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

BY
JOHN BEAMES,
BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE,
FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA,
MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, THE GERMAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,
ETC., ETC.

VOL. III.
THE VERB.

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## BOOK III.—THE VERB

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ERRATA.

3, 19, for this much read such.
10, 9, for मद्रीत read मद्रीत.
14, 23, for different read difficult.
19, 21, for पुरुत्ति read पुरुत्ति.
21, 25, for विनीतत्वम read विनीतत्वम.
34, 3 from below, for Pali read Prakrit.
36, 8, for भिला read भिला.
39, 25, for अन्तित्तत read अन्तित्तत.
44, 2, for detu read dehi.
47, 26, dele that.
50, 16, for मज्ज read मज्ज.
50, 18, after word a full stop instead of a comma.
52, 13, for discharged read discharge.
56, 5, for 90 read 38 (ed. Stenander).
56, 7, for विग्रह read विग्रह.
57, 25, for डह read डह.
58, 5, after Pali a full stop instead of a comma.
61, 25, for हितादि read हितादि.
63, 4, for maj read maj.
65, 9, for तक read तक.
70, 12, for phrase read phrase.
73, 16, for मारी read मारी.
83, 24, for महादेव read महादेव.
105, 6, for चन्द्र read चन्द्र.
112, 1st but one, for मस्ती read मस्ती.
114, 21, for शम read शम.
124, 1, dele comma after hearing.
134, 6, for कोडङ्गो read कोडङ्गो.
135, 29, after 'dela' insert f; for 'delat', etc., read 'dela', etc.
140, 31, for दिल्ला read दिल्ला.
141, 19, for शित read शित.
149, 24, for अमाह read अमाह.
154, 29, for बांध read बांध.
162, 7, for माझाव read माझाव.
163, 2, the words 'aorist सुती' should be put between brackets.
173, 29, for लौधाना read लौधाना.
176, 5 from below, for Pr. read P.
178, 18, for नुसानी read नुसानी.
179, 24, for देखा read देखा.
196, 10, for 'Daughter' read 'Laughter.'
196, 17, for चनि read चनि.
202, 2 from below, for 52 read 60.
214, 4, for Imperfect read Imperative.
225, 29, for दही read दही.
250, 17, for Imperfect read Imperative.
254, 5, for Odia read Ṭaya.
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262, 23, for its read as.
263, 6, for H.-D. read K.-D.
267, 9, for सहित read सहित.
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES
OF INDIA.

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
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 am̐i, and, modifying bhū into bhāva, burst upon his astonished countrymen with the newly-discovered word bhūvāmī, “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  ⟀, 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 much 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,  ḍh,  ṅh, 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 grāh, pinj, mil. Those roots which have more than one syllable are usually of a secondary nature, being in some cases produced by reduplication, as ḍāgar, 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 ṣu bhū, "to be," undergoes the following modifications:

| Active   | bhava. |
| Neuter   | bhūya. |
| Passive  | bhāvya. |
| Causal   | bhūṣha. |
| Desiderative | bhūya. |

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 pīpītayūṣa.

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 (Lot) is only found in Vedic Sanskrit; and the two forms of the Perfect (Lit) may be regarded as variations of the same tense. Thus the number of tenses may be reduced to ten, viz. Present (Lit), Imperfect (Lah), Optative (Lūh), Imperative (Lot), Perfect (Lit), Aorist (Lūh), Future (Lit), Conditional (Lūh), Second Future (Lot), Benefactive (ātīr Lit). 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 Paramaiipada, as it is called, stands to the neuter, or Atmanepada, in the same relation as the active in Greek does to the middle voice, and the resemblance is the greater, in that the Atmanepada, 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. कृ, in 1 du. pf. Par. chakriva, 1 pl. id. chakrīma, 2 a. pf. Ātm. chakrishe, 1 du., 1 and 2 pl. id. chakriusahe, chakrimah, chakriśhe; in the whole of the 1 aor. Ātm., as akriṣhi, akriṭhāh, akrita, etc.; in the pass. part. kriṭah, and gerund kriṭed, and in the benedictive Ātm., as kriṣṭishta, etc.

2. क्रi, in bened. Par., as kriyāsm, kriyāh, kriyāt, etc., and in the passive present, as kriye, kriyaṇe, kriyate, etc.

3. कर, in pres. Par., as karaṃ, karosha, karati, and before all weak terminations.

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

5. कार, in pf. Par., as chakrāna, and 1 aor. Par., as akārham, also in the causal, as kārayati.
6. श kr, in 2 and 3 pl. pf. Par., chakra, chakrule, and I and 3 s. pf. Åtm. chakre.

In the same way the root ČRУ "hear," appears in some parts of the verb as ċrī, in others as ċru, ċru, ċrī, and ċraś. 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. ani. 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. the. 3. te.
Plural 1. amah. 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 √ तपः “burn,” pf. तताप, त्रृष्ण “see,” pf. द्विः, just as λείπω makes λείπεια and τρείπω, τρεπροφα. 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 भू “be,” चन्द “be,” and च “do,” are the auxiliaries principally employed for this purpose. Thus—

√ उद्द्र “wet,” makes pf. उद्दृत्रा चन्द्र, उद्दृत्र बभूत or चंद्र भसः.
√ चकास् “shine,” .. .. चकास्वा चकार, etc.
√ बोधन “explain,” .. .. बोधमा 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 चन्द “be.” Thus from √ बुध “know,” comes the agent बोधितास, which with the present of चन्द makes

8. 1. बोधितासि  P. 1. बोधितासः.
   2. बोधितासि  2. बोधितासः.

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 सु to form a perfect definite, as आगतोधिः “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 मत “by him gone,” i.e. “he went,” instead of घोसान.

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. घोसान may mean “he went,” or, “he has gone,” but by the other system each of these two meanings has a phrase peculiar to itself, गोधिः meaning “he has gone,” and तेन मत “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 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 Açoka, 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, re-
semble 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 in-
serting न between the vowel of the root and the final conso-
nant, or न before weak terminations. Thus in Skr. √षषघः ruṣh, 
"to obstruct," makes its present रषषघिति runadhiti, 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 con-
sonant the types of the first, or Bhù, class prevail. Thus 
Skr. √या "to go," pr. चा ति, Pali also yati, but

Skr. √ृष्ण् "to rub," pr. नास्रि. Pali maṣṭati, as if from a Skr. मष्ठि.
√दुष्ण् "to milk," .. दोढियि. .. doḥati.
√लिङ्ग "to lick," .. लेंढ़ि. .. leḥati.

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

Skr. √भी "to fear," निभेति. Pali maṭṭati.
√गा "to hold," द्धाति. .. द्धाति and द्धाति.

The verb dā, "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 ठ; but as all its roots except one already end in न, it

\(^1\) Seven classes are given by Kaccāyana. See Senart, Journal Asiatique, vi. série, 
vol. xviii. p. 429.
comes practically to pretty much the same thing as the fifth. The ninth adds क, नात्र, and नी to the root before various terminations. Here Pali draws very slight distinctions, making verbs of the fifth class take जु and नात्र indifferently, and both fifth and ninth appear occasionally in the guise of the first. Thus—

Skr. √ जु "hear," v. पुक्ति. पूक्ति and पुक्ति.
√ बन्ध् "bind," ix. बंधाति.. बंधिति.
√ द "do," viii. करोति.. करिति.
√ मन् "think," viii. मनुव. मनुति.. मन्ति.

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 Atmanepada, or middle phase, has practically merged into the active, for although Kaccáyana (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 पक्षतिः "पक्षिस्तमि."

aorist चपक्षीत्. "चपकि."

gerund पक्त. "पक्तिता."

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, kubhati, kacya, kahāmi, akāsi, kartum, could all spring from the same verbal root. It is only when the corresponding Sanskrit forms karoti, kacate, kuryāt, kartāsmin, akacriti, 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, sapelo, 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, sapit, sapit, sapit; thus, also, he and ehbi 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 haced, 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 Apabhranya of the Romance Prakrits, the changes are such as almost to defy analysis. For instance, ter, tenho, tinha, tive, terei, correspond to Latin tenere, teneo, tenebam, tenei, tenere habeo: also hei, houve, haja, to habeo, habui, habeam, and son, he, foi, sega, to sum, eat, fat, 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 (Int), the benedictive (aśir liṅ), and the subjunctive (let). 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—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skr. 1 pl.</th>
<th>पच्चामी</th>
<th>2. पच्छे</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pa. 1.</td>
<td>पच्छामी</td>
<td>2. पच्छे</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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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 चा "go," we have—


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. पचासि, 2. पचि, 3. पचि: P. 1. पचास, 2. पचत, 3. पचि.

and with the Âtmanepada, thus—

Skr. S. 1. पही, 2. पहि, 3. पहि: P. 1. पहासी, 2. पहि, 3. पहि.
Pa. S. 1. पही, 2. पहि, 3. पहि: P. 1. पहासी, 2. पहि, 3. पहि.

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 इ, 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 medieval period, thus Chand

तिन मु गहू प्रको चहिः।

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

where कहिः = Skr. काथय (ि). In Vedic Skr. ि appears in all the conjugations. Of the Âtmane forms P. 1 seems to be derived from an older form, māsi. P. 2 should perhaps be read kho, not ṣho, in which case it is a regular resultant from Sanskrit dke.

The potential is the Sanskrit optative (ि), thus—

Pârasmai.

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 Bhū class, and has kareyyāmi as though from a Sanskrit kareyyam instead of the actual kuryām.

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 (lau), 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 different tense in the modern languages, and every scrap of information which can help to elucidate it deserves special notice. It runs thus in Pali (v sam "go")—
Here the only noteworthy feature is the change of ख into ख. The Ātmānepada 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 च “cook,” when it has to take the future termination च, becomes च and च + च = च. Here Pali sticks to the form च, because it is used in the present and makes its future पित्तित as though there had been (as there probably was in colloquial usage) a Sanskrit future पित्तित 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 gives the following examples, to which I add the Sanskrit for comparison.

Skr. च “get,” future चत्रति. Pali चत्रति but also चत्रति.

च “speak,” चत्रति. चत्रति.

च “put,” चत्रति. चत्रति.

च “dwell,” चत्रति. चत्रति but also चत्रति.

च “cleave,” चत्रति. चत्रति. चत्रति. चत्रति.

च “eat,” चत्रति. चत्रति. चत्रति. चत्रति.

च “loose,” चत्रति. चत्रति. चत्रति. चत्रति.

च “hear,” चत्रति. चत्रति. चत्रति. चत्रति.

1 Beiträge, p. 113.
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 ृ 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 ess to them. Thus from दृष्"to see," future दृष्टि. 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 dakkhisati. I mention this here as I shall have occasion hereafter to discuss the much-debated question of the origin of the familiar modern stem dekh"see" (see § 17). Another instance is


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


Occasionally the स्स is softened to ह as in बाह्यति, बाह्यति from करिष्ठति, Skr. करिष्ठति. 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 Māgadhī sayings of the great master, by his Ujjainī pronunciation, while retaining the name Māgadhī 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 Bhāgavati, 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 Bhāgavati 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 Bhū 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 ग with certain variations, are all reduced to one head by regarding the ग as part of the root, as is also the case with the य of the fourth class. The ग inserted between the root and termination of the Bhū class is used throughout, though occasionally weakened to ग, 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. Müller's Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainsprakrit came into my hands about the same time. I found 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 ज. हरति, हरर.
√ ज्ञ “know,” II. ज्ञाति ज. ज्ञाति.
Pl. 3 ज्ञाति ज. ज्ञाति.
√ धा “put,” III. धापति with धाप, धापतचाति
√ ध “put,” III. धपहति with धप, धपतचाति
√ ध “puts on (clothes)” and पिघार.
√ सिध “succeed,” IV. सिधाति
but आराध “propitiate,” आराध्यति आराधिति.
√ आप “get,” V. आपोति.
with म, माप, मापोति पावणाह, the न being treated as part of the root.
√ चि “gather,” V. चिनोति चचिति, चय, but also चिगार, with the same confusion between the नो of v. and ना of viii. as occurs in Pali.

√ न “hear,” V. ननोति with प्रति, प्रितियोति पिठसुकित “promises.”
√ खु “touch,” VI. खुश्यति खुसर.
√ चाच “break,” VII. चनाति संजति.
√ ह “do,” VIII. करोति करह.
√ एह “take,” IX. मुखाति नेतह, here again the ग has passed into the root.
√ चा “know,” IX. चाचाति चानाह.

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, dhāti, ardāhāti, prāpanati.
chayati, suqati, bhanjati, karati, grihvati, and janati, 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 laṭ), imperative (loṭ), potential (liṅ), imperfect and aorist jumbled together as in Pali, and future (līt). The perfect (liṭ) seems to be altogether wanting, as it is in the modern languages.

The present runs thus:—

S. 1.  
Svāma,  2.  svāmi,  3.  svāti:  P. 1.  svāmī,  2.  svāha,  3.  svāti.

Those terminations which contain the vowel ṣ 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 Bhāg. i. 60, we have phāṣeti, pāleti, sohleti, treti, pāreti, kiteti, augālei, ārāhei, for Sanskrit svarṣyati, pālabhati, śīvṛṣyati, tāravṛti, pūravṛti, karṇavṛti, aprūpāvalāyati, ārādhvati, 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 ṭi as in Pali with junction vowels ṣ and ṣ, the P. 2 ends in ā, which, as Weber points out, is from the P. 2 of the present, in Sanskrit च. Thus—


Adhyā "believe,"  ॥

Svāma,  ॥

Svāha (pres.  

Svāha).

Svā haḥ.

Svā haḥ.

I.  bhav "bind,"  imprv. P. 2.  bhāti,  ॥

bhāḥ.  ॥
The potential, of which only the S. 3 is traceable, resembles Pali in using the termination \( \text{ṣṭha} \) with variant \( \text{ṣṭtu} \).

Skr. \( \sqrt{\text{ण}} \) "go," S. 3. गच्छति Jaina गच्छे, गच्छे.

\( \sqrt{\text{प्र}} \) "take," "गृहीतः" गृहीतः.

But there exist some old simple forms derived by phonetic changes from the corresponding Sanskrit tense, as कुर्यात्, दात्ता = dadyāt (Mueller, p. 60).

The future resembles that of Pali, thus—

S. 1. नमिस्तामि, 2. एसाति, 3. एसौ: P. 1. एसामि, 2. एसहृ.

3. एसति.

It also appears with a termination \( \text{嘣} \) produced by weakening \( \text{म्} \) into \( \text{म्} \) and the following \( \text{स्} \) to \( \text{स्} \), thus—

Skr. नमियति, Jaina गच्छिष्ठिति and गमिष्ठिति.

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

Skr. \( \sqrt{\text{प्र}} \) गृहीत: "go," with उप, उपपत्त: "attain," future उपपत्तिते, Jaina उववल्लिष्ठिति.

Here उपपत्तिते would phonetically become उववचत्ति, and by still further softening उववचत्ति, whence, as if from a present, is formed the future उववल्लिष्ठत् and उववल्लिष्ठिति.

§ 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 \( \text{मृ} \), but the nasal is dropped before certain terminations, as:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{M.} & \text{Y.} & \text{N.} \\
\text{पपन} & \text{पपनी} & \text{पपन} \\
\text{वपन} & \text{वपनी} & \text{वपन} \\
\end{array}
\]
The nasal, however, is retained throughout in Jaina Prakrit, thus—

Skr. जलन जलनी जलत.
Jaina जलतो जलती जलत.

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 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 य. If to this we add the regular mutation of क into ण, we get from तत्क the form यत्क. In its original meaning this participle corresponds to the Latin in ministerio, as faciendus, and expresses that which is to be done, as लया गलति “by thee it is to be done,” i.e. “thou must go.” In this sense it occurs frequently in Bhāgavatī, as for instance in § 56:

Jaina एवं देवाणुपिया गलति, चिढियि, नियिलियि, मूतियि, etc.
Skr. एवं देवाणुपिया गलति, खाति, निपति, मोति, 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 निपतिति, मुर्गिति.

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 तु 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 त elided and
its place supplied by य, employed in a construction where we should expect the infinitive. Thus Bhāg. §54, रञ्जामिष पञ्जावित्य, सुञ्जावित्य, सेचावित्य, सिक्कावित्य (Weber, Bhāg. p. 274): "I wish to wander, to take the tonsure, to practise austerities, to learn," as though from Sanskrit forms मञ्जासितं, सुष्णापितं, सेधापितं, शिशापितं, the three last being causals formed with आप, 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 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 Bhū 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 य 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 चु "shine,"

Present S. I. चामि. 2. चमि. 3. चदि.
चामि.
चमि.
चदि.
P. 1. चामी. म, म. 2. चाध, भ. 3. चनि.
चाम. भू, भी. भह. भ. घ.
चनि. म, "नय.

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 ए ए as a junction vowel; thus we have such forms as कल ए "I do," Skr. कर ए, instead of कराम, which would be the regular result of treating कर as a Bhū verb, गो य for गच ए "let us go." The presence of the ए in S. 1 and P. 1 is accounted for by its being confused with that construction in which the present of चर is used with a past participle; thus we find कदन "I was made" = Sanskrit कदन and अनादन "I have been sent" = Skr. अनादन.

The imperative has the following forms—

रो चि रो च रो चह.

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

प्रेषस् "look thou!"  
वासस् "how thou!"  
वहंत "hear ye."  
जाध "go ye."  
वचं "go away."  
चोशंध "get out of the way!"  
कनिध "do,"  
बगभं "wake up."  

Skr. प्रेषस्.

The future most usually exhibits the form of the Sanskrit present in रूच = रूसा.

8. 1. रोचियासि. 2. रोचियासि. 3. रूसह.
    रोचियासि.

P. I. रूसामो. 2. रूस्थ, 3. रूसाति.
    प्रे. रूसह.

e.tc.

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,"  
√ बच "speak,"  
√ गम "go,"  
√ वहं "weep,"  
√ विच "know,"

Pr. सोचेः.
    वचामि.  
    ग्मासि.  
    भासि.  
    वदामि.  
    विचामि.

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 इस, and the above words have also a future formed in the regular way, मुख्यासि, वचिसि, गमिसि, etc. This इस

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

√ ῥα “laugh,” S. 1. ῥαβ्रισि, 2. ῥαβ्रις, 3. ῥαβρι, etc.

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

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 āa, erroneously written āa 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 Maharashthri and Čauraseni dialects are considered the principal ones in the dramas, there are yet others of great importance, such as the Māgadhī, with its sub-dialects. Among these, however, it is necessary only to notice that called Apabhraṃṣa. 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 Apabhraṃṣa is really a vulgar speech further removed from the classical idiom than Maharashthri or Čauraseni. There may have been half a dozen Apabhraṃṣas, 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.

√ प्रश् “ask,” Present S. 1. पुच्छामि. 2. पुच्छि. 3. पुच्छे.
        पुच्छिम्.
        पुच्छिम्.
        पुच्छिम्.

P. 1. पुच्छाम्. 2. पुच्छ. 3. पुच्छति.

    करिरि.
    करिषि.
    करि.
    करि.

In the future, although the form with the characteristic अ is found as सुमरिसादि = कारिषति, Skr. √ छ, yet more commonly we find the form in which सह has been softened to छ; thus

S. 1. करिषिमि. 2. करिषिसि. 3. करिषिसि, etc.

The grammarians also give a

P. 1. in छ as कामालि = कारिषाम.

The participles resemble in most respects those in other Prakrit dialects, but that in नथि becomes रथि; as कररथि and करिरथि = करितथि (करितथि). The gerund ends in रथि, प्रिप्रि, and a softened form बि; the ordinary Caursenian form रथि, 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 एवत्रि, as विहिरत्रि, the exact genesis of which is doubtful, though, as to the final त्रि, there is an analogy in the true infinitive नहिरत्रि, which very closely approaches to Chanid’s forms, as वरषात्रि, वरणात्रि.

In addition to the above forms which are found in scenic Apabhraṃsa, 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 रूप for all three persons, as

वापिलिं = वापिलिं (ब्रातं).
कहिं = कहिं.
भिं = भिं.

It has a plural in श्व or श्वा, as:

श्वायः = श्वायः.
वारियः = वारियः.
ञं या = उवियः.

Sometimes also the न of the singular is rejected and य substituted, as मिश्रन्य = मिश्रितं. 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 unmistakable, 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 sunā to hear, sunād hearing, sunād heard, sunān I hear, suno he hears, suno hear ye! sunegād 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 proposition has already been compounded, principally दत्, दि, प्र, and स, as utar “descend,” nīkāl “go out,” pasar “spread,” sankoch “distress.” Second, stems formed by reduplication, as jhanjhān “tinkle,” tharthar “flutter.” Third, stems with an added syllable, as gatāk “swallow,” ghaślō “drag,” karkoch, “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.
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 mdr “beat,” khd “eat,” pl “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. smd “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. ghārd “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. abhadā "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. dhojā "be washed."

Lastly comes the passive causal (−3), where the subject causes an object to be acted upon by a second object, as M. mārū "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 capulo 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 H. वनमा (passive intransitive) "to be made," takes as its corresponding active वनाया "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 अधियुति "he is in good health," from अधि "healthy."; चपलध्यय "he trembles," from चपल "tremulous"; पंडित्यय "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. कडकाविण "to bang," "crack," H. चवराना "to be amazed," चवलाना "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 Bhū 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 Bhū. 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. या, P. या or ना, S. यु, G. यु, M. ले, O. र्या. In the Bengali dictionaries verbs are given under the stem alone.

Skr. यू "be," pres. भवति, Pa. भवति and हौति, Pr. मौटि, हौटि, हौर, H. हो and so in all, except S. हुं, and in O. हौर 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 noble parts of Sanskrit literature, and is densely ignorant and contemptuous of all other branches of human knowledge.
to दो. This verb will be treated at full length further on as the chief auxiliary of these languages (see Chapter IV. § 65).


√ लग् “stick,” लगति, Pa. लगति and लगति. Pr. लगार, where the लग is probably caused by the passive लगत or the p.p.p. लघ, H. लग, P. लगार, S. लग, in the rest लाग. It is auster 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 अठा “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 छा l. S. 3</td>
<td>निखाति दाति</td>
<td>चिधिद्र (Mārg.), चिठ्ठि (Caur.), ठाशर, ठार (Var. vili. 25, 20).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pres. निखाति</td>
<td>निखाति. दाति</td>
<td>चिधिति, चिठ्ठि. ठाटि.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. 3. निखाति</td>
<td>निखाति. ठाटि</td>
<td>चिधिति, चिठ्ठि, ठाटि.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impr. S. 2. ठिठ</td>
<td>ठिठ</td>
<td>चिठ्ठि, ठाटि.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 3. ठिठ</td>
<td>ठाटि</td>
<td>ठाटि.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future S. 3. ठाखाति</td>
<td>ठार</td>
<td>ठार.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infin. ठार</td>
<td>ठार, ठार.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gerund ठाला</td>
<td>ठार, ठार.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the three forms in Pali 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. चा m. बी f. P. चे m. बी f. S. G. and O. have a whole verb, thus—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>चिबे (ताबे)</th>
<th>चिबे (ताबे)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>इन्फीनिटिव</td>
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<tr>
<td>आरोस्ट</td>
<td>चाउ</td>
<td>चाउ</td>
</tr>
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<td>S. 1. चिबे</td>
<td>चाच (चाच)</td>
<td>चाच (चाच)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. चिबे, बी</td>
<td>चाच (चाच)</td>
<td>चाच (चाच)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. चिं</td>
<td>चाच (चाच)</td>
<td>चाच (चाच)</td>
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<tr>
<td>प. 1. चिं</td>
<td>चाच (चाच)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. चिं</td>
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<td>3. चिं</td>
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<tr>
<td>वर्तमान पार्टिकल</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past Part.</td>
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<tr>
<td>चिबे</td>
<td>चिबे</td>
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<tr>
<td>गल्ले</td>
<td>गल्ले</td>
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<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>गल्ले</td>
<td>गल्ले</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 3. गल्ले</td>
<td>गल्ले</td>
<td>गल्ले</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. 3. गल्ले</td>
<td>गल्ले</td>
<td>गल्ले</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

It is interesting here to notice the parallel treatment of Sanskrit चा 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 मू or बस. Sindhi bhuna and thiuna, Gujarati hovun and thanun, Oriya hoiba and thibd, stand to each other exactly in the same relation as Spanish ser from esse does to estar (from store). 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 parha thopha. 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 thau? and ehti nikt the. 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,” (খারাং = Pr. খারাং = Skr. skhā from √স্থম 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. √य “go,” H. याति, Pa. id., Pr. जार्द्रि and जार्चिद्रि (the latter as if from a Bhū verb जार्षिति), H. जा, P. M. B. id., G. and O. retain जा in some tenses, but in others shorten it to G. ज, O. ज.

√स्तु “sleep,” H. स्तुपति, Pa. स्तुपति, Pr. स्तुवर, स्तुवर, स्तुवर, H. सो, P. सी, S. सुस्तु, G. सु, B. and O. सी.

√भी “fear,” H. भीति, Pa. भायति, Pr. भीति, माष्टविद्रि, भीहर (Var. iii. 19), M. भि, भि, G. भीहर, भीहर, भीहर (not in the rest).

√मुट “dance,” H. मुठति, Pa. मुठति, Pr. मुठद्रि, H. नाच, P. नाच, S. च, G. M. O. B. नाच.

√गम “be able,” H. गमति and Pr. गमति, Pa. स्थमति, स्थमति, स्थममति, Pr. स्थम, स्थममति, and गम, H. सम, P. सम, S. सम, G. M. गम.

In nāch, as in several other verbs derived from Div roots, the characteristic य of the Div class seems to have got mixed up
with the root and has thus been preserved. Although in *saṃk* 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. समजे "he can," postulates a Sanskrit समनति, 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 \( \sqrt{\text{वृ}} \). It is a very common word, and it is just these very common words that are the most difficult to trace. Perhaps \( \sqrt{\text{वृ}} \) became बुर, and so बुझ and बोल.

Skr. \( \sqrt{\text{वृ}} \) "speak," II. प्रवृत्ति and वृत्ति, Pr. बोल (Mrch. 230, end of Act vi.) Old H. बुझ (० 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. 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

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1 Since writing the above I see that Hemachandra gives *boilāī* as one of the ten Prakrits of *kathā*; he means it evidently not as derived from *kathā*, which is impossible, but as a popular equivalent (Fisbél’s Hm. iv. 2). In the same work he gives also *saṃghāi* for *kathā*, in which we see the origin of M. *sūryapēm* "to speak." Hemachandra has also *boilāī* = *kathanśyati* (iv. 368), *boilāyā* = *kathanś, *boilā* = *kathanśa* (7), ib. 333. But he gives *boiwa* as the equivalent of *kathā* in iv. 301, so that the origin of *boi* still remains doubtful.

2 This process was indicated by me in Vol. i. p. 179. Hoccleve 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 dip, kram, as verbs, have nouns dipa, dhyā 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 प्रस्थात, as in गतोप्रस्थात "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 च्छ to the present tense, as in वेस्थंछ. Examples are:


Skr. च् पछ् "cook," पछि, p.p.p. पछः. Pa. Pr. पछः, H. पछ "to be cooked," to be in process of cooking (if you ask, "Is dinner ready?" your man answers, पछता "It is being cooked"). P. पछः, G. पष्. M. धिः. It also means "to ripen," "to be in course of growing ripe." B. धान. There is also a stem from the present पछि, as S. पछ् "to grow ripe," p.p.p. पछः. H. and all the rest have पछ, but in the sense of rotting, decaying.

Skr. भ्रक "break," p.p.p. भ्रम. Pa. Pr. भ्रमति, H. भ्रम "to flee" (said originally of an army, "to be broken up and dispersed"), G. भ्रम, M. भ्राम, "to yield, give way," also भ्रम a, "to break," O. भ्रम. Here again there are stems as if from the present form Bhū भ्रमति, Pa. भ्रमति, Pr. भ्रमति, H. भ्रम "to be broken," and भ्रम. (See § 19.)

Skr. गह "go," with वहन, p.p.p. गहत "sprang up," Pr. गहयो, H. गय, "to spring up" (as a plant), P. गम, S. G. गम, M. गम.

It is questionable whether we should here class some words which come from ज्ञातु with वहन. The present would be ज्ञात, but though the p.p.p. in Sanskrit is ज्ञात, yet in such verbs Prakrit forms the p.p.p. on the model of the present tense, and has ज्ञातिणौ as if from Skr. ज्ञात, so that the modern verbs उभर, उभल, and the like keep the type of the present tense as much as that of the participle.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>शुष्कति, शुष्काति</td>
<td>शुष्किति, शुष्किति, शुष्किति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impv.</td>
<td>शुष्कौ</td>
<td>शुष्किति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>शुष्किति</td>
<td>शुष्किति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. part.</td>
<td>शुष्किति</td>
<td>शुष्किति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.p.p.</td>
<td>शुष्किति</td>
<td>शुष्किति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inf.</td>
<td>शुष्कं</td>
<td>शुष्कं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>शुष्कति</td>
<td>शुष्किति, शुष्किति</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here, whatever be the form taken in Sanskrit, both Pali and Prakrit assume a-s-tem उठ, and conjugate it as if it were a Bhū verb throughout. It seems as though उठ being com-
ounded with रा had lost its final consonant, thereby making a form द्र, whence Prakrit द्र. Sanskrit has adopted the opposite course, and while keeping द्र intact, has sacrificed the द्र of द्र in the non-conjugational tenses, retaining it in the conjugal ones where it is prevented from coalescing with the preposition by the reduplicated syllable. In the moderns we have H. द्र, P. द्र, S. द्र, and द्र, and in all the rest द्र.

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

Skr. √ रा "desert," रा, usually found in Prakrit only in the p.p.p., रा ( = रा) 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 रा in H. and all except M. रा, G. रा. It is ancillary in most of the languages as पढ़े, पढ़ो "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 Bhū, or the closely allied Div, Tud, and Chor classes.

Skr. √ चाँ "eat," चाँ, Pa. id., Pr. चार (Var. viii. 27, for चार), H. चा, and so in all. Gipsy खात, Kash. खाया, Singhalese कावा. 1


Skr. √ पढ़ "read," पढ़, Pa. id., Pr. पढ़, H. पढ़ (parh), P. M. G. id., S. पढ़ (which is only their way of writing पढ़), B. पढ़, O. पढ़.


Skr. √ मार्ग (and मूर्ख) "seek," I. मार्ग, x. मार्गवतिः, Pa. मार्गति and मार्गिति, Pr. मार्ग, H. मांग, P. मंग, S. मङ्ग (mang), G. M. माग, B. मांग, O. माम.

STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.


Skr. √ कह् "say," कथित्, P. कहित्, Pr. कहह्, कहह्, H. कह, P. S. B. O. id. In M. it is wanting. G. केह्, Singh. kiyanavi.

Those roots which belong to other conjugations are almost always reduced to the Bhû type, even if Prakrit retains any of the conjunctival 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. √ भाव "know," ix. भावाति, Pa. id., Pr. भावाति, also भाव (Pr. keeps भाव throughout, but it and Pa. occasionally drop the initial, having भावाति, etc.), H. B. भाव, the rest भाव. Gipsy janava, Kash. ždava, Singh. dunnau.

Skr. √ ड "do," viii. करोति, Pa. id. (see § 1 and § 4), Pr. करूण and करूण 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 peculiar of Prakrit (see § 48).

Skr. √ तु "hear," v. तुषोति, Pa. तुषोति, तुषाति, Pr. सूर, H. सून, and in all सूर or सून.

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

चण्ड मन्त्रित सरसे सचव

"Having obtained wisdom and the aid of Saraswati (Saraswati)."
—Chand, Pr. B. I. xv.

Also G. आप "to give," which is the ordinary word in that language, may be from this root or from चण्ड (चण). Far more common is the compound with म = आप, Pa. as above. Pr. आपर and later आवर, Old H. and P. आउ, H. पाव and पा, S. पा, O. id., G. पाम, M. पाप, B. पाथी. In all in the sense of finding, getting, obtaining.
Skr. भग्न "seize," ix. गृहान्ति. The treatment of this root is peculiar. Pa. for the most part takes a form गन्तु, and Pr. generally गन्तु. Some of the principal tenses are given here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>PA.</th>
<th>PE.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>S. 3. गृहान्ति</td>
<td>गन्तु, गन्ति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åtm. Pres.</td>
<td>S. 1. गृह</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Aor. S. 3.</td>
<td>गईहीं</td>
<td>गईहीं, गईर्गीं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impv.</td>
<td>S. 2. गृहाण</td>
<td>गवह, गवही</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 3. गृहान्तु</td>
<td>गवहु</td>
<td>गवहु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impv.Åtm. P. 2.</td>
<td>गृहीत्</td>
<td>गवहो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut.</td>
<td>S. 1. गृहीष्यानि</td>
<td>गवहस्तं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. 3. गृहीष्यति</td>
<td>गवहस्तति, गवहस्ति</td>
<td>गवहस्तरं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inf.</td>
<td>गृहीत</td>
<td>गवहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.p.p.</td>
<td>गृहीत्त</td>
<td>गवहितो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>गृहीला</td>
<td>गवहिला</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are thus two types in Pa. गन्तु and गह, and three in Pr. गन्तु, गह, and गहे. The double ऊ in ghettum and ghettuma arises, I fancy, from s 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. ज "take," is very much used, as also S. निव, and O. चेन, the other languages prefer the stem ज from जम्मु. Singh. gannacà, 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. या "give," iii. द्वार्ति. 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 \( \sqrt{\text{द्रा}} \), iii. द्राति "give," \( \sqrt{\text{द्रा}} \) or \( \text{द्रो} \), ii. द्राति and iv. द्रति "divide," \( \sqrt{\text{द्राय}} \), i. द्रायति and \( \text{द्रे} \) i. द्रयते. Some grammarians, misunderstanding a rule of Panini's about reduplication, have imagined a \( \sqrt{\text{द्रा}} \), i. द्राति, but this does not seem to be entitled to a separate existence.¹ It is also to be observed that in some roots in श there are traces of a form in \( \text{s} \) or \( \text{m} \), which may perhaps be the older form, as गा and \( \text{मे} \) "to sing," था and \( \text{मे} \) "to meditate," खा and \( \text{मे} \) "to languish," झा and \( \text{मे} \) "to wither," झा and \( \text{मे} \) "to rescue," ना and \( \text{मे} \) "to measure." Also roots ending in श exhibit in the course of conjugation many forms in which the root-vowel is changed to \( \text{i} \) or \( \text{e} \). 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 द्रा began to be superseded by \( \text{द्रे} \), and that in the modern languages the universal form is \( \text{दे} \). The principal tenses in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit are here shown together.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.1.</th>
<th>द्राति</th>
<th>द्रायति</th>
<th>द्रति</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.3.</td>
<td>द्रायति</td>
<td>द्रायति</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.3.</td>
<td>द्रायति</td>
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<tr>
<td>P.1.</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.3.</td>
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<td>द्रति</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.2.</td>
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<td>द्रति</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.3.</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आतम.</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>फॉट.</td>
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<td>द्रति</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
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<tr>
<td>इन्फ्र.</td>
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<td>द्रति</td>
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<tr>
<td>शब्द.</td>
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<td>द्रति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वर्तम.</td>
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<td>द्रति</td>
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<tr>
<td>प्र.प्र.</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गरुंड</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
<td>द्रति</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Westergaard, Rad. Sanskr. p. 6, note.
Childers thinks the form *dēti* has arisen either from Sanskrit *dayate*, or from confusion with the imperative *detu*. The form *dajjāti* he, with great probability, considers as a future on the analogy of *dekh* (see § 4). In Čauraseni Prakrit the form ड़ is used throughout (Var. xii. 4), as also in the moderns. H. ड़, P. M. G. id., S. द्विय, B. alone has ट़ा, O. ट़ू, shortened in some tenses to टू. Gipsy *dācā*, Kash. *dēyn*, Singh. *dēnaea*. 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:


(a) With आ = आभी "bring." Pa. आभेिति, Pr. आभेि, H. आन "bring," in all the rest आन. Kashm. *anna*, Gipsy *anaa*

(b) With परि = परिनी "lead round the sacrificial fire during the marriage ceremony," hence, "to marry," Old-H. परिा, परिा.

P. परिाङ, S. परिा, G. M. परिा.

Skr. वी "fly," with उद = उढ़ि "fly up," i. उढ़िति, iv. उढ़ि ति, Pr. उड़ेि, H. उड़ = उड़ि "to fly," and so in all. S. has उड़िर, probably a diminutive. Kashm. *wañda*, Gipsy *arya*

The root या "to go," was mentioned above; with the preposition आ forming आया, it means "to come," and it is from this word that the following are apparently derived:

Skr. आया "come," i. आयाति, Pa. आयि, Pr. आयाईि, आईि, H. चि "to come," P. id., G. आि, M. चि, Gipsy *aśeśa*, Kash. *yin*. The B.
The roots, O. आम, S. बस seem to come from आगच्छि, but both in R. and O. one often hears आ, thus O. अिल्ला or अिल्ला, "he came," and S. makes the imperv. अा, 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 देख. Kashmiri has देशम, Gipsy दिका, and Singhalese दिकावा. The root is in Sanskrit देख, but the present is not in use; instead of it classical Sanskrit uses पाणि, from which M. derives its verb पाणि. Marathi stands alone in using this stem, instead of देख. From देख comes future पाणि, and it is from this future that Childers derives the Pali दक्खि. He shows 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 ेस of their ordinary future, considered it a present, and made a double future दक्खि. 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 देख and the Prakrit पेख from Sanskrit प्रेख. He, however, goes so far as to assume that the word देख was unknown to the authors of the dramas, that they used पेख, which has been changed to देख by the copy-

1 In Kaule's Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung, vol. vii. p. 440. 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 द्वेश, which is दद्धि, 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 piyyāsa' "thirsty," from piyāśu (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 dekkh is derived through dekkh from dakkha, which is Sanskrit future दृष्टि 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 ग represents an older ग, 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 *sudant* 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. खुलना is "to open," *i.e.* "to open of itself," "to come undone," "to be opened," while खोजना, the corresponding active, is "to open," *i.e.* "to break a thing open," "to undo." Thus हार खुलना "the door opens," is in German "die Thür öffnet sich," in French "la porte s'ouvre." While हार खोजना "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 फरना 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 stema, 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 ā, ē or o, occasionally ē or ū. As types may be taken, H. kaṭṇā, n, and kaṭṇā, a; phirṇā, n, and pherṇā, a; khulnā, n, and kholnā, a; lipnā, a, and lipnā, a; guṭhā, n, and guṭhā, 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 स्. Active ending in ख्.

1. ब्रजभु “to be bound.” ब्रध्न “to bind.”
2. ब्रजभु “to be heard.” ब्रध्न “to hear.”
3. रजभु “to be cooked.” रध्न “to cook.”

1. Skr. वंच, ix. वर्धाति, Pa. वद्धति, Pr. वंधेत, whence S. वंध. H. वंध, P. वंध. In all the rest वंध a. Skr. passive is वधते, whence Pa. वधति, Pr. वध्या, S. वध, H. वध, used as a hunting term “to be caught,” also “to stick, adhere,” P. वधा a. Here, though undoubtedly derived from the passive, the stem वध is really a neuter or passive intransitive and its conjugation closely resembles the active. There is a regular passive S. वध्यातु.

2. Skr. वुध “to know,” l. चोधते, iv. चोधते, from the latter come Pa. चोधति and Pr. चोधार, whence S. चुध, originally “to know,” but now meaning “to be heard,” H. चुधना “to understand,” is active. So also
STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

O. युगः, B. युगः, G. युगः. But M. युगः is both a and u. The form of the iv. conjugation is identical with the passive, hence S. makes युगः a neuter and युगः is probably due to a false analogy with चंघः.

3. Skr. रघः or रघः i. रघःति originally “to destroy,” but in moderns always “to cook,” Pa. id., Pr. रघः, S. रघः, H. रघः a, and so in all but P. Passive रघःति, Pa. रघःति, Pr. रघःति, S. रघः, not found in the others.

(2.) Neuter in भ.

1. भमः “to be got,” भमः “to seize,”
2. रभमः “stuprari” (de muliere), यभमः “stuprare” (de viro).
3. यभमः “to be milked,” यभमः “to milk.”


2. Skr. भमः “coire,” 1. भमिति, Pr. भहः, S. भहः, Pass. भमिति, Pr. भवः, S. भभः. Not in the others, except perhaps M. भभः, where the aspiration has been thrown back on the भ.

3. Skr. भहः, ii. दोभः, Pa. दोभः, Pr. दोभः and दोभः, S. दुहः, H. दृहः and दृहः, and so in all a. Pass. दोभः, Pa. दोभः (Childers writes दत्ताः, which can hardly be expressed in Devanagari letters), Pr. दुहः. From this we should expect S. दुहः. The form दुहः recalls a similar one in Jain Pr. लिभः for लिभः (Weber, Bhāg. 388, 429), Skr. लिभः, 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 भम् like युक्त with चंघः.

1 Hemachandra collects a number of passives in ह from roots ending in ह, dhabhat, libhah, rabbhat, rabbhat, from dub, lili, vah, ruk (or ruddhi).—Pischel, Hem., iv. 245.
(3.) Neuter in झ.

इत्र्
"to be envious,"

चहसू
"to torment."

Skr. दहसू "harm," I. दहाति, Pa. दहाति, Pr. दहार, S. दह, H. चाहः, द्वार, Pass. दहाते, Pa. दहातिति (Childers dayhati), Pr. द्वारः, S. द्वः.

(4.) Neuter in झ.

1. भ्रणु
"to be broken,"

2. मुखणु
"to be fried,"

3. क्षिणणु
"to be plucked,"

4. मुखणु
"to be heard,"

5. क्षणु
"to be raised,"

Active in झ, झा, न.

भ्रणु
"to break,"

मुखणु
"to fry,"

क्षिणणु
"to pluck,"

सुषणु
"to hear,"

क्षणु
"to raise,"


पुषातन महः किचिति हानि

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

P. मह, G. महा.

2. Skr. मूः or मूः, vi. मूःति, Pa. मूःति. Pr. would probably be मूः. I have not met the word. मूः (Bhāg. 278) is from मूः "to enjoy," S. मूः postulates a Pr. मूः. In the other languages the n occurs. H. मूः "to fry," and मूः, P. मूः, G. मूः, M. मूः, but also मूः, O. मूः, B. id., Pass. मूःति, which would give Pr. मूः, whence S. मूः, but the whole stem is somewhat obscure.

P. मूः.


Pass. विंते, Pa. विंति, Pr. विंह, S. विं.

4. Skr. झू "hear," which, as already explained, is always सुभ in Prakrit and in modern languages. Pass. सुहूते, Pa. सुहूति or सुहूति, Pr. generally सुनिघ (Var. viii. 57), also सुभ, but a form सुषण is also possible, whence S. मूः.
5. Skr. √स्म "rise," l. स्मदिति, which would give a Pr. चष्टि, whence S. चष्टि, Pass. चष्टि, Pr. चष्टि, S. चष्टि. This stem does not seem to occur in the other languages; it is peculiar to S., and must not be confounded with चष्टि "to dig," from Skr. √चष्टि, nor with Skr. चष्टि "to divide."

5. (a) Neuter in स. Active in ह.
1. कुसम "to be slain." कुहु "to slay."
2. मसम "to be rubbed." महु "to rub."
3. बुसम "to be scorched." भुहु "to scorch."
4. उसम "to suffer loss." भुहु "to inflict loss."


2. Skr. √घष "rub," l. घषदि, Pr. घषर, S. घं, Pass. घषति, Pr. घषर and घषर, S. गस. The other languages have a different series of stems. H. घस and घस्स, a and a. घस्स, o, P. id., G. घस and घस, a, M. घस, घस्स, घस 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—

5. (b) Neuter in प. Active in ह.

挎पु "to be touched,"挎हु "to touch."

Skr. √कु "touch," l. कुदिति, Pa. id., Pr. कुः. य being unsupported goes out and ह is employed to fill up the hiatus, giving S. कः. Pass. कुधति, Pr. कुधः, whence S. कः, by rejection of one य. In the other languages only the active is found. Old-H. कः, H. कः, P. कः and कः, G. कः, कः, कः, O. कः, B. id.

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§ 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 र, while that of the active is the sonant र; the neuter
at the same time has the simple short vowel while the active
has the corresponding guna vowel.

The words are in Hindi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neuter</th>
<th>Active</th>
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| कुट "get loose,"
| छोट "set free,"
| टुट (तुट) "fall in pieces,"
| टोट "break,"
| फट "burst, split,"
| फाट "fear,"
| फिट "be discharged,"
| फट "discharged,"
| फट "be squashed,"
| फोट "squash,"
| फट "be joined,"
| जोट "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. व्रह (also चुट, चुट Westergaard, Rad. Skr. p. 128) "to cut,"
vi. चर्टति, but the Bā type would be छोटति, Pr. छोटर, H. छोट, and
so in all except M., which has सोट, with its usual change of क to स (Vol. I.
p. 218). H., which is pronounced chhoṛ, while M. is soḍ, is active, and so is
the word in all the other languages. It means "to release, let go, loose."
Pass. कुटरति, Pr. कुटूर, whence H. कुट, and so in all, but M. सुट. 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. चुट "vomit," vii. कङ्गति, also i. कङ्गति and x. कङ्गयति, Pa.
कङ्गति, Pr. कङ्गुर and कङ्गवर. Old H. कङ्ग, P. कङ्ग, B. कङ्ग, O. id., H.
कङ्ग, M. सोट. These words all mean "to reject, abandon," and thus
come round to the same meaning as कृत, with which in consequence B. confuses it. So does Oriya. Even so early as Pall the meaning has passed over from that of vomiting to rejecting, releasing and the like. In modern H., however, कृतता retains the meaning of vomiting, and M. कृत means "to spill," with secondary senses of "giving up," "letting go."

2. Skr. वृत "break" (a), I. वृत्ति, IV. वृत्यति, Pr. वृत्ति, H. वृत and वृत, with abnormally long u, P. वृत, S. वृत, B. id., M. वृत. 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 ढौटयति, H. ढौड़, and so in all but S. ढौड़. It is active, meaning "to break in pieces, tear, smash."

3. Skr. फूट 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) फूट "split," I. फूटति, Pa. फूटति and फूटति (ट = त = त), Pr. फूट and फूट, H. फूट (rustic फूट), P. S. फूट and फूट, the rest only फूट. neuter.

Causal फूटयति, Pr. फूटि, H. फूट 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 धूप में फूट "the wood splits, or cracks, in the sun," but काट बोट टांगी से पालि "he cleaves the wood with an axe."

(b) फिट "hurt," x. फिटयति, but also vi. फिटयति, Pr. फिट, H. फिट, and so in all but P. फिट, neuter.

Causal फिटयति, Pr. फिटि, H. फिट, फिटि and फिट, 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) फूट "burst open," I. फूटति, vi. फूटति, Pa. फूटति,
Pr. फुट द् or फुटः (Var. viii. 53), H. फुट त and फुट, all the rest फुट, except P. फुट, neuter.
Causal बोटयति. Pr. बोटिर, H. बोटः, and so on in all but B. बोट. Words with the stem vowel U imply the breaking or bursting of soft squasy things, as a ripe fruit, a flower bud, a bolt 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 दोन्चे पूर्वे “the eyeballs burst.”

6. Skr. जुड़ or जुड़, a somewhat doubtful root, looking like a secondary formation from जुगः. 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. जुडिति, जुडति. Pa. and Pr. do not appear to know this root, which, however, is very common in the moderns. H. जुड “to be joined,” also जुड़; and so in all.

Causal बोटयति, H. बोटः, 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. नू “cross over,” 1. नारिति, Pa. नू, Pr. नारह, in all नार “to be crossed over,” metaphorically “to be saved.”

Causal नारयति “to take one across, save,” Pa. नारिति, Pr. नारह and नारिर (Var. viii. 70). In all नार “to save.” The word is one which belongs chiefly to religious poetry, but its compound form with उद् is a word of every-day use; viz.

2. Skr. भूक्, Pres. भूतरति “descend,” H. भूत, and in all except S. It is भू, and is used with a very wide range of meanings all akin to
that of coming down; as slight, descend, fall off, drop down, disembark, abate, decrease.

Causal उतारतः "take down," H. उतारः, and so in all except G. and O. Active, meaning "pull down, take off, unload, discharge, cast out."

3. Skr. √ म "die," vi. मियतः, Pa. मरतः, Pr. मरः, H. मरः, and so in all.

Causal मारतः, Pa. मारपितः, Pr. मारः, H. मारः 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 हाल "throw" (see § 72, 12).

4. Skr. √ म "move," i. सरतः, Pr. सरः. 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 वे कर्म सरे सलग "that affair is done with."

Causal मारतः, Pr. मारिरः, H. मार "to finish," and in all. In O. this verb becomes ancillary (see § 72).

5. Skr. √ ह "seize," i. हरतः, Pa. हरितः, Pr. हरः. 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 खौं जहिला दाबांदेश जमीर इप्यें मोडें तें म्या हरले "In the first game he staked 100 rupees, that I won." When used as a neuter, it means to lose, as मी बात हरलो "I lost the lawsuit." ¹

Causal हरतः, Pa. हरपितः and हरितः, Pr. हरिरः, H. हारः, and so in all but M. a. 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. a. v. हर and हार.
winning, as म्हां व्यापे मन्त्र श्रवे 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. 90, the Samvâhaka says: माप्पचियनगमद्राद द्रममुवणञ्ज बृहे हारिऽद्रसा (Skr. माप्पचियनगमत्वा द्रममुवणञ्ज बृहे हारिऽ घसा) “By the unwardness of fortune I lost ten savarnas at play.” From this and similar instances it would appear that in M. it would be etymologically more correct to use हृ 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, हुरस 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. खङ्कङ्क and खङ्कङ्क “tremble,” i. सङ्करति, Pa. फङ्करति, Pr. फङ्कर। If I am right in my derivation, there must either have been a third root खङ्कङ्क (as in खङ्कङ्क, फङ्कङ्क), or the moderns have softened s to t, the former is the more probable. H. फङ्कर a “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 फङ्कर, that all the moderns have फङ्कर a “to turn (a thing) round,” “to make it revolve.”

2. Skr. घृण “to move to and fro” (a). Allied to this is घृण, i. घृणते, apparently unknown in Pall, Pr. घृणद्र, H. घृण, P. M. घृण, B. घृण, meaning to be dissolved by stirring in water, as sugar or similar substances; “to melt.”

Causal घृणवति, Pr. घृणते, H. घृण, P. घृण and घृण, G. M. O. घृण, B. घृणा “to dissolve substances in water.”

3. Skr. गत “fall,” i. गतति, Pa. गत, Pr. गहर (Var. viii. 51), H. गहर “to fall,” and so in all.
Causal पातथति, Pa. पातिति, Pr. पाठ्रि, H. पाठ “to fell,” and so in S. G. M. B., but somewhat rare in all.

4. Skr. √ गढ़ “decay,” i. and vi. गैयाति, Pr. गढ़ (Var. viii. 51), H. गढ़, and in all “to rot.”

Causal गाद्यति, Pr. गाद्रि, P. and S. साद “to destroy by decomposition.” This root is perhaps connected with Sanskrit √ गृह “to be sick,” whence गृह in Prakrit and the moderns.

5. Skr. √ गम “bow,” i. गमति. It is both a and u in Sanskrit, but strictly would be active intransitive, as in the moderns. Pa. गमति, Pr. गम, H. गम and नेव, P. गेड (neil), S. गेव, B. गू, O. गुर, गीर (6) “to bow oneself down,” “to prostrate oneself.”

Causal गमयति, Pa. गमयति, Pr. गमनित, H. गाव, ना, P. निव, S. नेव, B. नाम, नुया, O. नुंखार “to bow or bend,” used as an active with the words “body” or “head” as objects, H. नौस नावना “to incline the head.” आर आर पद गावेद माया।“Coming to the door, bow to his head to (the Guru’s) feet.”—T. R.

Ay-k. 63.

In very common use is the diminutive H. निकड़, P. S. id., but in S., meaning “to bury,” “press down.” M. uses the compound form from Skr. चवनिति, Pr. चोषय (p.p.p. चोष्यो = चवति, Hāla, 9, Mr. p. 165), M. चोषय and चोषय a “to stoop.” Perhaps S. चोष “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. √ छछ “drag,” i. क्षयति and vi. क्षयति, Pa. क्षणूति, Pr. करितर, so, at least, says Var. viii. 11, but in Mr. 253 occurs क्रुतमि = करोमि. The Skr. p.p.p is छछ, which would give Pa. and Pr. क्षण. 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 क्रुह—कड़ह, सल्दह, नाड़ह, स्मृध, स्मृध, and स्मृध, as well as किरस. —Pischel, Hem. iv. 187.

With regard to the four last, see the remarks on कान्तिति in § 22.
out,” “extract,” “to take something out” (from a box, etc.), P. वृङ्ख्ला and खंडः, S. कदः, G. B. कादः, M. O. कादः. H. has a corresponding neuter खंड “to be taken out,” “to flow forth,” “issue,” which is perhaps from the p.p.p. Var. viii. 40, gives Pr. वृङ्ख्ल् = Skr. विक्षित, which affords an analogy for a Pr. खंडः like the Pali, very much used in the compound with निसः; thus—

Skr. निक्षित्, I. निक्षयित्, Pa. रिक्षिति “to turn out of doors, expel;” as to Pr. in Mr. 354 occurs निक्षित् “begone!” and in the line above निक्षितालेहि “turn him out.” For the change of खूँ to म, Var. viii. 41 उदेस्यः = उदेश्यः affords an analogy, as the change in both words occurs only in composition. Several of the moderns have pairs of words, thus: H. निकास a, “go out,” P. निक्रत्, S. निकिर, G. निककत्, O. निक्रिय, and H. निकास a, “turn out,” P. निक्रत्, S. निकार, निकः. In the above quoted passages of Mr., the scholiast renders निक्षितालेहि by निक्षागयः, erroneously for निक्रागयः, from निसः and कस्त, but this is not the etymological equivalent, for निसः with निसः has left a separate set of descendants, whose meaning is, however, almost the same as निकास and its group. Thus we find H. निकास a, “go out,” P. निक्रत्, 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. निक्रास.

§ 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. तपः “heat,” I. तपृत्, Pa. id., Pr. तपः. In Sanskrit it is both a and u, so also in Pali. In the latter the passive तपृत् (Skr. तपः) means to be distressed, to suffer, and in this sense Pr. uses तपः, as in
Juha dīṣṭho tavai khala, "as the bad man is distressed when seen" (Hāla, 239). Causal तापखित् "to cause to burn," Pa. तापचित् "to distress," Pr. तापव. The moderns take it as a neuter. H. तप 'a, "to be heated, to glow," and so in all but B. ताप. H. ताव "to heat," P. ताव, ता, G. ताव, M. id., B. तावा.

Skr. जिय "smear," vi. जियनिति, Pa. id., Pr. जियन, जिय, H. जीप, लेप, P. जिय, जिम्ब, जिम्म, S. लिव, लिम, G. लिप, M. लेप, B. लेप, O. लिप. Pass. जियनिति, Pa. जियनिति, Pr. जियपृ, H. लिप "to be smeared with," M. लिप, G. लेप, which is the reverse of the others.

Skr. धात "cut," vi. धातनि, also i. कर्णिति, Pa. not given. If the Bhū type be taken, as it generally is, then Pr. should have कटृ (on the analogy of कटृ = वर्त्ते). 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. कटृ, S. कट, M. id., B. कट "to wither," become declined, O. कट.

The causual is कर्णिचिति, whence G. pass. intrans. (—I) कटा, but if formed on the usual type would give a Pr. कार्ण, whence H. काट "to cut," S. M. B. O. id.


The present type used in a reflexive sense, whence H. गंध "to be knotted," or गंध without anusvara, P. गंधा, G. गंधा (—I). H. has also forms गंधः, and गंधा, the former from Pr. गंध, Mr. 157.

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

Skr. रो "trot, "i. रोहिति (perhaps connected with रो चन्तित्वसे, see Vol. I. p. 210). I have not found it in Pr.; it is a in Skr. and thus

Skr. √ बुध, भुज "raise," "weigh," l. भूषणति, x. भुजवति and भूजयस्.
Pa. भूषणति, Pr. भूषण, H. भूषण, तील 9, "to weigh," P. भूषण, S. तौर, G. id., M. भूषण, both 9 and 9, B. भूषण and भूषण, O. भूषण. Pass. भूषणते, would be Pr. भूषण, H. भूषण 9, "to be weighed, to weigh," i.e. to be of a certain weight, P. id., S. तौर, B. O. भूषण.

Skr. √ साम् "prop," v. भूषणति, ix. भूषणति. Pa., the verb is not given in Childers, it would be बौमवति, Pr. बौम, H. बौम, also spelt चाम and चांब 9, "to prop, support," P. बौम द or चांभ, S. बौम, G. बौम, B. बौम, O. चाम. Pass. चामते; there is also an आत्मस conjugation चामते. From this latter probably H. चाम, चाम, चांब 9, "to be supported, to be restrained," hence "to stop, cease," P. चाम, S. चाम, G. चाम, M. चाम, चाम, चांब. It also means "to stand," especially in G.

The p.p.p. is साम्, Pr. खंड, whence Old-H. ठंडा "standing," as गोयां भर विषयक है चिनतति सब ठंड० "All the Gopis on the terrace standing and looking."—S. S. Bāl Iīla, 47, 14. On the analogy of this the modern colloquial H. खंडा is probably to be derived from a Pr. खंड, from खंड, खंड, O. खंड. P. has खंड adj., "standing," whence a verb खंड "to stand."

Skr. √ झुं with नि, निष्कृत, l. निष्कृतति "to come to an end, be finished," Pr. झुंफूर, means "to return," sa भंपूर joveṣṣam aṅkukam = न निष्कृतति धीरेवं बैतृकाम "Youth when once passed does not return again" (Hāla, 231), but we may postulate a form झुंफूर, whence H. झुंफूर 9, "to be finished, to be done with, used up," P. id., S. झुंफूर or निष्कृत, B. झुंफूर, O. id. On the analogy of similar words H. झुंफूर, झुंफूर 9, "to finish," P. id., S. झुंफूर, B. O. झुंफूर, it might also come from निष्कृति = Pr. झुंफूर, but the meaning is less appropriate.

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. लाद a, “to load,” P. लाध, more from analogy than anything else, S. लड़. In all the rest लाद.

H. लाद a, “to be loaded;” not in the others. Bopp (Comp. Gloss. s. v.) suggests a derivation from घ म, p.p.p. घान “tired,” or घ म, p.p.p. घान “tired.” This would seem to be confirmed by Russian kilad “a load,” klazka “leading,” na-kludevat’ “to load;” Old-High-German kilid, Anglo-Saxon kiledan “to load,” kilad “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. घान nor घान could well have given rise to a Hindi līd. 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. चोट and चोट a, "to dig," P. चोट, चोट, G. चोट, M. चोट, चुड, B. चुड. And H. चुड, चुड "to be dug." With this pair I propose to connect H. चोट a, "to open," P. चोट, चुड, चुड, S. चुड, G. M. चुड, B. O. चुड, and H. चुड n, "to come open," P. चुड, S. चुड, G. M. id. Pr. has a verb चुड, and this root is also given in the Dhâtupâtha as existing in Sanskrit, though not apparently found in actual use. The Sanskrit form is probably √ चुड "to divide," with which another root चुड "to dig," has been confused, unless, indeed, the noun चुड, "a portion," is formed from √ चुड, and is the origin of √ चुड. The Prakrit occurs in Mr. 346, कूवि कूवि िपाणि कदतालपणि िइ दुष्टनि "Like a golden pot with its string broken, sinking in a well," where the scholiast renders कूवि कूवि िपाणि, etc. Also in Mr. 219, िइ िइ िइ िइ िइ िइ, िइ िइ "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. बुढ or बुढ n, "to dive, be immersed, sink," S. बुढ, G. बुढ, M. B. O. id., and H. बोट a, "to drown, to immerse," S. id., बोट occurs in M. and S., not as active of बुढ, but for मोट (बुढ) "to shave." Apparently, an inverted form of this stem is the more commonly used H. बुढ n, "to sink," used in all; it has no corresponding active form. The origin of these words is to be found in Pr. बुढ (Var. viii. 68), which appears to be the same as vudda in dâramuddânamuddânicudda mahan, "(With) the bee a little dipped, (quite) dipped, undipped" (said of the bee clinging to a kadam branch carried away by a stream).—Hâla, 37. The Sanskrit lexicographers give a √ बुढ "to cover," but no instances of its use. The reversed form गुढ्व is also in use in Prakrit, as in the quotation
from Mr. 346, given under खों ड़ above, where the speaker is a Chandāla
or man of the lowest caste, who may be held to speak a low form of
Apabhraṇa. It is perhaps another of those Aryan roots which Sanskrit
has rejected. The classical language uses instead maj, Latin mergere.

H. भेट, भेट a, "to meet" (to join any one), भेड़ a, "to close, shut," P.
भेढ़, S. भेठ and भीठ, G. भेट, M. भिठ, both a and n, B. भेट, भेठ, O.
भेठ; and H. भिड "to stand close to, to be crowded," P. id., S. G. id.,
M. भेठ, 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 sub-
stantive मीठ "a crowd." From the meaning I was led to suppose
(Vol. 1. p. 176) a derivation from a Sanskrit p.p.p. चम्भण "near," which,
however, has been disputed. The question must for the present be left
undecided.

H. भेट "to efface," P. S. id., and more common H. भिर a, "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 मुँढि
"rubbed," p.p.p. of स मुँढ, though one would expect a Pr. मिल्र or मुँढ, and H. मीठ.
There are two other stems ending in ठ, which present
nearly the same difficulty, viz.:

H. धिट "to be beaten," ऐसा करोऽने, ती धिटोऽने "If you act
thus, you will get a beating." P. धिट, M. धिट, both a and n, B.
and O. धिट a, and H. धीठ a, "to beat," not in the others. In
Prakrit there is धिट "to beat," धिट्र एदे चेड़ विस्काठोस "Having
beaten this slave, turn him out" (Mr. 354, again in the mouth of a
Chandāla), and धिट्रदगहेह विश पुष्कोबिव भोट्रद्व "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 धिट "ground, broken,"
p.p.p. of स धिट "to grind," but this is hardly satisfactory, as this root
has a descendant, H. धीम "to grind," and धिट a, "to be ground."

H. लेट a, "to lie," "to be in a recumbent posture," and लिड a, "to
wallow," P. बॆट, बिट, S. बॆट, G. M. id. Probably connected with लैट; but there does not appear to be any Prakrit root to which it can be traced. The nearest Sanskrit root is च "to lie down;" लैट्लैट - svapati.—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. चीणाति and चीणति, Pa. चिणाति, Pr. चिण्यव. H. चीन, S. चिण्द्र (is not the च here due to some confusion with Pr. शेव = चह "take"?), B. O. चिम. This is a single verb, the complications occur in the following compound with चि, चिकी "sell," ix. चिकीणाति, Pa. चिकीणाति, Pr. चिकीणार, S. चिकिण a, "to sell," O. चिक, Gypsy चिकना. But in H. चिक is a, "to be sold, to be exposed for sale," as चावल चावल मेखला चिकता "rice is selling cheap to-day." In M. चिक is both a and n, as चिकौल तनी चिकौल "when it is ripe it will sell." So also P. S. चिक n, "to be sold." For the active H. has चेन sometimes pronounced चिय "to sell," as चावल चावल चेता "he is selling rice to-day." P. चेन, G. चेन, B. चेन. 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 Paramai of the Bhū form would be चिकयति, and the Atmanta चिकयते, 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 च of the Pr. चिक्यार. But whence comes the च in चेन?

H. चेन, commonly pronounced चिय "to pull, drag," is a similar word. P. चिय and चिय, G. M. चेन, B. चेन and चें, O. id. Also H. चिय a, "to be dragged," B. चिय, चिय "to be dragged or distorted (the face), to grin, make faces, writhe," M. चिय. From the meaning we are led to think of Sanskrit च "to drag," and although this root has been shown to have given rise to another pair of verbs कर्क and कर्क, and in composition to अ-कल and अ-कल, yet it is not impossible that, used
in a different sense, it may have originated another set of words like khshek and its congers.

H. पढ़, "to arrive" a, written in various ways as पढ़, पढ़, पढ़े, P. पढ़, S. पढ़, G. पढ़, पढ़, M. id., B. पढ़ or पढ़, O. पढ़. In the dialects are some curious forms, as Marwari पूर्ग and पूर्ग, which also occurs in Chand, and in Nepali. Chand uses also a form पढ़े, as दिन दो दिन में नीं के पढ़ि "In two days one easily arrives (there)." Pr. R. i. 175. In Old-Gujarati also there is a verb पढ़ो, e.g. तद्व ना पढ़ ये वधान भाव म पढ़ो "Says Nala to Narada, this story does not arrive at mind" (i.e. is not probable).—Premendu and Bhot, in K. D. il. 74. S. पढ़ि has p.p.p. पढ़ी, which latter looks as if it were from प + सूए, but this will not account for the च. Hoernle (Ind. Ant. i. 358) derives this word from the old Hindi adverb पढ़ "near," and चर "make," assuming a change of च 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. पढ़ार, "to call," as the causal of पढ़, which he says was (or must have been) anciently पढ़. There is another possible derivation from Skr. मधुरपें "a guest," which becomes in H. पढ़ार, 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 व, for as व arises from र + व, so च arises from त + च (Vol. I. p. 326). Thus:

H. भें, a, "send," P. id. Here we have Skr. भें, "clove," "separate." Causal भें, which would make a passive भेंत, "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 ए

1 See note to Krsn in § 20. The cognate verb विनेक is also in use in the modern.

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and $y$; or, taking the simple passive मिलवते, we may assume that there was a neuter भिज "to be sent," from which the active भेज "to send," has been formed; भिज, however, is not found.

H. बाज "to sound," P. id., S. बाज and बझ, G. बाज, M. बाज, B. id. Also H. बाज $. "to play (music)," and $n$, "to sound." Probably from Skr. बढ "speak," causal बांधहति, Pa. बढ़ति and बढ़िति, the passive of the causal is Skr. बांधते, Pa. बांधति "to be beaten," i.e. "to be caused to speak," as राजस्ति बहे य "drums are beaten." Hence the modern बड़ि. The short form बड़ि 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 ब्यो, ब्यूथ, and ब्यू.

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 Bhū type, Prakrit usually, and the moderns always, adopt the Bhū 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 ahhor, abhut*. 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, mdr*.

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. नांठ, if treated as a neuter, would be conjugated thus: Present *gânthato*, Past *gânthalâ*, Future *gânthel*, etc.; but if as an active, thus: Present *gânthilo*, Past *gânthile,* Future *gânthili*. 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 mediavval 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 बढ़ना "to grow big," "increase," makes its active बढ़ना "to make big," and rustic and
poetical Hindi often uses बाह्ना for the neuter, as ऐंको देन प्रकट गोवर्धन। जाके पूजे बाई गोधन। "Such a god is manifest in Govardhana, from the worship of whom wealth of cattle increases."—S.S. Govardhanilà, ii. 15, et passim. So also बाह्न कृष्ण सुनामक 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 ə 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).1 The rules for its formation are simple, in stems, whether neuter or active, having ə as the included vowel, it is shortened to a, as—

चाव “read,”
बाॅन “be read.”
चाव “mark, test.”
बाॅन “be tested.”
साॅन “hear,”
साॅन “be heard.”

The shortening does not always take place when the included vowel is i or ě, 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,”
शीख (गैखा) “be learnt.”
शीख “sew,”
शीख (गैखा) “be sewn.”

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

त्या “wash,”
न्या “be washed.”
खा “eat,”
खा “be eaten.”
बीही “fear,”
बीही “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 STEM.

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, रामचर रावण मरायो “Rāvana was killed by Rāma,” त्र विन तः ती वायुः “In this field seed has been sown;” as expressing habit, एवं कहियाय के बरो “thus it is correctly said,” i.e. “this is the correct way of expressing it;” जा कोक्स्री मूर्ध वन्यायिः “this boy is (usually) thought to be stupid;” as expressing power or fitness, तेनायो वन्याय नहीं “he cannot walk,” literally “by him it is not walked;” राजा नीति यवाय कराय नहीं “a king cannot (or must not) do injustice;” कृति चामियाय माते एनु पायो पीयाय नहीं “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 श्रावायो in the sentence just quoted, which means “to be ceremonially impure,” and points back to a Sanskrit denominate, as though from धृ “not,” and गु “good,” there had been formed a verb चाम्यायिते “it is not good.” So also वपराय “to be used,” “to be in use,” as एवं धर्म नीति वे प्रायवपराय के “two affixes are in use with one meaning,” postulates from वपराय, a denominate वपरायिते, or perhaps the causal of वि + धर्म + पू = वपरायिति. 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 भीमवचुता सुँ वदन वधावक देवीने श्रीमाय। चंद्रमा तो ची० चाँ पान वामवत 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 श्रीमाय is “to be beautiful,” and looks like a denominate, but संताय has more of a passive or reflexive meaning, “to be hidden,” “to hide oneself.” Again, द्वारवती तु चूदः देवी
“Seeing the belly of Damayanti, the lake dried up,” (ib. ii. 75), literally “was dried up.” So also घर चारण खारे कूदी बोलावे ए चपि केम 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 चोला, and is probably the same as O. चोल्जा “to descend, alight,” M. चोल्चो “to trickle, flow down,” which I take to be from चप + मु = चपसरित, Pr. चोल्लु (Māgadhi), and with change of स to ह = चोहल। It is used in the sense of removing oneself, thus: चलें चोललय “ho there! get out of the way!” (Mr. 210), and causal चोलालिदा मए शब्द “I have got the cart out of the way,” (ib. 211) = Skr. चपसारिता। This phrase is conjugated throughout all the tenses, thus चोलवा “to be lost.” Present चोलवे “he is lost,” Future चोलवे “he will be lost,” Preterite चोलवी, चोलवी, or चोलवलो हे “he has been lost,” and in active verbs it is used in the Bhava-prayoga, as a sort of potential, as तेनायी चोलवाय “he can loose,” तेनायी चोलवाय “he could loose,” तेनायी चोलवाय “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 पकड़ “seize,” पकड़ा “be seized,” as हम पकड़ारत 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, सिकता जन खि खि खि गुड़तियल “As water poured out on the ground is dried up.”—Pad. 984. धरशी चोलायण गोकुलचाँद। “(He who is) the moon of Gokul rolled himself on the earth.”—P.K.S. 77. अनु इदेवर पवनेपेंतियत चले भरे बलदाय। “As a lotus pressed down by the wind is tilted by the weight of bees” (var. lect. मुरि = by a swarm).—Pad. 1352.

1 This is equivalent in meaning to our English saying, “When the stead 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 य or in; Skr. शायति = Pr. खारङ्गत्रि; and it is supposed that this त्र has become य, and subsequently य, 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 इजा (Var. viii. 58, 59). Thus Skr. ग्रयंते = सुपीया, ganyate = qamijja, kasyate = kasijja. In Sindhi the passive is formed by adding रा or ज to the neuter or active stem. Thus—

पूरा "to bury," Passive पूर्बा "to be buried."
घटा "to lessen," Passive घटा "to be lessened."

A passive is also made from causal stems, as—

विक्रा "to lose," Passive विक्रा "to be lost."

Here, also, we find denominatives which have no corresponding active form, and have scarcely a passive sense, as उक्षण "to long for," where the causal termination used in Sanskrit for denominatives appears to have been confused with the इजा of the passive. Thus Skr. उक्षत "longing," makes a verb उक्षत्यति "to long for," whence the Sindhi ukhandijau. So also चमुदिजा "to be entangled," which seems to be from Skr. चमुज्ञ, or चमुजज्ञ "a finger," whence we may suppose a verb

1 Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 253.
"संप्रयति" "to be intertwined (like the fingers of clasped hands)," चिन्हत "to be angry," from उसम "anger," Skr. उम "uproar," of which the denominative would be उमरयति.

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

पीड "drink thou," पिक्षु "to drink," पीक्षु "to be drunk.
पूड "thread thou," पुच्छु "to thread," पुच्छु "to be threaded.
घोड "wash thou," घुच्छु "to wash," घोर्सु "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—

करण "to do," करीकण "to be done.
खावण "to eat," खाविण "to be eaten.
मिलण "to take," मिलीण "to be taken.
देवण "to give," देविण "to be given.
आवण "to come," आविण "to be come.

Thus they say सूत्र सूत्र चिन्हत नहीं = H. मृष्ठ से खाया नहीं आता "by me it is not come," i.e. "I am not coming." घोड़ सूत्र चिन्हत नहीं = H. तुम से नहीं खाया खाया "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. The insertion of र instead of व in देव and आव is peculiar and unaccountable.

Panjahi also has a synthetical passive, though rarely used. It is formed by adding र to the root, and is probably derived from that form of the Prakrit passive which ends in र, 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 मारा “to beat,” Passive present भ य मारीता “I am beaten,” Future व मारीबाण व “I shall be beaten,” Potential (old present) न मारीवाण “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 conjunctive work, and the participle merely varying for number and gender.

Thus from मार “beat,” H. Sing. मारा जाणा “to be beaten” m., मारी जाणा f., Plur. मारे जाणा m., मारीं जाणा f., P. मारिचा जाणा m., मारी f., Plur. मारे m., मारीवा f. Gujarati also uses this method side by side with the passive intransitive, as मारीं जाणे “to be beaten,” with the participle varied for gender and number as in the others. M. मारिचा जाणे, B. मारा जाणते, O. मारा जेवा. 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. मारे बांधी होती “the cow was tied,” and G. यंच कसीं 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 जाणा “to go,” to form a passive, seems somewhat unnatural; होणा “to be,” would occur as the most fitting verb for this purpose. I am tempted to hazard a conjecture that the use of जाणा in this way has arisen from the Prakrit passive form in जी. 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 ḫ, may unconsciously have glided into the practice of confounding it with the ḫ of the common word जा, which would lead them to consider the verbal stem preceding it as a passive participle. Thus a form सारी “he is beaten,” would easily pass into सारा 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 pādu “to happen” (Sanskrit पत, modern Aryan धड) to an infinitive or noun of quality. This process, however, is as strained and foreign to elegant speech as the construction with ḫ 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. 333, 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 guna or vyiddhi, √श "do," causal कारयति. There is, however, in Sanskrit a small class of verbs which form the causal by inserting म between the root and the characteristic अया. These are principally roots ending in a vowel; but in Pali and the Prakrits the form of the causal in म 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 चु "cook," causal पाचेति, पाचयति, पाचापेति, पाचापयति. In Prakrit, also, there are the two processes, by the first of which the अया of Sanskrit becomes १, thus कारयति = Pr. कारो, हारयति = हो (Var. vii. 26), and by the second the inserted म is softened to म, thus giving कारवेद or कारवेद (ib. 27). It is from this form, and not from अया, as I erroneously supposed in Vol. I. p. 20, that the modern causal arises. Even in Prakrit the १ in कारेवि is frequently omitted, as it is also in कारेि, and we find such forms as कारि, तारि, side by side with कारेवि (Weber, Hula, p. 60), so that there remains only दि 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: aca, ica, leu, ari, dra, ari, and one sees at a glance that they are all derived from one source, the causal with र, modified in Prakrit to र. The difficulty lies in the vowels. Where one authority gives a causal in aca to a particular verb, another makes the causal of that same verb by adding ica, and so on. Stevenson (Marathi Grammar, p. 87) teaches that aca is the ordinary form, as basoney "to sit," basavaney "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 ica is more used, as karaney "to do," karicaney "to cause to do." A third form ari is said to be "of a middle class," and not characteristic of either dialect, as karanie. It is to be noted here that the causal suffix, strictly speaking, ends with the r, 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 the causal suffix, the junction vowel used is either i, as B. kará-i-te, O. kará-i-bá, S. kará-i-á, or a, as Old-H. kád-ú-rá, P. kád-ú-ê, or hardened to ca, as G. kará-ca-van. Dismissing, then, the final vowel as unconnected with the suffix, we get for Marathi four types, at, át, àt, it. Of these four at approaches most closely to the Prakrit, and may therefore be regarded as the original type from which, by a shortening of the vowel, comes ar, which, all things considered, is perhaps the most common and regular; a further weakening of the vowel produces ie; and the fourth form, it, 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

करण्ये “to do,” करणे, करावणे, करिवणे, करवणे; also करिवणे, and करिवणे “to cause to do.”

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 “sat.”
मिठ “meet,” मिठव (junction vowel रू) “mix.”
मिश “sleep,” मिशव “put to sleep,” “soothe.”

Those from actives are causal in meaning, as

मार “strike,” मारण “cause to strike.”
मिश “teach,” मिशवण “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 “cause to be cut.”

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

खा “eat,” खायव (junction vowel रू) “cause to eat.”

So also with roots ending in इ, as

सिख “write,” सिखव “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, § 378.
guages have passed by. The following are examples of the causal in these latter:

सिख "write," H.P.B.O.S. सिखा "cause to write," (H.Pres. likhāṭa, Pret. likhāṣyāḥ, Aor. likhāye, or likhāy, or likhāve.)

पढ़ "read," id. पढ़ा "cause to read."

मुन "hear," id. मुना "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."

वोक्या "speak,"
बुज्या "call" (i.e., "cause to speak.")

ज्ञाया "move,"
ज्ञाना "drive."

शाया "be awake,"
आज्ञाया "awaken."

उठाया "rise,"
उठाना "raise."

पक्या "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 य of Skr. as gamyate = gammāt,
a second in ta, as gamyate = g miałi, and a third in ija, as
gamyate = gam ija di. 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 már id = már i di, the third in the Sindhi and Marwari pas-
sive 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 kārayati = hāreś = hār; tro tāyat i = to reś = tōr; while that
which takes the च causal is preserved as the ordinary causal of
the moderns, as kārayati (kārapayati) = kāreś = kār.

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

The causal, properly so called, namely, that with the suffix
a, āc, etc., has always a short vowel in the stem syllable, ex-
cept in a few instances where the stem vowel is vriddhi, 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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<th>Active</th>
<th>Causal</th>
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<tr>
<td>तप</td>
<td>ताव</td>
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<tr>
<td>घुना</td>
<td>घोल</td>
<td>घुला</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 चोलना and घुलना, आगना and बमाना 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, ई, or ए, into ए, if ऑ or ओ, into ऊ. The semivowel
used is sometimes व or र, but more commonly व. Thus, जेना "to take," जिखना "to cause to take," but—

H. देना "give," दिखना "cause to give."
पीना "live," पिखना "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 व is optionally inserted, as

H. कहना "say," कहना and कहनाना "cause to say,"
"be called."
देखना "see," दिखना .. दिखनाना "show."
शीखना "learn," शिखना .. शिखनाना "teach."
वेदना "sit," बिठना (or बिथ) .. बिठनाना (बिथ) "seat."

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

दिखनु "give," दिखरू "cause to give."
चखनु "leak," चखरू "cause to leak."
खिखनु "sit," खिखरू "sent."
सिखनु "learn," सिखरू "teach."
उखनु "rise," उखरू "raise."
सुखनु "sleep," सुखरू "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 medieval poets such words as दिखरनान "to show," and even in modern colloquial usage बैठरनाना is quite as common

1 Trumpp, Sindi Grammar, p. 256.
as bīthlānd. Gujarati forms its causal in an analogous way, but uses ध नinstead of र, as

धावु “suck,” धवाधु “give suck.”
शीवु “sew,” शीवाधु “cause to sew.”
वागु “sound,” वगाधु “strike” (a bell, etc.)

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

धा (धः) “be,” धवाधु “cause to be.”
धाधु “eat,” धवाधु “feed.”
धे “give,” धे “cause to give.”
से “endure,” सेहवाधु “cause to endure.”
वोहु “rot.” वोहवाधु “cause to rot.”

This language, like Hindi, also reverses the position of the long vowel of the causal suffix, and uses such forms as dhavardṛ, khavardṛ, with change of ध 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

भिरोगा “to wet,” from भिरणा “to be wet.”
जुगोगा “to drown,” .. जुगणा “to be drowned.”

Bengali and Oriya have only the causal form in a 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 āre, and exhibiting the forms āre, āre, āre, āt, 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, āḍ, rā, lā. Whether these two forms are connected by an interchange between the two semivowels l and r, 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. वां, in which we should, I think, recognize the syllable ār of the single causal shortened, and another ār 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 sunār, so sunvā is from sunāv+ār=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 वनसा "be made," वनान "make," वनवाना "cause to be made." Thus they say, गद वनत "The fort is being built;" घवर गद वनाना "The architect is building the fort;" and राजा घवर के बारा गद वनवाना "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 वनवाना 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 sunvā. The r, however, in all Indian languages is a softer sound than our r.
in the ablative with द्वारा or द्वे. 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

चढ़ "rise," चढ़ा "raise" (i.e. "cause to rise"), (i.e. "cause A to cause B to rise").
कट "be cut," काट "cut," कटाव "cause to cut,"
खुल "be open," खोल "open," खुलाव "cause to open."

In double verbs, like those just quoted, however, the single causal in a 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

विचे "be weary," विचरा "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."

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

सड़ "be on fire," माड़ "burn," साढ़ा "cause to burn," माड़ारा "be caused to be burnt."

One example given by him shows a full range of phases, as धापण्य "to be sucked, to issue" (as milk from the breast), neuter; धापण्य "to suck the breast," active; धापण्य "to be sucked," pass. ; धापाण्य "to give suck," neut. pass. ; धारण्य "to suckle," can. ; धाराण्य "to be suckled," pass. cana. ;
“to cause (another) to suckle,” double caus.;
“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—

“to put to sleep,” “to cause to put to sleep.”
“to raise,” “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 dyə 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 seqq.) the following examples:

**Neuter.**

उड्डाम्यु “to be extinguished,”
उड्डाम्यु “to fly,”
आप्यु “to be born,”
अम्यु “to be satiated,”
ढाम्यु “to be on fire,”
माम्यु “to be contained,”
विढ्ठाम्यु “to be passed, to pass” (as time),
इपाम्यु “to grow less,”

**Active.**

उड्डाम्यु “to extinguish,”
उड्डाम्यु “to make fly, to spend,”
जाम्यु “to bring forth,”
ढाम्यु “to satiate,”
खाम्यु “to burn.”
माम्यु “to contain,”
विढ्ठाम्यु “to pass the time,”
इपाम्यु “to lessen,”
In this group the neuter stems have the type \( \text{āpa} \) and \( \text{āma} \), which, if we regard them as derived from the Prakrit type \( \text{ābe} \) of the causal, will appear as respectively a hardening and a softening of the \( \text{ē} \) of Prakrit. In some cases the neuter form is clearly derived from the older causal, as in \( \text{मारण} \) "to contain," rather, "to go into," Skr. \( \sqrt{\text{ma}} \) "to measure;" but \( \text{राण} \), Skr. caus. \( \text{रा} \), "to cause to measure," where, by a natural inversion of the sense, the causal has become neuter. In the case of \( \text{राण} \) the process by which the meaning has been arrived at from Sanskrit \( \sqrt{\text{रा}} \) 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. विसाना "to be abashed," "to shrink away."

विसाना "to be worn out."

चुभसाना "to itch."

घवराना "to be agitated," "to be in fear" P. घवराऊणा.

घमाना "to bask in the sun."

चंचलाना "to tremble," "to be unsteady." P. घरणाऊणा "to grow soft" (a scar).

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

In words of this class, also, a syllable \( \text{र्य} \) is often inserted, as विसिराना "to grin." P. विसिराऊणा 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 हुँै रूप लाभी
जानाय। "He must be a king's son, by his appearance
and marks (of birth) it is known."—Bhārat, B.-S. 378,
where jāṇāy = jāṇāe, "it appears," "it is evident," a con-
struction 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—

कड़क "a cracking or crashing sound;" कड़काविचि "to crack,
crash;" कड़काविचि "to roar at," "to make a crashing noise."
कमता (from Persian कम) "deficient," कमताविचि "to grow less."
करक "a grating sound," करकाविचि "to grind the teeth."
कोष (Skr.) "doubt," कावकाविचि "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 لکبت وعلی کرنا "to provaricate," literally to make "would that!" and "per-
haps."

A distinction may apparently be drawn in many cases be-
tween forms in ति and those in ति, the former being rather
denominatives, and as such neuter, while the latter are causals.
Thus from चौरका "little," "few," चौरकाविचि "to grow less,"
and चौरकाविचि "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, दरकाविचि n, "to bellow," "bluster," and
दरकाविचि "to frighten by bellowing;" also दराश्वी "the act
of roaring at," from दराविचि or दरविचि "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 उ is used, according to Stack, convertible with the neuter, having the short vowel. Thus दारण or दरणु “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 दरणु and दरणयु “to grow loose or slack.”

Further examples are—

उपसु and उपसु “to grow less;” also उपायु “to decrease.”

उकारणु and उकारणु “to fade,” “tarnish.”

मारणु and मारणयु “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 अक (Vol. II. p. 31), thus Behari Lal.

कुटी ग श्युता को ज्ञात क ज्ञान की चिनत चंग ॥

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

Here the substantive ज्ञात “glitter,” “splendour” (probably formed from ज्ञ, ज्ञ in Vṛddhi, gives rise to a verb ज्ञातकला “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 those 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 बट, बट, आट, अट, बट, बट, बट, बट, उर, a series the items of which seem to indicate a progressive softening from some earlier type. Thus—

घासोणे "to rub" (Skr. √ घुश्), secondary stems घसटोणे "rub," घमरणे "slip," घसवटोणे (a potential form) "graze the skin," "be practised in" (an art or science), घसाडोणे "scour" (pots), घससडोणे u, "rub off, deface," u, "be rubbed," "be despoiled of." Analogous is H. घसीटोणा "drag."

जुबोणे "to sink" (rarely used), जुबोणे, जुभो, जुमो, "to splash about in the water," जुबकोणे id., जुबकोवणे "to plunge into water," (causal) जुबकोतोणे "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 ख to the primary stem being regarded as formed from nouns in ख, 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 আ, or শা, are explained under nouns so ending in Vol. II. p. 65, those having আ, অ, 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 আ।

स्त्रास्तमा "to knock, pat, rap," from स्त्रास्त न. ष. onomatopoea.
STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

खड़ड़ाणा "to clatter, rattle, jar," from खड़क m. f. onomatopoe.
खड़ड़ाणा "to bubble, simmer,"
खड़ड़ाणा "to rumble" (of bowels, Gk. κορκοτριγώς, ἕρπος).
onomatopoe.
गड़ड़ाणा "to quiver," probably connected with जह गृह. "to be
seized and shaken,"
खरखरणा "to mutter, murmur,"
इट्टे "to flap, flop," from इट ना "to fall off."
ईड़ड़ाणा "to tinkle, jingle, clank," Skr. ईड़ड़ाणा.
ईड़ड़ाणा "to glitter, glare, throb," Skr. ईड़ाणा?
फड़फड़ाणा "to flutter, twitch," Skr. फड़ाणा?
ढरढरणा "to tremble, quiver," probably onomatopoe.

(8) with i.
खिसखिसाणा "to giggle, chuckle, titter," onomatopoe.
खिसखिसाणा "to quiver, waver" (the voice in supplication), dimly
traceable to Skr. श, गीति?
खिसखिसाणा "to turn sick at," from खिस "disgust," Skr. घृणा:
there are also verbs खिसखिसाणा, खिसखिसाणा and खिसखिसाणा.
खिसखिसा "to squeak," onomatopoe.
खिसखिसा id.
खिसखिसा "to rave, rage, scold."
खिसखिसा "to twang," onomatopoe.

(7) with u.
खुपखुपणा "to envy, be spiteful," perhaps from Skr. बृह भृणा and खुपणा "to pierce."
ढुढुणा "to mutter."
ढुढुणा "to be silent, to move about quietly," from ढु "silent."
ढुढुणा "to itch, tickle."
ढुढुणा "to be soft or squabby."


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 मुंगका, चंबका “to throb,” and even with म, as चंबला “to be unsteady,” where the reduplication takes place already in Sanskrit चंबल. 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 खदराना, खमराना are found खदराना and खमराना with the same meaning. So also चुमक्षा and चुमक्षा, 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 चरचरा “to crackle, to sputter, to scold,” चरचरा “to smart,” चरचरा “to shake, swing,” चरचरा “to speak plausibly, to wheedle.” Other instances are—

कटपटाना “to toss, tumble, flounder.”
झडवडाना “to be on fire.”
खिलमिलाना “to flicker.”
तडफडाना “to flutter.”
गरगराना “to dazzle, glisten.”
कटपटाना “to stagger.”
खडवडाना “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 ठी ठी करना “to hang, to pop,” expressing the sound of a gun going off, चुं चुं 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: चिड़ियावा “to prate, sputter,” चिड़ियावा “to smart,” चुंचुँ चुरा and चुंचुँरा “to flutter,” शब्दाभाव चुरा “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 these. From जहल “blaze,” comes जहलहारण “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 कड़कड़ायु and कड़कड़ायु “to rattle,” also खड़कड़ायु; चटपटः “to fret,” चश्चलणः “to throb, smart,” कणकणः “to clink, clank,” also चण्यणः; फड़फड़ायु “to flap, to scold,” and फड़फड़ायु; चड़वड़ायु “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 क्रान् for Skr. क्रन् “fatigued,” by prefixing a shortened form ख, they make क्रान्तेह “to be distressed, to starve,” and क्रान्तेह “to worry, harass.” From the onomatop. कच “brawl,” “noise,” “row,” comes first a reduplicated noun कचकच, and then कचकचे “to gnash the teeth,” कचचे “to screech,” कचकरे “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 कच्छ चे expressive of "squashing," "muddling of soft substances," also of "things grating on the ear," or "being gritty in the mouth," whence कच्छ चे (from कच्छ चे) "to dabble with mud," "to stir," "to finger," which, from a sort of remembrance of मूठ "dirt," is often changed into कच्छ चे "to make a mess by dabbling." Another imitative syllable, which it is not necessary to regard as formally derived from Sanskrit कट "cut," or from कट "trouble," though the existence of these words has probably led the native mind in that direction, is कट expressive of "teasing, quarrelling;" whence कटज लड़े "to wrangle, tease by squabbling," "to make harsh or cracking sounds." Allied to this is the word कड़कड़े expressive of "the snapping of little things," whence कड़कड़े, which may be generally rendered "to go kajkad," that is, "to crash, crack, peel, to squabble, to hiss and bubble as hot water, oil," etc., also, "to be violently angry." Perhaps connected with this is कड़कड़े "to be feverish, to glow, ache," which, from some remembrance of मौठ "breaking," is also pronounced कड़कड़े. 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:

कड़कड़े "to be feverish," from कण्ण and कण्ण "feverishness," "heat and throbbing," "cramp."

कर्कर "to caw" (as a crow), from कर्कर "cawing," or any other harsh sound.

कलङ्ककल म "to glow with heat, to be qualmish" (as the stomach), from कलङ्ककल a word meaning "all sorts of disorders brought on by heat, or rage," possibly connected with Sanskrit कलङ्क "dispute."
कसकसणि्े "to ache, shudder, palpitate," from कसकसे "pains and aches."
कल्लकलणि्े the same as कल्लकलणि्े.
कलकलणि्े "to writhe, yearn."
किच्विक्वि्े "to chatter" (as a monkey), from किच्विचि्े "any gritty or sharp clacking sound."
कुणकुणणि्े "to whisper, mutter, murmur," from कुणकुणे "low, soft murmuring."

Under other letters the following may be quoted:
श्रक्रि्े "to go to work smartly," from श्रक्रि्े "smartly, quickly," connected with श्रट ि्े, which in all the languages means "quick!" "look sharp!"
श्रक्रणि्े "to tinkle, tingle, ring."
श्रक्रक्रि्े "to glitter, sparkle."
श्रास्त्रुणि्े "to trickle, ooze, pine away."
फरफरणि्े "to twitch, flutter."
स्वरसिरणि्े "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 ज्ञान ज्ञान or ज्ञान करिते. The following are a few examples:

चुरुचुरुसृरति्े "to buzz, growl."
ध्वृक्ष्विच करिते "to blaze, glitter."
टनटन कः "to throb, ache."
टिपटिपारति्े "to fidget, twitch."
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.

"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 घ occurs in many words, as अघः "to
laugh," Skr. √हस्, even when the initial ह has arisen from an earlier aspirated letter, as in नवा "to become," Skr. √मु, Pr. हो. An ए is also prefixed to roots, as अरक्षा "to guard, to find," Skr. √र्क्ष, H. रक्षना; and in the impersonal verb अर्न्त्वितलो "it is night," Skr. रात्रि. As might be expected, however, the Prakrit or modern form of verbal stems is that generally adopted. Thus कतावा "to spin," H. कातना, करावा "to do," H. करना, किन्तु "to buy," Skr. √की, H. कीनना, ghosha-वा "to clean," Skr. √घुप, H. घिसाना "to rub," but घुप might give a Pr. घुप, whence this word, also pronounced को-शावा. Khaliocar, from कोलो गुरा, Skr. गोमल, with हो "to be," "to be soft:" khānjovāra, from खान्ज गुरा, "to scratch, to itch," Skr. खान्दू "itch," H. खाच, खुच्छी: Khānjośvāra, also khāsāva, "to cough," Skr. √काम, but H. खास्मना. Khāndāvā "to dig," Skr. √ख, ḍhāva "to eat," Skr. √खात, Pr. खा, H. id., but the nomads of northern Rumelia use a form khaderāvā, which preserves the ḍ of Sanskrit. Khānjośvāra for khino गुरा, Skr. खिन्त्र with हो "to be fatigued."

There are three very similar verbs which illustrate the principle of stem-formation in this language well; ghedāvā "to assemble," ghelāvā "to bring," ghenedā "to count." The last of these three reminds us of Skr. √मण, H. मणना, for the gh is only so written to secure the ḍ being pronounced hard; the p.p. is ghendo, Skr. गेंदन; ghelāvā is apparently for ghen dāvā, the latter word meaning "to give," and being added as an ancillary, just as देना is in H, so that ghen dāvā = H. दिन देना. Its p.p. is ghedino, and that of dāvā is dīno, Pr. दीखो, Old-H. दीखिया and दीना, which confirms this derivation. Similarly, ghelāvā is ghen lāvā, where lāvā means "to take," H. लेना From these two examples, it would appear that the gh of ghedāvā and ghelāvā is not connected with ghenedā, but is Skr. √बह, Pr. बहब "to take."

Strange perversions of meaning occur, as might be expected, thus chalavāca, Skr. √चल, H. चलना, should mean "to cause to
move," H. जलाना. It means, however, "to beat," thus जा, दिक कोन चलावैला ए सूरद, "Go, see who knocked at the door!" This is singularly close to the Indian languages. We might say in H. जा, देख कोन चलावा द्वार को. The confusion between the two meanings of Skr. चर्च is apparent here also. In Skr. चर्च and चल्ल mean "to move," and the former, by a natural transition, is used also of cattle grazing. In H. they are kept apart, चल्ला meaning "to move," and चर्चा "to graze." In Gipsy चर्चा "to eat," makes its p.p. चाल, the causal चारा is "to lead out cattle to pasture," and a neuter verb चारिछैला or चालिछैला "to be satiated." Again, चालरा चा "to be satiated with," p.p. चालादो "full," "satisfied."

Frequently, as in the Indian languages, a primitive verb is wanting, and its place supplied by a compound, thus they say, चुंगे दारा "to kiss," Skr. चुम्बक, H. चुम्नाणा, but the Gipsy is = चूम देरा. So, also, चमुर दारा "to spit," probably to be referred to Skr. चुक्ष, and connected with H. छोक, M. शीमसे "sneeze."


Under त we find तादा "to cook," Skr. तद्द प.प. तादा, Skr. तापित, also तात "hot," Pr. तत, Skr. तत, H. तता. Connected with this probably are ताप दारा, ताप द्वारा, "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 तापिवैर or तापिवेर "to be burnt," as in iskērē isheestē तापिवेर शम्दान "at his head burnt a candle." A more modern form with the characteristic त of the p.p. in M. G. B. and O. is तापो "hot." A derivative is तापिवा (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 फुटू "I escape," न, but मी फुडी "I set free," अ, 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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The third person singular is the same in all the languages, ending universally in र. In Oriya poetry it ends in चर, and this now somewhat antiquated form is still occasionally heard, as in करर "he does," चरर "it is." The form in चर is in use in the rustic dialects of Hindi and Gujarati, as is also the intermediate form रे. It seems certain that this universal र has been formed from चर, the termination of this person in
Prakrit, and corresponds to the Sanskrit चति. Thus चति becomes चति, चति, and चति. The rustic Hindi forms चति, चति, are, I think, to be explained by the Prakrit process of inserting य and द to fill a hiatus; thus चति becomes चति and चति. In the hill dialects of Kumaon and Garhwal the final vowel is lost, and they say चल for चति. 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 कर, मार. P. S. and B. have lost the ि, and with it P. and B. have rejected the vowel also, which Sindhi retains. Hindi has softened the nasal consonant to anumāsika, 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 ि, which is a phonetically anomalous, though widely used process, the remaining form would be चति, as मारि, closely approximate to which is Garhwali मारि. The Braj form मारि is deducible also from मारि, through an intermediate मारि and मारि. The last-named form is still in use in the Eastern Hindi area, and has in Bhojpuri modulated into मारि; while the type मारि is preserved in the Oudh and Riwa form मारि, where य has been substituted for र, and an inorganic second anumāsika added, concerning which there will be more to say presently.

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

1 Grammatica de Linguar Concani (Gos, 1869), 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," *tuṇī assati* "ye are," *te assati* "they are." We should probably write अस्सति = classical M. अस्सत. The author tells us, however, that one may also say *amī assati* "we are," which is classical M. first person plural आस्सति बन्, though in Konkani it may be used for all three persons of the plural.

The second person singular ends in द in H. and G., and is from Skr. दिन्य by elision of म, thus शन्दिन्य, शन्दिन्य, शन्दि (Braj), शनि. In B. it formerly ended in दिन्य, but the final vowel has been rejected, and the द weakened to त, thus दिन्य "thou seest;" this form has been excluded from literature, but is extremely common in speech. In M. also the म has persisted, as सुदिन्य "thou dost get free," where the द is apparently due to the epenthesis of the final त of an earlier सुटिन्य. The त may, however, be dropped altogether, without leaving any trace, and one may say सुटिन्य. P. and S. take anumāśaika, as को "thou doest," which is perhaps due to the influence of the द, which has disappeared. The termination दिन्य is often heard among the lower classes in the Hindi area, but always in a past sense, and extended to all persons, as दिन्य "he did," दिन्य "he said" (also I or thou). The O. termination द 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 ज, for though B. and O. write ज, they pronounce ज, and when emphasis is used, ज. There is no difficulty in affiliating this termination to the corresponding Skr. 2 plural in ठ, through Pr. ठा and हा, thus ठा "ye go," where, by elision of ह and conflation of the two vowels, we should get ठा and ठा. The final ज has been lengthened to ज, as in the plural of nouns. Marathi also forms this person on the analogy of its noun, in which the final अनुस्वार is typical of the plural, so that we get ज. The process, however, is quite modern, for in the mediavul poets the second person plural ends in ज without anusvāra.
There is some obscurity about the first person in both numbers. In H. and G. the singular ends in श्र (४), while the plural ends in श्र (४); but in S. M. and O. it is the plural which ends in श्र, while श्र 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 श्र from चणार्थ, where the presence of the final र accounts easily for the र, and so the plural चणाम: with its Prakrit representative चणामु would regularly result in श्र. Moreover, in many dialects even of Hindi, the plural is still चणार्ध and चणी, चणू, चणो. In the Rajputana dialects it is चणा, which agrees with the singular of modern P. and S. For five of the languages Skr. चणार्थ softened to चणार्ध would become चणार्ध, whence M. and O. चण "I go," and further shortened, B. चणि id., while the rejection of final र gives P. चण, S. हणि "I go." The singular, therefore, in these five is easily understood. So also is the plural, for Skr. चणाम: Pr. चणामु, would become चणार्ध and चणार्ध, whence dialectic H. चाँ (Rajputana), चणू, चणी, चणो (in the Himalayan dialects), S. हणू, M. id., G. चणु. 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 श्र, the pronoun of the first person was, in mediaval times, and dialectically still is, है, so that it would be natural to say हैं करूँ "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 करूँ is derived from Pr. करार्थ by loss of the final र and softening of the र into anuswāra, we are still as far as ever from the
origin of the plural in 

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 मार्म "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 a in the Riwa, and other eastern Hindi dialects, points to the same source. The inorganic anuswāra in poetic Hindi, as मार्लं "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 Bhojpur dialect has मार्ट 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 करं 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 Muhammadans in Orissa, in their corrupt Urdu, say हम करांगा "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, i, ay or iy between the stem and the termination of the 1 pl., thus P. यहिये, यहिये, G. यहिये, यहिये "we read." Here it has been suggested that the Apābhraṃṣa
form in īma is the origin, thus हयिलो “we laugh” became हयिचय and हयिचि, 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 बुटें means “I used to get lose.” In Panjabi it is given as an indefinite future, as ਪਾਣਾ “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 तापरे कठक-सूल लोक गियः पाठरा संग्रहा कारे, एमाना समाये चाक्खणि बाण पाठरा क्षा- सियः परे, “After that several people went and collected stones, suddenly a great block of stone slipped and fell;” where कारे and परे, 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 Lockey 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 sense 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:

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<td>धे</td>
<td>धे</td>
<td>धे</td>
<td>धे</td>
<td>धे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>धे</td>
<td>धे</td>
<td>धे</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>धे</td>
<td>धे</td>
<td>धे</td>
<td>धे</td>
<td>धे</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. पढ़े "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 her "do thou!" perś "read thou!"
separate form, which may in all cases be traced back to the Skr. 3 sg. चू, Pr. छउ, which in M. becomes छो. In M., however, the termination छ for this tense is also in use. To the same origin may be ascribed the O. ठ and B. ठह, the final ठ 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. चन, just as the corresponding person in the aorist is with Skr. चनि. In O., owing to the influence of the final ठ, this termination is often written सत्, as karantu “let them do,” jāantu “let them go.”

In all but S. the second singular is the bare verbal stem. In M. a final छ is heard, and slightly also in B. and O. In the dialect of Northern Gujarat a छ is sounded after the final consonant, as कर ḍha “do thou,” बोल ḍ “speak thou,” चा यो “go thou.” But in the rest this person ends with the final consonant, as kar “do,” dekh “see.” In the H. medieval poets this person often ends in भि, as stated in §§ 4, 5, 7, corresponding to which is a plural in भ, as

तुल्य तेल्य तुल्य तेल्य मुष वंप वोध।

“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 ठ, as पावि “find thou!” for पावरि, from पाविति, with inorganic anusvāra. Sindhi, which causes all its words to end in a vowel, makes this person end in ठ, 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 मारि “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 फिर संग जा जाओगे “You will bring Rām with you,” that is, “bring him with you!” So also the infinitive, as यह सब काम आवश्यक नहीं “Do all this work today,” literally, “(Take care) to do,” इस रिश को चुकाए देता जा 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. रङ्, Plur. रङ्। 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. रङ्, एङ्। Plur. 2. रङ्, एङ्।
Gujarati “ रङ्, “ एङ्।

In a few stems in H. which end in e, ख is inserted between the stem and the termination, the final vowel being changed to े, as भे “take,” भीजे दे “give,” भीजिए; the stem कर “do” is in this case changed to की, making कीजिए “be pleased to do.” Sindhi sometimes takes in the singular रङ् instead of रङ्, probably on the analogy of the simple imperative, which ends in श; and in the plural, instead of रङ्, the forms रङ्, रङ्, रङ्, रङ् are used when great respect is implied, as वहिजा “be pleased to go,” मुखिजा “be pleased to hear.” Many of the rustic dialects of Hindi have also this form; thus Rajputana रङ्, रङ्, रङ्, or simply भे, as मारिजे, मारिजे, मारि “be pleased to strike.”

Vararuchi (vii. 20, 21, 22) teaches that जि and जि 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 ख is found in present, past, and future, as well as imperative, as कारिजेता “he does,” कारिजेता “he did,” कारिजेता “he will do,” कारिजेता “do

9 Pincof’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 मारिवैती "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 य of the Skr., as in प्रयय, is doubled in Pa. सन्यासि, and hardened to ज्ञ in Pr., whereas the modern ज, with lengthening of the preceding vowel in H., and change of e to a in G. (cf. G. दुर्य = दैश). As Varnachi, 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 Trumpf well calls it, preceptive.

To this tense belong the two M. words स्कृवि and पाहि. The former is the preceptive of स्कृवि (Skr. सनि) "to speak," and means literally, "be pleased to say;" in modern times it means "that is to say," "i.e.," "videlicet," as नृत्य स्कृवि भोजा "अप्रा, that is to say, a horse." It has also a future form स्कृविः, meaning "in that case," as पाँजव पदा स्कृवि पीव होईष "If rain falls, then (or, in that case) there will be a crop." The latter, with a plural पाहि, and a future पाहि, is from पाहि "to see," literally "please to see," and means "it ought," as है काम बंधि पाहि "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. चाहते, lit. "please to wish," but

1 See Mylesworth's Marathi Dictionary under these words; also Godbole's Marathi Grammar, p. 72.
meaning "ought," and, like पारिये in M., used with the past participle, as यह काम किया पारिये "this work ought to be done." Colloquially, however, and even among good writers, पारिये is often, like other ancillary verbs, constructed with the oblique form of the infinitive, and it would not be absolutely incorrect to say बारे पारिये. 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 जोड़िये "it is wanted," French "il faut," Italian "bisogna." It is from the verb जोड़ "to see," and is used with a dative of the subject, as में बीडी वर जोड़िये नहीं "I want no other blessing," like Latin "mihi necessis est, oportet, decest," etc. It is conjugated throughout the full range of tenses, as सफ़र मां जे बांदे जोड़तु है "Whatever was required for the voyage," जी मारी हरस्न जोड़िये 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SING. 1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>PL. 1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>करिये</td>
<td>करिये</td>
<td>करिये</td>
<td>मरसी</td>
<td>करिये</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old-H.</td>
<td>करिये</td>
<td>करिये</td>
<td>करिये</td>
<td>करिये</td>
<td>करिये</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kellogg (Gr. p. 238) gives the following interesting transitional type from eastern Rajputana:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SING. 1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>PL. 1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>करखों</td>
<td>करसी</td>
<td>मरसी</td>
<td>करखों</td>
<td>बरखों</td>
<td>करसी</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are, in fact, four types of the future in the modern languages, having for their characteristics respectively the letters त, य, य, and ।. The sa type has a variant हा. The या, या, and हा 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 ह, is the only one which is directly derived from the corresponding Sanskrit and Prakrit tense. It is the Sanskrit future in यस्य, as in करिष्यां, which, as already pointed out in § 4, becomes in Pali करिष्यां, and retains that form in the higher Prakrits. The transition from this to the eastern Rajput करिः seems to rest upon the confusion between the first persons of the singular and plural already noticed in ह.; for Rajp. करिः, though now a plural, represents करिष्यां better than does करिः, which latter leads to Pr. plural करिष्यां, just as does G. करिः. The G. I 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 ह. is, it will be remembered, still unfixed.

In most of the Prakrits the future has undergone a further weakening, by which the sa of the higher types has been resolved into ह, so that we get such forms as गमिष्ठित side by side with गमिष्ठि. 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 si has crept into
the second syllable, probably from the analogy of the *ga* type *karsai-ga*. The commonest form is that given above, with short *i* in the second syllable. This is Chand's ordinary future, as

हम सार्वत सच लुकियि॥
राज वर्दृष्टि म जाय॥

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

के विर तुमहि समयितहि॥
के विर घरिहि कव।।

"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.)

कानव जूट रिधि सव हरिहि॥
पाकि जूध मोहिवे 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

सचि हृदि धिभि वेषा वरिहि॥
मारण बनित समज चम हरिहि॥

"In every manner I will serve my beloved,
I will take away all the fatigue of the journey."—Ay-k. 393.

Also universally in Kabir, as

ना जानो कब मारिहि का घर कब परिुस॥

"Ye know not when he (i.e. death) will strike, whether at home or abroad."—Ram. xix. 6.

बजरि म ऐसी पहिँ धाना॥

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

where पहिँ = 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
medieval 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 sorist, 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 सुटणि् “to get loose,” and the active सोड़णि् “to set free,” are thus conjugated in the present in M.

שור 1.  
शुट्टि  
शुट्टि  
शुट्टि

Similarly in S. the neuter हलणि् “to go,” and the active कठणि् “to give up,” conjugate the present thus:

हलणि्  
हलणि्  
हलणि्

On comparing these two sets of forms, it will be seen that the active differs from the neuter by insertion of ः in M., and of ः 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. Atmanepada, 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. Atmanepada 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 Parasminiipada 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 च of aya into a long vowel; thus M. सोड़ी presumes an earlier form सोड़ी or सोड़ी, for it must be noted that the termination आ, resulting from Skr. चात, Pr. चाच, has been dropped in this word. So in the first sing. S. सोड़ी represents an older सोड़/यामि, and is thus earlier in type than M. सोड़ी for सोड़ी, through सोड़ार. The second singular in which the personal termination is retained also supports this view, for in it the characteristic आ 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 मरहू "to die," imperative मह "die thou;" while in active verbs it ends in र, as पाजिल "to cherish," imperative पाजिल "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. _ayu_ of the causal. Thus while Skr. _मर_ produces S. _म_, Skr. _पालय_ produces S. _पाल्ति_, shortened from _पाले_ (Pr. _पालि_). The second plural of neuters ends in _ो_, as हुौो_ "go ye!" while that of actives ends in _ौ_ or _ौ_ as हिभो_ or _हिौ_ The earlier form in _िहे_ (Pr. _िहे_ is also in use as _िहि_.

In the following list there is no reason why the imperative should not end in _ू_, 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.

_पढू_ "to read," imp. _ढू_ Skr. _पट्र_ Imp. _ढट्र_.
_पन्नू_ "see," _पन्नू_ _पन्नति_ _पन्ना_.
_पिघू_ "grind," _पिङ_ _पिघप_ _पिघइ_, but Pr. _पिघ _.
(Hem. iv. 185),
_चरू_ "graze," _चर_ _चर_ _चर_.
_रक्षू_ "keep," _रक्षू_ _रक्षु_ _रक्ष _.
_वहू_ "say," _वह_ _वह_ _वह _.
(Hem. iv. 2).

_आखू_ "to inform," makes _आखू_ and _आखिं_, it is from Skr. _आख्या_, imperative _आखिदृ_, from which comes regularly _आखि_, through a form _आखि_ but this verb may be also neuter, as in "tell! tell!" and would thus, by the masses, be formed like neutrals, and have _आखू_. _घंवू_ "to blow" (with bellows), makes _घंवू_ and _घवि_, it is from Skr. _घा_, imp. _घम_, whence regularly _घंवू_. Here the form _घवि_, the ordinary form for actives, may have been introduced from forgetfulness of the special reasons for that ending in _ू_. 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>Present</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Quyana</td>
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<td>Marathi</td>
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<td>Gujarati</td>
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<td>Hindustani</td>
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<td>Hindi</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. I</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>P. I</td>
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<tr>
<td>P. II</td>
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<tr>
<td>P. III</td>
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</table>
§ 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. sa, 2. sa, s, 3. 1; Pl. 1. sa, s, 2. na, n, 3. na, n. Thus from keráva “to do” —

Sing. 1. keráva, or keráv. Pl. 1. kerása, or kerás.
2. kerása ,, kerás.
3. keréla ,, kerél.

2. keréna ,, kerén.
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 keres, kerés. Here we distinguish two junction-vowels a 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 प्रहामि and प्रहिम, रोचामि and रोचिम, हारि and हारर, करि and करर. But with regard to the terminations, there is much difficulty; we recognize, indeed, the termination ámi of S. 1. in Paspati’s dva, or dv, and asi in his dva, or dv. So also anti, Pr. enti, re-appears in ena or en. The el, el of S. 3. may stand to asi in the same relation as the ila of O. and M. p.p.p. does to Skr. ila; 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, esa 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 जामि “I go,” द्वामि “I come,” स्तामि “I am,” and the following almost pure Prakrit words, बिहेमि “I fear,” चिनेमि “I cut,”
ddemi, demi "I give," jañami, jañemi "I know," enemi "I bring" (from ऋणि), kiññi "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 Passati, 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. chałatā "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. chāltā, and M. kasatos, 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. dekhītā hai “he sees,” i.e. “he is seeing,” M. iḥītā ḍhe “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 (Parasmal.), as in पचन् m., पचनो /, पचत् n.
2. The past Passive (with inserted र), as in जतत् m., जता /, जते n.
   (Pr. दरिनो etc.).
3. The future participle Passive or verbal adjective, as in द्रातव्य m.,
   द्रतवा /, द्रतवे 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 र 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 *u*-stem of nouns, and retains the
nasal throughout; thus पचती या, पचती खा, पचती उ. The varia-
tions introduced by the conjugal peculiarities of the
Sanskrit verb are neglected, and all roots take this one form.

Sindhi reproduces this universal Prakrit form with softening
of द into द, and declines it for gender and number thus (bal
“go”)

Sing. हंदे या, हंदे खा. Pl. हंदे या, हंदे खा, “going.”

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

Sing. भरी या, भरी खा. Pl. भरी या, भरी खा, “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 जा
“go,” जादा “going,” हो “be,” जादा “being,” खेला “serve,”
बेला “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
मारद मा, मारद खा; plural मारद मा, मारदी खा. Not un-
frequently the द is dropped, and we hear जाना, जूना for बांदा,
मारदा.

Hindi has two sets of forms; one indeclinable originally
ended in *at*, and still exists in several rustic dialects with the
termination *at*. Chand inserts or omits the nasal at pleasure,
to suit his metre, as चरत तीन भवंत “possessing three feet”
(Pr. R. i. 61); चर्चन सुन्त बोर संग्र 'the ear hearing, it is broken' (ib. i. 159); रंगत "shining," सम्भान "arraying," सुमंत "being beautiful," बर्त "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); गुब्जत "humming" (ib. 9); धावत "meditating," पावत "finding," मावत "being pleased," मावत "singing" (all in Ay-k. 1); and this is also common in most mediavol poets, thus Bihari Lall धरत "placing" (Sat. 6), परत (पडत) "falling" (ib.), सीहत "being beautiful," असत "appearing," चहिङत "looking" (ib. 7, 9, etc.). Kabir कियत "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 Deah.

The other form ends in a vowel, and is in use in classical Hindi, as sing. मारत m., मारती f.; pl. मारते m., मारती f. "beating." In the Braj dialect it takes the forms मारत m., मारती f.; pl. मारत m. f. The Garhwal dialect preserves the older form, as मारलो, but has also, as have the Rajputana dialects, मारती. Kellogg gives also a Kumaon form मारण, which probably arises from मारलो, just as Panjabi बाणा from बंटा.

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 करत, करत from Pr. करत, while we derive करता, करता from a Pr. करतक. 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. छाइते m., ती f., ती 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 छोड़िते, 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 बंधने कीको तारा दौंत भामा “If in loosing my bonds thy teeth should break.”† Vans Taylor, however, distinguishes two separate words with this ending, one of which he would derive from the locative singular of Sanskrit feminines, as संग्राम, the other he would derive from the Skr. infin., as कहे. The first form he assumes to have been the origin of such phrases as मारें आता “on my coming,” the second, of such as करता गिये वह “he teaches to do.” This, however, is very doubtful.‡

Two forms are also observable in Marathi, or rather two sets of forms. The indeclinable ends in त, ती, and तां, as सूटनी, सूटनी, सूटनी. 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 चोटीत, चोटीत, चोटीताञ्छा “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. सूटनी म., सूटनी ष्ट., सूटनी ठ.; pl. सूटने म., सूटवा ष्ट., सूटनी ठ.

Oriya has only one form for the present participle. It is indeclinable, ending in ज or ज, as देख, देख “seeing.” Of these two forms, that with the nasal is the older, though now less used, and probably comes from the Pr. neuter in त, 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 रि, as देखिते, 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 कै गंगा खिले वह बल भारा। “In wringing (or

† Leckey, Grammar, p. 172. ‡ Grammar, p. 113.
from wringing) her hair there flows a stream of water" (Pr. K.-S. 13, 15); दृष्टे द्रामण पांचवान्। "On seeing (her), love smote him in the heart" (ib. 15, 7). Even here, however, it becomes almost an infinitive, as दृष्टे द्रामण नाहु गोरी। "I saw the fair one go to bathe (i.e. in going, or while going)" (ib. 13, 13); कानु दृष्टे द्रामण परमात्। "In seeing (or to see) Kānh, there has been now delight" (ib. 20, 10). So Bhārat दृष्टे द्रामण परमात्। "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. हि न्दो m., हि न्दी f. Pl. हि न्दो m., हि न्दी f. "be, she, etc., will go."

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

Sing. हि न्दो m., हि न्दी f. Pl. हि न्दो m., हि न्दी f. "thou, ye, etc., will go."

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

1 This section follows, for the most part, Trumpp, pp. 280, 291, etc.
sponding person of the aorist, and we may resolve it thus, halaundo asi = halaund’ asi = halaand’ ai = halaandę. The anuswara 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 ai; when these two syllables were contracted into one, it took its place over that one. In the singular feminine we start from halaandī asi, where the final long i of the participle is shortened, and asi = ai = ā, giving halaundē, a form still in use, though Trumpp gives as the classical type the still further contracted halaandū. The plural masculine arises from halaundā stha, where stha has become tha, and then ha; the k being dropped, we get halaundā = halaundo, subsequently resolved into its present form halaando. 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. हलांदू म., हलांदिसि /हलांदो म.; Pl. हलांदू म., हलांदिसि /हलांदो म.

Here, again, we meet an instance of the curious change of ञ into ञ, which we observed in the Panjabi and Sindhi pronouns of the first person plural चसी and चसा (Vol. II. p. 308). Thus halaundo asmi becomes halaundo asi, then halaundo ’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 i of the participle changes to its semivowel, producing halaundy asi, which the Sindhians in the present day write either as above, or हलांदि, or even हलांदि यि. As to the termination सी of the plural, I am disposed to regard it as formed by analogy from a singular हि, rather than, with Trumpp, as a derivative of Skr. म, which, if the म be rejected, would yield सी or म, 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 (bodhītaṁ, bodhītati, but bodhita).

The participial form which enters into the composition of this tense is, apparently, not used alone in a participial sense, करिता 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 (suf "escape"):  

**Indicative. Sing. मूटतो m., ती f., ते n. Pl. मूटतात m., f., n., "he, she, etc., escapes."**

**Conditional. Sing. मूटता m., ती f., ते n. Pl. मूटते m., भा 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 ə in the masculine singular, though they did so in Maharashtrī 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 svati, in Old-M. changed to ṛtti, 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. मूटतो m., ती f., ते n. Pl. मूटतात m., f., n.**

**Conditional. Sing. मूटताय m., ती f., ते n. Pl. मूटताय m., f., n.**
Again, in the indicative, the older ending in a, *sūtāloś = sūtāto ā (asi) ; while in the conditional, sūtātās = sūtātā āni, 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. सुरनी स., ते, ती स. Pl. सुरनी म., फ., तैं फ.

Final anusvāra here represents probably Pr. sing. amhi, pl. amho; but the *sandhi is irregular, as f. sūtāt = sūtātī amhi; the variant sūtātī, used in the Konkan, is more regular for sūtātī amhi. The pl. sūtāt = sūtātī amho, where, again, the steps of transition to sūtātī 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 (dekkh "see")—

Sing. 1. देखिताम. 2. देखितिस. 3. देखित. Pl. 1. देखिताम. 2. देखित. 3. देखितन.

The participle here has lost its terminations for gender, as the Bengali adjective has (Vol. II. p. 147): dekhitām therefore = dekhita āmi = dekhita orhī in the sing., and dekhita amhu in the pl., lit. "seeing I am;" dekhitās = dekhita asi, where, on the analogy of the aorist, the ā has crept into the penultimate (now ultimate) syllable; dekhitā similarly = dekhita atha, whence dekhita tha = dekhitāha = dekhitā. So, also, dekhiten = dekhita (i)anti, 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. देखि, 2. देखि, 3. देखि. Pl. 1. देखि (मू), 2. देखि. 3. देखि.
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 Sanskrit present asmi, aśi, etc.

In B. and O. this tense is used with जिद् (जिद्) "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 रहिण "he remained," बलिन "he said," ब्रह्माण्ड "he asked," द्विधि "he has given," देहव "he shall be." Kabi Kankan uses परिचि "thou
shall fall," मरिलिन "thou diedst," भाकु "I was;" and Bharat Chandra, दिलि "thou hast done," पालू "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 कालिक करत पशुकर समान। नीलेन महातम सुभत काण। "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 darbar, may be construed either as participles or present tenses. It is one of those scarcely translateable jingles of which Chand is so fond धूकत धार धार सो। नर्कत मार मार सो। धूकत धार धार सो। नर्कत मार मार 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. चन्द्र पवन पावक समान। तपस्तुत सुमाय मय। धूकत सरिबर सचत कीत। तम्तुत मीन तम। (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, सबराहसङ गोपाल के कुड़ल सोहत काण। धरावी समी हिय घर समर दीकै नसत निपाण। "The dolphin-shaped earring shines (shobat) 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. कहति न देवर की कुवत कुमतिय कलह दराति। 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 गंभीर "I send," is the ordinary indefinite present. सकर दी रोडी मुंडे कुड़ी दे मुंडे पाउड़े "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 आदि में बानता तो कव्ही नहीं बास। "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 मैं होती 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 मैं हो। The example given is तवे वराभर भाग राखता (pl. masc.) नहीं "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 (itum, 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 है/हरिद = हैरित "lost," मै/मिस्ट्री = मूरित: "robbed," गहिर = गूरी "taken," and many others.

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

1 "Panjahi Customs," in Appendix to Panjahi Grammar, Ludhiana, p. 91.
which the द्र has entirely dropped, and instances हितचर for हितित "laughed," पढ़िच for पढ़ित "recited," and this form has become the type of most modern languages. In Old-Hindi this participle regularly ends in sing. यी m., री f., pl. ए m., ए f., as बली m., बली f., etc., "burnt." Here the य represents the र of the Prakrit, hardened into a semivowel before the final vowel. In the feminine it is merged in the र of the affix, and in the plural lost altogether, for बली easily passes into बली.

Chand uses this form throughout, as तन राघवी जोति गय देय घान। "his body remained bright; he went to the abode of the gods" (i. 299); कबी "done," गबी "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 ह्य lasts all through the medieval poets, and is still in use in the dialects of Rajputana and in Braj. In the former a slight change has occurred, sing. मायिस, pl. मायी, while in Kumaon the form is sing. मायियो, pl. मायिया.

Modern classical Hindi has sing. मारा m., मारी f.; pl. मारे m., मारी f., "struck."

Panjabi retains the र of the Prakrit, and has sing. मारिबा m., मारी f.; pl. मारे m., मारीबा f., "struck;" so also does Sindhi, sing. हळिबा or हळी m., हळी f.; pl. हळिबा m., हळिबा f. Trumpp seems to be here in error in saying that the य has been inserted to fill the hiatus caused by the elision of the र. It is rather the र of रद्दी 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 Ꟈ, as dekhi. 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 Ꟈ, like H., as dekha jibha "to be seen."

The same form is found in Gujarati, as sing. छोड़ी (chhodyo) m., छोड़ी f., छोड़ु (chhodyu) n.; pl. छोड़ा m., छोड़ी f., छोड़ा n.

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

G. Sing. कोडेला m., कोडेली f., कोडेलु n.
M. (neuter) Sing. सुटला m., सुटली f., सुटलु n.
,, (active) ,, सोडेला m., सोडेली f., सोडेलु n.
G. Pl. कोडेला m., कोडेली f., कोडेला n.
M. (neuter) Pl. सुटले m., सुटला f., सुटली n.
,, (active) ,, सोडेले m., सोडेला f., सोडेली n.

B. देखिल, in Old-B. देखिला (only used as a tense combined with as),
देखिले “having seen.”
O. देखिल (the same), देखिले id.

The Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi has also an indeclinable past participle मारता, 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 र. In G., on the other hand, it is न, while in the neuter of M. it is a. M. has a long string of verbs, both active and neutral, with the junction vowel a; some of these are causals by origin, as पाइ “flee,” p.p. पाइदाखा, for paid-id (as in B. and O. एकाई). Others, again, owe the long vowel to a Skr. औ, as चढ “fly,” p.p. चढ़ता, Skr. चढ़तित चढ़ + डे. Others are denominatives, as दोप “be dazzled,” दोपाला, Skr. दोपित: 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 a, are also in use.

The usual explanation of this form in ल is that it is derived from the Skr. p.p.p. in ila, through Pr. ilar, by change of न to ल, and thence to न. The change is undoubtedly possible as far as न and न are concerned, or as far as त and न are concerned; but the change from न to न 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 ī.

As regards the change from ड to ढ, it is observable that it only occurs in those Skr. preterites which contain a cerebral. Thus दत becomes in Magadhi दड़ (Mr. 270). Here, however, there was evidently a form दत = कट = कड़, so that there is no question of a ढ at all. So also in यास for याप्रतं = यापङ्ग = योपङ्ग (Mr. 227). The only other instance known to me is गढ़ for गत (Mr. 276), but here we may fairly assume a false analogy with गड़ = ढत. So widespread a form as the modern participle in ī 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 य may be the classical representative of this ancient form; thus we have from नृ "cut," नृग; from निः "cleave," निःग; and in some roots both forms, that in त and that in न, stand side by side, thus नृ "fill," makes पृग: and पृग; नृ "push," नृग: and नृग.

Even in the Slavonic languages, however, the characteristic ī of the preterite is thought to have arisen from an original ०, and that again from ī.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 dieiat' "to make," pret. sing. dieiel' m., dieielā, dieielo n., pl. dieielī mfn.2 In Servian the same form occurs, trés "to shake," has—

Sing. trésao m., trésaša f., trésalo n.
Pl. trésli m., trésle f., trésla n.

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

Sing. trásalá, trásali, trásalé.
Pl. trásale, trásalyá, trásali

from चाणिः “to trouble.” The similarity is striking, and seems to be more than a mere accidental coincidence. Moreover, the connection between this Slavonic í and a is shown in more than one instance. Thus, the Russian verb has from нес “to drag” a pret. past sing. несён m., несёна f., несено n., pl. несены. 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 í, 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 a 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 र 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>STEK</th>
<th>SKR.</th>
<th>P.P.P.</th>
<th>PPA.</th>
<th>PPA.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>बधन् । &quot;be bound&quot; ।</td>
<td>वधन् ।</td>
<td>बधो ।</td>
<td>वधो ।</td>
<td>बधो ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वधन् । &quot;bind&quot; ।</td>
<td>वधन् ।</td>
<td>बधो ।</td>
<td>वधो ।</td>
<td>बधो ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बधन् । &quot;be heard&quot; ।</td>
<td>वधन् ।</td>
<td>बधो ।</td>
<td>वधो ।</td>
<td>बधो ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बधन् । &quot;hear&quot; ।</td>
<td>वधन् ।</td>
<td>बधो ।</td>
<td>वधो ।</td>
<td>बधो ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रधन् । &quot;be cooked&quot; ।</td>
<td>रधन् ।</td>
<td>रधो ।</td>
<td>रधो ।</td>
<td>रधो ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रधन् । &quot;cook&quot; ।</td>
<td>रधन् ।</td>
<td>रधो ।</td>
<td>रधो ।</td>
<td>रधो ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लधन् । &quot;get&quot; ।</td>
<td>लधन् ।</td>
<td>लधो ।</td>
<td>लधो ।</td>
<td>लधो ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लधन् । &quot;be got&quot; ।</td>
<td>लधन् ।</td>
<td>लधो ।</td>
<td>लधो ।</td>
<td>लधो ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लधन् । &quot;be milked&quot; ।</td>
<td>लधन् ।</td>
<td>लधो ।</td>
<td>लधो ।</td>
<td>लधो ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लधन् । &quot;milk&quot; ।</td>
<td>लधन् ।</td>
<td>लधो ।</td>
<td>लधो ।</td>
<td>लधो ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लधन् । &quot;torment&quot; ।</td>
<td>लधन् ।</td>
<td>लधो ।</td>
<td>लधो ।</td>
<td>लधो ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मधन् । &quot;be broken&quot; ।</td>
<td>मधन् ।</td>
<td>मधो ।</td>
<td>मधो ।</td>
<td>मधो ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मधन् । &quot;break&quot; ।</td>
<td>मधन् ।</td>
<td>मधो ।</td>
<td>मधो ।</td>
<td>मधो ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मुधन् । &quot;be fried&quot; ।</td>
<td>मुधन् ।</td>
<td>मुधो ।</td>
<td>मुधो ।</td>
<td>मुधो ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मुधन् । &quot;fry&quot; ।</td>
<td>मुधन् ।</td>
<td>मुधो ।</td>
<td>मुधो ।</td>
<td>मुधो ।</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Analogy of म्प्र.)
The participial tenses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ब्रह्म “be broken”</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्मो</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रह्म “break”</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्मो</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रह्म “be heard”</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्मो</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रह्म “hear”</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्मो</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रह्म “raise”</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्मो</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रह्म “kill”</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्मो</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रह्म “be killed”</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्मो</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रह्म “rub”</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्मो</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रह्म “be rubbed”</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्मो</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रह्म “touch”</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्मो</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रह्म “be touched”</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्मो</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</td>
<td>ब्रह्म</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>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>स्मर “smeer,”</td>
<td>स्मर</td>
<td>स्मरो</td>
<td>स्मर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तप “warm,”</td>
<td>तप</td>
<td>ततो</td>
<td>तप</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भूष “sleep,”</td>
<td>भूष</td>
<td>भूषो</td>
<td>भूष</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| पा “get,” | पा | पातो | पा | पातो [?]
| भान “bring,” | भान | भानो | भान | भान |
| च “weep,” | च | चो | च | च |

So also the origin of उग्र “wipe out,” is obscure, till we look at the p.p.p. उग्रो, which leads to Skr. उग्र, and then we see that ughanu is for ughanu=udgharshana. The participles in tho similarly explain themselves, as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>विज “see,”</td>
<td>विज</td>
<td>विजो</td>
<td>विज</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विस “rain,”</td>
<td>विस</td>
<td>विसो</td>
<td>विस</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

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

करण "do," कीतो, किषो. कयो, Skr. कत, Pr. किषो. see under H.
सरण "die," मी, मुषो, Skr. मृत, Pr. मुषो.

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

Infin. उभायमणु "to boil over," p.p.p उभायो
" उध्यामणु "to be extinguished," उध्यायो
" उदामणु "to fly," उदायो
" उपामणु "to decrease," उपायो
" खामणु "to be burnt," खायो
" विसामणु "to be extinguished," विसायो
" विकामणु "to be sold," विकायो

There is, as already mentioned, considerable obscurity as to the derivation of these words: उदामणु is, however, certainly from Skr. ud-dl, p.p.p. dina; उध्यामणु perhaps from Skr. ut-kshi, p.p.p. kshina; विकामणु from Skr. vikrl, p.p.p., however, not क्रिण, but क्रिटा. On the analogy of those verbs whose p.p.p. ended in म, may have been formed the modified p.p. in म for all verbs of the class, regardless of the fact that in the classical language the causal p.p. would end in अपित, e.g. अधापित. In
Hindi, also, stems ending in अ take this p.p. in आ in the poets as फिरा, p.p. फिरानौ, or apocopated आ, as रिसा p.p. रिसाम.

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 ब्राधु “to satisfy,” and व्राधु “to be satisfied,” from Skr. √त, तप, तपति, but the p.p.p. ब्राधिः can hardly represent तुन. Others again there are whose p.p. is intelligible, while the infinitive is not. जुनो “engaged” (in work) explains itself by Skr. जुन, Pr. जुनो, clearly enough, but its infinitive should be जजान् or जजान् (Pa. जुनति). Whence then comes it that the infinitive is जजान? So also रुद्ध “busily employed” is clearly Skr. रू (रथ), one form of the infinitive रजान् is regularly derived from Skr. रघः, but what are we to say to another form रम्बान् or रद्धान्?

Panjahi 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>F.P.</th>
<th>Skt.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>करणा “do,”</td>
<td>कीता</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आणा “go,”</td>
<td>मिष्या, मृणा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आणा “know,”</td>
<td>बजा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>देखणा “see,”</td>
<td>दिइन्ता</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>देणा “give,”</td>
<td>दिहा, दिर्या</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लेणा “take,”</td>
<td>जीता, जिचा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वरणा “rain,”</td>
<td>बड्डा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खणा “eat,”</td>
<td>खाधा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वैणा “fall,”</td>
<td>विचा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बन्धणा “bind,”</td>
<td>बहा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पहाणा “recognize,”</td>
<td>पक्ता</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सिडणा “sew,”</td>
<td>मोता</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लौणा “sleep,”</td>
<td>मुता</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F.P.</th>
<th>Skt. (dialectically also कीद्रा).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>तन (also जाया = Skr. यात).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चात.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुद्ध (also दिइन्ता more Sindhico).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तन.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लफिट, instead of classical लफ.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुद्ध.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खादिं.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पलित, Sindhi id. through पांची.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वद.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>परिभाषा? H. महिचान्य.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लवित.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मुत.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

पञ्जच्छा "arrive," पञ्जो पञ्जी.
रिझुरुह "cook," रिझा रिझ.
विभुह "marry," विभुही विभाहित.
कही "say," कहा कहित.
रहिणा "remain," रहा रहित.

In the two last the र has leapt over into the preceding syllable, and कहा, रहा, are for कहिद्, रहिद्, 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 Sindi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Panjabi</th>
<th>Sindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>करु &quot;do&quot;</td>
<td>करो, कीघो</td>
<td>दो, करो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लेव &quot;take&quot;</td>
<td>लेघो</td>
<td>लेघो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पोहोच्छु &quot;arrive&quot;</td>
<td>पोहोच्छो, पोहोतो</td>
<td>पोहोच्छो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>द्रेवु &quot;see&quot;</td>
<td>द्रेघो, द्रेघो</td>
<td>द्रेघो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भीहोवु &quot;fear,&quot;</td>
<td>भीहीघो, भीहीघो</td>
<td>भीहीघो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अझु &quot;eat&quot;</td>
<td>अझघो</td>
<td>अझघो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उपष्वु &quot;produce&quot;</td>
<td>उपोष्वो अवो</td>
<td>उपोष्वो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भीपज्वु &quot;..&quot;</td>
<td>भीपोष्वो अवो</td>
<td>भीपोष्वो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बीवु &quot;drink&quot;</td>
<td>बीघो</td>
<td>बीघो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुर &quot;sleep&quot;</td>
<td>सुधो</td>
<td>सुधो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सरु &quot;die&quot;</td>
<td>सरु</td>
<td>सरु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>देवु &quot;give&quot;</td>
<td>देघो</td>
<td>देघो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बेंडु &quot;sit&quot;</td>
<td>बेंटो</td>
<td>बेंटो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पेंदु &quot;enter&quot;</td>
<td>पेंटो</td>
<td>पेंटो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नामु &quot;flee?&quot;</td>
<td>नाठो</td>
<td>नाठो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बु &quot;go&quot;</td>
<td>गो</td>
<td>गो</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

अन्तः (present utpadyate) नियम (present nishpadyate)
In the instances of kido, bhihdo, khado, pido, and didho, we have probably formations based on the analogy of lidho, for the exception of bhihdo, which may owe its dh to a combination of the h and d of Pr. cihido, 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, dithelo, 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 एं बाबा हूँ "I am come," but एं आवेन्नी हूँ "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—

| वा "go,"   | प-प-प. मेघा |
| चे "come,"  | आशा |
| मर "die,"   | मेघा |
| ले "take" (wear), | बाघा |
| कर "do,"    | वेघा |
Stems ending in \( ष \) exhibit \( ट \) in the participle, as

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{खा} & \quad \text{"dig,"} & \text{p.p.p.} & \text{खट्टा} \\
\text{स्त्रू} & \quad \text{"speak,"} & \text{स्त्रूट्टा} \\
\text{हाय} & \quad \text{"slay,"} & \text{हाट्टा}
\end{align*}
\]

The explanation of these words is apparently to be found in a contraction of syllables; thus Skr. \( खन् \) "dig" forms regularly p.p.p. \( खात् \), but the \( न \) being changed to \( ष \) in Prakrit, a p.p.p. \( चतित् \) would be legitimately formed, whence \( खट्टा \), to which, forgetful of the fact that this is already a participle, M. adds its own participial termination \( जा \), and by rejection of the nasal arrives at \( खट्टा \). So also \( भग् \), p.p.p. \( भगित् \), whence \( स्थट् \) and \( स्थट + जा \). Skr. \( हन् \) has p.p.p. \( हत् \), but a Pr. form \( हतित् \) would be, and is, used, whence \( हट्टा \), and the stem-vowel having been lengthened, \( हट्टा + जा \).

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{चे} & \quad \text{"take,"} & \text{चेतित्} & \text{"taken."} \\
\text{धु} & \quad \text{"washed,"} & \text{धुतित्} & \text{"washed."} \\
\text{वच} & \quad \text{"see,"} & \text{वचितित्} & \text{"seen."} \\
\text{साग} & \quad \text{"ask,"} & \text{सागितित्} & \text{"asked."} \\
\text{सांग} & \quad \text{"tell,"} & \text{सांगितित्} & \text{"told."} \\
\text{चाल} & \quad \text{"put,"} & \text{चालित्} & \text{"put."} \\
\text{छा} & \quad \text{"eat,"} & \text{छातित्} & \text{"eaten."}
\end{align*}
\]

In § 15 it was shown that Pr. inserts \( त \) in forms like \( ghttum, ghttana \), 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. \( kkitkito, etc. \) The origin of \( घाट् \) is unknown to me, it looks like an early causal of \( चे \) take. In \( घा \) the p.p.p. is apparently a contraction of \( घादित् \), Skr. \( घादित् \).
§ 48. Hindi has very few of these participles. In the classical language only the following are in use:

करना “do,” किया “done.”
मरना “die,” मृत्यु “dead.”
मारना “take,” पिया “taken.”
देना “give,” दिया “given.”
बनना “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 mediæval poets some of the old Tadbhava participles are found, as ditthaun “seen,” tutthaun “pleased,” (tushita) in Chand. The three verbs kar, le, and de, however, have several peculiar forms in Old-H., and in the mediæval poets, which are still heard in some of the rustic dialects. There are three parallel forms:

कर has i. कीया or किया, ii. कीया or किया, iii. कीया or किया.
देना • i. दीया or दिया, ii. दीया or दिया, iii. दीया or दिया.
बनना • i. बीया or बिया, ii. बीया or बिया, iii. बीया or बिया.

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. क्षत्, Pr. कित्रि and किया. It has been borrowed by le and de. So dinau belongs to de, Skr. दात्, Pa. and Pr. दियो, and has been borrowed by kar and le. Also lidhaun belongs to le, Skr. लिध्य, Pa. and Pr. लियो, and has been borrowed by kar and de. We cannot get kinau or kidaun phonetically from न, nor diyan and ditthaun from द्र, nor liyan and linaun from ल, without forcing etymology. These three verbs are so constantly used together, and fall 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, लियो, 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. कया कियो चटोड़ "The girl made lamentation" (Pr. R. i. 171). It is long in कीयो तब पित पिहरी दिस् "He then made reflection on all sides."—xx. 20. कीयो चरण की माज "He made preparation for going."—xx. 28.

Apocopated, as टूच and कीय in गढ पतिक गढ मार टूच "He entrusted the fort to the castellan, Made a going to the eastern country."—xx. 29.

कीये सन कोलि वंब चालियः "Took all shouting and playing on drums."—ib.

A form with a occurs for le and de only, as लयी चिप पुर वोध "Took Brahmins and gurus, saying" (ib. 20), and दरिय य कया चरण दर "When the maiden gave her truth 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 गीर महल शिरिराज सप्ती सवका रम दित्र व "In his private apartments Prithiraj dallied with his wives and attendants, In saffron robes and turbaned head he made the sport of love."
So also जूटि धरति निधि विकर्त्र "having plundered the land, he has taken treasure" (xxi. 89). In this passage the preceding line ends with तिरण. (In Hindi ar = au, so kinnar is to be read kinnau, etc.)

विहसित वरं नगन निद्री गरिंद।
“Smiling the king accepted the espousal.”—xx. 23.

सहस चटुष सिव उपर कोणी।
तीन उपास नेमं तव कोणी।
“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 बोस जाय मुखाम कोन।
विच गाम गमर पुर जूट कोन।
“Having gone ten has he made a halt,
Villages and towns between he plundered.”—i. 208.

परिमास जुझ पर नवम द्रीण।
“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 eya sometimes attached to it, as

द्राग मान घन दिघिय।
“He gave gifts and honours abundant.”—i. 342.

In this passage it rhymes with जिरिय, which ought perhaps to be read विजिय “having taken.”

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

सगरी गाव वाय वंघ विजिय।
“Carts and boats he went and stopped;
Alha and Udal he suffered not to alight.”—xxi. 86.
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

for किती and दिबी respectively. This latter occurs frequently, in a slightly altered shape—

चर दोधी हुँदा नारिद्।

"Dhundha gave a blessing to the king."—i. 305.

प्रियराज ताहि दो देय दिह।

"Prithiraj gave him two provinces."—ii. 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 बीम्ही, कीम्ही, and दीम्ही, and the last syllable is occasionally apocopated as in Chand. Thus Tulsi Das—

एहि विधि द्राह चिया सब कीम्ही।

विधिहर ग्हर तिमातुलि दीम्ही।

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

—Ay-k. 894.

मोहि उष्मेस दीम्ह गुर नीवा।

"The guru hath given me good advice."—ib. 928.

तै कत कीम्ह संग कटकार॥

"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 बला are merely contractions of मरिला and करिला, from मर "die," and कर "do," respectively. From शा "go," O. मला, B. मेला, is about the only real old Tadghava 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 bold "he said," kiyd "he did." In the mediaval 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 a and t of the p.p. masculine and feminine are shortened, and the vowel of the masculine is often replaced by e. Thus we have (mar "strike")—

Sing. 1. 2. 3.  
|m. मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारूच मारू�
THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

κοισα । έσθείς Θεδ θιλείς τυν θηθυα । κοιπι χιων ομινίς νανίν 
θείγι । ... μαρίνις νικιζορ έσθείς πανιράθα । "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.) Panjabí 
throws no light on the subject, as it does not use this form, but 
employs the participle simply as a tense, as māt, 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 sub-
stantive verb, and say H. mārā hāā, P. māriā hōidā. 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 कोनो "he did," which is 
probably to be referred to S. कोनो. The grammarians, 
however, suppose that κιτας is in some way a metathesis of us ne 
kita, so that kitā + us = kitos. The instrumental, however, of 
"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 खाद्दिस, which is evidently khānta+ 'sā, for 
usā = asmāh.

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 
(but “go”)—

SING. 1. 2. 3. PL. 1. 2. 3.

ic. हिलिवम हिलिवम हिलिवम हिलिवम हिलिवम हिलिवम
f. हिलिवम हिलिवम हिलिवम हिलिवम हिलिवम हिलिवम

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 halīu -si.
- halandia -si
- halandā -sī
- halandū -sī
- 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 ता m., ती f., ते n., etc., it adds the same terminations as to the present p. in ता m., ती f., ते n., etc. Thus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>तुजवो m.</th>
<th>तुजवै f.</th>
<th>तुजवू n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>तुजवास m.</td>
<td>तुजवासै f.</td>
<td>तुजवासू n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>तुजवा m.</td>
<td>तुजवै f.</td>
<td>तुजवू n.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Pl.    | तुजवान m. f. n. | तुजवात f. | तुजवाती 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 आ, thus we get मेलेज जमावर "a dead animal," देलेता पुप "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. देखिल, O. constructs a preterite, thus—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>देखिलिन</th>
<th>देखिलल</th>
<th>देखिलान</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>देखिलिज</td>
<td>देखिलज</td>
<td>देखिलण</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
where the terminations correspond exactly with those of the
conditional, which is similarly formed from the present par-
ticle.

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

Sing. 1. দেখিল 2. দেখিলি 3. দেখিলা।
Pl. 1. দেখিলাম 2. দেখিলা 3. দেখিলেন।

Here the 3 sing. has also দেখিলে with a final ল, as in the
imperative and future, concerning which see § 53. The 1 sing.
in লন is frequently heard in speaking, and is very common in
the old poets, as রাম রাম দিনু রাম। "I saw the fair one looking
woe-begone" (Bidyapati, vii. 1), where some read দেখিল।

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

§ 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 kartà 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. তাই তাই “he spoke,”
তাই তাই “she spoke,”

वे तो “those men spoke,”
वे तो “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 স্বাস্তি “he said,”
তো স্বাস্তি “she said,”
তো স্বাস্তি “it said,”

তী স্বাস্তি “ill did he,”
তী স্বাস্তি “ill did she,”
তী স্বাস্তি “ill did it.”

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 दुसः से बड़े हो बड़े बड़े हैं “I have spoken very harsh words to you” (Sak. 33). Here the subject *mañña* is in the instrumental, the verb *kahe hui* is masc. plural, to agree with the object *vachan.*

ई ने सेता ही जीग किया दिया (id. 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 खानी फोती फाकी “he read the book,” where *vichill* 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 construction, 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 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 *bāha,* 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 खानी खाना मारी “he beat him,” literally “by him to him beaten.”

§ 51. The participle of the future passive, which in Sanskrit ends in तब, 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. tārya becomes in Pr. dārpa, and with elision of the d, acēra. Thus Skr. बोधित्य, Pr. बोधिद्रु, बोधिच्छ. So also Pr. करिप, करिप्र, which must be referred to a Sanskrit form करिज्ञ rather than to the classical form कर्मय, 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 ḍha, Pr. चरित्वृ, losing the a and the first ṣ of the suffix, becomes चरिवृ, 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—

गुसाट्व "to choke," गुसाट्वि "being choked."
ढोइथु "to cheat," ढोइथि "being cheated."
शालसु "to seize," शालिवि "being seized."

Gujarati differs from Sindhi in rejecting the र and retaining the च, thus making करिव "being done," as चोरिवृ m., चीि, चु नि, etc., "being loosed;" चाविव, however, means "bringing," where the sense has become active. The neuter of this form does duty as an infinitive, as जुि "to go," of which more hereafter.

In Marathi the vowel preceding the रे is lengthened, and one र rejected, giving a form कराँव, which is the same for active and neuter verbs. The meaning, to judge by the

1 Trumpp, p. 34.
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 करावयाचिं and करावयास, or करावः. Thus ते सी करावयास सिंह आहे "I am ready to do that" (i.e. "to the doing of"), चायवासी वाही चोलावयाचिं आहे "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:

च सरवा संग || वाटे दुरावयांचे जन ||
देवाशा एकांत || वाटे न चोलावयाची मात ||
जन धन तत || वाटे बिचारे वसन ||

"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. Abr. 1885.

Here राटे (Skr. वर्णी) means "it seems," i.e. "it seems proper," like Latin decet, oportet, licet, used impersonally, and the participle agrees with the object. Thus संग and बिचारा being masc., the participles are masc. करावः and सेवाच्; मद्य (Skr. मद्य) being fem., बोलवि is fem. also; जग, वसन neut., hence दुरावः, लेखावे 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, आद्वास देशातीरी जावाचे पडले "We shall have to go to another country," for जावास, literally "to us in another country of going it will fall." Latin would here use the corresponding passive participle, Nobis eundum erit, or Skr. गांतवयम् अति.

Panjabi 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 बेल or बेल, without any junction-vowel, and means the doing of anything, as मुजवे न किसन नुबे पा हौल, "they did not make a hearing," i.e. "they would not listen;" मानिवे न कारिबे मानुस पा कारिहें, "they will not make an obeying," i.e. "they will not obey." 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. देखिबा "to see," genitive देखिबार "of seeing," etc. As a noun, it also implies the act of doing anything, as O. भक्त गीत देखिबा दोष गायवा न 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 (ehhad "abandon"), "I shall be abandoned," etc.

Sing. m. 1. छड़ियूनि 2. छड़ियें 3. छड़ियो
f. 1. छड़ियिण्यि 2. छड़ियिण्यें 3. छड़ियिण्यी
Pl. m. 1. छड़ियाति 2. छड़ियाति 3. छड़िया
f. 1. छड़ियिति 2. छड़ियितिं 3. छड़ियिति

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 छोड़ो “I ought to release,” i.e. “by me it is to be released,” तोरे या ति जीववाह करवो “you ought to have confidence,” i.e. “by thee trust is to be made,” Skr. लथा विश्राम: वर्तन:. 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., नु n. The meaning seems hardly, if at all, distinguishable from that of the nominative, and the construction is objective, as in that tense; thus ते वाम चमारे करवानु “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 अतमने. pres. part. in मान, like bhacamāna. It is possible, I think, that though the अतमने padā 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 bhāca or impersonal; the active uses the karma and bhāva. 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 (sut "escape")—

Sing. m. 1. सुटासा 2. सुटास 3. सुटास Pl. I. सुटासा 2. सुटास 3. सुटास
f. सुटासी सुटासी सुटासी सुटासात सुटासा
n. सुटासि सुटासा सुटासा सुटासा सुटासा

The 2 plural here differs from the other tenses in preserving a separate form for all three genders, in which the final त 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 महात्मा, भ्राता or भ्राते सोडावा -बीजः, etc., "I, thou, he, should loose." In both neuter and active, when the bhūta construction is used, the verb stands in the neuter singular with all persons, as सुटोडि or सोडवि.

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 अ 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) महासोडवि "I used to be able to loose" (rare).

Present चोडविं "I can loose."

Preterite सोडविं "I could loose." (rare).

Future सोडविं "I shall be able to loose."

Imperfect सोडविं होऽत "I could have loosed."

Pluperfect सोडविं होऽत "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 āb, 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 bo, losing its labial element altogether, and that the
present tense bhāvāmi, etc., though much changed and worn
away in modern times, always retains its characteristic vowel o,
sometimes shortened to u or resolved into wa. It is only when
an i follows the o, that the combination oi 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 tavya, in combination with the present tense of
va. The forms are (dekha, "see")—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>O.</th>
<th>Bhojpuri.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sing. 1. देखिब</td>
<td>2. देखिबि</td>
<td>3. देखिबे बेकः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. देखिबि</td>
<td>2. देखिबु</td>
<td>3. देखिब</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. देखि</td>
<td>2. देखि</td>
<td>3. देखी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pl. 1. देखिब</td>
<td>2. देखिबा बेच</td>
<td>3. देखिबेस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. देखिबु बा</td>
<td>2. देखिब</td>
<td>3. देखिबे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. देखि</td>
<td>2. देखि</td>
<td>3. देखिहो</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 3 sing. and 3 pl. of Bhojpuri may be excluded from this
group, as they belong to the sa or ha type of the future (§ 35).
The dialect of Riwā has some forms of the ba type, as 2 sing.
मारिच्य, 1 pl. मारिच, मारस, and मारवे, 2 pl. मारीवा. The
dialect of Oudh (Avadhī) has 1 sing. मारवू, 2 मारवेह, मारवे,
1 pl. मारख, 2 मारवो, and in the old Purbi dialect मारख
māraḥ 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 parti-
ciples respectively, that they are almost, if not quite identical.
Thus O.—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PRESENT</th>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>FUTURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>1. dekhant -i</td>
<td>dekhil -i</td>
<td>dekhīb -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. dekhant -u</td>
<td>dekhil -u</td>
<td>dekhīb -u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. dekhant -ā</td>
<td>dekhil -ā</td>
<td>dekhīb -ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>1. dekhant -ā</td>
<td>dekhil -ā</td>
<td>dekhīb -ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. dekhant -a</td>
<td>dekhil -a</td>
<td>dekhīb -a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<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
sa, 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
Riwā and Avadhī dialects further confirms this view by having
preserved, like Marathī, the characteristic े 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-ā
does not correspond with dekhít-ām, and dekhil-ām. So, also,
B. dekhít-is differs from dekhil-i and dekhīb-i. There is, how-
over, 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. *ambi*, better than *dekhība*, *dekhīta* preserves *e* of *esi*, while *dekhili* 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 be future the Skr. participle in *tarya*. 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 *is* type. This consists in adding H. sing. *ga* *m.*, *ги* *f.*, pl. *не* *m.*, *ні* *f.*, to the aorist, and the same in P. except the pl. *f.*, which is *ніша*. In the pl. *f.* H. also ordinarily drops the anusvāra. This type is only found in H. and P. The tense runs thus (*is* "hear"), "I will hear," etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H. Sing.</th>
<th>1. सुन्दर</th>
<th>2. सुनेगा</th>
<th>3. सुनेगा</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Pl.</td>
<td>1. सुन्दगे</td>
<td>2. सुनोगे</td>
<td>3. सुनेगे</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P. Sing.</th>
<th>1. सुनाग</th>
<th>2. सुनेगाग</th>
<th>3. सुनेगाग</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Pl.</td>
<td>1. सुनाए</td>
<td>2. सुनोही</td>
<td>3. सुनागे</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If the reader will compare this example with that of the
orist 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 haigā, for hai "it is." There can be little doubt that
this *ga is the Skr. p.p. गत, Pr. गदी, गची, गदी. In H., as
mentioned in § 48, the p.p. of जागा "to go," is guyā m., and
this in the mediæval poets is often shortened to *ga. The f. is
गदी pot, which easily becomes नी, so also pl. m. गए becomes नी.
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 orist only. As this method grew by degrees to be
felt insufficient, the participle was added to give greater dis-

inctness.

§ 55. The second type is that which has ṭ for its character-
istic. 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 Rajpu-
tana. 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 Garhwal, and
Kumaon in the Himalayas, who are by origin Rajputs from the

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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,” mar “strike,” ho “be,” sut, sod).

**SINGULAR.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>पूँजो</td>
<td>पूँजो</td>
<td>पूँजो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GarhwaI</td>
<td>मारजो</td>
<td>मारिबो</td>
<td>मारजो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumauni</td>
<td>मारजसो</td>
<td>मारिसो</td>
<td>मारजो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>होजा</td>
<td>होनास</td>
<td>होजा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>गूँटेन</td>
<td>सुट्टील</td>
<td>सोडील</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PLURAL.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>पूँजोना</td>
<td>पूँजोना</td>
<td>पूँजो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GarhwaI</td>
<td>मारजो</td>
<td>मारिबो</td>
<td>मारजो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumauni</td>
<td>मारजसो</td>
<td>मारिसो</td>
<td>मारजो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>होजा</td>
<td>होनास</td>
<td>होजा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>मूँटेन</td>
<td>सुट्टाल</td>
<td>सोडाल</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these dialects the aorist has had added to it a form जो, sing. and खर 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. ga, 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 सुट्ट, and adding ज to this, we get सुट्टेन, which, being difficult to pronounce, has glided into सुट्टेन. In the 1 pl., however, the ज has simply been rejected, so that it is the same as the aorist. In the 2 sing. the aorist has सुट्ट, but, as has already been shown, this is a contraction from सुट्टि, and सुट्टि + ज =
from the Marathi habit of lengthening the vowel of a final syllable. In the 2 pl. aorist सुटो, the य has neither been fused with the anuswāra into य, 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 य, as सुट, and it is to this that the य has been added, and not to the modern form. The third person singular and plural is still simpler; nor. सुट + य = सुटेल, and (archaic) सुटी + य = सुटील. The same process is followed by the active verb exactly.

I look upon this य as the shortened form of a sing. लो m., ली f., pl. ला m., ली f., of which the feminine is apparently not in use, and I derive it from Skr. लग, p.p. लाय, 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 लो. This derivation is confirmed by the fact that in all the languages this verb is used in the sense of beginning to do anything, as in H. लगा, “he began to do.” In M. especially it is used in a very wide range of applications, and सुटेल 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 Par-

| Sanskrit पचन् m., पचनी f., पचत् m. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. 1.</th>
<th>2. देखता *सरी</th>
<th>मारदा *दी</th>
<th>1. बादा *दीरी</th>
<th>देखदो *दी</th>
<th>मरीदो *दी</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>देखता *सरी</td>
<td>मारदा *दी</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>देखदुरा *दिवु</td>
<td>मरीदुरा *दिवु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pl. 1. | 2. देखती *सरी | मारदे *दीरी | देखदुरसी *दिससी | मरीदुरसी etc. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>देखती *सरी</td>
<td>मारदे *दीरी</td>
<td>हरंदुरा *दुरू</td>
<td>मरीदुरा *दुरू</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. On account of the multiplicity of forms in Marathi, the masculine
of the participles and the participial tenses derived from them.

**Ticiple Active.**

Prakrit घर्षती m., भोड / f., भोड n.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GUJARATI</th>
<th>MARATHI</th>
<th>SRIYA</th>
<th>RASGALLI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>भोड्यौं (Neuter)</td>
<td>सुम्बता (Active)</td>
<td>देखित</td>
<td>देखिताम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भोड़ता (Neuter)</td>
<td>सुम्बता मृता सुम्बताम</td>
<td>देखितिम</td>
<td>देखितिनस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भोड़ता (Active)</td>
<td>सुम्बता मृता सुम्बताम</td>
<td>देखितिम</td>
<td>देखितिनस</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only the indicative and conditional are given in this table.
II.—Past Participle Passive.

Sanskrit करत् m., करता j., करते n. Prakrit करियो m., करिय f., करिय 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></td>
<td>मारा ०री</td>
<td>मारिया ०री</td>
<td>हनी ०की</td>
<td>कोडो ०डी ०घु</td>
<td>सुतजा ०की ०णी</td>
<td>शोदिना ०की ०णी</td>
<td>देखिन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 1.</td>
<td>मारा ०री मारिया ०ढे</td>
<td>हनिउससि ०भसि</td>
<td>कोडो ०ढी ०घु</td>
<td>सुतलास ०की ०णे</td>
<td>सोदिना ०की ०णे</td>
<td>देखिन</td>
<td>देखिन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>मारा ०री मारिया ०ढे</td>
<td>हनिउससि ०भसि</td>
<td>कोडो ०ढी ०घु</td>
<td>सुतलास ०की ०णे</td>
<td>सोदिना ०की ०णे</td>
<td>देखिन</td>
<td>देखिन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>मारा ०री मारिया ०ढे</td>
<td>हनिउससि ०भसि</td>
<td>कोडो ०ढी ०घु</td>
<td>सुतलास ०की ०णे</td>
<td>सोदिना ०की ०णे</td>
<td>देखिन</td>
<td>देखिन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1.</td>
<td>मारी ०री मारी ०दीचा</td>
<td>हनिचासी, etc.</td>
<td>कोडो ०ढी ०घु</td>
<td>सुतलास ०की ०णे</td>
<td>सोदिना ०की ०णे</td>
<td>देखिन</td>
<td>देखिन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>मारी ०री मारी ०दीचा</td>
<td>हनिचासी, etc.</td>
<td>कोडो ०ढी ०घु</td>
<td>सुतलास ०की ०णे</td>
<td>सोदिना ०की ०णे</td>
<td>देखिन</td>
<td>देखिन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>मारी ०री मारी ०दीचा</td>
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<td>सोदिना ०की ०णे</td>
<td>देखिन</td>
<td>देखिन</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The table provides a comparison of past participle forms in various Indian languages.
III.—Future Participle Passive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Bengali</th>
<th>Marathi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ज्ञानम्</td>
<td>ज्ञानम्</td>
<td>ज्ञानम्</td>
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<tr>
<td>ज्ञानम्</td>
<td>ज्ञानम्</td>
<td>ज्ञानम्</td>
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<tr>
<td>ज्ञानम्</td>
<td>ज्ञानम्</td>
<td>ज्ञानम्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle (Infinitive, etc.)

1. सा, तथा 2. अते 3. अते

1. श्रान्ति, तथा 2. अते 3. अते

* Only the masculine is given from want of space.

1. See other dialectic forms in § 39.
§ 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—


*śicāra* "to live,* jīvdo,* " jīv,* " jīvita.*

*kerāra* "to do," *kerdo,* " kri,* " krita, Pers. karda.*

*nashāra* "to depart," *nashto,* " naç,* " naṣta.*

*chindāra* "to cut," *chindo,* " ehjid,* " ehhinna.*

Of the second type—

*arāra* "to come," *alo,* " āyā,* " āyāta, M. ālā, B. O. ālā.*

*jača* "to go," *gelo,* " yā,* " yāta, M. gelā, B. gela, O. galā,*

*dikča* "to see," *diklo,*

B. dekhīlā, O. dekhīlā.*

Of the third type—

*dāca* "to give," *dīno,* " dā,* " datta, Pr. *dīṇo, O.*

*lača* "to take," *līno,* " labh,* " labdha, O. H. līnna,*

*S. runo.*

*rovāca* "to weep," *rovnō,* " rud,* " rudita, Pr. *runo,*

*uryāca* "to fly," *uryano,* " uddī,* " uddīna, S. uḍāṇo.*

The Aorist is formed by adding the terminations of the old substantive verb, thus from *līno* "taken."—


So from kerdo "done," comes

Sing. 1. kerdom, 2. kerdän, 3. kerdås,
Pl. 1. kerdäm, 2. kerdän, 3. kerdås "I did," etc.

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

Sing. 1. muklom, 2. muklän, 3. muklås,
Pl. 1. mukläm, 2. muklän, 3. muklås "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. kâm "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 θέλω contracted to θε and θά, is used in this way, as θά ἰπέργω "I will go." There is nothing strictly analogous to this method in our seven languages, though the futures of the ga and la 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 \( \sqrt{चत्त्} \), \( \sqrt{भू} \), \( \sqrt{श्रा} \), \( \sqrt{ा} \), and another, whose origin is somewhat obscure in Sanskrit, but which appears in Prakrit under the form \( \चंचु \). 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. 48. This root means "to be," and is the simple copula like Latin esse (see under \( \text{stha} \) 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 \( \text{ad} \) 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 \( \text{bhā} \) type for all roots, retain in this verb the \( \text{ad} \) 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. attthi. |
| " | Pl. 1. asma, 2. atthā, 3. santi. |
| amhi. |
| " | amha. |

In Prakrit the initial vowel is often elided as \( \text{'mhi} \), \( \text{'mha} \). 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 at 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 √सत conjugated after the bhū type, thus—

Sing. 1. asāmi, 2. asāsi, 3. asati.
Pl. 1. asāmaḥ, 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. चाहिया, 2. चाहि, चाही, 3. चाहे.
Pl. 1. चाहियू, 2. चाहियो, 3. चाहिनि.

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 aḥe, 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 *bha* 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, आहि, etc. like हृदि, etc. Trumpp does not notice this point, and as I am not in possession of any documents in medieval 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. बहि, 2. बहिस 3. बहि.

**Pl.**
1. बहि 2. बहि 3. बहित.

These are the regular terminations of the aorist in the neuter verb, only the 1 plural differs slightly, having चिं instead of च. 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 medieval 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></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. चहि</td>
<td>1. चहि</td>
<td>1. हि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. चहि</td>
<td>2. चहि</td>
<td>2. हि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. चहि</td>
<td>3. चहि</td>
<td>3. हि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Singular.**
THE COMPOUND TENSES.

PLURAL.

Old-H. 1. चहःः 2. चहः 3. चहःः
Avadhi 1. चहःः 2. चहःः, चहःः 3. चहःः
Riwal 1. हे 2. चहःः, हे 3. चहःः चहःः।

The 3 singular in the poets is sometimes written with, and sometimes without, the last a, as in Kabir दिवतिया सुप जो एक चहःः “There is one line of duty in the world” (Ram. Ivi. 1), or written as a disyllabic word, as राम नाम चहःः निम सारस। “The name of Ram is itself the true one” (ib. Lxiv. 5), or with long i, metri gratia, धर्म संव सव पानी चहःः। “Religion, he saith, is all (one like) water” (ib. Lxxviii. 5). The 1 singular occurs in राम चंद्र राम चंद्र राम चंद्र (for चहःः) व्र युकार हो। “Pause and attend, ponder on Ram, thus I am calling aloud, oh!” (ib. Kah. 7). So also in Tulsidas, दिवति मन जय चहःः चहन भी | “Thus her mind is changed as fate decrees” (Ay-k. 117), राम चंद्र राम चंद्र राम चंद्र। “Ram is lord of things moveable and immovable” (ib. 445), विभाग करतन उलट चहःः चहःः। “The laws of duty are all reversed” (ib. 617), सुगम सहज संग तुम्ह कहःः चहःः,” All roads are easy to thee” (ib. 574).

By spherogenesis of the initial अ we get the ordinary classical Hindi tense—

Sing. 1. हःः 2. हःः 3. हःः 2. हःः 3. हःः.

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

Panjabi closely follows H., having—


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

Sing. 1. होगा  2. होगा  3. होगा.
Pl.  1. होगे  2. होगे  3. होगे "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 gd. It is also used doubtfully, as when you suggest a possible explanation of some difficulty, and your companion answers "well, perhaps it is so"—होगा.

The same form occurs in the Kanaugi 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. isi.
Pl.  1. isौम  2. isौन  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., ची f.
Pl.  सौ m., चौकी "I, thou, he was," etc.

Then गा is added as in the present, giving सागा, चीगी, सौगी, चौकीगी. I do not remember ever to have heard this form, but it is given in the Ludhiana grammar. One often hears ची, 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. सै। Pl. 1. सै। 3. सन. शन।

To this, also, is added मा, thus

Sing. 1. संगा म., संगी।
Pl. 1. संगि म., संगीचा। 3. संगि म., संगीचा।

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

Sing. 1. हैसैं। 2, 3. हैसी।
Pl. 1, 2, हैं म., हैंसीचा। 3. हैंस।

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. आता. On the other hand, however, it so happens that the imperfect of आ 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. आत। 2. आती। 3. आतीत।
Pl. 1. आता। 2. आता। 3. आतन।
Pr. Sing. 1. सैं, 2. सी। 3. सी।
Pl. 1. सैं, — 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 
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 सीता. 
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. हे m., ही f. 
A variation of this form in Western Rajputana (Márwář) 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—

Kanauji. Sing. होति m., होती f.
Pl. होते m., होती f., "I, etc., was."

Gujarati. Sing. होति m., होती f., हूँ n.
Pl. होता m., होती f., होता n. id.

which appear to come from Pr. present participle संतो "being."

The change of meaning from a present to an imperfect has an 
analogy in the treatment of the corresponding tense of the 
verb है (§ 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. isámas, 3. isás (isí-+as).
Pl. 1. isámás, 2. isámas, 3. isás.

¹ Faspati, p. 86. Miklošich, vol. ii. p. 16, 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. नहि, 2. नहि, 3. नहि.
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 bhut 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, nube would be for na hune, and nubanti for na huantri. Nuantri, and not nähanti, is the older form, as in—

कशंता हदय नहंति निरदय।

“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 bhut; 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 नहि for all persons of both tenses, they say जै नहि “I am not,” तै नहि “thou art not,” ते नहि “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 negative of अस is kept distinct from that of भक in Marathi, the former runs thus—

Simg. 1. मही, 2. महीम, 3. महीँ: Pl. 1. 2. मही, 3. महीत.

In Hindi महि and महि 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 महि or मबहि "he is not."

§ 62. The present tense from अस 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 अस 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 आयो 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  ਬੋਟਰਾ ਹੈ "he is going."
Def. Imperfect  ਬੋਟਰਾ ਸਾ "he was going."
Def. Preterite  ਮਿਸਾ ਹੈ "he has gone."
Pluperfect  ਮਿਸਾ ਸਾ "he had gone."

Sindhi has, like Hindi, the two definite tenses:

Def. Present  ਹੁਨਦੋ ਆਈ "he is going."
Def. Preterite  ਹਲੀਢੀ ਆਈ "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  निहीणत आई "he is writing."
.. (Emphatic)  निहीणती आई "he is writing."
Def. Preterite  निहीणा आई "he has written."
Future  निहीणार आई "he is about to write."

The other languages having no traces of this auxiliary, naturally have no tenses formed by it.

§ 63. ACHR. — 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 tipāṭhi, 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 *achchhai*, etc., are quoted by Iassen (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 अंि, 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 *us*, 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 *vutta* and *khuppa* are used for Skr. *masya*, but no one supposes that *vutta* can, by any known process of phonetic change, be derived from *masya*. It is simply a popular word used instead of a refined one. So, also, when he tells us that *achchh* is used instead of *us*, 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 *achh* is a form of *gach* (*√* gam), “to go.” This view is supported by citations from the Bhāgavati (i. 411, etc.), as e.g. *acchejja* गदित्तेज्जा नित्तेज्जा या नित्तेज्जा, “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—

tuppanānā kho ac-
chasi tti in pucchhāi vahuāi.—Sapt. 291.

Here Weber translates, “Why goest thou with anointed face?” but the scholiast has *kim tisāthasi*, “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,
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avanattamamorahaini 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 muhadamsanum aimahagham
taghamachettuaima
vi jhati ditttha suhavei,
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 acchau is 3 singular imperative; the idiom is in common use in modern speech; thus in O. they would say tāku dekhīdu thāu, tāhār grām śinā madhya dekhīdu anand āte, "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. घा in this construction is that of घाक in B. Thus, Bhārat Chandra—

उपरोधे उपरोधे भोक हैल मृत पाय॥
घाकुक चिन्नेर कथा जन साहि पाय॥

"From long fasting the folk were nearly dead,
Let alone food, they could not (even) get water."—Mānsingh, 446.

Literally, "Let the matter of food stand (aside)," see § 69. In the Chingama or Gipsy also ach means "to remain," "to stand,"
Thus, opré pirendo achāva, "I stand on my feet," or simply,
"I stand," Paspati "se tenir debout;" achilo korkoro "he remained alone," āte achilom "here I am," literally "here I have remained;" ouchin devlēsa "remain with God," "good-bye" (i.e. "God be with ye"), Pasp. "Salutation très-commune parmi les Tchingianés."
THE COMPOUND TENSES.

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 apheresis of an initial consonant is rare. In scenic Prakrit it is confined almost entirely to the root जा (jāna), as in अञ्जासि = jānasī, अञ्जाबैः = ājāpayati, etc. Also in अञ्जो = punah, and a few other words.

But I would suggest that this word may after all be nothing more than a form of Skr. √अक्ष akṣh, "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 चौँ "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 ह, द, and छ, and all these three forms phonetically point to an earlier छ.1

Leaving Prakrit scholars to decide whence comes this stem चछ or छछ (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 छस. Indeed, as has already been shown, छस so regularly passes into छछ in the moderns, that it is difficult to conceive by what process it could ever have become छछ. I

1 Hemachandra's evidence seems conclusive against any connection between चछ and गृह, for he has a śūtra to the effect that words of the class गृह take the termination ए; the list consists of the four words गृहकृ (gum), टेरकृ (ṣaḥ), जैसे (yam), and नैसै (रि).—Pischel, Hem., iv. 213. If नैसै were only गृहकृ, 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 Hāla quoted above—

jāmshie pīsam kajjagā bīrahāṃ mājjhe eī tūshām sačhaī ārāṃ ānuṣaṇu vi antarudhī,

"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 (sačchā) the base man, even the good man keeps aloof (literally "gives an interval"), " Tempora si fuerint nobila, solus eris." Kajjagā = kāryagati, ārā = itura.
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 बसः, 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 च्, into च (Vol. I. p. 218). The Sanskrit अर्थ having in M. become धर्म, an affiliation concerning which there can be no doubt, we are driven to seek for a different origin for M. अस, and we find it appropriately and in full accordance with known phonetic processes in चक्ष्य. M. has the following tenses:

1. Aorist—

Sing. 1. चर्म्, 2. चर्म्स, 3. चर्मे.
Pl. 1. चर्मू, 2. चर्मी, 3. चर्मत.

where the terminations exactly correspond with those of the aorist in the ordinary verb.

2. Simple imperative—

Sing. 1. चर्मू, 2. चर्म, ऐस्, 3. चर्मो.
Pl. 1. चर्मू, 2. चर्म, 3. चर्मोत.

3. Simple future—

Sing. 1. चर्म्स, 2. चर्मसीस्, 3. चर्मेश.
Pl. 1. चर्मू, 2. चर्माल, 3. चर्माली.

4. Present formed with present participle and Sanskrit substantive verb—

Masc. Sing. 1. चर्माल, 2. चर्मालम, 3. चर्मालो.
Pl. 1. चर्माल, 2. चर्माल, 3. चर्मालत.
5. Conditional similarly formed. Sing. 3 masc. चसत, etc., as in the ordinary verb.
6. Preterite formed with p.p.p. similar to conditional. Sing. 3 masc. चसात, etc.
7. Subjunctive formed with future p.p. Sing. 3 masc. परसात, etc.

Oriya comes next, with an aorist of old simple present only, which is thus conjugated—

Sing. 1. अष्टि, 2. अष्टु, 3. अष्टि.
Pl. 1. अष्ट®, 2. अष्ट, 3. अष्टिन.

There being no formation from यस 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. आष्टि, 2. आष्टिस, 3. आष्टि “I am,” etc.
Pl. 1. आष्ट®, 2. आष्ट, 3. आष्टिन.

Imperfect Sing. 1. धिनु, 2. धिनि, 3. धिनिः “I was,” etc.
Pl. 1. धिनाम, 2. धिना, 3. धिनेन.

Though used as an imperfect, this latter tense is in form a preterite, corresponding to dekhim, 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). अकिल वियार टाट प्रम बंथे “She was (i.e. had been) very wanton in her youth” (Bidya-S. 246). It is common enough, also, in the other Bengali poets, ज ताल जेताल सिद अकिल 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. कूँ. 2. कूँ. 3. कैँ.  
Pl. 1. कूँ, 2. कूँ, 3. कैँ.

It has also a feminine singular कैँ, plural कैँ, 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. कैँ. 2. कैँ, 3. कैँ.  
Pl. 1. कैँ, 2. कैँ, 3. कैँ.

Further west, in the same district, one hears—

Sing. 1. कॉँ, 2. कॉँ, 3. कॉँ.  
Pl. 1. कॉँ, 2. कोँ, 3. कोँ.

In Bhojpuri, for the present is often heard चूँ, which is unchanged throughout both persons. This widely-used form seems to confirm the supposition of the derivation from चूँ, for च changes both to चूँ and to कूँ.

From the Himalayan districts of Kumāon and Garhwāl, 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 |  |  |  |
|----------|  |  |  |
| Kumāon. | 1. कॉँ, 2. 3.  |
| Garhwāl | 1. 2. 3.  |
| E. Rajputana | 1. 2. 3.  |
| Gujarati | 1. 2. 3.  |

| PLURAL |  |  |  |
|---------|  |  |  |
| Kumāon | 1. 2. 3.  |
| Garhwāl | 1. 2. 3.  |
| E. Rajputana | 1. 2. 3.  |
| Gujarati | 1. 2. 3.  |

The first and third of these have also a preterite participle
in type like most of the preterites. Thus in Kumaon they say sing. छियो, pl. छिया or छियां, which seems to point to a Skr. p.p.p. छियत = Pr. छिय्यो. In Eastern Rajputana there is sing. छौ, pl. छा.

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—

अध बहत जुवराज पट रामनेह टैड करिक

"Thyself remaining, give the heir-apparentship to Ram, O king!"

—Ay. 4. 11.

That is, “during thy lifetime,” literally “thou being.” The dictionary-writers erroneously give this as a Tadbhava from बहत, with which it has nothing to do.

It is worthy of consideration whether the forms of the imperfect in प. given in § 60 should not be referred to this root rather than to ए. The change of छ into स so characteristic of म. would thus find a parallel in Panjabi.

Gujarati has also a present participle indeclinable छति and छति “(in) being,” and declinable छति m., ती f., छि n.; pl. छन्ति m., ती f., छनि 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 छति “he is living,” i.e. “he habitually resides,” निहीत छति “I am (always employed in) writing.”

Next, a past habitual, by adding the aorist of the auxiliary to the present tense, as छति छि “he was in the habit of sitting.” It will be remembered that in म. 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 बर "if" prefixed, either expressed or understood, as बर काम करोति चस्ता "If he were doing the work," पात्रस चढत प्रस्ता "(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 पट्टा चस्ता "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 वात चस्ता तर ते काम खाला सामा "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 धागा चस्ता तर "Should he have arrived, then, etc."

So, also, with the future participle and the past auxiliary, as बर तो जानार चस्ता तर माळा 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—

तुःसा वाप तुःसी वाट पाहत प्रस्त "Your father will be waiting for you" (i.e. is probably now expecting you; राचे पाहत= "looks at the road," idiomatic for "expects").

2. Past participle of verb + future of auxiliary—

तो चाला प्रस्त "He will have come" (i.e. "has probably arrived by this time").
3. Future participle of verb + future of auxiliary—

मी चिनिगार पश्चिन "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, Rām jāt anālā, tar te kām tyālā sāṅgā, 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?" "Hai! (Yes). "You knew that fact?" "Hai! "You went home?" "Hai! "When you reached home they told you 'Ram is fled,' thus?" answer "Nai! Nai! (No! No!)."
"When you did not go home, before that, they told you?" he! 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 छे in G. are the following:

1. Definite present; aorist of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as करे छे "he does."

Sometimes both verb and auxiliary lose their final vowel, as कर छ for करे छे "thou dost," करे छ "he does." करे छ for हो "ye do," etc.

2. Definite preterite; p.p. of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as खायो छे "he has given," active used in karma construction with instrumental of subject. तेष्य काम चतुष्कोणि छे "he has performed the work;" neuter in karta, as जू हड्ड़यो छ "I have ascended."

3. Another definite preterite with the second form of the p.p. in elo, as चढ़ेवो छु "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 खागारी छे "he is about to eat."

5. Another tense with the second form of the fut. part. in vâna, as जू करवामी छ "I am going to do." The uninflected form of the future participle in âr may also be used, as जू छ करवार छ "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 wird then*.

The auxiliary है is sometimes also used after another auxiliary derived from भो, as छोड़तो होय है “he is (now) leaving.” 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 medieval period, metrical necessities, rather than any desire to bring out a particular shade of meaning, appear to determine which form shall be used.

These dialects of Hindi which possess tenses from this root, use them also as auxiliaries. Eastern Rajputana has the definite present formed by the two aorists, that of the verb and that of the auxiliary, माङ्गहै “I am beating,” also a preterite composed of the p.p. of the verb and aorist of auxiliary, as मारयौ है “I have beaten.” There seems to be some anomaly in this latter, for in the preterite of the active verb है is added to all six persons, whereas, when used with the substantive verb हो “be,” the auxiliary is participial sing. हो, pl. हो. Perhaps we hardly know enough of these rustic forms as yet to be able to draw accurate distinctions.

Garhwal forms its definite present from the present participle and the aorist मारदो (or मारदू) है “I am beating;” and its preterite in the same way from the p.p. and aorist मारे है “he has beaten,” मार रहन “they have beaten.” So does Kumaoni, present मारन है, preterite मारे है; 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** হইলাম "I am seeing" (dekhite + āchhi).

**Def. Imperfect** হইলাম "I was seeing" (dekhite + āchhīnau).

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—

হইলাম "I was seeing" (dekhite + āchhīlām).

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** হবাম "I have seen" (dekhīyā + āchhi).

**Pluperfect** হবাম "I had seen" (dekhīyā + āchhiun).

Here, also, হবাম is common for 1 sing. Wonderful corruptions occur in pronunciation in these tenses: ক্স loses its aspirate and becomes च, so that we hear for করিতে ক a word that sounds कर्च, and may be written कर्च, for হইতে "is" vulgo होचे (होचे), for হবাম dekhīche (dekhīcē), and for হবাম dekhīchlēm, or dekh'chilēm (dekhīchilēm?). So also for চালিতে "goes" chalāche (chalācē). 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 कि ख्रिछि "I am doing" (pres. part. kara "doing").
Def. Preterite कौि ख्रिछि "I have done" (p.p. kari "done").

Here, also, colloquially, the auxiliary is generally incorporated with the verb, and they say क्रिछि and कौि respectively. In the south of the province, also, the older form of the present participle in अ prevails, and one hears कहि "he is doing," and contracted प्रिछि "he is."

§ 66. ho. This widely-used root took as early as the Pali and Prakrit period the form ho; 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 ho 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 bhacat and hoti are found for 3 sing. pres., abhacā and ahurā impf., bhacatu and hotu impt., and in Sauraseni Prakrit we find bhodu=bhacatu, bhavu =bhātā, 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. मचि m., मचि f., pl. मचि, is extremely common, used alone as a preterite, or with the
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verbal endings, as मयूँ, मयूँ, etc. It is also contracted into भी; 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. मयूँ, प्राकृत, with elision of the व, and ॐ called in to fill up the hiatus. I give from Kellogg the dialectic forms (Gr. p. 236)—

SINGULAR.

| Kananji | 1. 2. 3. मयो m., मरः f. |
| Braj | id. मयो m., id. |
| Old-Pûrâb | 1. मयूँ m., मा | 2. मयूँ m. | 3. मयूँ m., मा मरः f. मरः f. |
| Avadhî | 1. मयूँ m., मवा | 2. मयें m. | 3. मवा, मवा m. मविं f. मविं f. मरः भी f. |
| Rîwâq | 1. 2. 3. मा, म. |
| Bhojpuri | 1. मौराची, मैली | 2. भैल | 3. भैलस, भैल |

PLURAL.

| Kananji | 1. 2. 3. मरः m., मरः f. (also मयो m.). |
| Braj | id. |
| Old-Pûrâb | 1. मये, मे m. | 2. मये, मयें m. | 3. मये, मे m. मरः f. मरः मरः f. मरः f. |
| Avadhî | 1. मये m. | 2. मये m. | 3. मये m. भी f. मविं f. मविं f. |
| Rîwâq | 1. 2. 3. मवें, मवेंह |
| Bhojpuri | 1. मोराची, मैली | 2. भैलह | 3. भैलस |

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 Kananji 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-Pûrâb, of the country north of the Ganges from the Gourdak river eastwards; Avadhî, that of Oudh (Avadh); Rîwâq, of the country south of the Ganges and between the Champâl and the Son rivers. Braj and Old-Pûrâb are the dialects in use in the medieval poets generally.
Kananji, thus मयो बोर काम तामव तामव — “He became violently disturbed with anger” (Pr. R. i. 48).

“Anungapal became King” (iii. 17), पुत्ता बहुत आप मही। सनी ल कही पहुँचा — “How the former matter happened, listen while I tell the wonderful tale” (iii. 15), पुत्त हो त मही मृत्यु। “While the son was being (born), she became dead” (i. 170), मही चापद चूत कहिता बिहित। “As many poems as have been (written) first and last” (i. 10). मही विकल लोग घाटा व गारत। गारत — “The folk became distressed, (being) wounded and heated” (xxi. 5). Contracted मन भी हास कहन पुनि आदुय। दूर तैल भी धारा। धारा। “Daughter 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 जाना to a great extent.

A few examples may be added from Kabir: दूतिया नाम यारवत मयाद। तप करता संस्तर को दयाज। “Her second name was Parvati, the ascetic (i.e. Daksha) gave her to Sankara” (Ram. 26, 5), वेके पुष्प वेके गारी। तति खानिय यान भी चारी। “One male (energy), one female, from them were produced four kinds of living beings” (ib. 6), एक चौं चौंकार ते गह सब बम मयो चार। “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-Puhrb forms, but uses, also, those classed above under Braj, as मयो बहोर मयो तेहि खारा। “It filled again and thus became salt (i.e. the sea)” (Lanka-k. 3), सेतुबंध मही मोर खान। “The Setubandh became very crowded” (ib. 10). But the Puhrb form is more common, as in माथ नाख पृथक्ष बस मयाद। “Bowing his head, thus he was asking” (Kis-k. 2), कौर द्वारक मही कहत बस मयाद। “Making salutation, thus he was saying” (Ar-k. 259). The contracted form is also very common, as मे मन मुद्दत पाय प्रत्य संत; “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 भेल मल्ल मन्दिर भेल मल्ल सगरी। भेल भेल दत्त 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 कलरे 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</td>
<td>P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. होता, 2. होए 3. होए</td>
<td>1. होए, 2. होता 3. होए</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. १. होता 2. होए 3. होए</td>
<td>१. होए 2. होता 3. होए</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. १. होत 2. होए 3. होए</td>
<td>१. हो 2. होत 3. होए</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. १. होते 2. होय 3. होय</td>
<td>१. होप 2. होत 3. होप</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. १. होरें 2. होरें 3. होरें</td>
<td>१. होरें 2. होरें 3. होरें</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. १. होए 2. होइ 3. होइ</td>
<td>१. होइ 2. होइ 3. होइ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. १. हू 2. हू 3. हू</td>
<td>१. हू 2. हू 3. हू</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 us, the tense derived from ho is more usually employed to mean “I may be.” The Pārbatia or Nepali dialect also uses this tense as a potential, thus—

Sing. १. हो, 2. होइ, 3. हो। Pl. १. हो, 2. हो, 3. हो।

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. हौँ in addition to हौँ; 2 and 3 sing. are written हौँ, हौँ, हौँ, and हौँ; 1 and 3 pl. हौँ, हौँ, हौँ, हौँ; 2 pl. हौँ as well as हौँ, which makes it identical with the same person in the aorist of आा.

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 हौँ into r. This is observable in the Rajputana dialects, and partially also in that of Riwâ (Kellogg, p. 233).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rajp. 1. हौँ 2. हौँ 3. हौँ</td>
<td>1. हौँ 2. हौँ 3. हौँ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riwâl. 2. हौँ 3. हौँ</td>
<td>2. हौँ 3. हौँ</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—


The same combination occurs throughout this tense when used negatively = "I am not," as—


and in other parts of the verb affirmative and negative.

In Sindhi this root is throughout shortened to हौँ, and when the vowel is lengthened by the influence of affixes, it becomes हौँ, rarely हौँ, except in poetry, where 3 sing. हौँ is met instead of हौँ. The ज, which in some forms of Prakrit is inserted between the stem and its termination, appears here also, as—


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 हौ, though generally pronounced हो. In Bengali the o is generally written o, that vowel having in B. usually the sound of short, harsh o, like the e in English not, rock, etc. Thus it comes to pass that हौ and हौन may be regarded, either as shortened from होय and होन respectively, and thus derivable from हो, or as equivalents of H. हौ and हौन, 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 हौ, 2 pl. होयो; the former occurs also in Chand as a 3 sing. in सब बोलिय बस्ती हौ मिन मिन। “All speaking, said, ‘May there be success, success!’” (i. 178) The Riwa dialect has 2 sing. हो, 2 pl. होव, like the present.

P. 2 sing. हो, 2 pl. होयो. S. has 2 sing. हो and होउ, 2 pl. हो and अयो. G. for 2 sing. and 2 pl. both हो.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M. Sing. 1. होकै</th>
<th>2. हो</th>
<th>3. होयो, होउ।</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O. &quot; 1. होँ</td>
<td>2. हो</td>
<td>3. हौ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. &quot;</td>
<td>2. होउ, हौ</td>
<td>3. हौक।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Pl. 1. होजै</td>
<td>2. हौ</td>
<td>3. होवैत, होउ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. &quot; 1. हौँ</td>
<td>2. हौट</td>
<td>3. हौउँ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. &quot;</td>
<td>2. हौ</td>
<td>3. हौउ।</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. होजे।

Nepali has somewhat abnormally 2 sing. हौ, 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 ə sound by a, so that side by side with the regular forms होरिस्, होरिये, etc., we have also sing. 1. होरिये, 2. होरिये, 3. होरिये; pl. 1. होरियू, 2. होरियो, 3. होरिये, which we must apparently pronounce ḫōsh, ḫōshē, etc.

The simple future in old and rustic Hindi is regularly formed, as होरिये “I shall become,” etc.; but in this tense the employment of the type है is very common, both in the poets and among the peasantry of the western area. Thus—

**Singular.**

Braj. 1. होरिहे 2. होरिहे 3. होरिहे.
West Rajp. 1. होरिहे 2. होरिहे 3. होरिहे.

We have also the curious transitional form of East Rajputana which approaches so closely to G.—

**Plural.**

Sing. 1. होरिस्, होरिस् 2. होरिस् 3. होरिस्.
Pl. 1. होरिसो, होरिसो 2. होरिसो, होरिसो 3. होरिसो.

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 kas 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 होरिस्, a shortened form होरिस्, and the Braj होरिजे. Also occasionally होर in a future sense, which is probably a form of the 3 sing. aorist for होए (होए). Examples are: मन्नि होरिस् तिन संसार । “His race shall become extinct.” (Pr.-R. iii.
20). जोड़ि होड़ि सप्ततह। “The Jadavani shall be with child” (i. 249). दिबम पंच के चारी। जोड़ि सु दिख़ि पति। “In the space of five days, he shall become lord of Dilli” (iii. 411). होमा न जोर होइँ न कोर। “There has not been, and there shall not be, any (like him)” (i. 331).

To Tulsi Das, Kabir, Bihari Lal, and all the medival poets होर, होरि, होि, and होि are the forms of the ordinary regular future; होगा is very rarely met in their pages, if at all. Instances are, अवेच जे पहिँ जे होरँ चाणे। “They who have been, are, and shall be hereafter” (Tulsi, Ram. Bal-K. 30). होरि यही कवयाग भय। “Now this good fortune will be (will happen)” (ib. 82). होम ते रति तब नाय कर होरि नाम अनमु। “Henceforth, Rati, the name of thy lord shall be Ananga” (ib. 96). The form होइँ does not appear to be used by Tulsi Das, though in Bihari Lal the participle होइँ is common; this latter poet’s subject does not give much occasion for the use of the future. जगरिज जनम ग होइँ ताकी। “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 हूँ and होि 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. ह्रें, as in Chand हसन ह्रेंत निवारि “Laughing being prevented” (Pr.-R. i. 6). In modern H. the classical form is होता m., होति f., Braj होँ; and in most of the rustic dialects simply होत indeclinable. In the Rajputana dialects the form होतो is found. The other languages have P. हूं, S. हूं, G. होतौ, M. होत, होता,
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हीताना, O. हें, B. होरते, 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. क्षञ्जा. The vowel of the stem is in the present day commonly pronounced short क्षञ्जा, and this practice is not uncommon in the poets. P. क्षञ्जा, S. क्षणो, G. क्षणयो, शायणो.

M. has a strange participle क्षञ्जा, which may be explained as phonetically resulting from an older form क्षञ्जा, shortened from क्षञ्जणा. I can trace nothing similar in any of the cognate languages, though the change from क्षञ to क्षञ is perfectly regular. In the poets a form अञ्जा is found, and even अञ्जणा. These types have led some writers to regard this participle as derived from the root यञ. This, however, is very doubtful. Tuckeram always uses अञ, as आञि पुरसि गवस | धन्य अञ्जा हा दिवस || “To-day our vows are heard, blessed has become (is) this day” (Abh. 508).

O. होर, हेला, B. होइब, हुब.

The future participle is in M. क्षञ्जा, O. हें, B. हुब, contracted to हुब (होबी).

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. होतो m. होती /होति 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, होतो, etc., means “he becomes,” the conditional form होता, etc., means “he was.” This usage is analogous to that of the G. हतो, etc., mentioned in § 59, and agrees with a form of preterite used in Braj Hindi, sing. हती m., हती /हति /हती n. 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. hāum, hōam, and the like; also that in Chand the annusvāra of the present participle is still preserved, as in डूब ज्ञती दुष्जिनिय भोर 1 (Pr.-R. i. 49), "Brahman became to Brahman hostile;" and a few lines further on in the same passage डूब ज्ञती सिजिनिय रिष्य "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" (गिर "to fall")—

1. गिरता होता (acrost of हो) "I may be falling," which may be called a definite present subjunctive or contingent; as in answer to a question हमारी घर को आति "Are you going to my house?" one might answer बाता होता "I may be going (but am not sure)."

2. गिरता होगा (future of हो shortened from होग्यांगा) "I shall or must be falling," a future contingent, or doubtful; as in asking राम बब्बसी बाता है "Is Ram coming now?" the reply is, हो बाता 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 वदि भागता होता ते मै उसको रोखता "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 होते “I may have fallen.” Also somewhat rare. In answer to तुम ने उसके नाम कब्बे सुना “Have you ever heard his name?” one might say सुना होते “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 क्या 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 संवाद 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 रहे may be heard in eastern Hindi, as तुम बदिद कब्बे लाए रहते “If you had come yesterday.” The only instance Kellogg gives is apparently from a translation of the Bible (John xv. 22) जो भी न खाना होता उम का पाप न थोता “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 जाँदा है “He is going,” side by side with a continuative present with हो, जाँदा जंदा है “He kept on going;” also, “He is in the habit of going.” So, also, there is a continuative imperfect जाँदा जंदा मा “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) जाँदा होंगा “He will probably be going,” and a continuative form containing हो twice over, जाँदा जंदा होंगा “He will probably be always going.” Thus, to the question उह लितमाक चिर उचि
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राहिदा होवेगा “How long will he be stopping there?” the answer might be, उसे उह दा घर है उह ता सदा सरबदा उसे राहिदा जंदा होवेगा “His home is there, he will probably always be stopping there.” With ज के “if” prefixed, the tense जंदा जंदा means “If I were in the habit of going.”

Parallel to the above are two tenses with the aorist of हो; जंदा होवा “I may be going,” and with “if” prefixed, “If I should be going;” and जंदा जंदा होवा “I may be constantly going,” “If I should be always going.”

With the past participle they combine the present participle of हो, as राहिदा जंदा “I would have put,” and conditionally, वे ने राहिदा जंदा “If I had put,” “If I should have put;” as in उह वे सपदे ववहोई हे हव दिता जंदा ता सावं शनि जंदा “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 हो, as गिया होवे “He may have gone,” or, “If he has (perhaps) gone.”

Colloquially, they frequently also insert होरखा pleonastically in phrases where it is difficult to attach to it any definite meaning. Thus उन चिकित्सा है “he has sent,” and चिकिता होरखा 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 हो as an auxiliary in Panjabi. Also, though it is not noticed in the grammar, I remember having heard frequently this word होई, repeated probably for emphasis, as मारिया होरखा होरखा “beaten” (repeatedly, or very much indeed).

In Sindhi the present and past participle are both compounded with the aorist of हो to form potentials, thus—1. हवंदो जए “he may be going;” 2. होरखा 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 *achha*, which is not represented at all.

3. उन्नद्रो हो "he was going." This is the present participle of the verb with the preterite of *ho*.

4. टिल्पो हो "he had gone." The past participle with the same. These two are exactly parallel.

5. उन्नद्रो जरी "he will be going." Definite future, made up of present participle with future of *ho*.

6. टिल्पो जरी "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. कॉडिजो जरी "he may be being released." Future participle passive (§ 51) with aorist of *ho*.

3. कॉडिजो हो "he was being released." The same with preterite of *ho*.

5. कॉडिजो जरी "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, चडनो होय "he is ascending." Definite present.

2. The same + future, चडनो होय "he may be ascending." Contingent present.

3. The same + pres. part. indeclinable, चडनो होत "(if) he were ascending." Subjunctive present.

A parallel group with past participle:

1. Past p. + aorist, चडनो होय "he has ascended." Definite preterite.
2. The same + future, चढ़ो हो गे "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 एक, as चढ़ेनो होय, but there does not seem to be any very great difference in the meaning.

Also a group with future participle; in the form राणो (see § 52)—

1. Fut. p. + aorist, चढ़वानो होय "he is about to ascend."
Definite future.

2. The same + future, चढ़वानो हो गे "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 ते मिं चढ़वानो होत 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 अर or अरो, 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 अक्ष, that there is comparatively little left for हो to do. It is used in the following tenses:

Imperfect, made up of present part. and imperfect of हो, 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 हो, as तो चोलता शाला "he began to speak." This is rarely used.

Future preterite formed by the future participle and imperfect of हो, as भी लिखित बीता "I was to have written," i.e. "It had been arranged that I was to write under certain circumstances." The example given is भी कान चापया कह चेरार
§ 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 *tha* "was," sing. था †m., थी †f.; pl. थे m., थी f. 1

1 I had formerly connected this tense *tha* with O. and Braj *bāy* 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 dies dose.
This form is, I believe, shortened from चिन्त, and that again from the Skr. p.p.p. खित. 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 का had been evolved by a long and varied process from Skr. कृत; so, also, गा in the H. and P. future from गता, भाता in Old-Hindi from भुता, ला and ले in M., and other futures from लग्ना; and in exact parallelism to these is था from स्थिता.

The Kanamji Hindi has sing. थो m., थी f.; pl. थे m., थी f.; but the Garhwali still preserves a fuller type in sing. थो m., थी f.; pl. था m. Neearer still to स्थिता, and with incorporation of the Skr. root स, so as to make a regular imperfect, is the Nepali “I was,” etc.—

Sing. 1. चिता 2. चित्त 3. चिता. Pl. 1. चित्तु 2. चित्ती 3. चिता.

Nepali is not an independent language, but merely a dialect of Hindi. The people who speak it call it Pārthiya 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, चिता था “was speaking.” Imperfect.

2. With past participle, चॉला था “had spoken.” Pluperfect.

In P. था is occasionally used, though था, in its numerous forms, is far more common. This verb is also used with a full range of tenses in Sindhi. Trumpp¹ 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 इस or भहा, and it takes parts of the latter to form its own compound tenses. There are, however, two parts of थाई in use as auxiliaries in Sindhi, the former of which थी probably = खित: nom., and the latter

¹ Grammar, p. 303.
चे = स्थिते loc. चो agrees with the subject in gender, and is used to form with the aorist an indefinite present—

Sing. 1. हन्नो चो m. हन्नो ची f.
Pl. 1. हन्नू चा m. हन्नू ची 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. हन्नि उर्धे चे 2. हन्नि ए चे.
Pl. 1. हन्नि चा सी, etc., "I used to go," or simply "I was going."

Examples are—

व जानू गार चे लार चे विद्धी "Two women were quarrelling (the कि लिया कि) about a child."

हिन्दि व जाना परे परेक्ष चे बिशा "Two men were going (the तो) to a foreign country.""

Here the auxiliary precedes, and with reference to the suggested origin of this auxiliary from the locative चे, 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 "I am 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, चूँ is more powerful than हो; the latter, also, is more powerful than हे. There are thus three grades of substantive verb. हे "he is," is merely the copula; हो "he is, or becomes," is a definite expression of existence; चाच "he remains," is positive and prolonged existence. The distinction,
as pointed out before, is analogous to that between ser and estar in Spanish.

चढ़े forms compound tenses by taking parts of हो चे as auxiliaries, just as the ordinary verb, thus—

Imperfect चढ़ो होतो, as in ते लहाँ चढ़ो होतो "That fight was going on."

Preterite चढ़े होय के, as in ते नू मन होय चढ़े होय के "His heart has become hard."

Dubitative present चढ़े होगि, as in ते हवे पप्तावो चढ़ो होगि "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 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 (हुर "do") कर "doing"—

a. Aorist of थार कर खाए, करु थारे, "he is (or was) doing." Continuous present.

b. Preterite कर खिलाई, करु थिलाई, "he was doing." Imperfect.

c. Future कर खिल, करु थिलब, "he will be doing." Continuous future.

2. With the past participle कर "done"—

a. Aorist of थार कर खाए "he has (usually) done." Habitual preterite.

b. Preterite कर खिला "he had done." Pluperfect.

c. Future कर खिल "he will have done." Future past.

The difference between 1a and 2a is very delicate, and rather difficult to seize. Kuru थारे implies that a person habitually

¹ The examples are from Lockey, 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 वे हाटे चन्द्र चिता “Was he sitting in the market?” the answer might be हा चेठि चन्द्र चाए “Yes, he always sits there;” and thus it is implied that he was sitting there at the time referred to. So again, किरितान भेक चेक जामिना मु मल्लिद चाए “When the doctor came, I was getting well,” implying that I had been improving before he came, and continued to do so. Kari ठाई, on the other hand, literally, “He remains having done,” implies a habit which is not necessarily in force at the time referred to, as भारत गबत ताहार बो राघ ठाँ स 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 ने भोमय रेव चार बो बांग ठाँ चाए “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—

1. कश चा “Remain thou doing.”
2. कस्तर चा “Remain thou having done.”

Here, also, the same fine distinction is drawn as in the other tenses. गोबिंद ने काम कश चाए “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.”

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 karo ठाई into kari ठाई instinctively, and a large range of observations led to his adopting the definition in which I have followed him.
THE COMPOUND TENSES.

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.:

तुम्हे वेधि काम समापि कर् "Do that work so."

Answer सु समापि करिचि आँ "I have done it so," or, "as (you order) so I have done."

Rejoinder बाहा समापि करि या "Well, always do so," literally, "thus having done, remain."

Here, if we used karya 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—

कश बांता "he might be doing," or, "if he were doing."

करि बांता "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 बांत्, 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. य। This root takes the form बांत्, 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."  
Imperfect देखा जानो "be ye seen."  
Future देखा जाएगा "he will be seen."

P. दिठा बाचे.  
दिठा बाां.  
दिठा बाविगा.

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," मैर क्हाना, "it comes into seeing," dekhne meṅ ḍā, 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 जा 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 handmaid 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 dálna "to kill," which is conjugated through the whole range of simple, participial, and compound tenses of dálna, 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 upasāryas, or prepositions, and can no longer develop from one simple root a variety of meanings by prefixing pras, abs, na, or san. 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—

पेंडा "to throw," पेंडे 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 मुझ 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 ठेंगा “to explain.”
गिराना .. गिरा ठेंगा “to cause to fall, or to throw down,”
बैठाना .. बैठा ठेंगा “to seat, or to put into a seat.”

Perhaps one can sometimes trace in the form with ठेंगा 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 ठेंगा “give,” and ठेंगा “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, ठेंगा implies permission, as जाने ठेंगा “let (him) go,” हम को बैठने ठेंगविये “please let me sit down.”

P. uses ठेंगा 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 ठेंगा “to abandon,” ठेंगा “let (it) alone!” “let go!” ठेंगा “to throw,” ठेंगा “throw (it) away!” But as in H., with the infinitive it implies permission, ठेंगा “to go,” ठेंगा “to allow to go,” ठेंगा “to fall,” ठेंगा “to permit to write.”

M. has the same usage of ठेंगा; when added to the conjunctive participle it has the same senses as in H., as ठेंगा “to write,” ठेंगा “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 ठाकून “throw it away.”
With the infinitive it implies permission, as मला जाघै देग "suffer me to go," बारा निःस देग नाही "the wind will not let me write."

Precisely similar is the usage in O. and B., as O. पिटार दिय "break it open," literally, "having caused to open, give;" but with the infinitive मते बासिखाक देग नाही "he would not let me come."

Bengali uses this verb with the conjunctive to imply completeness or emphasis, as पुसक देखिया दियायि "I have seen the book," that is, "I have examined or perused it." With the infinitive it, like the rest, signifies permission, as खासियते पक्षिते दिलेन ना "They did not allow me to read."

2. दे is in all respects used similarly to देग, 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 की हमारे पास बुझ नो "call Ram to me," where the simple verb बुझाना merely means "to call."

The distinction between the use of de and दे is well shown when added to रखना "to put;" thus रख नो means "put it away (for your own use)," but रख देग "put it down (and leave it)." There is, as Kellogg has shown, a sense of appropriating a thing to oneself involved in दे.

P. follows the usage of H., but has less frequent recourse to this ancillary. S. uses निखणु, which is the same word as दे, in the sense of "taking away," which in H. is expressed by जे जाना, as in माओर नर्मे जे निखरे निखणा "In crossing the ocean they were forcibly carried off" (Trumpp, p. 340). In another instance, however, the meaning is more that of simple taking, माटाए निखणु "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 समज़ी लेवू “to understand,” i.e. “to make oneself acquainted with,” शैक्षी लेवू “learn (this),” i.e. “acquire this knowledge.”

M., as before remarked, uses चे, where its sisters have चे. 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. चे) reckons as pleonastic the use of this ancillary in चैवार लोगो माने या “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 आना “to come,” in the same way, as यह स्मरण करके आना. 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 वीर ढर्ढ समज चेतना “The child burnt his hand,” judging from the analogy of similar phrases in the cognate languages, I feel that if चेतना 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 नेग्दा is used as in H., as कामनच पत्र देन्य नेग्दा "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. जेठो, as गिरी पदार्था लेन "they took and read the letter."

3. चा "come," चा "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. चा 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 चमन "to be made," चन चाना, or sometimes colloquially, चने चाना "to be completely done, successfully accomplished," चेत की देख चाया हे "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 चचणु, pres. part. रेडी "coming," p.p. चादो "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 चमण चचणु "to come to rain," or, as we should say, "to come on to rain," as—

"The lightnings have begun to rain, the rainy season has ascended (his) couch."—Trumpp, p. 344.

G. चाव is used in the sense of coming into action, or into use, becoming, and is used with the present participle, as वसहतु चावहु "to become spoilt." But far more frequently चाव, the conjunctive participle, takes other ancillaries after it.

ि 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 बातो चैतो "I can go," lit. "to me going comes." Similar to this is the use of आत in H., as an independent verb, chiefly in negative sentences, as उसको लिखापडी बाती नहीं "He does not know how to read and write," lit. "To him reading-writing comes not." So also in O. and B.

4. वा "go," is used more frequently, and in a wider sense than ता. In H. it implies completeness or finality, as खाना "eat," खा 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 बहें, or बहें, जाना; thus, if a man is hesitating or fumbling over a story or message, you say बहें जाणो, 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 टूटना or टूट जाना "to be broken;" सिलना or सिल 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 टूट गया twenty times for once of टूटा. 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 चाण्डी "go" (impt. चाण्डी, p.p. चाण्डी, pres. p. चाण्डी, चाण्डी), from Skr. चाण्ड, Pr. चाण.

Thus, चाण्डी चाण्डी "to take off," मही चाण्डी "to be dead," i.e. "to go, having died." चाण्डी चाण्डी "to ascend," i.e. "to go, having ascended." There is also a phrase in which it is added to चाण्डी "to lift," as चाण्डी चाण्डी "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):

"When he was grown up, then he died" (say "died off").

"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 ja in G., attached to the conjunctive participle, as in H. and P.; when added to the present participle, it implies continuance, as जबाते जा "go on writing."

In M. B. and O., this stem is not used as an ancillary.

5. सक्ति "be able," is attached to the stem-form or apocopated conjunctive participle of all verbs in H. to imply power, as चल सकति "he is able to walk," कर सकिगा "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 सकिगे नहीं "I shall not be able." This, however, is probably to be regarded merely as an elliptical phrase for हम कर सकिगे नहीं "I shall not be able to do."

In P. also it is used always as an ancillary, as वाच सकिव "he is able to read," and is conjugated throughout the verb. In S. the corresponding verb सघण is used with the conjunctive participle in the same sense, as कर सघण "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 वाच सकति 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, करने सकिता is much commoner than कर सकिता.

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 वारिते पारिः "I can do," in O. with the past participle, and generally with the future of the ancillary, as कार पारिव "I shall be able to do," where we should use the present. Thus in asking, "Can you tell me his name?" one would say ताहार नाम किंचि पारिव, literally, "Shall you be able to say his name?"

6. भाग "begin" (see § 12). In H. and P. with the infinitive, as देखे लगता "he began to see." The ancillary is mostly used in the preterite, indeed almost exclusively so; for देखे लगता "he begins to see," would be inelegant, and, I believe, quite unidiomatic. S. uses the same construction, as कुच्चा लागिरो "he began to cry." So also G., as सारवा लागदु "to begin to strike," and M. with infinitive of the principal verb, as मार्ग लागता "he began to strike," but also with the dative of the future passive participle, as कराववाण सागता "he began to do." B. the same, as वारिते लागिर "he began to do," O. कारिवालु सागिरा.

7. पुण "fail," hence "leave off, cease to do." In H. added to the conjunctive part, in the sense of having already finished, as वास पुणः "he has done eating," चान खाँ पुणः "when he shall have done eating." P. does not use this verb in this sense. S. uses पुण, as in वारे पुणः "to have finished doing;" but it has also other ways of expressing this idea, as by रहण "to remain," विषण "to take," निमण "to be ended," वस्ति वरण "&. G. कारे पुणः "to have finished doing." B. the same, as दिया बुक्तियालि "I have done giving." O. uses सार्, as सार सारिलि "I have done eating," ने वारे होर सारिलि "That business is quite finished." B. also uses देख "throw," in this sense, as बनिया देखिलेन "They have done speaking."

8. Marathi has two verbs not used in the other languages, डेखण and टाकण, which are employed in many senses, and the distinction between which appears to be, at times, hard to draw.
The illustrations given, however, show that each word is faithful to its original meaning; दे वणी = दाम, and consequently means "put," while ताकणी = बाग, and means "throw away." These two words stand to each other in the same contrast as ने and दे in H., thus हे कापणे घडी काहन तेव "Fold up this cloth and lay it by." ती गाड बागणण तेव "Tie up that cow" (having tied, put), but लाची पोली लास देजण टाक "Give him up his book" (i.e. "give it him and let him go"), ने जाण 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 जाणा करना "he always comes;" दुम को ऐसा किया कराते ही "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 शोटू हरफु पढ़िथो घो पढो "Even that, that letter I read over and over again" (Trumpp, p. 343), where the participle has the emphatic I added to it. G., like H., uses करदु with the inflected form of the p.p., as क्रू दु करदु "to keep on doing," बांचा करदु "to keep on reading." The various uses of करादू 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 बैठ रहना "to remain sitting," खेल रहति हे "They are going on with their play;" also with the present participle, as यदी बहसी देखनी "The river flows on continually," labitur et labetur. There is a curious phrase in Hindi, जाणा रहना (literally, "to remain going") used for "to be lost and gone," as an euphemism for death; thus नेरा बाप जाणा 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 रहेनु in the sense of continuance, as वींद्रो रहेनु विचै भिमिर शाम “He goes on travelling in fatigue from Egypt and Syria” (Trumpp, p. 344). The same sense is produced by बतेनु “to turn, wander,” as वींद्रु बतेन चारीदे बते “Bijalu goes on grazing the horses” (ib.). In both cases the principal verb is in the present participle.

G. employs रेह, which is its version of रह with conjunctive participle for continuance, as करी रेहेवु “to remain doing,” and with the present participle in the sense of completion, as चढतो रेहेह “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 मारायाचार रेहिला “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 चाक, and O. चा.

II. पड़ “fall,” implies generally accident, as in II. आना “to know,” जान पड़ना “to be found out” (i.e. “to be known by an accident”), as उस का टोप को जान पड़े तो हम भी नहीं चंचले “If his fault should be found out, then we, too, shall not escape.” So also in G., as बाँधवेनु “to stick to,” बांधवेनी पड़वु “to become attached to, to get caught in.” M. uses it with the dative of the future participle, as तु ज्ञययच शालास महँऊ मला चुपा घाजायास पड़िद “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 बेली तर घर बाढ़यास पडेक “If you marry a wife, you will have to set up house.” The same idea is expressed in H. by adding पड़ to the infinitive, as तूम को आने पडेका “You will have to go (whether
you like it or not);" so also in B. झाड़ते पडक, where it also implies subjection, or falling into a state, as घरा पडक "he got caught," as सुन्दर पड़े परा गूढ़ि निचा पड़े परा "Hearing that Sundar had been caught, Bidya falls to the ground" (Bhārat B.-S. 359, where there is a pun on the double use of the phrase), पुनिया पडक "he fell asleep," मारा पडक "he caught a thrashing." The same in O., as घरा पड़िच्छ (for पड़ि गच्छ) "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 वाघ पड़ा फ्राता 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 पड़ता (= पतत), and the p.p. is पिठा; thus they say यह पिठा बांदा 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," तुर पड़ता "to set out on a journey." So also in Sindhi, where the verb has the form पड़ता, the conjunctive participle पड़े or पड़े precedes another verb with the sense of emphasis or energy, as वसः सी विहार जो पड़े पुराणो न रहिए "Buy those goods which do not grow old" (Trumpp, p. 341); here पड़े न रहिए means rather "do not happen to become," "are not likely to become." खबरो, the conjunctive of खबर.substr "to lift," is used in the same way, but the two verbs appear to be contrasted much as ते and ते in H., खेत being used where activity, पाल where receptiveness or accident is implied. Thus खबरो खिलता "to set to work writing," खबरो ववस "he sets himself to play (music)." The past participle पिठा is also prefixed with much the same effect, as तेंदू में तेंदू निचितिलिथिनि वांचि खिला खिलिनि "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 मे उसको देखने नहीं पाया "I was not allowed to see him," तुम घर के बीतर जाने नहीं पाचोगी "You will not be permitted to go inside the house;" so also in B. पढ़ते पार 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.

ढालना "to throw," is used in H. with verbs implying injury to show that force also was used, as—

मारना "to strike," मारा ढालना "to kill."
तोड़ना "to break," तोड़ा ढालना "to dash in pieces."
काटना "to cut," काटा ढालना "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.


§ 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 य, as समूय "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 यूयिण्ट्रशा = Skr. यूयिण्ट्रशा “having heard,” as well as दिण्ट्रशक्षित्रश = दिण्ट्रशक्षि “having gone out.” So also द्रश्चि = द्रश्चि “having given,” चोर्विष्ठि = चोर्विष्ठि “having stolen,” गदिः = गदिः “having gone,” सिँगिच्छि = सिंहिच्छि “having sprinkled,” प्रिण्ट्रशि = प्रिण्ट्रशि “having taken.”

In Old-Hindi this participle ends in *र*, as दोरि “having done,” चोरि “having gone,” which is apparently the Prakrit form with loss of the final *a*, thus—

चुलि कागम्रु चुपराज पद्यः || भी धामस्रु सुभारः ||

“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 *ya*, as—

हुन्वति यूमि किय व्वारः ||
वेद् सिन्चिय जन पूरम् ||
बीय यवस लव मध्यः ||
स्मान बंकुर समुरगः ||

“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 हुन्वति किय = mod. भोग करके “having made (or taken) possession,” सिन्चिय “having watered,” लव = सरय “having placed.”

Mediaeval Hindi has regularly the form ending in र, as रामः श्राय श्रुत श्रुति मुनि “Having heard the gentle mystic speech of Rama” (Tulsí, Rám. Bālāk. 113), प्रिण्ट्रशि पदि मुनन्वेत्रा। “Sages having read the Veda erred as to its qualities” (Kabir, Ram.
OTHER VERBAL FORMS.

34, 1). भक्ति विमुख जो धर्म सु सब प्रधर्म कार गायि। “The religion that is opposed to devotion (bhakti), all that having made (i.e. having declared), irreligion he sang” (Bhaktamāl, Māl. 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, कर्ते, करिए, and even करिए to the stem, namely, the conjunctive participle of कर “to do;” as के कर “having seen,” करिए “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 कर, and is used in the medieval poets and in Braj and the rustic dialects to this day.

Thus Kabir यह विभि के चिथ बनाएि हरि रचनी कीवा राम। “Having made many kinds of appearances (māya), Hari has arranged the sport and pastime (of the world);” Hindōla, 16.

It having thus become customary to add the participle of कर to all verbs, it has been added to कर itself, thus making करि and करिए, and this reduplicated form again is added to other verbs. In all the dialects we find such forms as मारि, मारिए, मारि, मारि, and even apocopated as Garhwali मारिक and मारिक “having beaten.” Kumaoni has a curious compound form मारिए “having beaten,” which is probably the old form मारि with वर “time” (Skr. वेणा), literally, “at the time of beating.”

In the case of the common verb हौ, the conjunctive participle, like the future, takes in Old-Hindi the forms हौर and हौ, especially the latter, as गृह हौर एव मारो नही हौ सवे। “Guru-bhakta alone could not remain apart” (sak ancillary with conjunctive of हौ = “could be;” Bhaktamāl, 116, 1), रसीली वेण बूप हौ जाए “The night becomes as dark as a well.” (Kabir, Ram. 16, 4), मारिक वड़े वड़े हौ जावे “Very great men came” (lit. “having become very great;” ो. 17, 6).
P. is the same as H., and with the latter closely agrees O., which forms this participle by short 产业园区 as देखि "having seen." This form also appearing too indefinite, in ordinary conversation they add कारि, often pronounced फिरि, as देखिकारि "having seen." O. has also another, and in the classical speech the only admissible, form in इले, as मारि "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 देखिबारि "in having seen," and देखिबारि "from having seen," which are respectively the locative and ablative, formed after the modern fashion by adding तारे and तारा, the initial syllable of which is rejected (Vol. II. p. 274).

B. has, besides the form in इले, one in इला, which approaches closer to the Prakrit, as पड़िया "having fallen," मसधिया "having sat," धरिया "having seized." This latter form is that which is used to string together long sentences, in preference to the form in इले, which is used more in short sentences. Thus Bharat—

असल द्वारे प्रुः चाहे फिरिया फिरिया ||
पिसररे पाचि मत ब्रह्मण धरिया ||

"Another craftily looks, repeatedly turning round,
Like a bird in a cage walks round and round."

—Bidya-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 त्रू, as वरी "having returned;" active and causal verbs have त्रू, as मले "having rubbed," both of which correspond to the Pr. ending इला. Less widely used is a form in इला or इला, as मोट्यो "having returned," धोयो "having washed," which is identical with the p.p.p. Thirdly, the inserted जा of Prakrit reappears here, as from खण्डु "to lift," खळे "having lifted."
Lastly, S. follows the example of H., and adds करे, the conjunctive of करू "to do," as वरी करे "having returned."

G. resembles S., having its conjunctive in इ, as होइ "having become." Ordinarily it puts this participle in the objective case, adding the postposition ने, often dropping the anuswāra, as करेँ or करें "having done," देने "having given." As G. makes no distinction between इ and उ, this is often written with short इ, as देने.

M. stands quite alone, having its conjunctive in जन, as वाजन "having gone," होजन "having been." This is sometimes written जोन, and in the poets takes an increment, and appears as जनिया, चोनिया, as तुम्हापारी बस्ती चेजनिया भाय। (Tuk. Abh. 1888) "What is the good of my going to you?" (literally, "I near you having come, what?") देखोनिया बस्ते मूल्याचे वन। नालकाल मरण वेते मत। "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 जन, shortened from तूण, Skr. लाण, 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 जन, जन, 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 हे from M. जना. Setting aside the absence of any analogy for a change from इ to इ 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 Vrajīlāl (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 -jae, when compared with that in l in the same language, points clearly to the Sauraseni conjunctive in is with a modern case-postposition ne or no 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—

को चिश्नं दरर रहि। तो तादि हृति को भापि।

"If any one makes delay, he comes to strike him."—Pr. R. i. 198.

चङ्घ बोनरि को धाऱि।

"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 Raimini (रमीनी) of Kabir, and only rarely in his other works. I have noted तारि की "to cross over," चलैऽ (चला२ऽा) "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 तारि "to break," occurs also a shorter form in ab, as फिरच "to return." In the dialects (Kellogg, p. 241) occur the following (mār "strike"):—

Braj मारियो, East Rajput मारियो, West Rajp. id. Old-Pürhi मारि, Avadhi, and Riwal 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., लावि f., लावि n.
Pl. लावि m., लावि f., लावि 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 गाव्य “to sing,” बासु “to do.”

In Oriya it is the ordinary infinitive, as विसवा “to sit,” and, though without gender, is declined for case, as—

Gen. विसवार “of sitting,” ेहि विसवार चाणि “this is a place of sitting,” i.e. “a fit place to sit in.”

Loc. विसवारे “in sitting,” विसवारे किक्ष देव मही “in sitting nothing will become,” i.e. “you will do no good by sitting still.”

Acc. विसवाकु “to or for sitting,” विसवाकु देव “for sitting it will become,” i.e. “you will have to, or must, sit.”

Abl. विसवाम “from sitting,” रेखा विसवाम तरही लागिन “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 होरते “to be” (lit. “in being”), चाहिले “to remain,” जाहिले “to go;” but it is used in the genitive case to form a sort of gerund or verbal noun, as बीज बिसवार बाल चािे “It is the time of sowing, or for sowing, seed.” More common still is its employment with जो, कारण or निमित्ते “for the sake of,” as देखि बिसवार जो “for the sake of seeing,” केरिशा निमिति “for the sake of doing.”

The infinitive of the Gipsies ends in दे, and probably belongs to this group. Paspati writes kerdwa “to do,” làwa “to take,” dāra “to give,” sōwā “to sleep,” māndra “to ask,” ruveda “to weep,” which may be transliterated perhaps कराव, जाव, 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 a, as choras “to steal” (चोरव), kerav “to do” (करव), chinnav “to tear” (चिनव). Those in Wallachia appear to pronounce the termination as no (नाब्रो के जाब्रो;), as jao “to go” (जाब्रो), hao “to eat” (हाब्रो), pee “to drink” (पेब्रो).

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 तथा, 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 na. The first of these two forms I would derive from the Sanskrit verbal noun in samam, as करण “doing,” नृत्य “falling.” It is in frequent use, uninflected, throughout the poets, thus—

पुष्पवतन तन चंदन विचारि।
"Having plotted to stop his virility."—Pr. R. i. 178.

कियो चरण को सात्॥
"He made preparation to go."—ib. xx. 28.

जेम भुरुण बालिम बुधार॥
"To join battle a terrible warrior."—ib. xx. 31.

सब बहृं भोहि जान देस शान॥
"I speak truth, suffer me to go, mother."—Tulsi-Ram. S.-k. 7.

राम सेव वन देख बाहि॥
"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 Kanauji, as मारण “to strike.” The other form in ना was anciently written नी, and is always so written in Braj, as मारण “to strike,” आवण “to come.” This form I now agree with Hoernle in deriving from the Sanskrit

1 Miklesich, Zigeuner Europa’s, part ii. p. 8.
future participle in anīya, so that from करणीय, through Pr. करणी and करण, would come Old-Ill. करणी, M. करणि, and P. करणा. 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 descendents.

Under these altered lights I must withdraw the opinion formerly held by me as to the origin of the infinitive in अद. That in मम is now obsolete, except in Kanauji, and the अद form is declined as a noun in अ, making its oblique in e, as करने kā “of doing,” karne me “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 accur “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 अ; the oblique ends consequently in अ, as ginhana jo “of buying,” ginhana me “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 क, as मरने “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 तुम, with elision of the त, but this is somewhat doubtful. To this place must also be referred the B. infinitive or verbal noun in अ, 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 इत्यर्थ
pronounced "hówá," देशवि "dewā." The origin of this form is not clear to me, but it is probably connected with the participle in तब.

§ 75. On the basis of the infinitive in ad 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," देखनेवारा "a seer." Of these the former is apparently Skr. पालक "protector, keeper," Thus Skr. गीपालक "cowherd," becomes H. खाला; as to the latter there is some difference of opinion, some would derive it from Skr. धारक "holder," others from खारक "doer." I myself incline to the latter view; the ख. 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 खार or खार=respectively करका and कारा, as in—

मिर्जान्दू "to create," मिर्जाहारी (ह) "creator,"

मिर्जान्दू "to write," मिर्जाहारी (ह) "writer,"

also in its original form of कार or कार, with nouns, as बैदी "quarrel," बैडाकास "quarreller."

Kellogg (p. 245) refers to the phrase धारक धार्य 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 बैदा, as बैदवे "a doer," रखबे "a keeper," which is shortened from बारिया, a dialectic form of बाला. It is confined almost to rustic speech, though the shorter form बाला is not uncommon in the poets. H. बाला 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 p álaka is well preserved. Thus घरवाल 'one who takes care of a horse.' So also in P. घरवाल 'husband,' i.e. one who takes care of or maintains the house, and still more frequently घरवाली 'wife.' Sindhi changes स to र more suo, and has बारी, as घरबारी 'householder,' from घर 'house,' and दिऊँवारी 'giver,' from दिऊँ 'to give,' H. दिनवाला.

Chand uses the form in हार, shortened from हारा, to make a sort of future participle, in the verb हो 'be.' Thus—

हार होनहार सोता होगा।

"The rape of Sita, which was to be, takes place."—Pr. R. iii. 27.

Also—

त बड़ू होनहार पहचानिय।

"Thou knowing something of futurity."—ib. xxi. 92.

हार हार सोई होगा। कही सु उच्च है।

"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 बारी in words like पटवारी 'a village accountant,' the ब being an indication of a lost ब from बारी (बारिस) 'doer.'

In M. and G. this form loses its initial consonant, and appears simply as द्रा. In G. it is incorporated into one word with the verbal noun in आ, of which, except in this conjunction, no traces remain. Thus from होँडु 'to be,' comes होगार 'one who is.' But, just as in the Old-H. होनहार, the sense of futurity has usurped the place of the original idea of agency, and होनर now means 'he who, or that which, is to be,' आ सबहोगार ते होग। श्च बोना बोँडु नही बोँडू। '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 ऋ, as बनार or बनारी 'that which is about to become,' from बौँ 'to become,' बनार '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 ए type, but equally common. Thus एटला मार्टिंग चभें
तं मार्तमार “For this very reason we are about to kill thee;”
पीताम्बर धर्मेनि कठी भौंिरागी धनी “He will never forsake his
religion;” in other words, “he is not a forsaker (H. भौंिरागी)
of, or one who is likely to forsake, his religion;” जे पीताम्बरे
मारीिने धुल भोगविनारी हंती “Having killed another, I was about
to enjoy happiness,” literally, “I was becoming an enjoyer”
(Leekey, p. 161).

It is probably owing to the absence of any derivative of the
verbal noun in ए in 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 छोड़ुिराग्ना is by them divided छोड़िरा-नारो, instead of
छोड़ाना(ज)-अरी जरो.

A similar misapprehension has occurred in M. In that lan-
guage, also अर, अर्ड, are used, added to the infinitive in चर, to
make, not a noun of the agent, but a future participle, so far,
least, as the meaning goes. Thus from चरिे come चरिा
“a doer,” and चरिािे, obl. चरिािे. But these are used in
the sense of “one who is about to do,” as in G. So चरिािे चरि
is “the people who are coming,” i.e. “who are expected to
come.” Godbol, at p. 169 of his excellent Marathi Grammar,
indicates rightly the origin of this tense, and illustrates it by
such nouns as Skr. कुिवार, Pr. कुिवार, M. कुिवार. Other
grammarians, however, still speak of “the participle in चरिा.”

This noun, used, as above explained, participially, is employed
to form compound tenses, § 82. In H. and P. the noun in चोिि
(not चोिि) is used in a future sense, as चोिि कणिज्ञा चा “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 चोिि added to the infinitive,
as पाइनाणीयाता "a receiver." I suspect, however, that this is a recent introduction from the Hindi. There is no ए in Oriya, and in trying to express the sound, they imitate the Bengalis, and put that form of य which it has as the last member of a nexus (the ya-phala as they call it), behind an या. They pronounce this extraordinary combination ए, and not एँ, 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 या.

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 nominum agentis, by slightly varying the arrangement of the sentence, and this is generally the course pursued. Such forms as करता "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 Sindi.

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>Sindi</td>
<td>1. मि  2. र  3. मि.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>1. आम 2. अतिन 3. आस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td>1. मेन 2. देन 3. e.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</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. चांद छड़ियाँ “I let go,” with suff. of 2 sing. छड़ियां “I let thee go,” छड़ियांसि “I let him go,” with suff. of 2 pl. छड़ियांच “I let you go,” छड़ियांचि “I let them go.”

Sing. 2. नूः छड़िए “thou lettest go,” with suff. of 1 sing. छड़ियाँमि “thou lettest me go,” and so on.

Pl. 3. हे छड़िनि “they let go,” with suff. of 3 sing. छड़िनिसि “they let him go,” and so on.

The imperative is treated exactly in the same way. The respectful form takes रजें in the singular in this connection, not रजें, as छड़ियांमि “Please to let me go,” छड़ियांसि “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, सुमसु "I shall be," म., becomes हृ दा सत, and हृ दिहसि "I shall be," ज., becomes हृ मो. So that we get forms—

म. हृ दीसा "I shall be to thee," हृ मोसि "I shall be to him."

ज. हृ मोसि "I shall be to you," हृ मोसि "I shall be to them."

So, also, the plurals हृ दा सो मं, and हृ दिहसि "we shall be," become respectively हृ दासू and हृ दिहसू. The second person remains unchanged, merely affixing the personal suffixes. In the third person म. हृ मो is shortened to हृ, and ज. हृ मो to हृ or हृ; pl. म. हृ दा becomes हृ द, except with the suffix of the first person plural, as हृ दासू "they shall be to us," but हृ दत "they shall be to you;" pl. ज. remains unchanged.

The past participle used as a perfect tense undergoes analogous changes. Thus—

1 Sing. म. हृ मि "I was," becomes हृ मा, as हृ मा "I was to thee."

... ज. हृ मि ... हृ मा, हृ मिसि "I was to him."

1 Pl. म. हृ दा मि "we were," ... हृ दा मू ... हृ मि मि "we were to them."

... ज. हृ दा मि ... हृ दा मू ... हृ दा मि मि "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. में ने तुम्हारे को हृ मा, 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 स्यां तुषा चोड़िलेन "by me to thee released," as though it were a me tibi relictum (est). Sindhi expresses this sentence by one word चलिष्टिरिमार, i.e. chhadi-म्याॅन-ि = "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):

चलिष्टिरिमारम "I have forsaken him."
चलिष्टिरिमारम "he has forsaken him."
चलिष्टिरिमारम "he caused him to sit."
चलिष्टिरिमारम "they said to her."
चलिष्टिरिमारम "she said to them."

The suffixes denoting the agent are हें sing. and हे pl., which Trumpp considers to be shortened from रें "by him," instr. of हें "this," and उन "by them," instr. pl. of हें "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 चम्य चम्य appears still in its old Pr. form of चम्य (चम्य), § 59. This form exists only in combination with the pronominal suffixes, whereas the ordinary form चम्य is used both with and without suffixes. Thus they say आहिरम and चम्यम "there is to me," as in the line—

«There is to me a secret matter, come near, then I will tell it.»
—Trumpp, p. 250.

It is used just as in Latin "est mihi," in the sense of "I have," as चम्यम "I have," चलिष्टिरिमारम (for चम्यम) "thou hast," चम्यम "he has," चलिष्टिरिमारम (for चम्यम) "we have," चम्यम "ye have," चम्यम "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 तिछे होर "thou hast made," अलिया हिमावतार (मिच्चियै) वे बने सेवारियो हारी (for क्षर्शारे) ताहि वे बिहारार "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," immaginarlo "to imagine it," offricte "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 socorrerte "I come to help thee," quiero castigares "I will punish you," dejome "let me go," pasandome "as I was passing," escribale "write to him," dilete "tell them." Here, also, double
suffixes may be used, as decirteleso "to tell it thee," mostradnosi "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.¹ 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, ī, ē, o, ē. 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 ē, no attempt is made to soften the hiatus, but before ā and ē there is sometimes inserted a य or य. As types may be taken the stems ए "go,"

The aorist of these five is as follows:

**Singular**

| 1. बाॅ | 2. बाए।, बावि, बाय | 3. id. |
| 1. पीॅ | 2. पीए।, पीवि | 3. id. |
| 1. कूॅ | 2. कूए। | 3. id. |
| 1. दॅ्भॅ | 2. दॅ्भे।, दॅ् | 3. id. |
| 1. बॅॅ | 2. बोए।, बोवि | 3. id. |

**Plural**

| 1. बाए।, बावि, बाय | 2. बाबीो | 3. बाए।, बावि, बाय |
| 1. पीए।, पीवि | 2. पीचो | 3. पीए।, पीवि |
| 1. कूए। | 2. कूचो | 3. कूए। |
| 1. दॅ्भे।, दॅ् | 2. दॅ्भीो, दॅ् | 3. दॅ्भें, दॅ् |
| 1. बॅॅं, बोए। | 2. बॅॅं | 3. बॅॅं, बोए। |

The common stems do and lo usually suffer contraction by the elision of their final vowel, and one more commonly hears do "give!" lo "take!" दंगा "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 ऑ, य is inserted before the ऑ of the termination, as आ "come," p.p.p. आ-य-आ (आया) पा "find," पाया, बा "eat," खाया. But in the poets, especially in Tulsidas, instead of य we find य commonly inserted. Thus, 

एङ्ग बिंध राम सबही समुखाया "In this way Ram explained to all" (Ay-k. 457). आया "came," बनाया "made," पाया "found," गाया "sang," for आया, बनाया, पाया, गाया respectively. Kabir uses both forms indifferently. Thus in Ram. 48, i पाया "caused to read," पाया "heard," but in the next, Ram. 49, पाया and आया. In the fem. sing., however, and in the pl. m. and f., the junction-letter य is not used, thus चादि "she came," बनाअि "she made," fem. sing., आदि, पादि masc. pl. As all
causals end in ए, these forms are of frequent occurrence, and
sometimes even an र is inserted, as बनावय. In the old ha
future, the ए of the stem and the initial इ of the termination
frequently coalesce into ए, as—

ककव द्रवस अजनो घं घोरा ⚫
कपिल सहित एहे रघुवोरा ⚫
निश्चिप्प मारित तुमधे ने बेंहे ⚫
तिचे पूर नारदालि बग नेंगे ⚫

"For a few days, mother, sustain thy courage,
Raghubhir will come with the monkeys,
Slaying the demons, will carry thee off;
The three worlds, Nara and all shall sing his praise."
—Tulsí, Ram., S.-k. 36.

where एहे = चारहे, एहे = चारहे, and नेंगे = नारेंगे; so also we
find चेंहे "they will find," for पराहे, mod. पावजी (Tulsí, Ram.,
S.-k. 10). In other places, however, we find the junction-letter
व, as पावहि, आवहि, etc.

In Panjabi the junction-letter for the aorist, imperative, and
future is regularly व, as जावे "he goes," जावमा "he will go,”
but before ए it is omitted, as जावो "go ye," जावमे "ye will
go." For the past participle it is र, as होऊं "been,” masc.
sing., and is omitted before ए, 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 cha-
acteristic देवमा.

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 ए or ऐ. In this class of stems, before the neuter infinitive in ओहू, a व is inserted, as व "fall," infin. पवणु; चि "bow,"
infin. निवणु. Before the active infinitive in ओहू no junction-
letter is employed, as म "measure," infin. मरणु.
Stems, whether active or neuter, ending in i and o, and sometimes those ending in o, shorten those vowels in the infinitive, as—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{शी} & \text{ "drink," infin. विष्णु} \\
\text{पृृ} & \text{ "string," } \\
\text{घोृ} & \text{ "wash," } \\
\text{रोृ} & \text{ "weep," } \\
\text{হিृ} & \text{ "he." } \\
\end{align*}
\]

but, on the other hand, हो "carry," has infin. होष्णु; and stems in a, including causals, retain the long vowel, as—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{गाप्न्ता} & \text{ "speak," infin. गाप्न्तारष्णु} \\
\text{फेरा} & \text{ "cause to turn," } \\
\end{align*}
\]

The aorist follows generally the type of the infinitive, retaining the short vowel. In the persons य is inserted as in P., except before a or o; thus पवाँ "I fall." is declined—

Sing. 1. पवा 2. पवें 3. पवे। Pl.1. पवे 2. पवे 3. पवे।

The य may be dropped before 2 and 3 sing., as चय "thou sayest," or "he says." The common verb विष्णु "to give," undergoes contraction in this, as in all the other languages; thus 2 sing. हो "thou givest," not दिए, 3 pl. होििि, not दिष्णि।

Verbs ending in a insert य before a, य, and o, as बुढायि "I grow old," बुढायू "we grow old," बुढायि "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 य and य, य is omitted before vowels of its own organ, as य and o, and य is omitted before i and e; before a both are employed, but preferentially य after short vowels, and य after long ones.

Thus, in the present participle, which is used as a future, य is either inserted or omitted, as—
OTHER VERBAL FORMS.

पत्तरे "to fall," पत्तरे "falling."
पिस्तरे "to drink," पिस्तरे "drinking."
पिस्तरे "to wash," पिस्तरे "washing."

Contraction also occurs, as चेवलु "to speak," चेवलू (चेवलू) केवलू "to be," हेवलू (हेवलू) वेवलू "to give," हेवलू (हेवलू).
The past participle regularly ends in रिः or यो, and the inserted य is naturally dropped before it, thus—

चेवलू makes चेवलू, not चेवलू.

जेवलू " नेवलू " नेवलू (Old-H. नाया).

If the stem ends in a palatal vowel or consonant, the य of the termination is dropped, as—

विभेड "to become," विभेड, not विभेड = वि + रिः.
कुक्कर "to speak," कुक्कर.
सोश्चु "to inquire," सोश्चु.

Passives naturally drop the euphonic य of the active infinitive before their palatal junction-vowel, as—

चेवलू "speak," imperfect चेव, Passive परवलू "to be spoken."
परवलू "fall," परव, परवलू "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," पीचु "to be drunk."
पू "string," पूस्त "to be strung."
वो "wash," वोश्चु "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, होब, होय written in-
differently, also छर्ये and छर्ये. 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.

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 (khâ "eat," pi "drink," ghe "take").

Aorist, (in modern usage past habitual) —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. खारे</td>
<td>1. खाङ्खे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. खार्यस</td>
<td>2. खा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. खाये</td>
<td>3. खायाट</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. पीरे</td>
<td>1. पीजे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. पीर्यस</td>
<td>2. पा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. पीये</td>
<td>3. पीत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. घेये</td>
<td>1. घेजे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. घेर्यस</td>
<td>2. घा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. घये</td>
<td>3. घत</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But in the 3 sing. घे, पी are used, so also देस, घेस in 2 sing., and in the 3 pl. the final रे is elided. In 2 sing. both रे and ये are changed to the palatal semivowel before आ, though not before या, so that we have या, घा side by side with पीजे (not यू), घेजे (not घू).

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. खान, खान, खान, and so also in the imperative 2 pl. या, या; ये "come," makes aorist 2 pl. या, future यान, and occasionally one hears ये aorist 3 sing., for the more regular यान.

In the subjunctive the semivowel occurs again, as यावा, यावा, but यावा simply from ये. This last verb should, by analogy, form यावा, 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 य of ये has simply been dropped.

For the potential the termination of the present यें 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 यें renders this course impossible. The त of यें having suffered elision, there naturally results an hiatus. Thus from याह्यात्, Pr. याह्यात् gives याव, the first य supplying the place of the lost द, so that in the potential we get not यायें, but यावें. Similarly नीवें, धेवें, धेवें, and even in stems ending in य, as लिङ् "write," लिङ्वें.

Stems ending in य preserve the hiatus almost throughout, thus धु "wash"—

Aor. पुरे, पुरोऽ, पुरे, पुरोऽ (but पुरन).
Fut. पुरे, पुरे, पुरे, पुरोऽ (but पुरान).
Subj. पुरावा or पुरावा.
Pot. पुरवें.

In the present participle only त is added, not ते or ते, as खात, पौत, धेत, धेत, धुत, and in the past participle the semi-vowel is generally used, as—

पा p.p. पाका "eaten."
षे "षाला "put on."
भी "भाला "feared."
वि "वाला "brought forth."
भी "भाला or पिला "drunk."
Some stems avoid the hiatus by insertion of त, as चेतना, घुरता (see § 47), which is also used in some stems ending with a consonant.

The conjunctive is खात्व. यीत्व, चेत्व, चेव्व. 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 त or ध, but not before त or ध. When the stem-vowel is य or ए, the semivowel is added to, not substituted for, the vowel, as in पुबा, not भावा. 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 थ makes its past part. yeо or ailo, which latter he calls "marattismo," as if all Konkani were not Marathi. थ makes gheilo (perhaps चेत्त्व), as well as gheilo (चेत्त्व). Qhatà (छा) makes ghelo (चेव्व) "ostras dizem ghaila" (खात्त्व), he adds, "ambos irregulares," though the latter, from a Marathi point of view, would be more normal than the actually used छात्रा. 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 दो, दी, ते, etc., added to the stem without an intermediate vowel, as वसूलो "sat" (M. वस्ला), पझेले "fell" (M. पझड्डा), रावली "remained" (M. रावहली), and the like.

The differences between Konkani and Marathi do not, I

1 Specimens of South Indian Dialects (Mangalore, 1872).
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 Oriya 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 ja), makes—

**SINGULAR.**

Aorist. 1. यार 2. याइंस 3. याय 1. याइ 2. याइंभी 3. यान.

Present यारतेति, subjunctive यारताम, and so on.

Contraction, however, takes place in the 3 pl. of the aorist, as in यान for याएन, हन (hōn) for होएन, and in the familiar verb दे “give,” almost throughout; thus we have—

**SINGULAR.**

Aor. 1. दि 2. दिस 3. दय 1. दि 2. देरी० 3. देन

Pres. 1. देतेंति, etc.

Pret. 1. देनु 2. देल्स 3. देल 1. देलाम 2. दिने 3. दिलेन

Fut. 1. दिन 2. दिबि 3. दिवे. 1. दिन 2. दिवाखे 3. दिवेन.

corrupted from देि, देितेति, देिनु, देिन, 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 Bhārat Chandra, गभुन्दरे से निजा घोड़ा चढ़ारा “He took Majumdār along with him, having mounted him on a horse” (Mansingh, 417), where निजा is for महसा, from महिते “to take,” So he constantly uses क्य for कहि “says,” as कोटाल हासिया क्य। कहि नाट ना हू ह। “The Kotwal laughing, says, Are you not ashamed to say so?” (Bidyā-Ś. 356), also क्य for कहिय, as हाय हाय कि क्य विघरे “Alas! alas! what shall I say to fate?” (ib. 360), and दिन for देन aorist 3 sing., as भागे दिया कािन्दु भधे दिन कािन्दु “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 अ, which does not combine with the preceding vowel, but in pronunciation often disappears altogether. Thus they say, O. खाबु “wilt thou eat?” for खाबु। In a few words the vowel of the root has gone out, thus from जा “go,” we have जिि “I will go,” for जाबिब; from जा “remain,” infin. जिि for जाबिबा; जा “find,” however, retains its vowel, as पािि, पाबिब, पािबा। Also जा and जा 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," राज के माता लोग "the kings of now," i.e. "those of the present day."

§81. (1). Pronominal adverbs of time.—The near demonstrative is H. वह, G. हैं, M. एवहि, O. एवि. All these hang together, and are apparently compounds of the Skr. वेला "time," with the type of the demonstrative त्व, र्थ, or ए. The fuller form in O. shows this, it is एत्व बेििि, 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 ए: there is, therefore, nothing organic about this letter when met with in this connection. In M. एवहि 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 ए; thus in Braj एवि, Marwari एमि, and still more clearly Bhojpuri एबि, which approaches to the O. एवि. The same type runs through all the pronominal forms, as एव "whenever," तव "then," कव "when." Bhojpuri एबि, दवि, िवि, ब्रज एवि, तवि, कवि. The Skr. forms दहि, दति, कदि appear in H. ददि, ददि, कदि, and in the dialectic forms, ददि, ददि, ददि, ददि, ददि; as also ददि, etc., ददि, etc.; the forms with the palatal and labial vowels have, I think, arisen from the incorporation of the affirmative particle हि or ए "indeed," of which more further on.

Panjabi ऊण, G. S. हाणि, B. एण, and a dialectic form in O. ऊकण, all meaning "now," are to be referred, as the B. form clearly shows, to the Skr. ऊण "instant, moment." For the rest of the series P. has ऊदि, ददि, कदि. S., however, has another type वििििि, देि "now," in which we may, perhaps, see the Skr. काल "time," combined with the pronoun बिि "this;"
for the other members of the series it has जब्दन्तः “whenever,” तत्तां “then,” कद्दत्तः “when?” which arise from the Skr. यद, etc., with the emphatic हि, which has changed the preceding vowel into the i which is so common in S. They also write कड़ी and कड़ें as dialectic variations; also जा, ता (but not का), where the द of यद has suffered elision.

G. has, besides हें, also हनण्या, हवाण्या, and for the rest भेंवारे, नेवारे, केबारे, commonly contracted into खारे, etc., in which we see the Skr. वळ “time.” Owing to the G. peculiarity in respect of initial ह, we have also चमण्या, and with a modernized form of Skr. चच “here,” चबारे (चच बारे) “at this time,” “now.”

M. is consistent throughout एवंह, बेवारे, तेवारे, केवारे. In Old-M. forms बंद्वधा, etc., occur, showing that the modern वच isn’t an inversion from हर. The suggested origin from Skr. क्त्र, by aspirating the द and adding चा, the termination of the locative (Godbol, p. 75), is unsatisfactory. M. has also a series जव, etc., meaning “while,” “as long as,” which recalls H. जच with inorganic anumāsika.

O. has the fuller forms, जेने बेंवे, etc., and जेवे 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. बजन, सब्जन, etc., uniformly, pronounced jōkhōn or jōkhōso, etc. H. adds constantly हि for emphasis, as बभृ “now” (बब्दथि), बभृ “sometimes” (बब्द़े), and with the negative बभृ नहू “never.”

For the indefinite pronominal adverb “ever,” “sometimes,” the other languages have, P. कद्री (कद्री), कद्री, कद्री, S. कद्रहो, G. कद्री, M. बध्री, B. बजन, O. केवे, केवेह. All these are repeated to signify “sometimes,” as P. कद्री कद्री, M. बध्री 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. जच से “from now,” “henceforth,” तब से “thenceforth,” जत से
"since when?" वष से "from the time when," or with the older affix ते in the poets, as in वष ते राम एवांि घर चारि. "From the time when Ram married and came home" (Tulsi-Ram, Ay-k. 5), P. वषरो. S. वषिििाि, वषििैिाि, वषििाििि; where को is probably a shortened form of कर, an oblique from कर, which we may connect with काल "time," as in दिसििर "now." The long o or o of जादििा, जादििो, as contrasted with the i of जादििी, seems to indicate an oblique form. G. हदहाणो "henceforth," बदारििी, and apparently also अहारिो, and the rest of the series. They also say बदारि पकी "henceforth," M. uses मग or मगि, which are not pronominal. Neither B. nor O. have special forms for this idea.

To express "until" in Old-H. जगि, वीौ, वीौ, in modern H. जग, तबक, and तक, are affixed to the pronominal adverb, as in Chand—

तब जगि कह दरिद्र तन॥
तब जगि लघु मुिि गात॥
बब जगि ही शायि नघी॥
ती पार न सेवत॥

"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 जगि जगि by "so long as." This idiom is not peculiar to H., but is found in many other languages. In modern Hindi जग तक राम घर की बड़ी चावि "So long as Ram comes not home," i.e. "until he comes," and the same in P.

S. has हेिी or एिीिािी "up to this time," चोिी or होिीिािी "up to that time," where ताहि, as explained in Vol. II. p. 298, is Skr. नाििि, which, from meaning "in the place," has grown to mean "up to." सीौ, I suppose, is a contraction of समय "time."

The Hindi series यही, यही, यही, यही, यही, यही, यही, यही, is composed of the pronominal bases with है, which we are justified in referring to Skr. खानें; thus यही=तरखाने. The dental is preserved in several dialectic forms (Kellogg, p. 265), as Marwari छठे, छठो, छठे “here,” छठे, etc., “there,” Avadhī एटियाँ, एटियाँ, Bhojpuri एटाँ, एटाँ। But the Braj रत, रत, is, I think, by Kellogg rightly referred to the Skr. series रच, रच, etc. The Bundelkhandi form याही is probably only another way of pronouncing याँ, as we find in Old-Bengali such words as সান্থিঃ (modern সান্থিঃ). To sthāne, also, are to be ascribed the P. forms रते, रते, etc. S. has not only रत, रत, etc., which may come from रच, रच, but रत, which agrees with P., and रत, which is, I suspect, like রিবিদির “one,” an instance of a ह being put on to the front of a word without any etymological cause.

G. has various forms बाही, बाही, बाही, बाही “here,” and the same variety through all the series. The adverbial part agrees with H. Shortened forms बाही, बाही, बाही, and even बाही, बाही, बाही, are also in use.

M. agrees closely with P. and S. in its series वचे, वचे, etc., where the final anuswara, like that of Bhojpuri एटाँ, preserves the s of sthāne. But कोठ “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 ठाँ, in ठाँ, ठाँ, etc., with the final ठ is often dropped, and ठा, ठा, or even shortened ठा, ठा, are used. B. uses खाँ, which seems to come from खाने on the analogy of खमो=खम (Var. iii. 14) and खाधू=खाधू (ib. iii. 15). For “where,” however, it has a more regular form कोठा, in older Bengali कोठा, as तार मत सबसामी पारव कोठा “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 sthāne. We also find हैथा and हैथा “here,” etc.
In the case of the adverbs of this group, as in those of time, the case-affixes are used, as H. कहा से “from where?” “whence?” G. राहो घी “hence,” P. कियो “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 रघर “hither,” दघर “thither.” The dialectic forms are very various. Bhojpuri has एघर, उघर, as also एणे, उणे, etc.; in eastern Behar one hears एन्हर, इमर, and many others. Kellogg quotes also a curious form from Riwâ एहै केत, एहै क्योत, or एहै 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. नोर “face,” G. नोहु उ., a diminutive from Skr. मुह, so that the older adverbial element would be हर, as in Bhojpuri, whence न, 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 आहि “in this direction,” “hither” (चो आहि, को आहि, etc.), which are locatives, and ए आहू, 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 एहू “hither,” and एहू “hence,” which, like O., are respectively locative and ablative. Marathi has what is apparently a fuller form रक्षित “hither,” locative, where the adverbial portion is कट “a side,” said to be from Skr. कट “hip, join.” It has also an ablative series रक्षित “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 अढ़, and our Sanskrit dictionaries give ज़ु “to join,” also “to stop.” On the other hand, Telugu has इक्के “here,” इक्कडिक “hither,” which looks very like M. इक्के. So, also, in Telugu इक्कड “there.” All the Dravidian languages have a root अढ़, 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 चाहम 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 तिं, शिं, आि, etc., and for the near demonstrative and interrogative respectively softened forms औं and वूं, vary very little in the dialects. Marwari has जू, इंजे "thus," and, together with Braj and Mewari, has the far demonstrative, which is wanting in the classical dialect, शी or शू. Mewari adds कर and गा, as ऐंकर, ऐंगा "thus," which Kellogg looks on as from Skr. श and गम respectively, and rightly so; for even in classical II. we have बूकर "how?" and in Chand and the poets कर or कर (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 रमि, जिमि, तिमि. Chand has both this series and the modern one in तिं, as तिं मय रिपि चवधुति. "Thus the Rishi was absorbed in thought" (Pr.-R. i. 48), शी दव कथ प्रमानः शी जानि कोविदे लोपे। "Thus this story is proved, its learned folk know." (ib. xiii. 5), पद्मावती रम ने चचाई। हरय परव राज प्रिराज। "King Prithiraj, rejoicing, thus (या) led away Padmavati" (ib. xx. 35), ताहा सु नस किंतृ किमन। "How can one go there?" (ib. i. 90). Tulsi Das has रमि, जिमि, etc., as in तन पसे व कल्ली जिमि कापि। "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 पैसे, बरसे, तसे. All the other languages have closely allied words. B. एमन, एमन, एमने, एमते, "thus," जेसन, etc.; the first two are nominatives, the last two locatives. O. एमति, भेनति, locatives; also
र परि, the pronominal type, with a postposition. G. एम, वैम, where the termination has been lost, also for demonstrative अम. This series is sometimes written अम, वम, काम, but वैम is the more common, as in कीर्ति घर नल्ल नी विकीर्ति वैम सूरज ना पसरे कीर्ति। "The fame of Nala was spread abroad, as spread the rays of the sun" (Premānand in H.-D. ii. 71).

Next in order comes the Old-Purbi II. रूमित, etc., and, with the nasal weakened, probably through an intermediate form रूि, and change of the semivowel to its vowel, P. रूि and एि ओि, and the full series विजि, तिजि, किजि, as well as one without the i, जि, तजि, etc., to which is allied H. आि, etc., for बिजि. S. rejects the labial element in रूि, हीि, ईि, 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 सत or वत. This is still more clearly seen by comparing the pronominal adjective of quality in B. and O. वैमला, वैमला, for सलो is the regular Prakrit form of the masc. सत, just as सलो is of वत in Skr. It is true that the existing Skr. series means rather quantity than manner, thus—

र्यान, र्याती, र्यात् "so much,"
कियत् "how much?"
पतावान, प्ववी, प्ववत् "so much,"
यावत् "as much as,"

But the affixes mats and cats 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-Parsi 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 eagam, 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. कौं would be for an older form मिं. 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. चाने “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 चाने दो नात “the former matter,” lit. “the matter of formerly,” पीछे के दुब में कहंगा 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. चाज “to-day,” P. चाज, S. चाधु, etc. (Vol. I. p. 337), from Skr. चाधु; also H. धर्म from Skr. धर्म “dawn.” This word has two meanings,
it is used for both "yesterday" and "to-day." In rustic H. we have the forms काल, कालि, काद्रह, and काद्र (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 को बड़ाई में घायल हुआ "He was wounded in yesterday's battle," but कल को बड़ाई में बर्दर घायल हुआ "If I shall be wounded in to-morrow's battle." G. काले, S. कारह, बारह, M. काल.

So also are used the following:—Skr. परःत्र्यस् "the day after to-morrow." In the moderns it has also the sense "the day before yesterday," as H. एकसो, and dialects एकसो, एकही, एको. P. एकसो, S. परिह, परिहको, seem to be used only in the first meaning. G. परस्, M. परव. 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 आसता पर दिन "the day after to-morrow."

H. goes a step further still, and has तरसो "three days ago," or "three days hence," where the first syllable is probably Skr. च "three." Similarly S. तरिस, but also with rejection of initial त, चरिस. Kellogg quotes dialectic forms in H. चतरसो, तरी, तरो. In H. we have even a still further भसो "four days ago," which is rarely, however, used, and the initial of which, I conjecture, comes from भव, as though it were for भव तरसो "another day (besides) three days ago."

H. षवर "early," "betimes," and षवर, or more usually षवर "late," are Skr. ष and ष, compounded with वेला respectively. S. षवर and षवर, also षवल, besides the adjectivally used forms षवरो and सवारो, as well as षवलो. In this sense is also used H. सवारो, सवारो, O. and B. id.; in O. it is frequently used in
the sense of "early in the morning," also "early to-morrow morning," as आप्रोत्ता जान पतिलुष्य नार्म रकिये जिद्वः "To-day we shall not be able to go, we will go early to-morrow morning." H. here uses लड़के conjunctive participle of तत्रन "to break," as we should say "at break of day;" also दोर "dawn" is used in H. and O., दोर in B. for "at dawn;" where G. has वाहाणी, M. उदान (Skr. उदय "sunrise"). Common also is Skr. वाहाणी, B. id., G. पराइते, of which the Oriyas make पहाणी "at dawn;" in Eastern Bengal one hears पाहा. The H. दोर is probably connected with the Skr. वाहा in some way not very clear. G. has a curious word मल्लुक "at dawn," probably connected with मल्लुक "to meet," and, like Skr. द्वाणा, indicating the meeting of darkness and light.

"Rapidly," "quickly," "at once."—This idea is expressed by derivatives of the Skr. वर, principally from the p.p.p. लगितम, which is used adverbially already in Skr. The forms are: H. तरंत, M. तूं, G. तर्स, तरं, लित, S. तूं, O. B. तरंत, लित. M. has a peculiar word लवल "at once, quickly." Skr. लब (वृ "to cut") "a minute," M. लबक्ष "to flush, twitch, move quickly." It is not found in any other language. Commoner, however, is H. दर "quick!" reduplicated दरर, M. दरत्रक, S. दरिनिर and चरिनिर, O. दर, रत्र, दरत्र, B. दरत्र, from Skr. दरत्रि. "Immediately" is also expressed in M. by तत्वाच, O. and B. तत्व लितान, but these are pedantic. H. P. M. and S. have also a word चमत्तक; H. also चचा "suddenly," "unexpectedly," corresponding to which is G. चचा "to think," though I am disposed also to remember Skr. चमत्तक, H. चोट, in this connection. O. and B. use हटात्, literally ablative of Skr. हठ, 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. एकाक "all of a sudden," M. एकाक, 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 च, as चाही “opposite,” चोही “near,” चोहीरो diminishive of the preceding. Peculiar to S. is also चोही “near,” with its diminutive चोहीरो. मधो “accompanied by,” O. मध, is by Trumpp referred to Skr. मध “with,” and मधी “near,” to संहित, probably correctly. See the remarks on the postposition चे in Vol. II. p. 274, and on the Nepali ablative in सित, Vol. II. p. 235. From adverbs with the affixes चाही and चाही रो 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—

चोरे “on this side,” चोराही “somewhat on this side.”
चाने “in front,” चानाही “somewhat in front.”
पोछे “behind,” पोछाही “somewhat behind.”
मधे “upon,” मधाही “somewhat higher up.”
मधी “in,” मधारो “somewhat inside.”

This last word recalls the old poetic Hindi मधार used in Chaud (see Vol. II. p. 293). They may also take the feminine ending चाही, as चानाही, मधाही.¹

Simple ablatives or locatives of nouns are also used adverbially, as—

पृष्ठ “from behind,” अहि. of पृष्ठ “the rear.”
पृष्ठ “from behind,” पृष्ठ “the back.”

¹ Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 355.
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 जहाँ “elsewhere,” Skr. जयच, निकट “near,” also नही (dialectically नें and नें); पर ‘on the other side,” भीतर “within,” Skr. भास्करर, बाहर, बाहर “outside,” Skr. वहिम, and others.

M. like S., has में, but in the sense of “before,” also पूर्व “before,” पश्चात “beyond,” ऊपर “above,” शोध “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. 206.

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 āge “before,” pichhe “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 undeclined, or, in their true use as adjectives, by agreeing with the subject in gender and case. Thus, to quote the instances given by Trumpp: 1

**चोरियोरे कुए हिकिवे उन माथि जे भरि में नह कियौ**

“By chance one mouse made a hole near that granary.”

Here echito-i is an adjective in the nom. sing. masc. with emphatic i, 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.

**तत्विकी बच हारे बाच घणो रोटे माउच वरिश्रोवि**

“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 mdū “mother,” which is feminine; it must be regarded as used adverbially.

**मूक्त चर्मि बौसितेज बाढा तपि ठोस**

“The winds strike hot, the days burn fiercely.”

In this sentence I do not think we should regard the adjectives as used adverbially; जुकू “winds,” is a noun in the nom. pl. fam. and बौसित “hot” agrees with it, so also ठोस

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1 Sindhi Grammar, p. 386.
"days," is nom. sing. masc. and ज्वज्ज "fierce, excessive" (Skr. ज्वज्ज), 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 व म. and द ग. 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 ए, do not vary their terminations. Those adjectives in H. and P. which end in ए masc. and द 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. और, जवर, from Skr. जवर "other." In B. and O. it loses the final consonant, B. जी, O. जत. In B., however, एब, pronounced ebong, is very common; and जर "also." P. जते, often shortened into ने, probably from Skr. जते "at the end," "afterwards," as well as जय (जपर). S. चले, चले, ई or ऊ, in which the fondness of S. for the ए-sound comes out. G. uses generally तता literally "then." It has besides औ and जी for "also," which belong to the group from जपर. G. जते, shortened ने, I am disposed to connect with P. जते, and ascribe to Skr. जते. In the former case the न has been lost, in the latter the न. It may, however, be allied to M. आणा, आणय "and," from Skr. आण "other." In all the languages, however, the shorter conjunction न is in use, side by side with the words given above. The ordinary Skr. न has left no descendants. The Gipsies use te or ता, which agrees with P., also ए, which is Persian ज.
"Also."—H. भी, Skr. भिन्न हि, Pr. वि हि. The various steps from भिन्न downwards are all retained in S. धि, धि, धि (for विन्दहि), and भी. The other forms पुनः, पुनिः, पुनिः, are from Skr. पुनर् "again," and show a gradual change from the u to the i, in accordance with S. proclivities. P. नाठ्व means literally "near to," locative of नाठ् "near." G. पण, meaning also "but," is from पुनर्. B. uses चो, and O. भि.

"But" is very frequently expressed even in Hindi by the Arabic words لَكِن, لَيْكِن, and Persian مَنْگر, and in the other languages also. Pure Sanskrit are परःतु and किन्तु, as well as द्वरण (Skr. द्वर). In Hindi पर (Skr. द्वर) is also used, and in P., which also uses द्वरण, and a strange form द्वर्प, 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 मन्वा, मन्य, probably corruptions of मङ्गर. Peculiar to P. and S. are the forms P. हुष्टि, S. हुष्टि, हुष्टि, and emphatic हुष्टि and हुष्टि "but rather." These are ablatives from हुष्टि, 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 मन्तर, having added a final i to मङ्गर. G. and M., in addition to पण, use also परःतु, O. किन्तु and पर, B. किन्तु and द्वर.

"Or."—H. वा, वेश्वर, which are Skr., with व for व. The Arabic या is very common, and commoner still is यि, probably shortened from Skr. यिन्व. This यि is colloquially common in nearly all the languages. G. writes it यि, where e is short. M. lengthens the vowel and retains the nasalization यि, also using यिन्व, as does G. P. यि, यिव, and यि. S. यि and यि. B. uses several varieties of यिव, as यिव, यिव, यि, and यि, also यिव. O. the same.

"If."—Skr. यदि, generally pronounced and written जयदि, is universal. H. shortens it into यद् and यि (= वर्, with loss of व) and यि, by rejection of final i, and यि goes out, its place
being supplied by व and उ: thus नत = नव = नुत = नो. Persian अभाग र्ष is also very common. P. जे and जेठरार. This last introduces कर for को “having done.” S. जे.

"Although."—Skr. वध्यि 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 मदि जो “if even.” S. बोडि. बोडि, sometimes with जि prefixed, जि बोडि; this, too, is literally “if even,” for बोडि 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 तो 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. कृति literally “for why.” B. and O. use Skr. कारण “cause,” and जि देवत or जि देवतक. G. मारि, probably Skr. मातेकि, which is also sometimes used in O. in the sense of “only,” “merely,” “for the simple reason that.” G. has also भेकि “for why,” and shorter भावि. S. जेनि, जेनि, where the last syllable is for मारि “for” (see Vol. II. p. 260). S. also uses a string of forms with हि “why?” as हळि, हि नारि, नि नारि, and जो ता, जो जो. The correlatives “therefore,” etc., take the त form तेनि “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, चोहो, शो "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 ममु "O Lord!" है पिता "O father!" हो, चोहो, and शो, 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, ठोहाए लितर वान "twice alas!"

One often hears दोहैं khudawa, दोहैं Angrez Bahadur, which is as much as to say "grant me justice," or "listen to my complaint." Others are फिर फिर "fie!" चुप "hush!" जह, जोह "ah!" a cry of pain; भू भू disgust; हत तरी, an expression with a suspicion of indelicacy 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 हट ना "to go away," "be stopped," and तरी the feminine genitive of तू "thou," is explained by such filthy expressions as तरी मा "thy mother." Two men are quarrelling, and one says to the other "अह, तेरी मां," "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 साला or गाला "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! Fatah gur ë jï!"

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 س, as shubâsh, shubâshe, subâs, 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, चे or रे. This is used to call inferiors, to rebuke impertinence, in scolding or quarrelling, and in most languages takes also a feminine form चैि, चे, 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, 301), knows it as used in addressing (sambhâshane), and in dalliance (ratikalâhe). 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 condemned to an inferior, and there has sprung up beside it a form चेि, used also in the same tone. The interchange of च 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. र is only used in calling males; when addressing females, O. uses जो, and B. जी. Thus O. आं जो, मा चारकु जिबा “Come along, mother, let us go to the bazar;” B. निचेदे घनी शुन गो जननि “The lady entreats, ‘hear me, oh my mother’” (Bharat, Vid.–S. 338). जो, जीजो are also used in B. in contempt or reproof. Both these words seem to be fragments of गीजो, from Skr. जीवक in the sense of “person,” the word जाय or जीजारे 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 वाहिर “without” (Skr. वाहिस) is used as a postposition with the genitive case, as घर व वाहिर “outside the house,” or even without the genitive sign, as द्वार वाहिर “outside the door.” So also भार “across,” “on the other side of,” is very commonly used with the direct form of the noun in the phrase भार भार “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 सम्भ + शं + र requires this construction.

बीच “in,” “in the middle of,” सिरे “at the end of” (Skr. बिरसा), कणे “near to,” “at the house of” (Skr. कण), संग “with,” हाथ “by means of,” हॉ “at,” “at the house of”
(Skr. खानि), are also colloquially common, both with and without the sign of the genitive, but more frequently with it.

Panjabi has बीज “near,” literally, “in the bosom of,” बीजो 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 भर or मर “on,” “leaning on” (Skr. भर), where in H. भर rather means “full,” as बीम भर “a full kos;” तो धि and तीज “up to,” which Trumpp regards as an emphatic locative from तो धि “end;” जि, विच, बीज, विज, “like” (Skr. च्छि); धि, तों, दे “towards,” with an ablative form दे “from the direction of” (perhaps from Skr. देव; रे, रिि, “without” (Skr. च्छि); स, साल, से, से “with” (Skr. सम; cf. B. सम).

S. सूधा “along with,” H. सूधा and सूधा “with,” O. सूधा or बुध दुध “together with,” “all taken together,” from Skr. साधू, according to Trumpp and others, but the O. usage seems to refer rather to Skr. शुध, in the sense of संशुध “completed.”

S. बीच “up to,” “till” (Skr. बीच), P. बी and बीच, 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 yahuk “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 बाहर, बाह्य, बाह्यो "without," P. बाक्ष, बाह्यो id. This rather means "owing to the absence of," as in the passage quoted by Trumpp, तान सूक्ष्म भाषा वेष्टि देखि बाह्यो टोस जे "Then they were considered by the hero as thorns in the absence of his friend." It is probably connected with Skr. वंघ 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 वन (wind, wand).

S. ज़ाद and जह "for the sake of," correspond to H. P. लिचे, 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 लिचे "for that reason," but उस के लिचे "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 Sindi they may take the ablative or accusative. Thus बाहर "in front," may take the accusative. It is probably like O. आदि "in the first place," or with a negative आदि न "not at all," "at no time;" thus आदि जेट गुज़ नही मिल "literally "to begin with, he did not go there," that is to say, "he never went there at all," locative of Skr. आदि "beginning."

चोटी "within," Skr. चोटि, but more probably from Persian चोट, चोटि "near to," धारा "apart, without," वाणि "for the sake of," contracted from कारणे; मध्य "upon," loc. of मध्य "head," वाणि "like to," वैधि "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." व्यावहार "till to-morrow." A longer form is वर्तमा which is declined as an adjective, generally meaning "up."

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—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{وَمَآ } & \text{الٞرُؤُو مآ داًمَتَ خَشَاشةَ فُنْسَهُ} \\
\text{بُمَدْرِكْكَ أَطْرَافُ } & \text{اًخْتَوْبُ وَلَا } \text{أَايَلُ} \\
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\]

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.

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