, probably on the analogy of the simple imperative, which ends in ा; and in the plural, instead of दृशो, the forms दृशा, दृशार, दृशाह, दृशाख are used when great respect is implied, as विशाख “be pleased to go,” मुखाजाख “be pleased to hear.” Many of the rustic dialects of Hindi have also this form; thus Rajputana दृशि, दृशि, दृशि, or simply ले, as मारिजि, मारिजि, मारिजि “be pleased to strike.”

Vararuchi (vii. 20, 21, 22) teaches that ज्ञा and ज्ञा may be optionally substituted for the affixes of the present and future, also for those of the imperative, in verbs which end in a vowel. In Old-Marathi, accordingly, a form with inserted ज is found in present, past, and future, as well as imperative, as करिजे तो “he does,” करिजे तो “he did,” करिजे तो “he will do,” करिजे “do

1 Pincott’s Sakuntalā, p. 12, a first-rate text-book in admirable idiomatic Hindi.
thou,” in which the junction vowel between the inserted ज and the termination has been changed to e. As, however, the inserted ज is also a type of the passive, this form has occasionally been mistakenly used in a passive sense, as मी मारिजेतो “I am struck.” Lassen (p. 357) refers this increment to the Skr. potential, which is confirmed by the Pali forms quoted in § 4, and by the dotted ज in S., which usually indicates that a double letter has existed. The च of the Skr., as in पचिं, is doubled in Pa. नचेयामि, and hardened to ज्ञ in Pr., whence the modern ज, with lengthening of the preceding vowel in H., and change of े to а in G. (cf. G. दिख = देख). As Vararuchi, in extending the use of this increment to present and future, is writing of the Maharashtri dialect, it is not surprising that the modern Marathi should show a wider use thereof than the sister idioms, in which the sense of a potential has passed over into that of a respectful imperative, or, as Trumpp well calls it, preceptive.

To this tense belong the two M. words स्मारणे and पाहिजें. The former is the preceptive of स्मः (Skr. स्मः) “to speak,” and means literally, “be pleased to say;” in modern times it means “that is to say,” “i.e.,” “videlicet,” as अथस स्मारणे घोडा “açva, that is to say, a horse.” It has also a future form स्मारणेच, meaning “in that case,” as पाहुस पडला स्मारणेच पीक होबेल “If rain falls, then (or, in that case) there will be a crop.” The latter, with a plural पाहिजें, and a future पाहिजेंच, is from पाहिजे “to see,” kiterally “please to see,” and means “it ought,” as हे काम बेल पाहिजे “this work ought to be done,” literally “please to see (that) this work is done;” “see” being used in M., as in English, in the sense of “seeing to,” “providing for,” “taking care for.”

Similar to these is the H. चाहिसे, lit. “please to wish,” but

1 See Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary under these words; also Godbol's Marathi Grammar, p. 92.
meaning "ought," and, like याहिये in M., used with the past participle, as यह काम किया चाहिये "this work ought to be done." Colloquially, however, and even among good writers, चाहिये is often, like other ancillary verbs, constructed with the oblique form of the infinitive, and it would not be absolutely incorrect to say करने चाहिये. In fact, the construction both in M. and H. with the past participle remounts to a period when the participial character of this form was not yet forgotten. Since, however, the past participle in H. has come to be used simply as a preterite, this construction has lost its significance. Not so in M., where, as will be seen hereafter, the distinction between the preterite and participle still survives.

Gujarati has an analogous formation in the word जोइये "it is wanted," French "il faut," Italian "bisogna." It is from the verb जोइये "to see," and is used with a dative of the subject, as मने बीजों वर जोइये नहीं "I want no other blessing," like Latin "mihi necesse est, oportet, decet," etc. It is conjugated throughout the full range of tenses, as सफर मां जे कोइ जोइये हुईं "Whatever was required for the voyage," जो मारे हरण जोइये तो "Should I require venison, then . . . .""

§ 35. A simple future derived from the old synthetical tense exists only in Gujarati and in Old-Hindi. The tense is as follows, taking the stem kar "do," as a type:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Sing. 1} & 2 & 3 \\
\text{Gujarati} & कारिये करें करिये करिये करिये करिये \\
\text{Old-H.} & कारिये करिये कारिये कारिये कारिये \\
\end{array}
\]

Kellogg (Gr. p. 238) gives the following interesting transitional type from eastern Rajputana:—

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Sing. 1} & 2 & 3 \\
करिये & करिये करिये करिये करिये करिये \\
\end{array}
\]
There are, in fact, four types of the future in the modern languages, having for their characteristics respectively the letters ख, ग, ज, and झ. The ख type has a variant हा. The ग, ज, and झ types belong to the class of participial tenses, and will be discussed under that head. The ख type, with its variant हा, found in G. and Old-H., with dialectic variations in several of the modern rustic dialects of H., is the only one which is directly derived from the corresponding Sanskrit and Prakrit tense. It is the Sanskrit future in इष्या, as in करिश्यामि, which, as already pointed out in § 4, becomes in Pali करिसामि, and retains that form in the higher Prakrits. The transition from this to the eastern Rajput करू, seems to rest upon the confusion between the first persons of the singular and plural already noticed in H.; for Rajp. करेओ, though now a plural, represents करिसामि better than does करू, which latter leads to Pr. plural करिसामु, just as does G. करिशु. The G. 1 sing. करिश has rejected all terminations, and lengthened the preceding vowel; this form is also, in the general confusion, due to the corruption of personal affixes, used for the 2 sing. The second and third persons of both numbers may be traced back to the corresponding persons of the Prakrit just as in the aorist, and the loss of the i in the second syllable is probably due to the neglect of vowels in G., where the first plural even is written in three ways, as करिः, करिण्, or करिण्य. The orthography of G. is, it will be remembered, still unfixed.

In most of the Prakrits the future has undergone a further weakening, by which the स्त of the higher types has been resolved into ह, so that we get such forms as गमिन्धिति side by side with गमिन्ति. It is from this weakened form that the Hindi type is derived. Thus 3 sing. करिः represents Pr. करिः from करिः; 3 pl. करिः = करिः, and so on. Here also come in the old Purbi forms करिः, करिः, which are transitional from Pr. to Old-H. In poems in the Braj dialect occur such forms as करिः, करिः, where the ai has crept into...
the second syllable, probably from the analogy of the *ga* type *karai-gd*. The commonest form is that given above, with short *i* in the second syllable. This is Chand's ordinary future, as

हम सार्वत सब जुक्षिहि ||
राज चढ़ेर न जाय ||

"We nobles all will fight,
(That) the kingdom of the Chandel may not perish."
—Pr. R. xxi. 94.

कै सिर तुमहि समयिहि ||
कै सिर घरिहि कछ ||

"Either I will yield my head to thee,
Or I will put the umbrella on my head."—Pr. R. i. 279.
(i.e. I will either die or conquer.)

कनवज जूटि रिधि सब हरिहि ||
पाकै जुध मोहिहि करिहि ||

"Having plundered Kanauj, I will carry off all your riches,
After that, I will fight at Mahoba."—ib. xxi. 87.

It is also the ordinary future throughout Tulsi Das's *Ramayan*, as

चबहि भंति पिय सेवा करिहि ||
मारग जनित सबक श्रम हरिहि ||

"In every manner I will serve my beloved,
I will take away all the fatigue of the journey."
—Ay-k. 399.

Also universally in Kabir, as

ना जानो कब मारिहि का धर का परदेस ||

"Ye know not when he (i.e. death) will strike, whether at home or abroad."—Ram. xix. 5.

वज्रिर न ऐसी पाइहि थाना ||

"You will never find such a place again.—ib. xliii. 2.

where पाइहि = पाइहि 2 pl. fut. of थाना "to find."

When the *ga* future, which is now the ordinary type in Hindi, arose, cannot be clearly defined. It is not in use in the
mediaeval poets, and, as has been shown above, it has not succeeded in expelling the old synthetical future from the rustic dialects.

§ 36. In M. and S. the terminations of the old present or aorist, and those of the imperative in S., seem at first sight to differ in the active from those in the neuter verb, and some remarks are necessary in explanation of this peculiarity. The neuter सुर्वा “to get loose,” and the active सोड़े “to set free,” are thus conjugated in the present in M.

**Sing. 1.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>सुर्वा</th>
<th>सुर्वस (षुस)</th>
<th>सुर्वा</th>
<th>सुर्वा</th>
<th>सुर्वत्</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>सोड़ी</td>
<td>सोडीस</td>
<td>सोड़ी</td>
<td>सोड़ू</td>
<td>सोडा</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly in S. the neuter हजरु “to go,” and the active कड़रु “to give up,” conjugate the present thus:

**Sing. 1.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>हजरू</th>
<th>हजरू</th>
<th>हजरू</th>
<th>हजरू</th>
<th>हजरू</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कड़िरा</td>
<td>कड़िरं</td>
<td>कड़िरे</td>
<td>कड़िं</td>
<td>कड़ि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On comparing these two sets of forms, it will be seen that the active differs from the neuter by insertion of र् in M., and of र् in S. This inserted vowel has, however, disappeared in some persons, as in M. first and second plural, and in S. third singular, and, optionally, also second singular and third plural. Some writers on Marathi seek to derive the forms of the neuter from those of the Skr. Ātmanepada, and the forms of the active from those of the Parasmaipada. There is, however, a fatal objection to this argument in the fact that the Skr. Ātmanepada had died out of use so early as the Prakrits, and that the neuter forms of M. agree closely with the forms in use in the other languages, where there is nothing to lead us to look for
an origin from the Atmanepada, inasmuch as the known changes of the Parasmaipada afford a satisfactory explanation, and in those languages the type which in M. is restricted to neuter verbs is used for both neuter and active. A more probable supposition is that which would derive the forms of the active in M. and S. from the Skr. causal, the characteristic aya having been changed in Pr. to e, and still further shortened in S. to i, while in M. the personal terminations have been blended with the य of aya into a long vowel; thus M. सोडी presupposes an earlier form सोड्य or सोड्य, for it must be noted that the termination द resulting from Skr. चिति, Pr. चै, has been dropped in this word. So in the first sing. S. कबिजऱि represents an older क्षोट्यामि, and is thus earlier in type than M. सोडो for सोड़ि, through सोड़याइ. The second singular in which the personal termination is retained also supports this view, for in it the characteristic इ holds the same place in the word as the characteristic aya of the Sanskrit causal, namely, between the stem and the termination: so it does in Sindhi in all the persons. The value of the comparative method is shown in cases like this where a student, who is guided by the facts of one language only, is liable to be misled, owing to want of the light supplied by the sister languages.

It is only in S. that the imperative differs in the active from that in the neuter. According to strict rule, the second singular of neuter verbs ends in उ, as मर्य “to die,” imperative मह “die thou;” while in active verbs it ends in र, as पालिय “to cherish,” imperative पालि “cherish thou.” Trumpp, however, gives a long list of active verbs whose imperative ends in उ, while there are others which take both terminations. It is impossible, at present, satisfactorily to account for this irregularity, but it seems probable that active verbs in S. derived from actives in Sanskrit form the imperative in उ, while those which are derived from S. causals form it in र. Should this suggestion be confirmed by further research, the र would
appear to be the representative of the Skr. *aya* of the causal. Thus while Skr. सर produces S. सत, Skr. पालव produces S. पालि, shortened from पालि (Pr. पालिहि). The second plural of neuters ends in *u*, as हुलो “go ye!” while that of actives ends in *io* or *yo*, as छिड़ियो or कड़ो। The earlier form in *ilo* (Pr. रुङ) is also in use as छिड़िह।

In the following list there is no reason why the imperative should not end in *u*, notwithstanding the rule, for the words are derived from simple Sanskrit active verbs of the Bhū conjugation, or, if in Sanskrit of other conjugations, yet reduced to the Bhū type in Prakrit.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Skr.</th>
<th>Imp. Past</th>
<th>Imp. Fut</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>पढ़िहुँ</td>
<td>“to read,”</td>
<td>पढ़ि</td>
<td>पढ़ि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पस्तुँ</td>
<td>“see,”</td>
<td>पस्तु</td>
<td>पश्चिति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पिलिहुँ</td>
<td>“grind,”</td>
<td>पिलिक</td>
<td>पिलिक</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Hem. iv. 185).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चर्वुँ</td>
<td>“graze,”</td>
<td>चर्वु</td>
<td>चर्वै</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रब्रुँ</td>
<td>“keep,”</td>
<td>रब्रु</td>
<td>रब्रै</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कह्रुँ</td>
<td>“say,”</td>
<td>कह्रु</td>
<td>कह्रै</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Hem. iv. 2).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

आवृत्तुँ “to inform,” makes आवृत्तुँ and आवृत्ति, it is from Skr. आवृत्त, imperative आवृत्ति, from which comes regularly आवृत्त, through a form आवृत्ति, but this verb may be also neuter, as in “tell! tell!” and would thus, by the masses, be formed like neuters, and have आवृत्त। धिर्मुँ “to blow” (with bellows), makes धिर्मुँ and धिर्मित्, it is from Skr. धिर्म, imp. धिर्म, whence regularly धिर्मुँ। Here the form धिर्मित्, the ordinary form for actives, may have been introduced from forgetfulness of the special reasons for that ending in *u*. As a general result, it may be suggested that each of these peculiar verbs requires to be traced back to its origin, in which case there will generally be found some special reason for the divergence from the normal type.
§ 37. Here follows a table showing the simple tenses in each language. A common verbal stem in each is given to exhibit the method of adding the terminations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>1st Person Sing.</th>
<th>1st Person Pl.</th>
<th>2nd Person Sing.</th>
<th>2nd Person Pl.</th>
<th>3rd Person Sing.</th>
<th>3rd Person Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>dekha &quot;see.&quot;</td>
<td>দেখি দেখি</td>
<td>দেখি দেখি</td>
<td>দেখি দেখি</td>
<td>দেখি দেখি</td>
<td>দেখি দেখি</td>
<td>দেখি দেখি</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>kar &quot;do.&quot;</td>
<td>କର କର</td>
<td>କର କର</td>
<td>କର କର</td>
<td>କର କର</td>
<td>କର କର</td>
<td>କର କର</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>jai &quot;escape.&quot;</td>
<td>जाई जाई</td>
<td>जाई जाई</td>
<td>जाई जाई</td>
<td>जाई जाई</td>
<td>जाई जाई</td>
<td>जाई जाई</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>chhad &quot;leave.&quot;</td>
<td>चढ़ चढ़</td>
<td>चढ़ चढ़</td>
<td>चढ़ चढ़</td>
<td>चढ़ चढ़</td>
<td>चढ़ चढ़</td>
<td>चढ़ चढ़</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>hâl &quot;go.&quot;</td>
<td>हाल हाल</td>
<td>हाल हाल</td>
<td>हाल हाल</td>
<td>हाल हाल</td>
<td>हाल हाल</td>
<td>हाल हाल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>mar &quot;beat.&quot;</td>
<td>ਮਰ ਮਰ</td>
<td>ਮਰ ਮਰ</td>
<td>ਮਰ ਮਰ</td>
<td>ਮਰ ਮਰ</td>
<td>ਮਰ ਮਰ</td>
<td>ਮਰ ਮਰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>dekha &quot;see.&quot;</td>
<td>देखि देखि</td>
<td>देखि देखि</td>
<td>देखि देखि</td>
<td>देखि देखि</td>
<td>देखि देखि</td>
<td>देखि देखि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Aorist** | **Imperfect** | **Future**
§ 38. The simple tenses in the Gipsy verb, as given by Paspati and Miklosich, differ very widely from the Indian type, and it is difficult to grasp their forms, so much have contraction and a slurring habit of pronunciation weakened the original terminations. The present among the Rumelian gipsies has the following endings: S. 1. a, 2. sa, s, 3. l; Pl. 1. sa, s, 2. na, n, 3. na, n. Thus from keráva “to do” —

Sing. 1. keráva, or keráv. Pl. 1. kerás, or kerás.
2. kerás, " kerás.
3. kerél, " kerél.

Pl. 1. kerésa, or kerás.
2. kerén, " kerén.
3. keréna, " kerén.

Of the two forms, those ending with a are the fuller and more correct forms, and those ending in the consonant which precedes the a are used in ordinary conversation. The S. 2 sounds also keresa, kerés. Here we distinguish two junction-vowels á and e, as ker-á-sa, ker-é-sa, a peculiarity which recalls the practice in Prakrit by which the e originally proper to the tenth conjugation is often used in verbs of the Bhû and other types, and as often omitted in causals; so we have पुक्तामि and पुक्ते, रौचामि and रौचे, द्वारा and द्वारेय, कर्त and करेय. But with regard to the terminations, there is much difficulty; we recognize, indeed, the termination ámi of S. 1. in Paspati’s áva, or áv, and asi in his ása, or ás. So also anti, Pr. entí, re-appears in ena or en. The el, el of S. 3. may stand to ati in the same relation as the ila of O. and M. p.p.p. does to Skr. ita; but if so, it is a strange confirmation, and from an unexpected quarter, of what is as yet little more than an unsupported hypothesis. In the P. 2. the ena, en may have been borrowed from P. 3, for we have seen similar cases in the other languages, but the P. 1, with its ending in s, is entirely inexplicable.

The Syrian gipsies have retained a fuller form of the S. 1, as jāmi “I go,” ácami “I come,” stāmi “I am,” and the following almost pure Prakrit words: bihemi “I fear,” chinemi “I cut,”
dámi, domi "I give," jánami, jánemi "I know," enemi "I bring" (from चाषी), kinimi "I buy" (क्री), and others (Miklos. ii. 4).

The imperative is the only other simple tense, it has the forms ker "do thou," kerén, do ye," me kerel "let him do," me keren "let them do." The meaning and origin of this prefix me is not explained by Paspati, and I am not aware of anything in the Indian languages with which it can be connected. It is probably a construction borrowed from modern Greek, or Turkish, or some of the languages spoken in or near Rumelia. The imperative is, in its general form, precisely analogous to the languages of our group, but there is nothing specially noteworthy about it.
CHAPTER III.

THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.


§ 39. So widely has the modern verb diverged from its parent, that the simple tenses, in which there still remain traces of the ancient synthetic structure, are, as we have just seen, extremely few. Far more numerous in all the languages are those tenses which are formed by the aid of a participle derived directly from the Prakrit. These tenses may be divided into two classes, (1) consisting either of a participle alone, as in H. chāltā “he moves,” which is really “moving (he is),” or of a participle, to which are attached much-worn fragments of the old Sanskrit substantive verb, as in M. hasatos “thou laughest,” which is really “laughing thou art,” Pr. hasanto ’sī (whether the remnant of the substantive verb still appear, or whether it have entirely dropped out, in either case the principle underlying the formation is the same, and words
like H. *chaltâ,* and M. *hasatos,* belong, therefore, to the same category): (2) consisting of a participle, to which is subjoined a substantive verb, the two words standing separate, but forming one phrase, as in H. *dekhî hai* "he sees," i.e. "he is seeing," M. *liht âhe* "he is writing."

Between these two classes there is this fundamental difference, that in the former the traces of the substantive verb which do exist are still in the Prakrit stage of development, whereas in the latter the substantive verb, which is combined with the participle, is not in the Prakrit shape, but is a later form, evolved by the languages out of the Prakrit.

The first of these two classes I propose to call "participial tenses," and they will be treated of in this chapter; the second I shall call, following the example of the grammarians, "compound tenses," and shall reserve their discussion for another chapter.

The participle used in the formation of tenses may be traced back to the Prakrit equivalents of the following Sanskrit participles.

1. The present Active (Parasmait.), as in *pachan* m., *pachani* f., *pachat* n.

2. The past Passive (with inserted *ru*), as in *kats* m., *kata* f., *kat* n. (Pr. *karirâ* etc.).

3. The future participle Passive or verbal adjective, as in *drâtâvāsa* m., *ôtabhâ f., ôtavah* n.

To these must be added certain much abraded forms of special past participles, which are used in a peculiar way in three of the languages, as will be shown hereafter, and it must be borne in mind that, especially in the case of the past participle passive (noted as p.p.p.), it is the Prakrit forms that are to be looked to, rather than those which occur in classical Sanskrit. The classical language does not prefer to insert the intermediate *ru* in the p.p.p., but the popular languages do prefer it to a very great extent, so much so, that it has almost
become the rule to insert it, and the cases where it is omitted may be classed as exceptions.

§ 40. The participle of the present active in Pali and the Prakrit takes the forms of the a-stem of nouns, and retains the nasal throughout; thus पचत्ती m., पचती f., पचत n. The variations introduced by the conjugational peculiarities of the Sanskrit verb are neglected, and all roots take this one form.

Sindhi reproduces this universal Prakrit form with softening of त into द, and declines it for gender and number thus (hał “go”—

Sing. हलंदी m., हलंदी f. Pl. हलंदरा m., हलंदिखं f., “going.”

In active verbs, with which must be reckoned causals, the characteristic i appears (§ 36), but here lengthened to ī, as (bhar “fill”—

Sing. भरींदी m., भरींदी f. Pl. भरींदरा m., भरींदिखं f. “filling.”

There are some minor exceptions and contractions which may be learnt from the special grammar of the language, but the forms given above are the regular types.

Panjabi retains the nasal in verbs ending in vowels, as jā “go,” जांद्र “going,” ho “be,” जांद्र “being,” seū “serve,” सिंद्र “serving.” In some of the rustic dialects the nasal is retained also after stems ending in a consonant, thus I have heard मारंद्र or मारिंद्र “beating.” In the classical dialect, however, the nasal is omitted after a consonant, as singular मारद्र m., मारदी f.; plural मारद्रें m., मारदीखां f. Not unfrequently the द is dropped, and we hear जाना, झाना for जांद्र, जांद्र.

Hindi has two sets of forms; one indeclinable originally ended in ant, and still exists in several rustic dialects with the termination at. Chand inserts or omits the nasal at pleasure, to suit his metre, as चरन तीन भज्जें “possessing three feet”
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

(Pr. R. i. 61); अर्जन सुनत होद्र भंग। "the ear hearing, it is broken" (ib. i. 159); रशिय "shining," सरव "arraying," सुभंत "being beautiful," करत "being cut," etc. (ib. vi. 18), but बजत "playing (music)," चढत "mounting (a horse)" (xix. 3). Tulsi Das chiefly uses the latter form, as जात "going" (Râm. S.-k. 7); गृजत "humming" (ib. 9); जात "meditating," वाल "finding," भावत "being pleased," गावत "singing" (all in Ay-k. 1); and this is also common in most mediaeval poets, thus Bihari Lall घरत "placing" (Sat. 6), परत (पडत) "falling" (ib.), सोहत "being beautiful," लसत "appearing," चहियत "looking" (ib. 7, 9, etc.). Kabir जियत "living" (Râm. 30, 5); बंधत "being bound" (ib. 31, 3). It survives in all the dialects of the eastern Hindi area, in Oudh, Riwa, and Bhojpur, and even in the Gangetic Doab.

The other form ends in a vowel, and is in use in classical Hindi, as sing. मारता m., मारती f.; pl. मारते m., मारतों f. "beating." In the Braj dialect it takes the forms मारत m., मारति f.; pl. मारत m. f. The Garhwali dialect preserves the older form, as मारतो, but has also, as have the Rajputana dialects, मारतो. Kellogg gives also a Kumaon form मारू, which probably arises from मारतो, just as Panjabi जाना from जाता.

It would seem that, to account for the co-existence of these two forms, one ending in a consonant, and the other in त (= o), we must have recourse to Hoernle’s theory of the ka- affix, and derive करत, करत from Pr. करतो, while we derive करता, करता from a Pr. करतको. The ka- theory, however, thus begins to assume rather formidable dimensions, and will, ere long, require a whole treatise to itself.

Gujarati has also two forms, one indeclinable ending in त, as छोडता “loosing,” the other declinable, as sing. छाडते m., ती f., तु n.; pl. छोडता m., ती f., ता n. The terminations are those of the adjective in this language (Vol. II. p. 150). There is also a form of the indeclinable participle in त, as छोडते, which,
like the Bangali, is apparently the locative singular, while that in ता has the ending of the old nom., pl. neuter, though, in sense, it approaches more to the locative, as मारा बंधैंहें कोडता त्वरा दांत भागा “If in loosing my bonds thy teeth should break.”1 Vans Taylor, however, distinguishes two separate words with this ending, one of which he would derive from the locative singular of Sanskrit feminines, as गंगायाम, the other he would derive from the Skr. infin., as कते। The first form he assumes to have been the origin of such phrases as मारे आवता “on my coming,” the second, of such as करतो शिखवते “he teaches to do.” This, however, is very doubtful.2

Two forms are also observable in Marathi, or rather two sets of forms. The indeclinable ends in त, ता, and ताना, as सुटत, सुटता, सुटताना। The first of these agrees with Hindi, the second with Gujarati, and the third is merely the second with an enclitic particle ना added for emphasis. In active verbs the characteristic is appears, as सोडेत, सोडीता, सोडीताना “loosing.” There is also a declinable form, which, however, is not now used as a participle, but appears in the third person of the present tense, thus sing. सुटता m., सुटती f., सुटती n.; pl. सुटते m., सुटता f., सुटती n.

Oriya has only one form for the present participle. It is indeclinable, ending in ज or ज, as देखु, देखु “seeing.” Of these two forms, that with the nasal is the older, though now less used, and probably comes from the Pr. neuter in ज, though the intermediate steps are not easily traced.

Even in the earliest writings in Bengali there is no regular present participle, but a form derived from the locative of the Prakrit is in use. It ends in दृत, as दृखति, and is now used as an “infinitive, meaning “to see.” Literally, it means “in seeing,” and is used in this sense by Bidyāpati, and the older poets. Thus केश निखाडिति बढ़े जल धारा। “In wringing (or

1 Leckey, Grammar, p. 179.  
2 Grammar, p. 113.
from wringing) her hair there flows a stream of water” (Pr. K.-S. 13, 15); हराईते हृदये ह्राणज पांचवान। “On seeing (her), love smote him in the heart” (ib. 15, 7). Even here, however, it becomes almost an infinitive, as जाईते पेखनु नाहूँ गोरी। “I saw the fair one go to bathe (i.e. in going, or while going)” (ib. 13, 13); कानु हराईते एवे भेव परमाद। “In seeing (or to see) Kānh, there has been now delight” (ib. 20, 10). So Bhārat मनाईते मृति पाईव समाचार “By causing to hear, and by hearing, I shall obtain news” (Bidya S. 247).

§ 41. Having thus given the forms of the present participle, we next proceed to exhibit the tenses constructed therefrom, either with or without the addition of fragments of the old substantive verb, and it will be seen that there is great variety in the practice of the respective languages, though all the variations are sufficiently alike to justify their being classed generally as structurally present tenses. In some cases the sense of present time is more clear and definite than that afforded by the old present of the synthetic system, or, as we now call it, the aorist, while in others it has wandered away in different directions.

Sindhi,1 to begin with, makes this participle into a future. In the third person of both numbers the participle is used without any addition, thus

Sing. हंदी m., हंदी f. Pl. हंदा m., हंदीजः f. “he, she, etc., will go.”

The second person, however, retains traces of the substantive verb त्रस् “to be,” though much abraded and indistinct, it runs

Sing. हंदे m., हंदीत्रं f. Pl. हंदे m., हंदीजः f. “thou, ye, etc., will go.”

The singular masculine ends in ḫ, just as does the corre-

1 This section follows, for the most part, Trumpp, pp. 289, 291, etc.
sponding person of the aorist, and we may resolve it thus, halando asi = halanđi' asi = halanđi' aī = halanđā. The anuswāra is here, probably, as in the aorist, put in to fill up the hiatus caused by loss of ś, and first stood over the a of aī; when these two syllables were contracted into one, it took its place over that one. In the singular feminine we start from halanđi asi, where the final long (sound of the participle is shortened, and asi = aī = ā, giving halanđā, a form still in use, though Trumpp gives as the classical type the still further contracted halanđā. The plural masculine arises from halanďa stha, where stha has become thā, and then ha; the h being dropped, we get halanďā = halando, subsequently resolved into its present form halanďā. The plural feminine is merely the feminine of the participle, there is no trace of the substantive verb.

In the same way may be explained the first person of both numbers.

Sing. ṭhāḷāndusī m., ṭhāḷāndiḥrasī f. Pl. ṭhāḷāndāsī m., ṭhāḷāndiḥrasī f.

Here, again, we meet an instance of the curious change of ś into ś, which we observed in the Panjabi and Sindhi pronouns of the first person plural āsī and āsā (Vol. II. p. 308). Thus halando asmi becomes halando asi, then halanďu 'si, the final ō being shortened to u. In the feminine, however, the elision of the a of asmi cannot take place by the old laws of Sandhi; instead, the t of the participle changes to its semivowel, producing halandyo asi, which the Sindhians in the present day write either as above, or ḥalandūsī, or even ḥalandīyāsī. As to the termination śī of the plural, I am disposed to regard it as formed by analogy from a singular āsī, rather than, with Trumpp, as a derivative of Skr. śa, which, if the m be rejected, would yield śī or śu, but not, according to any known processes, śī.

§ 42. Closely analogous to the Sindhi future is the definite present in Marathi. In this tense, as in the S. future, the third
person preserves no trace of the substantive verb, and in this respect curiously resembles the periphrastic future of Sanskrit (bodhitāsmi, bodhitāsi, but bodhitā).

The participial form which enters into the composition of this tense is, apparently, not used alone in a participial sense. करितो or करिता would always imply "he does," never "doing." For the purely participial sense the indeclinable participles given in the last section are used.

There is much more difficulty in tracing out the Marathi persons than those of Sindhi, not only because the remains of the substantive verb are more abraded, but because in the second and third persons there are two sets of terminations, one of which is used when the sense is that of the indicative present, the other when it is conditional.

Beginning with the third person, we have these forms (sui "escape"):

Indicative. Sing. सुटतो m., ती f., तें n. Pl. सुटतात m., f., n., "he, she, etc., escapes."

Conditional. Sing. सुटता m., ती f., तें n. Pl. सुटते m., बा f., ती n., "were he, etc., to escape."

Here the indicative strikes us at once as the older type; adjectives do not now in M. end in o in the masculine singular, though they did so in Maharashtri Prakrit; the to of the indicative therefore preserves the earlier form. So also in the plural there is but one form for all three persons which contains the verb santi, in Old-M. changed to ātt, just as in the third plural of the aorist, but with disregard of the varying terminations for gender of the modern participle. The conditional, on the other hand, is simply the modern participle, with its full range of endings for number and gender.

The second person runs thus:

Indicative. Sing. सुटतोस m., तीस f., तेंस n. Pl. सुटतां m., f., n.

Conditional. Sing. सुटतास m., तीस f., तेंस n., Pl. सुटतां m., f., n.
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

Again, in the indicative, the older ending in o, suṭatos=suṭato 'si (asi); while in the conditional, suṭatās=suṭatā asi, with the modern ending in ā. The plural, however, is the same in both, and agrees in termination with the aorist. The first person is the same in both indicative and conditional, and is—

Sing. सुटतोँ m., तें f., तों n. Pl. सुटतोँ m. f. n.

Final anusvāra here represents probably Pr. sing. amhi, pl. amho; but the sandhi is irregular, as f. suṭatē=suṭati amhi; the variant suṭatēyē, used in the Konkan, is more regular for suṭaty amhi. The pl. suṭatō=suṭatā amho, where, again, the steps of transition to suṭatō are difficult to work out.

§ 43. A similar use of the participle, in a conditional sense, occurs in Bengali and Oriya. In the former, the present tense is made up by using an auxiliary, and it will come under discussion in the next chapter, but the conditional has traces of the old Pr. form of the verb, and therefore belongs to this place. The tense is (dekh “see”—

Sing. 1. देखिताम, 2. देखितिस, 3. देखित. Pl. 1. देखिताम, 2. देखिता, 3. देखितेन.

The participle here has lost its terminations for gender, as the Bengali adjective has (Vol. II. p. 147): dekhitām therefore =dekhita asmi=dekhita amhi in the sing., and dekhita amhu in the pl., lit. “seeing I am;” dekhitis=dekhita asi, where, on the analogy of the aorist, the i has crept into the penultimate (now ultimate) syllable; dekhitā similarly =dekhita sīha, whence dekhita thā =dekhita thaha =dekhitā. So, also, dekhiten =dekhita (s)antī, with the same treatment of the verb as in the aorist. The third singular is the simple participle.

In Oriya this tense runs thus:

Sing. 1. देखित, 2. देखित, 3. देखिता. Pl. 1. देखितू (तू), 2. देखित, 3. देखिते.

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In this tense is preserved the older form of the participle Pr. *dekhanto*, O. *dekhantā*, which, as usual, appears unchanged in the third sing., as also the pl. Pr. *dekhante* preserved in the 3 pl. The other persons exhibit only slight modifications of the terminations of the aorist, which are those of the Saṅskrit present *asmi*, *asi*, etc.

In B. and O. this tense is used with जटि (जटि) "if," prefixed, "if I were to do," etc.; when used alone, it means "I might or should do," and in B. narrative it occasionally appears as an habitual past, "I used to do."

It should also be mentioned that just as the Bengali pandits have banished the old singular of the pronoun and declared it vulgar, so they have branded the singular number of all their tenses as low, and those grammarians who write under pandit influence gravely assure us that "the singular and plural are the same in Bengali verbs, and it is the nominative case before them which determines whether they are singular or plural" (Yates's Gr., ed. Wenger, p. 43). When they come to the real old singular, their agitation is extreme, they are too honest to leave it out, and too fastidious to put it in. So they preface it thus, "If a person speaks with the greatest humility of himself, or with the greatest contempt of another, he employs this form; but it is not found in good composition. We should have been happy to pass it over entirely; but to enable the student to understand what he will *but too often* hear (alas! yes, far too often, in the mouths of ninety-nine out of every hundred persons in Bengal), it seems necessary to give one example" (ib. p. 47).

The best Bengali poets had not discovered that these forms of their mother-tongue were low or vulgar down to the beginning of the present century. In a page opened at random in the Mahabarat of Kasiram Das occur रमिल "he remained," बलिला "he said," जिज्ञासिला "he asked," द्रियाछि "he has given," होइँ "he shall be." Kabi Kankan uses पदिबि "thou
shalt fall," मरिलि "thou diedst," चाहिनु "I was;" and Bharat Chandra, दिलि "thou hast done," पानु "I found," and innumerable other forms, which would be classed as vulgar by the purists of the present day.

§ 44. In the remaining languages, Hindi, Panjabi, and Gujarati, both forms of the present participle are used as an indefinite present tense, without any trace of the old substantive verb. The indeclinable form occurs constantly in Chand, thus कातिक करत पड़वर सना। गोक्तन महातम सुत तान। "In Kartik he performs ablutions at Puhkar, and hears with his ears the glories of Gokarn."—Pr. R. i. 198. The long list of words of this form in vi. 39, describing the fight at the darbâr, may be construed either as participles or present tenses. It is one of those scarcely translatable jingles of which Chand is so fond धुंकत धार धार सो। बरबत मार सार सो। धुंकत धार धार सो। तरवत मार तार सो। and so on for fifty lines. Perhaps the meaning may be thus roughly paraphrased—

They thrust with sword-edge biting,
They shout the shout of smiting;
They crouch from weapons sweeping,
They watch the steel blade leaping.

The meaning is clearer in other places. चलत पवन पावऽ समान। तपस्यत सुताप मन। सुक्त सरोवर मचत कीच। तलफंत मीच तन। (Pr. R. lx. 17), "The wind blows like to fire, distressing the mind (as if with) penance, the tanks dry up, the mud is stirred up, the fishes' bodies pant." So in Bihari Lal, मकऱ़र होठ से कुंडल सोहत कान। ध्यायं मनो द्विय घर समर भौदी। जसत निशान। "The dolphin-shaped earring shines (sohat) in the ear of Gopal, as the flag of love appears (lasat) at the threshold while he enters the heart" (Sat. vi.). He constantly uses the feminine Braj form in ति both as a participle and a present. कहित न देवर की कुवत कुलियं कलह डरात। पंजर
The virtuous wife does not repeat the bad words of her husband’s younger brother, fearing (darātī) a quarrel, but dries up with fear, like a parrot when a cat approaches its cage” (Sat. xv.).

In classical Hindi both forms are used as a present tense, it is unnecessary to give instances, as the practice is universal. The same is the case in P., where वै चब्बद्रा “I send,” is the ordinary indefinite present. सकँग दौ रोढी मुढे कुढी दे मुढे पाउढे “They put a lump of sugar in the mouth of the boy and girl.”

Classical Hindi also uses this participle, with “if” prefixed as a past conditional; thus they say जर्दि मै जार्जिता तो कबहुड़ी नदी जाता “Had I known, I never would have gone,”—a similar practice to that of O. and B. mentioned in the last section.

The declinable participle is used in G. as a past habitual, or as a subjunctive aorist, according to the grammarians, so that चोड़तती means “I used to loose,” or, “I should loose.” In the former sense it is employed in the same way as the old present or aorist छोड़ते. The example given is तमे वरावर भाग राखता (pl. masc.) नदी “you used not to keep a fair share.” Most commonly, however, it is used with an auxiliary verb in a variety of meanings, this language being very fertile in the production of compound tenses.

§ 45. The passive past participle in Sanskrit has many forms; the simplest, though least widely used, in the classical language, is, however, that in ita (ità, itā, itam), as पतित “fallen.” The त of the affix, as would be expected, becomes in the higher Prakrits द्र, and in the more common dialects falls out altogether; thus we have हालिद्र् = हारित “lost,” सुपिद्र् = मूर्धित: “robbed,” गमिद्र् = गृहित “taken,” and many others.

But Var. vii. 32 admits even in Maharashtri the form from

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1 “Panjab Customs,” in Appendix to Panjabi Grammar, Loodhiana, p. 91.
2 Leckey, Grammar, p. 160.
which the द् has entirely dropped, and instances हसिंि for हसिंि
“laughed,” पढ़िि for पढ़िि “recited,” and this form has be-
come the type of most modern languages. In Old-Hindi this
participle regularly ends in sing. ची m., चे f., pl. च m., चे f., as
जब्रिं m., जब्रि f., etc., “burnt.” Here the च represents the द्
of the Prakrit, hardened into a semivowel before the final
vowel. In the feminine it is merged in the द् of the affix, and
in the plural lost altogether, for जब्रि easily passes into जब्रि.

Chand uses this form throughout, as तन रज्जी जोति गय दैव
यान। “his body remained bright, he went to the abode of the
gods” (i. 299); कबि “done,” गबि “gone,” etc. It is, how-
ever, more frequently used as a tense than as a participle, and
further illustrations will be given in a following section.

The form in ची lasts all through the mediæval poets, and is
still in use in the dialects of Rajputana and in Braj. In the
former a slight change has occurred, sing. मारिििि, pl. मारिि,
while in Kumaon the form is sing. मारियोि, pl. मारिया.

Modern classical Hindi has sing. मारा m., मारी f.; pl.
मारि m., मारी f., “struck.”

Panjabi retains the द् of the Prakrit, and has sing. मारििि m.,
mारी f.; pl. मारि m., मारििि f., “struck;” so also does Sindhi,
sing. हिलििि or हिलिि m., हिलि f.; pl. हिड़िि m., हिद़िि f. Trumpp
seems to be here in error in saying that the च has been inserted
to fill the hiatus caused by the elision of the द्. It is rather
the द् of दैिि hardened to a semivowel, as in Old-H. and P.

Oriya has rejected the final syllable, just as it has in its
present participle, and has an indeclinable past participle in ि,
as देक्कि. This is never used alone, but only in composition,
with an auxiliary forming a tense. The past participle used to
form the passive ends in म, like ह., as देक्कि जिबि “to be seen.”

The same form is found in Gujarati, as sing. छोड़िि (chhodyo)
m., छोड़ि f., छोड़िि (chhodyū) n.; pl. छोड़िि m., छोड़ि f., छोड़िि n.
G., however, in common with M. B. and O., has another
form of this participle ending in an affix, whose special type is \textit{लः}. The forms may be brought together for comparison—

G. Sing. \textit{कौडळिं} \textit{m.}, \textit{कौडळिं} \textit{f.}, \textit{कौडळिं} \textit{n.}

M. (neuter) Sing. \textit{सुट्ता} \textit{m.}, \textit{सुट्ता} \textit{f.}, \textit{सुट्ता} \textit{n.}

" (active) " \textit{सौडळिं} \textit{m.}, \textit{सौडळिं} \textit{f.}, \textit{सौडळिं} \textit{n.}

G. Pl. \textit{कौडळिं} \textit{m.}, \textit{कौडळिं} \textit{f.}, \textit{कौडळिं} \textit{n.}

M. (neuter) Pl. \textit{सुट्ता} \textit{m.}, \textit{सुट्ता} \textit{f.}, \textit{सुट्ता} \textit{n.}

" (active) " \textit{सौडळिं} \textit{m.}, \textit{सौडळिं} \textit{f.}, \textit{सौडळिं} \textit{n.}

B. \textit{द्रूक्षिं}, in Old-B. \textit{द्रूक्षिः} (only used as a tense combined with \textit{as}), \textit{द्रूक्षिं} "having seen."

O. \textit{द्रूक्षिं} (the same), \textit{द्रूक्षिं} \textit{id.}

The Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi has also an indeclinable past participle \textit{मारूण}, in some districts also \textit{मारिला}, from which it forms a tense.

Here the junction vowel varies much. In B. O. and the active of M. it is \textit{र}. In G., on the other hand, it is \textit{ण}, while in the neuter of M. it is \textit{a}. M. has a long string of verbs, both active and neuter, with the junction vowel \textit{a}; some of these are causals by origin, as \textit{पञ्च} "flee," p.p. \textit{पञ्चायता}, for \textit{पञ्चायता-युज्य} (as in B. and O. \textit{पञ्चायत}). Others, again, owe the long vowel to a Skr. \textit{ay}, as \textit{उद} "fly," p.p. \textit{उदायता}, Skr. \textit{उद्युत्य} \textit{v/उद + डी}. Others are denominatives, as \textit{दूप} "be dazzled," \textit{दूपाला}, Skr. \textit{दूपमयत}; there are, however, some which I am not able to explain on any of the above grounds. The list comprises about thirty verbs only, and in twenty-five of them participles, with the junction vowel \textit{a}, are also in use.

The usual explanation of this form in \textit{ल} is that it is derived from the Skr. p.p.p. in \textit{ita}, through \textit{Pr. idā}, by change of \textit{द} to \textit{ड}, and thence to \textit{ल}. The change is undoubtedly possible as far as \textit{ड} and \textit{ल} are concerned, or as far as \textit{त} and \textit{द} are concerned; but the change from \textit{द} to \textit{ल} is a great stumbling-block. The great authority of Lassen (p. 363) is usually quoted in
support of this view, but even he cannot avoid being struck by
the coincidence between this and the Slavonic preterites in l.

As regards the change from ड़ to ड, it is observable that it
only occurs in those Skr. preterites which contain a cerebral.
Thus भगत becomes in Magadhi कड़ (Mr. 270). Here, however,
there was evidently a form कर्त = कट = कड़, so that there is no
question of a ड at all. So also in वाबड़ for वापृत = वापत =
\\*पित = पड़ (Mr. 227). The only other instance known to me is
gड़ for गत (Mr. 276), but here we may fairly assume a false
analogy with कड़ = ड. So widespread a form as the modern
participle in l must rest upon some firmer proof than the rare
examples given above.

I am disposed to think that we have in this participle the
survival of an ancient form which has not been preserved in
classical Sanskrit, nor in the written Prakrits. Perhaps (but
here I tread on ground somewhat beyond my own domain) that
type of the passive past in Skr. which ends in न or ख may be
the classical representative of this ancient form; thus we have
from √णू “cut,” चून:, from √भिजू “cleave,” भिज़्:; and in some
roots both forms, that in त and that in न, stand side by side,
thus √पू “fill,” makes पूणः and पूः; √पू “push,” पूः: and पूः:

Even in the Slavonic languages, however, the characteristic l
of the preterite is thought to have arisen from an original d,
and that again from t.1 If this be so, we have here an ancient
change which took place before the separation of the various
members of the Indo-European family, and not a mere local
corruption confined to Indian ground. In Russian the pre-
terite is a participle with forms for gender, thus from \(\text{delat}\) “to
make,” pret. sing. dielal’ m., dielalaф dielalo n., pl. dielali mфn.2
In Servian the same form occurs, \(\text{tres} “\text{to shake},” \) has—

Sing. \(\text{tresao} m., \text{tresla} f., \text{treslo} n.\)
Pl. \(\text{tresli} m., \text{tresle} f., \text{tresla} n.\)

1 Rapp, Verbal-organismus, vol. i. p. 99.
2 Reiff, Russ. Grammar, p. 97; Rapp, vol. i. 137.
Compare Marathi—

Sing. trásalā, trásalī, trásalē.
Pl. trásale, trásalyā, trásali

from चासण् “to trouble.” The similarity is striking, and seems to be more than a mere accidental coincidence. Moreover, the connection between this Slavonic ũ and ň is shown in more than one instance. Thus, the Russian verb has from nes “to drag” a pret. past sing. nesén m., neséna f., neseno n., pl. neseny. The same form occurs in the Czech.

But we are getting beyond bounds. The comparison is attractive, and, if there were time to study the Slavonic languages as well as the Indian, might perhaps be worked out to some conclusive result. All that can be said at present is that two groups of the same family have a preterite in ũ, and that there may be some connection between the two; while, on the other hand, the derivation of this preterite from a past participle in ũ seems strained and ill-supported as regards the Indian group, and if true for the Slavonic group, must have occurred a long while ago, before the separation of the families, and has strangely failed to leave any traces of itself in the most important language of the Indian group in its most cultivated stage.

§ 46. Let us turn to matters more within our scope. The passive past participle is the only part of the modern verb which affords an exception to the general rule of the unchangeableness of the stem-syllable. Each one of the modern languages has a few such participles, which, being derived from the Prakrit developments of the Skr. p.p.p., differ from their respective verbal stems, which latter are derived generally from the form of the root used in the present tense. These early Tadbhava participles, as they may justly be called, are most numerous in Sindhi. Trumpp gives (p. 273) a list of no
The participial tenses.

Less than 140 of them, a number which far exceeds that to be found in any other of the languages. They owe their existence chiefly to the omission in Skr. of the intermediate र, so that the affix न of the p.p.p. is added directly to the root, and when this root ends in a consonant, there arises a strong or mixed nexus, which in Prakrit has to be dealt with according to the ordinary phonetic laws. Sometimes, as we saw in § 14, the stem of the verb itself is entirely borrowed from the p.p.p., and in that case the modern participle does not differ from the rest of the verb; but when the ordinary stem is derived from the older present, and only the participle from the old p.p.p., the two differ so much that it is difficult at first sight to recognize the connection between them.

The verbs given in § 19 have mostly old Tadbhava participles, and it is through these participles that the clue is found to the derivation of the verb. Thus—

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>बंधन “be bound”</td>
<td>वंधन</td>
<td>वंधन (quasi वंधित वंधो).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बंध “bind”</td>
<td>वंध</td>
<td>वंधो</td>
<td>वंध</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुध “be heard”</td>
<td>बुध</td>
<td>बुधो</td>
<td>बुध</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुध “hear”</td>
<td>बुध</td>
<td>बुधो</td>
<td>बुध</td>
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<tr>
<td>रच “be cooked”</td>
<td>रच</td>
<td>रचो</td>
<td>रच</td>
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<tr>
<td>रच “cook”</td>
<td>रच</td>
<td>रचो</td>
<td>रच</td>
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<tr>
<td>लह “get”</td>
<td>लम्ख</td>
<td>लघो</td>
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<td>लघी</td>
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<tr>
<td>लघ “be got”</td>
<td>लम्ख</td>
<td>लघो</td>
<td>लघ</td>
<td>लघी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झुम “be milked”</td>
<td>झुम</td>
<td>झुधो</td>
<td>जुध</td>
<td>जुधी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झुम “milk”</td>
<td>झुम</td>
<td>झुधो</td>
<td>जुध</td>
<td>जुधी</td>
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<tr>
<td>झ “torment”</td>
<td>झ</td>
<td>झधो</td>
<td>झध</td>
<td>झधी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भज “be broken”</td>
<td>भज</td>
<td>भजो</td>
<td>भज</td>
<td>भजो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भज “break”</td>
<td>भज</td>
<td>भजो</td>
<td>भज</td>
<td>भजो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वुज “be fried”</td>
<td>वुज</td>
<td>वुजो</td>
<td>भुज</td>
<td>भुज (analogy of भज)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वुज “fry”</td>
<td>वुज</td>
<td>वुजो</td>
<td>भुज</td>
<td>भुज (analogy of भज)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Participial Tenses

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>दित् “be broken”</td>
<td>दित्</td>
<td>दित्नो</td>
<td>दित्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>दिन् “break”</td>
<td>दित्</td>
<td>दिनो</td>
<td>दिन्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुन् “be heard”</td>
<td>सुन्</td>
<td>सुनो</td>
<td>सुन्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुन् “hear”</td>
<td>सुये</td>
<td>सुये</td>
<td>सुन्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खन् “raise”</td>
<td>खन्</td>
<td>खनो</td>
<td>खन्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुर् “kill”</td>
<td>कुर्</td>
<td>कुरो</td>
<td>कुर्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कृष् “be killed”</td>
<td>कृष्</td>
<td>कृटो</td>
<td>कृष्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>निः “rub”</td>
<td>नृष्</td>
<td>नृटो</td>
<td>नृष्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नीस् “be rubbed”</td>
<td>नृष्</td>
<td>नृटो</td>
<td>नृष्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कृह् “touch”</td>
<td>कृह्</td>
<td>कृटो</td>
<td>कृष्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कृष् “be touched”</td>
<td>कृष्</td>
<td>कृटो</td>
<td>कृष्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The exact coincidence of these participles with the Sanskrit and Prakrit confirms the derivation of the verbal stems given in §19. There are many others equally instructive as retaining the Prakrit form; thus, for instance, we can explain the following:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>लिप् “smear,”</td>
<td>लिप्</td>
<td>लितो</td>
<td>लिस्</td>
<td>लितो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तप् “warm,”</td>
<td>तप्</td>
<td>ततो</td>
<td>तस्</td>
<td>ततो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुब्रह् “sleep,”</td>
<td>सुब्रह्</td>
<td>सुटो</td>
<td>सुष्</td>
<td>सुटो</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| पा “get,” | प्राप् | पाटो  | प्रास् | पाटो [?]
| आह् “bring,” | आह् | आदटो  | आनीत |
| हृ “weep,” | हृ | हलो  | हदित | हलो |

So also the origin of उघन् “wipe out,” is obscure, till we look at the p.p.p. उघटो, which leads to Skr. उघ्रस्त, and then we see that ughanu is for ughanu = udgharshaṇam. The participles in tho similarly explain themselves, as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>दिस् “see,”</td>
<td>दिस्</td>
<td>दिटो</td>
<td>दिस्</td>
<td>दिटो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वस् “rain,”</td>
<td>वस्</td>
<td>वटो, वटो, वटो</td>
<td>वस्</td>
<td>वटो</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>S. P.P.P.</th>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>PR.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>पिष्‌, पेष्‌ “enter,”</td>
<td>√प्रविष्‌, पेठो</td>
<td>प्रविष्‌</td>
<td>पेठो</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(H. पेठ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विष्‌ “sit,”</td>
<td>√उपविष्‌, वेठो</td>
<td>उपविष्‌</td>
<td>उवेठो</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(H. वेठ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पीष्‌ “grind,”</td>
<td>√पिष्‌, पिठो</td>
<td>पिष्‌</td>
<td>पिठो</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पिष्‌</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तुष्‌ “be pleased,”</td>
<td>√तुष्‌, तुठो</td>
<td>तुष्‌</td>
<td>तुठो</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तुष्‌</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next three words have old Tadbhava participles in almost all the languages of this group:


करष्‌ “do,” ” चीतो, किष्‌, कयो, Skr. छत, Pr. किष्‌, see under H.

मरष्‌ “die,” ” मी, मुष्‌, Skr. मृत, Pr. मुष्‌.

Another class is composed of denominatives or neuter verbs with the causal type अम (§ 28). These are

Infin. उभाषष्‌ “to boil over,” p.p.p उभाषो

,, उषषष्‌ “to be extinguished,”,, उषषो

,, उडषष्‌ “to fly,”,, उडषो

,, झपषष्‌ “to decrease,”,, झपषो

,, खाषष्‌ “to be burnt,”,, खाषो

,, विषषष्‌ “to be extinguished,”,, विषषो

,, विकाषष्‌ “to be sold,”,, विकाषो

There is, as already mentioned, considerable obscurity as to the derivation of these words: उद्यमानु is, however, certainly from Skr. उद-्, p.p.p. डिना; उज्यमानु perhaps from Skr. उत्-क्षि, p.p.p. क्षिन्ता; विकामानु from Skr. विक्रि, p.p.p., however, not क्रिन्, but क्रिता. On the analogy of those verbs whose p.p.p. ended in ना, may have been formed the modified p.p. in नो for all verbs of the class, regardless of the fact that in the classical language the causal p.p. would end in अपि, e.g. स्थापि. In
Hindi, also, stems ending in अ take this p.p. in no in the poets as फिरा, p.p. फिरानो, or apocopated न, as रिसा p.p. रिसान.

The above remarks explain nearly half the words in Trumpp's list, for the rest the uncertainty is too great to admit of satisfactory explanation. Trumpp, for instance, would derive द्रापस् "to satisfy," and द्रापस् "to be satisfied," from Skr. तृप्त, तप्ति, but the p.p. द्राप्ति can hardly represent तृप्ति. Others again there are whose p.p. is intelligible, while the infinitive is not. जुटि "engaged" (in work) explains itself by Skr. जुट, Pr. जुत्रो, clearly enough, but its infinitive should be जुजानु or जुजानु (Pa. जूजंति). Whence then comes it that the infinitive is जुजानु? So also rudho "busily employed" is clearly Skr. रुद्ध (रूप), one form of the infinitive रुजानु is regularly derived from Skr. रूड्धते, but what are we to say to another form रुब्धानु or रुब्धानु?

Panjabi has several of the same early Tadbhava participles as Sindhi, and a few of its own. The total number, however, is much smaller than in Sindhi. The commonest are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P.P.</th>
<th>SKR.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>करना &quot;do,&quot;</td>
<td>कीता</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जाणा &quot;go,  &quot;</td>
<td>जीता, गद्धा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जाणना &quot;know,&quot;</td>
<td>जाता</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>देखिा &quot;see,&quot;</td>
<td>दिठ्ठा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>देखा &quot;give,&quot;</td>
<td>दिता, दिखा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लेखा &quot;take,&quot;</td>
<td>लेता, लिखा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वरसा &quot;rain,&quot;</td>
<td>बह्वा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खाणा &quot;eat,&quot;</td>
<td>खाद्धा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वैसा &quot;fall,&quot;</td>
<td>पिघ्ना</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बन्हुरा &quot;bind,&quot;</td>
<td>बद्धा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पक्षणा &quot;recognize,&quot;</td>
<td>पक्षाता</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मिकरा &quot;sew,&quot;</td>
<td>सीता</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कीखा &quot;sleep,&quot;</td>
<td>सुता</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>लभित, instead of classical लघु.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>वृठ्ठ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>खावित.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>परिक्राम. H. पहिवाना.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P.P.</th>
<th>SKR.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>पड़िन्य “arrive,”</td>
<td>पड़िन्य, पृष्ठी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रिघ्न्य “cook,”</td>
<td>रिघ्न्य</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विस्न्य “marry,”</td>
<td>विस्न्य</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कहिः “say,”</td>
<td>कहिः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रहिः “remain,”</td>
<td>रहिः</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the two last the दृष्ट has leapt over into the preceding syllable, and *kihā, rihā*, are for kahiā, rahiā, respectively. The above list nearly, if not quite, exhausts the early Tadbhava participles of Panjabi, and Hindi influence is already at work in favour of the ordinary type.

§ 47. Gujarati has, like Panjabi, a smaller number of these participles than Sindhi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFIN.</th>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>PR.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कर्ज्व “do”</td>
<td>कर्ज्व, कर्ज्वी</td>
<td>कर्ज्व</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खेठु “take”</td>
<td>खेठु</td>
<td>खेठु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पोहोधुवु “arrive”</td>
<td>पोहोधुवु, पोहोधो</td>
<td>पोहोधुवु, पोहोधो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>देखु “see”</td>
<td>देखु, देखो</td>
<td>देखु, देखो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बेछोधु “fear”</td>
<td>बेछोधु, बेछोधो</td>
<td>बेछोधु, बेछोधो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खाधु “eat”</td>
<td>खाधु</td>
<td>खाधु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उपस्थ्वु “produce”</td>
<td>उपस्थ्वु</td>
<td>उपस्थ्वु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नीपस्थ्वु “drink”</td>
<td>नीपस्थ्वु, नीपस्थो</td>
<td>नीपस्थ्वु, नीपस्थो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पीधु “sleep”</td>
<td>पीधु</td>
<td>पीधु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मरधु “die”</td>
<td>मरधु</td>
<td>मरधु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>देढु “give”</td>
<td>देढु</td>
<td>देढु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बेष्टु “sit”</td>
<td>बेष्टु</td>
<td>बेष्टु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पेष्टु “enter”</td>
<td>पेष्टु</td>
<td>पेष्टु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नाष्टु “flee”</td>
<td>नाष्टु</td>
<td>नाष्टु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जाधु “go”</td>
<td>गधु</td>
<td>गधु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

उपविष्ट (present *utpadyate*)
नियम (pres. *nishpadyate*)
सत्त, सूत्र, सूत्र
द्रत्त, द्रत्त
उपविष्ट
प्रविष्ट
गत (present *naśyati*)
गत
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

In the instances of \textit{kidho}, \textit{bhidho}, \textit{khadiho}, \textit{pidho}, and \textit{didho}, we have probably formations based on the analogy of \textit{lidho}, for the exception of \textit{bhidho}, which may owe its \textit{dh} to a combination of the \textit{h} and \textit{d} of Pr. \textit{vihido}, there is no older form which would yield \textit{dh}. The origin of these forms will be more fully inquired into under Hindi, where they are well illustrated.

So far does the original meaning of these participles appear to have been obscured, that from them a participle ending in \textit{elo} is also formed, and they say \textit{kidhelo}, \textit{dithelo}, and the like, where the participial element occurs twice. The ordinary verb having two forms of participle, one in \textit{yo}, the other in \textit{elo}, the verbs in the above list were bound to have them also, and instead of adding \textit{elo} to the stem, and making \textit{karelo}, \textit{lielo}, it has been added to the already formed early Tadbhava participle.

There appears to be a slight difference in meaning between the two forms of the Gujarati past participle, that in \textit{elo} being somewhat more emphatic than that in \textit{yo}. Thus \textit{अ आते हु ये} \textit{“I am come,”} but \textit{अ आविलो हु ये} \textit{“I am come,”} (emphatically).

Marathi has early Tadbhava participles, and it has others, which are accounted irregular by the grammarians from other causes. The former are not numerous, and are chiefly found in the same stems as in the other languages. Thus we have—

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{जा} & “go,” \textit{प.प. प्रेर} \textit{केिा} \\
\textit{चे} & “come,” \textit{आिा} \\
\textit{मर} & “die,” \textit{मेिा} \\
\textit{ले} & “take” (wear), \textit{व्यािा} \\
\textit{कर} & “do,” \textit{केिा} \\
\end{tabular}
Stems ending in य exhibit ट in the participle, as

खण्ड “dig,” p.p.p. खट्टा
स्रोण “speak,” ” स्रोट्टा
हास “sly,” ” हाट्टा

The explanation of these words is apparently to be found in a contraction of syllables; thus Skr. √ खण “dig” forms regularly p.p.p. खात, but the न being changed to य in Prakrit, a p.p.p. खणित would be legitimately formed, whence खष्ट, to which, forgetful of the fact that this is already a participle, M. adds its own participial termination ला, and by rejection of the nasal arrives at खट्टा. So also √भण, p.p.p. भणित, whence भष्ट and भ्रट + ला. Skr. हण has p.p.p. हत, but a Pr. form हणित would be, and is, used, whence हष्ट, and the stem-vowel having been lengthened, हाट + ला.

To a similar retention of the त of the Skr. p.p.p. may be attributed the following, though the etymology is in some cases very obscure:

चे “take,” चेतला “taken.”
धू “washed,” धूतला “washed.”
वच “see,” वचितला “seen.”
माग “ask,” मागितला “asked.”
सङ “tell,” सङितला “told.”
घाल “put,” घाटला “put.”
खा “eat,” खास्ता “eaten.”

In § 15 it was shown that Pr. inserts च in forms like ग्हेत्तम, ग्हेत्ताना, which may be a retention of त in ग्रिहेत्ता. In the next four words on the list there seems to be a double participle, as in G. kidhelo, etc. The origin of घालू is unknown to me, it looks like an early causal of चे take. In खा the p.p.p. is apparently a contraction of खादित्ता, Skr. खादित.
§ 48. Hindi has very few of these participles. In the classical language only the following are in use:

- करना "do," किया "done."
- मरना "die," मुरा "dead."
- लेना "take," लिया "taken."
- देना "give," दिया "given."
- जाना "go," गया "gone."

All the other verbs in the language form this participle from the common stem used in all the other tenses, though in the mediaeval poets some of the old Tadbhava participles are found, as दित्थau "seen," तुभ्थau "pleased," (तुष्टा) in Chand. The three verbs kar, le, and de, however, have several peculiar forms in Old-H., and in the mediaeval poets, which are still heard in some of the rustic dialects. There are three parallel forms:

- कर has i. लौय or कियी. ii. लौनी or लिनी. iii. लौधी or लिधी.
- देस " i. दौयी or दियी. ii. दौनी or दिनी. iii. दौधी or दिधी.
- लेस " i. लौयी or लियी. ii. लौनी or लिनी. iii. लौधी or लिधी.

The curious thing about these three verbs is that every two of them have borrowed a form peculiar to the third. For kiyau is properly the participle of kar, Skr. छत, Pr. छिद्र and किया. It has been borrowed by le and de. So दिनau belongs to de, Skr. द्वत, Pa. and Pr. दियो, and has been borrowed by kar and le. Also लिधau belongs to le, Skr. लभ, Pa. and Pr. लधी, and has been borrowed by kar and de. We cannot get kinau or kidhau phonetically from √ छ, nor diyau and didhau from √ द्व, nor liyau and linau from √ लभ, without forcing etymology. These three verbs are so constantly used together, and fall in so conveniently for rhymes in the poets, that it is not surprising that, in the general decay and confusion of forms out of which the modern languages sprung, they should have borrowed from one another. To begin with
our oldest author, Chand, कियो, जियो, and दियो, all occur frequently, with the first vowel both long and short, and the final vowel occasionally cut off if it happens to be in the way of the metre. किया कियो चाँद्रोह || “The girl made lamentation” (Pr. R. i. 171). It is long in

कियो तब चित चिह्ने दिस ||
“He then made reflection on all sides.”—xx. 20.

कियो चचन की साज ||
“He made preparation for going.”—xx. 28.

Apocopated, as दीय and कीय in

गढ पतिक गढ भार दीय ||
Pūrṇa दिस तन गमन कीय ||
“He entrusted the fort to the castellan, Made a going to the eastern country.”—xx. 29.

लोि सब लोिंल वंब वजिय ||
“ Took all shouting and playing on drums.”—ib.

A form with a occurs for le and de only, as लच्छ विप्र गुर बोज || “ Took Brahmins and gurus, saying” (ib. 20), and दैर जु किया चचन घर || “When the maiden gave her troth to the bridegroom” (ib. 22).

Commonest by far is the second form with either long or short vowel, in the latter case generally with doubling of the following consonant, and very frequently with the last vowel apocopated. Of these types that with the double consonant is nearest to the Prakrit, and thus presumably the oldest, the rejection of one consonant and lengthening of the preceding vowel is a later feature. In Chand, however, there is no distinction between the two; so that one rhymes with the other, as in

शैर महल प्रियिराज सय सवका रस दिना व ||
कुसम पटा सिर पाग लाग कंद्रुप रस कीनव ||
“In his private apartments Prithiraj dallied with his wives and attendants,
In saffron robes and turbaned head he made the sport of love.”

—xxi. 22.
So also चूटि धरतिः निम्भि विन्नव “having plundered the land, he has taken treasure” (xxi. 89). In this passage the preceding line ends with विन्नव. (In Hindi अः, अू, so किन्नव is to be read किन्नू, etc.)

विहसित वरं लगन विन्नव नारिद ||
"Smiling the king accepted the espousal."—xx. 23.

सहस गठु सिव उपर कीनी ||
तीन उपास नैंम तब कीनी ||
"He poured (gave) a thousand jars over Siva,
Then he took a vow to fast three (days)."—i. 189.

See also the quotation at p. 268 of Vol. II.
Instances of the apocopated form occur chiefly at the end of a line; as

दस कोस वायि सुक्काम कीन ||
विच गांस नगर पुर जूट कीन ||
"Having gone ten kos he made a halt,
Villages and towns between he plundered."—i. 208.

परिमाल जुद पर डकम दीन ||
"Parimal gave the order for fighting."—xxi. 5.

The third form is more frequently found with दे, to which it least of all belongs, and has an additional termination इया sometimes attached to it, as

दान मान घन दिदिय ||
"He gave gifts and honours abundant."—i. 342.

In this passage it rhymes with विदिय, which ought perhaps to be read विदिय "having taken."
There is an instance of the natural change into the palatal in

सगरी जाय जाय बंध विदिय ||
अच्छा उद्ध उतरन न दिदिय ||
"Carts and boats he went and stopped;
Âlhâ and Udal he suffered not to alight."—xxi. 86.
for विष्णु and दिव्य respectively. This latter occurs frequently, in a slightly altered shape—

चर द्रिष्टि दंडा चरित्

"Dhundhá gave a blessing to the king."—i. 305.

प्रियिराज ताहि दो देस दिव्य

"Prithiraj gave him two provinces."—ib. 307.

All three types may be found repeatedly throughout the poem. In later times, as in Tulsi Das and in Braj poetry generally, these verbs take the forms चीन्ही, कीन्ही, and दीन्ही, and the last syllable is occasionally apocopated as in Chand. Thus Tulsi Das—

एहि विष्णु द्राह चिया सब कीन्ही

विषिवत न्हाइ तिलांजुलि दीन्ही

"In this way he performed all the ceremony of cremation, Having duly bathed, he presented the offering of sesamum."

—Ay-k. 894.

मोहि उपदेस दीन्हः गुर नीका

"The guru hath given me good advice."—ib. 928.

ती कत चीन्हः संग करििार

"Then why has he taken an army with him?"—ib. 982.

The above examples may suffice for these special types, which have no analogy with other preterites in H. Oriya and Bengali have few such forms, for O. मला and कला are merely contractions of मरिला and करिला, from मर "die," and कर "do," respectively. From जा "go," O. गला, B. गेल, is about the only real old Tadbhava in those two languages.

§ 49. The participial tenses formed from the past participle are analogous to those from the present. In ordinary Hindi the participle itself is used as a past tense, without any relic of the substantive verb; it will have been noticed that in all the passages quoted in the last section, the participle must be translated as a preterite, and this is the case in the modern language,
both for active and neuter verbs, as bolā “he said,” kiyā “he did.” In the mediæval poets, however, and to this day in the rustic dialects of Oudh and the eastern Hindi area, there exists a preterite with terminations retaining traces of the incorporation of the old substantive verb. Before these terminations the long ā and ī of the p.p. masculine and feminine are shortened, and the vowel of the masculine is often replaced by e. Thus we have (mār “strike”)—

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{sing.} & 1. & 2. & 3. \\
\text{mpl.} & \text{māra} & \text{māra} & \text{māra} \\
\text{f.} & \text{mārin} & \text{mārin} & \text{mārin}
\end{array}
\]

Also in m. mārin, etc. In the sing. 2, 3, the syllable ्सि is often added, as māris, and varied into ひ, as mārin ्सि, māris, mārin ्सि. Thus चेति हरिः हिः घरि रघुनाथा “he went rejoicing, holding in his heart Raghunātha” (Tulsi Das, Ram. Sund-k. 4), देखिं नयन राम कर दूता “I have seen with my eyes the messenger of Ram” (ib. 12). Tulsi does not observe the gender very closely, if at all,—पुनि परीहरित सुखाने उ परी || “Again she gave up even dry leaves” (Bal-k. 155), पृष्ठिसि लोगत काहु उक्ताहु || “She asked the people, why is this rejoicing?” (Ay-k. 87). But the feminine is kept in प्रियवादिनि सिय दृश्निम्वतो तोहि || “The flatteress has given instruction to (has prompted) thee” (Ay-k. 101). The type ending in ्सि, though used for both 2 and 3 sing., more strictly belongs, I think, to 2 sing. from Skr. ्सि; but in this tense the traces of the substantive verb are so much abraded that it is difficult to speak with certainty about them. The following handful of instances, taken at hazard from one page of the Sundara-kānda of Tulsi’s work, will show the various senses in which this affix is used: बाह्यम् फल च्रृं चित्रित उपारे “He eats the fruit, and tears up the bushes” (S-k. 40), काहु मारिसि काहु मर्दिसि काहु चित्रणिसि चुरी || “Some he slew, some he trampled under foot, some he caused to mix with the dust,” काहु लोकेस्त्र कवन तें
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

"Saith the lord of Lanka, who art thou, and what? By whose strength hast thou torn to pieces the forest, hast thou never heard of my fame, ... for what fault hast thou killed the demons?" (ib.) Panjabi throws no light on the subject, as it does not use this form, but employs the participle simply as a tense, as mārā, tu, uh māriā, I, thou, he, smote." Indeed, to such an extent in H. and P. has this custom of using the bare participle as a preterite tense prevailed, that it cannot now be used in any other sense, and if we wish to say "smitten," we must not use H. mārā or P. māriā alone, but must add the participle of the modern substantive verb, and say H. mārā hādā, P. māriā hoā. The only trace in P. of the old substantive verb is to be found in a dialectic form which I have often heard, though it does not seem to be used in writing, as कीतोस "he did," which is probably to be referred to S. कीतोस. The grammarians, however, suppose that kitos is in some way a metathesis of us ne kita, so that kitā + us = kitos. The instrumental, however, of uh "he," is not us ne, but un; us ne is Hindi, and would hardly have been resorted to in the formation of a pure dialectic type like this. Moreover, in the 1 plural we have such expressions as खान्दि ऐ, which is evidently khānde + 'sā, for asā = asimah.

Different from modern, but strikingly similar to mediæval, Hindi in this respect is Sindhi, which does not employ the participle singly as a preterite, but, except in the 3 sing. and pl., has relics of the substantive verb incorporated with it, thus (hal "go")—

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>pl. 1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m. हृलित्तिस</td>
<td>हृलित्तिय</td>
<td>हृलित्तियो</td>
<td>हृलित्तिआस</td>
<td>हृलित्तिउ</td>
<td>हृलित्तिआ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. हृलित्तिस</td>
<td>हृलित्तिय</td>
<td>हृलित्तिय</td>
<td>हृलित्तिआस</td>
<td>हृलित्तिआ</td>
<td>हृलित्तिआ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By comparing these terminations with those of the S. future,
which is based upon the present participle (§ 41), it will be seen that they are absolutely identical, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marathi Form</th>
<th>Sanskrit Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>halandu -si</td>
<td>haliu -si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halandia -si</td>
<td>haliia -si</td>
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<tr>
<td>halandâ -sî</td>
<td>haliâ -sî</td>
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<tr>
<td>halandiû -sî</td>
<td>haliû -sî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and the terminations may, in the case of the preterite, therefore, as well as in that of the future, be referred to the old Skr. verb as in various degrees of decay.

Marathi exhibits the same analogy between the present and the preterite; to its p.p. in ला m., ली f., ले n., etc., it adds the same terminations as to the present p. in ता m., ती f., ते n., etc. Thus

Sing. 1. सूत्लों m., सूत्लैं f., सूत्लों n.
         2. सूत्लास m., ओळीस f., ओळें s.
         3. सूत्ला m., ओळी f., ओळे n.

Pl. 1. सूत्लों m.f. n.
       2. सूत्लां id.
       3. सूत्ले m. ओळा f., ओळे n.

The forms exactly agree with those of the present, as will be seen by turning to § 42. There is no conditional as in the present. When it desires to use this form in an adjectival sense, M., having apparently forgotten its originally participial nature, adds another एला, thus we get मेलेले जनावर “a dead animal,” केलेला पुरुष “a made (i.e. experienced) man.” The fact so well established for S. and M. may help us to understand, if we cannot fully explain, the preterites of O. and B., which are formed in the same way. From a p.p. त्रिखिल, O. constructs a preterite, thus—

Sing. 1. त्रिखिलि    2. त्रिखिलँ    3. त्रिखिला,
       Pl. 1. त्रिखिलङ्ग    2. त्रिखिलः    3. त्रिखिले,
where the terminations correspond exactly with those of the conditional, which is similarly formed from the present participle.

Bengali does the same (*pace* the Pandits), as—

Sing. 1. देखिबি 2. देखिलि 3. देखिल.
Pl. 1. देखिलाम 2. देखिला 3. देखिलেन.

Here the 3 sing. has also देखिले with a final क, as in the imperative and future, concerning which see § 53. The 1 sing. in *nu* is frequently heard in speaking, and is very common in the old poets, as चप्रहप पेखनु रामा “I saw the fair one looking woe-begone” (Bidyapati, vii. 1), where some read पेखनु.

In Gujarati the participle is used alone as a preterite in both forms, that in *yo* and that in *elo*, but more frequently a modern substantive verb is added for greater clearness. This language has no traces of the old incorporated Sanskrit *as*.

§ 50. In the past tenses of all but B. and O. the *prayogas* or constructions mentioned in Vol. II. p. 264, are employed. In most of the languages, indeed, their use is restricted to the past tenses. The direct or *karta* *prayoga* is used with neuter verbs, and requires the subject to be in the nominative case, while the participle, which does duty for a preterite, changes with the gender of the speaker. Thus

H. वह बोला “he spoke,”
   वह बोली “she spoke,”
   वे बोले “those men spoke.”
   वे बोली “those women spoke.”

So, also, in P. S. and G. In M. the principle is the same, though there is more variety of forms:

तो स्हुतला “he said,”
ती स्हुतली “she said,”
ते स्हुतले “it said,”
ते महर्षिम “illi dixerunt.”
त्या स्हुतवा “illae dixerunt.”
ती महर्षिम “illa dixerunt.”

And so through all the persons except 1 and 2 plural, where no
distinction of gender is necessary, as the speaker is known. In
the active verb, however, the *karma* or objective construction is
used, where the subject is put in the instrumental, the verb
agreeing in number and gender with the object. Thus, H.
मैं ने तुम से बड़े कठोर वचन कहि है "I have spoken very harsh
words to you" (Sak. 33). Here the subject *maṁ ne* is in the
instrumental, the verb *kahe haṁ* is masc. plural, to agree with the
object *vachan*. देव ने वैषा ही जोग मिला दिया (ib. 39) "Destiny
has joined just such a joining" (has brought about such a
marriage).

So also in M. the p.p. is declined for all three genders in
both numbers so as to agree with the object, as व्याचि पति
*vācchiti* "he read the book," where *vācchiti* is fem. sing., to
agree with *pothi*. In M. and S. many verbs are both active
and neuter, in which case the preterite has a double construc-
tion, direct or *kartā* when the verb is used as a neuter, objective
or *karma* when it is used as an active. So also in G. The dis-
tinction appertains to syntax, and not to formlore, and need not
be more than mentioned here.

There is also a third or impersonal construction technically
known as *bhava*, in which the object is not expressed, and the
verb, therefore, remains always in the neuter. In M., however,
this construction is used even when the object is expressed, as
व्याचि वाचि मारिए "he beat him," literally "by him to him
beaten."

§ 51. The participle of the future passive, which in Sanskrit
ends in *तथः*, plays an important part in the modern verb in
some languages. It does not, like the two previously noticed
participles, form modern participles, but rather various kinds of
verbal nouns, such as in Latin grammar we are familiar with
under the names of gerunds and supines, also the infinitive.
The Latin gerund itself is, however, closely allied to the partic-
ciple of the future passive, for *amandi, amando, amandum*, are
respectively the genitive, dative, and accusative of *amandus*. There is, therefore, a participial nature inherent in these forms which justifies their inclusion in the present chapter. The Skr. *tāvyā* becomes in Pr. *davva*, and with elision of the *d, avva*. Thus Skr. वोधितव्य, Pr. वोधिद्, वोधिसङ्ग्र. So also Pr. कोरिद्ध, कोरिसङ्ग्र, which must be referred to a Sanskrit form कोरितव्य rather than to the classical form करच्छ, for Prakrit, as mentioned before, generally takes no heed of Sanskrit subtleties about inserting or omitting the intermediate र, but treats all verbs alike, as if that letter were inserted, and it naturally gives the type to its modern descendants in all cases.

The treatment of the form so inherited from the Prakrit differs in the various languages, both in form and meaning.

Sindhi uses it as a present passive participle ending in *ibo*, Pr. कोरिसङ्ग्रो, losing the *a* and the first *v* of the suffix, becomes कोरिबो, meaning “being done.” The transition from the original sense of “that which is to be (or must be) done,” into “that which is being done,” is simple and natural. Examples are—

*बुसारिद्ध “to choke,” बुसारिबो “being choked.”*
*डॉहिद्ध “to cheat,” डॉहिबो “being cheated.”*
*सर्पिद्ध “to seize,” सर्पिबो “being seized.”*

Gujarati differs from Sindhi in rejecting the र and retaining the श, thus making करिए “being done,” as कोरिए मा, वोळे, बुळे, etc., “being loosed;” बाबिए, however, means “bringing,” where the sense has become active. The neuter of this form does duty as an infinitive, as जवु “to go,” of which more hereafter.

In Marathi the vowel preceding the *v* is lengthened, and one *v* rejected, giving a form करिवं, which is the same for active and neuter verbs. The meaning, to judge by the

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1 Trump, p. 54.
examples quoted, has also changed, for although properly the
same as in the older languages, "that which has to be done," it
is used in constructions where it implies "the doing" of a thing
only. It takes all three genders, and is commonly used also in
the genitive and dative cases करावणि and करावणि, or
करावणि. Thus ते मे करावणि सिद्ध आहि "I am ready to do
that" (i.e. "to the doing of"), आपणासी काही बोलावणि आहि
"I have something to say to you," i.e. "with you something of
that which must be said I am." Thus it approximates some-
what to the infinitive of G., as in the following passage :

न करावणि संग | वाटे दुरावणि जग ||
सेवावणि एकांत | वाटे न बोलावी मात ||
जन धन तन | वाटे लेखावणि वमन ||

"It is proper not to associate, to be separated from the world;
It is proper to preserve solitude, not to speak at all;
People, wealth, self it is proper to consider as vomit."

—Tukaram. Abh. 1885.

Here वाटे (Skr. वाटे) means "it seems," i.e. "it seems
proper," like Latin decent, oportet, licet, used impersonally, and
the participle agrees with the object. Thus संग and एकांत
being masc., the participles are masc. करावणि and सेवावणि; मृत
(Skr. मृत) being fem., बोलावणि is fem. also; जग, वमन neut.,
hence दुरावणि, लेखावणि neut. The original meaning of a
passive participle may be exhibited by supposing the sentence
to be "society is not to be made... this seems proper," which
is easily inverted into the rendering given above.

When used in the genitive or dative case, the व sometimes
drops out, and they say, for instance, आर्थास्त्र देशांतरी जायाचि
पडेल "We shall have to go to another country," for जावाळा,
literally "to us in another country of going it will fall." Latin
would here use the corresponding passive participle, Nobis
eundum erit, or Skr. गंतव्याम अस्ति.

Punjabi has apparently no trace left of this participle, nor
has classical Hindi, but in rustic Hindi, especially in the eastern parts of its area, as well as in Bengali and Oriya, this participle exists. In Bhojpuri it ends in वे or वे, without any junction-vowel, and means the doing of anything, as सूनवे न कैलन sunbe na hailan, “they did not make a hearing,” i.e. “they would not listen,” मारवे न करिये mārve na karihayā, “they will not make an obeying,” i.e. “they will not obey.”1 It is more emphatic than a simple preterite or future, and implies that the persons referred to obstinately refused to hear or obey.

In B. and O. it is a simple infinitive, but as a noun is declined in all cases, thus B. O. देखिवा “to see,” genitive देखिवार “of seeing,” etc. As a noun, it also implies the act of doing anything, as O. भंड गीत देखिवा दोष बह गा भा त पाप “the hearing of, or listening to, obscene songs, is a fault, the singing (of them) is a crime” (see § 74).

§ 52. The tenses formed from this participle come next to be considered. In Sindhi the old substantive verb is incorporated, just as in the tenses derived from the present and past participles, but it is used to form a future passive from active verbs only, as (chhad “abandon”), “I shall be abandoned,” etc.

Sing. m. 1. छड़िवृसि 2. छड़िविं 3. छड़िवो
   f. 1. छड़िविभृसि 2. छड़िविभ्रं 3. छड़िवी
Pl. m. 1. छड़िवासीं 2. छड़िवउँ 3. छड़िवा
   f. 1. छड़िविभृसीं 2. छड़िविभ्रं 3. छड़िविभ्रं

Here the terminations are precisely identical in every respect with those of the active future and preterite, exhibited in the preceding sections.

In Gujarati this participle used alone, and inflected for

1 Kellogg, Grammar, p. 231.
gender, constitutes what the grammar-writers are pleased to call the second present of the second potential mood. It is, however, really a construction of the objective, or karma, kind, in which the verb agrees with its object, and the subject or agent is in the instrumental or (as usual in G. in this construction) in the dative; thus they say मारे or मे छोड़ो “I ought to release,” i.e. “by me it is to be released,” तोरे or तें चोपाण चरवो “you ought to have confidence,” i.e. “by thee trust is to be made,” Skr. लया विश्वासः करवयः.

The genitive case also, oddly enough, forms a tense of its own, also with no trace of the old substantive verb, as छोड़वानो m., नी f., तु n. The meaning seems hardly, if at all, distinguishable from that of the nominative, and the construction is objective, as in that tense; thus जे काम चमारे करवागु “the work which we ought to do.” I am not altogether satisfied, however, with the explanation of this tense as the genitive of the above participle, and would suggest that it may possibly be derived from the Âtmane. pres. part. in mâna, like bhavamâna. It is possible, I think, that though the Âtmanepadâ has dropped out of use at an early epoch, yet that this participle, not being specially recognized as belonging to that phase of the verb, may, in some dialects, have held its own. From the want of documents of the intermediate period, however, the question is one which must remain, for the present at least, obscure.

Marathi combines the terminations used by it in the indicative present and past, with this participle also, but, from a memory of its origin, employs the tense so formed somewhat in the same way as G., namely, as indicating that a thing ought to be or should be done. From this strict and primary sense other subsidiary meanings branch out, as might be expected. The neuter verb uses the direct or kartâ construction, also the bhâva or impersonal; the active uses the karma and bhâva. As it is only in the direct construction that the verb is conjugated
for person, it is only in the neuter verb that the verbal terminations occur. Thus (sūt "escape")—

Sing. m. 1. सुतवा 2. सोतस 3. सोता Pl. 1. सोत 2. सोतत 3. सोते
f. सुटवी सोटवस ोवी सोवा सोवात ोवा
n. सुटविं सोटवस ोविं ोवीं ोविंत ोविं

The 2 plural here differs from the other tenses in preserving a separate form for all three genders, in which the final t recalls the termination of the 2 plural of the Sanskrit optative.

In the active verb with the karma construction, the participle is declined for all three genders of both numbers, but in the nominative case only, and the agent is in the instrumental, thus म्यां, तू or ब्यां सोडवा -वी -वें, etc., "I, thou, he, should loose." In both neuter and active, when the bhāvu construction is used, the verb stands in the neuter singular with all persons, as सुटविं or सोडविं.

Stevenson (p. 101) distinguishes no less than fourteen different senses of this tense, but the distinctions seem somewhat too finely drawn, and belong rather to the department of conventional usage than to that which deals with the organism and structure of the language.

With a short a preceding the characteristic व, which is all that remains of the participial ending, M. forms a whole potential mood, which may even be looked upon as a separate phase of the verb. Thus*(sod "loose")—

Aorist(Past habitual) मजा सोडवि "I used to be able to loose" (rare),
Present दोडवि "I can loose,"
Preterite सोडवि "I could loose" (rare),
Future सोडवि "I shall be able to loose,"
Imperfect सोडवत होति "I could have loosed,"
Pluperfect सोडवि होति "I had been able to have loosed,"
and so on, through all the range of compound tenses. The
construction is the Bhāva or impersonal throughout, showing
that the form originates from the participle, and is to be
literally rendered “by me to be loosed it is, or was,” which
accounts for the neuter form being used.

§ 53. It is to this place that I would now refer the ba type of
the future as used in B. and O., and in the Bhojpuri dialect of
Hindi. It has been usual to compare these tenses with the
Latin future in bo, as amabo, and the comparison is tempting,
but, as I now think, delusive. It rests upon the supposition
that the b of the termination represents the substantive verb
bhū; but to this there are the seemingly fatal objections that
bhū, in its modified form of bhava, had from very early times
become ho, losing its labial element altogether, and that the
present tense bhavāmi, etc., though much changed and worn
away in modern times, always retains its characteristic vowel o,
sometimes shortened to u or resolved into ua. It is only when
an i follows the o, that the combination oī is at times shortened
to e, as in O. hebā=hoibā.

Judging by the analogy of the cognate languages, it seems
that we ought now to see in the B. and O. future the Skr.
participle in tvaya, in combination with the present tense of
vās. The forms are (dekh, “see”)—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>O.</th>
<th>Bhojpuri.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sing. 1. देखीब 2. देखीबि 3. देखीबे ओबेक</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. देखीबि 2. देखीबु 3. देखीब</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhojpuri.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. देखब् 2. देखब 3. देखी</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>Bhojpuri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>1. देखीबि 2. देखीबा ओबे 3. देखीबेन</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. देखिबु ॊबा 2. देखिब 3. देखिबे</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhojpuri.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. देखब् 2. देखब 3. देखिहीं</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 3 sing. and 3 pl. of Bhojpuri may be excluded from this
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

The dialect of Riwâ has some forms of the ba type, as 2 sing. मारिबू, 1 pl. मारिब, मारब, and मारिबिः, 2 pl. मारिबवि. The dialect of Oudh (Avadhî) has 1 sing. मारवू, 2 मारिबे, मारवे, 1 pl. मारव, 2 मारवो, and in the old Purbi dialect मारब mārab is used for all three persons of both numbers.

There is thus apparent a general tendency to the use of the ba type of future throughout the eastern area of the Aryan territory in India, and it will be seen by comparing either B. or O. terminations of the future with those of the tenses formed by those languages from the present and past participles respectively, that they are almost, if not quite identical. Thus O.—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SING.</th>
<th>PAST.</th>
<th>FUTURE.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. dekhant -i</td>
<td>dekhil -i</td>
<td>dekhīb -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dekhant -u</td>
<td>dekhil -u</td>
<td>dekhīb -u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dekhant -ā</td>
<td>dekhil -ā</td>
<td>dekhīb -ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. dekhant -ā</td>
<td>dekhil -ā</td>
<td>dekhīb -ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dekhant -a</td>
<td>dekhil -a</td>
<td>dekhīb -a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dekhant -e</td>
<td>dekhil -e</td>
<td>dekhīb -e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the analogy of the other languages compels us to see in these terminations abraded fragments of the present tense of as, when combined with the present and past participles, the same process of reasoning leads us to see the same element in combination with the future participle, and the 2 sing. of the Riwâ and Avadhî dialects further confirms this view by having preserved, like Marathi, the characteristic s of the Skr. 2 sing. asi. There is the same agreement of the final vowel in these three tenses of the B. verb, though it is not so accurately preserved as in the more archaic Oriya. Thus B. dekhīb-a does not correspond with dekhīt-ām, and dekhīl-ām. So, also, B. dekhit-is differs from dekhīl-i and dekhīb-i. There is, however, sufficient general similarity, and the differences consist
mostly in this, that one tense has preserved a more archaic form than the other, thus *dekhītam* preserves Skr. *asmi*, Pr. *amhi*, better than *dekhība*, *dekhītis* preserves the *s* of *asi*, while *dekhīli* and *dekhībi* have rejected it. Thus, while the abrasion of the substantive verb has been carried to so great a pitch in these two languages as almost to obliterate all traces of it, yet, from the general analogy of cognate forms, there is little doubt that we have in the ba future the Skr. participle in *tavya*. The final *k* in the 3 sing. of B. is a phenomenon for which I have in vain sought an explanation; the most probable one is, I think, that which considers it merely as a *tag*, or meaningless addition, but why a tag should have been added to this person merely, and not to others also, remains to be explained.

§ 54. The two remaining types of the future may appropriately be introduced here. They are certainly participial tenses, though not participial in the same sense or on the same plan as the other tenses discussed in this chapter; they are, in fact, exactly the reverse. Whereas, in the other participial tenses, it is the modern stem which is the participle, and the ancient verbal additions are a present tense, in the two types of future, which we shall now examine, the modern stem is a present tense, and the ancient verbal addition is a participle.

The first of the two is the *ga* type. This consists in adding H. sing. *गा* *m.*, *गी* *f.*, pl. *ण m.*, *णी f.*, to the aorist, and the same in P. except the pl. *f.*, which is *चा*. In the pl. *f.* H. also ordinarily drops the anuswāra. This type is only found in H. and P. The tense runs thus (*सनूणगा* "hear"), "I will hear," etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H. Sing.</th>
<th>गा</th>
<th>गी</th>
<th>गा</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P. Sing.</td>
<td>गा</td>
<td>गी</td>
<td>गा</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H. Pl.</th>
<th>गा</th>
<th>गी</th>
<th>गा</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P. Pl.</td>
<td>गा</td>
<td>गी</td>
<td>गा</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

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If the reader will compare this example with that of the aorist in § 33, it will be at once apparent that this tense is formed by adding the syllables ga, gi, etc., to that tense. Among the Mahomedans of Delhi and other large cities, this form is used even as a present, and one frequently hears such a word as haiga, for hai "it is." There can be little doubt that this ga is the Skr. p.p. गत, Pr. गति, गयो, गच्चो. In H., as mentioned in § 48, the p.p. of jānā "to go," is gayā m., and this in the mediæval poets is often shortened to gā. The.f. is गति gat, which easily becomes जी, so also pl. m. गए becomes जे.

The meaning of the tense is thus, "I have gone (that) I may do," a construction which recalls our English idiom "I am going to do," and French "je vais faire." The participial nature of the affix is shown by its being inflected for gender and number in concord with the agent.

This type seems to be of late origin. It is not much, if at all, known or used by the early writers, who, except when they use the future of the ba type, generally express a future sense by the aorist only. As this method grew by degrees to be felt insufficient, the participle was added to give greater distinctness.

§ 55. The second type is that which has l for its characteristic. Among the classical dialects Marathi only employs this form, and there has been much speculation about the Marathi future by those who only looked to the language itself. It had, however, long been known that a future with this type existed in the Marwāri dialect, belonging to the Hindi area, and spoken over a large extent of country in Western Rajputana. The able researches of Kellogg have recently placed us in possession of two more instances of a future of this type spoken in Nepal and by the mountaineers of Garhwāl, and Kumaon in the Himalayas, who are by origin Rajputs from the
plains. Thus, the Marathi future now no longer stands alone, and we are in a position to compare the whole group of futures of the la type (par "fall," már "strike," ho "be," sut, sod).

**Singular.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>पडूँली</td>
<td>पडैली</td>
<td>पडैलो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garhwali</td>
<td>मारलो</td>
<td>मारिक्षो</td>
<td>मारलो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumaoni</td>
<td>माखलो</td>
<td>मारिलो</td>
<td>मारलो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>होळा</td>
<td>होइला</td>
<td>होळा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>सोडीन</td>
<td>सोडील</td>
<td>सोडील</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>पडाला</td>
<td>पडौळा</td>
<td>पडैला</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garhwali</td>
<td>मारला</td>
<td>मारिक्ला</td>
<td>मारला</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumaoni</td>
<td>माखला</td>
<td>मारिला</td>
<td>मारला</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>होळा</td>
<td>होइल</td>
<td>होळ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>सोडूँ</td>
<td>सोडाळ</td>
<td>सोडील</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these dialects the aorist has had added to it a form लो sing. and छा pl., which does not appear to be inflected for gender, but has only sing. and pl. masc. So far as it goes, however, it directly corresponds to H. and P. गा, गे, etc., and like them points to a participial origin. In Marathi the inflectional terminations have been dropped, and in some cases even the la itself. The 1 sing. of the neuter aorist is सूटें, and adding ल to this, we get सूटेंल, which, being difficult to pronounce, has glided into सूटें. In the 1 pl., however, the ल has simply been rejected, so that it is the same as the aorist. In the 2 sing. the aorist has सूटस, but, as has already been shown, this is a contraction from सूटसि, and सूटसि + ल =
सुटसीज, from the Marathi habit of lengthening the vowel of a final syllable. In the 2.pl. (aorist सुट्रा) the ल has neither been fused with the anuswāra into न, as in the 1 sing., nor has it altogether dropped out, as in the 1 pl.; but there is no trace of the anuswāra; the reason of this is that the anuswāra in this person is not organic; the older language has simply ण, as सुटा, and it is to this that the ल has been added, and not to the modern form. The third person singular and plural is still simpler; aor. सुटे + ल = सुटेज, and (archaic) सुटती + ल = सुटतीज. The same process is followed by the active verb exactly.

I look upon this ल as the shortened form of a sing. लो m., ली f., pl. ला m., लीं f., of which the feminine is apparently not in use, and I derive it from Skr. लग, p.p.p. लय, Pr. लगो, of which the ग has been reduced to ग according to ordinary practice, and the single ग has then dropped out, leaving लो, shortened into ली. This derivation is confirmed by the fact that in all the languages this verb is used in the sense of beginning to do any thing, as in H. करे लगा, "he began to do." In M. especially it is used in a very wide range of applications, and सुटेज appropriately means "he begins (that) he may do," in other words "he is about to do," "he will do."
§ 56. I give here, for convenience of comparison, a tabular view of the participles and the participial tenses derived from them.

**I. — Present Participle Active.**

Prakrit पचती m., ओती f., ओत n.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HINDI.</th>
<th>PANJABI.</th>
<th>SINDHI.</th>
<th>GUJARATI.</th>
<th>MARATHI.</th>
<th>ORIYA.</th>
<th>BENGALI.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participle.</td>
<td>देखता ओती</td>
<td>देखति ओदी, etc.</td>
<td>देखति ओदी</td>
<td>देखहोँ ोदी</td>
<td>देखहोँ ोदी</td>
<td>देखहोँ ोदी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) declinable.</td>
<td>देखता ओती</td>
<td>मारदा ओदी</td>
<td>मारदा ओदी</td>
<td>मारदा ओदी</td>
<td>मारदा ओदी</td>
<td>मारदा ओदी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) indeclinable.</td>
<td></td>
<td>देखति देखति</td>
<td>देखति देखति</td>
<td>मारदा ओदी</td>
<td>मारदा ओदी</td>
<td>मारदा ओदी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. देखता ओती मारदा ओदी</td>
<td>हज़ारसंसरा ओद्रि</td>
<td>हज़ारसंसरा ओद्रि</td>
<td>सूतों सूता सूता</td>
<td>सूतों सूता सूता</td>
<td>सूतों सूता सूता</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1.</td>
<td>देखते ओती मारदे ओद्रि</td>
<td>हज़ारासहीं ओहूई</td>
<td>हज़ारासहीं ओहूई</td>
<td>सूतां सूतां सूतां</td>
<td>सूतां सूतां सूतां</td>
<td>सूतां सूतां सूतां</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>देखते ओती मारदे ओद्रि</td>
<td>हज़ारा ओहूई</td>
<td>हज़ारा ओहूई</td>
<td>सूतां सूतां सूतां</td>
<td>सूतां सूतां सूतां</td>
<td>सूतां सूतां सूतां</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 On account of the multiplicity of forms in Marathi, the masculine only of the indicative and conditional are given in this table.
### II.—Past Participle Passive.

Sanskrit छतस् m., छता f., छत n. Prakrit कारिष्रो m., कारो f., कारिष्र n.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>मारा रें</td>
<td>मारिंग्रा रें</td>
<td>हळ्ळी रें</td>
<td>कोड्रो रें</td>
<td>सुटला रें</td>
<td>सोडिस् रें</td>
<td>देरिङ्गि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>रें रें</td>
<td>रें रें</td>
<td>रें रें</td>
<td>रें रें</td>
<td>रें रें</td>
<td>रें रें</td>
<td>देरिङ्गि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>हळ्ळी रें</td>
<td>हळ्ळी रें</td>
<td>हळ्ळी रें</td>
<td>कोड्रो रें</td>
<td>कोड्रो रें</td>
<td>कोड्रो रें</td>
<td>देरिङ्गि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| S. 1. | अ. | हळ्ळसैं रें | हळ्ळसैं रें | हळ्ळसैं रें | हळ्ळसैं रें | हळ्ळसैं रें | हळ्ळसैं रें |
| 2. | मारा रें | मारिंग्रा रें | हळ्ळसैं रें | कोड्रो रें | सुटलास रें | सोडिस्सरें | देरिङ्गि |
| 3. | मारा रें | मारिंग्रा रें | हळ्ळसैं रें | कोड्रो रें | सुटलास रें | सोडिस्सरें | देरिङ्गि |

| Pl. 1. | अ. | हळ्ळसैं रें | हळ्ळसैं रें | हळ्ळसैं रें | हळ्ळसैं रें | हळ्ळसैं रें | हळ्ळसैं रें |
| 2. | मारे रें | मारे रें | हळ्ळसैं रें | कोड्रा रें | सुटलास रें | सोडिस्सरें | देरिङ्गि |
| 3. | मारे रें | मारे रें | हळ्ळसैं रें | कोड्रा रें | सुटलास रें | सोडिस्सरें | देरिङ्गि |
III.—Future Participle Passive.

Sanskrit बौधितव्यस्‌ m., ोवा f., ोवं n. Prakrit बौधित्र, बौधित्र.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participle (Infinitive, etc.)</th>
<th>HINDI.</th>
<th>SINDHI.</th>
<th>GUJARATI.</th>
<th>MARATHI.</th>
<th>ORIYA.</th>
<th>BENGALI.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>सुखे</td>
<td>कर्डवो ोवी</td>
<td>कर्डवो ोवी ोवुं</td>
<td>सुटावा ोवी ोव्र ोव्र</td>
<td>सोडावा ोवी ोव्र</td>
<td>देखिवा</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|                             | माखिबे | ोवा ोव्र ोव्र ोव्र | ोवा ोवी ोव्र ोव्र | ोव्र ोवी ोव्र | ोव्र ोव्र ोव्र | कु.

1. देख्
2. देखब
3. deest

Pl. 1.
1. देखबू
2. देख
3. deest

(Bhojpuri.)

1 See other dialectic forms in § 53.
2 Only the masculine is given from want of space.
§ 57. The only participial tenses in the Gipsy verb are those formed from the past participle. This participle is sometimes regularly formed from the modern verbal root, and sometimes, as in the other languages, is an early Tadbhava, perpetuating the type of the Prakrit participle.

There are, as in the other languages, three types of this participle ending in (1) to or do, (2) lo, (3) no. Examples of the first type are—


**jivāva** "to live," jivdo, " jīv, " jivīta.

**kerāva** "to do," kerdo, " kṛ, " kṛīta, Pers. karda.

**nasāva** "to depart," nashto, " naç, " nashta.

**chināva** "to cut," chindo, " chhid, " chhinna.

Of the second type—

**avāva** "to come," alo, " āyā, " āyata, M. ālā, B. O. ālā.

**jāva** "to go," gelo, " yā, " yata, M. gelā, B. gela, O. galā.

**dikāva** "to see," diklo,

B. dekhila, O. dekhilā.

Of the third type—

**dāva** "to give," dino, " dā, " datta, Pr. diṇṇo, O.-H. dinā, dinā

**lāva** "to take," lino, " labh, " labdha, O.-H. linnā, līnā.

**rovāva** "to weep," rovno, " rud, " rudita, Pr. runṇo, S. runo.

**uryāva** "to fly," uryano, " uḍḍi, " uḍḍīna, S. uḍḍāṇo.

The Aorist is formed by adding the terminations of the old substantive verb, thus from lino "taken"—

Sing. 1. linom, 2. linān, 3. linās,
Pl. 1. linān, 2. linān, 3. linās "I took," etc.
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So from kermo "done," comes

Sing. 1. kerdón, 2. kerdán, 3. kerdás,
Pl. 1. kerdám, 2. kerdán, 3. kerdás "I did," etc.

And from muklo "abandoned" (Skr. mukta)—

Sing. 1. muklom, 2. muklán, 3. muklás,
Pl. 1. muklám, 2. muklán, 3. muklás "I left," etc.

This proceeding is strictly analogous in principle to the method employed in Sindhi, to which, of all the Indian languages, that of the Gipsies bears the closest relation.

The future is formed by prefixing to the present tense the word kâma, Skr. kām "desire," and thus means "I wish to do," etc. Thus kerâva "I do," kamakerâva "I will do," i.e. "I wish to do." The prefixed word does not vary for number or person. This method of forming the future is, as Paspati (p. 101) points out, borrowed from modern Greek, in which ἔλαω contracted to ἔλα and ἔδα, is used in this way, as ἔδα ἐπάγω "I will go." There is nothing strictly analogous to this method in our seven languages, though the futures of the ga and lu types are formed on a not very dissimilar principle.
CHAPTER IV.

THE COMPOUND TENSES.


§ 58. Further removed from the old synthetical type than either of the preceding classes of tenses is that class which now comes under discussion. It is by means of this class that the seven modern languages, after having rejected the numerous and complicated formations of the Sanskrit verb, have secured for themselves the machinery necessary for the expression of very delicate shades of meaning. So numerous, indeed, are these shades of meaning, and so fine are the distinctions between them, that it is very difficult for a foreigner to catch them.

The tenses in question are constructed by adding to the participles already mentioned various tenses of certain auxiliary verbs, and in a few instances by adding these auxiliaries to the simple present, or aorist. The auxiliaries themselves are modern formations capable of being used alone, and are traceable to well-known Sanskrit roots through processes partly Prakritic and partly post-Prakritic. Pali and the Prakrits carry the verbs in question through certain grades of change,
and the modern languages either preserve the Prakrit form unchanged, or subject it to further changes of their own, such changes being often governed by laws unknown to the Prakrit stage of development.

The roots so employed are \( \sqrt{च्छु}, \sqrt{मू}, \sqrt{ख्या}, \sqrt{या} \), and another, whose origin is somewhat obscure in Sanskrit, but which appears in Prakrit under the form \( च्छु \). It will be necessary first to examine each of these roots and draw out the modern forms to be affiliated to each, after which the tenses formed by them may be arranged in order.

§ 59. *As.* This root means "to be," and is the simple copula like Latin *esse* (see under \( स्थता \) in § 12). Only the present tense can be clearly traced in the modern languages, though there are some detached fragments here and there which may possibly represent other tenses. These will be noted further on. In Sanskrit the root belongs to the second or *ad* conjugation, in which the terminations are added direct to the root, thus giving rise to various euphonic changes in accordance with the laws of Sandhi. Pali and the scenic Prakrits, in contradiction to their usual practice of employing the *bhū* type for all roots, retain in this verb the *ad* type. Omitting the dual, the tense runs—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skr.</th>
<th>Sing. 1. asmi, 2. asi, 3. asti.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( )</td>
<td>Pl. 1. sma, 2. stha, 3. santi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa. and Pr.</td>
<td>Sing. 1. asmi, 2. asi, 3. atthi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( )</td>
<td>amhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( )</td>
<td>{ Pl. 1. asma, 2. attha, 3. santi. amha. }</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Prakrit the initial vowel is often elided as ‘\( mhi \), ‘\( mha \). These forms, however, belong to the scenic Prakrit, which, as Pischel has shown, is really almost as artificial a language as Sanskrit, and on comparing the corresponding tense in the modern languages, it seems difficult, if not impossible, to derive it from the scenic forms. We are not justified in assuming
that the modern tense was derived, according to different phonetic laws, from those which have guided and effected the transformations of other words in these languages. On the contrary, in the absence of a continuous chain of documents exhibiting the gradual changes that have taken place, we have nothing to guide us but the general principles of phonetic evolution, which we have been able to formulate for ourselves from undoubted instances. We have numerous well-established cases in which the Prakrit, followed by the moderns, has conjugated a verb according to the bhū type, though in classical Sanskrit it follows some other conjugation; indeed, it may, I think, be considered as proved that the forms of the bhū conjugation have swallowed up all other conjugational types, just as much as those of the as stem in nouns have driven out all other declensional forms. In this view there would be strong reasons for postulating the existence of a present tense of अस्तु conjugated after the bhū type, thus—

Sing. 1. asāmi, 2. asasi, 3. asati.
Pl. 1. asāmah, 2. asatha, 3. asanti.

It is only from such a form as this, the existence of which, though I am not aware of any text in which it is found, may fairly be inferred from analogy, that the modern forms can, in accordance with the ordinary laws of development, be derived.

Beginning with Sindhi as the most archaic, or nearly so, this tense runs thus—

Sing. 1. च्रांवियय, 2. च्रांवहि, च्रांहि, 3. च्राहि.
Pl. 1. च्रांहियू, 2. च्रांहिययो, 3. च्रांहिनि.

Now, barring the troublesome superfluity of anunāsikas which the Sindhians have seen fit to bestow on this aorist, the forms are strikingly similar to those of the Sanskrit tense postulated above. The 3 sing. āhe is contracted from āhai, which, again, is good Prakrit for asati, but it could hardly be deduced from asti, which, as we have seen, naturally results in
Prakrit *atthi*. The terminations of the other persons agree with those of the aorist of the active verb given in § 33, and those are obviously and admittedly derived from the terminations of the *bhū* type. I am unable to account for the peculiarity of this tense using the forms of the active verb, where we should naturally have expected those of the neuter, च्राह्ति, etc. like ह्रृणी, etc. Trumpp does not notice this point, and as I am not in possession of any documents in mediæval Sindhi, I have no materials on which to form an opinion. It is to be hoped that the learned author, in the next edition of his very valuable grammar, will furnish some elucidation of this curious anomaly. This tense is all that remains to us in Sindhi of the Sanskrit substantive verb *as*.

Only the aorist, also, has survived in Marathi, which has—

Sing. 1. आहिं  2. आहिः  3. आहि.
Pl. 1. आहिं  2. आहिः  3. आहित.

These are the regular terminations of the aorist in the neuter verb, only the 1 plural differs slightly, having च्रो च्रो  instead of च्र. In M., as in S., the initial vowel is lengthened, the reason for which is not obvious, as there has been no loss of consonants requiring compensatory lengthening. M., like S., has only this one tense from *as*. No traces of it are found in G. or O., except in a negative form, which will be treated of in the next section.

Hindi and Panjabi agree very closely in the aorist. Classical Hindi represents, however, a modern development of this tense. In the mediæval writers, and in the present dialects of the eastern and central Hindi area, the older form is preserved thus—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Old-H.</th>
<th>1. च्राह्वं</th>
<th>2. च्राहिः</th>
<th>3. च्राहित</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Avadhl.</td>
<td>1. च्राह्वं</td>
<td>2. च्राहिः</td>
<td>3. च्रि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Riwât.</td>
<td>1. है, च्रां</td>
<td>2. है</td>
<td>3. है, च्रा</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The 3 singular in the poets is sometimes written with, and sometimes without, the last *h*, as in Kabir ज्ञातिया सुच लोक एक ब्रह्म “There is one line of duty in the world” (Ram. Ivi. 1), or written as a dissyllabic word, as राम नाम यहि निज सांस। “The name of Ram is itself the true one” (ib. Ixiv. 5), or with long *i*, metri gratia, धर्म कहि सब पानी ब्रह्म। “Religion, he saith, is all (one like) water” (ib. lxxiii. 5). The 1 singular occurs in रहस संभारे राम विचारे कहत ब्रह्म (for ब्रह्म) जो पुकार हो। “Pause and attend, ponder on Ram, thus I am calling aloud, oh!” (ib. Kah. 7). So also in Tulsi Das, तसि मति फिरे ब्रह्म जसि माति। “Thus her mind is changed as fate decrees” (Ay-k. 117), राम चराचर नायक ब्रह्म। “Ram is lord of things moveable and immovable” (ib. 445), विधि करतव उठाए सब ब्रह्म। “The laws of duty are all reversed” (ib. 617), सुगम सकल मय तुम्ह कहरे ब्रह्म। “All roads are easy to thee” (ib. 574).

By aphaeresis of the initial *a* we get the ordinary classical Hindi tense—

Sing. 1. हों, हे, 2. हे, 3. हे। Pl. 1. हे, 2. हो, 3. है।

The classical language uses हे in the 1 sing., but हो is used in the poets, in Braj, and in the rustic dialects. Between हो, used as a singular, and है, used as a plural, there is the same confusion as in the same persons of the aorist in the ordinary verb (§ 33). The form हो seems to belong more naturally to a Pr. ahāmu, and है to ahāmi, and we are led to suspect that an inversion of the two words has taken place. Avadhi 2 sing. ahes has, like M., a variant ahas, both of which lead back to an older ahasi, just as 3 sing. ahai does to ahati. It is obvious that had व as not been treated as a भु verb, there would have
arisen no such types as *ahai* and *hai*; for *asti* goes into *atthi*, which would have led to something very different.

Panjabi closely follows H., having—

Sing. 1. हैं, 2. हैं, 3. हैः.
Pl. 1. हैं, 2. हों, 3. हैः.

It has also, as noticed in § 54, a form of this tense with the participial addition गा m., गी f., etc., as—

Sing. 1. हैंगा,
Pl. 1. हैंगे,

2. हैंगा,
2. हैंगे,

3. हैंगे “I am,” etc.,
3. हैंगे “I am,” etc.,

where the type of the future is mixed up with that of the present. I have heard this form used mostly at the end of a sentence, where the speaker seems to hesitate, as if he felt the want of something more to say, and ultimately adds a gá. It is also used doubtingly, as when you suggest a possible explanation of some difficulty, and your companion answers “well, perhaps it is so”—हैंगा.

The same form occurs in the Kanauji dialect of Hindi.

The present of this verb in the dialect of the Rumilian Gipsies (Paspati, p. 80) adheres more closely to the Sanskrit. It runs thus—

Sing. 1. isôm, 2. isân, 3. isi.
Pl. 1. isâm, 2. isân, 3. isi.

§ 60. Panjabi has also an imperfect in a great many forms which must apparently be affiliated to this root. First there is a purely participial form—

Sing. 1, 2, 3, सा m., सी f.
Pl. से m., सीज़ा f., “I, thou, he was,” etc.

Then गा is added as in the present, giving सागा, सीगी, सेिगे, सीज़ीज़ा. I do not remember ever to have heard this form, but it is given in the Lodiana grammar. One often hears सी, which is properly feminine singular, used for the mascu-
line singular, and plural also. Moreover, there is a defective form having only some of the persons, which looks somewhat inflectional. The singular 2 and 3, and plural 2, are supplied by parts of खा.

Sing. 1. सां.  Pl. 1. सां.  3. सन, सैन.

To this, also, is added गा, thus

Sing. 1. सांगा m., सांगी f.
Pl. 1. सांगि m., सांगीच्छा f.  3. संगि m., संगीच्छा f.

Yet another and extremely common form in colloquial usage prefixes है to this type—

Sing. 1. हैसा.  2, 3. हैसी.
Pl. 1, 2. हैसि म., हैसीच्छा f.  3. हैसन.

Most of these forms are dialectic, and, as such, in use only in certain parts of the country. The participial form given first is probably the original; seeing how much the past tenses of the Sanskrit verb had fallen out of use at an early period, we are, perhaps, hardly justified in looking for anything but a participial origin for a modern past tense, and in this view we might postulate a p.p.p. asita. On the other hand, however, it so happens that the imperfect of as is one of the few imperfects of Skr. verbs, which did live on into the Pali and Prakrit, and the inflectional form of this tense can be phonetically derived therefrom, thus—

Skr.  
Sing. 1. आसं,  2. आसी,  3. आसीत.
Pl. 1. आस्,  2. आस्,  3. आसन.

P.  
Sing. 1. सा,  2. सी,  3. सी.
Pl. 1. सा,  —  3. सन.

If we take this view it would seem that the tense was originally inflectional, but that all other verbs in the language having a participial construction, this also was, by the common
process of mistaken analogy, considered participial also, and त being the ordinary termination of the feminine, सी was erroneously taken for a feminine, and a masculine सा was invented to suit it, together with the plurals से and सीचाँ. This reasoning will account also for the fact that सी is often used for the masculine singular. Whether the origin of this multiform tense be participial or inflectional, it is abundantly clear that the present usage of the language presents a maze of confused forms, which, their origin having been forgotten, have become mixed together in great variety.

Here, I would provisionally refer the imperfect in the Braj dialect of Hindi, which is participial in form, and does not vary for person. It is sing. हो m., ही f., pl. हें m., हें f. A variation of this form in Western Rajputana (Márwár) has sing. हो, pl. हा. I think we must see in this form a p.p.p. of as, with loss of the initial vowel, and change of स into ह.

So, also, here would, on the same principle, come in two preterites or rather imperfects—

Kanauj. Sing. हतो m., हती f.
Pl. हति m., हती f., “I, etc., was.”

Gujarati. Sing. हतो m., हती f., हतः n.
Pl. हता m., हताँ f., हतां n. id.

which appear to come from Pr. present participle चतो “being.” The change of meaning from a present to an imperfect has an analogy in the treatment of the corresponding tense of the verb लो (§ 67).

The Gipsy language has retained an imperfect of this root, not directly derived from the Skr. imperfect, but formed by the addition of the syllable as to the present.¹

Sing. 1. isómas, 2. isánas, 3. isás (isí+as).
Pl. 1. isámás, 2. isánas, 3. isás.

¹ Paspati, p. 80. Miklosich, vol. ii. p. 15, has a long dissertation on the subject, which, however, is very confused and bewildering to read.
This language uniformly makes an imperfect from every root by adding as to the present, but the process is so foreign to our Indian languages as to have no interest for us in the present inquiry.

§ 61. The derivatives of as in the present tense are in some languages curiously bound up with the negative into a tense which exists in those languages in which there is no trace of the positive form. Thus Oriya, which has no positive present as, has a complete negative present, "I am not, etc."

Sing. 1. नुहि, 2. नुहि, 3. नुहि.
Pl. 1. नाहि, 2. नाहि, 3. नाहानि.

Here the u in the first syllable of the singular is due to some confusion with the tense of bhû, to be noted hereafter; but though this form is common in writing, the peasantry often say simply नहि, "he is not." The insertion of this u is accounted for by supposing it to have slipped over from the following syllable, thus, nuhe would be for na hue, and nuhanti for na huanti. Nuhanti, and not nāhanti, is the older form, as in—

कहस्या हद्द्य नुहनि निरद्यः

"Merciful-hearted they are not, but pitiless."—Rasak. vi. 18.

There being in O. no positive present from as, the survival of the negative present has naturally been accounted for by referring it to the only positive present remaining, namely, that from bhû; but this seems to be a false analogy, because, as will be shown later on, in many constructions the negative is used without the u, and is generally so used by the rustic classes.

G. has नधि for all persons of both tenses, they say धे नधि "I am not," तु नधि “thou art not,” ते नधि "he is not." This is a case of forgetfulness of the origin of a word leading to its use being extended to cases where it has no right to be, for
THE COMPOUND TENSES.

नही is clearly derived from चत्य, the Pr. form of चसा with न prefixed, and thus, strictly speaking, belongs only to the 3 sing.

The negative of as is kept distinct from that of bhū in Marathi, the former runs thus—

Sing. 1. नाष्ट, 2. नाष्टिस, 3. नाहो. Pl. 1, 2. नास्तन, 3. नास्त्वत.

In Hindi नहि and नहीं are used to mean simply "not," and if they ever had any verbal meaning, have now quite lost it. In Sindhi the negative prefixed merely coalesces with it, without in any way influencing it, or bringing about any change in its form; thus नाष्ट or नास्ति "he is not."

§ 62. The present tense from as is added to the simple and participial tenses of the neuter, active, or causal stem, to form a class of compound tenses, having significations somewhat more definite than the participial tenses when used alone. In some cases, however, no additional strength of meaning seems to be gained. In the following examples it will suffice to quote the 3 singular in each tense, from which the reader can form the rest for himself.

Hindi adds the present of as to the present and past participles of the ordinary verb, to form a definite present and definite preterite respectively, as—

Def. Present देखता है "he is seeing." 
Def. Preterite देखा है "he has seen."

Colloquially, also, one sometimes hears a tense formed from the aorist of the verb, and that of the auxiliary, as आनि है "he comes." This usage prevails more in the Western Hindi area, where the language is transitional to Gujarati, and is not approved of in classical speech.¹

¹ Kellogg, p. 206.
Panjabi has the following:

Def. Present जांदा है "he is going."
Def. Imperfect जांदा सा "he was going."
Def. Preterite गिश्सा है "he has gone."
Pluperfect गिश्सा सा "he had gone."

Sindhi has, like Hindi, the two definite tenses:

Def. Present हँडो आहे "he is going."
Def. Preterite हँझिवो आहे "he has gone."

Marathi has a wider range; it forms two separate tenses, one from the indeclinable, another from the declinable form of its present participle, a definite perfect from its past participle, and a sort of future with its noun of agency (§ 75). In the last-named instance, however, we have hardly a tense, but rather a participial construction—

Def. Present लिखित आहे "he is writing."
,, (Emphatic) लिखितो आहे "he is writing."
Def. Preterite लिखिता आहे "he has written."
Future लिखितार्थ आहे "he is about to write."

The other languages having no traces of this auxiliary, naturally have no tenses formed by it.

§ 63. ACHH. This root must be taken next, in order to preserve the natural sequence of tenses in the modern verbs. It has been customary hitherto to accept without inquiry the assumption that the auxiliaries of this form are derived from as; but there are considerable difficulties in the way of admitting this view, which appears, as far as I can trace it back, to have arisen from Vararuchi, xii. 19 (Sauruseni), asterachchha. But the next sūtra gives tipāṭṭhi, as far as we can see from the very corrupt state of the text, and the parallel passage from the Sankshipa Ṣāra (Lassen, App. p. 51) gives only atthi,
though fragments of a present tense achchhāi, etc., are quoted by Lassen (p. 346) from the latter authority. By his reference to p. 266, the author would seem to favour a derivation from asti by inversion atsi, as ts we know (Vol. I. p. 317) migrates into asti, but this will not account for the other persons of the tense.

It does not, however, follow that Vararuchi, in quoting achchh as an equivalent for as, ever meant that the former was phonetically evolved from the latter. He is merely giving us the popular equivalent of the classical word. Just in the same way he tells us (viii. 68) that vuṭṭa and khuppa are used for Skr. masj, but no one supposes that vuṭṭa can, by any known process of phonetic change, be derived from masj. It is simply a popular word used instead of a refined one. So, also, when he tells us that achchh is used instead of as, we are not bound to believe that he means to say that the former is derived from the latter, but simply that it is in use side by side with it. Hemachandra, in the same way, gives many popular equivalents of Skr. roots, which are not derivatives from those roots.

Weber, Hala, p. 41, rejects, and with justice, the idea of any connection between the two words, and suggests that acch is a form of gach (v gam), “to go.” This view is supported by citations from the Bhāgavatī (i. 411, etc.), as e.g. accheṣṭa vā citthoṣa vā nisēṣṭa vā uvatteṣṭa, “Let him go, or stand, or sit down, or rise up.” In the examples quoted from the Saptaśatakam, however, the word bears more often the opposite meaning of standing still; and often may be rendered by either one or the other; thus—

\[ \text{tuppāṇṇā kino ac-} \]
\[ \text{chasi tti ia pucchiāi vahuāī.-Sapt. 291.} \]

Here Weber translates, “Why goest thou with anointed face?” but the scholiast has kim tishṭhaśi, “why standest thou?” The general meaning of the passage is merely “why art thou” thus, i.e. “why have you got your face anointed?” So in 344,
asamattamanorahaini acchanti mithunaim, it must be rendered, “They are (or stand) with their desires unfulfilled.” In another passage, 169, it has still more unmistakeably the meaning of stay:

accha० tava manaharam
piyai muhadamsana० aimaahaggham
taggamachettasimà
vi jhatti diitha suhávei,

literally, “Let stand (or let be) the heart-entrancing, very precious sight of the face of my love, even the boundary of the fields of her village, when seen, straightway delights.” He means a sort of hyperbole, as we might say, “Her face delights, said I? not her face merely—(or, let alone her face)—why even the sight of the village where she lives delights.” Here accha० is 3 singular imperative; the idiom is in common use in modern speech; thus in O. they would say taku dekhìbà thàû, tåhår gràm simà madhya dekhìbà ànand ate, “Let the seeing of her stand aside, the seeing of her village boundary merely is delight.” It is like the use of the word alam in Sanskrit. Parallel to the use of O. था in this construction is that of थाक in B. Thus, Bharat Chandra—

उपोषि उपोषे लोक हैल मृत प्राय ॥
थाकुक बत्तिर कथा जल नाहि पाय ॥

“From long fasting the folk were nearly dead,
Let alone food, they could not (even) get water.”—Månsingh, 446.

Literally, “Let the matter of food stand (aside),” see § 69. In the Chingana or Gipsy also ach means “to remain,” “to stand.” Thus, opré pirende acháva, “I stand on my feet,” or simply, “I stand,” Paspati “se tenir debout;” achilo korkoro “he remained alone,” ate achiom “here I am,” literally “here I have remained;” achen devlésà “remain with God,” “good-bye” (i.e. “God be with ye”), Pasp. “Salutation très-commune parmi les Tchingianés.”
Not to multiply examples, the use of this verb in a sense which, whatever its original meaning, has become almost equivalent to that of "being," is well established in the Jaina Prakrit and in Hāla. The aphæresis of an initial consonant is rare. In scenic Prakrit it is confined almost entirely to the root ज (jāna), as in अनसि = jānasi, अनबेदि = ajnāpayati, etc. Also in उन = punaḥ, and a few other words.

But I would suggest that this word may after all be nothing more than a form of Skr. √अक्ष akṣ, "to appear." This root seems to have borne in Skr. rather the meaning of "to reach, pervade" (see Williams's Dict. s.v.), but if we are to connect with it चिचि "eye," as seems probable, the meaning of "to see," or "to appear," would be natural to it. It will be shown presently that the various languages have forms ending in क, स, and ख, and all these three forms phonetically point to an earlier च.¹

Leaving Prakrit scholars to decide whence comes this stem अक्ष or अक्स (Weber writes it in both ways), we may, I think, start from the fact that there is such a stem in Prakrit, and we have the opinion of a high authority for disputing its connection with अस्त. Indeed, as has already been shown, अस्त so regularly passes into अक्स in the moderns, that it is difficult to conceive by what process it could ever have become अक्स. I

¹ Hemachandra's evidence seems conclusive against any connection between akṣ and gam, for he has a sūtra to the effect that words of the class gam take the termination cha; the list consists of the four words gacchaī (gam), icchaī (ish), jacchaī (yam), and acchaī (f).—Pischel, Hem., iv. 215. If acchaī were only gacchaī, with loss of the initial consonant, it would hardly be given as a separate instance of the rule. In another passage occurs a use of this word exactly similar to that from Hala quoted above—

jānabhiṃ visamī kajjagāi jīvahāṃ majjhē eī tāmāhīṃ acchaī āru jaṣu suṣu vi antarudei,

"As long as [your] circumstances in life go badly (literally 'as long as a difficult condition of affairs goes in life'), so long, let alone (acchaī) the base man, even the good man keeps aloof (literally 'gives an interval')," "Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris." Kajjagaī = kāryagati, āru = itara.
have preferred to treat it as a separate stem altogether, and I think this treatment will be found to be to a very great extent justified by the examples from the modern languages which I shall now adduce.

§ 64. Classical Hindi, Panjabi, and Sindhi, do not retain any traces of this root. M. has, however, a complete verb अस्त, which we should refer, I think, to this root, resting on the well-known peculiarity of M., by which it changes छ, especially when derived from an earlier च, into स (Vol. I. p. 218). The Sanskrit √ as having in M. become आहे, an affiliation concerning which there can be no doubt, we are driven to seek for a different origin for M. आहे, and we find it appropriately and in full accordance with known phonetic processes in अछू. M. has the following tenses:

1. Aorist—

Sing. 1. आसिं, 2. आसस, 3. आसी.
Pl. 1. आसू, 2. आसा, 3. आसत,

where the terminations exactly correspond with those of the aorist in the ordinary verb.

2. Simple imperative—

Sing. 1. आसू, 2. आस, ऐस, 3. आसो.
Pl. 1. आसू, 2. आसा, 3. आसोत.

3. Simple future—

Sing. 1. आसें, 2. आसतेल, 3. आसेल.
Pl. 1. आसू, 2. आसाल, 3. आसतेल.

4. Present formed with present participle and Sanskrit substantive verb—

Masc. Sing. 1. आसतोः, 2. आसतोस, 3. आसतोः.
Pl. 1. आसतोः, 2. आसतो, 3. आसतात.
5. Conditional similarly formed. Sing. 3 masc. चसंत, etc., as in the ordinary verb.

6. Preterite formed with p.p.p. similar to conditional. Sing. 3 masc. चसंत, etc.

7. Subjunctive formed with future p.p. Sing. 3 masc. चसात, etc.

Oriya comes next, with an aorist of old simple present only, which is thus conjugated—

Sing. 1. चबि, 2. चबु, 3. चबि.
Pl. 1. चब, 2. चब, 3. चबिल.

There being no formation from ज/स in O., this tense does duty for the simple "I am, thou art," etc. With lengthening of the first vowel, in accordance with its usual practice, Bengali has a present, and an imperfect; but in modern times the initial long vowel of the latter has been entirely dropped, so that we now have—

Present Sing. 1. चाबि, 2. चाबिस, 3. चाबि "I am," etc.
Pl. 1. चाबि, 2. चाब, 3. चाबिन.

Imperfect Sing. 1. चिलु, 2. चिलि, 3. चिल "I was," etc.
Pl. 1. चिलम, 2. चिला, 3. चिलेल.

Though used as an imperfect, this latter tense is in form a preterite, corresponding to dekhinu, etc., of the regular verb. The loss of the initial अ is comparatively recent, for it is retained in so late a poet as Bhārat Chandra (A.D. 1711–1755). 

चाबि बिस्तर ठाट प्रथम वयेसे "She was (i.e. had been) very wanton in her youth" (Bidya-S. 246). It is common enough, also, in the other Bengali poets, जे ताल बेताल सिद्ध चाबिल तोमार "What vicissitudes were experienced by you" (Kasi-M. 284), and the poets of the present day freely permit themselves the use of this form as a poetic licence when their metre requires it.

Passing westwards from Bengal, we come to the extreme
eastern limits of Hindi, in the Maithila province (Tirhut, Purnia, etc.), where the rustic dialect has the following present:

Sing. 1. कू, 2. कू, 3. कृ. Pl. 1. कू, 2. कू, 3. कृ.

It has also a feminine singular की, plural की, uninflected for person.

Close to the Bengali frontier, near the junction of the Mahanandâ and Kankai rivers, they speak a curious sort of mixture of Hindi and Bengali, and have a present—

Sing. 1. क्ति, 2. क्तिस, 3. क्तु. Pl. 1. क्ति, 2. क्ति, 3. क्ति.

Further west, in the same district, one hears—

Sing. 1. की, 2. की, 3. क्तु. Pl. 1. की, 2. की, 3. क्तार.

In Bhojpuri, for the present is often heard कि, which is unchanged throughout both persons. This widely-used form seems to confirm the supposition of the derivation from चब्, for च changes both to चक and to कत.

From the Himalayan districts of Kumâon and Garhâwâl, Kellogg (p. 201) gives a present of this verb, and it is in use in Eastern Rajputana. It is also the ordinary substantive verb in Gujarati—

<table>
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<tr>
<th>SINGULAR.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kumâon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. छोँ, कू</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. कृ</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. कृ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Garhâwâl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. की</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. कृ, कृ</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. कृ</td>
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<tr>
<td>E. Rajputana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. कू</td>
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<td>2. कृ</td>
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<td>3. कृ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gujarati.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. कू</td>
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<td>2. कृ</td>
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<td>3. कृ</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLURAL.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kumâon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. छा, छोँ</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. क्ता</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. क्तन, क्ती</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garhâwâl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. की, कबाज</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. क्तन, कयार्द</td>
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<td>3. क्तन</td>
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<tr>
<td>E. Rajputana.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. की</td>
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<td>2. की</td>
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<td>3. कृ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gujarati.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. करथे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. को</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. कृ</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The first and third of these have also a preterite participle
in type like most of the preterites. Thus in Kumāon they say
sing. कियो, pl. किया or कियां, which seems to point to a Skr.
p.p.p. अचित = Pr. अच्छियो. In Eastern Rajputana there is
sing. क्रो, pl. क्रा.
Although modern classical Hindi does not use this root, yet
it is found with the initial vowel in the shape of an indeclinable
present participle in the old poets, as in Tulsi’s Ramayan—

अर्जुन अचित जुवराज पद्म रामस्य द्रोण नरेश

"Thyself remaining, give the heir-apparentship to Ram, O king!"
—Ay-k. 11.

That is, “during thy lifetime,” literally “thou being.” The
dictionary-writers erroneously give this as a Tadbhava from
अचित, with which it has nothing to do.

It is worthy of consideration whether the forms of the im-
perfect in P. given in § 60 should not be referred to this root
rather than to as. The change of क्र into स so characteristic of
M. would thus find a parallel in Panjabi.

Gujarati has also a present participle indeclinable क्रता and
cरत “(in) being,” and declinable करतो m., ती f., ता n.; pl.
cरता m., ती f., ता n. "being."

§ 65. The compound tenses formed by the addition of this
auxiliary are most numerous, as might be expected, in Marathi,
that language having a larger range of tenses of the auxiliary
itself than the sister-tongues. First, a present habitual is
formed by adding the present of the auxiliary to the present
participle of the verb, as राहत असतो “he is living,” i.e. “he
habitually resides,” बिहित असतो “I am (always employed in)
writing.”

Next, a past habitual, by adding the aorist of the auxiliary
to the present tense, as बसत असे “he was in the habit of
sitting.” It will be remembered that in M. the aorist has the
sense of a past habitual in modern times. This compound
tense seems to differ very little in meaning from the simple
tense.

There is also a compound present of the conditional, wherein
the leading verb is in the present participle and the auxiliary
in the conditional present. It is used with जर “if” prefixed,
either expressed or understood, as जर काम करीत चसता “If he
were doing the work,” पावस पडत चसता “(If) rain were to fall
(as it is now falling).” The same tense of the auxiliary, when
used with the past participle, serves as a conditional preterite,
as पडला चसता “he would have fallen (if, etc.).”

With the preterite of the auxiliary and the present participle
of the leading verb is constructed a present dubitative, as
tो जात बसला तर तें काम बाजा सांग “If he should be going,
then entrust this affair to him.” Similarly, with the same part
of the auxiliary and the past participle of the leading verb is
made a past dubitative or pluperfect, as तो बाजा बसला तर
“Should he have arrived, then, etc.”

So, also, with the future participle and the past auxiliary,
as जर तो जाशार बसला तर मला सांग “Should he be about to
go, then tell me.”

The future of the auxiliary also forms three tenses with
the present, past, and future participles of the leading verb
respectively. It is difficult to give these tenses any definite
name; the senses in which they are employed will be seen
from the following examples:—

1. Present participle of verb+future of auxiliary—

तुः वाप तुः वाग पावहत बसेल “Your father will be waiting
for you” (i.e. is probably now expecting you; वाता
pahat=“looks at the road,” idiomatic for “expects”).

2. Past participle of verb+future of auxiliary—

तो बाजा बसेल “He will have come” (i.e. “has probably
arrived by this time”).
3. Future participle of verb + future of auxiliary—

मी लिखिणार चसेन “I may be now going to write” (i.e. “I shall probably be writing presently”).

The above is a fair illustration of the remark which I have frequently made before, that the modern verb, while throwing aside all the intricacies of the synthetical system of tenses, still manages to lose nothing of its power of expressing minute shades of meaning. On the contrary, by its almost unlimited power of forming compound tenses, it obtains a fullness and delicacy of expression, which even the synthetic verb cannot rival. Indeed, this fullness is at times somewhat embarrassing, for the subtle distinctions between one tense and another are very difficult to grasp, and, as might be expected, careless or uneducated speakers are unable to observe them accurately. The minute analysis of these various tenses belongs to the domain of syntax rather than to that of form, and a very long dissertation might be written upon the numerous shades of meaning involved in each one of them. The selection, for instance, of the different parts of the leading verb and auxiliary depends, to a great extent, upon the method of reasoning employed unconsciously by the speaker. These compound tenses are, in fact, rather phrases than tenses, and much depends upon whether the speaker regards the action as already past, or as actually being done with reference to the rest of the sentence. When we translate one of these phrases into English, or any other language, we do not really translate, but substitute our own way of expressing the idea for the native way. A literal word-for-word translation would be almost unintelligible. Thus, in the sentence above, राम जात आसला, तर ते काम त्याला संगा, the words are actually, “Ram going was, then that affair to him tell,” where the speaker, as it were, pictures to himself that his messenger, after receiving orders, goes to Ram and finds that he was just going, and therefore
tells him the affair. Complicated and of course unconscious undercurrents of thought like this underlie much of the elaborate mechanism of the compound tenses in all our seven languages, and we often find natives of India who can speak English composing in our language elaborate sentences of this sort, to the entire disregard of our English idioms, because they think in Hindi or Marathi, and then translate the idea into English. This fact, which all observant Englishmen who have lived long in India must have noticed, lies at the root of much of the difficulty which our countrymen experience in making themselves understood by natives. They think in English, and render word for word into Hindi or Marathi; thus probably producing a sentence which means something widely different from what they intended. It is the same with all foreign languages; until a man learns to think in the foreign language, and utter his thoughts in the shape that they have in his mind, he can never hope to speak idiomatically. In seeking to explain the compound tenses of the modern Indian verb, therefore, it is necessary to analyze the connection and sequence of mental impressions to which they owe their origin, a task for the metaphysician, and not for the student of comparative philology.

Gujarati has also a plethora of compound tenses, but they are less complicated than Marathi, perhaps because the language has been less cultivated. In the simpler languages delicate nuances of expression do not exist, and if one wishes to translate any such phrases into one of these simple languages, it must be done by a long string of sentences. Thus, in trying to exact from a wild forester of the Orissa hills an answer to the question, "Did you know that Ram had run away before you went home or afterwards?" one has to go to work in this way, "Ram fled?" Answer, ho! (Yes). "You knew that fact?" ho! "You went home?" ho! "When you reached home they told you 'Ram is fled,' thus?" answer nā! nā! (No! No!).
"When you did not go home, before that, they told you?" ho! So to get out the meaning of the Marathi sentence quoted above, "If he should be going, then entrust this affair to him," one would have to say, "Near him you having gone, he 'I am now going' having said, this word having heard this matter to him you will tell." Perhaps in citing an Orissa wild man of the woods, I am taking an extreme case; but the remarks will hold good, more or less, for all the peasantry and lower classes all over India, and it must be remembered that the expression "lower classes" means in India eight-tenths of the whole population.

The compound tenses formed with the auxiliary क्रेः in G. are the following:—

1. Definite present; aorist of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as करें क्रेः "he does."
   Sometimes both verb and auxiliary lose their final vowel, as कर छ for करें क्रेः "thou dost," करें क्रेः "he does." करें क्रेः for क्रेः "ye do," etc.

2. Definite preterite; p.p. of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as छायो क्रेः "he has given," active used in karma construction with instrumental of subject. तिष्ठे काम बजाविले क्रेः "he has performed the work;" neuter in kartā, as श्रेष्ठ चड्यो क्रेः "I have ascended."

3. Another definite preterite with the second form of the p.p. in elo, as चढ़िलो क्रेः "I have ascended." There seems to be no great difference of meaning between this and the last.

4. Definite future; future participle of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as खानारो क्रेः "he is about to eat."

5. Another tense with the second form of the fut. part. in vāno, as ज्ञ वसानो क्रेः "I am going to do." The uninflected form of the future participle in ār may also be used, as तु शु वर्ण छे कारनार क्रेः "What art thou going to do?" These definite futures differ from the simple future in implying intention and
definite purpose, much as in German *er will then* differs from
*er wurd then*.

The auxiliary के is sometimes also used after another auxiliary
derived from भूत, as छोड़तो होय के “he is (now) loosing.”
Of the tenses so formed more will be said further on.

It seems from comparing the examples given of these tenses
that there is not for each one of them a distinct special
meaning, but that they are used somewhat vaguely, the
auxiliary being added or omitted at pleasure. This is certainly
the case in Hindi, as will be seen below; and in the poets, who
are our only guides for the mediaeval period, metrical necessities,
rather than any desire to bring out a particular shade of
meaning, appear to determine which form shall be used.

Those dialects of Hindi which possess tenses from this root,
use them also as auxiliaries.¹ Eastern Rajputana has the defi-
nite present formed by the two aorists, that of the verb and
that of the auxiliary, मारङ्ग ् कृ “I am beating,” also a preterite
composed of the p.p. of the verb and aorist of auxiliary, as
मारवि ् के “I have beaten.” There seems to be some anomaly
in this latter, for in the preterite of the active verb के is added
to all six persons, whereas, when used with the substantive verb हो “be,” the auxiliary is participial sing. को, pl. का.
Perhaps we hardly know enough of these rustic forms as yet
to be able to draw accurate distinctions.

Garhwali forms its definite present from the present parti-
ciple and the aorist मारंतो (or मारदू) कृ “I am beating;” and
its preterite in the same way from the p.p. and aorist मारे कृ
“he has beaten,” मारा कन “they have beaten.” So does
Kumaoni, present मारङ्ग ् कृ, preterite मारी कृ; but in these,
also, there is still room for more accurate analysis, and a wider
range of observations requires to be made in remote and little
known parts of the country.

¹ Kellogg, Grammar, p. 240.
Bengali has four well-defined tenses. The definite present and imperfect are formed respectively by incorporating the aorist and imperfect of the auxiliary into one word with the locative case of the present participle, thus—

Def. Present  দেখিনিছি “I am seeing” (dekhite + আছি).
Def. Imperfect  দেখিনিছি “I was seeing” (dekhite + [া]chhinnu).

In the latter of these tenses the 1 pl. has in ordinary speech to a great extent usurped the place of the 1 sing., and we more frequently hear—

দেখিনিলাম “I was seeing” (dekhite + [া]chhilām).

By incorporating the same tenses of the auxiliary into one word with the conjunctive participle (see § 73), it forms a definite preterite and a pluperfect, as

Def. Preterite  দেখিযাছি “I have seen” (dekhīyā + আছি).
Pluperfect  দেখিযাছি “I had seen” (dekhīyā + আছিনু).

Here, also, দেখিযাছি is common for 1 sing. Wonderful corruptions occur in pronunciation in these tenses: ছ loses its aspirate and becomes চ, so that we hear for করিতেছি a word that sounds körche, and may be written কার্যচ, for হোচে ই “is” vulgo höche (হচে), for দেখিযাছি dekhiche (দেখিছে), and for দেখিযাছি dekhichilēm, or dekh'ohilēm (দেখিচিলেম ?). So also for চালিতেছি “goes” chalōche (চলেছে). These forms are freely used in conversation by educated persons, and some recent authors of comic novels and plays introduce them into the mouths of their characters. The same remark applies to all tenses of the verb, and it is a curious subject for speculation, whether the growth of literature will arrest the development of these forms, or whether they will succeed in forcing their way into the written language, and displace the longer and fuller forms now in use. If the latter event takes place, we shall see enacted before our eyes the process of simplifica-
tion which has been so fertile a cause of the formation of the present types in the whole neo-Aryan group. I anticipate, however, that the purists, aided by the conservative influence of a literature already copious, will ultimately carry the day against the colloquial forms.

Oriya has the four tenses corresponding to Bengali, but only two of them are formed with the auxiliary we are now discussing, the definite present and the definite preterite—

Def. Present करू अरिँ “I am doing” (pres. part. karu “doing”).
Def. Preterite कारि अरिँ “I have done” (p.p. kari “done”).

Here, also, colloquially, the auxiliary is generally incorporated with the verb, and they say करिङ्ग and कारिङ्ग respectively. In the south of the province, also, the older form of the present participle उ ऑ prevails, and one hears कारिङ्ग “he is doing,” and contracted उ ऑ “he is.”

§ 66. भृ. This widely-used root took as early as the Pali and Prakrit period the form हो; and in that form it has come down to modern times. As the ordinary substantive verb “to be,” it has a full range of tenses in all the languages, and it not only serves as an auxiliary, but takes to itself the tenses of the other auxiliaries like any other verb. In the latter capacity it need not here be discussed, as the remarks which have been made concerning the ordinary verbs will apply to this verb also.

Although, हो is the general form of this root in all the Indian languages, yet there are one or two exceptions in which the initial bh is retained. In Pali, both bhavati and hoti are found for 3 sing. pres., abhavā and ahuvā impf., bhavatu and hotu impt., and in Sauraseni Prakrit we find bhodū = bhavatu, bhavia = bhūteva, and the like. Distinct traces of the retention of the bh are still in existence in some rustic dialects of Hindi, and in the old poets. In the latter, a p.p.p. sing. मयि m., मद्रि f., pl. मए, is extremely common, used alone as a preterite, or with the
verbal endings, as मेन्क, मशउ, etc. It is also contracted into भी; and in the modern form मया “was,” may be heard commonly in the mouths of the lower orders all over the Hindi area of the present time. This form presupposes a Pr. मविन्द्र = a Skr. मविन्द, with elision of the व, and च called in to fill up the hiatus. I give from Kellogg the dialectic forms (Gr. p. 236)—

**SINGULAR.**

Kanaupi. 1. 2. 3. मची म., मचू, f.
Braj. id. मची म., id.
Old-Pûrbi. 1. मचउ म., मा. 2. मचउ म. 3. मचउ म., मा मचू, f. मचू, f.
Avadhi. 1. मचउ म., मवा. 2. मच्छ म. 3. मवा, मया म. मचिन्दू, f. मचिन्दू, f.
Riawá. 1. 2. 3. मा, म.
Bhojipuri. 1. मोक्षी, मेली, 2. मेल, 3. मेलस, मेल.

**PLURAL.**

Kanaupi. 1. 2. 3. मट म., मटू, f. (also मच म.).
Braj. id.
Old-Pûrbi. 1. मटे, मे म. 2. मटे, मचेक म. 3. मटे, मे म. मटू, f. मटू, मटू, f. मटू, f.
Avadhi. 1. मच म. 2. मच म. 3. मच म. मचिन, f. मचिन, f.
Riawá. 1. 2. 3. मचिन, मचिन्ह.
Bhojipuri. 1. मोक्षी, मेली, 2. मेल, 3. मेलन.

The verbal affixes are the same as those in the ordinary verb explained at § 33. Chand uses the same form as in Braj and

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1 Kanaupi may be taken to mean the speech of the country between the Ganges and Jumna, the heart of the Hindi land; Braj, that of the right bank of the Jumna; Old-Pûrbi, of the country north of the Ganges from the Gandak river eastwards; Avadhi, that of Oudh (Avadh); Riawá, of the country south of the Ganges and between the Chambal and the Son rivers. Braj and Old-Pûrbi are the dialects in use in the medieval poets generally.
Kanauji, thus मयैं कोि तामस ताम || “He became violently disturbed with anger” (Pr. R. i. 48), अरंगपाल मयैं राज ||
“Anangapal became King” (iii. 17), पुञ कथा ज्यौ भ्रै || सनी खूं कहैं अङिपह ह || “How the former matter happened, listen while I tell the wonderful tale” (iii. 15), पुञ होत भ्रै मूल || “While the son was being (born), she became dead” (i. 170), मयै आदि व्यि कविता जिति ||
“As many poems as have been (written) first and last” (i. 10), मयै विकल लोग घाँज़ उ ताप || “The folk became distressed, (being) wounded and heated” (xxi. 5). Contracted मन मो ह्रास कल्य उनि आहि ||
“Laughter became (arose) in her mind, then after pity came” (iii. 10). The use of this tense is so common in Chand as to supersede the other form of the preterite श्राष्ट्रा to a great extent.

A few examples may be added from Kabir: दुःखिया नाम पारवति मयै || तप करता संकर को ट्यूल || “Her second name was Pārvati, the ascetic (i.e. Daksha) gave her to Śankara.”
(Ram. 26, 5), चेकु पुष्प चेकु नारी ||
“One male (energy), one female, from them were produced four kinds of living beings” (ib. 6), एक च्रोंड ब्रोंकार ति यह सव जग
भयो पसार “From one egg, the word Om, all this world has been created” (ib. 8). In these three quotations all three forms of the participle are used side by side.

Tulsi Das does not confine himself to Old-Pûrbi forms, but uses, also, those classed above under Braj, as मयैं बहोरि मयै
तिह खारा “It filled again and thus became salt (i.e. the sea)”
(Lanka-k. 3), वेतुबंध मयै भौर चाइ ||
“The Setubandh became very crowded” (ib. 10). But the Pûrbi form is more common, as in साय नाध पृक्षत अस मयै “Bowing his head, thus he was asking” (Kis-k. 2), कार दाबथ काहत अस मयै
“Making salutation, thus he was saying” (Ar-k. 259). The contracted form is also very common, as मन सुदित पाण प्रिय साय || “He became (or was) enraptured at meeting with the beloved”
(Ay-k. 441).
Closely connected with the Bhojpuri भेल is the form भेल, used by the half-Bengali half-Maithil poet Bidyapati, as in शून भेल मन्दिर शून भेल नगरी॥ शून भेल द्या। शून भेल सगरी॥ "Empty has become the temple, empty has become the city, empty have become the ten regions, empty has become everything!" (Pr. K.S. 118), कोकिल कबर्वे मति भेल भोरा। "From the sound of the koil’s notes my mind has become distracted" (ib. 120). It does not vary for gender or person.

I am not aware of the existence in any of the other languages of this type with the initial bh. It is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, confined to the rustic Hindi dialects mentioned above. In all other respects Hindi keeps to the type ho, like the cognate languages.

The aorist has the following forms:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi. 1. होऊँ  2. होए  3. होए</td>
<td>1. होए  2. होइँ  3. होइँ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. 1. होवा  2. होवि  3. होवि</td>
<td>1. होवि  2. होवि  3. होवि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 1. झाँ  2. झन्दे  3. झन्दे</td>
<td>1. झन्दे  2. झाँ  3. झाँचि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. 1. होऊँ  2. होय  3. होय</td>
<td>1. होय  2. होय  3. होय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. 1. होएँ  2. होर्स  3. होर्स</td>
<td>1. होर्स  2. होइँ  3. होइँत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. 1. होएँ  2. हूँ  3. हूँ</td>
<td>1. हूँ  2. हूँ  3. हूँ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. 1. हूँ  2. हूँ  3. हूँ</td>
<td>1. हूँ  2. हूँ  3. हूँ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Hindi this tense, as mentioned before, is frequently used as a potential in all verbs, and especially so in ho, where, owing to the existence of an aorist with signification of "I am," etc., from as, the tense derived from ho is more usually employed to mean "I may be." The Párbatia or Nepali dialect also uses this tense as a potential, thus—

Sing. 1. हूँ,  2. हूँ  3. हूँ.  Pl. 1. हूँ,  2. हूँ,  3. झन.

Several peculiarities call for notice in this tense. In classical Hindi there is the usual diversity of practice always observed in stems ending in a or o, as regards the method of joining the
terminations. Thus we have for 1 sing. हो in addition to होज़; 2 and 3 sing. are written होए, होय, होवें, and हो; 1 and 3 pl. होए, होय, होवें, हो; 2 pl. हो as well as होब्रो, which makes it identical with the same person in the aorist of as.

Dialectically the chief peculiarity, which, like most dialectic forms, is merely an archaism preserved to modern times, consists in the hardening of the final o of हो into v. This is observable in the Rajputana dialects, and partially also in that of Riwâ (Kellogg, p. 233).

**SINGULAR.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rajp.</th>
<th>1. होज़</th>
<th>2. हो</th>
<th>3. हो</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Riwâ.</td>
<td>2. हास</td>
<td>3. हाय</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PLURAL.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. होज़ो</th>
<th>2. होज़ो</th>
<th>3. होज़</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. हाव</td>
<td>3. हांच</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This peculiarity is more marked in the simple future noted below. It also occurs in M., where the aorist, as shown above, when used as a past habitual = “I used to be,” takes the terminations of the active verb; but when used as a simple present, those of the neuter, as—

Sing. 1. होय | 2. होस | 3. होय. 

Pl. 1. हो | 2. हां | 3. होत.

The same combination occurs throughout this tense when used negatively=“I am not,” as—

Sing. 1. नहो | 2. नहेस | 3. नहेज़.

Pl. 1. नहों | 2. नहों | 3. नहेंत (नहेंत).

and in other parts of the verb affirmative and negative.

In Sindhi this root is throughout shortened to हु, and when the vowel is lengthened by the influence of affixes, it becomes हु, rarely हो, except in poetry, where 3 sing. छोट is met instead of जए. The j, which in some forms of Prakrit is inserted between the stem and its termination, appears here also, as—

Sing. 1. जज़ो | 2. जज़ें | 3. जज़े.

Pl. 1. जज़ू | 2. जज़ो | 3. जज़नि.

Oriya sometimes shortens o to u, but in that language the distinction in pronunciation between these two vowels is so
slight that in writing also the people often confuse the two. In a great part of this verb, however, the o is changed to a very short e. This is generally, but not always, due to a following i, where, from the shortness and indistinctness of the o-sound, o + i = a + i = ai = e. Thus 2 sing. is in full ḫu, though generally pronounced ho. In Bengali the o is generally written a, that vowel having in B. usually the sound of short, harsh o, like the o in English not, rock, etc. Thus it comes to pass that ḫu and ḫa may be regarded, either as shortened from ḫo and ḫo respectively, and thus derivable from ho, or as equivalents of H. ḫi and ḫa, and so to be referred to as. In practice, certainly, the meaning in which they are used favours the latter hypothesis.

The imperative in H. is the same as the aorist, except 2 sing., which is simply हो "be thou." In the Rajput dialects the 2 sing. is हे, 2 pl. हो; the former occurs also in Chand as a 3 sing. in सब बोलिए काही हे सिद्धि सिद्धि। "All speaking, said, 'May there be success, success!'" (i. 178) The Riwa dialect has 2 sing. जास, 2 pl. ज्राव, like the present.

P. 2 sing. हो, 2 pl. हो; S. has 2 sing. हो and होउ, 2 pl. हो and हो; G. for 2 sing. and 2 pl. both हो.

M. Sing. 1. होजँ 2. हो 3. होज़, होज़.
O. ,, 1. जऍ 2. हो 3. हेउ.
B. ,, 2. होउ, हु 3. हूक.
M. Pl. 1. होज़ 2. ज़ा 3. होज़ोत, होज़त.
O. ,, 1. हेउ 2. ज़ा 3. हेउँत.
B. ,, 2. हु 3. हुँ.

The respectful form of the imperative follows that of the other verbs in the various languages. H. here inserts ज, making होज़ि "be pleased to be," G. होज़.

Nepali has somewhat abnormally 2 sing. हस, 2 pl. होस.

The simple future in G. is formed according to the usual
rule; but here again we meet the tendency so common in B. and O., to express the o sound by a, so that side by side with the regular forms होइश, होइय, etc., we have also sing. 1. हौइय, 2. हौइश, 3. हौइय; pl. 1. हौइश, 2. हौइयौ, 3. हूइयौ, which we must apparently pronounce होइश, होइय, etc.

The simple future in old and rustic Hindi is regularly formed, as होइहि “I shall become,” etc.; but in this tense the employment of the type हि is very common, both in the poets and among the peasantry of the western area. Thus—

**SINGULAR.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Braj.</th>
<th>1. हौइहि</th>
<th>2. हौइहि</th>
<th>3. हौइहि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Rajp.</td>
<td>1. हौइहि</td>
<td>2. हौइहि</td>
<td>3. हौइहि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have also the curious transitional form of East Rajputana which approaches so closely to G.—

**Sing.** 1. हौइयौ, हौइयौ 2. हौइयौ 3. हौइयौ.  
**Pl.** 1. हौइयौ, हौइयौ 2. हौइयौ, हौइयौ 3. हौइयौ.

Further details of these dialectic forms will be found in Kellogg’s admirable grammar. When the wilder parts of the country, at present little known to Europeans, shall have been more fully explored, we may expect to obtain many finer gradations of transition; for all over India the Gujarati proverb holds true, “Every twelve kos language changes, as the leaves change on the trees.”

The Braj form is interesting to students from the fact of this dialect having become at an early date the traditional literary vehicle of the Krishna-cultus, and thus to a certain extent a cultivated classical language. Its forms, however, are found in Chand long before the revival of Vaishnavism. He uses the full form होइहि, a shortened form होइहि, and the Braj हौइहि. Also occasionally होइहि in a future sense, which is probably a form of the 3 sing. aorist for होइए (हए). Examples are प्रवैि होइहि तिन बंसहि। “His race shall become extinct” (Pr.-R. iii.
THE COMPOUND TENSES.

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29), होइ जदवनि सपूतह " "The Jadavani shall be with child" (ii. 249), दिवस पंच के अंतरि होइ सु दिल्ली पति " "In the space of five days, he shall become lord of Dilli" (iii. 411), हञ्जा न चौर है न छोड़ "There has not been, and there shall not be, any (like him)" (i. 331).

To Tulsi Das, Kabir, Bihari Lal, and all the medioeval poets हरी, हरि, हरहि, हरि हर, होरि, होरहि, and होरि are the forms of the ordinary regular future; होगा is very rarely met in their pages, if at all. Instances are, भवि जे भहि जे होरि चागि "They who have been, are, and shall be hereafter" (Tulsi, Ram. Bal-K. 30), होरहि यहि कल्याण चिहः "Now this good fortune will be (will happen)" (ib. 82), अभि ति रति तत्व नाथ कर होरहि नाम अनजः "Henceforth, Rati, the name of thy lord shall be Ananga" (ib. 96). The form है does not appear to be used by Tulsi Das, though in Bihari Lal the participle है is common; this latter poet's subject does not give much occasion for the use of the future. बजार जनम न होइ ताको "There shall not again be birth to him (he shall escape the pain of a second birth)" (Kabir, Ram. 57). In the majority of the poets the forms हवाई and हौि seem to be regarded as virtually the same, and they use indifferently the one or the other as it suits their metre. There is unfortunately as yet no critically prepared or corrected edition of the texts of any of them, and owing to the mistaken policy of the Government, by which artificial works written to order have been prescribed as examination tests, the genuine native authors have been entirely neglected.

§ 67. The participial tenses are formed as in the ordinary verb. The present participle is in Old-H. हवाई, as in Chand हसन हवाई निवारि "Laughing being prevented" (Pr.-R. i. 6). In modern H. the classical form is होिि m., होिि f., Braj होिि; and in most of the rustic dialects simply होि indeclinable. In the Rajputana dialects the form होिि is found. The other languages have P. हूरा, S. हूरि, G. होिि, M. होिि, होिि,
होतांचा, O. है, B. होते, though really the locative of a present participle is used as an infinitive.

The past participle is in H. one of the old Tadbhava class mentioned in §§ 46, 47, and as such takes its type from Skr. भूत, H. हैष. The vowel of the stem is in the present day commonly pronounced short हैषा, and this practice is not uncommon in the poets. P. हैषच्छा, S. हैषो, G. हैषी, हैयो, हैयो.

M. has a strange participle जाषा, which may be explained as phonetically resulting from an older form छाला, shortened from हीयाला. I can trace nothing similar in any of the cognate languages, though the change from है to है is perfectly regular. In the poets a form जाला is found, and even जालाला। These types have led some writers to regard this participle as derived from the root या. This, however, is very doubtful. Tukaram always uses जा, as आजि पुरसे नवसः धन्य जाला हा दिवसः। "To-day our vows are heard, blessed has became (is) this day" (Abh. 508).

O. हैष, हैषा, B. हैष, हैष.

The future participle is in M. जावा, O. हैष, B. हैष, contracted to हैष (होबो).

These participles serve as tenses, either with or without the remains of the old substantive verb, just as in the regular verb, and need not be more particularly illustrated.

One point, however, deserves a passing notice. The present participle in M. forms with the aid of the substantive verb as a regular present, as 3 sing. होते m. होती f. होत n. But the slightly different form of this tense, which in the ordinary verb (§ 42) expresses the conditional present, is in the case of हो employed as an imperfect. Thus, while the form just given, होतौ, etc., means "he becomes," the conditional form होतां, etc., means "he was." This usage is analogous to that of the G. हातौ, etc., mentioned in § 40, and agrees with a form of preterite used in Braj Hindi, sing. हतौ m., हती f. etc. It has been
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suggested that this latter is derived from Skr. सूत; but against such a derivation must be set the fact that bhūta had at a very early epoch lost its t and become in Pr. hūam, hōam, and the like; also that in Chand the anusvarā of the present participle is still preserved, as in दुः जंतौ दुःजनिय भोर | (Pr.-R. i. 49), "Brahman became to Brahman hostile;" and a few lines further on in the same passage दुः जंतौ सिंगिय रिप्प "There was one Śringa Rishi."

§ 68. The tenses of the regular verb formed by the additions of parts of the verb हो are numerous, but vary in the different languages. In Hindi we have mostly tenses with a general sense of doubt or contingency, in which those compounded with the present participle run parallel to those formed with the past participle. Thus with गिरता "falling," and गिरा "fallen" (gir "to fall")—

1. गिरता होते (aorist of हो) "I may be falling," which may be called a definite present subjunctive or contingent; as in answer to a question हमारे घर की जाति "Are you going to my house?" one might answer जाता होते "I may be going (but am not sure)."

2. गिरता होगा (future of हो shortened from होजगा) "I shall or must be falling," a future contingent, or doubtful; as in asking राम बबहो चाता है "Is Ram coming now?" the reply is, हां चाता होगा "Yes, he will be coming," or, "he must be coming," i.e. "I suppose he is now on his way here."

3. गिरता होता "(If) I were falling," conditional present definite. This is very rarely used, but it seems to denote a phase of action which could not, when occasion requires, be otherwise expressed. It may be illustrated thus: राम जदि भागता होता तो मैं उसकी रोकता "If Ram were now running away, I would stop him" (but as he is not, there is no need for me to do so). It is the present participle of the auxiliary used in a conditional sense, as in the simple verb.
4. गिरा होज़े “I may have fallen.” Also somewhat rare. In answer to तुम ने उसके नाम कबीर सुना “Have you ever heard his name?” one might say सुना होज़े “I may have heard it” (but have now forgotten it).

5. गिरा होगा “I must or shall have fallen.” This is a very commonly used tense. Thus होगा is a frequent answer where a person is not sure, or does not care; and is almost equivalent to “I dare say,” “very likely,” “I shouldn’t wonder.” Also, it indicates some degree of certainty, as राम ने संबाद पाया है “Has Ram received the news?” Answer, पाया होगा “He will have received it,” meaning “Oh yes, of course he has,” or with a different inflection of voice, “I dare say he has.”

6. गिरा होता “(If) I had fallen.” Hardly ever used, except in a negative sentence. I do not remember to have heard it in conversation; though an analogous form with the participle of रहा may be heard in eastern Hindi, as तुम जादू कब से आए रहते “If you had come yesterday.” The only instance Kellogg gives is apparently from a translation of the Bible (John xv. 22) जो मैं न आया होता उन का पाप न होता “If I had not come . . . they had not had sin.”

Panjabi makes a somewhat different use of the tenses of हो. In this language हो, when used as an auxiliary, has rather the sense of continuance in an act, than that of doubt or contingency. Thus we find the ordinary definite present जांदा है “He is going,” side by side with a continuative present with हो, जांदा जांदा है “He kept on going;” also, “He is in the habit of going.” So, also, there is a continuative imperfect जांदा जांदा सा “He kept on going,” “He was always going.” Similarly, there are two forms of the future, one with the simple future of हो (like No. 2 in Hindi given above) जांदा होगा “He will probably be going,” and a continuative form containing हो twice over, जांदा जांदा होगा “He will probably be always going.” Thus, to the question उह्न कितनाक चिर उचे
रहित्ता होबेगा “How long will he be stopping there?” the answer might be, उचि उह दा घर है उह ता सदा सरबदा उचि रहित्ता कंदा होबेगा “His home is there, he will probably always be stopping there.” With के “if” prefixed, the tense जान्दा कंदा means “If I were in the habit of going.”

Parallel to the above are two tenses with the aorist of ho: जान्दा होतां “I may be going,” and with “if” prefixed, “If I should be going;” and जान्दा कंदा होतां “I may be constantly going,” “If I should be always going.”

With the past participle they combine the present participle of ho, as रक्षित्ता कंदा “I would have put;” and conditionally, के में रक्षित्ता कंदा “If I had put,” “If I should have put;” as in उह के शपित्ता बसीमं द्र हस्त दित्ता कंदा तां सांता मिलित्ता कंदा “If he had given the money into the care (lit. hand) of the merchant, then we should have got it.”

There is also a combination of the past tense with the aorist of ho, as गिज्जा होवे “He may have gone,” or, “If he has (perchance) gone.”

Colloquially, they frequently also insert होर्का pleonastically in phrases where it is difficult to attach to it any definite meaning. Thus उन घाजित्ता है “he has sent,” and घाजित्ता होर्का है “he is having sent.” In this latter phrase there is, perhaps, implied the idea of the action having been performed some time ago, and being still in force, so that it harmonizes with the generally continuative meaning of ho as an auxiliary in Panjabi. Also, though it is not noticed in the grammar, I remember having heard frequently this word होइदा, repeated probably for emphasis, as मारित्ता होइदा होर्का “beaten” (repeatedly, or very much indeed).

In Sindhi the present and past participle are both compounded with the aorist of ho to form potentials, thus—1. हलंदौ जए “he may be going;” 2. हलित्तौ जए “he may have gone.” There does not appear to be in this language so strong a sense of doubt, or of continuance, in these combinations, as in
H. and P., probably because ho plays a more important part in S. than does as, which is represented by only one tense, or achh, which is not represented at all.

3. हुलंदो हो “he was going.” This is the present participle of the verb with the preterite of ho.

4. हुलिबो हो “he had gone.” The past participle with the same. These two are exactly parallel.

5. हुलंदो कंदो “he will be going.” Definite future, made up of present participle with future of ho.

6. हुलिबो कंदो “he will have gone.” Past future, the past participle with the same. These two are also exactly parallel.

In the passive phase of active verbs there are also six tenses formed by the same process, whereof 2, 4, and 6 are the same as in the active, or, in other words, these two tenses may be construed either actively or passively, according to the structure of the sentence. Trumpp gives them twice over, probably for this reason:

1. कड़िबो जए “he may be being released.” Future participle passive (§ 58) with aorist of ho.

3. कड़िबो हो “he was being released.” The same with preterite of ho.

5. कड़िबो कंदो “he will be being released.” The same with future of ho.

Gujarati employs ho in the following tenses (Taylor, p. 92), mostly dubitative (chad “ascend”):

1. Present participle + aorist, चड़तो होय “he is ascending.” Definite present.

2. The same + future, चड़तो होय “he may be ascending.” Contingent present.

3. The same + pres. part. indeclinable, चड़तो होत “(if) he were ascending.” Subjunctive present.

A parallel group with past participle:

1. Past p. + aorist, चड़ो होय “he has ascended.” Definite preterite.
2. The same + future, चढ़ो होते “he may have ascended.” Contingent preterite.

3. The same + pres. p. ind., चढ़ो होत “(if) he had ascended.” Subjunctive preterite.

The same combinations may be formed with the p.p. in elo, as चढ़ोलो होय, but there does not seem to be any very great difference in the meaning.

Also a group with future participle; in the form vâno (see § 52)—

1. Fut. p. + aorist, चढ़वानो होय “he is about to ascend.” Definite future:

2. The same + future, चढ़वानो होते “he may be about to ascend.” Contingent future.

3. The same + pres. p. ind., चढ़वानो होत “(if) he were about to ascend.” Subjunctive future.

An example of the use of the last of these tenses is तैं में छोड़ने होतो तो छोड़ते “If he were going to (or had intended to) release me, he would have released me (long ago).” Three similar tenses are formed by combining the three above parts of the auxiliary with the participle in ār or āro, which, as in Marathi, is rather the noun of the agent, and will be discussed further on (§ 75).

Compound tenses in Marathi are formed so largely by the auxiliaries derived from as and ahh, that there is comparatively little left for ho to do. It is used in the following tenses:

Imperfect, made up of present part. and imperfect of ho, as तो चेत होता “he was coming.”

“Incepto-continuative” imperfect, as the grammar-writers call it, made from the present part. and the preterite of ho, as तो बोलता झाला “he began to speak.” This is rarely used.

Future preterite formed by the future participle and imperfect of ho, as मी लिखितार होतो “I was to have written,” i.e. “It had been arranged that I was to write under certain circumstances.” The example given is मी काल चायका कों चयार
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“\(\text{रोतें पण शरीरारों विकती झाल्लें मांचामुळे घरोंच राहिले} \) “I was to have called (\(\text{yepār hotān}\)) on you yesterday, but in my body illness having been (\(\text{i.e. feeling unwell}\)), I stayed at home.”

Future continuous composed of the present participle and future of \(\text{हो, as तो बोलता होहेल} \) “he will begin to speak” (and go on speaking).

Imperfect subjunctive, from the subjunctive (future pass. part.) and imperfect of \(\text{हो} \) used in the \(\text{Karma prayoga, as लां सांगत्वि होतिं} \) “you should have told,” lit. “by you to be told it was.” This may also be expressed by using \(\text{पाहिजे} \) “ought,” as \(\text{मला चालायि पाहिजे होति} \) “I ought to have walked.”

Another preterite phrase is formed by adding the imperfect of \(\text{हो} \) to the neuter genitive of the future pass. part., as \(\text{मला चालायाचि होति} \) “I had to walk,” \(\text{i.e. “I was obliged to walk.”}\)

It will be seen that all these instances of the use of \(\text{हो} \) as an auxiliary are rather elaborate verbal phrases than tenses, ingenious and successful attempts at filling up the gap caused by the loss of a large range of synthetical tenses and participles from the earlier stage of language.

This verb is not used as an auxiliary in \(\text{O. or B.}, \) though it is used as an ancillary to form a pedantic sort of passive with \(\text{Tatsama p.p. participles, as B. विरित होहेति, O. विरित हेवा “to be sent.”} \) This, however, forms no part of the actual living languages of either Orissa or Bengal, and may be passed over with just this much notice.

§ 69. \(\text{स्था} \). The Pali and Prakrit forms of the various tenses of this verb were given in § 12, where also the principal parts of the verb in \(\text{S. G. and O.} \) were given. In Hindi there is only one part of this verb in use as an auxiliary, namely, the participial tense \(\text{धु “was,” sing. धा m., धी f. ; pl. धे m., धी f.} \)

1 I had formerly connected this tense \(\text{धु} \) with \(\text{G. and Braj हतो} \) and been thus led to refer it to \(\text{as}; \) but further research, aided by the dialectic forms brought to light by Kellogg and others, has led me to abandon that view, and to adopt that given in the text,—\(\text{dies diem docet.} \)
This form is, I believe, shortened from चिहित, and that again from the Skr. p.p.p. क्षित. It is therefore analogous to the shortened forms of other p.p. participles so largely employed in the modern languages. We saw in Vol. II. p. 275, how the genitive postposition kā had been evolved by a long and varied process from Skr. kritā; so, also, gā in the H. and P. future from gata, bhā in Old-Hindi from bhūta, lā and la in M., and other futures from lagna; and in exact parallelism to these is thā from sthīta.

The Kanaúji Hindi has sing. थो m., थी f.; pl. थे m., थी f.; but the Garhwāli still preserves a fuller type in sing. थवी m., थवे f.; pl. थवा m. Nearer still to sthīta, and with incorporation of the Skr. root as, so as to make a regular imperfect, is the Nepali “I was,” etc.—

Sing. 1. थिया  2. थिस  3. थिया.  Pl. 1. थियुं  2. थियो  3. थिया.

Nepali is not an independent language, but merely a dialect of Hindi. The people who speak it call it Pāratiya or mountain Hindi; it may therefore appropriately be taken into consideration in arguing as to the origin of Hindi forms. था is used in Hindi in two tenses only.

1. With present participle, थोलता था “was speaking.” Imperfect.

2. With past participle, थोला था “had spoken.” Pluperfect.

In P. सा is occasionally used, though सा, in its numerous forms, is far more common. This verb is also used with a full range of tenses in Sindhi. Trumpp\(^1\) calls it an auxiliary, but I can find no instances of its being used to form tenses of the ordinary neuter or active verb like as or bhū, and it takes parts of the latter to form its own compound tenses. There are, however, two parts of sthā in use as auxiliaries in Sindhi, the former of which थो probably = क्षित: nom., and the latter

\(^1\) Grammar, p. 305.
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चे = स्थिते loc. चे agrees with the subject in gender, and is used to form with the aorist an indefinite present——

Sing. 1. हृता चे m. हृता ची f.

Pl. 1. हृतू चा m. हृतू चीं f., "I go," etc. —

This auxiliary differs from all others in the seven languages, in that it may be put before the principal verb. चे has the same peculiarity, and is used to make a continuative imperfect with the past participle of the principal verb; it does not vary for gender or person. Thus——

Sing. 1. हृतुहसि चे 2. हृतुधे चे.

Pl. 1. हृतुञ्जायति चे, etc., "I used to go," or simply "I was going."

Examples are——

चे बालू चे बाल चे विडह्यू "Two women were quarrelling (the vidahyū) about a child."

हिंदिका चे जन्मा परे परहेंड्हि चे विभा "Two men were going (the bid) to a foreign country."

Here the auxiliary precedes, and with reference to the suggested origin of this auxiliary from the locative sthite, it is more natural that it should do so, for the verb, whether in a simple or compound tense, naturally comes last in the sentence, so that the phrase "I am (in the act or condition of) having gone," is rendered "in having been, I am gone."

G. has also the full verb in all its tenses, and it may apparently be used as an auxiliary just as हो. As regards meaning, होतु is more powerful than होधू; the latter, also, is more powerful than चे. There are thus three grades of substantive verb. चे "he is," is merely the copula; होय "he is, or becomes," is a definite expression of existence; चाय "he remains," is positive and prolonged existence. The distinction,

1 Stack, Grammar, pp. 134, 135.
as pointed out before, is analogous to that between ser and estar in Spanish.

\textit{होता} forms compound tenses by taking parts of \textit{होता} as auxiliaries, just as the ordinary verb, thus—

Imperfect \textit{होता हुता}, as in \textit{ते लढ़ाई होता हुता} “That fight was going on.”

Preterite \textit{होता होय के}, as in \textit{ते मन कठण होय के} “His heart has become hard.”

Dubitative present \textit{होता हुश}, as in \textit{ते हुश परतावो होता हुश} “Therefore you may now be regretting,” and so on.\(^1\)

In Oriya this verb plays a somewhat different part. It is there used not as a second auxiliary side by side with \textit{हो}, but to the exclusion of it, and forms, with the participles of the principal verb, a range of well-defined tenses, which cannot be expressed otherwise.

1. With the present participle (\textit{कर “do”}) कर “doing”—

\textit{a.} Aorist of \textit{ठे कर याए, karu thâê, “he is (or was) doing.”} Continuative present.

\textit{b.} Preterite “कर थिला, karu thilâ, “he was doing.”} Imperfect.

\textit{c.} Future “कर थिव, karu thibô, “he will be doing.”} Continuative future.

2. With the past participle \textit{करि “done”}—

\textit{a.} Aorist of \textit{ठे करि याए “he has (usually) done.”} Habitual preterite.

\textit{b.} Preterite “करि थिला “he had done.”} Pluperfect.

\textit{c.} Future “करि थिव “he will have done.”} Future past.

The difference between 1\textit{a} and 2\textit{a} is very delicate, and rather difficult to seize. \textit{Karu thâê} implies that a person habitually

\(^1\) The examples are from Leckey, Grammar, pp. 76, 81.
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does an act, and thus that he was doing it at the time mentioned, according to his usual custom. Thus, to a question से हारे वसु चिला “Was he sitting in the market?” the answer might be हां शिठ वसु धाए “Yes, he always sits there;” and thus it is implied that he was sitting there at the time referred to. So again, कविराज जेति बेठे बरसिया सु बलिहृ धाए “When the doctor came, I was getting well,” implying that I had been improving before he came, and continued to do so. Kari thâe, on the other hand, literally, “He remains having done,” implies a habit which is not necessarily in force at the time referred to, as भारजा प्रव ताहार बड राग होर धाए “He is always very angry with his wife,” not implying that he is actually angry at the moment of speaking. It is also used of an action which lasted some time, but has now ceased, as से समयर चनबर बड कांश होर धाए1 “At that time I had a bad cough,” implying that he had a cough which lasted a long while, but from which he has now recovered. Both tenses thus imply continuity, but the former indicates continuity still existing, the latter continuity in past time, which has now ceased.

There are similarly two imperatives formed respectively with the present and past participles—

a. कथ धा “Remain thou doing.”
b. कार धा “Remain thou having done.”

Here, also, the same fine distinction is drawn as in the other tenses. भोबिन्द से काम कन धाए “Let Gobind go on doing that work.” But, as Hallam well remarks (Grammar, p. 153), “The Oriya very often uses a past participle in his mode of thought, where we should use the present.”2 He illustrates this tense

1 Hallam, Oriya Grammar, p. 78.
2 I had the advantage of assisting Mr. Hallam when he was writing his grammâr, and the definition of this tense was a source of much difficulty and discussion. He consulted a large number of natives, both educated and uneducated, the former as to the rationale, and the latter as to the practice. The latter, without knowing the reason why, often corrected karu thâ into kori thâ instinctively, and a large range of observations led to his adopting the definition in which I have followed him.
thus: "Suppose a person should say to another, 'Do that work so,' and the person addressed should reply, 'I have done it so,' and the first speaker should then say, 'Well, always do it so,' or, 'Continue to do it so,' this last phrase would be expressed by this tense." Ex. gr.:

तुभि बेहि काम सेमति कर् “Do that work so.”

Answer सु सेमति करिच्छ जे “I have done it so,” or, “as (you order) so I have done.”

Rejoinder ब्रह्म सेमति करिय या “Well, always do so,” literally, “thus having done, remain.”

Here, if we used karu thā, we should imply that the person addressed was actually doing the work while we were speaking, while kari thā is used when he is not actually working.

Lastly, there is a pair of tenses with the conditional—

करि थाता “he might be doing,” or, “if he were doing.”

कारि थाता “he might have done,” or, “if he had done.”

These explain themselves.

Bengali does not employ the primary form of this auxiliary, but has instead a secondary stem derived from it. This is याक्, which is conjugated throughout in the sense of remaining, and partakes of the combined senses of continuity and doubt peculiar to this verb. There are, strictly speaking, no compound tenses formed by this verb, and the method of its employment is rather that of an ancillary verb.

§ 70. याक. This root takes the form जा, and is used in H. P. M., occasionally in G. and B., and usually in O., to form the passive voice. G. having a passive intransitive of its own (§ 24), does not often have recourse to this verb, and S. having a regularly derived synthetical passive (§ 25), dispenses with it altogether. When used as in H. P. and M. to form a passive,
it is compounded with the past participle of the principal verb, as (dekh "see")—

H. Aorist  

इखा जाए "he is seen."

Imperative,  

इखा जाओ "be ye seen."

Future  

इखा जाएगा "he will be seen."

P. दिटा जावि.

दिटा जावि.

दिटा जावि.

So also in M. and O. The various tenses of जा are formed in the same manner as other verbs. When compounded with any other part of the verb than the past participle, जा is ancillary, and is used in various other senses.

There has been, in former times, much discussion about this form of the passive, some writers declaring it inelegant, others considering it unusual and opposed to the genius of the Indian languages, while some have even gone so far as to deny its existence altogether. The most discerning inquirers, however, admit it as a form in actual use, though they point out certain circumstances which obviate the necessity for recourse to it. Such are the existence of a large class of neuter verbs, the practice of changing the object into a subject, and figurative expressions like "to eat a beating," मार खाना, "it comes into seeing," देखने में आता, and the like. Speaking as one who has lived in daily and hourly intercourse with natives of India for nearly twenty years, I can testify to the use of this form by speakers of Hindi, Panjabi, Bengali, and Oriya frequently, and even habitually. Idiomatically, many other ways of expressing the passive idea undoubtedly exist, and in some languages, as Bengali and Marathi, हो may be used to form a passive. There are phrases and occasions, however, where it would be more idiomatic to use the passive हो than any other construction, and we may conclude that, though its use is somewhat restricted, it is erroneous to describe it as always inelegant and unidiomatic, and still more so to deny its existence altogether.
§ 71. By using the expression "compound tense" in a wider sense than that in which it has been employed in the former part of this chapter, we may legitimately include under it that large and varied class of phrases in which two verbal stems are used together to express one idea. In such a combination the first verb remains unchanged, and all the work of conjugation is performed by the second, which acts, so to speak, as a handmaiden to the first. For this second verb I have thought it advisable to employ the term "ancillary," as expressing more clearly than any other that occurs to me, the actual relation between the two. The ancillary verb differs from the auxiliary, in that the former runs through all the tenses of the verb, and the principal verb on which it waits remains unchanged, while the latter only forms certain specified tenses in composition with several parts of the principal verb, being attached now to the present, now to the past or future participle. Thus, the tenses formed by the aid of auxiliaries are integral portions of the primary simple verb. In the case of the ancillary, on the other hand, it, together with the principal verb, forms, in fact, a new verb, which, though consisting of two elements, must be regarded for conjugational purposes as essentially one throughout. Thus, the elements már "strike," and dāl "throw," combine into the compound verb már dālnā "to kill," which is conjugated through the whole range of simple, participial, and compound tenses of dālnā, már remaining unchanged.

Grammarians have invented many strange names for these verbs with ancillaries, calling them Frequentatives, Inceptives, Permissives, Acquisitives, and many other -ives. It would, perhaps, be simpler not to seek to invent names for all, or any of them, but merely to note the combinations that exist with their meanings. Indeed, it is hardly possible to group them into classes, because, in practice, some ancillaries may be combined with any verb in the language, while others again
can only be combined with one or two specific verbs. Moreover, there are exceptions to the general rule that a verb with an ancillary runs through the whole range of tenses, for some ancillaries are only employed in one tense, or in two tenses; thus lag, in Hindi, is usually only employed in the past tense, as kahne lagā "he began to say." Some again are formed in only one tense in one language, while they may be used in several tenses in another language.

The subject is a very wide one, for the number of primary verbal stems in the seven languages being small, they are driven to express complicated ideas by combining two of them together. They have also lost the facility of expressing such ideas which is possessed by most original Aryan languages, through the upasargas, or prepositions, and can no longer develop from one simple root a variety of meanings by prefixing pra, abhi, upa, or sam. Under such circumstances they have taken a number of their commonest verbs and tacked them on to other verbs, in order to imply that the action expressed by the principal verb is performed under the conditions expressed by the added, or, as we may call it, the ancillary verb. As might be expected, however, while the principle is the same in all seven languages, the method of its application, and the particular ancillaries used, differ, to some extent, in the several languages. It will be better to take each ancillary separately, exhibiting the general effect of each as combined with different parts of the principal verb.

§ 72. Ancillaries may be attached not only to other verbs, but even to themselves; the verb to which they are attached is placed in the conjunctive participle, and remains in that form throughout. Another class, however, exists, in which the principal verb is in the infinitive mood, which, as Kellogg justly observes, is not strictly a case of a compound verb, but
that of one verb governing another, and in this view would more properly be regarded as a matter of syntax. Inasmuch, however, as certain well-known and constantly-used phrases of this kind have grown up in all the languages, whose use, to a great extent, supplies the want of regular tenses, it will be better to give them all here, so as to complete the survey of the modern verb in all its aspects. It must be noted, also, that in Hindi, and occasionally in P. M. and G., the conjunctive participle loses its final syllable, and thus appears in the form of the simple stem; that it is the participle, and not the stem, is shown by the analogy of the other languages, and by isolated instances of the preservation of the participial form even in Hindi.

1. दे "give," and ले "take," are in H. widely used as ancillaries, and the meanings which are obtained by their use are somewhat varied. In a general way, it may be said that दे is added to verbs to express the idea that the action passes away from the subject towards the object, while ले implies that the action proceeds towards the subject. Thus दे can, strictly speaking, be used only with actives and causals; and in some cases adds so little to the meaning of the principal verb, that it appears to be a mere expletive. With active verbs examples are—

दंकना "to throw;"    दंक देना "to throw away;"

निकालना "to take out;"  निकाल देना "to turn out, eject."

Thus घर से धान निकाला "he took the rice out of the house," where the idea is, that the man being outside went in and brought out the rice; but in सुझ को घर से निकाल दिया है "he has turned me out of the house," it would be understood that the speaker had been forcibly ejected.

रखना "to put;"    रख देना "to put away, lay by;"

मारना "to strike;"  मार देना "to beat off;"
With causals it is used very frequently, and with scarcely any perceptible change of meaning——

समझा and समझा देना “to explain.”
गिराना, गिरा देना “to cause to fall, or to throw down;”
बैठाना, बैठा देना “to seat, or to put into a seat.”

Perhaps one can sometimes trace in the form with देना a sense of the action having been done with some force, while in the simple verb the idea of force is wanting, but in the majority of instances no such distinction could be traced. There is occasionally some additional emphasis, as in the common phrases देना “give,” and ले लो “take,” where the ancillary is added to itself, but these expressions belong more particularly to the Urdu side of the language.

When attached to the infinitive of another verb, देना implies permission, as जाने देना “let (him) go,” हम वो बैठने देने जिचे “please let me sit down.”

P. uses देना in the same way as H., but it does not appear to be so used in Sindhī. In G. it is added to the conjunctive participle of another verb to give emphasis, it also expresses impatience, but, in both cases, like H., with a general idea of the action being from the speaker towards the object. Thus तब लू “to abandon,” तबी देखें “let (it) alone!” “let go!” नाखु लू “to throw,” नाखी देखें “throw (it) away!” But as in H., with the infinitive it implies permission, जबु लू “to go,” जबा देखू “to allow to go,” पढ़ा देखू “to let fall,” लखें देखू “to permit to write.”

M. has the same usage of देना; when added to the conjunctive participle it has the same senses as in H., as लिखना देखें “to write,” खण्डन देखें “to dig;” in both of which phrases there is only a little additional emphasis implied, or perhaps an idea of finishing and having done with, as “write it off,” “dig it up and have done with it,” as in टाकून देना “throw it away.”
With the infinitive it implies permission, as मला जाउँ दै "suffer me to go," बारा लिग्ने द्वित नाछि "the wind will not let me write."

Precisely similar is the usage in O. and B., as O. फिटार दिग "break it open," literally, "having caused to open, give;" but with the infinitive मति आसिबाहि द्विता नाहि "he would not let me come."

Bengali uses this verb with the conjunctive to imply completeness or emphasis, as पुलक दिखिया दियाखि "I have seen the book," that is, "I have examined or perused it." With the infinitive it, like the rest, signifies permission, as आमाके पढ़िते दिलेन ना "They did not allow me to read."

2. ले is in all respects used similarly to दै, but with exactly the opposite meaning, namely, that of the action being directed towards the speaker, or the subject. In this construction its meaning is often very slightly different from that of the simple verb. Thus we may say, पीता "he drinks," and पी बेला "he drinks up," or "drinks down," in the latter case implying a more complete action. With causals it is used when the action is towards the subject, as राम को हमारी पास बुझा बो "call Ram to me," where the simple verb बुझाना merely means "to call." The distinction between the use of de and le is well shown when added to रखना "to put;" thus रख ले means "put it away (for your own use)," but रख दौ "put it down (and leave it)." There is, as Kellogg has shown, a sense of appropriating a thing to oneself involved in le.

P. follows the usage of H., but has less frequent recourse to this ancillary. S. uses निचिम्म, which is the same word as le, in the sense of "taking away," which in H. is expressed by ले जाना, as in सांद्रोर समुद्र जे नियोड़ि निचिम्म "In crossing the ocean they were forcibly carried off" (Trumpp, p. 340). In another instance, however, the meaning is more that of simple taking, माटए निचिम्म "to bring back," literally, "having caused to return, to take."
In G., the meaning is the same as in H., acquisition, or action towards the speaker or subject, as in समजी लेवू "to understand," i.e. "to make oneself acquainted with," श्रीखो लेिे "learn (this)," i.e. "acquire this knowledge."

M., as before remarked, uses घे, where its sisters have छे. It is used freely in all combinations involving the idea of taking, and seems, like many other ancillaries, to be often used pleonastically. Perhaps, however, we ought to make allowance for the trains of thought which, in the minds of native speakers, underlie the expressions which they use, and, in this view, to admit that an idea of taking may be present to their minds in expressions which, in our mode of thought, would not involve such an idea. It is difficult to get a native to concentrate his mind upon what he is actually saying or doing, he will always mix up with his present speech strange undercurrents of nebulous fancies as to what he did or said last, or what he is going to do or say next, and this habit influences his speech and produces phrases which, to the practical European mind, seem unnecessary and confusing. Thus Molesworth (s.v. घे) reckons as pleonastic the use of this ancillary in लवकर खान कहूँ घा "quickly having bathed take." Here the word "take" is probably inserted from a feeling that the person addressed is wanted again after he has had his bath. Thus, if you were about to send a man on an errand, and he asked (as a native usually does) to be allowed to bathe and eat first, you might use the above sentence. In Hindi one would use अना "to come," in the same way, as दूर अस्तनान कररे आर्यो. If you did not use some ancillary or other, it might be understood that you did not want the man's services after he had bathed. In another phrase पौरचिं हात पोठजन चेतजा "The child burnt his hand," judging from the analogy of similar phrases in the cognate languages, I feel that if चेतजा were not used, the person addressed would be capable of supposing that
the child burnt the whole of his hand up, whereas, what is really meant is, that the child got a burn on his hand.

The O. verb नेवा is used as in H., as कागज पत्र बुझि नेवु “I will take charge of the papers and accounts,” where he means that he will take them and study them, it is literally “having understood I will take.”

So also with B. लक्षो, as चित्ती पढ़ाया लखिन “they took and read the letter.”

3. आ “come,” जा “go,” as also the cognate stems in the other languages, when used as ancillaries, stand to each other in the same contrast as ले and दे. H. आ is not very widely used, and principally with neuter verbs; it implies doing a thing and coming back after having done, and thus has a certain sense of completing an action. Thus बनाना “to be made,” बन आना, or sometimes colloquially, बने आना “to be completely done, successfully accomplished,” खेत की टेंख आफ्या है “Having seen the field, I am come,” i.e. “I have been and looked at the field,” and he implies, “I have examined it, and am now ready to make terms for the rent of it.” The usage is similar in P., though rarely heard.

The equivalent of आ in S. is आच्यु, pres. part. आदी “coming,” p.p. आच्यो “come.” It is used with the infinitive to mean beginning to do, and this usage is thus different from that of H. and P. Thus नवस्य आच्यु “to come to rain,” or, as we should say, “to come on to rain,” as—

विकुरु नवস्य आरेंशु सारंगु चडियो सेज ||

“The lightnings have begun to rain, the rainy season has ascended (his) couch.”—Trumpp, p. 344.

G. आव is used in the sense of coming into action, or into use, becoming, and is used with the present participle, as बगईतु आवें “to become spoilt.” But far more frequently आवो, the conjunctive participle, takes other ancillaries after it.

देव in M. is also used in a potential sense, but generally, as
far as I can learn, with the indeclinable form of the present participle, and with the subject in the dative case; thus it literally means "to me, to you, etc., it comes to do," as मतना जाता चेतो "I can go," lit. "to me going comes." Similar to this is the use of अनाः in H. as an independent verb, chiefly in negative sentences, as उसका खिलाप्पड़ी जाति नहीं "He does not know how to read and write," lit. "To him reading-writing comes not." So also in O. and B.

4. जा "go," is used more frequently, and in a wider sense than अ. In H. it implies completeness or finality, as खाना "eat," का जाना "eat up," चले जाना "go away," where the principal verb preserves the termination of the conjunctive participle. In the familiar compound हो जाना "to become," the ancillary adds a little distinctness to the idea of the principal. So, also, in कह, or कहे, जाना; thus, if a man is hesitating or fumbling over a story or message, you say कहे जाने, i.e. "Speak out!" or "Out with it!"

When added to neuter verbs (especially the double verbs mentioned in § 18), it seems to add no special meaning, and one may say दूर जाना or दूर जाना "to be broken;" मिलना or मिल जाना "to meet" or "be obtained." Colloquially, and especially in the past tense, the form with जाना is far more commonly heard than that without it; thus, for "it is broken," one hears दूर गया twenty times for once of दूरा. This practice seems to confirm what was conjecturally advanced in § 25, concerning the origin of the use of जाना to form a passive, as compared with the Sindhi passive in जा.

Sindhi uses, in a similar way, its stem वच्चत "go" (impt. वच्च, p.p. वच्चे, pres. p. वच्चो, वच्चे), from Skr. वच्च, Pr. वच. Thus, वच्चे वच्चत "to take off," मरी वच्चत "to be dead," i.e. "to go, having died." चढ़ी वच्चत "to ascend," i.e. "to go, having ascended." There is also a phrase in which it is added to बल "to lift," as बलि बल "be off!" "go away!" The
general effect of this ancillary may thus be taken to be that of completeness. Trumpp gives the following examples (p. 340):

चो बढ़िया वढ़िया तड़िया मरी विचो “When he was grown up, then he died” (say “died off”). सूहिनि जो सबाह चूड़ त चोरि लंघे वंचे “Take the advice of the pilots that thou mayst pass over (or pass through and escape from) the flood tide.”

Completion or finality is also indicated by जा in G., attached to the conjunctive participle, as in H. and P.; when added to the present participle, it implies continuance, as लखतो जा “go on writing.”

In M. B. and O., this stem is not used as an ancillary.

5. सक “be able,” is attached to the stem-form or apocopated conjunctive participle of all verbs in H. to imply power, as चच सकता “he is able to walk,” कर सकेगा “he will be able to do.” It is rarely, if ever, used alone in correct speaking, though one sometimes, in the eastern Hindi area, hears such an expression as हम सकेंगे नहीं “I shall not be able.” This, however, is probably to be regarded merely as an elliptical phrase for हम कर सकें गे नहीं “I shall not be able to do.”

In P. also it is used always as an ancillary, as वाच सकदा है “he is able to read,” and is conjugated throughout the verb. In S. the corresponding verb सध्यु ई used with the conjunctive participle in the same sense, as करे सध्यु “to be able to do.”

In all these three languages this verb may be added to the inflected form of the infinitive, though in H. and P. this construction is avoided by those who desire to speak elegantly. Still one often hears it, as जाने सकता नहीं “he cannot go,” and in the eastern Hindi area it is very common, as well as in the Urdu spoken by Musulmans in all parts of India. Among these latter, indeed, karne saktá is much commoner than kar saktá.

It is used in G. as in H., and may also be used in M., but in this latter language the existence of another method of expressing potentiality (§ 54) renders its use less frequent.
B. and O. do not know this ancillary. In its place they use पार in B. with the infinitive, as करिते पारि “I can do,” in O. with the past participle, and generally with the future of the ancillary, as करि पारिति “I shall be able to do,” where we should use the present. Thus in asking, “Can you tell me his name?” one would say तााँहार नाम कठि पारिति, literally, “Shall you be able to say his name?”

6. लग “begin” (see § 12). In H. and P. with the infinitive, as देखने लगता “he began to see.” The ancillary is mostly used in the preterite, indeed almost exclusively so; for देखने लगता “he begins to see,” would be inelegant, and, I believe, quite unidiomatic. S. uses the same construction, as सच्रण लगिची “he began to cry.” So also G., as मारवा लागवू “to begin to strike,” and M. with infinitive of the principal verb, as मारवाला लागला “he began to strike,” but also with the dative of the future passive participle, as कारवायास लागला “he began to do.” B. the same, as करते लागिल “he began to do,” O. करिवाकु लागिल.

7. चुक “fail,” hence “leave off, cease to do.” In H. added to the conjunctive part. in the sense of having already finished, as खा चुका “he has done eating,” जब खा चुकेगां “when he shall have done eating.” P. does not use this verb in this sense. S. uses चुक as in करि चुकशू “to have finished doing;” but it has also other ways of expressing this idea, as by रहणु “to remain,” बठणु “to take,” निमणु “to be ended,” वसि करणु इद. G. करि चुकशू “to have finished doing.” B. the same, as दिया चुकियांचि “I have done giving.” O. uses सार, as खाद सारिनि “I have done eating,” से कर्म होत सारिला “That business is quite finished.” B. also uses फेळ “throw,” in this sense, as बलिया फेळिन “They have done speaking.”

8. Marathi has two verbs not used in the other languages, टेवोष and टाकोष, which are employed in many senses, and the distinction between which appears to be, at times, hard to draw.
The Compound Tenses.

The illustrations given, however, show that each word is faithful to its original meaning; देवन = खापन, and consequently means “put,” while टाकें = खाग, and means “throw away.” These two words stand to each other in the same contrast as लें and दें in H., thus हे जापड घडी कहलन टें “Fold up this cloth and lay it by;” ती गाय बायूञ टें “Tie up that cow” (having tied, put), but खाची पोषी बायस टेंजन टाक “Give him up his book” (i.e. “give it him and let him go”), ते जाब उपटून टाक “Root up that tree” (i.e. “uproot and throw away”).

9. कर “do,” is used in the sense of repetition or continuance, in H. with the perfect part., as चावया कारता “he always comes.”

तुम को ऐसा किया करते हो “Why do you keep on doing so?”

In Sindhi this sense is obtained by repeating the verb in the required tense after itself in the conjunctive participle, as सों शरफ पल्लफोई चो पटट “Even that, that letter I read over and over again” (Trumpp, p. 343), where the participle has the emphatic त added to it. G., like H., uses कर्वू with the inflected form of the p.p., as कया कर्वू “to keep on doing;” वांचया कर्वू “to keep on reading.” The various uses of karnā in forming compounds both with nouns and verbs are so numerous and peculiar, that they cannot be inserted here, but must be sought for in the dictionaries of the respective languages, and, still better, by those who have the opportunity, from the mouth of the people.

10. रह “remain,” differs from कर, in that it implies continuance in a state, while कर implies repetition of an action. In H. and P., with the conjunctive participle, as वैठ रहना “to remain sitting,” खेल रहतेह “They are going on with their play;” also with the present participle, as नदी बहती रहती “The river flows on continually,” labitur et labet. There is a curious phrase in Hindi, जाता रहना (literally, “to remain going”) used for “to be lost and gone,” as an euphemism for death; thus मेरा बाप जाता रहा है “My father is dead (has passed
away);” also for loss of things, as उसका सब धन जाता रहा “All his property is gone.” I do not find this idiom in the sister languages.

Sindhi uses रहत in the sense of continuance, as नौटी रहते निरंतर भाव “He goes on travelling in fatigue from Egypt and Syria” (Trumpp, p. 344). The same sense is produced by वतत “to turn, wander,” as विजय धोबा चारोंटरो वते “Bijalu goes on grazing the horses” (ib.). In both cases the principal verb is in the present participle.

G. employs रहूँ, which is its version of रह with conjunctive participle for continuance, as करी रहें “to remain doing,” and with the present participle in the sense of completion, as चढतो रहें “he ascends completely.”

This ancillary is truer to its original meaning in M., where it implies leaving off, refraining, with the genitive of the future participle, as मारायाचा राहिदा “he left off beating.” This sense recalls that of Skr. रहित = “deprived of.”

B. and O. do not use this verb as an ancillary. B. substitutes for it याक, and O. या.

11. पड “fall,” implies generally accident, as in H. जाना “to know,” जान पडणा “to be found out” (i.e. “to be known by an accident”), as उस का दौष जो जान पडे तो हम भी नहीं बचने “If his fault should be found out, then we, too, shall not escape.” So also in G., as चढ़नवृं “to stick to,” चढ़नी पड़वृं “to become attached to, to get caught in.” M. uses it with the dative of the future participle, as तू ज्यासे ज्यासे महान बेगा घाटायास पड़ति “On account of your being attacked with fever, I have to waste my time in travelling,” literally, “to me the throwing away of journeys falls.” Here the sense is that of necessity, as also in वायको बेगी तर घर बांधायास पड़ेल “If you marry a wife, you will have to set up house.” The same idea is expressed in H. by adding पड to the infinitive, as तुम को जाने पडेगा “You will have to go (whether
you like it or not);” so also in B. जार्ते पढ़िब, where it also implies subjection, or falling into a state, as धरा पढ़िल “he got caught,” as सुन्दर पढ़िके धरा शूनि विबा पढ़े धरा “Hearing that Sundar had been caught, Bidya falls to the ground” (भारत B.-S. 359, where there is a pun on the double use of the phrase), घुमिया पढ़िल “he fell asleep,” मारा पढ़िल “he caught a thrashing.” The same in O., as धरा पढ़िकि (for पढ़ि चौहि) “he has been caught.”

This verb sometimes precedes the principal verb in the sense of doing a thing accidentally, and is then put in the past participle. In this sense I would explain the sentence quoted by Kellogg (p. 195) एक बाघ पढ़ा फिरता था “A tiger happened to be prowling about,” literally, “a tiger fallen was prowling,” the word “fallen” being used to express accidentally arriving. In P. the verb takes the form पढ़ा (= पतन), and the p.p. is पिच्छा; thus they say उह पिच्छा खाता है “He is engaged in eating,” where the sense is rather that of continuance; when put after the principal verb, it implies setting to work at a thing, as तुर्या “to walk,” तुर पढ़ा “to set out on a journey.” So also in Sindhi, where the verb has the form पढ़ू, the conjunctive participle पढ़ै or पढ़ै precedes another verb with the sense of emphasis or energy, as वस् सों विहाड जो पढ़ै पुराणो न थिए “Buy those goods which do not grow old” (Trumpp, p.341); here पढ़ै न थिए means rather “do not happen to become,” “are not likely to become.” खण्डि, the conjunctive of खण्डू “to lift,” is used in the same way, but the two verbs appear to be contrasted much as le and de in H., khaṇṭi being used where activity, pat where receptiveness or accident is implied. Thus खण्डि लिखि खण्डू “to set to work writing,” खण्डि वज्राए “he sets himself to play (music).” The past participle पिच्छि is also prefixed with much the same effect, as तांहि में ताजिया विजिनिनि बाग़ि पिच्छि पिच्छि “In it flashes like lightnings are found” (or “take place,” or “appear;” Trumpp, ib.).

12. The above are the principal, if not the whole, of the
ancillaries in general use. There are, indeed, a few others, but their use is restricted to one or other of the languages. Thus पाना “to find,” is used with an infinitive in Hindi in the sense of being able, or being permitted, to do a thing. The verb in this construction is neuter, as मैं उसको देखने नहीं पाए “I was not allowed to see him,” तुम घर के भीतर जाने नहीं पाएगे “You will not be permitted to go inside the house;” so also in B. यहिते यात्रा ना “I am not able to read,” that is, not because I do not know how to read, but because I cannot find leisure, or cannot get the book.

डालना “to throw,” is used in H. with verbs implying injury to show that force also was used, as—

मारना “to strike,” मार डालना “to kill.”
तोड़ना “to break,” तोड़ डालना “to dash in pieces.”
काटना “to cut,” काट डालना “to cut down, hack, hew.”

There are, besides, numerous combinations of two verbs, in which the latter of the two does all the work, the former remaining unchanged; but for these the reader is referred to the Dictionary, though, as far as I have seen, Molesworth’s Marathi dictionary is the only one where they will be found fully treated.
CHAPTER V.

OTHER VERBAL FORMS.

CONTENTS.—§ 73. THE CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§ 74. THE INFINITIVE. § 75. THE AGENT.—§ 76. SINDHI VERBS WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.— § 77. CONJUGATION OF STEMS ENDING IN VOWELS IN HINDI, PANJABI, AND SINDHI.—§ 78. THE SAME IN MARATHI.—§ 79. THE SAME IN BENGALI AND ORIYA.

§ 73. The participles of the present, past, and future, being used in the formation of tenses, it has been found necessary to depart from the natural order of the verb, and to discuss them in Chapter III. There remains, however, a very widely used and important participle, which is not employed to form a tense. From the fact that it is used to connect one clause with another, and thus helps the native speaker or writer to build up those interminable sentences of which he is so fond, it has been called, very appropriately, the Conjunctive Participle. It implies "having done," and the sense of the clause in which it is used remains incomplete until another clause containing a finite verb is added; thus, instead of saying, "Next morning he woke and arose, bathed, ate, dressed, collected his goods, loaded them on his camel, bade farewell to his friend, and started on his journey," the Indian languages would say, "Having woken, having risen, having bathed, having eaten, having dressed, having collected his goods, having loaded them on his camel, having bidden farewell to his friend, having started on his journey, he went."

Sanskrit has two forms of this participle, one in ला, as मूला “having been,” the other in च, as समूच “having met.” Each
of these forms has left descendants in the modern languages, and although the form in *ya* is, in classical Sanskrit, restricted, for the most part, to compound verbs, yet this peculiarity has been overlooked in the spoken languages, and simple verbs, as well as compound ones, are treated as having this form also.

Thus in Prakrit we find धुरुक्त्र = Skr. दूर्त्र “having heard,” as well as पित्रभिमय = पित्रभिमय “having gone out.” So also दूर्य = दूर्य “having given,” चोरिक्त्र = चोरिक्त्र “having stolen,” गदुक्र = गदुक्र “having gone,” सिंचिक्त्र = सिंचिक्त्र “having sprinkled,” मेलिक्त्र = मेलिक्त्र “having taken.”

In Old-Hindi this participle ends in ति, as ब्रह “having done,” चलि “having gone,” which is apparently the Prakrit form with loss of the final ति, thus—

मुनि कागर नृपराज मणं || भौ आनन्द सुभाद ||

“Having heard the paper, King Prithiraj was glad, being pleased.”
—Pr. R. xii. 52.

Chand, however, in his more archaic passages, uses a form in *ya*, and one in *aya*, as—

भूलतां भूमि किय खार ||
चेत सिंचित वल पूरन ||
बीच सच सच मध्य ||
ग्यान चंकूर सजूर ||

“Taking possession of the earth, like a garden plot,
Irrigating it with the fullness of the Veda, as with water,
Having placed good seed in its midst,
Up sprung the shoot of knowledge.”—Pr. R. i. 4.

Here किय “having made,” and भूलतां किब = mod. भोग करके “having made (or taken) possession,” सिंचित “having watered,”
लय = लय “having placed.”

Mediaeval Hindi has regularly the form ending in र्, as राम बचन मूर्ति गृहुत “Having heard the gentle mystic speech of Rama” (Tulsi, Râm. Bâlk. 113), पंडित मूले पढ़ि सुषिवृदा “Sages having read the Veda erred as to its qualities” (Kabir, Ram.
34, 1), भक्ति विसुख जो धर्म सु सब अधर्म कारे गायो ॥ "The religion that is opposed to devotion (bhakti), all that having made (i.e. having declared), irreligion he sang" (Bhaktamál, Múl. 30).

From the habitual neglect of final short vowels, it results that this participle often appears in the form of the bare stem, as in the verbs with ancillaries given above, and this form, appearing to be not sufficiently distinct, a secondary form has arisen, which is now the ordinary one in modern Hindi. This consists of adding के, कर, करके, करकर, and even करकरके to the stem, namely, the conjunctive participle of करना "to do;" as देख कर "having seen," जाकर "having gone." The first of these forms के is softened from के, which, again, is from करि, the older form of the conjunctive part. of करना, and is used in the mediæval poets and in Braj and the rustic dialects to this day. Thus Kabir बहु विधि के चित्र बनाइके हरि रचियो त्रृंदा राम ॥ "Having made many kinds of appearances (mâyâ), Hari has arranged the sport and pastime (of the world;" Hindóla, 16). It having thus become customary to add the participle of कर to all verbs, it has been added to कर itself, thus making करके and करकर, and this reduplicated form again is added to other verbs. In all the dialects we find such forms as मारिके, मारके, मार, मारि, and even apocopated as Garhwali मारिक and मारीक "having beaten." Kumaoni has a curious compound form मारिबेर "having beaten," which is probably the old form मारि with बेर "time" (Skr. बेला), literally, "at the time of beating."

In the case of the common verb हो, the conjunctive participle, like the future, takes in Old-Hindi the forms होइ and है, especially the latter, as गुड़ भक्त एक ज्यारे नही है सके। "Guru-bhakta alone could not remain apart" (sák ancillary with conjunctive of हो="could be;" Bhaktamál, 116, 1), रजनी संभज जूत है जाए "The night becomes as dark as a well" (Kabir, Ram. 16, 4), मानुस बड़े बड़े है आचे "Very great men came" (lit. "having become very great;" ib. 17, 6).
P. is the same as H., and with the latter closely agrees O., which forms this participle by short ī, as देखि "having seen." This form also appearing too indefinite, in ordinary conversation they add किर, often pronounced किर, as देखिकिर "having seen." O. has also another, and in the classical speech the only admissible, form in īle, as मारिले "having beaten," which is also used in B., and in both appears to be the old locative case of the past participle, and is thus literally "in having beaten." The old form of the locative case having in O. fallen into disuse, the same has taken place in the participle; thus arise the forms देखिलारे "in having seen," and देखिलाछ "from having seen," which are respectively the locative and ablative, formed after the modern fashion by adding टारे and टादि, the initial syllable of which is rejected (Vol. II. p. 274).

B. has, besides the form in īle, one in iyâ, which approaches closer to the Prakrit, as पडिया "having fallen," बसिया "having sat," परिया "having seized." This latter form is that which is used to string together long sentences, in preference to the form in īle, which is used more in short sentences. Thus Bhârat—

चान कैले पुनः चाहे फिरिया फिरिया ए फिरिया ए
पिजरेर पारिया मत बेडाय घुरिया ए

"Another craftily looks, repeatedly turning round,
Like a bird in a cage walks round and round."

—Bidyâ-S. 246.

literally, "having turned, having turned, looks," and "having twisted round, walks."

S. has four forms for this participle. Neuter verbs take the ending ī, as वरी "having returned;" active and causal verbs have e, as मलि "having rubbed," both of which correspond to the Pr. ending ia. Less widely used is a form in io or yo, as मोतयो "having returned," घोयो "having washed," which is identical with the p.p.p. Thirdly, the inserted jja of Prakrit reappears here, as from खलय "to lift," खलिये "having lifted."
Lastly, S. follows the example of H., and adds करे, the conjunctive of करणु “to do,” as वरी करे “having returned.”

G. resembles S., having its conjunctive in त, as होई “having become.” Ordinarily it puts this participle in the objective case, adding the postposition में, often dropping the anuswāra, as करोनें or करोने “having done,” दें “having given.” As G. makes no distinction between त and त, this is often written with short त, as देने.

M. stands quite alone, having its conjunctive in जन, as जाण “having gone,” होण “having been.” This is sometimes written झोण, and in the poets takes an increment, and appears as झाणिया, झोणिया, as तुम्हारापशी बनही झेजाणियां काय। (Tuṅk. Abh. 1888) “What is the good of my going to you?” (literally, “I near you having come, what?”) देखोणियां वके मूषणवि जन। तात्काल मरण विते मज। “Having seen men in fine clothes and ornaments, I am ready to die at once” (ib.).

This form is the old Maharashtri Pr. form in उण, shortened from नूण, Skr. लां, accusative of ला (Lassen, p. 367), and has undergone singularly little change. I see in this a confirmation of the belief that modern Marathi is really the representative of the Maharashtri Prakrit, for it is only in Maharashtri that the conjunctive in उण, तृण, is found. All the prose dialects without distinction take forms of the conjunctive derived from the Skr. -ya; this consideration seems to be fatal to the theory (Trumpp, p. 283; V. Taylor, p. 114, § 256) which would derive the G. conjunctive in तृण from M. उण। Setting aside the absence of any analogy for a change from तृ to त in such a connection, there is abundant evidence that G. is, by origin, a Rajput dialect belonging to that large group of dialects which we roughly class under the name of Hindi, and Śastri Vrajalal (G. Bh. It. p. 3) points out the great gulf that exists between G. and M., as also the close connection of G. with the northern dialects. We have therefore strong reasons for not looking to M. for the origin of any G. form. The
latter has, like the rest of the eastern Hindi group, Sauraseni for its parent, and the form in -ine, when compared with that in i in the same language, points clearly to the Sauraseni conjunctive in ia with a modern case-postposition ne or nen added.

§ 74. The Infinitive is, in all the languages, a verbal noun declined throughout all the cases of the noun. Its numerous forms may all be grouped under two general types, which may be called the Ba, and the Na types respectively.

The Ba type is found in the rustic dialects of Hindi, in Bangali, Oriya, and Gujarati, and is declined as a noun. It occurs in the oldest Hindi poems. Chand has it in—

जो विलय चौरि हुई। तो ताहि हिनीि की आवि।
“If any one makes delay, he comes to strike him.”—Pr. R. i. 198.

उठि चौरिि की धायि।
“Rising up, rushed to fight.”—ib. i. 254.

It takes the junction-vowel i, and in these passages is in the accusative case. It may be rendered “to or for the purpose of fighting.” This form does not once occur in the Ramaini (रमिनी) of Kabir, and only rarely in his other works. I have noted तारिि की “to cross over,” चौरिि (चौरिवा) “to urge on,” in the Rekhtas. It is more common in Braj, and in Tulsi Das’s Ramâyana, where, besides the form with junction-vowel i, as तारिि “to break,” occurs also a shorter form in ab, as फिरिि “to return.” In the dialects (Kelloo, p. 241) occur the following (मार “strike”):—

Braj मारिि, East Rajput मारिि, West Rajp. id. Old-Pûrbi मारिि, Avadhi, and Riawai id.

In Gujarati, this is the only form of the infinitive. It is declined as an adjective for all three genders, thus—

Sing. भाविि m., भाविि f., भाविि n.

Pl. भाविि m., भाविि f., भाविि n. “to bring” or “the act of bringing.”
and agrees with the object, as mentioned in § 52, where it is used to constitute a tense. In the neuter singular it performs the functions of a simple infinitive, as गाव “to sing,” करव “to do.”

In Oriya it is the ordinary infinitive, as बसिबार “to sit,” and, though without gender, is declined for case, as—

Gen. बसिबार “of sitting,”

एहि बसिबार जागा “this is a place of sitting,” i.e. “a fit place to sit in.”

Loc. बसिबारे “in sitting,”

बसिबारे चिक्क हैब नही “in sitting nothing will become,” i.e. “you will do no good by sitting still.”

Acc. बसिबाकु “to or for sitting,”

बसिबाकु हैब “for sitting it will become,” i.e. “you will have to, or must, sit.”

Abl. बसिबाह “from sitting,”

बोठ बसिबाह सरदीलाबिब “from sitting there a chill will attack,” i.e. “if you sit there, you will catch cold.”

Bengali does not use this form as its ordinary infinitive, having utilized for that purpose the locative of the present participle, as दौरि “to be” (lit. “in being”), चारि “to remain,” जाइ “to go;” but it is used in the genitive case to form a sort of gerund or verbal noun, as बीज चिपिबार बाल आचे “It is the time of sowing, or for sowing, seed.” More common still is its employment with जिबे, कारण or निमित्ते “for the sake of,” as देखिबार जिबे “for the sake of seeing,” करिबार निमित्ते “for the sake of doing.”

The infinitive of the Gipsies ends in लल, and probably belongs to this group. Paspati writes केराव “to do,” लल “to take,” दल “to give,” सोवा “to sleep,” मांगाव “to ask,” रुवाव “to weep,” which may be transliterated perhaps कराव, लाव, द्राव, सोवाव, संगाव, रवाव respectively. These are words of the Chingana or Turkish Gipsies. Those in Bohemia ap-
parently drop the final a and shorten the ä, as chorav “to steal” (चोरव), kerav “to do” (करव), chinnav “to tear” (चिन्नव). Those in Wallachia appear to pronounce the termination as ao (चेतौ or चेत?), as jao “to go” (जाओ), hao “to eat” (हाओ), peo “to drink” (पेत्रो).1

In all these languages the idea of an infinitive glides off imperceptibly into that of a verbal noun, and the Ba form thus reveals its origin from the Sanskrit future passive participle in तख, from which, as we have seen in Ch. III. § 51, many tenses are formed.

The Na type occurs in Hindi, as also in P. S. M. It has two forms in H., one archaic and poetical ending in ana, the other modern and classical in nā. The first of these two forms I would derive from the Sanskrit verbal noun in anam, as करण “doing,” पतन “falling.” It is in frequent use, uninflected, throughout the poets, thus—

पुष्पातन तन्न बंधन बिचारि ॥
“Having plotted to stop his virility.”—Pr. R. i. 178.

कियो चलन की साज ॥
“He made preparation to go.”—ib. xx. 28.

जंग जुरन जालिम जुजार ॥
“To join battle a terrible warrior.”—ib. xx. 31.

सब कहैं मोहि जान दै माई ॥
“I speak truth, suffer me to go, mother.”—Tulsi-Ram. S.-k. 7.

राम देश बन देखन जाहिं ॥
“They go to see the hill and forest of Rām.”—ib. Ay-k. 91.

It is unnecessary to give more instances of this very common form. It still survives in Kanauli, as मारन “to strike.” The other form in ना was anciently written नो, and is always so written in Braj, as मारनो “to strike,” आवनो “to come.” This form I now agree with Hoernle in deriving from the Sanskrit

1 Miklosich, Zigeuner Europa's, part ii. p. 9.
future participle in anīya, so that from करणीय, through Pr. करणि and करणि, would come Old-H. करना, M. करा, and P. करता. I, however, would refer the S. करण to the verbal noun in anam, because the final vowel is short, and, as in all similar nouns, reproduces the final o = u of the a-stem (see Hoernle’s essay in J.A.S.B. vol. 42, p. 59, etc.). The two forms of the infinitive are thus analogous in respect of their derivation, and the fact of the existence side by side of two sets of forms with precisely similar meaning is explained by that of there being two participles of similar meaning in Sanskrit, both of which have left descendants.

Under these altered lights I must withdraw the opinion formerly held by me as to the origin of the infinitive in nā. That in ana is now obsolete, except in Kanauji, and the nā form is declined as a noun in á, making its oblique in e, as karne kā “of doing,” karne men “in doing.” In M. the infinitive is also declined as a noun of the sixth declension (Vol. II. p. 192), thus gen. karanyā cha “of doing,” dat. karanyā lā “to doing.” In Sindhi, however, the infinitive vindicates its claim to be considered as a descendant of the verbal noun in anam by exhibiting the declension of masculines (i.e. neuters) in u; the oblique ends consequently in a, as ginhaṇa jo “of buying,” ginhaṇa men “in buying,” etc. This would not be the case were the S. infinitive derived from the participle in anīya.

M. has an infinitive peculiar to itself ending in ṣ, as मह ऀ “to die,” which is comparatively little used, and only with the present tense. I am unable to suggest any thoroughly satisfactory explanation of this form which does not appear to have any analogy in the cognate languages. It may be the only descendant of the Skr. infinitive in tum, with elision of the t, but this is somewhat doubtful. To this place must also be referred the B. infinitive or verbal noun in á, as कर “to do,” or “the act of doing,” which, after stems ending in a vowel, appears as या, the y of which is not pronounced; thus उषोया
pronounced “hōwā,” ढेखोया “dewā.” The origin of this form is not clear to me, but it is probably connected with the participle in तबा.

§ 75. On the basis of the infinitive in नद is formed the agent. This, in Hindi, is made by adding to the oblique of the infinitive the words वाला, हारा; as करनेवाला “a doer,” ढेखनेहारा “a seer.” Of these the former is apparently Skr. अालक “protector, keeper.” Thus Skr. गोपालक “cowherd,” becomes H. गाला; as to the latter there is some difference of opinion, some would derive it from Skr. धारक “holder,” others from कारक “doer.” I myself incline to the latter view; the क would be elided when it ceased to be initial, and its place supplied by ह, which is often used to fill an hiatus. This is Trumpp’s opinion (Grammar, p. 75), who shows that in S. this form of the agent exists as हारो or हारु=respectively कारका and कार, as in—

सिघेषु “to create,”  सिरजणाहरो (च) “creator,”
लिखेषु “to write,”  लिखणाहरो (च) “writer,”

also in its original form of हारो or हारु, with nouns, as ढेडो “quarrel,” ढेडाकार “quarreller.”

Kellogg (p. 245) refers to the phrase धारन धारयं in Chand’s first verse as confirming the derivation from धारक; but this identification rests on a translation of that verse very confidently put forward by a writer whose high estimate of himself as a translator of Hindi has not yet been confirmed by the opinion of scholars in general. The translation in this particular instance is extremely uncertain, and no argument can be based on it.

Hindi has also an agent in वेया, as कवेया “a doer,” रबेया “a keeper,” which is shortened from वारिया, a dialectic form of वाला. It is confined almost to rustic speech, though the shorter form वारा is not uncommon in the poets. H. वाला may be added also to nouns, to imply the doer of an action, or
the person who takes care of a thing, in which latter respect
the original meaning of *pālaka* is well preserved. Thus
घोड़ेवाला “one who takes care of a horse.” So also in P.
घरवाला “husband,” *i.e.* one who takes care of or maintains the
house, and still more frequently घरवाली *f.* “wife.” Sindhi
changes ल to र *more suo,* and has चारो, as घरवारो “house-
holder,” from घर “house,” and दिब्राबारो “giver,” from
dिब्र “to give,” H. देवाला.

Chand uses the form in हार, shortened from हारा, to make a
sort of future participle, in the verb हो “be.” Thus—

होर होन्हार सीता हरन ||

“The rape of Sita, which was to be, takes place.”—Pr. R. iii. 27.

Also—

ते कहू होन्हार पढालिय ||

“Thou knowing something of futurity.”—ib. xxi. 92.

हन्हार एसी जगो। कही जु आल्ह उपाय ||

“It is written thus as destined to be, the plan which Alha has spoken.”

—ib. xxi. 94.

Probably, also, to this place belongs the affix वारी in words
like पठवारी “a village accountant,” the व being an indication
of a lost क, from कारी (कारिन) “doer.”

In M. and G. this form loses its initial consonant, and ap-
ppears simply as अरा. In G. it is incorporated into one word
with the verbal noun in *ana,* of which, except in this con-
junction, no traces remain. Thus from होवू “to be,” comes
होनार “one who is.” But, just as in the Old-H. होन्हार, the
sense of futurity has usurped the place of the original idea of
agency, and होन्हर now means “he who, or that which, is to
be,” as सब होनार ते होय। शुत वीणा वीजू नही कोय || “That
which in truth is (destined) to be, comes to pass, except truth
there is nothing else” (Samaldas, Leckey, p. 64). It also takes
the long ओ, as चनार or चनारो “that which is about to become,”
from चनू “to become,” शकनार “that which is able,” from
“to be able;” and is in practice used simply as a remote future tense, less immediate in its action than the simple future of the sa type, but equally common. Thus एटाए मारांत चृमे तने मारानार “For this very reason we are about to kill thee;” पोताणा धर्माने कटी छोडानार नाधी “He will never forsake his religion,” in other words, “he is not a forsaker (H. छोडानेहारो) of, or one who is likely to forsake, his religion;” हे बीजाने मारोज शुष्क भोगवनारो हे तो “Having killed another, I was about to enjoy happiness,” literally, “I was becoming an enjoyer” (Leckey, p. 161).

It is probably owing to the absence of any derivative of the verbal noun in अना that the grammar-writers have failed to understand the true origin of this form, and have supposed it to be composed of the verbal stem and a suffix नार or नारो, so that च्होडानारो is by them divided च्होडा-नारो, instead of च्होडान(ा)-(ह)ारो.

A similar misapprehension has occurred in M. In that language, also, अर, अराद, are used, added to the infinitive in वे, to make, not a noun of the agent, but a future participle, so far, at least, as the meaning goes. Thus from करणे come कर्णार “a doer,” and कर्णारा, obl. कर्णारे. But these are used in the sense of “one who is about to do,” as in G. So चरणारे लोक is “the people who are coming,” i.e. “who are expected to come.” Godbol, at p. 109 of his excellent Marathi Grammar, indicates rightly the origin of this tense, and illustrates it by such nouns as Skr. कुभकार, Pr. कुभदार, M. कुभार. Other grammarians, however, still speak of “the participle in वादा.”

This noun, used, as above explained, participially, is employed to form compound tenses, § 62. In H. and P. the noun in वाला (not वाला) is used in a future sense, as वुह जनिवाला या “he was just about to go.” This is not perhaps a classical phrase, but it is one which one hears a dozen times a day from the mouths of people of all classes.

In O. one also hears a form in वाला added to the infinitive,
as पार्वाटोयाला "a receiver." I suspect, however, that this is a recent introduction from the Hindi. There is no व in Oriya, and in trying to express the sound, they imitate the Bengalis, and put that form of च which it has as the last member of a nexus (the ya-phala as they call it), behind an चो. They pronounce this extraordinary combination वा, and not ओया, as it should be. The natural genius of the language has no form for the agent; instead of saying "the speaker," they would say, "he who speaks," or, if educated, would use the Sanskrit agent in त.

B. had, in its original state, apparently no noun of the agent. In modern times, recourse has been had to Sanskrit agents, which have been used whenever required, but colloquially it is easy to do without a nomen agentis, by slightly varying the arrangement of the sentence, and this is generally the course pursued. Such forms as कर्ता "doer," दाता "giver," used in literature, are, of course, Sanskrit pure and simple, and as such do not concern our present inquiry.

§ 76. The pronominal suffixes which are peculiar to Sindhi among the languages of the Indian group are also affixed to verbs, and, indeed, much more copiously used in that connection than with nouns. At Vol. II. p. 334, these suffixes, as applied to nouns, were briefly treated; they require more elaborate handling under verbs. It was mentioned, at the place cited above, that in this respect Sindhi allied itself with the neighbouring Aryan group of the Iranian languages, especially with Persian and Pashtu. I am not in a position to analyze the Persian and Pashtu analogies, and with respect to the latter language, though Trumpp has shown (Zeitschrift d. D. M. G. vol. xxiii. p. 1) that it is in many respects more closely allied to the Indian than to the Iranian group, yet it is so evidently a border language, transitional between the two, that to admit it to the present work would carry me beyond the limits of my
undertaking. It will suffice merely to notice, without attempting to discuss, the suffixes of that language as they occur in analogy with Sindhi.

These suffixes are used to bring the object of the verb's action into one word with it, and may be thus considered as datives, accusatives, or whatever case expresses the nature of the action of any particular verb. They are the same in form as those attached to nouns, and stand thus in comparison with Persian and Pashto:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. मि</td>
<td>1. जि, हे</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. डि</td>
<td>2. वि</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. सि.</td>
<td>3. नि, न.</td>
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<td>Persian</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. आम</td>
<td>1. मा</td>
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<td>2. अट</td>
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<td>3. अश</td>
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<td>Pashto</td>
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<td>1. me</td>
<td>1. mu, um</td>
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<td>2. de</td>
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</table>

Taking the aorist of the active verb as the simplest tense, we find the suffix simply added without effecting any phonetic changes in the termination of the verb. Thus—

Sing. 1. चांूं छडिंनि “I let go,” with suff. of 2 sing. कछडिंणि “I let thee go,” कछडिंच्चसि “I let him go,” with suff. of 2 pl. कछडिंब्रांव “I let you go,” कछडिंणि “I let them go.”

Sing. 2. तूं छडिएं “thou lettest go,” with suff. of 1 sing. कछडिएंभि “thou lettest me go,” and so on.

Pl. 3. हे छडिनि “they let go,” with suff. of 3 sing. कछडिनि “they let him go,” and so on.

The imperative is treated exactly in the same way. The respectful form takes रुण in the singular in this connection, not रुणे, as कछडिंणि “Please to let me go,” कछडिंच्चसि “Please to let him go.”

In the participial tenses a still greater variety of forms results from the change of the termination for gender in the third
person singular and plural. The first person, however, also undergoes changes. Thus, in the present participle used as a future, हूँसि “I shall be,” m., becomes हूँसां, and हूँसिब्रानि “I shall be,” f., becomes हूँसां. So that we get forms—

m. हूँसां “I shall be to thee,” हूँसांसि “I shall be to him.”

f. हूँसां “I shall be to you,” हूँसांसि “I shall be to them.”

So, also, the plurals हूँसां m., and हूँसिब्रानि “we shall be,” become respectively हूँसांसू and हूँसिब्रासू. The second person remains unchanged, merely affixing the personal suffixes. In the third person m. हूँद्रि is shortened to हूँद्र, and f. हूँद्रे to हूँद्र or हूँद्र; pl. m. हूँद्रा becomes हूँद्र, except with the suffix of the first person plural, as हूँद्रासू “they shall be to us,” but हूँद्रव “they shall be to you;” pl. f. remains unchanged.

The past participle used as a perfect tense undergoes analogous changes. Thus—

1 Sing. m. होसि “I was,” becomes होसां, as होसां “I was to thee.”

" f. जचब्रि " " जचसां, " जचसांसि “I was to him.”

1 Pl. m. जचासि “we were,” जचासू, जचासूसि “we were to them.”

" f. जचांसू “ " " जचांसू, " जचांसूच “we were to you.”

The second and third persons remain almost unchanged. In active verbs, however, where only the 3 sing. is used, owing to the objective construction; a somewhat different system prevails. The subject, which in other languages is put in the instrumental, may in S. be indicated by a suffix, and the object being also shown by a suffix, it arises that the verb may have two suffixes at the same time. Thus “I forsook thee,” would be in हूँद्रे ने तुस्म दो छोड़ा, lit. “by me thee forsaken,” where the subject is in the instrumental, and the object in the accusative, case, the verb (i.e. participle) being left in the masc. singular, because there is no neuter in हूँ. In M., which has a neuter,
the Bhāva or impersonal construction is used, as स्यं तु ति सोडिले “by me to thee released,” as though it were a me tibi relictum (est). Sindhi expresses this sentence by one word क्रियाविपरीत, i.e. chhadio-mān-i = “forsaken-by me-thee.” Thus there arises a long string of forms for every possible combination of the agent and the object. A few may be given as examples; a full range will be found by those who desire to pursue the question further in Trumpp (p. 371):

क्रियाविपरीत “I have forsaken him.”
क्रियाविपरीत “he has forsaken him.”
विहारियांमि “he caused him to sit.”
विहारियांमि “they said to her.”
विहारियांमि “she said to them.”

The suffixes denoting the agent are ले sing. and लम pl., which Trumpp considers to be shortened from लृ “by him,” instr. of हृ “this,” and लज “by them,” instr. pl. of हि “that,” respectively.

A curious proof of the antiquity of these complicated forms with suffixes is afforded by the fact, that in connection with them the 3 sing. aorist of √ रस् appears still in its old Pr. form of रन्ध (रथिन्), § 59. This form exists only in combination with the pronominal suffixes, whereas the ordinary form आहि is used both with and without suffixes. Thus they say आहि मि and आहि मि “there is to me,” as in the line—

गृहिः आहि मि गातहिणि आउ आहि ता चोरि चां।

"There is to me a secret matter, come near, then I will tell it.”
—Trumpp, p. 350.

It is used just as in Latin “est mihi;” in the sense of “I have,” as आपि “I have,” आपि (for आपि) “thou hast,” आपि “he has,” आपू (for आपू) “we have,” आपि “ye have,” आपि “they have.” It is incorrect to say with Trumpp (loc. cit.)
that *atha* has in S. "been transferred to the plural." The verb remains in the 3 sing. throughout, and takes suffixes of both numbers and all three persons.

In the compound tenses the suffixes are attached to the auxiliaries, leaving the principal verb unchanged. Both single and double suffixes are used in this way, just as with the simple and participial tenses. Thus निफ्तो होर "thou hadst made," जेन्द्रिं चिन्द्रमान गँयते (for जेन्द्रिं) तत्त्वे निफ्तादें "He looked towards that servant whom he had previously instructed," literally, "Which servant previously by him instructed, to that (one) by him looked" (Trumpp, p. 379).

It is tempting to look for the origin of this habit of using suffixes to the Semitic languages, which, from the early conquests of the Arabs in Persia and Sindh, may have had an influence upon the speech of those countries. On the other hand, however, the presence of a precisely similar habit in Italian and Spanish, seems to show that there exists a tendency to such constructions even in the Aryan family; for I suppose that even if we see in the Spanish forms a trace of Arab influence, no such motive power can be argued for any part of Italy, unless it be Sicily.

In Italian there are separate forms for the suffixed personal pronouns, and when used with a verb in the imperative or infinitive, these suffixed forms are incorporated into the verb; thus they say rispondetemi "answer me," parlategli "speak to him," datele "give her," imaginarlo "to imagine it," offristeci "offer us." Double suffixes are also used, as assicuratemene "assure me of it," dateglielo "give it to him," mandateglielo "send them to him."

So also in Spanish, vino á verme "he came to see me," vengo á socorrerete "I come to help thee," quiero castigaros "I will punish you," dejeme "let me go," pasandome "as I was passing," esribale "write to him," diles "tell them." Here, also, double
suffixes may be used, as decirte lo “to tell it thee,” mostradnos la “show her to us.”

It is noticeable, however, that this habit in Italian and Spanish is modern, and does not exist in Latin, any more than it does in Sanskrit. Is it, then, a result of the confusion of forms that sprung into existence simultaneously with the decay of the old synthetic system, or is it an adoption of a Semitic principle? Diez finds the origin of the suffixed pronouns in shortened forms of the dative and accusative of Latin, which were already in use in the classical period. It remains, however, to be explained how this peculiarity arose in the Romance group, in one member of the Iranian, and two members of the Indian group, only, and nowhere else in all the wide range of the Indo-European family.

§ 77. Having now gone through all the forms of the modern Indian verb, the subject may be closed by some remarks on the way in which the terminations are added to those verbal stems which end in a vowel. So many of these terminations begin with vowels, that a hiatus necessarily ensues, and the modern languages, though they do not, as a rule, object to a hiatus, do in this particular make occasional efforts to avoid it.

Hindi stems end only in long vowels—ā, ē, ū, e, o. Some grammarians call those stems which end in a long vowel open roots, and those which end in a consonant close roots. This terminology has nothing to recommend it, and there is no advantage in retaining it. The tenses whose terminations begin with vowels are the aorist, future, imperative, and past participle.

Before terminations beginning with ā or o, no attempt is made to soften the hiatus, but before ē and e there is sometimes inserted a य or य. As types may be taken the stems जा “go,”

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"drink," कु “touch,” दे "give," and बो “sow.” The aorist of these five is as follows:—

**Singular.**

| 1. जाओं | 2. जाए, जावे, जाय | 3. id. |
| 1. पीओं | 2. पीए, पीवे | 3. id. |
| 1. कूओं | 2. कूए, कूवे | 3. id. |
| 1. देओं, दे | 2. दे, दे | 3. id. |
| 1. बोओं | 2. बोए, बोवे | 3. id. |

**Plural.**

| 1. जाएं, जावें, जाय | 2. जावों | 3. जाएं, जावें, जाय |
| 1. पीएं, पीवें | 2. पीवों | 3. पीएं, पीवें |
| 1. कूएं | 2. कूवों | 3. कूएं |
| 1. दे, दे | 2. देवों, दो | 3. देवे, दे |
| 1. बोवे, बोएं | 2. बोवों | 3. बोवे, बोएं |

The common stems दे and ले usually suffer contraction by the elision of their final vowel, and one more commonly hears दो “give!” लो “take!” दुंगा “I will give,” लंगा “I will take,” than the full forms.

The future and imperative follow the same rule as the aorist. In the past participle of stems ending in ए, खू is inserted before the ए of the termination, as चा “come,” p.p.p. चा-धि-चा (चाचा), या “find,” पाया, खा “eat,” खाया. But in the poets, especially in Tulsi Das, instead of खू we find खु commonly inserted. Thus, एधि बिधि राम सवधि समुझाभा “In this way Ram explained to all” (Ay-k. 457). चा वाचा “came,” बनावा “made,” पावा “found,” गावा “sang,” for चावा, बनावा, पावा, गावा respectively. Kabir uses both forms indifferently. Thus in Ram. 48, i. पढाया “caused to read,” पाया “found,” but in the next, Ram. 49, पावा and चावा. In the fem. sing., however, and in the pl. m. and f., the junction-letter खू is not used, thus चाई “she came,” बनाई “she made,” fem. sing., चायी, पायी masc. pl. As all
causals end in त, these forms are of frequent occurrence, and sometimes even an र is inserted, as बनाय. In the old ha future, the त of the stem and the initial i of the termination frequently coalesce into र्, as—

ककूँक द्रिवस जननी घर घोरा ॥
कपिन्द सहित ऐहूँ रघुवीरा ॥
विषिच्छर मारि तुमहिं के थेंहूँ ॥
तिं हूँ पूर नारदाति जश नेंहूँ ॥

“For a few days, mother, sustain thy courage,
Raghubir will come with the monkeys,
Slaying the demons, will carry thee off;
The three worlds, Nārada and all shall sing his praise.”
—Tulsi, Ram., S.-k. 36.

where ऐहूँ = आहूँ, थेंहूँ = जाहूँ, and नेंहूँ = माहूँ; so also we find ऐहूँ “they will find,” for पाहूँ, mod. पावूँ (Tulsi, Ram., S.-k. 10). In other places, however, we find the junction-letter व, as पावूँ, आवूँ, etc.

In Panjabi the junction-letter for the aorist, imperative, and future is regularly व, as जावे “he goes,” जावूँ “he will go,” but before o it is omitted, as जावो “go ye,” जावूँ “ye will go.” For the past participle it is र, as होर आ “been,” masc. sing., and is omitted before e, as होए “been,” masc. pl. In the three first-named tenses the व is regularly inserted in pure प, but in speaking it is now sometimes, under the influence of Hindi, omitted, and टूगार is heard instead of the more characteristic टूगा.

In Sindhi all verbal stems end in a vowel, those stems, which in other languages end in a consonant, having in that language a short a or i. In this class of stems, before the neuter infinitive in चृ, a व is inserted, as प “fall,” infin. पवूँ; रि “bow,” infin. रिवूँ. Before the active infinitive in दृषु no junction-letter is employed, as म “measure,” infin. मदृषु.
Stems, whether active or neuter, ending in ī and ū, and sometimes those ending in ō, shorten those vowels in the infinitive, as—

पी “drink,” infin. चिरणु
पू “string,” , छरणु
घी “wash,” , छरणु
रो “weep,” , छरणु
हो “be,” , षणु

but, on the other hand, ढो “carry,” has infin. ढोचणु; and stems in ā, including causals, retain the long vowel, as—

गाच्छा “speak,” infin. गाच्छाचणु
फेरा “cause to turn,” , फेराचणु.

The aorist follows generally the type of the infinitive, retaining the short vowel. In the persons व is inserted as in प, except before ū or o; thus पवं “I fall,” is declined—


The व may be dropped before 2 and 3 sing., as तर “thou sayest,” or “he says.” The common verb दितण् “to give,” undergoes contraction in this, as in all the other languages; thus 2 sing. दी “thou givest,” not दिए, 3 pl. दीन, not दिनिन.

Verbs ending in ā insert य before ā, ū, and o, as दुहाय “I grow old,” दुहायू “we grow old,” दुहाय “ye grow old.”

The imperative and other tenses follow the general rule, which may, for Sindhi, and, to a great extent, for the other languages also, be thus stated; the junction-letters are व and य, व is omitted before vowels of its own organ, as u and o, and य is omitted before ī and ē; before ā both are employed, but preferentially व after short vowels, and य after long ones.

Thus, in the present participle, which is used as a future, व is either inserted or omitted, as—
OTHER VERBAL FORMS.

पत्रभु “to fall,” पवंद्रो “falling.”
पिच्रभु “to drink,” पिच्रंद्रो “drinking.”
घुच्रभु “to wash,” घुच्रंद्रो “washing.”

Contraction also occurs, as चवशु “to speak,” चूंद्रो (चवंद्रो) जग्रभु “to be,” हंद्रो (हजंद्रो) डिह्रभु “to give,” होरो (डिह्रंद्रो).
The past participle regularly ends in रूश्रो or यो, and the inserted व is naturally dropped before it, thus—

चवशु makes चयो, not चयो.

नवशु "नयो" नयो (Old-H. नाया).

If the stem ends in a palatal vowel or consonant, the i of the termination is dropped, as—

विच्रभु “to become,” विच्रो, not वीच्रो = वि + रूश्रो.
कूकभु “to speak,” कूछो.
सोच्रभु “to inquire,” सोछो.

Passives naturally drop the euphonic व of the active infinitive before their palatal junction-vowel, as—

चवशु “speak,” Imperative चउ, Passive चज्रभु “to be spoken.”
पवशु “fall,” पउ, पव “to be fallen.”

The stems quoted above, as shortening their radical long vowel before the termination of the infinitive active, naturally retain the long vowel in the passive, as—

पी “drink,” पीज्रभु “to be drunk.”
पू “string,” पूज्रभु “to be strung.”
घी “wash,” घीज्रभु “be washed.”

There is very little to notice, in this respect, about G. The orthography of that language is still in so unfixed a state, that it is impossible to seize upon any principles as to junction-letters. One writer will insert them, while another omits them, or the same writer will insert them on one page and omit them on the next. Thus we find होए, होय, होआ, होय written in-
differently, also कर्चे and करण. Until the natives of that province make up their minds as to how their language ought to be spelt, it is impossible for foreigners to evolve any laws or rules on the subject.

§ 78. Marathi is slightly more sensitive to hiatus, and has a greater fondness for the च-sound than the other languages. There exists, consequently, in some persons of certain tenses, a system of Sandhi for Tadbhava words and forms, which differs in its general principles from that prevailing in Sanskrit. The grammar-writers, unfortunately, either omit entirely or only casually note these important combinations. The following remarks are offered as a contribution to the subject.¹

The tenses of the M. verb, whose terminations begin with a vowel, are the aorist, imperative, future, and subjunctive, also the participles present and past, the conjunctive and infinitive. These are for the neuter verb; in the active verb the र, which is inserted between the stem and termination, causes a collision of two vowels in the other tenses also. Verbal stems ending in all the vowels except a have here to be considered (खाँ “eat,” पि “drink,” घे “take”).

Aorist, (in modern usage past habitual)—

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<tr>
<th>SINGULAR.</th>
<th>PLURAL.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. खाईं</td>
<td>1. खाजं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. पीईं</td>
<td>2. पीजं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. चेईं</td>
<td>2. चेजं</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But in the 3 sing. चे, पी are used, so also देस, घेस in 2 sing., and in the 3 pl. the final र is elided. In 2 sing. both र and ए are changed to the palatal semivowel before अ, though not before आ, so that we have या, घा side by side with पीजं (not फू), चेजं (not छू).

¹ For the illustrations to this section I have to thank Captain G. A. Jacob, Inspector of Schools, Punâ, who kindly furnished me with details which are wanting from most of the grammars.
In the future there is similarly in 2 pl. चा, चा, चा, and so also in the imperative 2 pl. या, या; चे "come," makes aorist 2 pl. चा, future चा, and occasionally one hears चे aorist 3 sing. for the more regular चे.

In the subjunctive the semivowel occurs again, as चा, चा, but चा simply from चे. This last verb should, by analogy, form चा, but the double य in such a position would be unpronounceable, and a single य is therefore exhibited. It must not be supposed that the e of चे has simply been dropped.

For the potential the termination of the present वैं might have been expected to be simply added to the verbal stem, as no hiatus would thus be caused. But the origin of this form from the Skr. part. in तच renders this course impossible. The त of तच having suffered elision, there naturally results an hiatus. Thus from चूडताय, Pr. चाहतान्त्र चा चा gives चाचा, the first च supplying the place of the lost त, so that in the potential we get not चा, but चा. Similarly पीवतें, चे चे चे चे, and even in stems ending in ह, as लिहह "write," लिहह.

Stems ending in य preserve the hiatus almost throughout, thus ड्यु "wash"—

Aor. ड्यु, ड्यु, ड्यु; ड्यु, ड्यु (but ड्यु).

Fut. ड्यु, ड्यु, ड्यु; ड्यु, ड्यु.

Subj. ड्यु or ड्यु.

Pot. ड्यु.

In the present participle only त is added, not देत or अत, as चात, पी, चे, चे, धुत, and in the past participle the semi-vowel is generally used, as—

का p.p. का "eaten."

ले "का "put on."

भी "का "feared."

वि "का "brought forth."

पी "का or पिहा "drunk."
Some stems avoid the hiatus by insertion of त, as घेतला, घुवाशा (see § 47), which is also used in some stems ending with a consonant.

The conjunctive is खाजन, पोजन, घेजन, घजन. These are all the forms in which an initial vowel of a termination comes in contact with a final stem-vowel, and it will be observed that the change of the latter into a semivowel occurs generally before a or ā, but not before ९ or उ. When the stem-vowel is उ or ०, the semivowel is added to, not substituted for, the vowel, as in घुवाशा, not घाजन. From this and other instances in word-building, and in the formation of the case of the noun, it would appear that the labial and palatal vowels are more permanent and less liable to change in Marathi than the guttural vowel.

It is somewhat difficult to follow the author of the Portuguese grammar of the Konkani dialect, in consequence of the peculiarity of the system of transliteration which he uses, and only half explains, but there would appear to be several forms peculiar to that dialect. Thus he tells us that घे makes its past part. yelo or aiilo, which latter he calls "marattismo," as if all Konkani were not Marathi. घे makes gheilo (perhaps घेतला), as well as ghetio (घेतला). Qhatā (খাতা) makes gheio (খৈলা) "outros dizem ghailo" (खाईला), he adds, "ambos irregulares," though the latter, from a Marathi point of view, would be more normal than the actually used खाईला. Perhaps the author would call it a "marattismo." Generally speaking, it would appear from the specimens of Konkani given by Burnell,¹ that the termination of the p.p. consists of लो, ली, ले, etc., added to the stem without an intermediate vowel, as बसलो "sat" (M. बसला), पडले "fell" (M. पडला), राइली "remained" (M. राईली), and the like.

The differences between Konkani and Marathi do not, I

¹ Specimens of South Indian Dialects (Mangalore)
think, entitle the former to be considered a distinct member of the Aryan group, but rather a dialect of the latter, which has been subjected very largely to Dravidian influences. Parallel to it, on the opposite coast of India, is the Aryan spoken in Ganjam and Vizagapatam, which, though radically Oriya, has, nevertheless, been much Dravidianized by the influence of the Telugu which surrounds it. Both Ganjam Oriya and Konkani Marathi show traces of this influence not only in pronunciation, but even in structure. There is much to be said on this subject, were this the proper place for it, and, from the known results in languages under our own eyes of Dravidian influences on Aryan speech, we might base considerations as to the probable extent and nature of those influences in former times. The subject would require a whole treatise to itself.

§ 79. In Bangali no attempt is made to avoid hiatus, the verbs ending in vowels simply add the terminations without any change. Thus या “go” (pronounced jā), makes—

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<tr>
<td>याई</td>
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<tr>
<td>याइस</td>
<td>याइस</td>
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<tr>
<td>याय</td>
<td>याय</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present यार्तित्व, subjunctive यार्ताम, and so on.

Contraction, however, takes place in the 3 pl. of the aorist, as in यान for याएन, हृ (होनो) for होएन, and in the familiar verb दे “give,” almost throughout; thus we have—

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
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<tr>
<td>दि</td>
<td>दोषी</td>
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<tr>
<td>दिस</td>
<td>दोषी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>देय</td>
<td>देन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. 1.</td>
<td>दित्तित्व, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pret. 1.</td>
<td>दिनु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>दिनिस</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>दिस</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fut. 1.</td>
<td>दिब</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>दिब्ब</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>दिब्ब</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

contracted from देर, देर्तित्व, देरसु, देरव, etc., respectively. As a rule, however, though in ordinary speech many of the forms of stems in vowels are very much contracted, yet in
writing the full forms are always used. It is only in a few very familiar words that the contractions are admitted into the written style of the present day. The old poets, however, writing more freely and naturally, employ them frequently. Thus Bhârat Chandra, महाजीरसे निशा घोड़ा चढ़ाया “He took Majumdar along with him, having mounted him on a horse” (Mansingh, 417), where निशा is for निशा, from कहते “to take.” So he constantly uses कह for कहँ “says,” as कोटाल हासिया कहँ। कहि साज़ ना है। “The Kotwal laughing, says, Are you not ashamed to say so?” (Bidyā-S. 356), also कह for कहिब, as हाय हाय कि कब विधिये “Alas! alas! what shall I say to fate?” (ib. 360), and दिन for दिन aorist 3 sing., as दिने दिना कतुधु मधे दिन कतुधु “First having given how much pain, they give in between how much pleasure” (ib. 359).

The contractions admitted in Oriya are similar to those in Bangali, but the language does not avoid the hiatus in any way; and in both O. and B. the terminations are almost universally preceded by short i, which does not combine with the preceding vowel, but in pronunciation often disappears altogether. Thus they say, O. खालु “wilt thou eat?” for खालु। In a few words the vowel of the root has gone out, thus from जा “go,” we have जिब “I will go,” for जालि; from छा “remain,” infin. चिभा for छालि; पा “find,” however, retains its vowel, as पालि, पालि, पालि। Also जा and छा retain their vowels everywhere except in the preterite, future, and infinitive.
CHAPTER VI.

THE PARTICLE.


§ 80. The seven languages are rich in adverbs, and have a specially symmetrical range of pronominal adverbs, corresponding to the several classes of pronouns. The forms were given in Vol. II. pp. 336–38, in order to show their analogy to the pronouns, but nothing was said in that place about their origin; it will now be necessary to consider them more closely. The pronominal adverbs may be at once assumed to have sprung from the pronouns to which they respectively correspond, by the incorporation of some noun indicative of time, place, manner, and the like. On the other hand, the adverbs which have no pronominal meaning are clearly derived from various cases of nouns, whether substantives or adjectives. Participles, also, in virtue of their seminominal character, are used adverbially, either in their original form, or with certain modifications. Adverbs, therefore, may be divided into two classes, nominal and pronominal, with reference to their origin, and into three general categories of time, place, and manner, with reference to their meaning. To these must be added adverbs of confirmation and negation, and certain little helping words which are more adverbial in their nature than anything else. It is also to be noted that, while on the one hand simple nouns are often used adverbially, on the other hand, adverbs are
capable of being used as nouns with postpositions after them, as in H. तब की बात, lit. “the word of then,” i.e. “the matter that took place then,” चब के राजा लोग “the kings of now,” i.e. “those of the present day.”

§ 81. (1). Pronominal adverbs of time.—The near demonstrative is H. अब, G. हैं, M. एवं, O. एव. All these hang together, and are apparently compounds of the Skr. वेला “time,” with the type of the demonstrative अब, एव, or ए. The fuller form in O. shows this, it is एते वेले, which is clearly the locative case of a masculine वेल, literally, “in so much time.” G. has prefixed a हैं, but many words in G. may be indifferently written with हैं or अब; there is, therefore, nothing organic about this letter when met with in this connection. In M. एव also the हैं seems to be somewhat anomalous. There are also, however, many other forms for “now” in the various languages, which appear to be unconnected with वेला.

Hindi is mostly, however, faithful to the type in अब; thus in Braj अबे, Marwari अबे, and still more clearly Bhojpuri एवे, which approaches to the O. एवे. The same type runs through all the pronominal forms, as जब “whenever,” तब “then,” कब “when.” Bhojpuri जेर, टेर, केर, Braj जबि, तबि, कबि. The Skr. forms चदा, तदा, कदा appear in H. जद, तद, कद, and in the dialectic forms, जदि, जदी, जदू, जदा; as also तदि, etc.; the forms with the palatal and labial vowels have, I think, arisen from the incorporation of the affirmative particle है or हैं “indeed,” of which more further on.

Panjabi अण, G. S. हाणि, B. एकन, and a dialectic form in O. एकण, all meaning “now,” are to be referred, as the B. form clearly shows, to the Skr. चण “instant, moment.” For the rest of the series P. has जद, तद, कद. S., however, has another type हिण्णर, हेर “now,” in which we may, perhaps, see the Skr. काल “time,” combined with the pronoun हिण्ण “this;”
for the other members of the series it has जड़यां “whenever,”
तड़यां “then,” कड़यां “when?” which arise from the Skr. यद्र, etc.,
with the emphatic या, which has changed the preceding vowel into the i which is so common in S. They also write कड़ी and कड़ीं as dialectic variations; also जा, ता (but not का),
where the द of यद्र has suffered elision.

G. has, besides हवे, also हमणा, हवं, and for the rest ज्वारि,
तेवारि, केवारि, commonly contracted into ज्वारि, etc., in which
we see the Skr. वार “time.” Owing to the G. peculiarity in
respect of initial ह, we have also चमणा, and with a modernized
form of Skr. चर “here,” च्वारि (चिव वारि) “at this time,”
“now.”

M. is consistent throughout एव्हा, ज्व्हा, तेव्हा, केव्हा. In
Old-M. forms चेव्वा, etc., occur, showing that the modern चह
वस is an inversion from च हव. The suggested origin from Skr.
कद्रा, by aspirating the द and adding अ, the termination of
the locative (Godbol, p. 75), is unsatisfactory. M. has also a
series जेव, etc., meaning “while,” “as long as,” which recalls
H. जब with inorganic anunāsika.

O. has the fuller forms, जेव बेव, etc., and जेव explained
above; the former is quite as frequently used as the latter, if
not more so. “Time is made for slaves,” and not for Orijas.

B. जजन, तजन, etc., uniformly, pronounced जोक्वोन or जोक्वो, etc. H. adds constantly ही for emphasis, as अभी “now”
(अबही), कभी “sometimes” (कबही), and with the negative कभी
नही “never.”

For the indefinite pronominal adverb “ever,” “sometimes,”
the other languages have, P. कद्री (कद्री), कद्री, कद्री, S. कद्री,
G. कद्री, M. कद्री, B. कजन, O. केव, केवेहि. All these are re-
peated to signify “sometimes,” as P. कद्री कद्री, M. कद्री कद्रो.

The above express definite or quiescent time; for progressive
time, whether past, as “since,” or future “until,” the adverbs
above given are used as nouns with case-affixes. Thus H. चब
से “from now,” “henceforth,” तब से “thenceforth,” कब से
“since when?” जब से “from the time when,” or with the older affix ते in the poets, as in जब ते राम बाहि घर आयि। “From the time when Ram married and came home” (Tulsi-Rám, Ay-k. 5), P. जबौँ S. जबिड़हाको, जबिड़होको, जबिड़हाकर; where को is probably a shortened form of कर, an oblique from कर, which we may connect with काल “time,” as in हिन्दियर “now.” The long ज or ो of jaḍihi, jaḍiho, as contrasted with the त of जडिथी, seems to indicate an oblique form. G. हमणायी “henceforth,” आवारणी, and apparently also आवारी, and the rest of the series. They also say आवार पहँ “henceforth.” M. uses मग or मगिं, which are not pronominal. Neither B. nor O. have special forms for this idea.

To express “until” in Old-H. लगि, लोँ, लोँ, in modern H. लग, तलक, and तक, are affixed to the pronominal adverb, as in Chand—

तब लगि कह दृष्टि तन ||
तव लगि लघु मुल्हि गात ||
जब लगि हीं च्यायी नहरु ||
ती पार न सेवात ॥

“Till then, pain and poverty of body,
Till then, my limbs were light (i.e. mean),
So long as I came not to thee,
And worshipped not at thy feet.—Pr.-R. i. 276.

Here, as always in H., the negative has to be inserted, and we must translate जब लगि by “so long as.” This idiom is not peculiar to H., but is found in many other languages. In modern Hindi जब तक राम घर वो नहीं आयि “So long as Rām comes not home,” i.e. “until he comes,” and the same in P.

S. has हेसी or एसीताई “up to this time,” घोसी or होसीताई “up to that time,” where ताई, as explained in Vol. II. p. 298, is Skr. खाचि, which, from meaning “in the place,” has grown to mean “up to.” सीं, I suppose, is a contraction of समय “time.”

The Hindi series यहीं, वहीं, जहीं, तहीं, कहीं, is composed of the pronominal bases with हीं, which we are justified in referring to Skr. खाने; thus तहीं = तथ्याने. The dental is preserved in several dialectic forms (Kellogg, p. 265), as Marwari छठी, छदी, छट “here,” छठ, etc., “there,” Avadhi एठिया, एठियां, Bhojpuri एठो, एठारे. But the Braj इति, इत, is, I think, by Kellogg rightly referred to the Skr. series इत, इत, etc. The Bundelkhandi form यायी is probably only another way of pronouncing याईं, as we find in Old-Bengali such words as खसाज्ञि for खसाईं (modern खसाइযा). To sthâne, also, are to be ascribed the P. forms इति, इति, etc. S. has not only इति, जिति, etc., which may come from इत, इत, but इति, which agrees with P., and इति, which is, I suspect, like इतिकृति “one,” an instance of a ह being put on to the front of a word without any etymological cause.

G. has various forms चाहीं, चाहीं, हहीं, महींच “here,” and the same variety through all the series. The adverbial part agrees with H. Shortened forms चाँ, बां, कां, and even जां, तां, कां, are also in use.

M. agrees closely with P. and S. in its series चती, जेढ, etc., where the final anusvāra, like that of Bhojpuri एठारे, preserves the n of sthâne. But बोठ “where,” has the cerebral.

O. having first made sthâna into ठा, proceeds with the declension through its own affixes, and has thus a modern locative ठारे, in ठारे, बठारे. The final ठे is often dropped, and ठा, ठा, or even shortened ठि, ठि are used. B. uses खानि, which seems to come from खानि on the analogy of खाभो = खभ (Var. iii. 14) and खातु = खातु (ib. iii. 15). For “where,” however, it has a more regular form कोठा, in older Bengali कोषाय, as तार सत सवासिनी पाइब कोषाय “Where shall I find a female saint like her?” (Bharat, Bidyā-S. 399), where the final य for य is a relic of the e of sthâne. We also find हृथा and हृथाय “here,” etc.
In the case of the adverbs of this group, as in those of time, the case-affixes are used, as H. कहां से “from where?” “whence?” G. चाहां थी “hence,” P. वित्यों “whence?” But this practice is only in force to imply motion from a place. To express motion towards a place a separate set is used.

In classical H. the adverbial element is घर, as ढघर “hither,” उघर “thither.” The dialectic forms are very various. Bhojpuri has एम्हर, उम्हर, as also एने, उने, etc.; in eastern Behar one hears एनहर, हेसर, and many others. Kellogg quotes also a curious form from Riwâ एहि जैत, एहि कोट, or एहि मुङ्ह. If we take the original of all these forms to be घर, that is a word of many meanings both in Skr. and H.; but I am disposed to connect the series with M. स्नोर “face,” G. मोहुंदु id., a diminutive from Skr. मुख, so that the older adverbial element would be स्नह, as in Bhojpuri, whence न्ह, which would, by a natural process, glide into घर and घर. For the Riwâ form I can suggest no origin.

The S. and M. forms seem to be connected, and with them I would associate the common O. expressions ए आडि “in this direction,” “hither” (चो चाडी, को चाडी, etc.), which are locatives, and ए आड़, etc., “from this place,” “hence,” which are ablative. The Sindhi adverb, as usual in that language, is written in a dozen ways, but the simplest form is एढे “hither,” and एढो “hence,” which, like O., are respectively locative and ablative. Marathi has what is apparently a fuller form रकडे “hither,” locative, where the adverbial portion is कड “a side,” said to be from Skr. कट “hip, loin.” It has also an ablative series रकडून “hence.” May we not here throw out a crumb for our Non-Aryan brethren? There is a long string of words in our seven languages of the type अड़ा, and our Sanskrit dictionaries give व चढ़ “to join,” also “to stop.” On the other hand, Telugu has इक्कडा “here,” इक्काकिक “hither,” which looks very like M. इक्कडे. So, also, in Telugu इक्कडा “there.” All the Dravidian languages have a root अड, which,
in various forms, has a range of meanings such as "to be near," "close," "to cross," "to stop," and the like. They may have borrowed from the Aryans, or the Aryans from them. It by no means follows, as the opposite party always assume, that when a word is common to both groups, it must have been originally Dravidian. In the O. expression च्राङ्ग is a noun meaning "direction," and is used in that sense independently of its adverbial employment with the pronoun.

(3). Pronominal adverbs of manner.—The Hindi series यों, यों, यों, etc., and for the near demonstrative and interrogative respectively softened forms यूं and कूं, vary very little in the dialects. Marwari has जी, देख "thus," and, together with Braj and Mewari, has the far demonstrative, which is wanting in the classical dialect, यों or यूं. Mewari adds कर and गा, as देखकर, देखत "thus," which Kellogg looks on as from Skr. छ and गम respectively, and rightly so; for even in classical H. we have कूंकर "how?" and in Chand and the poets करि or कह (के) are added to all this pronominal series at will.

The older form of this group is still preserved in the Purbi form इम or इमि, जिमि, तिमि. Chand has both this series and the modern one in यों, as यों भयों रिवि अवघूत। "Thus the Rishi was absorbed in thought" (Pr.-R. i. 48), यों रह व कथा प्रमाण। यों जानि कोविद यों। "Thus this story is proved, as learned folk know" (ib. xiii. 5), पद्मावती इम ले चयो। हरपि राज प्रधिराज। "King Prithiraj, rejoicing, thus (ina) led away Padmāvatī," (ib. xx. 35), तह्यां सु केम दिक्की गमन। "How can one go there?" (ib. i. 90). Tulsi Das has इमि, जिमि, etc., as in तन परदेंद कद्मी जिमि कांपो "Her body was in a sweat, she trembled as a plantain-tree (trembles)."—Ram. Ay-k. 131.

M. may be excluded, as it has no series of this type, but merely the neuter of the adjective pronoun, as चसें, जसें, तसें. All the other languages have closely allied words. B. एमन, एमत, एमने, एमते, "thus," जेमन, etc.; the first two are nominals, the last two locatives. O. एमति, जेमति, locatives; also
The particle.

ए परि, the pronominal type, with a postposition. G. एम, जेम, where the termination has been lost, also for demonstrative आम. This series is sometimes written ज्ञाम, ज्ञम, क्षम, but जेम is the more common, as in कौिति यह डूठ नी विस्तीर्णें जेम सूरज ना पसरे कोिर्ण। "The fame of Nala was spread abroad, as spread the rays of the sun" (Premānand in *K.-D.* ii. 71).

Next in order comes the Old-Purbi H. इम, etc., and, with the nasal weakened, probably through an intermediate form इव, and change of the semivowel to its vowel, P. इव and एव ईव, and the full series जिव, तिव, फिव, as well as one without the त, जिव, तिव, etc., to which is allied H. यी, etc., for जिव। S. rejects the labial element in इव, हिव, दीव, and the rest of the series.

In this instance B. and O. preserve the fuller forms, and the other languages fall away by degrees, in the order given above. The whole group points, in my opinion, clearly to a type in मत or वत। This is still more clearly seen by comparing the pronominal adjective of quality in B. and O. केमन, सेमन, for मनो is the regular Prakrit form of the masc. मत, just as वत्तन is of वत in Skr. It is true that the existing Skr. series means rather quantity than manner, thus—

इयान, इयती, इयत "so much,"
कियत "how much?"
एतावान्, ओवती, ओवत "so much,"
यावत् "as much as."

But the affixes mat and vat imply possession, and thus naturally pass over into the idea of manner. It seems that we have in the modern group this affix added to the ordinary range of pronominal types, and thus a formation of a later kind, rather than a direct derivation from the Skr. Kellogg's suggestion of a derivation from a Skr. series in tha, of which only ittham and katham are extant in the classical writings, fails to account for
the Old-Purbi and G. forms, as well as for those in B. and O. Also the S. form रूच seems to be more naturally referred to an earlier emana, through enan, than to ittham, unless, indeed, we regard the anuswāra as inserted to fill the hiatus left by elision of itth. S. does, undoubtedly, insert anuswāra to fill a hiatus; but as the cognate languages have a म just where the anuswāra in S. occurs, it is more natural to regard the one as a weakening of the other, and the final anuswāra in H. and P. as the same, pushed one syllable forwards, so that H. त्रीण would be for an older form चिन्द. As the change, whatever it was, was completed before our earliest writer Chand’s days, there is no actual proof forthcoming.

§ 82. Adverbs derived from nouns and verbs.—Under this head may be classed certain words such as those given in Vol. II. p. 296, which are either postpositions or adverbs, according to the connection in which they are used. In either case they are, by derivation, locative cases of nouns. Some are peculiar to one or two languages, while others are common, in one form or another, to the whole group. I do not, of course, undertake to give them all, but only a selection of those most commonly used, so as to show the practice of the languages in this respect. There are, for instance, H. आगे “before,” and पीछे “behind,” which are used adverbially in the sense of “formerly” and “afterwards” respectively, that is, with reference to time, and in this sense take, like the pronominal adverbs, the case-affixes, as आगे की बात “the former matter,” lit. “the matter of formerly,” पीछे के दुख में कहा नहीं “I will not tell the suffering that followed,” lit. “the suffering of afterwards.” So also with नीचे “below,” and the other words given at Vol. II. p. 296.

Strictly referring to time definite are H. आज “to-day,” P. अज्ञ, S. अज्ञ, etc. (Vol. I. p. 327), from Skr. अज्ञ; also H. कल from Skr. कल्य “dawn.” This word has two meanings,
it is used for both "yesterday" and "to-day." In rustic H. we have the forms काल, कालि, कालह, and काल्ह (see Vol. I. p. 350). As the Skr. means only "dawn" in general, it is used in the moderns in the double sense, but in cases where the meaning might not be clear from the context, a word meaning past is employed when "yesterday" is intended, and a word meaning future when "to-morrow" is implied. It also takes case-affixes, as कल की लडाई में घायल हुआ “He was wounded in yesterday's battle,” but कल की लडाई में जब्रू घायल हुँगा “If I shall be wounded in to-morrow's battle.” G. कालि, S. काल्ह, कालह, M. काल.

So also are used the following: — Skr. पशु “the day after to-morrow.” In the moderns it has also the sense "the day before yesterday," as H. परसोऽ, and dialects परसी, परस्त्री, परसोऽ. P. परसोऽ, S. परिङ्ग, परिँंको, seem to be used only in the first meaning. G. परम, M. परवो. O. has पर always in combination with दिन, and where the sentence does not of itself sufficiently indicate the meaning, they add the words "gone" and "coming" to express it more clearly, गत पर दिन “the day before yesterday,” and आसंता पर दिन “the day after to-morrow.”

H. goes a step further still, and has तरसोऽ "three days ago,” or "three days hence," where the first syllable is probably Skr. त्रि "three." Similarly S. तरिह, but also with rejection of initial त, तरिह. Kellogg quotes dialectic forms in H. चतरसोऽ, तरि, तरोऽ. In H. वे have even a still further नरसोऽ "four days ago,” which is rarely, however, used, and the initial of which, I conjecture, comes from बन्य, as though it were for बन्य तरसोऽ "another day (besides) three days ago.”

H. सवेर "early," "betimes," and उवेर, or more usually उवेर "late," are Skr. च and च्र, compounded with वेला respectively. S. सवेर and उवेर, also उवेल, besides the adjectively used forms सवेरौ and सवारौ, as well as उवेलौ. In this sense is also used H. सकालिः, सकारौ, O. and B. उ. in O. it is frequently used in
the sense of "early in the morning," also "early to-morrow morning," as चार जान पारिवु नष्ठ सकालि जिवु "To-day we shall not be able to go, we will go early to-morrow morning." H. here uses तड़के, conjunctive participle of तड़का "to break," as we should say "at break of day;" also भोर "dawn" is used in H. and O., भोरे in B. for "at dawn;" where G. has वाहायो, M. चन्द्र (Skr. उद्य "sunrise"). Common also is Skr. प्रभाति, B. इ., G. परभाति, of which the Oriyas make पाहालि "at dawn;" in Eastern Bengal one hears पाहा. The H. भोर is probably connected with the Skr. भा in some way not very clear. G. has a curious word मऊसके "at dawn," probably connected with मऊँ "to meet," and, like Skr. सच्या, indicating the meeting of darkness and light.

"Rapidly," "quickly," "at once."—This idea is expressed by derivatives of the Skr. खार, principally from the p.p.p. लरितम, which is used adverbially already in Skr. The forms are: H. तुरंत, M. तूर्त, G. तूर्त, तरंग, लरीत, S. तूर्थ, O. B. तुरंत, लरित. M. has a peculiar word बचकर "at once, quickly," Skr. लब (व्लू "to cut") "a minute," M. लवार "to flash, twitch, move quickly." It is not found in any other language. Commoner, however, is H. झट "quick!" reduplicated झटपट, M. झट्टक, S. झट्टिपटि and चटिपटि, O. झट, झटपट, B. झटि, from Skr. झटिति. "Immediately" is also expressed in M. by तकाव, O. and B. तत् खशात, but these are pedantic. H. P. M. and S. have also a word चचाचक; H. also चचाचक "suddenly," "unexpectedly," corresponding to which is G. अचाचिे, बोचिे, pointing to a derivation from छ and चिन्न "to think," though I am disposed also to remember Skr. चमकार, H. चाव, in this connection. O. and B. use हुटात, literally ablative of Skr. हट, meaning "by force." It is used generally of sudden and forcible action, but also in sentences where no force, only surprise, or a sudden fright, occurs. Similarly in H. and G. एकाएक "all of a sudden," M. एकाएक, are used.

Among adverbs of place, considerable divergences exist, each
language having a large stock of words peculiar to itself, in addition to those which are common to the whole group. Sindhi is rich in words of this class, most of which are of somewhat obscure origin. Thus we find a small group with the typical ending in ड, as आड़ो “opposite,” चोड़ो “near,” चोड़िड़ो diminutive of the preceding. Peculiar to S. is also चोटो “near,” with its diminutive चोटिडरो. सूधो “accompanied by,” O. सुधा, is by Trumpp referred to Skr. साधें “with,” and साखो “near,” to सहित, probably correctly. See the remarks on the postposition से in Vol. II. p. 274, and on the Nepali ablative in सित, Vol. II. p. 235. From adverbs with the affixes अहो and अरो are formed certain adjectives which may, in their turn, be again used adverbially as well as adjectively, that is, they may either stand alone uninflected, or may agree with a substantive in gender and number. Thus—

च्रोरो “on this side,” क्रोड़हो “somewhat on this side.”
क्रोड़ि “in front,” क्रोड़हो “somewhat in front.”
पोड़ि “behind,” पोड़हो “somewhat behind.”
मशि “upon,” मशहो “somewhat higher up.”
मंदि “in,” मंदिहो }
               मंदिहो “somewhat inside.”

This last word recalls the old poetic Hindi महार used in Chand (see Vol. II. p. 293). They may also take the feminine ending अही, as ग्राही, मताही।

Simple ablatives or locatives of nouns are also used adverbially, as—

पुस्त्रो “from behind,” abl. of पोड़ “the rear.”
पुस्त्रो “from behind,” पुड़ि “the back.”

1 Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 385.
Sindhi thus preserves the case-endings more strictly than the other languages. The latter mostly take the Prakrit locative, or ablative, and entirely reject the terminations.

Hindi has "elsewhere," Skr. ना "near," also वर (dialectically ना and तेरी); पर "on the other side," नेता "within," Skr. तेरा, बाहर, बाहर "outside," Skr. वहिस, and others.

M., like S., has मंग, but in the sense of "before," also पुँ "before," पहाड "beyond," वर "above," जवहि "near," which are peculiar to itself. In the other languages there is nothing deserving special mention; the subject has already been treated in Vol. II. p. 296.

Adverbs of manner.—While the adverbs of place, being also, in their nature, postpositions, and as such used to form cases, do not call for special mention, adverbs of manner are not so used,
and it is to them that the term adverb, in its more special sense, correctly applies. Such words as *age* "before," *pitchhe* "behind," and the others, may, indeed, be properly regarded as adverbs when they are used alone, but when in conjunction with nouns, they become true postpositions, giving to the relations of the noun a more extended application. Adverbs of manner, on the other hand, are, for the most part, adjectives used adverbially, and this practice is common in all Aryan languages. In Sindhi, which preserves distinctions obliterated in the other languages, adjectives may, as pointed out above, be used adverbially by being undecorated, or, in their true use as adjectives, by agreeing with the subject in gender and case. Thus, to quote the instances given by Trumpp:

चोखिखोई उन माड़े जे भरि में बुढ़ किया
"By chance one mouse made a hole near that granary."

Here *ochito-* is an adjective in the nom. sing. masc. with emphatic *t*, and although by the accident of the construction it is in the same case as the subject *kue* "a mouse," yet it is evidently used adverbially.

तहिंद्रों जब हारि जान घंघो रोई माँ चरिश्वोसि
"Then having shed tears much, having wept much, his mother returned."

Here *ghano* is an adjective in the nom. sing. masc., and clearly does not agree with *māū* "mother," which is feminine; it must be regarded as used adverbially.

खुबू खङङि कोशिजङ्ग खाड़ा तपनि खोङ्ग
"The winds strike hot, the days burn fiercely."

In this sentence I do not think we should regard the adjectives as used adverbially; खुबू "winds," is a noun in the nom. pl. fem. and कोशिजङ्ग "hot" agrees with it, so also खोङ्ग

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1 Sindhi Grammar, p. 386.
"days," is nom. sing. masc. and वाढा "fierce, excessive" (Skr. विद्ध), agrees with it; so that we might more literally translate, "the hot winds strike, the fierce days burn."

In Marathi and Gujarati also, where adjectives have the full range of three genders, they are often made to agree with the noun in constructions, where in English they would be used adverbially. When intended to be adverbially used, they stand in the nom. sing. neuter, ending in ते M. and ते G. In Bengali and Oriya, where no gender exists, it is impossible to draw the same line of distinction, and this remark applies also to that numerous class of adjectives in Hindi and Panjabi, as also in all the other languages, which are indeclinable, or which, ending in mute a, do not vary their terminations. Those adjectives in H. and P. which end in ए masc. and ए fem., when used adverbially, stand in the former gender and do not vary with the noun.

§ 83. Conjunctions.—In Hindi the common word for "and" is और, Old-H. अह, अवर, from Skr. अपर "other." In B. and O. it loses the final consonant, B. और, O. औउ. In B., however, एवं, pronounced ebong, is very common; and और "also." P. औनि, often shortened into ते, probably from Skr. औनि "at the end," "afterwards," as well as और (अपर). S. औउे, औरे, औँ or औँ, in which the fondness of S. for the औ-sound comes out. G. uses generally तथा literally "then." It has besides ए and और for "also," which belong to the group from अपर. G. अनि, shortened अ, I am disposed to connect with P. औनि, and ascribe to Skr. अनि. In the former case the अ has been lost, in the latter the अ. It may, however, be allied to M. औसि, औहाबी "and," from Skr. औब "other." In all the languages, however, the shorter conjunction औ is in use, side by side with the words given above. The ordinary Skr. औ has left no descendants. The Gipsies use ते or ता, which agrees with P., also अ, which is Persian ज.
"Also."—H. भी, Skr. चिरि हि, Pr. बि हि. The various steps from चिरि downwards are all retained in S. चि, चि, भि (for बि हि), and भि. The other forms पुँर, पुँरि, पिरि, are from Skr. पूर््र् "again," and show a gradual change from the u to the i, in accordance with S. proclivities. P. चाँि means literally "near to," locative of नात "near." G. पण, meaning also "but," is from पूर््. B. uses ढो, and O. भि.

"But" is very frequently expressed even in Hindi by the Arabic words लिंिन लिंिन, बलकि बलकि, and Persian मगर मगर; and in the other languages also. Pure Sanskrit are परंतु and किन्तु, as well as चरण (Skr. चरण). In Hindi पर (Skr. परं) is also used, and in P., which also uses चापर, and a strange form एपर, in the initial syllable of which we may recognize an incorporation of the near demonstrative pronoun, so that it means "rather than this." P. has also मगर, मगर, probably corruptions of फा. Peculiar to P. and S. are the forms P. हयां, S. हया, हयो, and emphatic हयानि and हयोि "but rather." These are ablatives from हय, and the idiom may be paralleled by our English phrase "on the other hand." S. has also पर "but," and पण, in which latter it agrees with G. It also uses मगरि, having added a final i to फा. G. and M., in addition to पण, use also परंतु, O. किन्तु and पर, B. किन्तु and वर.

"Or."—H. बा, ज्योि, which are Skr., with ब for व. The Arabic बा या is very common, and commoner still is कि, probably shortened from Skr. चिंिा. This कि is colloquially common in nearly all the languages. G. writes it क, where e is short. M. lengthens the vowel and retains the nasalization की, also using ऊििा, as does G. P. के, च्योिा, and बा. S. के and को. B. uses several varieties of च्योिा, as जििा, च्योिा, कि, and बा, also ऊििा. O. the same.

"If."—Skr. चिि, generally pronounced and written जिि, is universal. H. shortens it into जि and जि (= जि, with loss of द) and जि, by rejection of final i, and द goes out, its place
being supplied by  and . Thus कट = कट = कट = को. Persian अगर is also very common. P. वि and जे. This last introduces कर for कर “having done.” S. जे.

“Although.”—Skr. यथापि is used in B. O., also in H., but more common is जै भी “if even.” P. has मात्र, literally “one may think,” or “it may seem.” B. also uses जदि जै “if even.” S. तो जै, तो भी, sometimes with जै prefixed, जै तो जै; this, too, is literally “if even,” for तो जै alone is used to mean “either,” “even,” and is apparently really the correlative तो (तह = तदि) with a diminutive affix. It is not found in the other languages. G. जै पण “but if.” In all cases there is a correlative; thus to H. जै or जै भी answers तो or तो भी “then,” or “even then;” to P. मात्र answers ता भी; to G. जै पण, answers तो पण, and so in all. In B. and O., as in written H., the correlative is Skr. तथापि “yet.”

“Because.”—H. क्रृिकृकृ literally “for why.” B. and O. use Skr. कारण “cause,” and वि ह्रुत or वि ह्रुतुक. G. माटे, probably Skr. माविक्र, which is also sometimes used in O. in the sense of “only,” “merely,” “for the simple reason that.” G. has also क्रिम्न “for why,” and shorter क्रिकृ. S. जेला, जेला, where the last syllable is for लाइ “for” (see Vol. II. p. 260). S. also uses a string of forms with क्रि “why?” as क्राजी, क्रा लाइ, and को ता, को जै. The correlatives “therefore,” etc., take the त form तेला “etc.”

These instances may suffice to show the general principles on which the languages proceed in forming their conjunctions. There is, as in other respects, a general similarity of process, accompanied by variations of development.

§ 84. Interjections.—The various spontaneous or involuntary sounds, some of them hardly articulate, by which sudden emotions are expressed, are scarcely susceptible of rigid scientific analysis in any language. Everywhere we find ha! ho! or ah! oh! and the like. Surprise, fear, disgust, delight, and
other sentiments are often displayed by grunts, shakes, turns of the head, or movements of the hands, and among the people of India the hands play so large a part in conversation that they may almost be said to speak for themselves. It is only the Englishman who can converse with his hands in his pockets.

In Hindi the principal interjections are हे, हो, चहो, चो “Ho!” or “Oh!” हे is used to superiors, as हे धर्मावतार “O incarnation of justice!” which is the common method of addressing a Magistrate or Judge, हे मसू “O Lord!” हे पिता “O father!” हो, चहो, and चो, have no special tone of respect or disrespect. Sorrow is shown by आ, आह, हाए, हा हा, आहह “alas!” whence the common cry of native suitors, or persons applying to a ruler for redress, दोहाए literally “twice alas!” One often hears दोहाए खुदावानें, दोहाए अंग्रेज़ बाहादूर, which is as much as to say “grant me justice,” or “listen to my complaint.” Others are फिर फिर “fie!” चुप “hush!” अह, चोह “ah!” a cry of pain; चू चू disgust; हत तेरी, an expression with a suspicion of indecency about it, like too many of the native ejaculations, meaning “begone,” and at times with a menacing tone “how dare you?” I suspect the word now spelt हत was originally हट from हटना “to go away,” “be stopped,” and तेरी the feminine genitive of तू “thou,” is explained by such filthy expressions as तेरी मा “thy mother.” Two men are quarrelling, and one says to the other “ाह, तेरः मा,” “oh thy mother.” The person addressed at once understands that some gross and filthy insult to his mother is intended, for indiscriminate foul abuse of each other’s female relations is a favourite weapon with the natives of India. Thus the innocent word साबा or शाबा “brother-in-law,” has become the lowest term of abuse in these languages, the obscene imagination of the people immediately grasping the idea involved in this assumption of relationship.

Panjabi has mostly the same as Hindi. A very favourite
interjection of surprise with Panjabis, though it is also used by the other languages, is वाह, and doubled वाह वाह. The simple-minded Panjabi says “wâh! wâh!” to every new thing he sees, and this favourite exclamation helps to form the once terrible war-cry of the fighting Sikhs, “wâh wâh! fatih guru ji!”

All the other languages have these common interjections, several of which are also Persian or Arabic more or less corrupted. Thus the Persian شاد باش shâd bâsh, “be joyful!” is used everywhere as a term of encouragement, “well done!” and is used to stimulate workers to increased efforts, to express approbation, or to kindle flagging courage. It appears mostly without the औ, as shabâsh, shabâshe, sabâs, according to the language in which it is used.

A few special remarks are due to a very widespread word which is claimed by the Non-Aryan writers, जड़, जर or र. This is used to call inferiors, to rebuke impertinence, in scolding or quarrelling, and in most languages takes also a feminine form जड़ी, जी, री. Dr. Caldwell shows¹ that this word is also in use in the Dravidian group, and is there understood to mean “O slave!” Hemachandra, however (ii, 201), knows it as used in addressing (sambhâshane), and in dalliance (ratikalahe). For reproach (kshepe) he prescribes हरे. I do not dispute the Non-Aryan origin of this word, but it must have found its way into Aryan speech at a very early date, and has there to a great extent, lost its sense of rebuke, for it is often used merely to call attention, and in friendly condescension to an inferior, and there has sprung up beside it a form जब्र, used also in the same tone. The interchange of ज and र need cause no difficulty, being, especially in early writers, extremely common. There does not appear to be any Sanskrit origin for this word, and the fact that in the

Dravidian group it can be traced to a definite meaning, is one which carries great weight.

In O. and B. रे is only used in calling males; when addressing females, O. uses लो, and B. गो. Thus O. चास लो, सा बजारकु जिवा “Come along, mother, let us go to the bazar;” B. निवेद्ये घो शुन गो जनगि “The lady entreats, ‘hear me, oh my mother’” (Bhârat, Vid.-S. 338). लो, गोलो are also used in B. in contempt or reproof. Both these words seem to be fragments of लोगो, from Skr. लोक in the sense of “person,” the word लोग or लोगार् being used to indicate the women of the speaker’s family, and especially his wife, whom it is not considered proper to speak of directly.

§ 85. It is necessary to revert to the subject of postpositions, although they were partially discussed in Vol. II. p. 295, because in that place they were regarded in only one of their two aspects, namely, as factors in the declensional system. Here they must be looked at as parts of speech, corresponding to prepositions in the western Aryan languages.

In Hindi, in addition to the postpositions mentioned in Vol. II., may be cited as very common the following, some of which are also used as adverbs. Thus बाहिर “without” (Skr. बहिस्स) is used as a postposition with the genitive case, as घर के बाहिर “outside the house,” or even without the genitive sign, as द्वार बाहिर “outside the door.” So also पार “across,” “on the other side of,” is very commonly used with the direct form of the noun in the phrase नदी पार “across the river,” “on the other side of the river.” So also समेत “with,” “accompanied by,” as सूर सामंत समेत “accompanied by his peers and pala-dins,” the meaning of the postposition from सम + चा + र requires this construction.

बीच “in,” “in the middle of,” सिरे “at the end of” (Skr. शिरस्), कमे “near to,” “at the house of” (Skr. कष्ठ), संग “with,” हाथ “by means of,” हो “at,” “at the house of”
are also colloquially common, both with and without the sign of the genitive, but more frequently with it.

Panjabi has कोठा “near,” literally, “in the bosom of,” कोठों “from the side of,” विच “in,” which is the regular sign of the locative, पार “on the other side,” and पार बार “on both sides” (of a river, valley, etc.), as well as the Hindi words given above.

The postpositions in Sindhi are more numerous, and are divided, more clearly than in the other languages, into two classes, those which are added direct to the oblique form of the noun, and those which are added to the genitive. Of the first class are भर or भर “on,” “leaning on” (Skr. भर), where in H. भर rather means “full,” as कौश भर “a full kos;” तोड़ि and तोषी “up to,” which Trumpp regards as an emphatic locative from तोड़ “end;” जां, जिया, जीता, जिए, “like” (Skr. यथा); डों, डूँह, डे “towards,” with an ablative form डूँहां “from the direction of” (perhaps from Skr. दिय); रे, रिचन, “without” (Skr. चन्ते); सा, सातु, से, सेव “with” (Skr. सम; cf. B. सन).

S. सूधां “along with,” H. सूधा and सुधा “with,” O. सुधा or सह्न सूधा “together with,” “all taken together,” from Skr. साद्धम, according to Trumpp and others, but the O. usage seems to refer rather to Skr. शुध्र, in the sense of संजोध “completed.”

S. सीता “up to,” “till” (Skr. सीता), P. सीं and सीष, appears occasionally to be used as a postposition, and one or two others of less importance complete the list.

1 Platts (Grammar, p. 195), from whom I take this list, is the first writer to give the real origin and meaning of this word, which I, in common with most of my countrymen, had hitherto confounded with यहाँ “here.” There was no need for Platts to be so very dogmatic and arrogant about this and one or two similar small discoveries. He should try to bear the weight of his stupendous erudition more meekly. We may be thankful, however, to him for condescending to make a few mistakes occasionally, to bring himself down to our level. Such are the remarkable bit of philology in note 1, page 164, and his remarks on the intransitive in notes to pp. 171, 174. He who undertakes to correct others, should be quite sure he is right himself first.
Of the second class are बाद्रों “without,” P. बाद्रों id. This rather means “owing to the absence of,” as in the passage quoted by Trumpp, तान सूरिह भावा सौर्धद्रेष्ण बाद्रों दोष जे “Then they were considered by the hero as thorís in the absence of his friend.” It is probably connected with Skr. यम in the sense of being bound or impeded. विना “without” (Skr. विना), is also common in H. P. B. and O. In M. विना, and G. विना and विना (विना, वना).

S. जाइ and जाँ “for the sake of,” correspond to H. P. लङ्चे, and are used like it, either with or without the genitive particle; but in S. the meaning is the same in both cases, while in H. it differs; thus उस लङ्चे “for that reason,” but उस के लङ्चे “for the sake of him.”

While in the other languages the postpositions, when not used as case-signs, are almost invariably joined to the genitive with the masculine oblique case-sign, in Sindhi they may take the ablative or accusative. Thus आद्रो “in front,” may take the accusative. It is probably like O. आद्रो “in the first place,” or with a negative आद्रो न “not at all,” “at no time;” thus आद्रो बैठ गला नाही literally “to begin with, he did not go there,” that is to say, “he never went there at all,” locative of Skr. आद्रो “beginning.”

बंदर “within,” Skr. बंदर, but more probably from Persian آندر. बंदर “near to,” घारा “apart, without,” काढे “for the sake of,” contracted from कार्णे; मधे “upon,” loc. of मधो “head,” वांच “like to,” वेछी “near to,” are also used in the same way.

In Marathi, besides the postpositions which are exclusively employed in forming cases, there are some which are added direct to the oblique form of the noun, and others which require the genitive case-sign.

Of the former kind are वर “on” (Skr. उपरि), which is generally written as one word with the noun, as घरावर “on
the house,” उत्तर “till to-morrow.” A longer form is चारता, which is declined as an adjective, generally meaning “up.” Others are बाहर “out,” द्वार “in,” कड़ि “at,” कड़ून “by means of,” वांछून “without,” विषयी “about,” “concerning,” literally “in the matter (of),” मागी “behind,” “formerly,” पूँढे “before,” “in future,” खाली “under.”

There is nothing specially worthy of note in the remaining languages which do not vary from Hindi very widely, either in the words they use, or in the manner of using them.

§ 86. The survey of the seven languages is here ended; the thinness of matter and illustration, in some respects, is due to the want of material, the difficulty of procuring books, and the absence of persons who might be consulted. Others, who enjoy greater advantages in these respects, will, in future times, supplement and supersede much that is defective and erroneous in this outline. Amru’lkais sings—

वो दुकरो मा दाम्मेत खशाष्टि निम्ने
युग्धर्कुट्र अतराब ग्यटटुब वा आली

FINIS.
INDEX.

The Roman numeral indicates the volume, and the Arabic numeral the page. Only those words are here given which form the subject of some discussion, or illustrate some rule. A hyphen before a word indicates that it is a termination.

NOTE.—When the anuswâra precedes a strong consonant, it is not the nasal breathing, but the nasal letter of the varga of that consonant, and is therefore the first element in a mixed nexus. It must be looked for at the end of each varga.

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