STUDIES IN
NORTH INDIAN LANGUAGES

by

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WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Brief Panjābī Grammar, 1904.
Languages of the Northern Himalayas, 1908.
Panjābī Manual (joint), 1913.
Kanaurī Vocabulary, 1913.
Panjābī Phonetic Reader, 1914.
English-Panjābī Vocabulary, 1919.
Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas, 1920.
Skina Grammar, 1924.
History of Urdū Literature, 1932.
Linguaphone Hindustānī Course, 1934.
Sounds of Kashmīrī, 1937.
PREFACE

This volume contains 54 articles and notes which I have written from time to time and published in The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, The Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, The Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, and the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. I am greatly obliged to the Editors of these journals for permission to reprint them. They give a fair representation of the kind of linguistic work which appeals to me, a study of the pronunciation (phonetics), history, grammar, and poetry of languages, especially those of North India.

The principal languages dealt with are Urdu, Hindi, Panjabi, Shina (Sinh), Kanauri, Nepali, and Rajasthani. I regret Kashmiri is not represented except in one note.

When I was in India I spent a large part of many holidays in reducing to writing unknown or little known languages spoken by illiterate people. It is a fascinating occupation, and as one looks back on it there rises to memory an array of delightful and variegated scenes, and the mind dwells on happy experiences of long ago. The only example in this book of that kind of work is the grammar of Kanauri, a Tibeto-Burman language of considerable interest. Hebrew and Arabic come into an appendix. All but two of the articles have been written in England during the last fifteen years.

A list of the subjects discussed will be found in the table of contents.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY,
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URDU: THE NAME AND THE LANGUAGE

PART I

Epitome.—Urdu was born in 1027; its birthplace was Lahore, its parent Old Panjabi; Old Kharī was its step-parent; it had no direct relationship with Braj. The name Urdu first appears 750 years later.

The problem of Urdu has not yet been solved. This note is written with a view to crystallizing thought about the matter, and is of necessity more summary than would be desirable if limitations of space had not to be considered.

Perhaps the most important date in the history of Urdu is 1027, the year in which Maḥmūd Gaznavī annexed the Panjab. He had already made expeditions into the country, but in that year he formally claimed possession of it and settled troops in the capital, Lahore. To 1027 may be assigned the birth of Urdu. At that time these Persian-speaking soldiers began to live among a people whose language was old Panjabi, to-mix with them, to have intercourse with them, and, we cannot doubt, to learn their language. The contrary idea that the people all began to speak Persian may be dismissed. The army must have used this old form of Panjabi, not very different in those days from the early Kharī Boli of Delhi, but they introduced Persian words and possibly phrases. This means simply that they must have begun to speak early Urdu.

For 160 years Maḥmūd Gaznavī and his successors held the Panjab; it was wrested from them in 1187. For the second time the country was seized by men who spoke Persian. This time the conqueror was Muḥammad Ḍūl of Delhi in 1193 and became the first Sulṭān on the death of his master in 1206. It seems clear
that his troops made friends with the soldiers whom they
defeated in Lahore, and that the two armies went on to
Delhi leaving a sufficient force to keep open the lines of
communication; for Aibak cannot have annihilated the
fighting men in Lahore and he would not have permitted
the menace of a hostile army in his rear. We may conclude
that a considerable number of those who entered Delhi with
Qutb ud Din Aibak already spoke early Urdu. This language,
altered by the influence of the new troops who spoke Persian,
and of the city people whose language was old Kharī, developed
into later Urdu.

This sketch of the origin of Urdu suggests that we should
regard Lahore, not Delhi, as its birthplace, and early Panjabi
as its parent language. Unfortunately we have no means at
present of ascertaining what Panjabi at that time was like;
we feel sure, however, that it had not diverged far from old
Kharī. We may dismiss Braj from our calculations; there
is no reason to think that it had any direct connection with
Urdu. When Urdu was born in 1027 Panjabi was only
entering the modern stage. Although we can hardly doubt
the general course of events, we do not get on to firm ground
till 1326, when Muḥammad Tuglaq invaded the Deccan and
founded Daulatābād. We know that his troops spoke Urdu;
and when in 1347 'Alā ud Din Bahmani revolted against him
and ascended the throne as the first ruler of the Bahmani
dynasty, his state made Urdu its official language.

If it be objected that there is not complete proof of some of
the above statements, we can admit that fact, but point out
that the proof is stronger than for the hitherto accepted
view that Urdu began in Delhi during the Mugal period.

Indian writers usually consider that the royal camp in
Delhi was first called the urdū by the Emperor Bābur in his
work, Tuzuk i Bāburī. It may be so. He was a Turki who
came from Turkistān in 1526 and naturally spoke of his
urdū; but the word is found in the Jahākushā of Javainī,
1150, e.g. vol. i, p. 162:—
dar urdū e shāhzādagān dar natavānand āmad, “they cannot enter the camp of the princes”; and on p. 148:—

dar andarān i urdū āmadand, “they came into the camp.”

There seems to be no reason why the army in Lahore or Delhi should not have been called the urdū several centuries earlier than Bābur.

When does the word Urdu first occur as the name of a language? It became common in Lucknow after 1846 and in Delhi after 1857. We must make a sharp distinction between Urdu, used by itself as a proper name, and zabān i Urdū; for we cannot be sure that zabān i Urdū is a name; it may be a mere description, “the language of the army.”

Perhaps the earliest example of the word standing alone and bearing the sense of Urdu language is in Muṣḥafī, 1750-1824:—

Khudā rakkhe zabā ham ne sunī hai Mir o Mirzā kī Kahā kis mūh se ham ai Muṣḥafī Urdū hamārā hai?

“I have heard the language of Mir and Saudā; how can I dare to assert that Urdū is my language?”

We are unable to say in what year these words were written. Muṣḥafī may have composed the verse any time after he was grown up. He was a recognized poet in 1776.

J. B. Gilchrist, writing in 1796, mentions the name as well known. His words are: “In the mixed dialect also called Ārārdoo, or the polished language of the Court, and which even at this day pervades the vast provinces of a once powerful Empire” (A Grammar of the Hindoostanee Language, p. 261). As we do not know the date of Muṣḥafī’s lines we must admit that Gilchrist may have been the first person who in literature used Urdu as the name of the language.

Jules Bloch has made a striking suggestion, which he admits is only an intuitive feeling requiring to be substantiated by proof, that the name Urdu is due to Europeans. In this connection it is important to note that Gilchrist in the sentence just quoted mentions Ārārdoo as a name already
established. His statement seems to make it clear that Indians used the word. Gilchrist himself always called the language "Hindoostanee".

W. H. Bayley in an English and "Hindoostanee" thesis, 1802, which may be consulted in the British Museum, says "the language which I have specified by the name of Hindoo-
stanee is also frequently denominated Hindee, Oordoo, Moosulmanee and Rekhtu".

Sayyid Inshā in Daryā e Laṭāfsat, 1807 (Lucknow ed., p. 2), writes: Khush bayānān i dījā muttafīq shuda az zabāhā e muta-
'addad alfaż i dīlcazp judā namūda o dar ba'zī 'ibārat bakār
burda zabāne tāza sivā e zabāhā e diğar rasānīdand o ba urdū
mausūm sākhtand: "the good speakers of Delhi united in
separating attractive words from several languages and using
them in sentences; in this way they produced a new
language, different from other languages, and called it Urdu."

Mir Amman in the preface to Bāq o Bahār, 1802, gives an
account of the birth of Urdu, and though he never uses the
word alone (he says Urdu kī zabān) it is clear from the whole
context that he is thinking of a definite name.

We conclude that while Fārsi and Hindī had for long been
used as proper names Urdu did not receive similar recognition
till near the dawn of the eighteenth century.

The phrase zabān i urdū e mu'alla seems to occur for the
first time in Mir's Nikāt ush Shu'arā, 1752. On p. 1 of the
Badāyū edition he says: poshida na mānād ki dar fann
i rekhtā ki shi'rest batāur i shi'r i Fārsi ba zabān i Urdu e
mu'alla e Shāhjahānābād Dihlī kitābe ta hāl taṣnīf na shuda:
"we must remember that up to the present no book has been
written on the art of Rekhta, which is poetry in the style of
Persian poetry but in the language of the royal camp of
Delhi."

Here urdū e mu'alla may possibly mean faṣīh aur mustanad
Urdu, the idiomatic and authoritative Urdu of Delhi.

Two years later Qāim writes in Makhzān i Nikāt (Auran-
gabad ed., 33):—
akṣare az tarkībát i Furs ki muḥāf q i muḥāvara e ursū e mu'āllā mānūs i gosh meyāband minjumla e javāz ul abyān me dānand: "most Persian constructions which strike their ears as familiar from the point of view of the idiom of the royal camp they regard as among the things lawful in poetry."

Here, too, the phrase may mean "correct Urdu idiom", and the author may not be thinking of the army. But as Mir and Qāím appear always to use Hindi or Rekhta as the name of the language we should perhaps translate "the language, or idiom, of the army".

Mir's son, 'Arsh, who lived well into the nineteenth century, says:—

ham hai Urdu e mu'alla kē zabānē ai 'Arsh mustanād hai jo kuchh irshād kiyā karte hai

"I speak the Urdu e Mu'alla language and what I say is authoritative". The date of the lines is unknown. The author's father died in 1799 at the age of 86 (not in 1810, as usually stated).

Finally, Muḥammad 'Aṭā Ḥusain in Nau Tarz i Murāṣṣa', 1798, speaks of zabān i ursū e mu'alla.

Mr. G. M. Qādrī has drawn my attention to two MSS. which contain perhaps the earliest instances of the use of zabān i ursū without further description. The references are:—

Tāzkira e Gulzār i Ibrāhīm, by 'Āli Ibrāhīm Khā, 1783 (speaking of Vaṣālat Khā Sābit), tatābbu' i zabān i ursū nāmuḍa, "he followed the Urdu language," or "the language of the ursū", i.e. devoted attention to it.

Tāzkira e Shu'arā e Hindī, by Muṣḥafī, 1794 (speaking of Muhammad Amān Nisār), adā e zabān i ursū, "the style of the Urdu language," or "of the language of the ursū".

The problem of the name. It is always stated that the language was originally described as the speech of the army or camp, zabān i ursū, and that gradually the word zabān
was dropped, leaving urdū to stand alone. This explanation gives rise to a great difficulty. We have seen that Urdu was first used by itself in the poems of Muṣḥasī. We may perhaps guess the date of the couplet in which the word appears as the year 1790, when the author was 40. We are now faced by the fact that the first instance of the use of the word was 763 years after the establishment of the army in Lahore, almost 600 years after the urdū was settled in Delhi, and 261 years after Bābur called his camp the Urdu e Mu‘allā. The Urdu language had been in existence for about 750 years before anyone gave it, in writing at any rate, the name by which it is now always known. Even if we take the earlier date, 1752, when Mīr described it as the language of the royal camp, we deduct only thirty-eight years from our figures. None of the historians of the Mugal period ever used the name. We have to answer three questions:

(1) Why was there a delay of centuries in giving the name Urdu?

(2) If a new name had to be given in the eighteenth century, why was this name chosen for the language when it had many, many years previously been given up for the army?

(3) If the army was not called urdū till Bābur’s time, 1526, the language which had then existed for nearly 500 years must already have had a name. Why was that name given up?

It is easier to state the problem than to solve it. I see no solution except this: that some name or description such as zabān i urdū was in conversational use from the time when the army was first called urdū, and that very gradually, hundreds of years later, it crept into books, possibly earlier than we are now aware of, while the use of Urdu alone was still later. I feel the inadequateness of this, but perhaps it will lead to something fuller. We must always remember that in early days Urdu literature was not so accurate a reflection of daily life and speech as it is now, and there may have been much in ordinary talk which found no echo in books.
PART II

In the eighteenth century and earlier Hindi (sometimes Hindavi) was the usual name for the language in general and Rekhta for the literary or poetical form of it. Ja'far Za阿富汗, 1659-1713, has the lines,

\[ \text{agar ci sabhī kūra o kuruṣ ast} \]
\[ \text{ba Hindī o rindī zabā latqat ast} \]

“although everything is rubbish and sweepings, the language is lively with Hindi and licentiousness”.

Fazli in the preface to his Dah Majlis, 1732, writes:—

\[ \text{aur ab tak tarjuma e Fārsī ba 'ibārat i Hindī nāṣr nahi huā mustama'} \]: and so far no one has ever heard of a translation from Persian into Hindi prose.

Aṣar, in his famous magnāvi Khvāb o Khayāl, 1740, frequently uses rekhta, as on p. 10:

\[ \text{rekhta nē yih tab sharaf pāyā,} \]
\[ \text{jab ki Ḥaẓrat nē usko farmāyā} \]

“Rekhta obtained this eminence only when Ḥaẓrat (Dard, his brother and teacher) used it”.

On p. 9, talking of the contents of his volume, he calls Urdu “Hindavi”:

\[ \text{Fārsī sau hai Hindavi sau hai,} \]
\[ \text{bāqī askār i magnāvi sau hai} \]

“Persian couplets 100, Hindavi 100, and the remaining couplets of the magnāvi 100.”

Afzal Beg in his tazkira Tuḥṣat ush Shu'arā, 1752, not printed, deals almost entirely with poets who wrote in Persian, but where he refers to Urdu poetry he calls it Hindi. Thus he says of Mir 'Abd ul Ḥaذي Vīqār: asẖār i Fārsī o Hindī taẖ durust dārado; “he had good natural ability in Persian and Hindi poetry” (Camaniṣṭān i Shu'arā, 152).

Shāh Ḥātim, in the preface to his Divānzāda, 1755, writes:

\[ \text{dar shī'ī r i Fārsī pairau o Mirzā Śāib ast, dar rekhta Valī rā uṣṭād medānad} \]: “in Persian poetry he (the author) follows
Şāib, in Rekhta he regards Vali as his master.” See Ab i Hayāt, ed. 1917, p. 115.

Mir Ḥasan, d. 1786, uses Hindi or Rekhta and avoids Urdu. In his anthology, 1776, he has the phrase: taẓkira e suḥān āfrīnān i Hindi, “an anthology of Urdu poets” (p. 40).

Even Shāh ‘Abdul Qādir in his well-known Urdu translation of the Qur’ān uses the name Hindi: is mē zabān i rekhta naḥī boli bālki Hindi e muta’ārāf ki ‘avāmm ko be takalluf daryāft ho; “I have not used Rekhta in my translation, but well-known Urdu that ordinary people might easily understand it”.

Mir, 1713–99, Saudā, 1713–80, and Qāim (d. about 1790) use the word Rekhta very often. I will content myself with one quotation from Mir:

mażbūṭ kaise kaise kahe rekhte vale,
 samjhā na koī merī zabā is diyār mē.

“What fine Urdu verse I have written, but no one in these parts understands me”.

The name Hindi requires no comment. It was the natural word to use in early times. Several explanations have been given of Rekhta, a Persian word which means “poured”, and has no literary signification in Persian. The most important are the following:

1. Urdu is called Rekhta because Arabic and Persian words were poured into it.
2. Rekhta means “down and out”, and Urdu was at first regarded as something contemptible.
3. It means verses in two languages, and at first Urdu and Persian were used side by side.
4. It is a musical term introduced by Amir Khusrau indicating the application of the music of one language to the words of another.
5. It means a wall firmly constructed of different materials, as Urdu is of diverse linguistic elements. This is the opposite of (2).
Šafir Bilgrāmī in *Jalea e Khizr* says that the name Rekhta has been in use since the time of Shāhjahān. This requires proof.

Other early names may be mentioned.

According to Maḥmūd Shirānī zabān i Dīhāvī was used by Amīr Khusrāw (d. 1324) and by Abu’l Fażl (in Āin i Akbarī).

Shāh Ḥātim in the preface to his *Dīvānsāda* quoted above calls Urdu "rozmarra e Dīhlī" : rozmarra e Dīhlī ki Mirzāiān i Hind dar mūhāvarā ārand manzūr dārad, “I have accepted the daily speech of Delhi which is the idiom of the Mirzas of India.”

Again: rozmarra rā ki ‘ām fahm o khāṣ̱̬e pasand bāshad ikhtiyār namūd, “I have chosen the daily speech understood by all and liked in select circles.” (As has been noted before he refers to himself in the third person.)

To turn to Dakānī writers. Shāh Mirā Ji, d. 1496, a famous religious writer, who preached and wrote in Urdu, explains that he wrote in “Hindi” in order that people might understand: yeh bolā Hindi sab, is ārtō ke sabāb, “I am saying all this in Urdu for this reason”.

His son, Shāh Burhan ud Dīn, d. 1582, says in his poem *Irshād Nāma* : ‘aib na rākhē Hindi bol, “do not blame me for using Urdu.” He also calls it Gujri, which is not unnatural, for his language is marked by many Gujarati features :

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{je hoe gyān bicārī,} \\
\text{na dekhē bhākhā Gujri (HuJJat ul Baqā)} \\
\text{“learned people will not look at Gujri” i.e. Urdu.} \\
\text{yeh sab kīa Gujri zabā (Irshād Nāma)} \\
\text{“I have done all this in Gujri (Urdu)”}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

Vajhī, the famous author of *Qub Muehtari*, 1609, referred to in the India Office Catalogue as nameless and anonymous, wrote in 1634 a prose work *Sab Ras*. After the ascriptions of praise he proceeds: āgāz i dāstān ba zabān i Hindostān, “here begins the story in the language of Hindustan,” i.e. the Urdu of Delhi as distinguished from Dakānī.
The dialect of the Deccan was often called Daknī or Dakhani, e.g. Rustamī's Khāvarnāma, 1649, Khāvarnāma e Daknī kitā hā nām "I have called it the Daknī Khavaranāma" (last line but five).

Shāh Malik's Sharī'at Nāma, 1666, Dakhani mē bolyā hai sāf, "said it plainly in Dakhani." (This author is mistakenly called "Shāh Mulk" in the India Office Cat.)
BAQIR ĀGĀH AND THE DATE OF THE NAME URDŪ

In JRAS., Apr., 1930, pp. 391–400, under the heading “Urdū : the Name and the Language” I discussed inter alia the question of when the word was first used by itself as the name of a language, and said that the first definitely datable instance I could find was in Gilchrist’s Grammar of the Hindoostance Language, 1796, p. 261, but that a couplet from one of Muṣḥafi’s poems, date unknown, was probably earlier. Another quotation, which also might be earlier, was from Mir’s son ‘Arsh. Since then I have not been able to get anything which certainly bears a date before 1796, but the following facts are worth recording as a further contribution to the subject.

Mir Ḥasan.—The Tazkira e Ḥasan, a tazkira by the famous poet Mir Ḥasan, has been published with the title of Tazkira e Shu’arā e Urdū. Mir Ḥasan died in 1786 and the work itself was written about ten years before his death; it appears, therefore, at first sight, as if here we had an instance twenty years before Gilchrist’s Grammar. I do not think, however, that the title of the book is authentic. There is no proof that Mir Ḥasan ever used the word “Urdū”. He refers to his anthology on its first page as a tazkira e sukhān āfīrīnān i Hindī, an anthology of Hindī poets, meaning Urdū poets.

BAQIR ĀGĀH.—The word “Urdū” occurs in the introduction to the Dīcān i Hindī of Muḥammad Bāqir Āgāh, 1745–1805, a prolific writer in Arabic, Persian, and both dialects of Urdū (the southern dialect spoken in the Deccan, and the northern spoken in Delhi). He was a spiritual disciple of Sayyid Abu’l Ḥasan Qurbā, 1705–68, and belonged to the Deccan, being a native of Ellore. Our chief source of information about him is the Tazkira Gulzār i A’ẓam, the compiler and author of which was Muḥ. Gauṣ Khā. It is an anthology of Karnāṭak (Carnatic) poets, begun in 1841 and printed in 1855, the year of the author’s death. Other authorities
which may be consulted are Fihrist Urdu Makhlulat i Kutubkhana e Kulliya e Jamia e Usmaniya e Haidarabad Dakah; pp. 17–21, 127–8; Urdu, Apr., 1929, pp. 281–318; and Urdu ke Asalib i Bayan, pp. 30 and 32 (only a few lines).

Agah frequently refers to the well-known Delhi poet Sauda, who died in 1780, and indeed sometimes pokes fun at him, as in the following couplet:

Agah gar sune namkhn namz tiri
Sauda kahe ki shir se mere namak gaya

O Agah, if Sauda hears this tasty poem of thine, he will say "all the taste has gone out of my verses".

One of his numerous works was the Divan i Hindi, a book of qasidas, gazals, rubais, qitas and other poems, almost all in Urdu, the majority in Persian metres, but some in Hindi metres such as the doha and the kabitt. To this Divan he wrote a prose dibaca, or introduction, of great interest. It was published in Urdu, Apr., 1929. From a perusal of it we get valuable information. Amongst other things we learn that he used the name "Hindi" for "Urdu", whether Delhi Urdu or Dakni, but that when he wished to distinguish the language of Delhi from that of the Deccan he used the terms "Urdu" and "Dakni" (or "Dakhni"), while verses in either dialect he called rekhte.

We have thus the following terms as employed by him:

Hindi for the Urdu language, whether northern or southern.
Urdu for the language of Delhi.
Dakni for the variety of Urdu spoken in the Deccan.
rekhte for verses in either dialect of Urdu (both Persian and Hindi metres).

The fact that he confines the name "Urdu" to the Delhi dialect and does not include Dakni is very important.

Another interesting Urdu work is Faraid dar Favaid. This has not been published, but a MS. exists in the Library of the Osmaniyeh University in Hyderabad.

In the Dibaca to the Divan i Hindi he uses the word Urdu
three times. As he was born in 1745 and began writing verse in his fifteenth year, he might have spoken of Urdu any time after 1759. The question to be decided, therefore, is the date of the *Dībāca*, which is nowhere given. We begin our study of it with high hopes that we may be able to put it between 1765 and 1775, and so claim for the use of the term Urdu (as the name of a language) a date twenty or thirty years earlier than 1796, when Gilchrist's work appeared.

Alas for such hopes! It soon becomes abundantly clear that the *Dībāca* cannot have been written before 1795 and may have been later. In the second quarter of it he refers to his *Hasht Bihisht*, begun in 1791, in the last quarter he mentions his *Riyāz i Jinān*, written in 1792, and to his *Farāid dar bayān i Farāid*, which was not written till 1795. The authority for the date of *Riyāz i Jinān* is a quotation from a MS. of the work in the Osmaniyyeh University (*Urdu*, Apr., 1929, p. 292), as follows:—

jab the bāra sau aur sāt baras tab banā hai yeh nushka e aqdas, in the year 1207, was written this holy book. The date of the *Farāid*, given on the same page, is taken from another MS. in the University, but no sentence is quoted.

Just before the reference to *Riyāz i Jinān* we read these words: *yeh ḥaqīr i nāras āke tīs battīs baras ke kyā Fārsī aur kyā Hindī mē sab aqām shīr mē nazīn kiā thā*, this unworthy despicable person (the author) thirty or thirty-two years ago wrote poetry in every style of verse, whether Persian or Urdu: (*āke is, of course, for āge*). This suggests that he had been writing verse for thirty-two years. If to this we add, say, 14⅓ years, his age when he began writing, we get 46⅔, the equivalent of 45 of our years. That brings us to 1790. But it may well be that he dated from a few years after his fifteenth year, and in that case we get back to 1795 or later. We arrive at the reluctant conclusion that Bāqir Āgāh's *Dībāca* to his *Divān i Hindī* does not furnish us with a date before 1796 for the use of the word Urdu.

We may now proceed to quotations illustrative of the
terms Urdu, Dakhi, Hindhi, and rekhteh. We cannot say to
what extent, if any, Agah pronounced the izafat, so I omit it
whenever it is not marked in the text.

(a) A few lines after the beginning of the Dibaca: makhfi
na rahe ki rekhteh bajus muhavra Hindhi ke sab amir me Farsi
kā tābi' hai, let us not forget that Urdu verse, apart from its
being in the Hindi language (i.e. Urdu), follows Persian in
everything.

(b) Faraid dar Favaid, ii. 5, 6.

Yeh nuskha garci hai Hindhi me manzum
Yihi hai ijmāl se zikr us kā marqum

Although this book is in Urdu verse and this is in brief an
account of it.

(c) After discussing different classes of poems in the Dibaca,
he says agar shu'ara e Dakhan alfas mazkur ko zer zabar
karē to candā muzaiga nahi rakhī hai kyā vastē ki unho
tasfiya muhavra mē is qadar jādd o kadā nahi khe bakhlaf
şahibān muhavra Urdu ki is bāb me sa'i balīq kar kar us roz-
marrā ko muhavra Farsi kā ham pahlū kar die, if the poets
of the Deccan make alterations in the words I have mentioned
(Arabic and Persian words), it doesn't matter very much,
for they have not made great efforts to purify the language,
in contradistinction to those who talk (or write) Delhi Urdu;
they with their enormous efforts in this matter have made
that form of speech equal in dignity to Persian.

(d) A little over a page further on he writes of his romance,
Gulsar i 'Ishq, is kā muhavra ba'ainhi muhavra Urdu kā hai
mogar kahi kahi tā 'alāman vaṭaniyyat Dakhan bāqi rahī, its
language is absolutely Delhi Urdu, but in places there are
signs of my belonging to the Deccan.

(e) About a page from the end of the Dibaca he winds up a
long sentence with the words tā yeh majm'ū'a garci mukhtasar
hai sab aqsām i sukhan par mushtamil rahe aur ise muhavra
Urdu se makhūş kar diā, in order that this collection of
poems, though short, may include every kind of poetry; and
I have used Delhi Urdu exclusively for it.
(f) ba'z 'ulamā e mutaakhhirīn khulāṣā 'arabī kitābō kā nikālkar Fārsī mē likhe hai tā voh log jo 'Arabī nahī parh sakte hai in se fāīda pāvē, lekin akṣār 'aurtā aur tamām ādmīā Fārsī se bhī āshnā nahī hai is lie yeh 'āshī baṭalab unke bahut ikhtiār ke sāth lekar Daknī risālā mē bolā hai, some scholars of recent times have made a summary in Persian of their Arabic works in order that those who cannot read Arabic may profit by them, but few women and not all men know even Persian; so this rebel (the author), at their request has spoken very briefly in Daknī tracts. (Quoted in Urdū ke asālıb i bayān, p. 33.)

(g) In the Dībāca, just before the quotation in (c) above, he says akṣar rekhtā koyā alfāz mashhūr 'Arabī o Fārsī ko zer o zabar karte hai, generally writers of Urdū verse change well-known Arabic and Persian words.

82.
THE DATE OF OLD URDU COMPOSITION: A CAVEAT

In attempting to assign a date to any given piece of Urdu prose or verse we are in danger of being influenced to a great extent by its likeness or unlikeness to the Urdu of to-day, and assuming that if it does not differ much from modern Urdu it cannot be old. But in this we prejudge a question of prime importance, one which, so far as I know, has never been discussed in books on Urdu literature, viz. whether the author was writing more or less as he was in the habit of speaking, or was aiming at literary style. It is not the case, as one might be inclined to think, that all Urdu writers have striven after literary effect, though it is unfortunately true that affectation and artificiality very soon began to eat the life out of their poetry. Over Persianization was perhaps due in the first place to the fact that Muslim religious terms came to India through a Persian medium, and that the oldest writers were earnest propagandists who had to use many Persian theological words, or Arabic words which had reached them through Persian. Further the only poetry the Urdu writers knew was Persian. It was therefore natural that they should fall at first under the sway of the foreign tongue, which had, in fact, been the native tongue of the ancestors of some of them. It was, on the other hand, quite unnatural afterwards that men who spoke good racy Urdu in their homes, should fill their poetry with exotic phrases and sentiments.

In the early days composition was more natural than in later times, and Dakhani authors were readier to use the Urdu of every day than those who lived in Delhi. The difference between natural and artificial Urdu is almost inconceivably great. A few examples will make this clear.

1. Examples of Urdu striving after literary effect.
   (a) In 1732 Fažli wrote a translation of a Persian work, *Dah Majlis*, imagining it to be the first translation from
Persian into “Hindi”. It is a striking comment on the ignorance of Dakhani literature among the writers of North India that such an idea should have been possible, or that Āzād should have regarded the preface to that translation as the first work in Urdu prose. Actually prose had been written in Urdu for centuries before this. The subjoined quotation is punctuated as in Āzād’s Āb i Ḥayāt, 1917, p. 23. Faḍlī says:

(phir dil mē guzrā ki aise kām ko ‘aql cāhiye kāmil aur madad kisū taraf ki hoe shāmil kyūki be tāīd in Ṣamaḍī aur be madad in jānūb in Ahnādī—yih mushkil surāt pīzīr na hove—aur gauhār in murād rishta e māidān mē na āve—lihāzā is ṣan’at kā nahi huā—mukhārī—aur αβ tak tarjuma e Fārāī ba ‘ibārat in Hindi naṣr nahi huā—mustama’—pas in andesha e ‘amīq mē goṭa khāyā—aur bayābān in ta’ammul o tadbir mē sargashta huā—lekin rūḥ maqṣūd kī na pāi—nāgāh nāsim in ‘ināyat in Ilāhī dil in afgār par ihtizāz mē a—yih bāt āīna e khāyā mē mūḥ dikhlāī.

"Then it came into my mind that for such work one needs perfect intelligence and must get help from somewhere; because without Divine strength and the help of Muḥammad this difficulty will not take form (meaning, rather strangely, ‘disappear’), and the jewel aimed at will not come into the relation of expectation; so no one has invented this art, and a Persian translation in Hindi prose has not been heard of. I was therefore plunged in deep anxiety and wandered in the desert of hesitation and policy unable to find the way I wanted; suddenly the breath of the grace of God came fluttering on my wounded heart, and this matter showed its face in the mirror of my mind."

Saudā, 1713–80, who is often considered the greatest master of words in Urdu, though not the greatest poet, wrote a prose version of Mir’s Shu’la e Ishq. The date is not known, but it is some years later than Faḍlī’s preface just mentioned. The following is an extract from the preface (say 1755) quoted by Āzād:—
Let it be demonstrated to the enlightened minds of the mirror holders of semantics that it is only through the gift of Almighty God that the parrot of utterance attains sweet speech; so these few lines of poured out pearls in Rekhta style from my bilingual pen have been written on paper. It isfitting that I should commit them to the hearing of the poets of to-day, so that at the mouth of those men I should be the object of praise and commendation. A theme in one's heart is no better than a captive bird in a cage, but when it gets utterance it is the plaint of the bulbul for the appreciative ear. Therefore this composition in the beauty of its thoughts appeals for justice to those whose lips are adorned by the pearls of impartiality. If God Almighty has created this unworthy one for the purpose of blackening white paper just as evening darkens the day, He has also put intelligence in everyone's brain like the candle under the shade; so people should criticize for why should one die before one's time from envenomed grief?

Let us quote from Sayyid Inshā, a passage written about 1780:

1 Mistake for sāmi'a e sukhan.
ibtidā e sinn i ẓibā tā avāil i rai‘ān—aur avāil rai‘ān se ila‘l
ān ishtiyāq i mā lā yutāq i tāqīl i ‘atba i ‘āliya na bahaḍde
thā—ki silk tahrīr o tqrīr mē muntazam ho sake—lihāzā be
vāsta o vasīla hāzīr huā hā.
“From the dawn of childhood to my early youth, and from
eyouth to now there have been no bounds to the incon-
trollable desire I have felt to kiss your honoured threshold
in order that my writing and speaking might be set in order
like a necklace of pearls. Accordingly without cause or inter-
mediary I have presented myself.”

2. Examples of natural, unartifical Urdu.
To make the contrast more vivid we take first a couple of
sentences from the same writer, Sayyid Inshā. The following
words, though ostensibly quoted, are his own. See Daryā e
La‘Īfat, p. 49. How different they are from the un-Urdu
nonsense just quoted:—

ajī oō Mīr ṣāḥib tum to ‘Īd ke cānd ho gae. Dilli mē āte
the do do pahr rāt tak baī̇hthe the aur rekhte parhte the.
Lakhnaū mē tumhē kyā ho gayā ki kabō ki kabhī tumhārā‘aṣār āṣār ma‘lūm na
huā aisā na kījīyo kahi āṭho mē bhi na calo, tumhē ‘Alī ki qasī
āṭho mē muqārrar calīyo.

“Well, my dear sir, you’ve become as hard to find (and as
welcome when found) as the new moon before the big feast.
There was a time when on your visits to Delhi you used to
come and sit in my house till midnight reciting your verses.
I don’t know what’s happened to you in Lucknow, that there’s
not a trace of you anywhere. Whatever you do don’t fail to
turn up for the Eighth. I adjure you by ‘Ali come without
fail for the Eighth.”

It is not easy to believe that one man wrote both these
extracts, but it is amusing to notice that in the last line of
the first quotation he forgets his literary pose and stumbles
into sense.

I quote now from Vajhī’s Sab Ras, one hundred years older
than the earliest of the above quotations. Owing to its being
in the Dakhanī dialect, it is not quite easy to translate, but it
is perfectly straightforward; yet from its date it should be unintelligibly archaic. Mr. G. M. Qâdri, on p. 321 of his Urdu Shahpâre, from which the passage is taken, states that the author is Shâh Mirâ Ji. This religious writer died in 1496; as I am not aware that he ever wrote anything called Sab Ras, I venture to attribute the words to Vajhi, who wrote Sab Ras in 1634.

‘āshiq tū use bisar nakū, is kî yâd so dil kâ shâd kar aur āpas kâ āpi yâd dilâtâ so āpas kâ dikhâtâ hai, ki yû dekho yû meri šûrat hai munje dekh kâ kâ be dil hotâ hai mai ātâ tere nazâik hû aur tû to mujhe nahi dekhtâ.

"O lover of God! do not forget Him; by the remembrance of Him make thy heart glad. He reminds people of Himself and reveals Himself, saying 'Look hither, this is My form, look at Me; why art thou dispirited, I am coming, I am near thee and yet thou seest Me not.'"

In 1668 or a little later Mirâ Ya'qûb translated Khvâja Burhân ud Din's Shamâil ul Atqiâ. A few words may be quoted.

(After some Arabic) ya'ni ay mominân šabr karo hor ustuvâr acho tamhidât is āyat mē tan hor dil hor rûh—yû tîno šabr karo kar hukm huâ ya'ni šabr karo tan sô Khudâ kî tâ'at par—ya'ni farmâ bardârî raho hor šabr karo apne dil sô Khudâ kî balâ par hor ustuvâr acho apne rûh hor sir sô, Khudâ ke dekhne ke shauq hor muhabbat par.

(After the Arabic sentence) that means O believers, be patient and firm. The premisses in this verse are body and heart and spirit. To all three comes the command, Be patient; that is be patient in your body in subjection to God, that is be obedient. And be patient from your heart in the afflictions of God; and be firm in your spirit and intellect in your desire and love for a sight of God.

The extracts which have been given enable us to see that simple style and modern phraseology are not a proof of recent date; they are merely the signs of conversational Urdu. I regard the fact as extremely important. It is very significant
that the passage from *Sab Ras*, though much simpler than the first quotation from Sayyid Ināhā, is at least a century and a half earlier; indeed, if Mr. Qadri is right in saying that Shāh Mirā Ji is the author, it is three centuries earlier.
It is natural that records of the beginnings of Urdu should be almost entirely confined to literature or quasi literature. Yet there are two classes of books which contain references to conversation; firstly, early lives of holy men (especially in the Deccan and Gujrat), whose followers wrote accounts of their sayings and doings, occasionally quoting actual words; secondly, histories such as those by Firishta and Abu'l Fażl, in which we may find Urdu sentences spoken by emperors or kings. Urdu must often have been employed as the language of conversation in exalted circles even though the official language continued to be Persian.

In works by Maḥmūd Shirānī, Shams Ullāh Qādri, and the late 'Abd ul Ḥay Nadvi, a few of these early sayings are given (not always in the same form). Some can be so far verified in printed books, others are taken from MSS. and we cannot be certain of their age. However, in spite of our suspicions they have considerable interest. Exhaustive search would no doubt reveal many more. Regarding the question of date, see my note on the "Date of old Urdu Composition", in JRAS., October, 1930, under "Miscellanea".

Before proceeding to the scraps of talk I give two lines, said to be found in Bābur’s Turki Divān. It will be seen that a line and a half are Urdu.

\[ mujkā na haq kuj havas mānak o moli \]
\[ fuqārā ḥālina bas bulgusidur pānī o ruli \]

"I have no desire for gems or pearls, for (the state of) poor people sufficient are water and bread".

The MS. is in the library of the Navāb of Rāmpūr, and was written in 1529.

C. 1260. Shekh Farid ud Din Ganj i Shakar, d. about 1267, used to call a certain friend bhayyā "brother" (Asrār ul Awliya, p. 3). On being asked where intelligence dwelt he replied bīc sir ke "in the head" (Malfuzat, p. 40).

C. 1350. Somewhere between 1325 and 1357 Khvāja Naṣīr ud Din Cīrāg, d. 1357, said to his Khalifa, comparing him with another holy man, tum ūpar ve tale "you are above, he is below" (Firishta, ii, 399).
c. 1400. A sentence by the famous Khvāja Banda Navāz is reported in Ḳishq Nāma, the work of a disciple ‘Abd Ullāh bin Raḥmān Cishti: bhūkō muve sā Khudā kach aparīṭā hai Khudā kā aparne ki isti’dād hor hai “does one reach God by dying of hunger? It is by other means that one reaches God.”

Once a friend said to him: Khvāja Burhān ud Dīn bālā hai “Burhān ud Dīn is exalted”. He answered: pūnō kā cānd bālā hai “the full moon is exalted”.

c. 1362. According to the Tārikh i Fīrozī, Firoz Shāh Tuglaq, 1351–88, after his successful attack on Sindh, said: barks Shekh theā ik muvā ik nāhā “by the blessing of the Shekh one died, one did not”.

The successors of Firoz Shāh Tuglaq ordered the expulsion of most of the slaves brought by him from other parts of India. Many hid themselves, and when caught claimed to be inhabitants of Delhi. Like the Ephraimites of old who were asked to say sibolet and said sibolet, these men, it is said, were given a test in pronunciation. They were told to say khārā kharī, but were not able to say it in the same way as the true city people.

c. 1430. Quṭb ‘Ālam, a famous religious leader in Gujrat, who died between 1446 and 1453, had a son called Sirāj ud Dīn. Shāh Bārak Allāh Cishti gave Sirāj ud Dīn the name of Shāh ‘Ālam. On hearing this his father remarked Cishtī ne pakāī aur Bukhārī ne khāī “the Cishtīs cooked it and the Bukhāris ate it” (Tuḥfat ul Ikrām, 47, 8). Quṭb ‘Ālam and Shāh ‘Ālam were Bukhāris.

c. 1430. The Mirāt i Sikandarī records six sentences. Two are reported of Quṭb ‘Ālam, who has just been mentioned. We may put their date as about 1430. Once on his way to early morning prayer he hurt his foot against a solid substance lying on the ground and exclaimed: lohe yā lakkar yā pathhar yā kyā hai “iron or wood or stone or what is it?” It turned out to be a bit of a meteorite with the qualities of all three. When his son Shāh ‘Ālam’s fiancée was taken from him by Muḥammad Shāh, king of Gujrat, and her less well-favoured sister substituted, Shāh ‘Ālam complained to his father who replied: beṭā tussā naṣīb duhū vijh “son your fate is (bound up) in both”. Another version makes the last two words dhūd baqya fancifully translated as “the buffalo and the young one”, or “the buffalo and the calf”. This prophecy was fulfilled, for when the king died his widow went to live with her sister, Shāh ‘Ālam’s wife. On the death of this sister she married Shāh ‘Ālam.
c. 1450. Another sentence is recorded as spoken by Shāh ‘Alām himself. Sultān Āḥmad Shāh of Gujrat sought the life of one of the boy princes, Maḥmūd Shāh, whom Shāh ‘Alām was sheltering in his house. The king arrived unexpectedly at the house, but the saint transformed the boy into a venerable man. As the king entered Shāh ‘Alām said to the boy: 

\[ \text{padh dokre “recite, old man”} \]

Āḥmad Shāh, not finding the boy, went away. This Maḥmūd Shāh was king of Gujrat from 1459 to 1511. Once on being insulted he said: 

\[ \text{nici beri har koi jhore “every one shakes (the fruit off) a low ber tree”} \]


c. 1510. To Sikandar Shah, heir apparent, and later king of Gujrat for two and a half months, is attributed the saying: 

\[ \text{pir mūvā murūd jogi huvā “the saint is dead, the disciple has become a jogi”} \]


c. 1535. Finally, when Bahādur Shāh of Gujrat was betrayed by Rūmī Khā to Humāyūn in 1535, his parrot fell into Humāyūn’s hands. It astonished and no doubt amused him by screaming, upon the announcement of Rūmī Khā’s arrival: 

\[ \text{phiṭ Rūmī Khā harāmkhor, phiṭ Rūmī Khā harāmkhor “a curse on Rūmī Khā, traitor”, a sentiment which he had doubtless many times heard expressed in Bahādur Shāh’s palace.} \]

Shekhp Vajih ud Din ‘Alavi, 1505–90, was another Gujrat saint. His disciples collected his sayings into a book named Bahr ul Ḥaqāiq. The following are some of them: 

\[ \text{c. 1570. On hearing that Shekhp Fazl Ullāh had given up teaching, he said: “jub taraqqi pakrėge tab āpi dars kahēge “when he makes more progress he will of his own initiative give lessons”} \]

\[ \text{c. 1570. Another saying was: “is se hor kyā khūb hai is dunyā mē ki dil Khudā sū mashgul hove “what is better in this world than that the heart should be occupied with God?”} \]

\[ \text{c. 1570. Another was: “ārīf use kahvē jo Khudā sū bharyā hove “we may call him a Knower who is full of God”} \]

\[ \text{c. 1570. Again he said: “agar kisi kā thori bhi safā hove jo ḥarām luqma khāve yā ḥarām fi’l kare to tabīc pāve, dūje bār bhi pāve, fije bār bhi pāve “anyone who has even a little purity, if he eats an unlawful morsel or does an unlawful deed, he will immediately find it out, a second time also he will find it out, a third time also-he will find it out”} \]

This Vajih ud Din had a nephew Shāh Hāshim ‘Alavi, whose sayings were collected in Maqsūd ul ‘Āshiqīn by a disciple. I quote
three of them. Two are unfortunately in verse, and therefore less conversational.

c. 1600.

dunyā chore shekh kahāe  
yih hijāb tujh bhule nāe

dīnī shekhī sā yak maidān  
paule jhute dūje shaitān

"If anyone leaves the world he is called a shekh; this world is a mere covering, do not forget that. Religiousness and shekh-hood make up a great plain, the former are false, the latter devils." These lines are capable of many renderings. After considering a number I have chosen the one which expresses what seems to be the most probable meaning.

c. 1600.

Hāshim ji ki sunie bāt  
jinne rakkhi bāsi bhāt

uskā jāve hāte hāt

"Listen to what Hāshim says, if anyone keeps stale rice, his wealth will disappear."

bāp ke uthā deve so pūt, bāp nē deve so supūt, bāp kā dīā chine, so kupūt "who gives as much as his father, he is a son; if the father does not give (and yet he gives) he is a good son; he who seizes what his father gives, is a bad son."

In the same book the following is quoted from Shāh Nizām ud Din, a pupil of Vajih ud Din:

Nizām bandagī kare to kyā hove  
avval jiskā nē dīl ṣafā

jāma sūnde mē dūb rahā  
ose khushbū lagāe to kyā nafā

"when a man worships, then what happens, if his heart is not clean? If a garment is steeped in perfume, what is the good of putting scent on it?"

THE WORD HINdUSTĀN

It has sometimes been said that the only correct spelling of the word is Hindostān, and that this is proved by its being made to rhyme with bostān. The fact of its so rhyming can prove only that such a form exists in verse. It does not disprove the correctness of other forms. Some confusion arises from our not knowing exactly which spelling is objected to, whether it is Hindustān or Hindūstān or both. There is abundant evidence to show that in Urdu Hindūstān is well known and correct. The following points should be noted.

(1) The spelling without vāo is both Turkish and Persian. This is
not important, for we are concerned with Hindi and Urdu, not with foreign languages. Turkish generally omits the ăvă, indeed the word is usually pronounced hindistăn. Ahmad Vahid's English-Turkish Dictionary and Redhouse's smaller Turkish Dictionary give only this form. Steingass for Persian gives hindusăn, hindustăn, and hindustăn. Phillott in his English-Persian gives only hindustăn. Hindostăn is, of course, impossible in Persian. As I have said, however, all this is irrelevant. Urdu has nothing to do with the forms of other languages.

(2) In speaking Urdu, whether literary or colloquial, people almost always say -ūs-. Occasionally one hears -o- in pedantic speech, but -ūs- is practically universal.

Professor 'Abd us Sattâr Siddiqi, of Allahabad, writes: Urdu bolneâle 'ám tâur par is lâfz kā talaffuz mahz pesh ke sâth karte hai aur fusâbâ ki zabân par bhí hindustân aur hindustânî hai go ki hindostân aur hindostânî bhi gâlaât nahi; “Urdu speakers usually pronounce this word simply with pesh (i.e. -ūs-), and correct speakers, too, say hindustân and hindustânî, although hindostân and hindostânî are not wrong.” (Hindustani, 1931, p. 453.)

Nâr ul Lugât, iv, 992, under “Hind”, uses both forms.

(3) In a matter like this Urdu books have no more claim to be considered than those in Hindi. The latter almost invariably spell the word hindustân (rarely hindusthan); -o- sometimes occurs when an author is referring to an Urdu or English work which has that spelling. Even if it were the case that the -o- form was the only one in Urdu books and that people trying to speak highflew Urdu always said -o-, there would still be no reason for ignoring the Hindi spelling, and writing -o- in English to the exclusion of -ū-.

(4) With the approval and active support of the local Governments, two language academies have recently been formed in north India, one for Hindi and one for Urdu. Both of these bodies have chosen the name “Hindustânî Academy”, and each of them has a quarterly magazine of considerable interest, one in Hindi, the other in Urdu. The magazines have no connection with one another, the editors, writers, and contents being entirely different; but in both cases the title of the magazine is Hindustânî. The choice of name for the two academies and two magazines gives quadruple support to my thesis.

(5) In verse the form depends on the metre. The mutaqārib metre of the Bûstân, the Shâhnâmeh, and many Urdu mašnavîs,
such as the Mašnavī e Mir Ḥasan, does not permit the form Hindūstān; in place of it we must have Hindūstān in Persian and Hindostān in Urdu; but in metres which permit both forms both are found.

(6) Professor Siddiqi has collected a number of instances of the use of Hindūstān in Persian, Urdu, and Arabic literature (Hindūstān, July, Oct., 1931). He quotes the following authors who write in Persian: Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, five quotations; Amir Khusrau, twelve quotations; Muḥammad Ibn 'Umār Farqādī, one; Shekh Farīd ud Dīn 'Attār, one; Jalāl ud Dīn Rūmī, four; 'Abd ur Rahman Jāmī, one; Salīm Tehrānī, three; Mir Raṣā Dānish Mashhādī, one; 'Abd ur Razzaq Fayyāz, one; Nāṣir 'Alī Sharhindi, one; Amin Rāzī, one; Nizāmī Ganjavī, four; Ashraf Mazandarānī, two; Mir 'Abd ul Jalīl Bilgrāmī, one; Gulām 'Alī Azād Bilgrāmī, one; Ānand Rām Mukhallas, one; and the Arabic writer Abu 'Abdullāh Muḥammad Anṣārī (d. A.D. 1327), one.

I take a few quotations at random.

(i) The last-named writer: balādu Hindūstān wa ma'nāhu balādu Hind, "Hindūstān, i.e. Hind" (p. 634).

(ii) Jalāl ud Dīn Rūmī: sālhā mī gasht ā qāṣid az ā gird i Hindūstān barāe just ā jū "for years that messenger from him wandered round India for the purpose of investigation" (p. 625).

(iii) Amir Khusrau: Turk i Hindūstānīm man Hindavī gūyām jārāb "I am a Hindūstānī Turk, I reply in Hindavi" (p. 627).

(iv) Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān: ki man baqī'ā a Sū mānam, ā ba Hindūstān "(that) I live in the fort of Sū (or fort of unhappiness), he in Hindūstān" (p. 623).

Professor Siddiqī quotes the Farhang i Anjuman Arā i Nāṣirī of the time of Nāṣir ud Dīn Shāh as saying hamcunī Bagdād az Bāgdād ū paristān az paristān . . . ū Hindūstān az Hindūstān; "so Bāgdād is from Bāgdād, paristān from paristān, and Hindūstān from Hindūstān".

He complains that because certain mufīs of Urdu preferred to write Hindostānī this spelling became fashionable among copyists, sometimes with disastrous results. Thus Nāsikh wrote a tārikh on the death of Jur'āt:

hāe Hindūstān kā shā'ir muā

and one on the death of Saudā:

shā'ir i Hindūstān vāvāilā.

But the copyist, like the shopkeeper who put up the sign "Mens
and women's consciences rectified, wanted to improve on other people's work. In both lines he wrote *Hindostān*, thus adding six years to the life of each of the two poets.

Finally he points out that while in Part I of Āzād's lectures the copyist has nearly always written *Hindostān*, in Part II another copyist has, after the first page or two, always used *Hindūstān*, which the author himself preferred.

This form *Hindūstān*, so well supported by the evidence of literature, almost invariably heard in speech, adopted by both Hindūstāni Academies, is surely the form which we should employ in English.
THE MEANING AND USAGE OF CAUSAL VERBS IN URDU AND PANJABI

I. Meaning

The causal of an intransitive verb means to cause someone or something to perform the action which the intr. verb indicates: calmā “function”, calānā “cause something to function”. About this there is no debate. The question of causals of tr. verbs is not so easy. It is important to be entirely practical, and if we cannot get universal rules we must try to make general rules helpful to both students and scholars. To this end we must, as far as possible, use well-known words, and use them in their ordinary sense. New grammatical terms or old ones with new meanings are worse than useless. A student says: “How am I to express ‘make him sleep, make him do it’? May I say usko sulāo, usko karāo? If not, tell me what to say, and give me a rule for it which I can easily follow.” He is entitled to a reply; more than that, he is entitled to a reply which will be of real use to him.

People speaking of trans. verbs mean “verbs ordinarily trans.”, for most trans. verbs can, at least on rare occasions, be used intransitively (“This mutton eats well”). Again, nearly all of them may dispense with their object, though retaining their trans. sense. For our present purpose this distinction is unimportant. Thus “see” and “hear” are trans. verbs, but are intrans. in “the blind see, the deaf hear”. “Kill” is trans., but the object is suppressed in “if a glance could kill”.

The causals of verbs which are ordinarily trans. mean “cause a thing to be done”, i.e. they are the causals of the passive of the original verb. If we wish to say “he made the blind see and the deaf hear” we cannot say usne andhō ko dikhāyā aur bahrō ko sunāyā; this sentence, which is perfectly correct Urdu, means he showed something to the blind, and related something to the deaf.

We may put it otherwise. The direct object of one of these causals is not the doer, but the thing done; or again, if the causal of a trans. verb is put in the passive, the nom. is the thing done, not the doer.

cithā likhāi guī “the letter was caused to be written”, not munshī likhāē āgāyā “the clerk was made to write”. baṣhnā “forgive”;

[29]
but the causal passive means not "he was made to forgive" but "forgiveness was obtained for his sin, his sin was caused to be forgiven". We can say paise lutae gae, but we may not translate "the boy was made to rob" by larke lutae gey.

We can therefore make a universal rule:—

Universal Rule.—The causal of an ordinarily trans. verb, when it exists, may always mean "cause something to be done"; and it is never wrong to use it with this meaning. To this rule there is no exception.

Further, we can make a second rule:—

Second Rule.—For the causals of ordinarily trans. verbs the meaning "cause to do" is not permissible, whether the original verb is used "absolutely" or not, i.e. whether the object is expressed or not.

This rule may be considered universal, but if it were claimed that sikhna, sikhna "learn" is always trans., it would come in here as an exception, and the rule would then be general, not universal. It is a matter of indifference. It is certainly correct to say O sqa ol e "she has been taught, put up to it".

pijan na means "cause to be drunk". khilana in the best usage means cause to be eaten, not cause to eat. A phrase like larke khilae gae is contrary to good idiom, but I have heard it.

The following verbs are indifferently trans. and intrans., but it must not be assumed that the trans. is the causal of the intrans.:—

bhulana, (a) "forget", (b) "err", "pass from memory"; badalana "change", palatana "return", ulatana "turn upside down", bharana "fill", ghisana "rub", jhulasa "scorch, get hot", manana "acknowledge, agree", parhana "read, study", samajhna "understand", sikhna "learn". As they are both trans. and intrans., we should expect causals of both kinds. Actually we find that bhulana, parhana, sikhna are causals of both trans. and intrans. senses; i.e. both cause to err and cause to be forgotten, etc.

badlana, palatana, ulatana, ghisana, jhulasa are generally causals of the int. sense, i.e. they mean "cause to perform the intrans. action".

badalvana, palatvana, ulatvana, ghisvana, jhulasvana, mean to cause the action to be performed.

bharana in one sense only is the causal of the intrans. verb, viz. when it is used of a bird feeding its young, "cause to become filled up." Otherwise it is the causal of the trans., "cause a pot to be filled by someone."
manānā in the phrases deotā manānā, χuṣṭi manānā, etc., is not a causal except in form. Apart from this meaning, manānā, as also samjhanā; prefers the meaning of "cause to be done"; sentences like merā bāp manāyā gayā "my father was persuaded", or aurat samjhaī gaī "the woman was consoled", are not to be recommended.

II. Usage

(i) Grammars usually extend the name intrans. to verbs with cognate objects. These might equally be called trans. In U. and P. the causals generally omit the cognate object, as daurānā "cause to run". Occasionally, but rarely, the object is expressed, and the verb is treated as the causal of a trans. meaning cause a race to be run.

mujh se barī lambī daur āvāī gaī "I had to run a long run".

(ii) Some verbs have no causals. It is not possible to lay down a final rule on this point, for tastes vary.

(a) Verbs, not themselves causals, whose roots end in -ā do not make causals., e.g. pānā "find", jānā "go", ānā "come", lānā "bring", le jānā "take away", farmānā "command", gurrānā "growl", sharmānā "be ashamed", varṣānā "lead astray".

Exceptions, nahānā "bathe"; nahlānā: curānā "steal", curvānā.

But causals may make double causals, banānā "make"; banvānā.

(b) Verbs with more than two syllables in the root do not make causals. Verbs with two syllables in the root, the second containing a so-called "long" vowel, make only a -vā causal, e.g. χarīdānā "buy", χarīdvānā; ghasānā "drag", ghasātvānā.

(c) A few others have no causals in ordinary use; khenā or kheonā "row"; senā "hatch"; cāhnā "wish".

We may add khonā "lose"; socnā "think"; lenā "take"; honā "become", for the forms khuvānā and suvānā are fanciful; the Hindi livā lānā and livā lejānā are happily not used in Urdu; besides livā has not got the force of a causal; huvānā occurs only in the phrase ho huvāke, etc., and has no causal meaning.

(iii) The preposition to be used with causals of trans. verbs. We have seen that causals of trans. verbs mean not "cause someone to do something", but "cause something to be done by someone". How is this, "by" to be expressed? It is translated in two ways according to the closeness of the connexion between the causer and the action performed. When the idea of causation is weak, the tendency is to use ko; when it is strong, it is se.
The following take ko, meaning "to"—dikhānā "show"; samjhānā "explain", pilānā "give something to drink", khilānā "give something to eat", likhānā "dictate", luṭānā "distribute money", sunānā "relate", and all causals of verbs meaning "put on", as pinhānā "clothe someone with", uṛhānā "give a veil or shawl to be put on", hār bandhānā "put a garland on someone, give a garland to be put on", peṭi kasānā "assist in putting on a belt". (These are free translations.)

maṅ ne usko cīṭṭhī likhāi "I dictated a letter to him"; maṅ ne us se cīṭṭhī likhāi (better likhvaī) "I got a letter written by him". Compare kisi ko Fārsī parhānā, kām sikhānā, bāt manānā.
The Four Classes of Urdu Verbs

FROM the point of view of causality, Urdu verbs may be divided theoretically into four classes, according to their form: Intrans., Trans., First Causal, Second Causal. In this note I have kept before myself the difference between the form and the meaning of a verb; but, though fully cognizant of what some grammarians say about “verbs used transitively or intransitively”, I find it more convenient in practice to say simply “intr. verb” and “trans. verb”. As I am here not writing a treatise on general grammar, but merely making a few remarks on Urdu verbs, I will content myself with defining roughly the terms used: intr. verb, one which does not take a real object; trans. verb, one which can take a real object (so-called cognate objects being ignored).

A trans. verb is trans. whether the object is expressed or not, but a few verbs may be genuinely both trans. and intr. Thus in English: he went to change his clothes (trans.); he went to change (trans., object suppressed); true friends do not change (intrans.).

So in Urdu palaṭnā and badalnā can be truly intransitive as well as trans. All trans. verbs in Urdu can be used with obj. suppressed, but the suppression of the object leaves them trans.

Intrans. verbs may be further subdivided into ordinary intrans. and purely neuter, as in the phrases: he turned-out of his room for me, and he turned-out a thief.

Some Urdu verbs have no causals in use (I went into this in Bull. S.O.S., v, iii, 521); of a few it may be said that they have three. In practice possibly the most useful method of describing them is that mentioned above, viz. calling the causal of an intr. verb its trans.; or if we start with the trans. verb, we may call the intrans. verb a middle or passive.

Important General Rule.—So far as meaning goes, trans. verbs have no causals. The so-called causals of trans. verbs are causals of their passives.

We may then put verbs in four columns:

(1) intr. (2) trans. (3) so-called first causal. (4) so-called second causal. Very few verbs appear in all four columns, some appear in only one.
Column 1 contains all truly intrans. verbs.

Column 2 contains trans. verbs (i.e. verbs which can take a true object, expressed or not). When a verb occurs in cols. 1 and 2, the form in col. 2 is usually the trans. of that in col. 1, but generally there is some change of meaning, with the result that two is not a real trans. of one.

Column 2 might be called the causal of col. 1, but the relationship is, perhaps, more conveniently stated as intr. and trans., or middle and active. At this point there are two points to be noted:

(i) In some verbs the same idea runs through all forms, e.g. ladnā; all the forms contain the idea of loading; so bannā, making or being made. Other verbs, however, do not keep to one idea; thus dikhnā "be visible" goes on to dekhnā "look at" or "see"; dikhānā "show"—three distinct ideas.

(ii) When the same idea is retained, cols. 3 and 4 are practically the same in meaning, e.g. ladānā and ladvānā mean the same, whereas dikhānā and dikhvānā are quite different. See below.

It is necessary to have a clear idea of the relationship between the four columns.

Col. 1. Let us call the nominative of these verbs "x". Being intr. they have no obj.

Cols. 2, 3, 4. Let us call the noms. of these verbs A, B, and C respectively.

ladnā "be loaded".

Col. 1. asbāb lad ráhā hai "the furniture, x, is being loaded".

Col. 2. naukar asbāb lód ráhā hai "the servant, A, is loading the furniture".

Col. 3 or 4. mālik asbāb ladvā ráhā hai "the master, B, is getting the furniture loaded". ladvānā does not mean cause to load.

"x" which is the nom. of col. 1 verbs, is the obj., and the only obj. of verbs in cols. 2, 3, 4.

A, which is the nom. or agent of 2, cannot become the obj. of 3 or 4.

B, the nom. or agent of 3, cannot become the obj. of 4.

A, B, C are therefore never found as direct objects.

Col. 3 verbs are usually said to be causals of col. 2 verbs; e.g. that banvānā is the causal of banānā and means "cause to make". Both statements are erroneous. banvānā is the causal of banāē jānā and means "cause to be made". If it meant "cause to make" its obj. would be A, "cause A to make"; on the contrary its obj. is "x", and it means "cause x to be made by A".
Col. 3 verbs fulfil two functions: they are (a) causals of col. 1 through the instrumentality of A; (b) causals of the passive of col. 2.

So we get bannā “become made”; banānā “make” (directly, no outside party); banvānā “cause to be made through A”. It does not mean “cause to make”.

The nom. of bannā is always the obj. of banānā and banvānā. The object of banvānā is not A, the maker; it is x, the thing made.

Similarly, if we put banvānā in the passive, its nom. is x, the nom. of bannā, and this same x is the nom. of the passive of banānā.

sandq abhi nahi banā “the box has not yet become made”.
sandq abhi nahi banvācā geā “the box has not yet been made” (by A, the carpenter).

sandq abhi nahi banvācā geā “the box has not yet been ordered (by B, the master) to be made” (by A, the carpenter).

But we can never say us ne barhaī ko banvācā “he caused the carpenter to make”; or barhaī banvācā geā “the carpenter was caused to make”.

Preposition of agency. In the Bull., loc. cit., I discussed this point. It may be either se or ko. Col. 3 verbs mean “cause something to be done by A”. This by is sometimes se and sometimes ko. The problem is rather intricate. These col. 3 verbs are causals of the passive of col. 2 verbs. Now, if we study the col. 2 verbs, which are transitive, we note that practically all of them may be compounded with lenā or denā, some with both. lenā suggests a much closer connection than denā between the agent and the act.

When we come to col. 3, where we find the causals of the passive of the col. 2 verbs, we see that when the col. 2 verb is a lenā verb the corresponding verb in col. 3 has hardly any true causality. The idea is rather that something is done by A with the help of B. The agency is consequently expressed by the dative ko.

We note, further, that sometimes they are practically new verbs, containing a new thought, e.g. dikhānā, from dekh lenā, theoretically means “cause to be seen”; in reality it means simply “show”; sunānā means “relate or read out or recite (to someone)”; not, strictly speaking, “cause to be heard.”

B ne A ko kapre pinhāe “B helped A on with his clothes, clothed him”; pahin lenā “put on”.

B ne A ko dāstān sunā “B told A a story”; sun lenā “listen”.

B ne A ko sharbat pilāē “B gave A a sweet drink”; pī lenā “drink”.

[35]
B ne A ko kuch likhāēa or likhāēa “B dictated something to A”; likh lenā “write for oneself”.
B ne A se kuch likhāēa “B got something written by A”; likh denā “write for someone else”.

It is quite natural that the “causal” of a lenā verb should not contain any idea of real causality, for a lenā verb means doing something for oneself; consequently its “causal”, actually the causal of its passive, does not mean “cause it to be done”, which is almost meaningless, seeing that the person is doing it for himself; it means “help or enable it to be done”, as in the examples above.

**Examples**

Col. 4 often differs only in form from col. 3, and it is generally preferred when the idea of getting something done by an outside party is prominent. Thus kām karvānā is preferable to kām karānā, but the meaning is the same. When col. 4 differs from col. 3 we have the following:—

Col. 4 is (a) the causal of 1, through agency of A and help of B; (b) the causal of passive of 2 through help of B; (c) causal of passive of 3. In each case the object is x, never A or B.

Col. 4 is not the causal of the active of 2 or 3.

Col. 4 differs in meaning from col. 3, when col. 3 (which means that B causes something to be done by A) uses ko to express by. See above.

The following examples show how the nominative, x, of class 1 verbs, which are intrans., becomes the object of classes 2, 3, and 4. They show, too, that all so-called causals of trans. verbs are causals of the passive of those verbs, never of the verbs themselves.

**Examples**

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<td>(a)</td>
<td>dīkha</td>
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<td>A</td>
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<td>(b) sunā</td>
<td>B x</td>
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<td>(c) pinhā</td>
<td>B x</td>
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<td>(g) bandhā</td>
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(a) 1, x is visible; 2, A looks at x; 3, B shows x to A; 4, B causes x to be looked at by A, or C causes x to be shown to A by B.

(b) 2, A listens to x; 3, B relates x to A; 4, C causes x to be related to A by B.

(c) 2, A puts on x; 3, B helps x to be put on by A; 4, C causes x to be put on by A through B's help.

(d) 2, A drinks x; 3, B gives x to A to be drunk; 4, C causes x to be given by B to A to be drunk.

(e) 1, x is spun; 2, A spins x; 3 and 4, B causes x to be spun by A.

(f) 1, x is loaded; 2, A loads x; 3 and 4, B causes x to be loaded by A.

(g) 1, x is tied; 2, A ties x; 3 and 4, B causes x to be tied by A (bandhānā is hardly ever used in modern Urdu).

(h) 1, x is cut; 2, A cuts x; 3 and 4, B causes x to be cut by A.

When one studies the details of individual verbs, puzzling and involved problems arise, but the foregoing outline gives the chief points. On the general question of Indo-Aryan causal verbs Beames, *Comp. Gram.*, iii, 75 ff., may be consulted.
REPETITION OF WORDS IN URDU, HINDI AND PANJABI

It has been stated many times that the principal idea in the repetition of words is that of emphasis or intensity. My observation has led me to conclude that this is incorrect, and that the true sense in almost every case is one of the following:

- distribution (over time, space, or a number of objects),
- pleasantness,
- no meaning at all.

In order to make the inquiry practical, it is better to confine it to cases of words repeated without alteration. If anyone will in the course of his reading take 1,000 consecutive instances of repetition, he will find that

(i) short words are repeated far oftener than long.
(ii) repetition of adjj. or advv. with a pleasant meaning is much commoner than of those with a nasty meaning, and when the meaning may be either good or bad, the good is intended.
(iii) nearly every instance comes under either distribution or pleasantness.

(i) It follows that we read of a man’s visiting ghar ghar or gāō gāō or shahr shahr, but not dār us sultaṇat dār us sultaṇat, and that we may expect to hear of būrhe būrhe ādmī, sundar sundar striyā, or chohi chohi larqiyañ, but hardly of za‘īf ul ‘umr za‘īf ul ‘umr sāhibān, χυβσυρατ χυβσυρατ masturāt, or kam-sinn kam-sinn at-fāl.

(ii) See sentences 1, 2, 3, below
(iii) Distribution.

adheñ adheñ “eight annas each”.

thik thik batāo “explain correctly” (correctness spread over answer).

cappā cappā pāñī “four inches of water all along”.

zīle ke sab bare bare pattedār “all the important leaseholders of the district”.

ghārī ghārī “repeatedly” (at each ghārī).

Repetitive verbs come under this heading; the idea is either continuance or repetition of action:

dekh dekh kar, Pj. vēx vēx ke “looking repeatedly”.
(Pj.) turdeñ turdeñ “through continued walking”.

[38]
(Pj.) $p_{\text{ax}}\text{de}p_{\text{ax}}\text{de}$ "while heating up" (spread over some time).

Pleasantness. This often corresponds to our "nice and", or the slang "jolly old", "good old".

garm garm dūd "nice, hot milk".

lāl lāl tarbāze "watermelons, nice and red".

thandī thandī havā "refreshing breeze".

(Pj.) $\text{un vāg jā chēlī chēlī} "now off you go, nice and quick".

Sometimes no real meaning is discernible. People have got into
the habit of repeating certain short words, and do so without thinking;
the very shortness of the word seems to demand repetition. I knew
an Englishman who always said "very very", never simply "very".

Before one can claim that the main thought is emphasis it must
be shown that other ideas are impossible. Examples must be found
in which emphasis is the only possible idea, and is due solely to repeti-
tion; many emphatic phrases contain repeated words, but the
emphasis would not be less if the word occurred only once. In fact
we shall see that often the very reverse of emphasis is in the mind of
the speaker. Let us examine a few cases.

(1) gori gori bālikā kī lāl lāl gālhē "the rosy cheeks of the prettily
    fair girl".

(2) thandī thandī havā "a refreshing summer breeze".

(3) pio cā garm, garm "here you are, sir, nice hot tea".

(4) voh aлаг aлаг baith gae "they sat down in separate places".

Now if the idea of emphasis were present, these phrases would
mean:

(1) the hectic cheeks of the deathly pale girl; (2) a piercing winter
    wind; (3) scalding tea, much too hot to drink before the train goes;
    (4) they sat absolutely alone.

We have had it impressed upon us that repetition means emphasis,
and we shall feel inclined to say offhand that the following expressions
are emphatic, but a little study will convince us that they are not.

(5) kām ke shurū' shurū' mē "in the early days of the work".

(6) voh to abhī abhī āyā thā "he had not long been there"; quite
different from voh to 'ain usī vaqt pahuncā thā "he had arrived at that
very moment".

(7) sac sac bolo "now, my boy, the truth (throughout your
    answer)".

(8) thik thik hai karo "work it out correctly". But note that, if
the boy gets the answer "Rs. 23-11-9", the teacher, wishing to tell
him that his answer is "absolutely right", will not say tumhārā javāb thīk thīk hai; he will say bi'lkull thīk hai. Similarly "entirely wrong" will be bi'lkull galat, not galat galat.

(9) mahīne ke andar andar "some time or other within a month".
(10) somvār se pahle pahle "some time or other before Monday".
(11) ham tin tin ādmī prastut hai; when Hariś Candr uses these words, he means "here we are, three of us every time, for every work".
(12) maī ne das das χatt likhe, tum ne ek bhī javāb na diyā; this literally means "on several occasions I sent you ten letters one after another, but you didn't answer any". Actually, no doubt, he wrote a couple of times and got no answer.
Platts's Urdu Grammar contains rules to help in determining the genders of nouns. As it was published in 1873 and has not been revised since, one would expect that here and there some restatement might be necessary. This short article deals with the Arabic infinitives commonly used in Urdu. Platts gives seven forms (see especially pp. 25-9), pointing out that six are generally masc. and one fem. In every case but one there are exceptions. The student therefore has an uneasy feeling that perhaps the exceptions are nearly as numerous as the examples, and that in any case unless he knows all the exceptions, the rules are of little value. These Arabic infinitives give to Urdu between 900 and 1,000 nouns. It is impossible to say exactly how many, for a hard and fast line cannot be drawn. Some writers, like Abu'l Kalâm Āzād, overload their writings with little-known Arabic words, others employ far fewer. I will here state the rules and endeavour to give every exception. About some words authorities differ.

One broad rule to cover all others may be stated thus: nouns of the form ta'f'il are fem., and nouns of the following six forms are masc., if'ūl, ta'fā'il, ta'fā'ul, infūl, iftī'ūl, istif'āl. Directly derived from these and closely resembling them are some nouns ending in -a (i.e. -ah with h not pronounced), which are masc., and in -āt which are fem.

Let us take them in detail.

(1) Form II, ta'f'il. Approximately 230 of this form are found in Urdu literature in addition to forty which end in -a or -āt, such as tasfiya, taqviyat. The 230 are all fem. except one, ta'vīz, amulet, which is masc. Most of them are abstract nouns, but even those which are not, with the exception of ta'vīz, are fem. Thus Tašīz, the Holy Trinity; tahsīl, which often means a tahsīldār's house or court of justice; tahvīl, capital, deposited funds; tasnīm, a fountain in Paradise (made masc. by one poet, Shu'ūr), are fem.

About twenty-eight connected nouns end in -a. All are masc., but tahayya (for takhiyya), salutation has both genders. The word takhliya, letting go, evacuating, is wrongly given fem. by Platts's Diet. It is masc. Approximately twelve end in -āt and are fem.

Quadriliteral words belonging to Form II are all masc. They include words like tabakhtur, walking proudly, and fancy words like
takashmur, to act like or become a Kashmiri. There are about nine of them.

taqayyad, fem., urging, insistence, is probably an alteration of 
taqīd < taqyid.

(2) Form IV, if′āl. About 131 words; all masc. except eight.
This number does not include about twenty-five derivatives in 
-āt or -a; see below.

The eight exceptions are:
islāh, correction.
īthāh, importunity.
imlāk, property (rare).
īzā, pain.
ifrāl, abundance.
imdād, help.
inshā, composition.
irsāl, rent remitted to headquarters.

When irsāl means merely “sending”, it is not used as a noun; it 
is then part of the verb irsāl-karnā, send, or irsāl-honā, be sent: imlā, 
dictation, is sometimes fem.

There are about seventeen derived nouns ending in -āt, all fem., 
e.g. ijāzat, permission, and about eight in -a, all masc., as īrāda, m., 
intention.

The following is a list of words to which Platts has given wrong 
genders. The genders marked here are the correct ones:
īhsā, m., numbering.
idbār, m., turning back.
īfū, m., paying.
imā, m., sign, hint.
ijlās, m., session.
ifrāt, f., abundance.
irsāl, f., rent sent on.
imlāk, f., giving possession to.
imdād, f., help.

He allows both genders to īhsā and ifrāt; imdād is correct in the 
Gram. but wrong in the Dict. Conversely idbār is right in the Dict., 
but wrong in the Gram. Īkrāh, m., aversion (rare), and īrād, citing, 
which he gives as fem., have both genders.

(3) Form V, tafa′ul. About 173 words plus fourteen ending in 
-i, 187 in all. The former are all masc. except three, and the latter are 
all fem. The three exceptions are:
tawajjuh, f., attention.
tavaqqū, f., hope.
tamannā, f., desire.

Platts has tavazzū, f., prayer-ablution, but it is not used in Urdu.

There are a couple of derived nouns in -ā which are masc. They 
bring the number up to 188.

(4) Form VI, tafa′ul. About eighty-one. Twelve end in -ī and are 
fem.; three derived nouns end in -a and are masc. The remaining 
sixty-six are all masc., except tatāzu′, politeness, consideration.
(5) Form VII, infinitive. About thirty-five, all masc.
Platts’s Dict. gives imbisāl, gladness, fem. It is found both masc. and fem. The poet Ḥālī makes it masc.

(6) Form VIII, istīāl. About 130. Masc. with ten exceptions, of which six end in -ā. The fem. nouns are:

**iḥtiyāj**, need.  
**iḥtiyāl**, care.  
**iṣṭilāh**, conventional usage.  
**iṣṭilāʿ**, announcement.

And the following in -ā:

**iḥtīdā**, beginning.  
**iṣṭīfā**, being elect (rare).  
**iṭṭijā**, petition.  
**iḥtīdā**, being guided (very rare).  
**iṭṭijā**, sympathy.  
**iḥtīdā**, imitation.

Platts wrongly gives iṭṭirāz as fem. The following are both masc. and fem.: iḥtīfāt, courtesy; iḥṭimās, request; iḥṭiyyāz, distinction; iṣṭinād, leaning on (rare); iḥṭilā, affliction; iṭṭinā, anxiety, sympathy; iṭṭiṭā, imitation.

It will be noticed that of the nouns ending in -ā all the common ones are fem., viz. iḥtīdā, iṭṭijā, iṣṭihā, iṣṭihā.

(7) Form X, istifāl. About sixty-eight; masc. with the following four exceptions:

**iṣṭiḍād**, capacity.  
**iṣṭiḍāʿ**, supplication.  
**iṣṭirāz**, seeking to please (rare).  
**iṣṭiṇād**, asking help.

The following have both genders: iṣṭiṣnā, exception, iṣṭiṣnā, wealth, independence, iṣṭiqfār, asking forgiveness.

iṣṭiqfār is generally pronounced aṣṭaṣfār.

Pl. Dict. gives m. gender to iṣṭiṣnā, iṣṭiqfār (so also Gram.), and to iṣṭiṇād (correct in Gram.). iṣṭikrāh, m., aversion, is correct in the Dict., but wrong in the Gram.

Further, seven derived nouns ending in -āt are fem., and five ending in -a are masc. Adding them to the sixty-eight already mentioned, we get eighty for this class.

To sum up: I have dealt with about 950 nouns, which may be divided approximately as follows:

Connected with Form II 280  
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Of these 870 are Arabic infinitives and eighty are directly derived nouns ending in -āt or -ā.

The following simple rules govern them.

**Feminine.**

All ending in -ī 

No exceptions.  

" " -āt  

No exceptions.  

The form taf'īl  

One exception, viz. tajvīz, amulet.

**Masculine** all the rest. Some exceptions as below.

**Details of Masculine Types.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quadrilaterals of Form II</th>
<th>All masc.; no exceptions.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Derived nouns in -ā</td>
<td>All masc.; no exceptions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form if'āl</td>
<td>Eight exceptions given above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; tafa‘ul</td>
<td>Three exceptions, tawajjūh, tavaqqū‘, tamannā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; tafā‘ul</td>
<td>One exception, tawāṣū‘, i., politeness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; infi‘āl</td>
<td>No exceptions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; ifti‘āl</td>
<td>Ten exceptions, given above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; istif‘āl</td>
<td>Four exceptions, istid‘ā, ist‘īdād, istimdād, istirzā.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phrases in Platt's Gram., p. 25, ll. 19, 20, "a few more words that end in t or ā," etc., and that on p. 26, ll. 17, 18, "a few words ending in -ā or t" should be omitted: I do not think that in either case there is a purely fem. word ending in t, and those which end in -ā are about equally divided.

If we omit words of the forms if'āl and ifti‘āl we have 720 nouns with only nine exceptions; even if we include these two forms with their relatively numerous eighteen exceptions, the total is only 27.

A few words, not Arabic infinitives, may be mentioned in conclusion. Platt gives wrong genders to the fem. nouns injīl, Gospel; afvāh, rumour; tarāṣū, balance (correct in 'Grammar'). banafsha, violet, which he makes fem., is both masc. and fem.
URDU GRAMMATICAL NOTES. I

(a) Masculine Nouns ending in -i

We are apt to think that all nouns ending in -i and denoting inanimate things are fem. with the exception of pānī, water; jī, mind, self; ghī, a kind of butter; moli, pearl; dahi, buttermilk. In this we are wrong. There are many other masc. nouns ending -i. I submit the following list; perhaps there are others. One or two of them are occasionally heard fem. In the case of some it is possible to explain why they are masc. (e.g. names of months are masc.), but these
explanations are often of little value to the student. He wishes simply to know which nouns in -০ are masc. The reason for their being masc. is of secondary interest. I have purposely given the Urdu forms of the Arabic words; their Arabic forms do not concern us.

māzī, past tense. ma’nī, meaning; masc. pl. (commoner ma’nē).
mut ‘addī, trans. verb. janvarī, January.
mushtari, planet Jupiter. farvarī, February.
ṭūfi, parrot (metaph.). uskā maī, May.
ṭūfi bol rahā hai, he is julaī, July.
monic famous. farvardi, Persian month (also farvardin).
qālī, carpet (also qālīn). urdī, Persian month (also urdī bihisht).
dī, yesterday. jumādī ul avwal (or étude, or ākhir), Muhammadan month.
jadī, Pole Star, Aries, Tropic of Capricorn.
jallāmīrī, jhallyamīrī, boy’s game.

(b) THE NOM. PLUR. OF FEM. NOUNS IN -a

This is a point not taken up in grammars. The plur. of these nouns is formed not by changing -a to -ė, but by changing -a to -ā and adding -ė. Thus we get—

fākhāē, doves: zakcāē, women with newly born children: māda barrāē, female lambs.

Similarly, if one were to get plurals of Arabic fems. in -a, such as malika, queen; vālidā, mother, they would also end in -āē. As a rule these Arabic fems. avoid plurals.

(c) PECULIARITIES IN THE USE OF ne

To begin with we may state a general rule:

When the root of one verb is joined to another verb so as to make a single compound verb, if either verb does not take ne, the compound verb does not take ne; voh hās dī, she laughed; voh leayā, he brought.

The following verbs, almost all of which are or can be trans., do not take ne, whether they have an object or not.
baknā, speak foolishly.

bhālnā, forget.

cuknā, finish.

jannā, give birth to.

karnā in such phrases as

banayā karnā.

lagnā, begin.

lānā, bring (prob. contracted from le ānā).

larnā, fight (with), bite.

pānā, succeed in, manage to, get permission to.

dikhāi denā, appear.

sunāi denā, be heard.

pakrāi dena, be caught.

denā used with any other verbal noun of this form.

The following are both trans. and intrans. They take ne when they are trans., otherwise they do not.

badalnā, change.

bharnā, fill.

jhulasnā, scorch.

palātnā, return.

pukārnā, call out, call to someone for help.

qarār pānā, be decided; obtain rest.

ragarnā, rub.

ulaṭnā, turn upside down.

The usage of the following is variable:

hās denā, laugh (better without ne).

parhnā, learn, read (better with ne).

ro denā, cry (better without).

samajhnā, understand (better without).

sikhnā, learn (better with).

The following never take ne when used without an object. When they have an object they may take it.

bolnā, speak (much better without).

hārnā, lose, be defeated; jītnā, win. When these two have an object such as bāzī, game, sharī, bet, they may either take or omit ne.

cāhnā omits ne when the nom. is dil, jī, heart, etc. Otherwise it takes it.

It should be mentioned that baḥagnā, argue; cillānā, cry out; do not take ne, while sāth denā, accompany, does.

The following intrans. verbs take ne:
thāknā, spit. This can be trans. as in sāre shahr ne us ko thūkā, the whole city despised him.
hagnā, mūtā, perform the offices of nature.
mānna, agree (sometimes intrans.).

URDU GRAMMATICAL NOTES, II

(a) Gender of Nouns Ending in -ā.

The rule that nouns in -ā are masc., with the exception of some Sanskrit words, all Hindi diminutives in -iyā, and certain Arabic abstracts, is only approximately correct. I have made some lists which may be of interest. It might be claimed that one or two of the Hindi nouns are diminutives, but I do not think they can fairly be so described.

Hindi fem. nouns ending in -ā:

āngiyā, bodice.
jāngiyā, jānghiyā, drawers.
chāliyā, betel nut.
sāṅkhiyā, arsenic.
bādhiyā, bullock, gelding.
bhaṭ kaṭayyā, a prickly plant.
And the proper names:
Lankā, Ceylon.
Gaṅgā, Ganges.
Jamnā, Jamnā.

Ajodhiyā
Janēvā, Geneva.

The following are worth adding, for they are so common that the fact of their being Sanskrit is forgotten:
jaṭā, matted hair.
ghaṭā, dark cloud.
mālā, necklace.
sūlā, smallpox.

garhāyyā, large pit.
ṭhiliyā, earthen pot.
muniyā, amadavat.
mainā, starling.
shāmā, magpie robin.
barvā, poor land.
To these we might add:—

Kirpa, kindness.  Bidya, knowledge.

The following Persian feminines should be noted:—

Shahnā, flute.  Aṣiyā, corn mill.
Qarnā, horn.  Sazā, punishment.
Cūn o cirā, excuse.  Daqā, deceit.
Sarā, inn.  Parvā, caring, etc.
Jā, place.

A few Arabic feminines in -ā should be recorded as not being abstracts:—

Dunyā, world.  Guḷyā, name of a sūra in the Qurān.
Saḥbā, wine.  Kīmīā, chemistry (Greek).

(b) Are Nouns denoting Males always Masc., an
those denoting Females always Fem.?

It has often been pointed out that ghar, house, qabila, family, etc., even when used for "wife", retain (as is natural) their masc. gender. I have never seen any mentioned on the other side, and therefore venture to adduce the following:—

Badhiyā f., bullock, gelding.
Asāmī f., client, tenant (male or female).
Savārī f., passenger (male or female).
Sarkār f., the government, also single individual, your honour, his honour.
Polis, pulis, puls, f., the police.
Ra'īyyat f., plur. ri'āyā f. subject, landholder, tenant.

(c) The Meaning of "Jānā" in Compounds.

Jānā, go, when added to the root of another verb to form a kind of compound verb, either contains or does not contain the idea of "going". Can rules be given? I would suggest the following:—

(i) When added to intr. verbs jānā does not contain the idea of "going":—

Baith gayā, sat down.  So gayā, went to sleep.
Ā gayā, came.
The verb *itself* may of course imply motion, as *haṭ gayā*, moved away.

An exception, perhaps, is *uth jānā*, which means not to rise up, but to move out of one house into another.

Along with these must be included the occasional use of *jānā* with *karnā*, to form an intr. compound:—

*zirāyat kar gayā*, penetrated (*mē*, into).

*jagah pakar gayā*, found a place (*mē*, in).

As my colleague, Mr. G. E. Leeson, has pointed out, *jānā* often limits the meaning in a peculiar manner. This point deserves a note to itself.

(ii) When added to tr. verbs *jānā* normally contains the idea of "going":—

*rupayā de gayā*, he gave a rupee and went off.

*khirkiyā toṛ gayā*, he broke the windows and went away.

*Exceptions.*—While it is difficult to say with certainty that in any given case the idea of moving away is entirely absent, we do find sentences in which it is so weak that we may disregard it.

(a) Verbs meaning "understand", "take in", etc.:—

*maï tār gayā*, I saw and went way, or I saw and took in.

*maï samajh gayā*, I took in or have taken in.

*maï jān gayā*, I took in or have taken in.

*maï dekh gayā*, I looked and went, or I looked over (the volume).

(b) Verbs meaning "eat" or "drink":—

*sārā khānā ragar gayā*, or *harap kar gayā*, or *khā gayā*, he ate all the dinner and went off, or he ate it up.

*sharbat pī gayā*, he drank the sherbet and went off, or he drank up the sherbet.

So *haẓm k.*, *caṭ k.*, *nigalnā*, eat or swallow up.
GRAMMATICAL NOMENCLATURE: UNNECESSARY NAMES

In the teaching of Indian languages much confusion is caused by the invention of names for ideas which either have well known names already, or do not require any name. This makes otherwise useful grammatical notes very obscure, and causes actual unfairness in examinations because candidates are often unfamiliar with the terms employed. We should avoid attaching labels to the words, constructions, and phrases of the language we are teaching, and when a name is necessary it should be one already known from English or Latin.

I take a few illustrations at random from Platt's Grammar. Under verbs we find acquisitives, potentials, inceptives, permissives, completives, desideratives, continuatives, frequentatives, staticals, and reiteratives. It will hardly be believed that most of these names have been coined to indicate one or, at the most, two words. Thus acquisitives means pānā alone; potential means saknā; inceptive, lagnā; permissive, denā; completive, cuknā; desiderative, cāhnā (and māgnā!); continuative, jānā and rahnā; so far we have had seven unnecessary and, for the most part, uncouth names to indicate eight or nine words, nearly one special name per word. Frequentative and statical refer to two particular idioms, and reiteratives to repetition; none of these need a name. I would strongly advocate making a clean sweep of them all. They are confusing, awkward, and useless. I never myself use any of them.

The teacher can say "to-day we are going to discuss -saknā "be able", or -lagnā "begin"; or "I am going to tell you how to express permission or desire or habit or repetition." The simplest words are best.

Another objectionable word is postposition. We have "preposition" well established as a technical term. Why do we need another? English prepositions often follow their word: "that's the hole he got in by"; or as the weary nurse said to the intellectual patient after having read aloud to him, "what did you choose that book to be read to out of for?" In my teaching I always say "preposition", and never has it led to any difficulty or called forth any question.
As a matter of fact, if we wish to be lugubriously accurate, we shall have to say that Urdu and Hindi have prepositions, postpositions, and prepostpositions, for some always precede, some always follow, and some may do both. What is the unfortunate student to say?

The aim we should set before ourselves is this:

as far as possible (i) avoid coining new terms; (ii) use well known terms, and use them with their usual meanings.

Thus, if we use transitive and intransitive we must not change their connotation; we must not equate transitive with "verbs requiring ne", and intrans. with "verbs not requiring ne". Some trans. verbs never need ne, and some intrans. verbs always need it with certain tenses.

It is difficult to know what to call the case which in Pj. and U. occurs with all prepositions. "Oblique" and "General Oblique" have been suggested. They are unsatisfactory, for the case is only one out of four oblique cases in Pj. and out of two in U. Perhaps we might call it Prepositional, which, though a new name, carries its meaning on the surface.

THE CASES OF NOUNS AND PRONOUNS IN URDU, HINDI, AND PANJABI

In Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit case names are given to definite forms. The syntax of these forms is a different matter. Each case may have ten or twenty uses. If we are to employ the same names in Panjabi Hindi, and Urdu, we must do so in the same way; we cannot make, say, ablative or dative, equivalent to se or ko, for either se or ko may represent a Latin genitive or dative or accusative or ablative. A preposition governs a certain case, but it is no part of the case. εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν means ghar mē; oikia is accus. Are we to call ghar also accus. ? ghar is in a certain case, but ghar-mē is not a case. Again, μετὰ χαράς (genitive) is χυσῆ se; the Urdu noun corresponds to a noun in the genitive, why call it ablative ? A Greek dative may inter alia stand for a Latin ablative, but we do not, therefore, insist on saddling Greek with an ablative case. The term "case-phrase" has been suggested. But before we speak of a "dative case-phrase", we shall need to decide whether it is a Latin, Greek, or Sanskrit dative, and also which of the ten or twenty meanings of the dative it bears.

Hindi and Urdu nouns have three cases, nom., voc., and a third, which may be called prepositional. It is used with all prepositions
including *ne*. Thus *bahinē, bahino, bahinō*. Pronouns will need an agent case: *voh* "they"; *un, unhō*. I must plead guilty to having in various books given long lists of unnecessary cases, and committed the absurdity of making a preposition part of a case.

It seems to me that in no circumstances should a preposition be included in a case, but when a name is required for a definite form there is no objection to choosing the nearest or most suitable of the well-known case names, gen., dat., abl., loc., etc.

Panjabi requires five case names,

*masīt* "mosque", *būā* "door."

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>masīt,</em></td>
<td><em>būā</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>prep.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>masīt</em></td>
<td><em>būā</em></td>
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<td>loc.</td>
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<td><em>masītī</em></td>
<td><em>būā</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>masītō</em></td>
<td><em>būā</em></td>
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<td>voc.</td>
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<td><em>masītē</em></td>
<td><em>būā</em></td>
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Pronouns need at least three more: agent, dative, and gen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
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<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>mē, &quot;I&quot;</em></td>
<td><em>ō</em> &quot;he&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>prep.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>mēre</em></td>
<td><em>ō</em> &quot;he&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>loc.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>mēre, mērī</em></td>
<td><em>ō</em> &quot;he&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>mēthō</em></td>
<td><em>ō</em> &quot;he&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>ag.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>mā</em></td>
<td><em>ō</em> &quot;he&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>merā</em></td>
<td><em>ō</em> &quot;he&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>mēnā, minā</em></td>
<td><em>ō</em> &quot;he&quot;</td>
</tr>
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The loc. forms *mērī, ońi* are always adjectival, agreeing with a loc. plur. noun. Other adj. forms have also been included.

ADDENDUM. THE FIRST PLURAL FEMININE IN URDU

Some doubt seems to exist as to the proper form of the verb in the 1st plur. fem., and it has been asserted that the masc. form must be used. This is true of only one case.

(i) When a woman speaking of herself alone uses the plur., the verb and adjj. are masc.:—

*ham to abhī āte hai* "I’m coming now".

This reminds us of Greek usage. Cf. Euripides Alc. 383, where Alcestis is referring to herself.

[53]
(ii) If several women speak, the verb is fem. Two cases arise:—

(a) when a plur. fem. noun is inserted,

\[\text{ham tînô bahinê roši khā rahî thi} \] “we three sisters were breakfasting”.

(b) when there is no noun. A good example occurs in Āzād’s Āb i Ḥayāt, p. 74 of 1917 ed., where he makes some women say:—

\[\text{jab tak hamāri bāt na kah degā na pilāēgī} \] “until you say what we want, we shall not give you water”.

Two examples from Prem Chand are:—

\[\text{ham sab kī sab calēgī} \] “we shall all go”.

\[\text{āp kā diyā khāti hai, to sāth kis ke rahēgī} \] “what we eat is your gift, then with whom else shall we stay?”

In this last case (when there is no noun) some speakers are inclined to favour the masc., but among good families the fem. is used.
Early Hindi and Urdu Poets:

THE CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF PRAYER

BY SHĀH MALIK, 1666

INDIA Office Catalogue of Hindustānī MSS., No. 3, Sharī'at Nāma, a Dakhnī poem by Shāh Malik: written on 48 small folios and containing 516 lines. We may describe it as a compendium of Muslim doctrines.

The catalogue, which prints twelve lines of the poem (four taken from the beginning and eight from the end), calls the author Shāh Mulk, but it seems certain that his name was Shāh Malik. This is a natural name, whereas the other is abnormal. One might have hoped to find the name in some line which by its metre would decide the question. It does occur, but unfortunately it is merely spelt out, and the spelling is the same for both forms.

so yū shin alif he o mīm lām kāf
faraz kā so Dakhnī mē bolyā hai sāf
san i yak hazār hor sattar pau sāt
kīyā hā işī sāl mē yū ěkāt

“So this Shāh Malik (šīn alif he and mīm lām kāf) has plainly uttered the religious duties in Dakhnī; the year seven over one thousand and seventy, he has finished in this year this story.” (A.H. 1077 = A.D. 1666.)

On the outside of the MS. is written risāla dar fiqih dar zabān i Hindi i Dakhkān; taṣnīf i Shāh Malik tamām; “a tractate on theology in the Hindi language of the Deccan; the work of Shāh Malik complete.” On the next leaf are the same words except that Dakhnī is substituted for Dakhkān. These words on the outer leaves were no doubt written by some owner of the MS. After most of the lines of the poem are explanatory notes in Dakhnī prose, written in red ink by a later hand, probably seventy years later.

I have chosen these lines for translation partly because they are in themselves interesting, and partly because they are printed in Urdu Shahpāre (Haidarābād, 1929), pp. 245-6. For those who may be studying them as printed in that volume, it may not be out of place to point out a number of misprints there.
Namaz tuat kā beān
From Shāh Malik's Shārī'at Nāma, 1666

1. Namāz ke tuat ke hai bist o panj
Namāzī ne karnā hai yū yād ganj.

2. Namāz mē kare bāt yā khāā tā
Phirāve jo qible te sīnā o mā;

3. Bhi karnā salām yā tū us kā javāb
Dīe tau bī tuftā hai sun ai Shihāb.

4. Namāz mē pukāre o yā āh kahe
Tutegā agar oh hor vāh kae.

5. Bhi tuftā darad ke rone mane
Karegā 'amal yak kāsirā jīne.

6. Khankāre agar be 'uzar koi yār
To jāygā namāz is te sun ai hushyār.

7. Paregā galaī koī Qur'ān kū
Bhi tuftā pare dek Furgān kā.

8. Talab bhi kare yū Khudā te jīne
Jo karte talab jā ko ādmyā mane.

9. Bhi denā javāb chīk kā dar namāz
Hāsegā jo qahqih sēte bā āvāz.

10. Tutegā faraz tark karne mene
Najis par bī sijda karegā jīne.

11. Imam muqtadā gair bhi leve bol
Tutegā bī us te katā hū so khel.

12. Bhi bole khatā apnī gair az imām
Namāz hoe fāsid bī us kā tamām.

13. Bhi achnā barābar marad zan agar
Muāfiq ādā tahrīma yak digar.

14. Zamīn te ucāve tū sijda mane
Bhi tuftā agar har do pāvā kane.
15. Bhī sāhib i tartīb achaēgā jo koi  
   Vaqat bī namāz kā use tang na hoē.
16. Tuteēgā namāz is te sun nek rāē,  
   Namāz mē qażā gar use yād āē.
17. Imām te angē muqtaḍī hoē khaṛā  
   Tuteēgā so jāno nhanā tā barā.
18. Khabar nek bud yā 'ajāib jo koi  
   Aгарci baqur'ān hadīs sete hoē.
19. Namāz mē jo is kā deve jāb agar  
   To jaygā namāz is te sun kān dhar.

1. There are twenty-five causes for prayer’s failing,  
   the praying man must make them his memory treasure.
2. During prayer, if thou (i) speak or (ii) eat  
   or (iii) turn away from the Qibla thy breast and face
3. And (iv) say Salām, or if thou (v) answer to it (someone’s  
   salām),
   so also prayer fails; hear O Shihāb (meteor).
4. In prayer if thou (vi) callest out, or (vii) sayest Ah,  
   it will fail or if thou sayest Oh and Vāh.
5. It also fails (viii) in crying through pain,  
   or (ix) if anyone does with one (hand) many things;
6. Or (x) if any friend clears his throat without reason,  
   then through that the prayer will go, listen wise one.
7. If any one (xi) shall recite wrongly the Qur’ān,  
   it fails too if (xii) he recite looking at the book,
8. Or if any one (xiii) ask thus of God  
   as people ask among men.
9. Also (xiv) give an answer to a sneeze during prayer,  
   or (xv) if one laugh with a guffaw aloud.
10. It fails if one omits a furz (xvi)  
    or makes a prostration on anything unclean (xvii).
11. If the Leader and his follower shall say anything wrong (xviii),  
    It will fail for this, I tell you openly.
12. If anyone tells his fault to other than the Leader, (xix)  
    his whole prayer also is unlawful.
13. Also if a man and a woman are on a level (xx)  
    at the opening Takbir close to one another;
14. Or from the ground if one lift during a prostration  
    Both feet, it fails also (xxi);
15. Or if there is a master of arrangement and the time also for prayer is not short,
16. The prayer shall fail, listen O man of good advice, if in prayer he remembers that (a previous prayer) has been omitted (xxii).
17. Before the Leader if the follower shall stand (xxiii), it shall fail, know this both small and great;
18. Good news (xxiv) or bad (xxv) or strange, if any one hears, even though from the Qur'an or Tradition the answer be,
19. If he give the answer to it, then the prayer shall fail for that, listen with attention.

The second part of l. 5 is obscure. The accompanying Dakhni commentary says "doing three things with one hand, or one thing with two hands".

l. 7: Recite the Qur'an wrongly. Comm. "if in reciting the Qur'an, i.e. the Al-hamd or the sūra, he makes such a mistake as changes the meaning".

l. 8: Comm. "asking as from men, O God give me a horse or a wife, or earthly things of this kind; if he asks for heavenly things the prayer does not fail".

l. 9: Comm. "if someone sneezes and says Praise be to God, and the person praying says The mercy of God, the prayer is spoilt".

l. 10: Anything unclean, i.e. unclean cloth or place.

l. 11: Comm. "if the leader forgets something, and an outsider says it, and the leader repeats it after him, the prayer is not valid". The line may mean "if anyone other than the leader or his follower says anything".

l. 12: tahrīma or takbīr i tahrīma, the opening takbīr after which all worldly actions are unlawful (ḥarām).

l. 15: sahib i tartib; master of arrangement, perhaps the man who sees that the lines of worshippers are even, or the leader.

The meaning is that if during a prayer a man remembers that he omitted his prayers at the previous time of prayer, he must first say those prayers, unless there is actually no time to do so.

ll. 18, 19: If anyone while praying hears good or bad news, and makes a response, even if he takes the words from the Qur'an or from the hadīs, his prayer does not count.

In the MS. kāf is always used for both kāf and gāf; gāf does not occur. ṭ has four dots over it, ẓ and ḍ have four dots under them. In
the poem we find paregā and pare for parhegā, parhe, but kharā and barā are written with r. In the commentary r is written in ar hesitate, ghorā horse, choṛnā leave; r in kaphre cloth, pareā read, kharā and kharā standing.

Special Dakhni words: tutnā for ṭūṭnā break (in title, etc.), two cerebrals not being allowed in one word; achnā for honā be (13, 15); kānā for kahnā say (4, 11); the agent jine who, for ordinary nominative (5, 8, 10); kā for ko to, etc. (7, etc.); bhī also, at the beginning of a clause (3, 5, 14, 15); admyā for ādmiyō men (8), and many more.

Shāh Malik’s use of the word “Dakhni” to describe his dialect of Urdu should be noted. It would be interesting to know who was the first to employ the word in this sense. It was quite common among his older contemporaries. The earliest I know of was Gavvāsi, c. 1616.
GLEANINGS FROM EARLY URDU POETS.

Quṭb Mushtarī, 1609, a Daknī Poem by Mullā Vajhī of Golkundā

Quṭb Mushtarī is a MS. poem in the India Office Library. The Catalogue of Hindustani MSS. states (p. 64, No. 122) that the name and author are unknown; but Mohyeddin Qadri in his recently published Urdu Shahpāre gives the name of the poem, points out that twice in the course of it Vajhī is mentioned as the author, and adduces convincing reasons for concluding that this Vajhī and the author of the prose work Sab Ras, which was twenty-five years later, are the same person. The date of Quṭb Mushtarī is A.H. 1018 = A.D. 1609.

Urdu Shahpāre is a work of great value. It discusses Urdu authors from the earliest times down to the death of Valī and to illustrate their writings gives well-chosen extracts, many of which are taken from MSS.

It has been debated whether Vajhī or the King of Golkundā, Qulī Quṭb Shāh, was the first literary writer of Urdu poetry. The King reigned from 1580 to 1611. The exact date of his work is not known, but as it is unlikely that he wrote nothing till the last two years of his life, I have no doubt that the greater part of his poetry (which occupies 1,800 MS. pages) was anterior to Vajhī's poem. These two authors are of the highest importance. Before their time verse had been religious and moral, written not as poetry, but as a means of instruction. The chief religious poets before 1600 were Shān Mirā Ji, d. 1496, his son Shāh Burhān, d. 1582, Khūb Muḥammad, who wrote in 1578, and the author of Nūr Nāma about the same time. Of these Shāh Burhān was a writer of real poetic merit. They all belonged to the Deccan or Gujrāt.

From the ease with which Qulī Quṭb Shāh and Vajhī handle the language it is plain that Urdu poetry was even then not quite in its infancy. There is a surprising modernity about their writing. The bad habit of dependence upon Persian was only beginning.

Quṭb Mushtarī deals with a legendary incident in the life of the King during whose reign it was written. He dreams, while a prince,
of a lovely maiden. After a time he sets out in search of her, and at the end of many adventures finds and marries her. Vajhi, who was poet laureate, must have been encouraged by the King to write the romance, for without his sovereign's approval he would not have dared to do so. It will be seen that he is fresher and more direct than most of the poets of the following century, and from the standpoint of poetry his work stands higher than that of many who are far better known. He is in fact little more than a name in prose, and is unknown in poetry.

With a view to making the text accessible to a larger number of scholars and students I have transliterated it into Roman. This has necessitated a decision upon the pronunciation of every syllable. It is perhaps regrettable that a quasi-canonical character has thus been given to ideas about early Dakini pronunciation which are sometimes conjectural, but the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. I have tried to make the spelling fulfil the metrical requirements of the poem, but have omitted the frequently occurring, unwritten extra -ā.

"The Dawn of Love," from Quṭb Mustarī by Mullā Vajhī of Golkunda, 1609

1. Na bhei par disse voh na āsmān mē
   Rahyā Shāh usī nār ke dhyān mē.
2. Lagyā talmalāne bahūt dhat sō
   Kahyā jāe na bāt dū(vu)bāt sō.
3. Na yū bāt har ek kā fām hoe
   Vohi jāne jis par jo yū kām hoe.
4. Kadhī cakh hāse hor kadhī cakh roe
   Kadhī sudh pāve kadhī sudh khoe.
5. Isī dhāt din rāt rahta ache
   Apas mē ape yū voh kahtā ache.
6. Bhulāi cācal dhun vū yū Shāh kū
   Ki lubdāe jyū kāhrubā kāh kā.
7. Uthe hor phir soe Shāh jāe kar
   Ki dū(vu) nār bhī khāb mē āe kar.
8. Jo har bār yū khāb mē yār āe
   To 'āshiq kā bin khāb bhi kuc banhāe (nabhāe).
9. Pareshān hairān betāb thā
   Na kuc us kā ārām tā khāb thā.
10. Lagyā Shāh usāsā bharan āh mār
    Ki nazdīk nē hai vū kanvunt (gunvant) nār.

[61]
11.  اُکھی بے کھابر ہوئہ اکھی ہوئے نعیمیار
    اُکھی پیو پیو کی اکھی یار یار.
12.  یہ سونت مُطریہ کبہ کھابدار کے ہوئے
    یہ مساند کی دادا(و) کے نعیمیار ہوئے.
13.  بہوت ذات سے بات سامجھائے کر
    کاہہ شاہ کا نازدیک یہ آئے کر;
14.  کیا شاہ تا جام شاہ کوہررم حبیب
    نہیں گیا جو کے کہ بی ہو حبیب.
15.  جاکت تیک کاَہنہ سو حیزیر حیا سب
    عسائہ جو بھارت سو تاُہ سبیب
16.  ہی۔ہی۔ شاہ دی میں دھارنا بھالا
    کیس بہانہ نا کارنہ بھالا.
17.  کیس کا کی مونج یشقوآ کا آہ
    یوْہی جانے مونج یشقو میں کا آہ.
18.  جاکئ راڑ یہ بہپ کان گھولگا
    دیویاہ ہو ہا کر مونج بہلگا.
19.  نہیں بات کاہنہ کی یہ ہوئے کار
    کی سامجھاہ کب سکا ہمیں بول کر?
20.  آچہ سُئ پر مونج یہیں اب می
    کی چاکہ لاجگا گئی ساکی ہٹبمی.
21.  جئہ مُطریہ۔ شاہ کا سامجھاہ کاہہ
    تھا پُن کے شاہ حرو اپ رہاہ.
22.  کیئہ کی کی مسٹی کئے گئے حیا یہ
    کیئہ کی پیراہ کئے گلّہ حیا یہ.
23.  کیئہ کیے اکس کے آخہاہ ہو
    کیئہ کیے اکس یشقو کئے پُنہاہ.

Urdū Shahpāre, pp. 189, 190.

"The Wine Feast," from Qūb Mushtarī by Mūlā Vajhī, of Golkunda, 1609

1.  شاہانشہ کے ماجّلوس کیے اک رات
    وزیرہ کے فارزان تے کبہ سانگت.
2.  حار اک خیبَسّارہ حار اک خوش لیّا
    سو حار اک دیکّشا حار اک دیل روباہ.
3.  مہابات کے کہمہ میّ جام حیا یّا
    شوہّّاہ کے کہمہ میّ رستام حیا یّا.
4.  نادیم حر مُطریہ سوگہار فانمدّار
    آکھہ شاہ کا میلکار یّا سو اک ٹھار.
5. Șurăhi piyāle le hātā mane
    Nadimā te mashgūl hātā mane.
6. Lage muṭribā gāne yū sāz sū
    Ki dharti hale mast āvāz sū
7. Jo muṭrib dū(ũ) sahrā mē is dhāt gāe
    To phir un kā is shaug te hāl āe.
8. Jo gāvan vū Shāh kū kamāte athe
    So rāgā pa rāgā jamāte athe.
9. Nadimā laṭāfat mē jo cakh āe
    To roṭyā ko khus kār gharī mē hāsde.
10. Sharāb hor șurāhi nugal hor jām
    Hue mast majlis ke logā tamām
11. Jo huī rūt ādhī bichī do pahar
    Khabardār yārd āe hue be khobar.
12. Bisar gai nadimā taraz bāt kā
    Gāvāe khobar muṭribā zāt kā.
13. Na milte na khūbī jhagarte kahi
    Yakas ke upar ek partī kahi.
14. Lage mast ho saṭne mastī saṅgāt
    Yakas ke so pāvā upar ek hāt.
15. So yū kuc voḥ yārd āe hue be khobar
    Ki pānī pite the sharāb hai kakar.
16. Yakas kā bulā ek aẓmāo sū
    Gale lagte the mast ho chāō sū.
17. Bajāo jo kai to utē gāe kar
    Saṭne muṭribā hosh khushi pāe kar.
18. Șurāhi piyāle sū hamdast ho
    Kirā phirtē the dū(ũ) dono mast ho.
19. Yītā mast sāqī huā sud gāvāe
    Ki pyālā mange to șurāhi kā lyāe.

_Urdū Shāhparā, pp. 191–2._

**The Dawn of Love**

1. Not on earth she appeared nor in heaven.
   The prince recked of naught but the maid;
2. He was restless in numberless ways.
   Nor in words could the matter be told,
3. Nor yet could all understand,
   Only he upon whom it had passed.
4. Now a little he smiled, now he wept,
   Now lost, now alive, to the world.
5. In this state he remained night and day,
   With himself alone had he speech.
6. The charmer absorbed all his thought,
   Like amber attracting the grass.
7. He arose, but anon went and slept,
   For the maid was seen only in dreams.
8. If the friend comes thus in a dream,
   Then the lover wants nothing but sleep.
9. Bewildered, distressed and perturbed—
   No peace all the day, save in sleep.
10. The prince breathed out groanings and sighs,
    For that virtuous maid was not near.
11. Lost in thought or alert, now he says
    "My dear, dear one," and now "my dear friend".
12. The singers were roused by the news,
    E'en the drunken all sober became.
13. They reasoned with him many wise,
    They spoke to the prince, coming near,
14. "O prince, like King Jam, be thou glad;
    Thy sorrow is groundless, grieve not:
15. Whatever thou needest is here;
    Then why dost thou utter these sighs"?
16. Said the prince, "To keep secret is good,
    Good also to tell not one soul;
17. To whom can I say that I love her?
    Let her whom I love alone know.
18. To my Sire be this secret imparted,
    He'll surely regard me as mad.
19. Not openly can this be told,
    To whom can I trust this my woe?
20. On my couch I'm a tossing sea surge,
    For my dream-friend my thirst has aroused."
21. In vain did the singers console,
    He turned a deaf ear and was dumb.
22. Many said "These are follies of youth",
    Or "These are o'erturnings of love",
23. And "This is love's savour", said some,
    And others "Mere lightheadedness".
1. One night the Emperor an assembly made,
    The sons of ministers sat with him there,
2. And every youth was handsome, fair to see,
    And winsome every one with youthful charm.
3. In war as unafraid as great King Jam,
    In bravery not Rustam’s self more bold.
4. Courtiers and singers, elegant and wise
    Sat in one place together with the King.
5. Goblet and pitcher taking in their hand
    The courtiers one and all engaged in talk;
6. And when the singers rhythmically sang,
    The earth was trembling with the jovial sound.
7. Upon them as they sang in that wild waste
    A frenzy passed through overmuch desire;
8. And they that served the King in minstrelsy
    Were adding melody to melody.
9. The singers entering into merriment
    Would presently make even mourners gay.
10. With wine and pitcher, salted fruits and cup
    Intoxicated all the guests became.
11. When half the night was come and midnight lowered,
    Bereft of sense were friends with sense before.
12. Courtiers remembered not how to converse,
    And singers their surroundings heeded not.
13. Not meeting as friends meet nor quarrelling,
    But falling every one upon his friend.
14. The drunken courtiers swaying drunkenly
    Placed each his hand upon another’s foot.
15. And in this way the friends lost all their sense
    And drinking water, “Sure, ’tis wine” declared,
16. And each to other called by way of test,
    And drunken on the necks of shadows fell.
17. When bidden play the singers sang instead,
    Witless each man through joy and revelry.
18. The pitchers holding goblets by the hand
    Did reel from side to side inebriate.
19. The page became so drunk he lost his wits
    And gave a pitcher when a cup was sought.

[65]
In the transliteration into Roman character the words in brackets are what appear to me to be the correct reading for the word given immediately before, which is that in the printed text.

The chief points of Dakni grammar which emerge are the following: trans. verbs are used in the same way as intrans., even in tenses formed with the past ptcp. The agent prep. ne is not found. -ā is the plur. ending, both nom. and obl., masc. and fem.

It will be noticed that Northern Urdu and Dakni words, forms and constructions are intermixed. A number of the Dakni words have long since disappeared from Urdu. Some are still common in Panjabi.

The spelling frequently reminds us of the actual pronunciation of modern Urdu as distinct from that usually laid down in books.

In these notes “U.” stands for Northern Urdu.

The Dawn of Love.
1. bhui for bhu. nār, woman.
2. dhāt, manner, kind. vā, U. voh.
4. ache, is.
5. lubdāe, connected with lubdh.
6. hor, and.
7. nabhāy, na bhāy, not be pleasing.
8. kai, U. kahe.
9. ho ac, become (either ac or ach).
10. jakuc, U. jo kucch.
11. kis for kise.
13. sakī for sakhī.
15. kīte kai, U. kitnō ne kahā. pirat, love, a word still common in the Deccan.
16. put, a common word used in North India as well as the Deccan, practically “admixture” or “taint”, but with either good or bad sense. Two hundred years later Sayyid Inshā wrote Rāni Ketaki kī Kahānī in pure Hindi: “aur na kisī bolī kā mel hai na put.” And ‘Ali Ausāt Rashk, 1799–1867, said itni put īmān kī rakhtā nahī, I have not even so much faith.

The Wine Feast.
1. saṅgāt used prepositionally, with or along with.
3. *jam*, more often *jam*jam*, happy, happily; often like English "with pleasure", for "certainly", "by all means". Here a play on the name of King Jam.
6. *hale*; the vowel in both Pj. and Dak. is *a*, as in eighteenth century U., *halnā*, shake, is not the same as *hilnā*, become accustomed: Pj. *allṇā*, *iļnā*.
7. *saṭhrā*, used for the place of meeting, as if a picnic in the desert.
14. *saṭne*, also 17; *saṭnā*, leave, give up, hence lose; Pj. *saṭṭnā*, *suṭṭnā*; mastī sangāt, U. mastī se.

GLEANINGS FROM EARLY URDU POETS

MUHAMMAD QULĪ QUTB SHĀH, KING OF GOLKUNDA, 1580-1611.

THIS remarkable writer, the founder of Ḩaidarābād, and probably the first literary poet in the language, was the fourth king of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty which ruled in Golkunda, one of the five states into which the Deccan was divided after the break up of the Bahmanī kingdom. In the last number of the Bulletin I gave reasons for believing that he was an earlier writer than Vajhī, who in 1609 wrote the maṣnāvī known as Qutb Mushtari, in which he related a story having this very monarch for hero. Only five years after Qulī Qutb Shāh’s death his works were collected by his nephew and successor. They have never been published, but the beautiful original MS. compiled under the orders of his nephew in 1616 is still in Ḩaidarābād. It consists of 1,800 pages and has perhaps 100,000 lines.

Though he lived so long ago his name is one of the greatest in Urdu. He shows wonderful human interest, for he writes of everyday matters, Hindu and Muḥammadan festivals, the customs of the country, life in his palace, the celebration of his birthday, and of natural objects such as fruit, vegetables, and flowers. The only poets who can be compared with him are Saudā and Nazir, both of whom he excels in description of nature, while in his sympathetic account of Hindu life he is superior to all other Muḥammadan poets.

I have given here translations of three poems. The first is a charming little lyric, in which he tells of his affection for a nut-brown maid; the second was written on the occasion of his birthday. The third is a love poem rather more general than the first, but not nearly so conventional as most Urdu gazals. There is a directness about it which is very attractive. His Dakni poems were written under the name of Ma’āni.

The words between brackets in the following text are suggested emendations where the text seems to me to be faulty.

NHDNI SÄOLI

1. Nhanī sāvalī par kiyā hū nazâr
   Khabar sab gūvākar hū be khabar.
2. Tirā qadd surv nikle jab chand sō
   Dasan [disan] jot munj kā disan jyā qamar.

[68]
3. Pavan seti hat rakhī hai āp kamar  
   Sūraj cand naman jhamke vā zar kamar.
4. Mai us nūr sō lubdīā hā kyā 'ajab  
   Do jag roshnī pāyā kis nē khābar?
5. Tū dūrī ḍarāve munje dūr the  
   Vā kyā būjhe mo dil mē hai tū nagar.
6. Mā'āni ke bātā the jhartā namak  
   Ji cākhe kahe hai namak sō shakar.

(Maḥbūb uz Zamān, 759.)

BARAS GĀTH

1. Nabī ki du'ā the baras gāth pāyā  
   Khushyā ki khābar ke damāme bājāyā
2. Piya hā mai ḍhazrat ke hat āb i kauṣar  
   Tū shāhā ūpar mujh kalas kar bānāyā.
3. Merā gūtb tārā hai tāryā mē nājil [nājil]  
   Tū mujh bar falak rang kā catar chāyā.
4. Sūraj candr pī tāl hokar bājē tab  
   Mandal ho falak tāmānāyā bājāyā.
5. Kare Mushtari raqs muj basm mē nīt  
   Baras gāth mē Zuhra kalyān gāyā.
6. Merā gulistā tāza is te huā hai  
   Mujh is bāg the mevā dandam khilāyā.
7. Dinde dushmand kū so yak jā milākar  
   So ispand ke mātarā karnā cāhā.
8. Khudāyā Ma'āni kī ummed bar lyā  
   Ki jyā sāt ki mehā te jag sab akhāyā [aghāyā]
9. Khudā kī rāzā sō baras gāth āyā  
   Sahī shukr kur tū baras gāth āyā.
10. Du'ā e imāmā the mujh rāj qāsim  
    Khudā zindagānī kā pānī pilāyā.
11. Gul i Mustafā sete serā gundāyā  
    Mujh is gul kā serā hamail banāyā.

(Maḥbūb uz Zamān, p. 752.)

PIYA

1. Piya bāj pyālā piya jāe nā  
   Piya bāj yoktal jiyā jāe nā.
2. Kahe the piya bin šubūrī karā  
   Kahyā jāe ammā kiyā jāe nā.
3. Nahi 'ishq jis voh barah kaur hai
   Kahii us se mil baisaaj jai na
4. Qutab Shah na de mujh divane ko pand
   Divane ko kuch pand diya jai na.

(Urdu, ii, 5, 22.)

THE LITTLE DARK GIRL

From the Divân of Muhammed Quli Qutb Shah,
King of Golkunda 1580-1611

1. Mine eyes have seen a little girl’s dark face
   and have become forgetful of all else.
2. Thy cypress form comes out coquetishly
   and lights appear to me like moon rays fair.
3. Swift as the wind her hands surround her waist,
   that golden waist then shines like sun and moon.
4. No wonder that her radiance conquers me,
   the light of earth and heaven: who knows it not?
5. Thy absence drear affrights me from afar;
   how can she know her home is in my heart?
6. Look, salt is dropping from Ma‘ani’s words,
   but when one tastes, it is not salt, but sweet.

MY BIRTHDAY

Muhammed Quli Qutb Shah, King of Golkunda

1. Through the prayer of the Prophet I’ve now reached my birthday
   And beaten the drums sounding forth the good news.
2. I have drunk at the hand of Muhammad sweet nectar;
   God therefore has made me the crown over kings.
3. The Pole star, my name star is nobler than all,
   My canopy coloured expands in the sky.
4. The sun and the moon both are clashing like cymbals
   With sky for arena and tambourines’ sound.
5. There Jupiter dances to honour my birthday,
   While Venus is chanting a victory song.
6. My garden is thus overflowing with freshness,
   And furnishes fruit every hour of the day.
7. My enemies all in one place God has gathered
   And wishes to burn them like incense in fire.
8. Fulfil, O my God, all my hope's expectation,
   As Thou gladdest the earth with the soft rain of peace.
9. The favour of God has brought me my birthday,
   Give true thanks to Him for thy birthday now reached.
10. Through prayers of the priests my kingdom stands firmly,
    God gives me to drink of the water of life.
11. And weaving a garland of roses from Persia
    Has threaded the garland on me as the cord.

**Life in a Love**

By Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, King of Golkūnda

1. Without the loved one wine cannot be drunk,
   Nor without her one moment life be lived.
2. They said "Show patience absent from your love";
   This can be said, but surely not be done.
3. The man who knows not love is merciless,
   Never with such a one hold speech or sit.
4. I am distracted, give me no advice,
   Never to such as I is counsel given.

**Notes**

The royal author's fondness for indigenous words should be observed.

*Nhanī Sādī
d. nhanī, U. nannhī : gāvākar, losing.
3. naman, like: vū, U. voh : quṭb tārā, a play on his own name.
4. lubdyā, connected with lubdh ; nē, U. nahl.
5. tū, U. terā, terī.

*Barasgāth*, in later U. sālgīra

3. najīl, an obvious mistake. I suggest nājīl.
7. ispand seeds were burnt as incense to drive off evil spirits.
8. sīdī for shānti.
11. gul i Muṣṭafā, for gul i Muḥammadi, the ordinary Persian rose. sete for setī ; serā for sihrā.

Piyā. p. 203, line 1, kūr, Hindi, not Persian,
Early Hindi and Urdu Poetry

Pen Pictures by Banārsī Dās and Zaṭallī

BANĀRSĪ DĀS of Jaunpūr belonged to the Jain community and was born in 1586. The following charming extracts are taken from his most famous work, Ardhh Kathānāk, an autobiography completed in 1641.

His wonderful power of word painting is exemplified in these passages. The first describes the commotion in Jaunpūr when the news of Akbar's death was received in 1605. We feel the spell of the description, and tremble with the frightened populace. This picture should be compared with Zaṭallī's account of the turmoil after the death of Aurangzeb. (See below.)

The second tells of the Black Death, bubonic plague, in Agra during 1616, the first time the city was visited by that pestilence. Anyone who has been in India during a plague epidemic will realize the force of his words, the rats dying, the spread of the disease among the people, the glandular swellings, the sudden deaths, the mortality among the physicians, the despair and flight of the townsfolk afraid even to partake of food.

The third relates an experience of the author, when he and his friends were caught in torrential rain, the street doors were shut, no one would ask them in, and the caravanserai was full. One woman was prepared to take pity on them, but her husband sternly refused them.

I. The Death of Akbar, 1605

1. Is hi bāc nagar mē sor
2. Bhayo udangal cārihu or
3. Ghar ghar dar dar diye kapāt
4. Haṭvānī nahi baiṭhē hāṭ
5. Bhale bastr aru bhūṣan bhaḷe
6. Te sab gāre dharti tale.
7. Ghar ghar sabani visāhe sastr
8. Logan pahire moṭe bastr.
9. Ṭhāṛhau kambal athvā khes
10. Nārin pahire moṭe bes.
11. Ūc nīc koū na pahicān
12. Dhanī daridrī bhaye samān.
13. Corī dhārī disai kahū nāhi

KAVITĀ KAUMUDĪ, 36

II. PLAGUE IN AGRA, 1616
1. Is hī samay iti bistārī, pari Āgre pahīlī mari
2. Tahā tahā sab bhāge log pargat bhayā gāth kā rog.
3. Nikasai gāthī marai chin māhī, kāhū ki basāy kachu nāhi ;
4. Cūhe marai vaidya mari jāhī, bhay so lōg ann nahi khāhī.

Id., 35

III. THE RAIN
1. Phirat phirat phāvā bhaye, baṅho kahai na koi ;
2. Talai kīc sō pag bhare, āpar barsat toi.
3. Andhkar rajnī viśā himritu agahan mās
4. Nāri ek baīthan kahyo, puruṣ uṭhyo lai bās.

Id., 36

I. THE DEATH OF AKBAR
(The news of Akbar's death comes to Jaunpūr)
1. A cry was heard throughout the town :
2. On every side a tumult rose,
3. In every house the doors were locked.
4. No more sat traders in their shops,
5. But garments fine and jewels fine
6. Were buried all beneath the earth.
7. In every house they brought out arms ;
8. Rough were the garments they put on.
9. Men stood in blanket or in shawl ;
10. Women were clad in raiment coarse.
11. Twixt high and low, was difference none,
12. For rich and poor were now the same.
13. Though theft and robbery were not seen,
14. Through causeless fear men were afraid.

II. PLAGUE IN ĀGRA
1. Then spread distress around, plague first on Agra fell.
2. The folk fled forth all ways (the gland-disease had come).
3. The swellings rise, the stricken people helpless die.
4. First rats, then doctors die ; through fear the people fast.
III. The Rain

1. Walking, walking, worn and weary; none invites to sit;
2. Feet are clothed with mud beneath, overhead the rain descends;
3. In the murkiest night of winter season's black November;
4. "Pray be seated" said one woman, but her man rose with a staff.

The word ḍhāṛhau in I, 9, means standing. It is used in the Simla hills to-day in the form ḍhāṛhū for a kind of servant, a man who brings wood or water for travellers, and does other unskilled menial jobs.

III, 1, phāvā is hard to understand. I connect it with Panjabi phāvā "weary".

The Death of Aurangzeb by Mīr Ja'far Zaṭallī 1659–1713

This poem describing the state of things which prevailed after Aurangzeb's death, should be compared with Banārsī Dās's Braj poem written nearly seventy years earlier, in which he tells of the excitement produced among the people of Agra by the receipt of the news of Akbar's death in 1605.

Zaṭallī was a notorious satirist and jester, sparing no one except the Emperor. Even the princes were not immune. He seems to have had a great respect for Aurangzeb. It is said, but without complete proof, that he was executed by orders of Farrukh Siyar.

The Death of Aurangzeb

1. Kahā ab pāiye aisā Shahanshāh
2. Mukammal akmal va kāmil dil āghā?
3. Rakat ke āsūd jag rotā hai
4. Na mithī nīd koī sotā hai.
5. Šodā ē top o bandūq ast har sū
6. Basar asbāb o bandūq ast har sū
7. Davādav har taraf bhūg parī hai
8. Bacca dar god sar khatyā dharī hai.
9. Katākaṭt o latālaṭ hast har sū
10. Jhaṭā jhaṭṭ o phatāphat hast har sū
11. Bahar sū mār mār o dhār dhār ast
12. Ocalcāl o tabar khanjar katār ast
13. Az ā A'zam va专业人士 sée Mu'azzam
14. Jharā jharī o dharādhar hast do pāyam
15. Bīnām tā Khudā az kist rāžī
16. Bikhvānad khutba bar nām kih qāžī.

Panjab mē Urdu.
1. Where shall we find so excellent a king,
2. Complete, consummate, perfect, knowing hearts?
3. The world is weeping tears of blood,
4. And gentle sleep to no one comes.
5. On all sides noise of cannon and of gun
6. Men carrying goods and guns upon their heads.
7. And fleeing here and there on every side,
8. Beds on their heads, and children in their arms.
9. Cutting and smiting on all sides,
10. Wrenching and splitting on all sides,
11. On all sides death and violence.
12. Turmoil, axes, daggers, poniards.
13. That side A'zam, this Mu'azzam,
14. Fighting, struggling, both I find,
15. But let me see whom God approves,
16. For whom the priest on Fridays prays.

The last four lines refer to the internecine war between Aurangzeb's sons A'zam and Mu'azzam. The author wonders whom God will favour and who as Emperor will be mentioned in the Friday prayers. It was Mu'azzam who was successful and came to the throne. He is known to history as Bahadur Shâh.

1. 15 may have two meanings: (1) whom God makes King, and (2) whom God takes to Himself; in other words who is defeated and dies. In the first case it is parallel to line 16, in the second case 16 is the reverse of 15, the meaning being "let me see which is defeated, and which becomes Emperor". 1. 16 refers to the fact that the ruling sovereign is prayed for in the Friday prayers.

The author freely uses Persian words; the second, fifth, sixth, thirteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth lines are pure Persian.

1. 9, lařalat might be read lurlulut "robbery".
1. 12, ocalcâl is probably for calâcal or calcalâo.

In 1. 14 the r of jhar is doubled for metrical reasons. This is specially interesting because it is not possible to pronounce a double r, and it looks as if the author was satisfied so long as his eye saw a double r, even though his tongue could not say it.

For double r compare the following sentence from Mirâ Ji Khudânumâ, c. A.D. 1600, quoted in Urdu, April, 1928, p. 158, e sab Qur'an kâ chirrâcâ deke vale mage nahî câkhe, these all see the husk of the Qur'an, but do not taste the marrow.
GLEANINGS FROM EARLY URDU AND HINDI POETS

I. "A Vision of Death." By Ahmad

The following beautiful poem was found in a MS. notebook dated 1748. The date of the poem is unknown, but it must be older than the MS. We may put it provisionally at 1650-1700. The author's name occurs in the last couplet. Nothing is known about him, and there are many poets of the name.

1. When passed the night and came the day, 'twas then I understood.
2. Ere I had been one hour awake, ah then I understood.
3. When I had drunk the cup of death, my eyes were opened then;
4. When on the bier my corpse they placed, 'twas then I understood.
5. I nothing recked of covering quilt or cloth,
6. When 'neath my head the stone they placed, 'twas then I understood.
7. What time my friends left me and went, how foolish I remained;
8. Munkir, Nakir both questioned me, 'twas then I understood.
9. When came the time of my account, my eyes were opened then;
10. I read the statement of my works; 'twas then I understood.
11. My life was spent, the whole of it, no work had I to show;
12. When passed the noonday of my life 'twas then I understood.
13. Save God and the apostle now on Ahmad's side was none;
14. But when I trusted grace divine, 'twas then I understood.

The poem contains no cerebral letters except d in chod, l. 7. This d is probably not original. We find carhi "ascended", pari "fell", gharī "hour", khāt "bed", it "brick", cīthī "letter", parhi "read", dhali "descended".

Peculiarities for metrical reasons are huvā for huā, l. 2; hisāb for hisāb, l. 9; 'umrā for 'umr, l. 11.

In l. 4, codiya is doubtful. I read it as co deh, though in this case co is tautological. The sense appears to require a word for corpse. Or is it caudia, a style of sitting?

1. 6, stone; lit. brick.
2. 7, nakā is difficult. In Daknī the word would mean "not", which hardly gives sense, and the poem is not Daknī. I am taking it as for कूकृया.
3. 13, If we retain ku we must take taraf as "helper", "supporter".

II. ONOMATOPOEIC LINES FROM GIRIDHAR DĀS

The following extract is taken from Narśa Kathāmrit (Nṛsih Kathāmṛt), a poem by Gopal Candr, known as Giridhar Dās, 1833–60. He was the worthy father of a famous son. Hariś Candr, his son, 1850–85, is one of the most famous Hindi poets, certainly the most famous in the last 200 years. The lines convey the impression of deafening noise and blinding light. They are a good test of ability to pronounce r smoothly and easily.

1. भयो भयंकर शब्द महान गमड़ गड़ गड़ड़ियाँ
2. पल्लों संभ हे संभ कराल कझड़ कझड़ कझड़ियाँ
3. बड़यो कोटि रवि तेजः श्रमक्षिण बड़ बड़ बड़ियाँ
4. मायें दुर्गमगन देखि सख्य सड़ह सड़ह सड़हि
5. भड़ भड़ड़ भड़ड़ परवत गिरहि बड़हड़ बड़हड़ हाथी धरणि
6. छहि कमठ कोल करि चरणरी मए तेजः तैं इत्तैं तरनि
1. There came a great and awful sound—gagara gara gara gara.
2. The pillar split in two huge parts—kakara kara kara kara.
3. The glory grew and flashed like suns a hundred thousand—
jhajara jhara jhara jhara.
4. The demons fled on seeing the sight—sara sara sara sara.
5. bharara bharara bharara fall the mountains; harara harara
   shakes the earth.
6. Trembled the serpent, tortoise, boar, and elephant; the sun
   lost his glory.

It is difficult to convey by sound the ideas of splendour and
refulgence, but the word jhamak contains those ideas. It occurs in
the verb jhamakki, l. 3, and the jh is repeated four times in the rest
of the line. Perhaps one might say that the sounds represented by
the letters suggest both noise and dazzling light.

In the line telling of the flight of the demons, we should have
expected more sibilants, but evidently Giridhar wished to emphasize
the crashing of their departure rather than the swishing and rustling
that accompanied it.
A Brief Grammar of the Kanauri Language.

Introduction.

The country of Kanaur is called by its inhabitants Kānōrīṇa, a man of the country is kānōrōs, fem. kānōrē. The language is kānōrīṇ skad\(^{1}\), Kanauri speech, or kānōrēcanī skad\(^{1}\), the speech of the Kanauris. The Köcī speaking people of lower Bashahr nickname the language Minchān. As the words kānōrīṇ skad\(^{1}\) have a somewhat unfamiliar appearance and sound, I have given to the language the more usual name Kanauri, the name which is used by all non-Kanauri people in the state and is more or less familiar all over the Panjab. Kanauris themselves call their language ka-10 naurī when they are speaking Hindī or Köcī. Köcī is the generic name given to every Aryan dialect spoken in Bashahr State.

The county of Kanaur lies in Bashahr State, which has an area of 3800 sq. miles and a population of 84,000. The Kanauris themselves number nearly 20,000.

Few languages have their limits defined with such mathematical precision as Kanauri. It begins abruptly at mile 92 on the Hindustan Tibet road just over 20 miles from Rampur, the capital of the state, and continues up the Satlaj River to past mile 192. It is therefore spoken in the Satlaj Valley or sub-valleys for a 20 distance (measured along the road) of one hundred miles.

There are in all four dialects, I. Kanauri proper, spoken from mile 92 to mile 162, i.e. from two miles beyond Sārāhān to Jāāgī. Between mile 92 and Tūrāṇḍā, which is at mile 104, it is spoken only on the south side of the river.

II. Lower Kanauri spoken between miles 92 and 104 on the north side of the river. This dialect does not greatly differ from Kanauri proper. It uses more Köcī words, but is in its grammar wholly Tibeto-Himalayan.

III. Thēbōr skad\(^{2}\), spoken in the villages of Lippā, Āraṇ, Lābrāṇ, Kāṇām, Shūmām and Shōsō. This dialect I have not had an opportunity of studying. Kanauris living within ten miles of when it begins to be spoken say that they cannot understand more

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than half of it. Further up the Satlaj than the Thêbôrskad' area we come to the Nyamskad' dialect of Tibetan.

IV. A dialect spoken in the Baspa valley in two villages called Chhitkhull or Raksham. I have a few notes on this dialect. It certainly is a Kanauri dialect, but differs considerably from Kanauri proper and is not understood at all by ordinary Kanauris.

Roughly speaking we may say that Kanauri proper is spoken between long. 77° 53' and long. 78° 30' east of Greenwich and between lat. 30° 23' and lat. 30° 39' north.

Into the philological problems connected with Kanauri this Grammar does not attempt to enter. They have been ably treated by Dr. Sten Konow in the Zeitschrift, Vol. 59, p. 117 ff. and more fully in the Linguistic Survey of India Vol. III, part. 1. Dr. Sten Konow shows that Kanauri belongs to the pronominalised group of Tibeto-Himalayan languages, and has many points of affinity with the Mundâ languages. All that I have attempted is, working at first hand, to give the Grammar correctly and to explain the pronunciation with the greatest possible care. I trust that these notes will anew draw the attention of philologists to this fascinating speech.

In this Introduction the placenames have been given their more common Kœî pronunciation.

**Pronunciation.**

The pronunciation of Kanauri is exceptionally difficult. It is worth while to go into it carefully. There are 23 clearly distinguished vowelsounds, to which there may be added two or three less clearly marked

**Vowel sounds.** In these notes a is used for the following sounds, à, long, like a in Italian *tovare*.

- a, the same vowel but considerably shorter.
- ò, the sound of a in America, u in *fun*.
- e is generally like French e, but has various lengths.
- ê is long.
- è is the same vowel shortened.
- ë is very short and is a wider vowel than the above, rather like e in *pet*.
- e followed by ì is extremely narrow, as in *ken*, give.

There are three sounds represented by i, all narrow.

- ì long, as in Italian *Lina*, but longer.
- i' same vowel, shorter.
- i' same vowel, very short.

The sounds for which I have used o are somewhat complicated.

- o is long narrow Italian o.
- o the same but shorter. This is sometimes longer and some-
times shorter, and one is tempted to what would probably be an
over refinement, the differentiation of two medium o s.

{o} is a diphthongal sound, composed of o and very short {Ü}, the two
pronounced very rapidly as one sound {œ}. Thus dökt'is = doök'ts.
{o} above the line, English aw in atce.
{o} above the line is the o of English hot. The length of this
is not quite invariable, but it is generally very short.
{o} is used for a very short sound of the type of German ö,
but short and inclining towards the narrower sound of German ü:
{"} is the German ö. This sound is somewhat rare.
The ü’s are
{"} long like oo in school. Rarely this tends to get narrowed
slightly towards {U} as in shû a god.
{U}, same vowel, but shorter.
{"}, a slightly wider vowel, short, like u in English bull, but not so wide as the English u.
{"}, like German üi, very short, but not so narrow, dünghûr, kind of temple, pûî(h) feather, mûî(h) silver.

Sometimes one hears a Ü which seems almost between ü and {Ü},
as in zgüül lichen, pyûd wool. Here the u resembles a rapid oo
combination of ü and {Ü}, thus zgüûl, the two being very rapidly
enunciated. So also yünûg' go and yünûg' grind corn. I am
not sure that this is really a distinct sound, and as it does not occur
in the Grammar no special symbol is needed for it.

ai like a in man.

au diphthong, slightly different from ö. It is in fact a com-

bination of ö and {Ü}. {Ü}.

One feels almost inclined to make an exaggerated generalisation
and to say that the normal vowel in Kanauri is half-long, a, e, i, o, u,
and that short and long vowels are exceptional. It is noticeable that so
in very many loan words the reverse is the case, we have phûr = farâ,
difference, börâbür, always. The whole difficulty is greatly
enhanced by the fact that the length of the vowels is not always the
same.

The greatest difficulty in Kanauri pronunciation is found in connection with the half-uttered g' or k' as found at the end of a
syllable and especially at the end of a word. This letter occurs in all infinitives, -mig', in the first person sing. of all verbal tenses and in a number of ordinary words. I have represented it by g', it
might almost equally well be represented by k'. When a word so
like görnûg' is rapidly enunciated, the final letter sounds like a
half uttered k, if a very slight emphasis is placed upon it it sounds
like gk' both letters half uttered, the sound bearing a resemblance to
the sound emitted by a German imperfectly acquainted with English,
in saying the word big. If the syllable be emphasised it becomes g. When followed by a sonant it is g, when followed by a surd it
is k, before a vowel it is generally g. Thus reg', a kind of tree,
Genitive regū; agi, cave; Genitive agū. Sometimes at the end of a word, preceded by n, it becomes kh, as ma līnkh, ma inkh, negative Future of līnmiği and ənmiği.

I once had a few minutes conversation with a Kanaura man who knew a little Urdu. He stated that in the Infinitive the letter was a q, līnmiği, but in the Future and Past a k, lāntok, lānak. I am not quite convinced, however, that he was not making a difference where none exists.

There is a tendency in Kanauri with other consonants also to leave them half pronounced at the end of syllables, as, e. g. d in Imperatives šēd, pōred.

Verbal roots ending with a sonant generally change it to a surd before another surd; thus

kōnmigi, drip, V cōg, Past cōkshid.

Many words ending in a vowel have that vowel closed by a sharp jerk like that which closes words ending in -ti. I have indicated this jerk by the sign 't. Many examples will be seen in the following grammar, e. g. tō, dā, he is, toke, dāe, he was, ka, thou, nīnā, we.

l is generally as in English, but at the end of an accented syllable it tends to become very dental, being pronounced with the tongue against the teeth. This give it almost an aspirated sound. pul(h), feather; mūl(h), silver.

n is like English n, but at the end of accented syllables a little more dental. Between two vowels n tends to become cerebral, but even when cerebralised is less cerebral than the Hindi n.

lənniği, give, Imve. rani, ranic, Past raniyi.

negi, I shall know, ni, it will be, neg. ma negi, ma ni.

n is the gn in Italian signor, at the end of an accented syllable very dental, keν give.

n is English ng in singing. I noticed one or two lightly pronounced ins, the word for horse is rīn, quite distinct from rīn mountain.

ch is sometimes more cerebral than in Hindi, e. g. chū when ch is pronounced rather for back in the mouth.

denotes the nasalisation of a vowel.

A noteworthy tendency is that of prefixing s and z (occasionally sh and zh) to words beginning with surds and sonants re-

spectively, especially p, b, k, g.

Thus, zbiōdā for biōdā, he is going, skrapshimig for krap-

shimig, weep together, mourn. I have indicated this by putting the s or z in brackets.

Surds at the end of a word are sometimes aspirated; thus,

rōth, native loaf; plural rōte.

sūth, bug; plural sūte.

All consonants not mentioned above are pronounced as in Hindi.
Dialectic differences. We must always bear in mind the presence of purely dialectic variations, thus: Infinitives in *mmig* and *mmig*’, Futures in *-ög*, *-ög*’, *-ög’, Pasts in *-ög*’, *-ag*’, *-ag’; *tose*; for *toke*, *lantösh* for *lantish*, *dê* for *due’*, represent mere differences of dialect, and all may be regarded as correct.

**Noun. Number.** The noun has two numbers, singular and plural. There are no special forms for the dual.

**Gender.** There is no grammatical gender. Sex is indicated by different words and occasionally by different endings.

*za-zë, ester (male); za-zë, eater (female).*

*toti-tse; striker (male); toti-tse, striker (female).*

*Kyö or skyö prefixed to a word denotes a male, month denotes a female. Thus kyö pyö, male bird, month pyö, female bird.*

**Case.** The cases will be seen from the paradigms. The accusative is generally the same as the nominative, occasionally the same as the dative. Nouns ending in a vowel generally add *-gâ* to the nom. plural. The ablative ending seems to be *-lts* (or *kc*), and is generally used simply with inanimate objects, for animate objects it is joined to the preposition *doa’* and used in the form *doa*lts.

**Agent.** There is a certain amount of freedom in the use of the agent case. The common rule seems to be that for Intransitive verbs it is not used: for Transitive verbs.

Nouns which are the subject of Transitive verbs are in the agent case for all tenses.

First and second personal pronouns are in the nominative case. Pronouns of the third person are in the agent case for Past tenses, otherwise they are in the nominative.

This rule is not strictly adhered to, and we find agentive forms for first or second personal pronouns.

*ts* is often added to a noun to give a diminutive sense as *chań, son, boy, chats* is little boy.

**Pronouns.** The pronouns show a great complexity of form. In the second and third persons there are respectful forms, and all three persons have a dual. In the first personal pronoun there are exclusive and inclusive forms for both the dual and the plural, indicating the exclusion or inclusion of the person spoken to. Thus — we two shall dine at eight, if said to a friend would involve the pronoun *kâshión*, thou and I, but if said to a servant *niši*, he and I, to avoid the servant’s considering himself invited.

**Relative.** There is no proper relative, but in its place are employed interrogative forms, or forms ending in *-ana* (ever), as *hittiana*, whosoever, *thôdiana*, whatsoever.

**Verb.** The verbal forms are very complex, and in some respects very full. Thus every ordinary tense has a polite form for the second and third singular, and dual forms for the first and second persons. The ordinary plural forms are used for the dual of the
third person. The first person has exclusive or inclusive forms for the dual and plural.

The verb substantive has two bases toq₁ and dæq₁. In addition to the forms mentioned below under Conjugation the following should be noted.

There is an indeclinable Present Tense formed by adding -ts to the root (roots in n frequently dropping the n), thus lōts, they say, I say &c. from lōmmig₁, nīnət lōts, we say. maех is not, are not, there is not, from the negative ma

(see below under Negative).

There is a Past in gyō or kyō, this ending being added to the root. After sonants (including m, n, l) the ending is gyo, after surds and vowels it is kyo, after r both are found. Both transitive or intransitive verbs have this ending.

lōngyō, did, from lōmmig₁, bıkxyō, went, from bımig₁, bōngyō, came, from būmmig₁, cıkxyō, washed, from cımig₁.

I cannot explain this ending.

A peculiarity about the indeclinable past in -shíd is worth noting. When it is used with the verb substantive dæq₁, dæeg₁, (present and past), the latter is regularly declined both in the present and in the past; thus, tonishíd dæq₁, dūn, dæeg₁ dūn, &c. I have, thou hast, I had, thou hadst beaten.

When, however, the verb substantive of the form toq₁, tokeg₁, is employed, the nominative is always of the first person, but the verb remains indeclinable in the third person; thus tonishíd to₁, toke₁.

I have, I had beaten.

The letter șḥ, sometimes with a euphonic ă, is inserted after the root to express a reflexive or mutual or even passive sense; thus krammig₁, (v’kраб) cry, krapshimig₁ or skrapshimig₁, cry together (perhaps falling on each other necks).

tonmmig₁, strike, tonishimig₁, strike oneself or one another.
sarmig₁, raise, sarshimig₁, rise (cf. Italian levarsi).

zāmig₁, eat, zashimig₁, be eaten.

The letter c similarly inserted after the root indicates an object of the first or second person.

támig₁, place, tācimig₁, place me, us, you &c.
gō shēcoddq₁, I am sending you (from shēnmig₁, send).
ka₁ shēc–dūn, thou art sending me, us.
lancish tosh, (he, respectful) is waiting for me, us, thee, you.
lancish nittish, will (probably) be waiting for me, us, thee, you.
gō tōncog₁, ka₁ thū tōcon, I will beat thee, why wilt thou beat me?

The pronouns may also be expressed. There is no form for a third personal object.

Transitive, intransitive. A transitive or intransitive sense is frequently expressed by special verbs, e.g. shēnmig₁ with verbal noun or conjunctive participle often expresses a transitive or
causative sense, as pō pō shēnmiŋʼ, cause to arrive, from pōnmiŋʼ, arrive, and hācimij, become, or some other verb, expresses an intransitive sense.

Often entirely different verbs are used. Not infrequently, however, the only difference is that transitive verbs have an initial surd, while intransitive verbs have the corresponding sonant.

byānimijʼ, fear, (s)pyānimijʼ, frighten.
dōnimijʼ, go or come out, tōnimijʼ, put out.
barmiŋʼ, burst (intr.), pharmiŋʼ, burst (tr.).
boṇmiŋʼ, burn (intr.), poṇmiŋʼ, burn (tr.).

Of the verbs kēmiŋʼ and rānniŋʼ, both meaning ‘give’, kēmiŋʼ is used when the indirect object is of the first or second person, and rānniŋʼ when it is of the third.

gōs ranṣhids, I gave (him &c.).
nūks kerō, he gave (me, you &c.).
aṅ bayas kīnĭ ketō, my brother will give you.

This rule is not always observed. Thus Tīkā Rām has dēpōn
gō anesi khau ketōgh I will give him food. I have verified this.

Interrogative. The letter a is often added to a verb, and sometimes to other parts of speech to indicate a question. Thus with the verb substantive we notice such forms as these, tona, tōna, toa, toca, tosha, and with other verbs zātona, wilt thou eat? toṇaca, will you wo strike?

Negative. For the Imperative the negative is tha, for all other tenses ma. The Future is very often contracted when used along with ma. This is occasionally true of other tenses. It should be noticed that this contraction, while a little puzzling, is not nearly so bewildering as in the cognate language Lāhuḷī.

Examples of contraction.

ma tōng, I will not strike, Fut. toṅtoṅgh.
ma rōg, I will not cause to graze, Fut. roṅtoṅgh.
ma pōrēj, I will not be obtained, Fut. pōrētoṅgh.
ma dōreg, I will not run, Fut. dāretoṅgh.
ma pōg, I will not arrive, Fut. pōtōṅgh.

The verb substantive toj, tokeg is contracted to maig (main, maĩ, maĩ, regular) and mai keg (mai ken, mai keĩ, mai keĩ, &c. regular).

In these words the a and i are separately pronounced.

As n between two vowels tends to become cerebralised, we have forms like

ma neg, I do not know, Fut. nētoṅgh.
ma ni, there is not, Fut. nītoṅgh.

The Verbal noun is formed by adding -im or -am to a root ending in a consonant, and -m to one ending in a vowel. This is the form used in compound verbs, see below.

Sometimes -mō or -mo is added to the root, especially when the verbal noun is nominative to a verb, as tūmō zūrūr maši it
is not necessary to eat, bimo om maiké, going formerly not was one had not to go formerly; rénno tær tēsh, (the sun) is ready to set, kan or kanmo biō, he went to bring.

Loanwords. There are a great many Hindi loanwords. Nouns are often taken over with a mere addition of ŏn, as kāmōn, Hindi kām, work, būtōn, H. bāt, matter &c., or os, cōrōs, H. cōr, thief; or -īn as pēttīn, H. pēt stomach.

We find them among adverbs, būrābār, hūmēsh, and sōda, all meaning ‘always’, bāerān, outside, dōr, far, closely resemble H. būrābār, hūmēshā, sōda, bāhār, dār. With hūn, hūnā now, and nērōn, near, compare Panjabi hūn, hūncē, nērē.

In Verbs they are adapted and then conjugated like regular Kanaurī words. The following will be found conjugated in the lists below.

pōrēnnīg, be obtained, H. pārēna.
pōtshēnnīg, arrive, H. pāhūnconā.
zītēnnīg, win, H. jītōnā.
hārēnnīg, be defeated, H. hārnā.
dōrēnnīg, run, H. dāwnā.

Compound Verbs. Wish to, be able to, permit to, learn to are expressed by means of the verbal noun.

Wish, gyāmīg.
gō bim mā gyāqī, I do not wish to go.
ikī zam mā gyau deṇ (contracted from dāyen), you were not wishing to eat.
gō bim mā gyāgyā tokeq, hūn bim gyātōq, I had not wished to go, now I wish to go.
tūnām gyāt sāyen, I was wishing to drink.

Be able, sōkyēnnīg, loan word from Hindi (sūknā).
gō cēm mā sōkēa' (pronounced almost maskēa'), I cannot write.
gō cēm sōkēa tō, I can write.
gō pēt cēm mā sōkēa, hūnā sōkēa tō, formerly I could not write, now I can.
rī gō bun mā sōkyēda, the day before yesterday I could not come.

It is noticeable that the word for can or could seems invariable. sōkēa, sōkēa tō, sōkyēda, all have the form of the 3rd sing.

Permit, shēnnīg, (lit. send).
The verbal noun is used with the required tense of shēnnīg.
bim shēnnīg, permit to go.
tūnām or zam or bun shēnnīg, permit to drink or eat or come.
dōk'ta sūra vōqim shēda, he sent him to feed swine, might mean, he allowed him to feed swine.

gasū cīm shēda, he sent or allowed to wash clothes.

Learn, hushīnnīg.
gō cēm hushōqī, I shall learn to write.
Necessity is expressed by the Infinitive with the verb substantive, and also by gyāmig'. (See under advisability.)
gō bimig' tō, I have to go; cf. Hindi mūjhē jāna hai. dogos thō zāmig', what are they to eat?
Advisability or duty is rendered by the Infinitive of s gyāmig', wish, with the verbal noun or ordinary infinitive.
bim gyāmig', one should go or will have to go.
kinu zām or zāmig' gyāmig', you should eat.
kinu tōnām or tōnīg gyāmig', you should beat.
aī bandau gyāmig' tō, to me a servant is advisable or if necessary, I need a servant.
cōrōs mā lān gyāmig', it is not right to do stealing (to steal).

Conditional Clauses. The protasis appears to be always the root of the verb with ma affixed. The apodosis varies according to the sense. For the past conditional apodosis the Infinitive with is the past of the verb substantive is generally used.
do bōmma tāma paisa pōrēmmig duē, he come-if, then paisa to-be-obtained was, if he had come, then he would have obtained a piece.
do zāma tōnig' duē, he eat-if, become-ill was; if he had eaten, he would have become ill.

The Conjugation of the Verb. What may be called the 19 root of the verb is found by dropping the -mig' of the Infinitive.

Infinitive. The Infinitive ends in -mig'. When the root ends in n the Infinitive has both -mig' and -mig'; i.e. the m may at pleasure be assimilated to the preceding n.

Verbal noun see page 667.

Future. The future is formed by adding -tōg' to the root. Verbs whose root ends in -ci or -shi, whether this ending is a pronominal suffix or not, form the Future by changing ci or shi to cōg or shōg. The ending -ōg' is sometimes dialectically varied to -ag' or -ag'.

Imperative. The Imperative is generally the root. Root-ending in i or e or a are sometimes euphonically changed, as bih or biōh or biūh from bimig', go; ciū from cimig, wash; gyau from gyāmig', wish.

Three other forms of the Imperative are found: one adds to the root ra', which is declined. This form seems to be used when immediate compliance with the order is not necessary. What this
-ra is I do not know; can it be connected with ranmig, give, as in Hindi chörde, leave, banāde, make, where de is from déna, give?

Another adds da instead of ra. The special sense of da seems obscure. A few verbs have both ra and da forms, as hacinig, become; ranmig, give; unnig, take; lanmig, do; gyālimig, win, but in most verbs only the ra form is allowed.

Some Hindi loanwords ending in -ēnnig form their Imperatives in -ed as pōtshēd, sitēd, from pōtshēnig, arrive, sitēnig, conquer. So also sōmsēd, from sōmsēnīmig, understand, a verb which forms some of its tenses as if from sōmsēnīmig. These Imperatives are regular except for the 2nd sing.

Present and Imperfect Indicative. These tenses are formed by adding the Present or Past of the Verb Substantive to the Present Participle, which in turn is made by adding -o to the root. Of the two forms of the verb substantive dug and dug are commoner in these tenses than tog or tokeg.

The following are irregular: rōnmiq, graze, rōgodug'; zūnmiq, begin, zūgodug'; tōshimig, sit, remain, tōshidug'; tūnnig, drink, tūnādug'; kēnig, give, kērodug'; nēnig, know, nēddug'; n is very frequently changed to g.

Past. The Past generally formed by adding to the root -ag or -shid, the later being indeclinable. Verbs whose roots end in n generally drop the n.

tōnmiq, beat, tonag, tonshid; but dāg from dānnig, run;
rašhid from ranmig, do; bōshid from būnnig, come.
-ag sometimes becomes -ag or -ōg.

We notice also a past in -eg specially in verbs with roots in -sh or -ci, thus tōshimig, remain, tōshēg; hacinig, become, hacig; hushimig, learn, husheg.

Some verbs, usually with roots ending in -n, have a past form in -dag, in addition to one or more other forms, as shēnnig, send shedag; pōrēnnig, be obtained pōredag; dānnig, run, dāradag; pōnnig, become ill, tōdag; būnnig, come bōdag.

Some verbs whose roots end in -n or in a vowel drop the a of -ag as, pōnnig, arrive, pōg; zānig, eat, zāg; kannig, bring, kāg; lōnnig, say, lōg; shēnnig, send sheg; kēnig, give, has kerag or kēshid.

The Pluperfect. The Pluperfect seems to be made by combining the Conjunctive Participle (see below), with the Past of the Verb substantive; thus shīshī toke, having died was, had died; shō bibī toke, lost having-gone was, had been lost; gyāgyā tokeg, having wished I was, I had wished. This construction may, however, indicate rather a past state than a pluperfect tense.

The Present Perfect is formed similarly with the Present of the Verb substantive, but we must enter the same caveat. pō to, from pōnnig, get ill, may be he has got ill, but it may also be he is in a state of having got ill, i.e. he is ill.
Participles. Present. By adding -o to the root we get a kind of Present Participle, which seems to be used only in composition with the verb substantive or nimig, become.

Conjunctive, made by a repetition of the root. něně, having known, from němig; kaka, having brought, from kanmig; toton, having beaten, from tonmig.

Verbs with more than one syllable before the root repeat only the latter or last syllable, pōrērea, having been obtained from pōrēmig; dōrērea, having run, from dōremig.

A continuous sense is given to the Conjunctive Participle by adding -o to each half: — bio bio, having continually gone, from bimig; tinotūno, having continually drunk, from tinmig, cf. Hindi jā jā kē, pī pī kē.

Passive Participle. There is a Passive Part. formed by adding -shēs or shēs to the root, thus cēshēs, written, tonshēs, beaten, is ma quāshēs, not desired. In Transitive verbs this participle means in the state of having been beaten &c., in Intransitive verbs it means, in the state of being &c.

Verbs whose roots end in shi or ci contract shēs to -šs or -is or -ōs, thus, tōshōs, sitting, from toshimig, hacas, having become, from hacinig, dāshas, having quarrelled, from dāshimig, chukses, having met, from chuksimig.

The Participle expressing on doing or while doing a thing has two forms made by adding -rōn (or -rōn) and ūnēn (or yēnēn) to the root. rōn is apparently the preposition meaning with. The sē root undergoes the same changes as in the Present Indicative.

kēmig, give, kerērōn, on giving, kerēnēn, while giving. tonmig, beat, tonērōn, on beating, tonēnēn, while beating. unmig, take, unērōn, on taking, unyēnēn, while taking. bimig, go, has bēnēn and bierōn.

I am not clear about the exact difference in meaning between these two participles.

Agent. The agentive Participle is formed by adding -sēa or -tsea to the root, sēa generally being added to a root ending in a consonant, and tsea to one ending in a vowel. Verbs whose roots end in n frequently drop the n and take the latter form. For tsea and sea dea and sēa are found. The Feminine is tē, ū, ē, sē. kēmig, give, ketsea, giver; unmig, take, unea, taker; kan-
mig, bring, katsea, bringer.

The forms are much interchanged, thus sāmig, has sāsea, and 40 tonmig, beat, has tonsea.

Roots ending in shi or ci take sēa; hacinig, become, hacisea; toshimig, sit, toshisea.

This ending is commonly used with nouns, chiefly in the form sēa or sēa or tsea. If there means the person or thing connected with, thus racāsēa, the man with the horse, the owner or rider or driver.
Central Kanauri.

Nouns.

Masculine.

rūn (rūn), horse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. rūn, horse</td>
<td>rūnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. rūnū</td>
<td>rūnānū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. rūnū, rūnū pōn</td>
<td>rūnānū, rūnānū pōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. rūn, rūnū, rūnū pōn</td>
<td>rūnā', rūnānū, rūnānū pōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. rūnū dök'ūs</td>
<td>rūnānū dök'ūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent. rūnās</td>
<td>rūnās</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mī, man.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural as Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. mī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. mīū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. mī pōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. mī dök'ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent. mīs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

kim, house.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. kim</td>
<td>kimā'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. kimū</td>
<td>kimanū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. kimū pōn</td>
<td>kimanū pōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. kimok'ūs</td>
<td>kimanū dök'ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative kimau</td>
<td>kimanau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nouns ending in a vowel have an alternative form in the plural.

| 25 | Nom. bóbā, bóvē, father, | bóvē', bóvēgā |
|    | Gen. bóbau               | bóvēnū, bóvēgānū |
|    | Dat. bóbā pōn            | bóvēnū pōn     |
|    | Abl. bóbā dök'ts         | bóvēnū dök'ts  |
|    | Agent. bóbās             | bóvēs, bóvēgās |

| 30 | Nom. atē, brother.       | atē            |
|    | Gen. atēō                | atēnū          |
|    | Dat. atē pōn             |                |
|    | Abl. atē dök'ts          |                |
|    | Agent. atēs              | atēs           |

or atēgā, Gen. atēgānū &c. regular.

The locative is formed by adding -ō or -au to the nom., thus, kimanu, in the house; rīmō, in the field; workīō, to far; mulkīō, in the county; kāmōnō, in work; dhōmau, in the box.
### Feminine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. cîmêd, daughter</td>
<td>cîmêdâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. cîmêdû or cîmêdû</td>
<td>cîmedanû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. cîmêdû pûn</td>
<td>cîmedanû pûn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. cîmêdû dökâts</td>
<td>cîmedanû dökâts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent. cîmêdûs</td>
<td>cîmedûs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Nom. ringz, rings, sister | ringzâ |
| Gen. ringzû | ringzanû |
| Dat. ringzû or ringzû pûn | ringzanû or ringzanû pûn |
| Abl. ringzû dökâts | ringzanû dökâts |
| Agent. ringzûs | ringzûs |

| Nom. ama, mother | amaga |
| Gen. amau | amaganû |
| Dat. amû pûn | amaganû or amaganû pûn |
| Abl. amû dökâts | amaganû dökâts |
| Agent. amâs | amagâs |

### Pronouns.

#### First Person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual exclusive</th>
<th>Dual inclusive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. gö, I</td>
<td>nîshi, he and I</td>
<td>kâshôn, thou and I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. anû</td>
<td>nîshû</td>
<td>kâshônû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. anû</td>
<td>nîshû</td>
<td>kâshônû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. an dökâts</td>
<td>nîshû dökâts</td>
<td>kâshônû dökâts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent. gös</td>
<td>nîshûs</td>
<td>kâshônûs, kâshônûs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exclusive (excluding “you”)</th>
<th>Inclusive (including “you”)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. nînê</td>
<td>kîshônê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. nînanû</td>
<td>kîshônûnû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. nînanû</td>
<td>kîshônûnû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. nînanû dökâts</td>
<td>kîshônûnû dökâts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent. nînâs</td>
<td>kîshônûs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Second Person.

#### Singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary, thou.</th>
<th>Polite, you.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. ka</td>
<td>krí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. kan</td>
<td>kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. kanû</td>
<td>kini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. kan dökâts</td>
<td>kin dökâts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent. kas</td>
<td>kis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[91]
### Second Person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>kîshî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gent.</td>
<td>kîshû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>kîshû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>kîshû dök'ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent.</td>
<td>kîshîs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Nom.  | kîna' |
| Gen.  | kînanû |
| Dat.  | kînanû |
| Abl.  | kînanû dök'ts |
| Agent.| kînas |

### Third Person &c.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Respectful</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>do, he, she, that</td>
<td>nu, he, she, that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>dô</td>
<td>nû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>do pîn</td>
<td>nu pîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>do dök'ts</td>
<td>nu dök'ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent.</td>
<td>dos, doks</td>
<td>nus, nûks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Nom.  | nugo |
| Gen.  | nugonû |
| Dat.  | nugonû |
| Abl.  | nugonû dök'ts |
| Agent.| nugos |

| Nom.  | nûksôn |
| Gen.  | nûksônû |
| Dat.  | nûksônû |
| Abl.  | nûksônû dök'ts |
| Agent.| nûksônös |

| Nom.  | nugo |
| Gen.  | nugoanû |
| Dat.  | nugoanû |
| Abl.  | nugoanû dök'ts |
| Agent.| nugoas |

### Singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>hât</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>hâtû</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>hâtû</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>hâtû dök'ts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent.</td>
<td>hâtûs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Nom.  | hûtsôn |
| Gen.  | hûtsônû |
| Dat.  | hûtsônû |
| Abl.  | hûtsônû dök'ts |
| Agent.| hûtsônös |

### hâtt who?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>hête</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>hêtenû</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>hêtenû</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>hêtenû dök'ts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent.</td>
<td>hêtes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[92]
Other pronouns: hāti, someone, anyone, hāti ma, no one, e.g. hāti ma bōdā, no one came.
ḥō, the, what?, hōtsi, something, anything.
ḥōtsi ma, nothing, tsei, tsei, all.
-aña, -ever, e.g. hātiāna, whosoever, ḥōdīāna, whatsoever. an, self, e.g. an rōkshōdu, he himself is grazing himself.

Adjectives.
Comparison of adjectives is effected by the use of one of the words kā, kēs, būskyōn, nū, than, with the positive form of the adjective. e.g.
dēbash or dām, good; jā kā dēbash, better than this; nu būskyōn ju dām tō, than that this is better;
tsei kēs dēbash, better than all, best;
gō būskyōn nū dām or an kā nū dām, that is better than I;
nū tsei nū dām or kā dām or būskyōn dām, that is better than all.

Demonstrative (near) Demonstrative (far) Interrogative
or Correlative
hōnē, like this, hōdē, like that hatē, halā, like what?
hōtrā, so much or hōtrā, so much or tētrā, how much or so many,
many,
many?

For the relative hātiāna, whosoever, and tētrīāna, how much so ever (or the interrogative tētrā) are used.

Adverbs.

Time.

hūn, hūnā, now
dōk, then
tērōn, when?
ōmī, formerly
pēlē, formerly
toro, to-day
nasām, to-morrow
romī, day after to-morrow
pāc, on fourth day
e, e, on fifth day
cē, cē, on sixth day
kūrōl, on seventh day

mē, yesterday
rī, day before yesterday
rīsoma, on fourth day back
tēra, tērōn, ever
tērāl tēra, some times
tērōn tērōn, some times
hē, again
bārābār, regularly, always
hīmēsh, always
sōda, always

Place.

rīn, up
ghōn, down
nērōn, near
dōr, far
wark, far
Place.

nōn tōn (stōn), up to there
ōms, omts, in front
dōn tōn (stōn), up to there
nyums, behind
jōk'is, from here
kōmo, inside
bāerūn, bairūn, bērin, outside.

Other adverbs: thū, why?; nō, ȳ, yes; ma, tha, no, not; ī, also;
dām, well; hāsūl, quickly; taima, then (inferential).

The affix -i adds emphasis, as, hōnōni, in that very place, so also hōdōni, tērōni.

Prepositions.

The commonest prepositions have been mentioned in the declension of nouns and pronouns. The same word is sometimes both a preposition and an adverb.

nōn, beyond
da'i, do'ai, near, beside
jōn, on this side
rōn, with, along with
den, upon
stōn, (tōn), up to
yūthōn, beneath
tenēs, for, for sake of
aṅ doā', beside me; aṅ rōn, with me; jōn stōn, up to here,
kan tenēs, for thee, for thy sake.

ts or c is sometimes affixed to give the idea of from, as, nōnts, from beyond.

Verbs.

Auxiliary.

Present, I am &c. toq', dāg'.

First.

Sing. toq'

toq'

Second.

dāg'

ton; (polite) toq

dān

toq (you two)

dāc

dāc

Third.

toqh

dān;

dān

dāsh

dāi

dāi

Dual. toq(= he and I), toq'(thou and I), toq (you two)

dāc

Plur. toq(they and I), toq'(you and I)

dān

dāi

dāi

Past, I was &c. tokeq', dāeg'.

First.

Sing. tokeq'

tokeq'

Second.

dāeg'

token, token

duēn, duēn

toke, tokeśh

Third.

dāe', duē'

toke'

dāe', duē'

Dual. tokec, toke'

duēc, duē'

Plur. tokeñ, toke

duēn, duē'

toke

duē'

The second forms in the past correspond to the second forms in the present.
gormi' fall.

Future, I shall fall &c. goritog'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>Third</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. gor-tog'</td>
<td>-ton, (polite) -tiu</td>
<td>-to', (polite) -tosh, -tis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual. tic (he and I),</td>
<td>-tic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-te' (thou and I),</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. tiu (they and I),</td>
<td>-tiu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-te' (you and I),</td>
<td>-to'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative gor fall.

Sing. gor, (polite) gorin or gorda', goridin
Dual. goric
Plur. goric, gorin

gorodug' or gorotog', like dug' and tog', regular.

Present Indicative, I am falling.

Imperfect, I was falling.

gorodug' or gorotokeg' like dug' and tokey', regular.

Past, I fell, gorog', gorshid.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>Third</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. gor-ug'</td>
<td>-un, (polite) -en</td>
<td>-a', (polite) -esh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual. -ec (he and I);</td>
<td>-ec</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-she' (thou and I);</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. -ec (they and I);</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-she' (you and I);</td>
<td>-a'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

gorshid is indeclinable for all persons and numbers.

Participles.

gorgor having fallen, gorogoro having kept on falling, repeatedly fallen, gyryenben while falling, goreroin on falling, gortsea fallen.

tonmig', beat.

Fut. tonitog'. Negative ma tong, I shall not beat.

Imperat. ton &c.

also tonir (sing.), tonirin, toniric.

Pres. Indic. tonodug', tonotog',
Imperf. tonodugeg, tonotokeg'.
Past ton-ag' -an, -en, -a', -esh

-ec, -she' -ec

-en, -she' -en -a' also tonshid

Participles tonton, tonotoho, tonyenben, toneroin, tonitsea.
shǖn̄mîḡ, finish, waste.
Fut. shǖn̄tîȫḡ, Negative ma shǖng.
Imperat. shǖn̄ and shǖn̄r̄ǟ
and so on like tȫn̄mîḡ.

pȫn̄mîḡ, fill.

like tȫn̄mîḡ.

gyāl̄mîḡ, win.

Imperat. gyal &c., gyalr̄ä &c., gyaldic &c.
Past gyalȫg

otherwise like tȫn̄mîḡ.

tsǖn̄mîḡ, hold

like tȫn̄mîḡ, except.
Negative Future ma tsǖm̄kh.
Past tsǖn̄ȫḡ as in gör̄m̄îḡ.

bamm̄m̄îḡ, be defeated

like gyal̄mîḡ except that in the Imperat. the form in -dic is
not found.

shǖb̄m̄îḡ, slaughter (animal).

Neg. Future ma shub̄g.

Past shǖb̄ȫḡ
the past like tȫn̄mîḡ.

rön̄mîḡ, graze (transitive).

ñ changes to g in declension.

Future rȫḡt̄ȫḡ.

Negative (ma) rȫḡ

rȫḡic, rȫḡshau or rȫgt̄au
rȫgic, rȫḡshau or rȫgt̄au

Imperat. rȫḡ, rȫḡîn̄ &c. also rȫgr̄ǟ &c.
Pres. Ind. rȫḡød̄ȫḡ, rȫḡotōḡ.

Imperf. rȫḡod̄ȫeḡ, rȫḡotōkēḡ.
Past rȫḡȫḡ, rȫḡshūd.

zǖn̄mîḡ, begin.

Neg. Fut. 1st sing. inclus. dual or plur. zǖḡsh̄ǟ and zǖḡm̄ē.
Past zǖs̄āḡ, zǖḡȫḡ, zǖḡshūd

otherwise like rön̄mîḡ.

Verbs whose root ends in n.

Some retain n, others change it to d. Those changing it to d
omit it altogether in the Future.

ran̄mîḡ, give.

Fut. rantȫḡ, Neg. rän̄g.
Imperat. ran, ran̄în̄, ranic, also ranr̄ǟ &c.
Pres. Imperf. rano-dǖḡ-dǖeḡ &c.
Past ranōg¹, ranshid.

Past ranvan or rārā, ranēnēn, ranzea &c.

unmīg¹, take.

Neg. Fut. ānkh.
Partic. ānīn, unyēnēn, unzea, &c.
otherwise like ranmīg¹, except that n does not change to n.

lōnmīg¹, do.

Neg. Fut. īnkh.
Imperat. līn, lanī &c., līnū &c., līndic &c.
Past lanōg¹, lanshid.
Partic. lālā.
otherwise like unmīg¹.

lōnmīg¹, say, speak.

Future lōtōg¹, Negative lōg.
Imperat. lūn, lūn, lōc.
Pres. and Impf. lōdo-dāg¹, -dāeg¹ &c.
Past lōg lūn, lūn lō, lōsh.
lōc, lōshē lōc,
lōc, lōshē lūn, lō.
also lōshid, lōdag¹. For 1st dual and plur. inclusive, lōdag¹ has lōda¹.

Participles lōlō, lōdyēnēn, lōtseā &c.
shēnmīg¹, send &c.

Fut. shētōg¹, Neg. shēg¹.
Imperat. shen, sheā &c., sherā &c.
Pres. shedo-dāg¹ &c.
Past shēg, shedag¹, shehid.

Several verbs with roots in -n are loanwords from Hindi, e.g. pōrēnmīg¹, be obtained, H. pōrnā, pōtshēnnīg¹, arrive, H. pāhūncā, zītēnīg¹, win, H. jītnā, hoṛēnīg¹, be defeated, H. hārnā, dōrēnīg¹, run, H. daurnā.

pōrēnmīg¹, be obtained.

Fut. pōrētōg¹, Neg. pōrēag¹.
Pres. and Impf. pōrēdo-dāg¹, -dāeg¹ &c.
Past pōrēdag¹, pōrēshid.
Partic. pōrēreā, &c.

pōtshēnnīg¹, arrive.

Fut. pōtshētōg¹, Neg. pōtshēg¹.
Imperat. pōtshē-d, -ā &c., also pōtshērā &c.
Pres. and Impf. pōtshēsīdo-dāg¹ &c.
Past pōtshēdag¹, pōtshēshid, pōtshēag¹ (which has 1st dual and plur. inclus. pōtshēashē).
zitenmiş¹, win.
Fut. zitėatöös¹, Neg. zitēg¹.
Imperat. zitēd, ziten &c. also zitērā &c.
Pres. zitēdadug¹ &c.
5 Past. ziteag¹, zitedag¹, ziteshid.

harēnmiş¹, be defeated.
Fut. harētöös¹, Neg. hareg¹.
Pres. and Impf. harēdō-dug¹, -dūeg¹ &c.
Past harēag¹, harēshid.
hareshis, defeated.

dōrenmiş¹, run.
Fut. dōreätöös¹.
Neg. Fut. dōr-ef¹, -en, -en -e.
-ec, -ēashē or -ēatē, -ec.
-ec, -ēashē or -ēatē, -en -e.
Imperat. dōred, dōreē &c.
Pres. and Imperf. dōredo-dug¹, -dūeg¹.
Past dōreag¹, dōredag¹, dōreshid.
Partic. dōreēa, dōreēa &c.

dānnmiş¹, run.
Fut. dāăatöös¹.
Neg. Fut. dag¹, dān, dāŋ, dāshē or dāshau or dāte &c.
Imperat. dāo, dān, dāe &c. also dārā &c.
Pres. and Imperf. dāāado-dug¹, -dūeg¹ &c.
25 Past dāąag¹, dāādąag¹, dāąashid.
Partic. dāa, having run, dādō dādō, dādērōn &c.

fōnnmiş¹, be ill.
Fut. tōtög¹.
Neg. Fut. tōg¹, tōt¹, tōshē or tōtē &c.
Imperat. tōd, tōn &c., also tōrā &c.
Pres. and Imperf. tōdo-dug¹, -dūeg¹ &c.
Past tōdag¹, tōshid.
Partic. tōto &c.

pōnnmiş¹, arrive.
Fut. pōtög¹, Neg. pōg¹.
Imperat. pōrā &c.
Pres. and Impf. pōdo-dug &c.
Past pōdag¹, pōshid, pōg.
pōg has 1st dual and plural inclusive pōshē¹.

kanmiş¹, bring.
Fut. kātög¹, Neg. kāg¹.
Imperat. kān, kān &c., and karā &c.
Pres. and Impf. kādo-dug¹ &c.
Past kadāg¹, kāg, kashid.
Participle kākā (accent on second), kādyēn, katēa.
Roots ending in a Vowel.
nimig', be, become.

Fut. nitōg', Neg. nig.
Imperat. ni, nitū &c., also nirā &c.
Pres. and Impf. nio-āg' &c.
Past nishid and nīg (nin, niṇ, ni', nish, nīṭē &c.).
Partic. nīni, ninēn, nitēa.

bimig', go.

like nimig' except the following.
Imperat. 2nd sing. bih or biōh or biūh.
Past biōg' (and bishid).
Partic. retain i of root, except bēnēn, which has -ē.

zāmīg', eat.

like nimig', substituting za for ni except the following zāu-
āg' &c. for zāodāg'.
Past. 1st dual and plural inclusive zāshē or zād.
Partic. zāenēn, zāēa, otherwise the same.

phimig', take away.

like nimig' except the following.
Imperat. phiū, phiū &c. (also phirā').
Past. phīōg' (and phishid).
Partic. phiphi (accent on second), phienēn.

shimig', die.

like phimig'.

tāmīg', place.

like nimig' except the following.
Imperat. tāo, tāū &c. (and tārā').
Past 1st dual and plural inclusive, tāshē and tātē.

čimig', wash (clothes &c.)

like nimig' except the following.
Imperat. čīū, čīū &c. (and čirā').
Past 1st dual and plural inclusive čišē'.

imig', ask.

like čimig' except the following.
Past iāg', (and iśid).

gyāmīg', wish.

like zāmīg' except the following.
Imperat. gyau, gyāū &c. (and gyārā').
Past 1st dual and plural inclusive gyāshē' and gyātē'.

sōmzēamīg', understand.

loanword from Hindi (sōmējñā).
Fut. sōmzēatōg', Neg. sōmzēag'.

[99]
Imperat. sömzë-d, -ë &c., and sömzerë &c.
Pres. and Impf. sömzeodëg¹ &c.
Past sömzeëg¹, sömzeëshid.

sömzayamig¹, cause to understand.

loanword from Hindi (sömjhâna).
like sömzëamig¹.

Verbs with roots ending in -ci and -shi.

Sometimes c denotes an object of the first or second person,
me, us, thee, you, and sh denotes a reflexive object, oneself, one
another, but in a number of verbs whose roots end in c and sh
I have not found any meaning such as that just indicated. The
i in -ci and -shi seems to be merely euphonic.

hacimig¹, be, become.

Fut. hacog¹, Neg. the same.

Imperat. hac &c., hacra¹ &c., hacdic &c.
Pres. and Impf. haco-dug¹ &c.
Past haceg¹, hacishid.
Partic. hachac, hacënên, hacizea &c.

tacimig¹, place me, us, thou, you (see tamiy¹).

like hacimig¹ except.

Past tacog¹.

sârshimig¹, raise oneself, rise (sarmig¹, raise).

like hacimig¹ except

Imperat. sarsh, sarshï &c., sarshra¹, but I have not found sarshdic.
Partic. sarshïs, in the state of having risen.

hushimig¹, learn.

like hacimig¹, except that I have not found hushdic in the Imperat.

töshimig¹, remain, sit.

Fut. toshög¹, Neg. the same.

Imperat. tösh &c., toshra¹ &c.
Pres. and Impf. toshi-dug¹ &c.
Past toshëg¹, toshishid.
Partic. töshësh, toshënên, toshizea &c.

The following are slightly irregular.

bënnig¹, bëmig¹, come.

Fut. bëtög¹, bëtög¹, Neg. bög¹.
Imperat. Sing. jir, jirâ¹, jirà¹, polite jirain, jariin.
Dual. jirac, jâric.
Plur. jirac, jâric, jëin, jirain, jariin.

Pres. and Impf. bodau-dug¹ &c.
Past bög¹, bödag¹, böshid.
Partic. bóbó, bödenên, bötsea, böderôn.
Throughout this verb the sound of bó is between bó and bû, some pronounce it bû.

tümmig, drink.

Fut. ãtïög, Neg. ãüng.
Imperat. ãuï, ãünï &c., ãüärï &c.
Pres. and Impf. ãuãdïg' &c.
Past ãtïög', ãùshïd, and ãtïög', ãùshïd.
Partic. ãüntûn, ãünjënên, ãûñëa, ãûñerôn &c.

këmiğ', give.

Fut. ketïóg', Neg. këj'.
Imperat. keõh, keñ &c., and kerä' &c.
Pres. and Impf. këro-düg' &c.
Past kerag', këshïd.
Partic. këkë, kerênên, këtsea &c.

nëmiğ', know.

Fut. nëtïóg', Neg. neg' (in më neg').
Imperat. nëô, nëñ &c., and nërë &c.
Pres. and Impf. nëödüg' &c., sometimes nëödüg' &c.
Past nëg, nëshïd.
Partic. néné, nënen, nëtsea &c.

tömmig', take out, pour out.

Fut. töatïög', Neg. tög'.
Imperat. tôd, tôñ &c., and tôarä' &c.
Pres. & Impf. tô-do-düg' &c.
Past. tôag', tôshïd.

I have heard tôr', for 2nd sing. Imperat., and tônodüg' for
Pres. Ind. but am doubtful of them.

Numerals.

Cardinal.

| 1  | id'    | 13 | sôrûm |
| 2  | nish   | 14 | sapô  |
| 3  | shûmm, sûmm | 15 | sonû |
| 4  | pö     | 16 | sôrûg'|
| 5  | nû     | 17 | sôstîsh |
| 6  | pûg'   | 18 | sôrai |
| 7  | tîshh, stîshh | 19 | sôzygü |
| 8  | rai    | 20 | nîzâ (accent on second). |
| 9  | zgûi, güi | 21 | nîzô id' |
| 10 | sai    | 22 | nîzô nish |
| 11 | sigid' | 29 | nîzô güi |
| 12 | sônîsh | 30 | nîzô sai |

[101]
It will be noticed that enumeration proceeds regularly by twenties. When a number follows nizā, twenty, the ā is changed to ā. The accent is always thrown forward to the last syllable thus pōrd, four hundred, pō nizā, eighty, pō nizō nd eighty-five.

Ordinals.

Ordinals are formed by adding ś to the cardinal; thus nū, fifth, pū, fourth. nizā and rā give nisō and reś. khanōn, adhōn, half. Sauvā nish, 2½; sādhē pū, 4½.

The Prodigal Son, St. Luke 15.

One man-of two sons were, small son-by own father-to said babā an hīza (or hissa) kē, dōs anō bānthā rānā; yāp Father my part give, by him own part gave, few dīrōc nyums zīgits chānēs anō tūcē zōma lanō workd from after small son-by own all together made far-in bū, dōn wāmān kamōnō anō māyā shīnā; dōs tūc went, there foolish work-in own property finished, by him all khōrts lanō do mūkitsā dīnkalān bībī mūli maita, spending made, that county-in famine having-gone, quite not-is, ōlō pōpō. Do hōdō mūkitsā tōshidō (or tōshizē) straitened having-arrived. He that country-in dweller dweller dūa (or dā) bū, dōs anō rivānū sūrū rogim shedā. near near went, by-him own fields-ins wine to-make-feed sent. Dō sūris rokshimi khōlpān an sāmīg gyau dūe ĥāsī do He swine feeding husks self to eat wishing was, by-anyone that ma rānā. Tshērēp yat kadā dog lododā — an not gave. little remembrance brought he saying-is my bōwā do tē mōzūri dā petān pōn stōn rōte father near how-many labourers are, stomach fill up-to loaves.
zao, go jin inos shiuy'. Go an bowa doun bitog' eating, I here hungry died I own father there will-go
dopon lotug', bowa Parmedshuros kin papa limlin go kan
him-to will say father God-of your sin having-done I thy
chan haci laik maiy', aini nukri taciin.
son to-become worthy not-am, me servant make-me-please
Sirshis (or sirshus) ano bowa doun bior. Do chan warcki
Having-arisen own father there went. That son far-in
due ano bowas tana', kotsiin tsoleda', daa (or dorereq')
was own father-by saw, miserable thinking-is, having-run
ano chani kikts tsuma', papu rinai. Chanu's ano bon
own son-in neck held kiss gave Son-by own father-to
lododa'. Bowa Parmedshuros kin papa hanlan go kan chan
saying-is. Father God-of your sin having-done I thy son
haci laik maiy'. Bonu's nukrenu lododa': - tsee
10 to-become worthy not-am. Father-by servants-to saying-is all
nu dam chug a tota (or tota') phogin, gud prate
than good coat having-taken-out put-on (please) hand-of finger-in
mundi sheu, baio shpoon sheu yokshid ash
ring send (please), foot-in shoe send (please), fattened calf
15 kaka shummiq', nina zatiin khusi haciu (or nitiu) tu
having-brought to-kill we may-eat happy may-become, why
ani chan shishi toke', he shongi hacion, sho bim
my son having-died was, again alive having-become, lost having-
bi toke' he preda'. Dos khusi lano due. Do
gone was, again was-obtained. By him happiness making was. His
teg ato rimi dye', kimu neriino boderiin (bodyenin)
big brother field-in was house-of near on-coming
bazi bazitsu skad thaso du'. I nukru
musical-instrument sounding-of noise hearing is. One servant-to
20 kuku dopon wodu pho hacer. Nukros lodo
having-called him-to asking-is what became. Servant-by saying
du' kan deigits ato boda' kan bowas yokshid ashu' shubia';
is thy little brother came thy father-by fattened calf killed;
do tai shubo du' ano chan tsana (or dim) porreca',
that for killing is, own son well good having-been-obtained;
do dukhoi taitai kimo bim maio du' or ma gyan du',
he angry looked house-in to-go not-asking is not wishing is,
do bim baerii bibi anu chanu somzaio du'.
his father outside having-gone own son-to making-understand is.
Dos lodo dü gōs tē bōshōn kan kāma'in lanlan, Him-by saying is me-by how-many years thy work having-done
kas anū terāiū bōkhārū chaī na keke an kōnēa thee-by me-to ever she-goat's son not having-given my friends
5 rōn khūsī lanāgī, kan chaī tērān bōdā haīs with happiness I-shall-make, thy son ever (i.e. when) came whom-by
kan mālā pātārīmū uḍācī kas do tanis yōksaīd thy property harlots-to caused-to-fly, thee-by him for fattened
ash shubshub. Bonōs lodo dü chaī ka tā bōrābūr calf having-killed. Father-by saying is son thou then always
aṅ rōn ēkē ton, thōdeān aṅ dōā to do kano. Khūsī me with together art, whatever me near is that thine. Happiness
lanāgī, khūsht hacimīg dūm tōke thū kan bōa shīshī to-make happy to-become good was, why thy brother having-died
10 tōke hē shōngī hacis shō bībī tōke, he was, again alive having-become, lost having-gone was, again
pōredā. was-obtained.

Sentences.

20 1. Kan nāmaṅ thō dūn or dūt? Thy name what is?
2. Nū raṅ tē bōshān? That horse how-many years?
3. Jōnc Köśhmirū tē wōrkh nītō? Here-from Kashmir-to how
far will-be?
4. Kan bīwau kimau tē chaṅa dü? Thy father's house in how-
many sons are?
5. Gō torō dōrc yōnōyōn bōgī. I today far-from having-walked came.
6. Aṅ dzits bīwau chaī nu mīū rīns rūnēkōī lānāī. My little
father's (uncle's) son that man's sister with marriage made.
7. Kīmo thō ranu zhūgū tō. In the house white horse's saddle is.
8. Nu ranu zhūgū ran. That horse to saddle give (saddle that horse).
9. Gōs nu chaī gob tōnāgī. I (by me) that boy much beat.
10. Thōlū dēn zē lānā rōgo düī. Hill upon goats, cows he causing-
to-feed is.
11. Bōtanu yūthōn raṅa den tōshis düī. Tree under horse on
seated he is.
12. Do bāquisites anū rīns kā tēg düī. That little-brother own sister
than big is.
13. Do mōli nish rūpēa pō pauli dū. Its price two rupees, four two-annas is.
15. Nu rūpēa do mū pūn riīndā (or rānrā). That rupee that man to give.
16. Do rūpēa do dōkīts undo (or unru). That rupee him from take.
19. Aū oms pāī. Me before walk.
20. Hātū chaū kan nyums budo dū? Whose son thee behind coming is?
21. Ka' hātū dōkīts unū? Thou whom from took?
22. Dēshōnu i bōnīū dōkīts unūg. Town-of one shopkeeper from took—I.
THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH t, d, IN NORTH INDIAN LANGUAGES

It is often said that Portuguese dental t, d, remain dental in India and that English alveolar t, d, become cerebral. It would follow that words like kaptān and botal and haspatāl, usually stated to be from English, must be Portuguese. The question cannot be disposed of so simply; there seem to have been cross influences at work, and sometimes there are different forms of the same word. See S. R. Dalgado's works passim for valuable suggestions.

The following lines have in view the area over which Urdu, Panjabi, and Hindi (= UPH.) are spoken, though the facts adduced have a wider application. As this is a matter of pronunciation it is necessary to confine oneself to spoken words and ignore book words except where others are not available. Printed forms are often deliberately altered on a priori grounds.

We may say without hesitation that a very large majority of English t's and d's do become cerebral when introduced into Indian words. The question is whether any become dental; if so, why? It should be remembered that mere haphazard explanations are of little value. Explanations must follow some definite principle. Thus the facile guess that the ending of P. dāgdār, doctor, is taken by analogy from the common Persian ending -dār is valueless unless we show why "inspector"; "director"; "master"; give us inspīttar dākētār, māstār, and why "canister" yields kanaṣtar.

1. Words which probably have a Portuguese origin, though generally said to be English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baptisma</td>
<td>baptism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butām (book form)</td>
<td>button</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(With this contrast the commoner batan, Eng. button.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guarda</td>
<td>guard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hospital</td>
<td>hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capítāo</td>
<td>captain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cartucho</td>
<td>cartridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mastro, masto</td>
<td>mast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pistola</td>
<td>pistol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
salād  Portuguese.  English.  
sikattar  salada  salad  
tamākū  secretario  secretary  
taulīā  tabaco  tabaco  

botal (P. botelha, E. bottle) and patlūn (P. pantalona, E. pantaloons) may be Portuguese, but it is at least possible that the words were used in N. India before they existed in Portugal.

2. Words which seem to be certainly English, but have a dental t, d, corresponding to the English alveolars. When there is a Portuguese word in any way resembling UPH. I have added it.

Landan  London  Port. Londres
U. Dalhauzi, P. Dī'aujī  Dalhousie, the hill station.

P. ardalī, UH. ardalī  orderly  Port. doutor
P. dāgdrār, dākdār  doctor  Port. doutor

dākdrār is the commonest spoken form in UH.

Bookforms: dākdrār in Lallū Ji; dākdār modern.

PU. drāz, fem. sing., pair of drawers, drawer in cupboard; plur. drāzzā, drāzē, pairs of drawers, drawers in cupboard.

kettli  kettle  Port. caldeira
kanastar  canister
tos  piece of toast
trel  tray
santrī  sentry  Port. sentinella

The following should probably be added, but they are not so certain:

darjan  dozen  Port. duzia
hāthīcok (? hāthī, elephant; but why?)

artichoke  alcachofra

turap  trump card  trunfo

byterin  terebintina, terebinthia

Bookforms: turmanțin, tarmanțū, turpentine, suggest Portuguese termentina. Proper names are Istarling for Stirling in Gālib, and Gilkrist for Gilchrist in Lallū Ji’s preface. See further below.

The names of the months look more English than Portuguese, and we are perhaps right in including four of them among the words which have changed alveolar t, d, to dental. It must not be forgotten that j in UPH. represents a sound practically identical with English j, but very different from Portuguese j.
January
February
March
April
May
June
July
August
September
October
November
December
Janeiro
Fevereiro
Março
Abril
Maio
Junho
Julho
Agosto
Setembro
Outubro
Novembro
Dezembro

Those which call for attention are agast, sitambar, aktúbär, dasambar.

3. Words in which a Portuguese dental may have become cerebral: some of these are much disputed and all are doubtful.

Port. balde, pail, bucket; bâlfë.

falto, deficient; PU. fáltë, superfluous; PH. pháltë.

Laihndi, pháltë, a kuñi who waits at cross roads for odd jobs; Nep. pháltë, pháltë.

foguete, rocket > pañkä, squib, etc. ? Skr. pañ + ka.

tope, top of mast, etc. > topë, cap, hat.

varanda, balcony > UPH. barândë; HU. barândë (book form).

I take it that barámada is a pseudo-Persian formation manufactured in India and as unknown in Persia as nom-de-plume and double-entendre are in France. This is a greatly discussed word.

terméntina, turpentine: bookform tarmanñë.

The UPH. words pálñë, regiment, and biskët, biscuit, jàkät, jacket, are just as likely to be derived from English battalion, biscuit, and jacket as from Portuguese batalhão, biscoito, and jaqueto.

4. I have noted one or two points which go to show that 100 years ago Indians seemed readier to equate Indian dentals with English alveolars than they are now. It would be interesting if further proofs were forthcoming. Asad Ulläh Gälîb, about 1830 (see Urdu e Mu'allä, ed. of 1921, p. 111), writes Istarling for Stirling, and twice sikartæ for Secretary; Muhammad Yahyä Tanhä, quoting this very passage in Sair ul Musanîf, 1924, changes the words to Istarling and sikartæ; yet sikartæ is in general use conversationally to this day. Lallä Lâl in 1803–9 writes gilkrist for Gilchrist, whereas the usual
form to-day is *gilkräist* (so Tānha, op. cit.). In the same passage Lallā himself freely uses cerebrals to represent English alveolars.

The tip of the tongue when pronouncing an alveolar is between the dental and the cerebral position, almost midway. Taking the hard palate as 1¼ inches from front to back we may put cerebral *t, d* half an inch from the back edge of the teeth ridge. The centre or lower half of the front teeth (the dental position) is perhaps a quarter to three-eighths of an inch from the front edge of the teeth ridge. But the modern Indian hearing alveolar *t* and *d*, considers them cerebrals. This is not merely a literary device, it is the rule in village talk. Thus we have:—

P. *raṭbi* < *rabṭi* < *rapṭi* < *rapot* + *ti* < report + *i*; a man who brings in reports of occurrences.  
P. *bātemi* < *beṭemī* < *be* — *tem* + *i* < *be* — time + *i*. *bātemī* means lateness, etc.

Inshā Allāh’s very clever lines illustrate both tendencies:—

"ही आस आफ़ का सबक सिरके राक़ब एस्का  
हांडे चैले जो कोलकाता नॉलड़न में देवन"

(He is so fleet footed that if his rider breakfasts in Calcutta he may lunch in London.) I am presuming that *tipan* reached U. and P. from England.

I have not touched upon English *th* in "think" or "then". The former is almost always *th* (sometimes *t* when final), as *us ke thrū* < *us ke* through, by means of him: *sāmit sāhab* (sāhib) = Mr. Smith. Against this note *thāddē kalās* for "third class". The latter *th* > *d*: *fādar* < "father," Roman Catholic priest: but *pādrī* < Portuguese "padre," any clergyman.

5. CONCLUSION.—It appears to be clear that some UPH. words, derived directly from English without possibility of Portuguese influence, have changed alveolar *t, d*, to dental *t, d*. Is any explanation possible?

(i) One explanation may be stated to be rejected. It is that the presence of *r* near *t* or *d* affects its pronunciation. Very many native English speakers cerebralize *t, d, l, n*, when *r* immediately precedes, and not a few make *t, d*, dental when *r* immediately follows, but there is no reason to think that modern *r* has any such effect in North India. We may satisfy ourselves about this if we listen to Indian schoolboys reading English.
(ii) Some words taken from English have been altered under Portuguese influence, and vice versa.

(iii) When Portuguese must be excluded we are left to random guesses for individual words, unless we suppose that eighty or a hundred years ago English alveolar $t$ and $d$ were nearer to dental $t$ and $d$ than they are now. If this were established it would be all the harder to explain why Lallü used cerebral letters in the transcription of Gilbert, Lord, Minto, Taylor, doctor ($\ddot{d}akt\ddot{u}r$), Lieutenant ($\ddot{l}ipt\ddot{a}n$), Hunter, and Lockett.

(iv) About any Portuguese $t$ and $d$, which may have become cerebral, I say nothing, partly because they are not the real subject of this note, and partly because the very few words which suggest this phenomenon are of dubious origin.
THE details of philological processes are generally lost in the mists of obscurity, and most recognized linguistic development is difficult to follow because it took place hundreds or thousands of years ago. We must often have wished for the chance of hearing one sound change into another, and the wish is usually vain. But in the case of English words in India it is frequently possible to see them entering the country and watch the changes taking place. We can learn valuable lessons from the detailed study of one Indian language. I have therefore taken Panjābī and given a list of nearly 400 English words which have been incorporated into it. This first article contains the words with their Panjābī equivalents in two dialects. In the second I hope to analyse the words and draw conclusions.

English words in India may be divided into three classes. First there are words which have been wholly assimilated and are known to every villager. At the other extreme we have a large number, an indefinite number, of words used only by educated Indians in conversation or books. They are recognized as foreign words and those who use them try to pronounce them as in English. No object would be served by making a list of them. A man once said to me with much bitterness: "merā fādarinlā merī wāf nū bārā badlī tārīt kardā e (my father-in-law treats my wife very badly)"; or we may hear mā bārā lonlī sīl karnā ed (I feel very lonely). Such Panjābī does not help us.

But there is a third class, viz. technical terms used only in connexion with certain professions or pursuits or amusements. We have military, legal, and scholastic words, or it may be words relating to canals, railways, or games. These words are, it is true, employed by illiterate people, but their sphere is limited. They are difficult to deal with, for one does not know exactly how many of them to include. To take one example, most English military terms are found in the sipāhī's vocabulary, but only a few are fully naturalized. I have had to exercise my judgment in the matter.

A word as to the preparation of this list. I first wrote out the words as they are heard in Northern Panjābī, and sent them to Dr. Banārsī Dās Jān, who belongs to Ludhīnā and speaks the southern dialect. He very kindly sent me a further list including about sixty words
which I had not thought of, and gave his own pronunciation of my words. I in turn added the Northern pronunciation of his new words. Frequently there is no difference between us. To give its forms and mine separately would involve a lot of needless repetition. It is sufficient to indicate the general line of divergence. It is entirely characteristic of the two dialects.

Where the Northern has The Southern tends towards

\[ \text{kh}, g \] \[ \text{kh}, g \]
\[ f, v \text{ (faint dento-labials)} \] \[ \text{ph}, \text{b} \]
\[ \text{i} \] \[ \text{s} \text{ or ch} \]
\[ \text{l} \] \[ \text{l} \]
\[ \eta \] \[ \text{n} \]

Dr. Banārsī Dās has no \( \text{kh} \) or \( g \), and uses \( l \) only when it is assimilated to a following \( l \) or \( d \); his \( \eta \), too, is rarer than mine. The ordinary system of transliteration has been followed except that sounds usually written \( au \) and \( ai \) are represented by \( aw \) and \( ae \). This is to prevent the common English distortion of them into the “ow” of “howl” and “y” of “style”. Dr. Banārsī Dās’s \( ae \) is \( [\text{ae}] \), mine is pure monophthongic \( [e] \).

About a dozen words are taken from a Bengali list prepared by Mr. Sutton Page.

List of English Words in Panjabi

act (legal), \( \text{e}k\text{at}, \text{i}k\text{at}. \)
agency, \( \text{a}\text{j}a'\text{n}\text{s}i. \)
agent, \( \text{a}\text{j}a'\text{nt}. \)
Africa, \( \text{a}f\text{ri}'\text{k}\text{a}, \text{ph}\text{ar}i'\text{k}\text{a}. \)
America, \( \text{a}m\text{ri}'\text{k}\text{a}. \)
American, \( \text{m}\text{âr}k\text{i}n \text{a} \text{cloth}. \)
allowance, \( \text{a}\text{l}\text{aw}n\text{s}, \text{l}\text{aw}s. \)
appeal (legal), \( \text{a}p\text{i}l. \)
April, \( \text{a}p\text{ra}l'. \)
artichoke, \( \text{h}\text{â}\text{th}i\text{c}o\text{k}. \)
assistant, \( \text{a}\text{st}a'\text{nt}, \text{a}\text{st}a'\text{nt}. \)
August, \( \text{a}g\text{a}st' \text{ (dental t).} \)

B.A., \( \text{b}i'\text{yy}e: \)
ball (for play), \( \text{b}a l. \)

bamboo cart, \( \text{b}a'm\text{b}u'\text{k}\text{a}t \text{ (bamboo alone is not used).} \)

? banyan (a vest), \( \text{b}a\text{n}n\text{a}n', \text{b}a\text{n}n\text{a}n'. \)
bank (money), \( \text{b}a\text{n}k \text{ (Port.).} \)
baptize; \( \text{b}\text{a}p\text{t}a'\text{i}z'\text{on} \text{, be baptized.} \)
barracks, \( \text{b}\text{â}\text{r}a\text{k}, \text{b}a\text{r}a\text{g}. \)
barrack-master, do. -\( \text{m}\text{â}\text{s}t\text{a}r, \text{-m}\text{â}\text{s}t\text{a}r; \text{his place of work,} \)
do. -\( \text{m}\text{â}\text{s}t\text{r}, \text{-m}\text{â}\text{s}t\text{r} \text{. A b.m.} \)

is a transport agent.
barrister, \( \text{b}a\text{l}\text{i}\text{\text{st}a}r, \text{ba}l\text{i}\text{\text{st}a}r; \text{his} \)

work, \( \text{b}a\text{l}\text{i}'\text{\text{s}t}a\text{r}, \text{b}a\text{l}\text{i}'\text{\text{s}t}a\text{r}. \)
bat (for play), \( \text{b}a\text{t}. \)
bearer, \( \text{b}a'\text{r}a. \)
bearing, \( \text{b}a\text{r}a'\text{n}\text{g} \text{ (letter without} \)

stamp, person without ticket).
beef, \( \text{b}i\text{f}. \)
belt, \( \text{b}i\text{lt}. \)

bench, \( \text{b}a\text{n}c, \text{b}a\text{n}c, \text{b}r\text{in}c. \)
Bible, bēabal, bāibal.
bicycle, būiskal, bū’isikal.
? billet, bīlī (way-bill, etc.).
bioscope, bāiskop.
biscuit, biskūt.
blotting, blātiñ, blotting-paper.
board, bod.
boarding, bodīn, bodān (hostel).
boat, see gunboat.
boil, bāl; ‘ādbāl, hard boil;
‘āfbāl, half boil, i.e. boil soft.
bomb, bāmb (? Port.); see "bumball".
boot, būt.
bottle, botal.
box, bakas, baks.
bowl, boli-galās (bowl-glass, i.e.
finger-bowl).
braces, bresaz; see "gallowses."
brake, birk, brek (guard’s van,
etc.)
branch, brānc.
brandy, broundi.
breast, see "double".
breeches, birjas.
brush, burs, būrē, burch.
buggy, bā’gi.
bugle, bigal.
bulldog, budōg.
bull-terrier, būli, būli-kuttā.
bumb-ball, bump-ball (in cricket),
bāmb; see "bomb".
button, bātan.
cake, kek.
calendar, kala’ndar.
camp, kampū, kamp (? Port.).
canister, knastar, kana’star (? Port.
  canasta, basket).
car, see “motor”.
card, kāt (postcard).
castor-oil, kastārāl, kastārāl.
catch, kāc.
catching house, kānji hawed (pound
  for stray cattle).
cement, sī’mit, sī’miut, sī’mat.
centre, sēntr awf (run out,
  stumped).
certificate, sāti’ptak, sāntiph’tak.
chain, cān.
chalk, cāk.
chance, cāns, cānas; o’nā cāns
  mileā, he gave a chance
  (cricket).
cheque, cikk, cik.
chief court, cīphot.
chimney, cīmi, cīmī.
chocolate, cāktāl, cākolet.
chop, cāp; see “potato”.
Christian, kristān, kristān (? Port.).
cigarette, sigot.
civil surgeon, sīval sarjan.
class, klās, kalās.
clerk, klārk, kalārak, klark.
cloth, kalāth, kulāth.
club, kalāf; kalaf k’ar, club house.
coach, kōc; coachman, kōcvān.
coat, kōt.
cocoa, koko.
coffee, kāfī.
collar, kālar.
college, kālaj.
colonel, kara’l.
commander; kamāniar asfār
  (C.O.)
commission, kamīsān, kamīsan.
commissioner, kamīnār,
kamsān.
committee, ka’mēfī, kame’tfī.
company, kawmpanī, kampanī.
compounder (medical), kampo'dar, kampo'tar.
conference, kānpfras.
congress, kāngras.
constable, kā'nestbal, kanste'bal.
cork, kāk, kāg.
cornflour, kārnflaur.
couch, kāvec.
council, kāvesal.
court, koraṭ (court of ward), c. fees, kot fis, kot phis; see "chief".
cream, kirm.
cricket, kirkat.
croquette (for eating), kurkat.
cuff, kaff, kaph.
cut piece (tailoring), kat pī's.
cutlet, katlas.
dead-house (mortuary), dēd 'aw's.
December, dsa'mbar, dasa'mbar (dental d).
decree, di'gri.
deputy, dipśi; d. commissioner, dipśi kamisnar.
diamond cut, dēmal kat.
diary, dāri.
dictionary, dikśnī.
director, darēktar, daraktar.
dish, dis.
dispensary, dispēnsī.
distant signal, disī saṅgal.
doctor, dāgdrā, dāgdrar, dākdrar, dākṭar; abstract noun, dāgdrāri, dāgdrari, dākdrari, dākṭari.
double, dabal (strong, excellent); dabal rofi, English bread; dabal bres, double breast.
dollar, dāllā.
down, see "signal".
dozen, darjan.
drawer, drāz, drāj.
drawers, pair of, drāz, drāj.
dress, dāres, dres (d and d).
dresser, dāresar.
dressing, dressī (levelled ground etc.: dental d).
drill, cloth, daril.
drill, military, daril, dalel (dental d in latter).
driver, engine-, daraivar.
engine, iṇan, anjan.
engineer, anji'yar, anjī'ar, a'nji'nīr, a'nji'nī'ar, a'nji'nīar.
entrance (exam.), entrāns, antrās.
European, yūrpīn, zūbīn.
F.A., effe, affe, æpphe.
fail, fel, fe'l, phel, phe'l.
father (priest), fādar.
fashion, fēsan, phasan.
February, farvarī, pharbarī.
fees, fis, phis.
fire, verb, for, fāl.
fireman, fārmān, fāirmān.
first class, fastklās, phastklās, phaṭsklās.
flannel, falālān, phalālān.
foot (measure), fitt, futt, phutt; foot-rule, duftutā.
football, futbāl, phutbāl.
? forme (printing), farmā, pharma (? Port.).
France, frānsī, phrās, frānsisi; French, phrāsissi.
French beans, frāsbin.
frock, frāk, phrāk.
fry, frāi.
fryingpan, fraɪpān.
furlong, farlā'g, pharlān.
gaiters, gētas, gātas.
"gallowses" (braces), gālas, gēlas.
gao, jel.
gas, gēs.
general (military), jarnæl'.
general, adj., jarnal.
gentleman, jœntalman, jœntarmæn.
German, jarmæn.
Germany, jarmæni.
gilt, gīlt, gīlt.
gingham, gégam.
girder, gēdar.
glass, galās, gilās (usually of metal); see "bowl".
grace (for bills), glās, gilās.
gravy, gėbī.
gross (12 dozen), guras.
guard, railway, gād.
guard, military, police, gārād (prob. Portuguese).
gunboat, aganbot.

half, see "boil", "plate".
hall, 'āl.
halt, 'ālt.
head (of canal), 'ēl, 'awd.
headmaster, 'ēd- or 'awd-māstr or māstr.
headquarters, 'ēdkuātar.
high, 'āt.
high school, 'āt skūl.
high court, 'āt kōf.
hit, 'itt (noun).
hockey, 'ākkī, 'ākī.
holder, 'awldar (pen).

hot case, 'āt'kes, 'askēt.
hotel, ˈoʊtal (hotel, restaurant).
house, see "catching", "dead" hurricane, ˈərɪkən (lantern).
inch, ənci, inc, inc.
inspector, insp-ˈɪtər, -ˈɪkər, -ˈɪkər.
intermediate, intər, intarmiˈntəm.
Ireland, ərland.
Italy, ītī.

jacket, jākat.
jam, jām.
jam-puff, jāmpap.
January, janvāri, janbarī.
jerk, yark.
judge, jaˈjə.
July, jūləˈi, juˈlə, ˈjualəˈi, ˈjualə.
June, jūn.
kettle, kētə.
lamp, lamp (Port. lampada).
landau, lańdə.
lantern, lāltən.
late, lēt.
lecturer, lēkərər.
lemonade, lam-neˈt, lamləˈt.
licence, lāstəˈns.
lieutenant, laftəˈn, laftəˈnt.
line, lān, lən.
local, nokal, lokal.
lord, lōt.
lower, loar.

M.A., emme, ømme.
ma'am, mem.
macaroni, makrūnī.
machine, masɪn, masɪn.
magistrate, majˈɪstre.
Malta, māltə (orange).
manager, *mänjar, mane’jar*.  
March, *märac, már*. 
mark, *märkä, már* (trade mark;  
? Port.). 
market, *märkät*. 
marmalade, *mämlet*. 
master, *mästar, mästar*; see “head”. 
matches, *mäcis*. 
mate, *met* (head workman). 
May, *mai*. 
meeting, *müsin, mülah*. 
member, *mimbar, mimbrī, mem- 
bership*. 
mess, *miskot* (officers’ mess). The 
Zenana Mission House in 
Dahousie is called *miskot* be- 
because it was once an officers’ 
mess. 
middle, *midal*. 
mile, *mil, mel* (? Port. *milhā*). 
mill, *mill, mil*. 
mince, *mins*. 
minute (60 seconds), *mint, minät*. 
miss (lady), *miss*. 
mision, *misän*. 
misisonary, *mišnarī*. 
money order, *manşiđar*. 
monitor, *man’tar, mițar*. 
motor, *motor*. 
motor-car, *motokät, motarkät*. 
municipal, *myünsipal*. 
municipality, *myünsipelī*. 
necktie, *naktā’ī*. 
note (bank), *not, lot*. 
novel (story), *nāval*. 
November, *navambar*. 
number, *nambar, lambar, nambar, 
*lambar*; *lambardär* (et. ), village 
headman. 
nurse, *nas*. 

October, *aktūbar* (dental t). 
officer, *afsār*. 
omlet, *mämlet*; see “marmalade”. 
operation (surgical), *apreśan, 
apresan*. 
order, *ādar*; see “money”. 
orderly (military), *ardāli, ardāli*. 
out, *aut* (cricket); see “centre”. 
overcoat, *uvarkot*. 
papa, *pā’pā*. 
parade (ground, or manœuvres), 
*pare’t*. 
parcell, *pārsal*. 
party, *pāți, pārtī, pāltī* (team). 
pass, *pās*. 
passenger, *psanjar, pasa’njar* 
(passenger train). 
pencil, *pilsan, pilsan*. 
pension, *pinsan, pinsan, pilsan*. 
peppermint, *pippalmint*. 
phaeton, *fitan, phitan*. 
phenyle, *fanel, phanel, phānēl*. 
photo, *foto, photo*. 
pin, *pin*. 
pipe, *pāp*. 
plague, *pale’g, pleg*. 
plait, *pale’t, plet*. 
plaster, *plastar* (dental t). 
plate, *pale’t, plet*; ‘āf *plet* (half-plate), cheese plate. 
plate-layer, *plefī’ar*. 
platform, *pleťfarım, pleťphärın*. 
platoon? *pāltan*. 
poach (eggs), *poc*; poached eggs, 
*andā poc*. 
police, *puls, pulas*. 
polish, *pālas*. 
polo, *polo, po’illo*. 
porter, *potar*. 

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postcard, poskāt.
postmaster, posmāstar, posmāstar.
pot, pāt.
potato-chop, pate'ar cāp.
poultice, pultas.
pound (money), pāwd.
powder, podar.
president, prezidant, prezidant, parizand.
press (printing), pres.
primary (school), prāmrī.
pudding, phuli'n, phuli'n.
pump, papp, pamp.
putty, phuli'n, phuli'n, pafi'n.
Quaker Oats, kuekar of.
quarantine, kuraifin.
quarter, kuātar (for quarter plate, i.e. tea plate); see "headquarters".
quinine, kunā'n, kurā'n.
quorum, koram.
rail, rel.
ration, rāsn.
ream, rim, rim.
recruit, rangrūt.
register, raji'istar; registered, rajistri, rajistri; registrar, rajistrā.
report, ra'pat, ra'bat, rap'ot; rabhe, raphe, rabhe, reporter (village).
resident, rezidant.
rifle, rafal.
round (police), rauwd (dental d).
rubber, rabar, rabat.
ruler, rūl, lūl (pencil or ruler).
rum, ram.
run through, ran thrū.
sauce, sās.
sauce-boat, sāsbot.
school, skūl; skūlī, adj.
Scotch, sakāc, skāc.
Scotland, sakālīnd, skālīnd.
second (time), skin, sakī'nt.
second (class in train), sēkan, sakan.
second (course in meal), sikan.
secretary, skattar, sakat'tar (dental t).
semolina, samli'nā.
sentry, santrī (dental t).
September, stambar, satambah (dental t).
sergeant, sārjan, sārjanā.
servant, sarvanē (servants' carriage).
session(s), šiśan, sisan.
signal, sangal, suṅgal, singal.
signal, down, do. dāven.
slate, sale't, slet.
sleeper (railway), sīpar, sīpat.
slipper, sīpat, sīpat.
soda, soddā, so'ddā.
speech, sapī'c, spīc.
spell, spell (for noun "spelling").
stamp, aštām, aštām.
station, sate'san, šešan, ūsēn, ūsēn, aste'tan.
stew, īstū.
stool, tūl.
study, stādī.
stuffing (in duck, etc.), satā'pin, stāpin.
sub-, sab.
superintendent, suprintendant, suparda'nt.
tapioca, tāpiū.
tar-coal, tārkōl.
tax, tikas, tīgāt.
team, ʕim.
tennis, ʕænis.
thermometer, ʔarməmər, thərməmər.
third class, ʔhadəd kaləs, thərd kləs
(r is a fricative cerebral).
through, thrū.
ticket, ʔιkət, ʔikas, ʔigət; ʔatikət, without a ticket.
tiffin, ʔipən.
time, ʔem, ʔəm; ʔatemə, lateness
for (be-tem-ählt).
timepiece, ʔəmfis, ʔəmpis.
time-table, ʔəmtebal.
tin, ʔin.
toast, ʔost (dental t).
tomato, ʔamətər.
tray, ʔrel (dental t).
train, ʔaren, ʔren, ʔran.
treacle, ʔrıkəl, ʔarıkəl.

Additionál Words

custard, kastar.
gap, gæb.
recess, ræsə's.
shed, shidd.
ENGLISH WORDS IN PANJABI

CONCLUSION

NOTE.—Northern or Western Panjabi is the dialect spoken to the north and west of Amritsar. It is distinct from Lāhndi, which used to be called Western Panjabi. Southern or Eastern Panjabi is spoken south and east of Amritsar.

† is prefixed to a word to show that it has another form which does not illustrate the rule under consideration.

A GLANCE at the following pages will show apparent confusion in methods of word-formation. We must remember, however, the different influences which have been brought to bear.

(i) Some, especially older words, are fully naturalized; others, probably more recent, are only making their way.

(ii) Some have been taken from newspapers and handed on to illiterate speakers; they remain subject to the influence of those who try to preserve what they believe to be English pronunciation. This accounts for much diversity of treatment.

(iii) ɪstiū, stew, and ɑstišm, stamp, show us that some have come through the U.P. to which many servants in the Panjab belong and in which English institutions were established earlier than further north and west.

(iv) Tax and ticket which both become ʧīgat and ʧīkas, remind us that borrowed words are often altered to make them resemble other Panjabi words whether former loan words or not.

Pj. ʌr, when it represents Eng. [e] or [ɛ], is shorter than when it has any other origin. Thus ʌr in ʰrud, head, is shorter than ʌr in ʰræb, gap, karneļ, colonel, or laľthaṇ, lantern; so in jaŋtarmān, gentleman, the first ʌr is shorter than the second. An exception to the general rule is laľthaṇ (ʌr long), lieutenant. Other interesting words in this connexion are ‘arīkaṇ, hurricane; ‘acisān, Hutchison; pārisān (also paṭesn), Paterson: these have the longer ʌr. ‘acisān and pārisān are also heard.
Stress

The stress is generally on the same syllable as in English, but in the following words a change has been made. The stress mark is placed after the stressed vowel.

agency, *aja*'nsī.
agent, *aja'nt.
Africa, *afri'kā, phari'kā.
America, *amri'kā.
April, *apra'l.
assistant, *ašta'nt.
August, *aqa'st.

banjyān (vest), *baṇa'ṇ, *banyā'ṇ.
barrister, *bali'star.
bearing, *bara'ṇg.
bulldog, *buldā'g.

calendar, *kala'ṇdar.
canister, *kna'star, *kana'star.
chocolate, ♦ *ca:kle't.
ocolone, *karna'l.
cigarette, *si'graṭ.
croquette, *ku'rkat.

dead-house, *dēd'āw's.
decree, *di'grī.

engineer, *aŋjī'nyar.
entrance, *entra'ns.

F.A., *e'ffē.
furlong, *farlā'g.

general, *jarna'lt.
hotel, *o'tal.
lecturer, *lēkcarā'r.
licence, *lasa'ns.

M.A., *e'mmē.
manager, ♦ *mane'jar.

necktie, *nakta'ī.
papa, *pā'pā.
platoon, *pa'ltan.
pudding, *phuti'n, *puti'n.
putty, *phuti'n, *puti'n, and *pafi'n.

register, *raji'star; so *raji'stṛī,
registered.
report, ♦ *ra'paṭ, ♦ *ra'baṭ; so
*ra'phī, *ra'bī, *ra'bbī, reporter.

second, *ski'nt, *saki'nt.

warrant, *vara'nt.

In addition to the above there are words with a double stress. Such are bicycle, *bā'iska'lt; commissioner, *kami'śna'r; *dā'gdā'r, doctor; quarantine, *ku'rāfī'n.
Transposition

There are several instances of the transposition of r so that a stop + r + vowel becomes stop + vowel + r.

breeches, birjas. croquette, kurkať. February, farvarî, pharbarî. gross, guras.

brake, birk. trumpet, turap. cream, kirm. trumpet, turam.

cricket, kirkať. l is transposed in paltar, platoon; falâlon, flannel; ka’laf, club; pîlson, pencil, is an alteration of pinsal, and raštî, reporter, of raštî.

Stressed Vowels

The symbols between square brackets are phonetic.

English [a] appears twenty-three times as â, in two words it is ä, plastar, plaster; kastral, castor oil. There is also the alternative form klârk for klârk, clerk.

[a] The theoretical pronunciation of this vowel is ê, but the examples show that actually this is rare.

ä occurs ten times: bärâk, barracks; bâlištar, barrister; brændi, brandy; jâkat, jacket; jâm, jam; lâltûn, lantern; màkas, matches; râsn, ration; ãstăm, stamp; tâpiû, tapioca.

æ eight times: akt, act; bôt, bat; khec, catch; fásan, fashion; laundo, landau; mënjar, manager; män, man; geb, gap.

ã five times: bâmbû, bamboo; bânk, bank; kâmpû, camp; lâmp, lamp; màkûnû, macaroni.

i twice: ikat, act; tîkas, tax.

e twice: pletfârm, platform; mêm, ma’am.

[u] twenty-one times becomes â, occasionally it is ä, bâm, bomb; âfsû, officer; bâkâs, box. We may add perhaps âktûbar, October, câklet, chocolate, and âpresûn, operation, in which the â is unstressed.

[ar] when initial or medial is æ or âi; when final, âi or âi: exceptions are râfûl, rifle; mîl, mile; jâvela, July; tem (or tâm), time.

Even [αι] becomes æ, e.g. fær, fire; derî, diary; dæmâl, diamond; via, is vía or vâyâ; bioscope > bâiskop.

[Â] twenty-four times remains â, but we have û three times: turap, trump; turam, trumpet; bûs, brush; also kawmanî, company; kânshêbûl, constable; sâtâpin, stuffing. In gavrmî, government, the vowel is influenced by the v.
[au] is represented by aw seven times, sometimes pronounced [ɔː]; twice by o: kampodar, compounder; and podar, powder; flour is flour.

English short [ə] or [ɛ] appears in various forms. e or i is the commonest; this e is very low, practically [ɛ], and may as a rule be equally well written æ: next in frequency is i, then + and lastly e.

æ, æ, sixteen times: sekan, second; sūrīntendānt; superintendent; sēntar, centre; darēktar, director; dēd, dead; effe, F.A.; jēntalmen, gentleman; hēd, head; † inspēktar, inspector; ĕkearār, lecturer; spēl, spelling; tēnis, tennis; ēmmē, M.A.; rasē's, recess; rezidant, resident; prezidant, president.

i thirteen times: bill, belt; brinc, bench; cīk, cheque; dipā, deputy; † iūn, engine; † inspītār, inspector; miss, mess; mimbar, member; pīlsan, pencil; pīnsan, pension; pīppalmint, peppermint; siṃ, session; sūlī, shed.

ā twelve times: bānc, bench; dasambar, December; satambar, September; navambar, November; farvāri, February; janār, general; lamnē, lemonade; † laftān, lieutenant; samīnā, semolina; santrā, sentry; † anjan, engine; † anjīnār, etc., engineer.

æ occurs in † laftān, lieutenant.

è six times: brēs, breast; darēs, dress; darēsar, dresser; darēssī, dressing; kētē, kettle; prēs, press.

[ɑ] or [ɔ] > ār, six times; jarman, German (and jarmanī, Germany); yark, jerk; sarvaṇī, adjectival formation from servant; varmeli, vermicelli, karnel, colonel.

ār, once: † thārd, third (r here is fricative cerebral).

ā, twice: fāst, first; † thādd, third.

ā, once: gādar, girder.

ār, once: tārpīn, turpentine.

æ, once: nās, nurse.

[eɪ], twenty times e.

ə, twice: glās, gilās, grace; vāskat, bāskat, waistcoat.

ə, twice: gātas, gaiters; caen, chain.

ai, once: mai, May.

i, once: bīrk, brake.

[ɛɔ] occurs in bearer, ba'ra'; and in phaeton, fitan.

[t] i, twenty-seven times i.

i, seven times: kamīsan, commission; āsī, distant; ās, dish; mil r mil, mill; pīn, pin; tin, tin; sīpāt, slipper; phūsin, pusin, pudding.
three times: kameți, committee; gegám, gingham; † dalel, drill.

ü, once: saŋgal, signal.

œ, once: † œnci, inch.

ü occurs in huški, whisky and tul, twill, where it stands for "wi" or "whi" (unstressed in biskut, biscuit, kunēn, kurēn, quinine).

ü stands for "wi" in tül, twill.

[i] appears seven times as i.

Once as i: kirm, cream.

Twice as œ: kunēn, kurēn, quinine; fanēl, phanēl, pharnēl, phenyle. In these words it is based on a pronunciation [-am], [-aɪ].

[ʊ] seventeen times o.

Three times ü: makrūni, macaroni; aktūbar, October; ṭānu tapioca.

Twice ü: uvarkot, overcoat; pulțas, poultice.

ave once: ‘avuldar, holder.

[ɔ] becomes œ: bal, boil; əl, oil (in castor oil).

[ʊ]; (i) words without the letter “r”, becomes ü: bāl, ball; cāk, chalk; ‘ālt, halt; kalāth, kilāth, cloth; ‘āl, hall; māltā, Malta; sās, sauce. Exception, agast, August.

(ii) Words with “r”: five times:ā: kāk, kāg, cork; kāntīlver, cornflour; drāz, drawer, drawers; ādar, order; kuātar, quarter.

ār twice: farmā, pharmā, forme: ārdālī, orderly (note the different treatment in "order" above).

[ʊ], twice ü: † futt, phutt, foot; bulldāg, bulldog.

Once ü: būlī, bull-terrier.

Once i: † fitt, foot.

[ʊ] occurs ten times as ü, and once as i: bigal, bugle.

**Unstressed Vowels**

Final [ʊ] unstressed spelt with “r” becomes -ār twenty-eight times.

-ār, twice: lēkcarār, lecturer; dāgdār, doctor.

-ā, twice: dālā, dollar; basrā, bearer.

-āt, three times: † rābat, rubber; sīlpat, sīlpat, slipper; † sīpāt, sleeper.

-ar, once: † rabar, rubber.

With these should be connected -o in moto kāt, motor-car. Cf. also gātās, gaiters; ardālī, orderly; pippalmint, peppermint; anjnrī, etc., engineer; plešār, plate-layer.
When not spelt with “r” it becomes -ā, as amrikā, America; māltā, Malta.

A closely related question is that of all vowels which in English spelling require the letter “r”. There are approximately fifty words in which such vowels are found. Of these thirty have the r sound in Panjabi, and twenty have not.

Examples: rapōt, report; kāg, kāk, cork; gād, railway guard; nās, nurse; sārjan, sergeant; karnāl, colonel; mārc, March.

Unstressed Vowels nearly always become -ā or disappear. [r] > i; [-r-] > -i- or -i- (-ā in biskut, biscuit). Occasionally a “spelling” pronunciation is heard, as constable > cons-table < kanstebal.

CONSONANTS

b > f, in kalaf, club; p in tap, tub; and is inserted in bamb, bomb.

ch > j in birjas, breeches.

Representation of English d and t. I have dealt with this in a special article in Bull. S.O.S., Vol. IV, Pt. II. The following words were given there in which t and d have become dental.

t: dāgdār, doctor; agast, August; stambar, September; aktūbar, October; ketli, kettle; kanastar, canister; tos, toast; tral, tray; santri, sentry; hāthicok, artichoke; turap, trump; turam, trumpet; lārpin, turpentine.

d: dasambar, December; ardat, orderly; drāz, drawer, drawers; darjan, dozen. To these should be added tārkol, tar coal; plastar, plaster; tāragmāstri, barrack-master’s office; tārajistri, registered; rāwd, round; dādel, military drill; dres, dress; dressā, dressing.

d is changed to l in kāt, card; lāt, lord; lamnet, lamlet, lemonade; māmlet, marmalade; paret, parade; phutin, pušin, pudding; skint sakint, second (part of minute), and to l in dāmal, diamond; to ut, in imparment, intermediate.

d is omitted in sakan, second class in train; sikan, second course in meal; kamaniar, commander.

d is inserted in tandal, tunnel.

f > p in čipkot, chief court; tāśāptak, certificate; jāmpapp, jampuff; satāping, stuffing; tipan, tiffin.

f always tends to become ph in the Southern dialect.

English h occurs (only initially) in about fifteen words. It always gives rise to the low-rising tone. See vocabulary in last article.

j > j except in yark, jerk (used in cricket).
\( k \) usually remains \( k \), but \( > g \) in \( \ddag \text{bārag} \), barrack; \( \ddag \text{kūg} \), cork; \( \ddag \text{dīgī} \), degree; \( \ddag \text{dāgīlār} \), doctor; \( \ddag \text{raŋgrūt} \), recruit; \( \ddag \text{tiqāj} \), tax or ticket. \( \ddag \text{kt} > \ddag \text{tt} \) in \( \ddag \text{inspittār} \), inspector. \( k \) is omitted in \( \ddag \text{tāpiū} \), tapioca. See “qu”.

\( l \), see also \( n \), \( r \).

\( l \) immediately preceded by a cs. becomes \( -āl \), as \( \ddag \text{bāibal} \), Bible; \( \ddag \text{rafl} \), rifle.

\( \ddag \text{l} > \ddag \text{l} \) in \( \ddag \text{sāngal} \), signal. It is added in \( \ddag \text{trel} \), tray.

\( l \) and \( n \) are interchanged in \( \ddag \text{lokal} \) or \( \ddag \text{nokal} \), local (used of trains); \( \ddag \text{not} \) or \( \ddag \text{loṭ} \), note (money).

The word “number” is usually \( \ddag \text{nambar} \) when standing alone for “number”, but \( \ddag \text{lambar} \) when meaning village headman who is called \( \ddag \text{lambarārdār} \) or simply \( \ddag \text{lambar} \).

\( l \) is omitted in \( \ddag \text{plefīr} \), plate-layer, and inserted in \( \ddag \text{pippalmint} \), peppermint.

\( l \) is interchanged with \( r \) in \( \ddag \text{daril} \), drill; \( \ddag \text{jāntalmaen} \), gentleman; \( \ddag \text{rōl} \), (wooden) ruler; \( \ddag \text{fər} \), \( \ddag \text{fəl} \), fire.

\( l \) and \( n \) are transposed in \( \ddag \text{fālān} \), flannel.

\( m \) is omitted in \( \ddag \text{papp} \), pump; \( \ddag \text{turap} \), trump.

\( n \), see also \( l \).

\( n \) is omitted in \( \ddag \text{kompoẃdār} \), compounder; \( \ddag \text{kāntφraes} \), conference; \( \ddag \text{antrēes} \), entrance; \( \ddag \text{lāwes} \), allowance; \( \ddag \text{frűsbyn} \), French beans; \( \ddag \text{kurițin} \), quarantine.

\( n \) is inserted in \( \ddag \text{raŋgrūt} \), recruit; omitted in \( \ddag \text{dresi} \), dressing; and changed to \( g \) in \( \ddag \text{gegam} \), gingham.

\( n > \ddag \text{l} \) or \( \ddag \text{l} \) in \( \ddag \text{simil} \), cement; \( \ddag \text{lāltən} \), lantern; \( \ddag \text{dəməl} \), diamond; \( \ddag \text{pišon} \), pension.

\( n > \ddag \text{nɨ} \), in \( \ddag \text{cimnɨ} \), chimney; \( \ddag \text{baŋən} \), banyan; \( \ddag \text{iñən} \), engine; \( \ddag \text{lən} \), line.

\( n > \ddag \text{r} \) in \( \ddag \text{kuraŋ} \), quinine.

\( p \) is omitted in \( \ddag \text{stambar} \), September; \( \ddag \text{astam} \), stamp.

\( p > f \) in \( \ddag \text{təmfiʃis} \), timepiece, and \( b \) in \( \ddag \text{geb} \), gap, \( \ddag \text{rabat} \), report.

\( \ddag \text{qu} = \ddag \text{kw} \), rejects the “\( w \)” sound in \( \ddag \text{kurițin} \), quarantine; \( \ddag \text{kuraŋ} \), \( \ddag \text{kuɾeŋ} \), quinine; \( \ddag \text{koraŋ} \), quorum; but retains it in \( \ddag \text{kuekar of} \), Quaker Oats; \( \ddag \text{kuɾətər} \), quarter.

\( r \); see also \( l \) and the vowels \( \ddag \text{3} \), \( \ddag \text{9} \), and \( \ddag \text{3} \), and Unstressed Vowels.

\( r \) is inserted in \( \ddag \text{brinc. bench} \); \( \ddag \text{sirmat} \), cement; \( \ddag \text{tamətər} \), tomato; \( \ddag \text{pətəɾər cəp} \), potato chop; \( \ddag \text{darjan} \), dozen.

\( r > \ddag \text{l} \) in \( \ddag \text{balıştar} \), etc., barrister; \( \ddag \text{giləs} \), \( \ddag \text{gləs} \), grace (banking).
s is omitted in tūl, stool; † tesan, station.

s > s in āstām, stamp; bālisar, barrister; māstār, master; īštā, stew; † phāśklāś, first class; huśkā, whiskey; † āstānt, assistant.

sh always tends to become s in the Southern dialect; in the Northern this occurs in three words: † burs, brush; dis, dish; rāsn, rations.

s + cs. does not present much difficulty; school, Scotch, Scotland, slate, sleeper, slipper, speech, spell, station, study, stuffing, can be pronounced without an extra vowel. When the vowel is introduced it is usually between the s and the cs: īštā, stew; āstām, stamp, come from the UP.

t: see above t and d.

It becomes d in dādgār, doctor, and s in kaḷas, cutlet.
The forms disā, distant; laṣtān, lieutenant, should be noted.

[θ] > th: kalāth, cloth; tharmāmetar, thermometer; thārd, third (also thaḍ); ṭhū, through.

[θ] > d; fādar, father.
v becomes Pj. v: sical, civil; darāvar, driver; uvarkot, overcoat; navambar, November; sarvaṇtā, servant; varmselī, vermicelli; vīā, vāyā, via; vipī, V.P.; nāval, novel.

v > b in grebbī, gravy. In gawrmn̄t, government avar > aver.
w becomes b in S.P. bāskat, waistcoat; barant, warrant; biski, whiskey. For cs. + w, see under [r] and qu.

ADDENDA TO LAST ARTICLE

gawrmn̄t, government. sāgū, sago. prāivēl, private.
jarnēlī šarak (not r), general road, i.e. Grand Trunk Road.

CORRIGENDA TO LAST ARTICLE

For kārnflawer, cornflour, read kānflawer; for baskat, waistcoat, read bāskat; for pleʃ'ar, plate-layer, read pleʃ'iar; for darāvar, driver, read darāvar; for ērland, Ireland, read ērland.

z remains in the words for baptise, braces, drawers, president and resident.

z > s in birjas, breeches; f is, fees; gātas, gaiters; mācis, matches.

z is omitted in ēdkuṭār, headquarters.

In S.Pj. z > j.
WEST HIMALAYAN BÔHRI AND SINĀ BODŪ

Most Indo-Aryan languages have a word for "many" or "much" or "very", and another for "big" or "great", corresponding to Hindi bahut and bara respectively, and each word has generally the same varieties of meaning. Thus the word for "many" also means "much" and "very". In Hindi bara sometimes stands for bahut; Panjabi bara and bau't are the same as bahut, and vaddā is used for "big" or "great".

So far as I know attention has never been drawn to a remarkable word for bahut found in a continuous area which includes the Simla states of Kyūṭhal, Jubbal, and Bashahr (part) as well as the British districts of Simlā, Koṭ Gur, and Koṭkhāī. The form under discussion is found in four out of the five Aryan dialects which are spoken in Bashahr and collectively known as Kocī, viz. the dialects of Bāghī, Rohṛū, Surkhuḷḷi, and Doḍra-Kuār. I have not actually heard it in the remaining Kocī dialect, that of Rāmpur, or across the Satluj in Sirājī, Suketī, or any of the other dialects further down the river, but, as there is much coming and going, the word must be heard outside its proper home.

The following varieties of the word should be noted.

Kocī dialects in Bashahr:

Bāghī bōri, bōhri
Rohṛū bōhri
Surkhuḷḷi bōri
Doḍra-Kuār bōri

Jubbal, bō?ri (with glottal stop)
Koṭ Gur bauhri
Simlā, Kyūṭhal bhauri

The final i represents a high front vowel often written -ī.

About these words it has to be noted that—
(i) In all of them the r is dental, not cerebral.
(ii) All are indeclinable: the ending -i occurs with both genders are numbers.

Nearly all the words meaning "much" or "many" have indeclinable forms (this follows from their etymology).
but those meaning "big" are generally declined. Thus words of the type bahu' (i.e. bahu, bahu', bahu') and bahut (bahu', bhaut, bahut) are not declined. Note, however, that Pj. bahu'ā "much" is always declined. The words for "big" or great", such as barā, vaddā, boro, bora, bada, baurau, baddā, etc., have cerebral r or d and are declinable.

What is the derivation of bāhri. One thinks naturally of bahutara. That would explain *bāhrā, but does not account for the ending -i, which, as we have seen, is not fem. Professor Jules Bloch suggests to me that perhaps bāhri really is a fem. and agrees with an unexpressed noun, and Professor R. L. Turner that -i is possibly emphatic like the similar ending in Nepali. There are difficulties. The meaning "many" seems incompatible with the idea of an unexpressed word; the emphatic seems to postulate a non-emphatic form, but I do not know of one. Probably all three types, bāhri, bahu, and bahut come from forms of the same root, and the words for "big" from forms of another root unconnected with the first.

We proceed now to another type. The Śiṅā word for bahut is bodū, very interesting and difficult to explain. Like bāhri and bahut it has a dental for its second consonant, but unlike them it is declined. The word for "big" is būrh, pronounced with cerebral r. The suggestion has been made that bodū and būrū are merely different spellings or pronunciations of the same word. They differ, however, in both sound and sense. Bodū has a dental d, būrū a cerebral r, and the first vowel is very different. The o of būrū changes to a in the fem. bāri, and plur. bāre, going back probably to an original ā, while the o of bodū, which never changes, probably comes from original o. One word means "great" or "big", the other "many", "much", or "very".

I add some examples of the use of bodū:—
bodi bāri bāri, a very big pond.
bodē bāre bāri, very big loads.
bodē agurē bāri, very heavy loads.
bodi mśćti pōn, a very good road.
bodū hīn, much snow.
bodū gālīs, very ill.
bodē khūnē, many murders.
bodū valē', bring a lot.
bodū girān, very difficult.
bodī dūr, very far.
ma bodū betūs, I sat much, i.e. I waited a long time.
talāk bodī thēnēn, they make much divorce, i.e. often divorce their wives.
bodi girōm valērē', much perspiration cause-to-be-brought, i.e. perspire well.
jāk bodē yūgi hanē, people are very independent.
tūs bodū chūt thīga, you made much lateness, you were very late.
bodi bīrgayēr bodī shikāst khēgē, in much warfare much defeat they ate, i.e. they fought much and were severely defeated.

The word bōrū "big" hardly requires further illustration. It will be sufficient to refer to the Parable of the Prodigal Son, which contains both words. We have bōrū kōnēr "a great famine" and bōrū pūc "the big son", i.e. "the elder son": also bodī dūr "very far". See the first two examples above.

The derivation of bodū from vardhakah does not explain o. Professor Turner points out that Mid. I a tends to become o in Šinā under the influence of a following u, but that this fact does not appear to have any bearing on the bodū question.
THE SINDHI IMPLOSIVES

Implosives differ from plosives in being uttered with an intake of breath. It may be taken into the lungs or stopped in the larynx. Theoretically a plosive-implosive is also possible, in which air is expelled from the lungs and simultaneously inhaled, the current in both cases going no further than the larynx. A final decision can only be made in a phonetic laboratory, but without such aid it is possible to give an approximately correct account of these sounds.

The Sindhi implosives are four in number, all unaspirated sonants, a bilabial, a guttural, a retroflex tongue-tip palatal, and palatalized blade-front-dento-alveolar. Three of them correspond to the North Indian sounds usually written \( b, g, \) and \( d \). The fourth is supposed to correspond to \( j \), but is actually a palatalized \( d \). The ordinary \( d \)-implosive is not found. All four may be initial, medial, or final. Many other sounds may be enunciated in this way, but Sindhi has only four. One must first learn to control one's larynx and to raise or lower it at will. It is not difficult to make a difference of an inch between the high and the low position of the larynx, and with practice this could be increased. The best rule for producing them is perhaps this: try to make an ordinary \( b, g, d, \) or palatalized \( d \), but at the same time close the glottis and lower the larynx. This will necessitate an intake of breath, and prevent air from going beyond the larynx.

I feel convinced that the amount of air that reaches the lungs is negligible. A simple experiment goes to prove this. If one holds one's breath and repeats the implosive \( b \) as often as one can without taking a fresh breath (it is easy to do so about 250 times), one will find that at the end one can make a full inhalation. If at each of these 250 repetitions an appreciable amount of air had been taken in, a final inhalation would have been impossible.

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1 "Implosive" has sometimes been used in a slightly different sense, e.g. by Professor Jones in *English Phonetics.*
ET DE QUIBUSDAM ALIIS

(1) Hindi, Urdu bhāī and bhāī, Pj. væ or v,āī and p,āī or pr,ā. The words bhāī and væ differ widely from bhāī and pr,ā, but I do not think the difference has ever been pointed out. bhāī and pr,ā mean brother or cousin, and include, of course, brother in trade, nation, or religion. bhāī and væ, on the other hand have nothing to do with brother; they are not even confined to males. The two Pj. words do not resemble each other in sound. bhāī and væ mean my good fellow, my good woman, my good man. They are constantly used by husband to wife, by master or mistress to servant, by parents to children, by friend to friend. They imply familiarity, and suggest that the person spoken to is inferior, or at least not superior, in rank. A servant would not use it to a master or a wife to a husband.

bhāī and væ do not take the stress though they can begin a sentence. Of particular interest is the difference of initial letter in Pj. p,āī or pr,ā and væ or v,āī. In Pj. it is generally enclitic, and therefore the initial Sk. bh becomes not p, as for bh-, but v, or v. The change of v, to v is due to absence of stress.

(2) Platt’s Dictionary gives the word hilnā two meanings, “shake” and “become familiar”. I would make the suggestion that they should be given as separate words.
hil- "shake" used to be hal-. Thus Mir Asar, writing in 1740, makes halnā rhyme with calnā. In Dakani Urdu to-day the word is halnā, and in Pj. it is hallnā, or allānā. The other word always has i, and in Pj. has a cerebral l, iśnā "become accustomed" or "familiar."

(3) Pj. all and al. Unfortunately both the large Pj. dictionaries fail to distinguish l from ī; they thus obscure many interesting differences. Thus all "a plough", plur. allā (Sk. halya), is fem. and has alveolar ī; al "a yoke" (of ploughing oxen) (Sk. hala-), is masc. and has cerebral ī.

dā: alā dā khū is a well with enough land for two pairs of oxen to plough. The word for ploughman (Sk. hālika-) is like this second word. It is ālī, not ālī or āllī. The verb to plough is al vaḍ'nd, not al vaḍ'nd.

(4) Phonetics

(a) The word "Tripā"

I have always written the word in this way, feeling that the pronunciation shinā' was the best approximation for a European. It is perhaps advisable, in the interests of accuracy, to indicate the exact pronunciation. The chief thing to avoid is sheena (shinā). The ī is a retracted variety of the ī heard in long syllables in Urdu, Pj., and Shinā. It is almost the Russian [i] in [bit] "to be"; more advanced than the normal Russian sound, and is quite short.

ş is a retracted sh, slightly further back than the sh element in English "try". ū is an ordinary cerebral ū with strike point behind the teeth ridge.

(b) The Prefixes pre- and post- in Phonetics

These prefixes are common in words like prepalatal, post-dental, postalveolar, and would be useful if there were agreement about their meaning. Unfortunately they are used in two mutually contradictory senses, and every writer assumes that his own meaning is attached to them by others. The
question is whether, e.g., prepalatal is a subdivision of palatal or not. I use prepalatal to mean "in front of the palate", not "on the anterior part of the palate"; and postalveolar to mean "behind the alveolar position", not "on the posterior part" of it. This seems to me to correspond with the medical use of pre- and post-, and to be correct. So "prechristian" means not in the early part of the Christian era, but before the Christian era. One or two authors, however, employ the prefixes in the contrary sense. My object in writing this note is not to insist on my opinion, but to mention the two meanings and to point out that owing to the confusion, unless we define our terms, we shall not be understood.

(c) Comparison of Sounds in Different Languages

In describing an unwritten language we often have to compare its sounds with those of a written one, but we must avoid comparing things which are on different planes. If I compare Urdu or Panjabi words and sounds with those of, say, Lahndi or Šinā, I must not compare written words with unwritten sounds unless I am quite certain of the pronunciation represented by the former.

The writing of Indian languages, whether in their own character or in Roman letters, is not phonetic. Thus we are told that in Urdu ə is pronounced like u in "but". Actually that is one out of seven pronunciations, all perfectly common, viz. approximately the vowel sounds in (1) far, (2) bang, (3) attempt (first vowel), (4) gone, (5) men, (6) but, and (7) complete omission. The same speaker will habitually employ the whole seven. Yet people talk of the sound of ə.

Again, Urdu speakers will say vo hātī mere sīt sāt ādā "that elephant came with me", but the omission of an aspirate in an unwritten language is treated as something remarkable.

When we say, as I have done myself, that the vowels of certain unwritten languages vary a great deal, we must not suggest that the fact is unusual, or forget how much variation (concealed by fixed spelling) there is in the
pronunciation of vowels in the literary languages of India; and if we compare them we must compare actual sounds in both cases. There is a surprising amount of confusion about the sounds of well-known languages, and the pronunciation of many words is very different from what is supposed.

MIDDLE INDIAN -d- > -r- IN VILLAGE KAŚMĪRĪ

When thirty years ago, in the summer of 1898, I began to study Kaśmīrī in a lovely village 20 miles from Srinagar, my teacher being a city Muḥammadan, I noticed that in certain words he used r, while the villagers regularly said ū, as gur, gur "horse"; yūr, yūr "hither"; while in others both alike said ū, as karun "do"; vāra vāra "carefully". There was no variation in this usage; a villager never by accident put ū into a word with r. Subsequent visits to Kaśmīr confirmed not only the fact of diversity between city and village, but also the regularity of it.

In the Festgabe Hermann Jacobi, 1925, Professor R. L. Turner, following up some statements of mine in Bull. S.O.S., iii, 2, 382, suggests that MI -d- > -r- in village Kaśmīrī. In support of this opinion, with which I entirely agree, I submit a list of words taken from the village language. In only two of them do we find an unexpected r; both these are connected with cooking, doubtless loanwords from Brahmans: krāy "cauldron", Pj. karāʾī: krūsh "spoon", Pj. karčā.

Noteworthy is karun "eject", in which we have a cerebral as we expect, but, contrary to rule, it is r instead of ū.

In khūrā "heel" we expect r, for we have it Pj., Lahndī, and Śinā, but we might easily have got ū from the other root. In view of the r in harun "fall", we must either reconsider the tentative equation of harun with H. sārnā, or conclude that it is a loanword.
For "myrrh" the Kāśmīrī Dictionary, edited by Sir George Grierson, gives (but with a question mark) the strange word mūṛ—strange because the Pāṇḍits cannot say r; moreover, villagers say mūr. As the word is Hebrew, r is natural.

The subjoined list is a good example of the distinction between loanwords and words regularly developed. It is a mere matter of majority. Here we have over forty words in which an anticipated r is found, and only two with an unexpected r. The necessary conclusion is that the forty represent the rule, and that the two are loanwords.

In order that this list should not depend on my assertion alone I sent most of it to Professor Siddhēśvar Varma, asking him to check it with village Muḥammadan Kaśmīrīs. This he has been so kind as to do.

All these words have a special interest; they illustrate well what I said about r in this dialect, and incidentally help us with etymologies, as in the case of harun "fall".

The four adverbs of place deserve attention. The r which appears in all of them may not be Sk., but it has several parallels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>where</th>
<th>where</th>
<th>here</th>
<th>there</th>
<th>yonder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kś</td>
<td>kōṛ</td>
<td>yūṛ</td>
<td>tōṛ</td>
<td>ōṛ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāśi</td>
<td>kāre</td>
<td>jāre</td>
<td>ēṭhī</td>
<td>ōṭhī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadravāhī</td>
<td>kōṛī</td>
<td>zarī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhalesī</td>
<td>kōṛe</td>
<td>džēre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāḍarī</td>
<td>kōṛ</td>
<td>zāṛ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curāhī</td>
<td>kōṛe</td>
<td>jēre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Dictionaries gives some d forms, generally as village alternatives. I have put them in brackets with the initial D. Villagers do not use d in these words, but Pāṇḍits often think they do. It would be useful to make an exhaustive list of village -r- words. It is important to realize that they mark a definite dialectic variation, and are perfectly regular.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village Kasmiri</th>
<th>Panjabi</th>
<th>Village Kasmiri</th>
<th>Panjabi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bigarun, be spoilt</td>
<td>vigarnā</td>
<td>kūrā, girl</td>
<td>kūrī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bigārun, spoil</td>
<td>vagārnā</td>
<td>lar, thread</td>
<td>lar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bīr, crowd</td>
<td>pīr</td>
<td>larun, fight</td>
<td>larṇā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brōr, cat</td>
<td>billā</td>
<td>larōyī, fight</td>
<td>larāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byōr, cat</td>
<td></td>
<td>(D. laṇōyī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chērun, annoy</td>
<td>chernā</td>
<td>lārun, run</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chirkāvun,</td>
<td></td>
<td>lārun, stain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sprinkle</td>
<td>chirakūnā</td>
<td>lūrā, club</td>
<td>laurā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chōrun, leave</td>
<td>H. chornā</td>
<td>mirā, dovecot</td>
<td>H. math</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōr, beard</td>
<td>dārī</td>
<td>mūr, foolish</td>
<td>H. mūrī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōr, firm</td>
<td></td>
<td>(D. moṭu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garun, fashion</td>
<td>kārnā</td>
<td>mūr, husk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D. gadun)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ör, thither</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gōr, sugar</td>
<td>gur</td>
<td>parun, read</td>
<td>parānā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gūr, pakkā</td>
<td></td>
<td>sur, boy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gūr, horse</td>
<td>kōrā</td>
<td>thūrā, back</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gūr, mare</td>
<td>kōrī</td>
<td>tōr, thither</td>
<td>tōr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D. guṭu)</td>
<td></td>
<td>tsārā, seek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gūr, kaccā</td>
<td>kārī</td>
<td>(D. tshādun)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gagrā, thunder</td>
<td></td>
<td>tsūrā, bird</td>
<td>cīrī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāgor, cart</td>
<td>chakrā</td>
<td>yūr, hither</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hār, June-July</td>
<td>ārī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orā, pair, etc.</td>
<td>jōrā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jūrī, do</td>
<td>jōrī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapur, cloth</td>
<td>kaprā</td>
<td>krāy, cauldron</td>
<td>kaṟāī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karun, eject</td>
<td>kaddīnā</td>
<td>krūtsh, ladle</td>
<td>karchā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kārun, boil</td>
<td>kārīnā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōkur, cock</td>
<td>kukkaṛ</td>
<td>khūrā, heel</td>
<td>khur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kor, bracelet</td>
<td>kaṟā</td>
<td>harun, fall</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōr, whither</td>
<td></td>
<td>mūr, myrrh</td>
<td>mur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Loanwords**

- krāy, cauldron
- karāī
- krūtsh, ladle
- karchā

Other words with r (not ōr)

- khūrā, heel
- harun, fall
- mūr, myrrh
- mur

In these days of specialized work it is a bold thing for a New Testament scholar to translate the Old Testament, for, although he will naturally mistrust his own opinion in a sphere where he has not expert knowledge, and will follow that of Old Testament scholars, yet he requires a general acquaintance with the whole field in order to be able to pass wise judgments. This is a great work and will be of immense service to all those who really study the Bible, especially to those who do not read the original. It must be judged by its intentions. It aims at giving a popular and accurate translation in good modern English. It cannot supersede the AV. and the RV., but is to be used along with them. We must ask ourselves two questions: is it accurate, and is it couched in good English? The answer to the first question is almost wholly favourable (though I cannot persuade myself that בַּח וֹיָה יִוְרָה לָעֵץ means “may God kill me and worse”). It is invaluable in throwing new light on obscure or doubtful sentences, it is a wonderful contribution to knowledge. The second question must be answered with much greater reserve.

While there are innumerable passages, especially in the second volume, full of felicitous renderings, some which make one glow with spiritual ardour, there are many others where wrong idioms, even bad grammar, harsh phrases, colloquialisms, almost vulgarisms, impair the pleasure and profit of reading. The faults of idiom, diction and grammar which are observable in the author’s New Testament are still present, though happily they are not nearly so prominent. Thus to take his translations of the poetry, one’s criticism of the first volume, and to a lesser extent of the second, is that they are a strange mixture. Phrases of rhythmic and poetic beauty jostle colloquial prose; in half a dozen consecutive lines we may find a number of incongruous details—rhyme,
metre, and rhythm, along with unrhymed, unmetrical, and unrhythmical lines, or stately prose along with snippets of modern conversation. The following examples from vol. i will illustrate what has been said:

(a) Bad or clumsy English: Who has handed you over your foes, Gen. xiv, 20. In case they would kill him, Gen. xxvi, 7. She (Rahab) stayed on the wall, Joshua ii, 15. Isaac stayed at Gerar, Gen. xxvi, 6. Where you hid yon day, 1 Sam. xxvi, 16. All yon company that I met, Gen. xxxiii, 8. He and his officers stiffened themselves, Ex. ix, 24. Encouraged him from God, 1 Sam. xxiii, 16. Drowsy and asleep, 2 Sam. iv, 6. We will never be able, Neh. iv, 10. Destroy all the spots, מַלְכוּת, Deut. xii, 2. In 1 Ch. xxvii, 24, “never” occurs twice, apparently for “not”. So Song v, 6, and elsewhere, “check” is used for “find fault with”.

(b) Colloquial or undignified English : in the great poem of Deut. xxxii the Almighty is made to refer to His enemies as “fateuous folk” (דָּבָר נְא), v. 28, and to say “I had meant to finish them off” (וֹכִי נָתַן), v. 26a. In the same poem occurs the school phrase “ask your seniors to repeat”. Other examples are: Moses was a most devout creature, Num. xii, 3. Hands off! Jos. vi, 18. Jacob started to mount his sons on camels, Gen. xxxi, 17. This is a bad business, 1 Sam. xxvi, 16. Passing waifs (גוּלֵד), 1 Ch. xxix, 15.

In places there are phrases which convey no clear meaning. A considerable number of the individual words seem out of place in a Bible translation, for they have a peculiar and narrow meaning. Such words are braves, fetishes, foralicie, sept, sheikhs, midrash, burg and burghers (former not given, latter marked “archaic” in Concise Oxf. Dict.), troglodytes (surely “cave-dwellers” is a far commoner word). מַדְבָּר is translated now “desert”, now “country” or “open country” (description, not translation), now “wolds”, now “steppes” (applied to a part of the country where there are no steppes): David’s נִנְבָּר are called “knights”, which they were not. Some prophets are termed “dervishes”, others “prophets”, but
we are not told what the principle of the distinction is.

The word "clan" is greatly overworked. It does duty for שבט, for בֵּין, for בֵּין (clan of), for רָאוֹחַ בֵּין (chief of the clans), for בֵּין אֲבֹתִּךְ (ךָך, thy father's clan). "Quivering" is unpleasantly used of human beings for נַעַלְנוּ, Jos. ii, 9, 24; for יַעֲנֵי, Is. vii, 2; and for מֶלֶס, Jos. ii, 11; v, 1; vii, 5; but this last word, מֶלֶס, is rendered "melt" in Ps. xxii, 14; Isa. xiii, 7; "tremble" in Ezek. xxi, 7; and "collapse" in 2 Sam. xvii, 10. Hannah's heart "thrills over the Eternal" (עִלּוֹ), and in Song i, 4, the bride says "there let us thrill with delight".

In place of the usual Hebrew or Aramaic text Dr. Moffatt has frequently adopted readings found in the versions, or followed modern conjectures. It would be well if these were indicated in the margin. We should like to know which are conjectures and which come from the versions, and also what degree of credence is to be attached to any particular reading.

Another question is that of order. In many instances the translator departs from the usual arrangement. Sometimes the intention of this is to restore the chronological order, and for this we are grateful, but it is tantalizing to be unable to find a passage which has been removed to a new situation. In other cases, however, where a supposed Hebrew editor has blended two or more narratives into a harmonious whole, Dr. Moffatt undoes his work and gives us the separate documents according to the prevailing view of modern critics—a proceeding which is out of place in a popular translation.

It is greatly to be regretted that Dr. Moffatt has given us a title instead of a name for the Tetragrammaton. The absolutely necessary thing is that whatever word is chosen, it should be a name, not a title. I hope that in the next edition "Jehovah" will be adopted. Why should "Yahweh" be suggested as the only possible name, unless indeed we are also to have Ya'aqobh, Yitschaq, Yarobh'am and Chizqiel? But if we may and do employ the Anglicized forms of these names, we may also employ "Jehovah", used in the American RV.,
long established as an English word, and well suited to a popular translation.

We must note some very happy renderings: deep sea vessels for סירות ראובן (ships of Tarshish); king’s “confidential adviser” for יער南部 (but why David’s friend for יער?); temple attendants, for Nethinim; tutor to the king’s sons, יער南部; I am quite ready to die, יער南部, 1 Sam. xiv, 43. There are many others, especially in the later books. Perhaps the most successful attempt to translate poetically a poetical passage is in 2 Sam. xxiii, 1–7. It is notable that the translation of poetry in the prose books is not on the whole so good as in the more purely poetical books, the Prophets and Psalms.

The Book of Proverbs lends itself well to his style, and the translation of Pr. xxx, 1, a happy conjecture, adds a pure gem to the book.

Those who desire to know the Bible are under a great debt to Dr. Moffatt for his work; if attention has here been drawn to flaws rather than to merits, it is in order that they may be considered before the next edition comes out.

To sum up, the following are the changes which we should like to see introduced as soon as possible:—

(1) The English improved in very many places.

(2) Indication given of new readings, those found in the great versions being distinguished from modern guesses.

(3) Excision of all reference to different documents or editorial comments; at best they deal only with scholars’ subjective conjectures, and they are unsuitable in a popular work.

(4) Order not to be altered except where necessary (never to indicate documents), and all changes to be shown.

(5) “Jehovah” to be used for the Tetragrammaton.
Judge H. T. Colebrooke's Supposed Translation of the Gospels into Hindi, 1806

In Darlowe and Moule's *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scriptures*, 1903 (= DM.), the earliest Hindi translation of the Gospels is entered as follows: "1806. The Gospels translated by Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765-1837), president of the bench at Calcutta, and honorary professor in Fort William College, the first great Sanskrit scholar of Europe." This is confirmed by Pearce Carey's book, *William Carey* (= PC.). In the third edition, p. 408, he writes "so far from vaunting how many versions he and his colleagues could add to their credit, they postponed the publication of their translated Hindi Gospels till Colebrooke's was printed in 1806". In the eighth edition, 1934, p. 420, 'they postponed till 1811 the publication of their translated Hindi Gospels leaving the field to Judge Colebrooke's version for five years.'

I suggest that this statement, though found in two important independent works, both involving much research, is entirely incorrect and that to William Carey belongs the great honour of having produced the first translation of any part of the Scriptures in Hindi.

The libraries which might be expected to have a copy of Colebrooke's supposed translation do not possess one. These are the libraries of the Brit. Mus., the India Off., the Brit. and For. Bib. Soc., the Roy. As. Soc., of which Colebrooke's son was president, the Bapt. Miss. Soc., and Serampore Coll. The Catalogue of the As. Soc. of Beng., of which Colebrooke himself was president, does not contain it. Further, *Colebrooke's Life*, by his son, which gives a list of his works, and the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, in its "complete list", do not mention a translation of any part of the Bible.

After a time continued investigation practically convinced me that the idea of a translation by Colebrooke was due to
a misunderstanding. But the question remained "What was the source of the categorical statement that Colebrooke published Hindi Gospels in 1806?" Among numerous letters to various places I wrote one to Serampore College, and from the Rev. R. A. Barclay I received a reference which gives the probable origin of the story of the translation, though the date (1806) still required explanation. In a letter written by William Carey to Dr. Rylands on 14th December, 1803, which Mr. Barclay most kindly transcribed in full, Carey writes "A few days ago Mr. Buchanan informed me that a military gentleman had translated the Gospels into Hindoostanee and Persian, and had made a present of them to the College, and that the College Council had voted the printing of them. . . . I am glad that Major Colebrooke has done it. We will gladly do what others do not do" (Periodical Accounts, vol. ii, 456).

This is perhaps the place to point out the distinction between Hindi and Hindustani. Hindi is largely Sanskritic, many words are pure Sanskrit, while Hindustani, more correctly called Urdu, partially the same language, has Arabic and Persian words instead of Sanskrit. Carey, though using the terms indiscriminately, truly said that two translations were necessary "one into that [language] which draws principally on the Persian and Arabic for its supplies of difficult words, and another into that which has recourse in the same manner to the Sungcrit. Indeed the difference in these kinds is so great, that the Gospels translated into the former kind of Hindee under the auspices of the College of Fort William, is in many places quite unintelligible to Sungcrit pundits born and brought up in Hindooosthan" (First Memoir, 1808, p. 9).

Buchanan was Rev. Claudius Buchanan, for some years Vice-Provost of Fort William College, the author of some very interesting books, and a man of earnest Christian piety.

It is evident, as Mr. Barclay has pointed out to me, that Judge Colebrooke has been confused with Major Colebrooke.
The Judge does not seem to have done any Bible translation, though he was a great Oriental scholar and a good friend to the missionaries. He died in 1837—twenty-nine years after Major Colebrooke—and was not a military man. PC. in his earlier editions called him simply "Colebrooke", but in his latest edition added the word "Judge". Major Robert Hyde Colebrooke (1762 or 3–1808), afterwards Lieut.-Colonel, was probably Judge Colebrooke's first cousin. He served in the Indian Army for thirty years, becoming Surveyor-General, and died in Bhagalpur. He was not directly connected with the College.

There has been further misunderstanding. The sole evidence for any translation into Hindustani (Urdu) by Colonel Colebrooke seems to be Carey's letter. But the letter contains merely a second-hand reference to a conversation. Impressions left on one's mind by conversation are notoriously inaccurate; impressions of a verbal report of conversation still more so. Here we have an account of a conversation reporting another which had taken place some time before. According to it Buchanan thought that Colonel Colebrooke had translated the Gospels into Hindustani, but in quarters where we should expect confirmation of this there is none; there is no reason to suppose that Colebrooke ever did so.

We come now to another point. Carey's letter speaks of an Urdu translation of the Gospels, but DM. and PC. refer to Hindi, and there is nothing to show that either of the Colebrookes did anything in Hindi. The evidence to the contrary is strong.

I. THE COLEBROOKES DID NOT TRANSLATE THE GOSPELS INTO HINDI OR HINDUSTANI

(a) The very Buchanan, who is quoted as having said that Colebrooke translated the Gospels into Urdu, himself published in March, 1805, less than fifteen months after the conversation, a book called The College of Fort William,¹ containing the

¹ Published anonymously; but the author's name is given at the end of Christian Researches which is by the same writer. See below.
"official papers and literary proceedings of the College" during its first four years. On pp. 219–225 is a list of "Works in Oriental Languages and Literature, printed in the College or published by its learned members", and on pp. 225–231 under the date 20th September, 1804, the list is continued to include those published during the past year or "now in course of publication". Several translations of the N.T. or of the Gospels in different languages are mentioned, but there is no reference to any Hindustani or Hindi translation by either Colebrooke.

(b) In 1819 Thomas Roebeck, one of the College staff, published a similar book entitled The Annals of the College of Fort William from its Foundation on the 4th May, 1800, to the Present Time. It contains (p. 586) "a general list of all works patronized or encouraged by the College". This does not mention Colonel Colebrooke at all. Two Sanskrit works by Judge Colebrooke are referred to, but nothing by him in Hindi or Urdu. There is, however, the following reference to an Urdu translation of the N.T.: "The New Testament translated into Hindostanee by [Mirza Mohummud Fitrut and] learned natives of the College of Fort William, revised and compared with the original Greek by Dr. William Hunter, Calcutta, in one volume quarto, 1805." This translation appears in Buchanan's College of Fort William, under date September, 1804, as "in the press" (p. 227). The words in brackets, omitted by Roebeck, are on the title-page. Though the language is Urdu, the character is Nagri. Several copies are in existence.

(c) Buchanan in 1811 wrote Christian Researches in Asia, which went through many editions. I have examined the 1st, 1811; 2nd, 1811; 5th, 1812; and 11th, 1819. On p. 2 we read "the first version of any of the Gospels in the Persian and Hindostanee tongues, which were printed in India, were issued from the press of the College of Fort William. The Persian was superintended by Lieut.-Col. Colebrooke, and the Hindostani by William Hunter, Esq." Here again
nothing is said of a Hindi or Hindustani translation by Colebrooke.

A very important passage occurs on p. 223, n. (1st ed., also later edd.). "There are several Orientalists, who have been engaged in translating the Holy Scriptures. We hope hereafter to see the name of Mr. Colebrooke added to their number. Mr. C. is the Father of Shunscrit literature." The translation here hoped for, as the author goes on to say, was a Sanskrit version of the Pentateuch. This quotation shows us that so late as 1811 Judge Colebrooke had not translated any part of the Bible.

On p. 225 of the 1st ed., p. 251 of the 2nd and 5th, omitted in the 19th, we read: "The first Persian translation was made by the late Lieut.-Col. Colebrooke; and it 'blesses his memory'. Mirza Fitrut furnishes the Hindostane. There is another Hindostane translation by the Missionaries at Serampore." Fitrut was the principal translator of William Hunter's version; the other is Carey's first (1811) Hindi version.

We see then that in these contemporary works nothing is said about any Hindi or Hindustani translation published by either Colonel or Judge Colebrooke; only Fitrat and Hunter's Urdu Gospels (1805) are mentioned. Nor have I come across any reference in the Serampore letters. It is evident that Hunter's translation has been attributed to Colebrooke and changed to Hindi.

II. THE DATE (1806)

We now ask why was the year 1806 given with such confidence by both DM. and PC.? The answer is not very difficult. In Carey's letter of 14th December, 1803, we are told that the missionaries had begun the Hindi or Urdu translation in 1802, but were not saying anything about it. On hearing Buchanan's story of the Persian and Urdu translations they stated openly what they were doing. On 24th September, 1804, they write "we are waiting to see the Hindoostane
gospels which are printing at Calcutta for the College. . . . Translations are going on in Persian and Hindoostanee. When we have the advantage of seeing this work we shall probably begin part of the Bible in Hindoostanee". (Per. Acc., iii, 23, 4. The reference is to Hunter's Urdu N.T., which was in the press in September, 1804.) Further, ibid., iii, 242, 2nd June, 1806, "On the application of brother Carey we have been favoured with four hundred Testaments, from the College." (Reference again to Hunter's N.T., pub. 1805.)

It seems clear that the time at which Carey received Hunter's Urdu N.T. has been assumed to be approximately the time of its publication, and that Colebrooke has erroneously been supposed to have been the translator.

III. CAREY DID NOT DELIBERATELY HOLD UP THE PRINTING OF HIS HINDI NEW TESTAMENT IN ORDER TO LEAVE THE FIELD TO ANOTHER TRANSLATION

In Carey's letter we read "About a year and a half ago, some attempts were made to engage Mr. Gilchrist, in the translation of the scriptures into the Hindoostanee language. By something or other it was put by. At this time several considerations prevailed on us to set ourselves silently to work". We may say that they began the translation in autumn, 1802. (Per. Accts., ii, 456.)

At the very end of 1803 they were verbally given to understand that the Gospels had already been translated into Hindustani (ibid.). But they continued their own work, for in April, 1804, they write that in the previous year they had engaged in the translation of the N.T. into "Hindoostannee" and Persian; the former was nearly finished (a rough draft, doubtless, ibid., ii, 538). In September, 1804, they are waiting to see the other translation. It was published in 1805 (probably the end), and in 1806 they get 400 copies. On 11th and 18th February (? 1806) Carey writes: "The scriptures are translating into eleven languages, of which six
are in the press, namely . . . Hindoost'hanee" (iii, 333, 4). At the end of 1807 Carey tells of their having printed "the Hindoostanee (new version) to Mark V". (Marsh, Hist. of Translations of Sacr. Scripts., 1812, quotes this as written on February, 1807.) Apparently the term "new version" is used to distinguish it from Hunter's Urdu version. (Brief Narr. of the Bapt. Miss. in India, 1813, p. 66.) Two pages further on "the N.T. in the Hindostanee put to press". In the First Memoir, 1808, p. 9, they write: "In the Sungscrit Hindee version nearly the whole of the N.T. waits for revision. We have begun the N.T. in the Deva Nagree character, and the book of Matthew is nearly finished." Ibid., p. 22, "The printing of the whole ten [languages] will probably be completed in about four years; less than half that time will probably complete the N.T. in several of these, as . . . Hindee."

November, 1809. "Circumstances principally of a pecuniary nature" have "affected the printing of the N.T. in the Hindoost'hanee language. We have been enabled, however, to complete the better half of it, and hope soon to be able to finish the whole". (Per. Accts., iv, 53.) (End of 1809) "Hindoost'hanee N.T. above half printed. The printing retarded by the same cause" (want of pecuniary support), ibid. v, vii. Finally we get "March, 1811. In the month of March, 1811, a N.T. in the Hindee and Mahrratta languages have been finished at press". (Ibid., iv, 243). "Hindee or Hindoost'hanee. The N.T. translated and printed" (ibid., iv, 244). "20th August, 1811: The versions already printed and now circulating in India comprise five, namely . . . Hindee" (ibid., iv, 370).

The course of events is plain. They began the N.T. in 1802; in December, 1803, they heard of Hunter's Urdu translation; their own first draft was far advanced in 1804; in September, 1804, Hunter's translation was sent to press; it was ready in the end of 1805; they received copies in 1806, and in the same year or in 1807 sent their version to press;
they had printed half by 1809, but money difficulties delayed them, and it was not ready till March, 1811.

V. CONFUSION BETWEEN HINDI AND HINDUSTANI (URDU)

This is partly responsible for the mistakes that have been made. Carey's 1st ed. of 1811 and 2nd ed. of 1812 are correctly described by both PC. and DM. as Hindi, and the first Urdu translation of the N.T. (omitting Schultze and Callenberg's which hardly counts), that by Mohummud Fitrut and William Hunter, 1805, is rightly given by DM. under Urdu, not Hindi.

Carey himself did not distinguish between the two terms, but realized the difference between the two dialects, calling one Sanskrit Hindi, and the other Delhi Hindi. (The latter name is not quite certain. Rev. David Brown says, in a letter dated 13th September, 1806, that he had received from Serampore MS. specimens of Shanscrit Hindoostanee and Delhi Hindoostanee.) On the English title-page of the 1811 ed. of his Hindi N.T. he called it Hindoostanee, but on the Hindi title-page of both the 1811 and the 1812 edd. he correctly said Hindi. It is true that it is not pure Hindi, but the Urdu words employed are not impossible in Hindi, whereas a very large number of Hindi words are used which could not occur in Urdu. William Hunter's Urdu is pure Urdu, Carey's Hindi is Urduized, and after the 2nd ed. had been exhausted the pure Hindi translation of another Baptist missionary, John Chamberlain, was printed instead of it.

CONCLUSIONS

(1) In 1803 Claudius Buchanan had a conversation in the course of which he learned that the Gospels were being translated into Urdu and Persian. He reported this to Carey and left on his mind the impression that Colonel Colebrooke was the translator. Colonel Colebrooke translated one Gospel into Persian, but nothing into Urdu.

(2) Colonel Colebrooke was confused with Judge Colebrooke who never did Bible translation.
(3) There has been some confusion between Hindi and Urdu (Hindustani), but neither of the Colebrookes translated into either language.

(4) References in Serampore letters to William Hunter's Urdu N.T., 1805, without the mention of his name, have led to further misunderstanding; it was assumed that Colonel Colebrooke had done them, and he was confused with Judge Colebrooke. The fact that the Serampore missionaries received copies in 1806 has led to the belief that Colebrooke published Gospels in that year.

(5) The missionaries proceeded with their translation. Hearing in September, 1804, that Hunter's N.T. had just gone to press they waited for it. They saw it in 1806 and found it was Urdu. They then went on with the printing of their Hindi version, but were delayed by money difficulties.

(6) **Final Conclusion.**—The first translation of any part of the Bible into Hindi was the N.T. done under William Carey's superintendence and published in 1811.
Does Kharì Boli mean nothing more than Rustic Speech?

(Before proceeding to the discussion of the question I would draw attention to the important quotations from Dr. J. B. Gilchrist on pp. 366, 7 below, which show that at least four times in 1803, and twice in 1804, he used the name Kharì Boli, and tell us in what sense he used it.)

This question arises out of some remarks made by Professor Abdul Haq of the Osmaniya University, Hyderabad, Deccan, who, criticizing views on Kharì Boli (= KB) which I had expressed in my Hist. of Urdu Lit., pp. 5, 8, 9, 13, said:—

hamē is se khusi hūi ki dākta r šahab ne is mugalīte ko rafa' kū hai, lekin aśa' gulaṭi mē yeh bhī muḥtilā hāi: kharì aur kharì kā farq inhō ne bahut shāhī batāē ā hai, lekin ma'ne taqrīban vohī rakĥhe hāi jo kharī ke hāi, ya'ne muravvāja, 'ām, mustanad (standard) zabān; aur dūsrā gażab kū hai ki Kharī Boli ko ek khaś zabān qarār dīā hai, aur us kī do shākhe batāei hāi, ek Hindi aur dūsrī Urdu ... Kharī Boli ke ma'ne Hindostān mē 'ām taur par gāvāri boli ke hāi jīse Hindostān kā baceca baceca jāntā hāi; voh na koī khaś zabān hāi, aur na zabān kī koī shākhe. (Urdu, July, 1933, p. 590.)

"We are pleased to note that Dr. Bailey has corrected this mistake (made by some Europeans, of confusing kharī with kharī, T.G.B.), but he too has fallen into what is essentially the same mistake; for though he has clearly shown the difference between kharī and kharī, he has given kharī almost the same meaning as kharī, i.e. current, common, accepted; and he has made another amazing statement—that KB. is the name of a particular language; he has further divided it into two branches, Hindi and Urdu. In Hindustān KB. usually means 'rustic speech', a fact which every child in Hindustān knows. It is not a particular language or branch of a language."

I must stop here to correct the statement that I have given kharī and kharī "almost the same meaning". I have never done so. kharī means "unadulterated" or "pure", and while it may be applied as an adjective to a language, it has never been the name of any variety of speech, whether rustic or not. The word kharī means "standing", and when first used of a language appears to have

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signified "current". Only it must not be forgotten that it has never been used of any language except that which we know as KB.

That the word does mean "standing", and has nothing to do with khari "pure", is further evidenced by the corresponding words in other Hindi dialects or languages. I am indebted to you, sir (Sir George Grierson) for a reference (in a private letter) to Kāmtā Prasad Guru's Hindi Vyākaran, p. 25. We read there that "in Bundelkhand KB. is known as thārh boli". This word thārh of course means "standing". Again, Dr. B. S. Pañḍit, whose native language is Mārvāri, told me that in Mārvāri KB. is called "thath boli", where that has the signification of "standing". We thus have three names for this dialect, and in each case it is called "the standing language".

In Urdu for January, 1934, p. 158, Pañḍit Manohar Lāl Zutshi replies to Professor Abdul Haq, and says he is mistaken, for KB undoubtedly is the name of a language. The Professor in a note on p. 160, rejoins "in my opinion KB means simply the opposite of polished and literary; it is used in that sense to-day, i.e. rustic speech. Lallū Ji Lāl probably used it with the same meaning. European writers have fallen into error about it, saying it is a particular language. The Hindi authors quoted by Pañḍit Zutshi have merely followed these Europeans".

It will be noticed that by the phrase "in my opinion" and the word "probably" he has toned down his previous statements, but even so the matter rests simply on his assertion; he gives no references and quotes no authorities, nor does he name any of the Europeans who supposedly have misled later generations of Hindi scholars. In matters of Urdu his opinion commands respect, for Urdu is his mother tongue, and he has devoted his life to Urdu scholarship; this, however, is a question not of Urdu but of Hindi, and it must be decided from a study of Hindi literature.

In Urdu literature the term has no meaning, for it does not occur; it has practically never been used in an Urdu book, nor is it found in Urdu tazkirās (anthologies). Even Urdu dictionaries rarely contain it. The Farhang-i Āṣafiya, of which Urdu scholars speak with bated breath, does not mention it. The meaning "rustic speech" which we are told every child in Hindustān knows, is not known to the compiler of the voluminous Nūr ul Lugāt, for all he says is "Khāri Boli is conversation in the style and pronunciation of men" (mard, men, as opposed to women; T. G. B.); nor is it found in 'Abdu'l Majid's huge Urdu dictionary, Jāmi' ul Lugāt, which explains KB
simply as *mardō ki bolī*, "the speech of men." We see then that the compilers of the two large modern Urdu dictionaries, themselves Indians, have never heard that meaning of KB which we are told every child in Hindustān knows. There is nothing about rustic speech in either.

In modern conversational Urdu usage *kharī bolī* occasionally does mean, not exactly village speech, but uncouth, boorish speech, though the dictionaries know nothing of this. But again we must remark that Urdu usage does not concern us. We are dealing with a Hindi term, and want to know what it signifies in Hindi. In my *History of Urdu Literature* I gave the term its literary meaning, using it exactly as Hindi writers do to-day.

Three points arise:—

(i) Who are the Europeans who have used the name KB? And in what way, if any, can it be said that they misled Hindi authors who followed them?

(ii) What have Hindi writers in the last hundred years meant by the name, what do they mean by it now, and what do they think Sadal Misr and Lallū Lāl meant by it?

(iii) What did Sadal Misr and Lallū Lāl, who were the first Indians to use the term, mean by it?

(i) The idea that certain Europeans have led Hindi writers astray by their statements about KB is strange. It would have been helpful if Professor Abdul Haq had told us who they are. The fact is that Europeans have rarely mentioned the name.

I have recently made the very interesting discovery that Dr. John Gilchrist used the term KB at least four times in 1803, the first year in which any Indian is known to have used it, and twice in the year following. He therefore shares with Sadal Misr and Lallū Ji the honour of priority. In fact, as he wrote the name four times in 1803, and they only once, he deserves it perhaps even more than they.

What happened is clear. He was Professor in the College of Fort William for four years, and for nearly the whole of this time Lallū and Sadal Misr worked with him. He learned the name from them, and in his daily intercourse with them had every opportunity of finding out its exact meaning. He often spoke of Hindustani as the colloquial speech of India or the grand popular language of Hindustān. He said on several occasions that it had various styles. The court or high style was Urdu, full of Arabic and Persian. At the other extreme
was the "pristine or rustic idiom of that extensive language indefinitely called Bhasha", while between them came KB. He has told us further that in order to facilitate the transition from Urdu to Bhasha he had caused a KB version of Sakuntalā to be prepared.

The state of affairs, as he saw it, was this. In the towns, especially those with a large Muḥammadan population, Urdu was the ordinary spoken language, in the villages some variety of Bhasha, while KB or even simple Hindustani, was the language which appealed to Hindus, particularly those away from Muslim centres. KB, owing to its avoidance of Arabic and Persian words was compelled to use words derived from Sanskrit which were familiar to the rural population. Gilchrist states that the desire to teach these words to his students was one of the reasons for bringing out books in that dialect. To this extent it has, as compared with Urdu, a rural appearance.

There does not, however, seem to be any evidence that in those days the words kharī boli in themselves meant village talk. In no books of that or any other period do we find such expressions as "the kharī talk of Bengal or Madras or the Panjab or of English villages"; one does not find "so and so has a kharū pronunciation" or "his conversation is very kharī". Now if kharū (fem. kharī) meant simply gavāri, rustic, one ought to be able to say all these things. The fact is that Hindi writers always used KB as the name of a dialect, and Urdu writers never used it at all.

The testimony of Gilchrist's English-Hindustani Dictionary (1786, 2nd ed., 1810; revised 1825) is important. Under "country" he has the entry "the language of the country, opposed to the town bahur kee bolee"; under "colloquial" it has (1810 ed.) rozmurru moohavuru. In neither case is kharī boli given as a translation, nor do we find it under words like rural, rustic, etc. So far as I know, it does not occur anywhere in the dictionary or in any of the many vocabularies which Gilchrist prepared, though kharū with the common meaning of "standing" is frequent.

Similarly in the numerous English-Urdu or English-Hindi dictionaries which have been published, one never finds rustic, rural, or country speech translated by kharī boli.

As Gilchrist's early references to KB are of great interest, I quote them here:—

(1) The Hindee Story Teller, vol. ii, 1803, p. ii: "Many of those (stories) are in the Khuree Bolee or the pure Hinduwee style of the Hindoostanee, while some will be given in the Brij Bhasha."

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(2) The Oriental Fabulist, 1803, p. v.: "I very much regret that along with the Brij Bhasha, the Khuree bolee was omitted since this particular idiom or style of the Hinduostanee would have proved highly useful to the students of that language."

(3) ib. "the real Khuree bolee is distinguished by the general observance of Hinduostanee Grammar and nearly a total exclusion of Arabic & Persian."

(4) ib., p. vii: (The learner) "will find another specimen of the Khuree bolee in the Story Teller, p. 24."

(5) The Hindo-roman Orthoepigraphic Ultimatum, 1804, p. 19 (foot): "Another version of Sukontala in the Khuree Boolee, or sterling tongue of India. This differs from the Hinduostanee merely by excluding every Arabic & Persian word."

(6) ib., p. 20 (foot), 21 (top): "The Prem Sagar, a very entertaining book, rendered with elegance and fidelity from the Brij Bhasha into the Khuree Boolee by Laloo Jee Lal expressly to effect the grand object of teaching our scholars the Hinduostanee in its most extended sense, and with proper advantages among the grand Hindoo mass of the people at large in British India."

Gilchrist always marked in one way or another the cerebral " which occurs in the name Kharī Boli.

In 1814, Lieut. William Price published a "K,harī Bolee and English Vocabulary of all the principal words occurring in the Prem Sagar" of which the Directors remarked "these (words) are in constant use in other K,harī Bolee and Bhākha compositions". Although the name KB occurs in the Introduction to the Prem Sagar, it is not given in the vocabulary. The only meaning given to kharī is chalk, a signification, which, so far as I remember, is not to be found in the Prem Sagar.

This vocabulary was reprinted in Hinduostanee Selections, 1827, 2nd ed. 1830.

The next whom one should quote is Garcin de Tassy. In his Hist. de la Litt. Hindouie et Hindoustanie, 1st ed., vol. i, p. 307, he says that Lallū's Prem Sagar was "non pas en urdū, mais en khārī-boli ou thenth, c'est-à-dire en hindoustani pur, en hindoustani hindou de Dehli et Agra, sans mélange de mots arabes ni persans." This is a paraphrase of Lallū's own words, but, mistaking kharī for kharī, he interprets it of Lallū's phrase "omitting Arabic and Persian words", thinking that it means "pure language". G. de T. does not mention Kharī Boli at all, but speaks of kharī, "pure," i.e. without mlecch
"unclean", words of non-Sanskritic origin. He wrote the words quoted (and almost the same words on p. 1 of the Introduction) in 1839, and repeated them in 1870; as they were French, not English, the confusion between kharī and kharī passed unnoticed in India.

Eastwick, in his vocabulary, 1851, says that kharī boli means kharī boli "pure language".

Platts, Urdu. Dict., 1884, under kharā has "kharī boli, vulgar kharī boli, pure language".

The language which Hindi authors call KB English writers prefer to call High Hindi or Classical Hindi, names which correspond to nothing in Hindi itself.

(ii) The name KB is Hindi; the first Indians to use it were, as we shall see below, Lallū Ji Lāl in 1803 and 1818, and Sadal Misr in 1803; it is in constant use now by Hindi writers. We are therefore bound to ascertain what they mean by it. The Urdu meaning, if any, does not matter.

Have any of them given it the sense of rustic speech? If so, when and where? For many years after the time of Lallū and Sadal Misr they did not employ it at all. The first I know of to use it since those days was Rājā Śiv Prasād in his Introduction to Hindi Selections, 1867.

He regarded it as essentially artificial and literary; in fact, he says that Lallū Ji, though he strove to preserve its literary character, yet failed sometimes to exclude the Braj village words to which he was accustomed in his own speech. His words are: "Whether this new dialect, the Prakrit enriched with Persian and Arabic words, be called Hindi or Hindustání, Bhákha, or Braj Bhákha, Rekhta or Khari Boli, Urdu or Urdu-i-Muqallā, its seeds were sown here by the followers of Mahmūd of Ghuznee" (op. cit., p. vi).

On p. xi he goes on: "When Dr. Gilchrist asked Mīr Amman and Lallū ji Lāl Kavi, to write some vernacular books in prose, they must have felt themselves very puzzled: it was quite a new thing to them. They wrote, but they both wrote in an artificial language." Six pages further on, p. 17, he says: "Lallújī has not allowed foreign words, Persian or Arabic, a place in his book (Prem Sāgar, T. G. B.), but he could not so well keep clear of the patois of his native place Agra." He has the same statement, but in Hindi, on p. 32, of Part I of his Nayā Gukkā, 1900 ed., first published 1867, "he wrote in the kharī boli of Agra; although he excluded Persian and Arabic words, he was not able to keep out Agra village words."

By Hindi writers the name KB is given to a particular language
or dialect, viz. that form of Hindi which is used in every-day Hindi prose (and increasingly in verse), the Hindi which we find in all Hindi magazines, in translations such as the Hindi Bible, scientific works and all school books. This fact is so well known that proof is hardly necessary. In an article (J.R.A.S., Oct., 1926, pp. 717-723) I mentioned and quoted twelve Hindi authors to this effect. This is the ordinary meaning of KB, but the Urdu language itself is sometimes spoken of as a branch of it. KB is contrasted with Braj, Avadhi, and other Hindi dialects.

There is no need to labour this point; I will content myself with one or two further quotations, to illustrate what they mean by KB, and to show that they do not think of it as rustic.

The Misr Brothers in Misr Bandhu Vinod, vol. i, p. 119, say that "Sital (A.D. 1723) wrote all his poetry in KB". Sital's language is far removed from rustic speech.

Badri Nath Bhat in Hindi, p. 31, after mentioning that he lives within twenty yards of Lallu's old home in Agra, says that every Hindu household in Agra city speaks the same language as Lallu's in Prem Sagar, the only difference being that which naturally exists between literary language such as Lallu's, and conversational speech, such as is heard in the Hindu homes. He calls Lallu's KB literary, not rustic.

The best known of modern Indian writers on Hindi literature and languages, Shyam Sundar Das, says in Hindi Bhasha ka Vikas, p. 54, "between 1250 and 1450 A.D. the older Hindi dialects gradually assumed the form of Braj, Avadhi, and KB," and on p. 55, "KB was used for poetry not only by Musalmans but by Hindus also."

Ramakrishna Prasad in Hindi Sahitya ka Sankshipt Itihas, p. 128, writes "Sadal Misr and Lallu wrote in KB mixed with Braj bhasha". He thus contrasts Braj and KB as two distinct dialects.

There is an important reference in Ramakrishna Prasad's Hindi Gadya Mimasha, p. 33 of Introduction, "the language of the Prem Sagar is adorned to this extent that all through it there is the splendour of Braj bhasha. Not only so, but it is characterized by a great pomp of words and by poetical style; it is not the plain idiomatic language of conversation, but poetical prose."

From these quotations and from those in the article referred to (J.R.A.S., Oct., 1926), and indeed from the works of any Hindi author who writes on the literature, it is plain that KB is regarded not as rustic speech, but as a dialect of Hindi, and practically all Hindi writers would deny Shiv Prasad's statement that it was artificial.
(iii) We come now to the important question: What did Sadal Misr and Lallū Ji mean when they said in 1803 that they were translating into KB? Did they mean “into rustic speech”?

Sadal Misr in the Introduction to his Nāsiketopākhyān says: “Some people cannot understand the Nāsiketopākhyān because of its being in Sanskrit, so I have translated it into KB.”

Let us recall the facts. Lallū belonged to Agra, Sadal Misr to Arrah (Ārā) in Bihār, 450 miles away. To get from the former to the latter we must leave the Braj area where Agra is situated, pass through the country where Bundeli and Kanaujī are spoken, into the Avadhi country, and finally after entering Bihār traverse the Bhojpuri region to a few miles west of Paṭnā, the capital. The only rustic speech Sadal Misr knew was that of his native Arrah and the country round it; it was entirely different from that of Agra; the former was Bihārī, the latter Braj, and the whole country of still another language, Avadhi, lay between. Rām Candr Śukl in his Hindi Bhāṣā aur Sāhitya (at the end of the Sābd Sāgar, p. 210, also published separately) tells us that KB in those days and previously was the language of educated and polite conversation among Hindus from Delhi to Bihār. It is interesting to note that Sadal Misr, though he lived so far from the real home of KB, wrote it better than Lallū who lived very near it. Lallū’s is too much tinged with his native Braj. The style of both men, though simple, was literary, not rustic.

A dozen or so years earlier Sadāsukh Lāl, of Delhi, a man learned in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and Hindi, wrote KB still better than Sadal Misr and Lallū. He wrote just the straightforward Hindi which he was accustomed to talk to his educated Hindu friends, at least on formal occasions.

We turn now specially to Lallū Ji. In the introduction to his Prem Sāgar he stated that avoiding Arabic and Persian words, he had told the story Dilli Āgre kī KB mē, in the KB of Delhi and Agra. Did he mean “rustic speech”? The rustic speech of the district round the two towns was different. The people round Delhi spoke what we now call KB, those round Agra, 120 miles away, spoke Braj. If he had written in the rustic speech of the former it would not have been the rustic speech of the latter. Secondly, like Sadal Misr, he is literary not rustic. It is true that he sometimes failed to exclude Braj words and forms (perhaps he never tried), but Braj forms are not KB; indeed, we have seen above that KB is contrasted with Braj.

Fifteen years after the Prem Sāgar Lallū Ji wrote the Lāl Candrikā,
a commentary on Bihārī's *Satsāi*; this was also in KB, and showed less Braj influence. In the Introduction he distinguishes three dialects in which he had written books, viz. Braj, KB, and Rekhte kī Boli (i.e. Urdu). In his Braj and KB books he usually endeavoured to avoid Persian and Arabic words, but in the Introduction just mentioned he used them rather freely.

**Conclusion**

We may sum up by saying:—

(i) KB is a Hindi term, and its meaning must be sought in Hindi writings.

(ii) By KB Hindi authors always mean a dialect, often, though not always, a highly polished and literary dialect.

(iii) It is difficult to believe that KB means rustic talk, for if it did it could be used of the village talk of any part of the world, and one never hears this meaning given to it.

(iv) There is no proof that any European writer has misled Hindi authors as to the meaning of KB.

(v) There is a little evidence that in conversational Urdu KB sometimes means boorish and possibly uneducated speech, but this is not supported by Urdu dictionaries whether compiled by Indians or by Europeans.

(vi) The early KB writers, Sadāsukh, Lallū Ji, and Sadal Misr did not write in a rustic style.
THE USE AND MEANING OF THE TERM KHANDI BOLI

I. The Use of the Term

Khandi Boli is used by Indian literati of to-day to mean (a) modern literary Hindi, including, as an admissible but unusual extension of the meaning, the Urdu language, (b) speech of the Hindustani type from the earliest times when Persian and Arabic words were few to the present day when they are numerous, and (c) fragments in prose or verse which occur from time to time in writers from Amir Khusro onwards and show a similar type of speech. The name first appears in 1803; see below.

Confining ourselves to the strictly Hindi area, and omitting the outlying languages Southern Panjabi, Rajputani, Avadh, and the Himalayan dialects, we may divide Hindi into two main dialects—Braj and Khandi Boli. Braj is important chiefly on account of its past. For centuries it was the principal medium of poetical composition, but for the last 125 years it has been less and less employed, and since educated Hindus are to an ever-increasing extent speaking Hindustani in everyday life, varying it with a more Sanskritic kind of Khandi Boli in special sabhas and sammelans, Braj may for them become nearly as exotic in poetry and unknown in prose.
as Persian is for the inhabitants of Delhi and Lucknow. Khari is important as the language of the present and the future. We need not refer to specifically Urdu literature, but Khari in the form of Hindustani with dialectic variations in villages and towns has so extended its range that it may be called the national speech of north India and part of south India. In prose it has long ousted Braj and now stands alone, appearing generally as Hindi, but sometimes as Hindustani, while most Hindi poets express themselves in it to-day, though some of them write in Braj also.

For years there has waged a controversy in India over the respective merits of the two dialects as the vehicles of Hindi poetical thought; the question is frequently discussed in literary gatherings, and comes up constantly in books and periodicals. In this connexion Khari Boli and Braj are used as their generic names. Indians usually say Khari Boli, but one may also find Khari Bolic, or simply Khari, or again, khasa rup me, where we should say "the language in its Khari form". A few quotations taken from present-day Hindi writers will be of interest in showing how modern thought regards the matter.

Ayodhyā Sīh Upādhīyā: खड़ी बोलचाल में मुख को एक ऐसे वंश की चालक्रिया देख पड़ी जो महाकाव्य हो ... बाजारियों के खड़ी बोली के रसिक रंगभाषा की कविता में घरानित है ... समय का प्रवाह खड़ी बोली के ब्रह्मुक्त है (Introduction, Priyapravās, pp. 2, 24, 25.)

Pāndit Mannan Dvivedi, who does not like Khari, says: खड़ी बोली को कविता पर हमारे लेखकों का समूह टूट पड़ा है। हमें तो व्याख्या के गुणों इन में बज़त कम बंधते हैं (Maryyādā, 1923, p. 99).

Vrāj Ratn Dās writes in his Introduction to Khusro: खड़ी कुच्च व्याख्याओं में खड़ी बोली का ब्राह्मोजन मचकर हिन्दी गहव और पव भी भाषा एक है

Krṣṇ Bihārī Miśr, not a brother of the well-known triumvirate, in an article on Nāthū Rām Śaṅkar's poetry,
says: वर्तमान समय में खड़ी बोली में जो कविता होती है उसके प्रधान महारौंधों में चार सजन बड़त प्रसिद्ध हैं। (Sarasvati, January, 1923, p. 128).

Sri Dhar Pathek, the popular poet, in advertising his poems is careful to mention the language in which they are written, thus Braj or Kharî Boli or Sanskrit or misrit, i.e., Kharî and Braj.

A young poet, Lakṣmi Dhar Bājpeyi, writes: जब तक खड़ी बोली की कविता में संस्कृत की लेखित-कृतियों की योजना न होगी तब तक भारत के सब साहित्य के विवाद उस में सब खानदान किसे उठा सकते हैं? (Meghdut, Introduction, 1911, p. 3).

The brothers Gaṇeś and Śyām and Suk-Dev Bihāri Miśr give as follows the languages chiefly used by the Hindi writers of different periods: 1733–1832, ब्रज, चबड़ी, खड़ी कुच : 1833–68, ब्रज, खड़ी : 1868 to date, खड़ी, ब्रज कुच। Candr Dhar Gureli says: मूलमानों में बड़ों के घर की बोली खड़ी बोली है। He likes punning, for he remarks: पड़ी भाषा को खड़ी बनाकर etc., but, indeed, Śyām Sundar Dās also puns when he denies that दुं दुः्छे के ब्राह्मण पर हिन्दी खड़ी ऊँची है: This last-named author asserts in another place खड़ी बोली का प्रचार नमस समय में है जब से ब्रजवधो या ब्रज भाषा का है। Both quotations are from Bhāsa Vigyān.

In a recent examination set by an Indian for Indians the following question occurred: “What are the outstanding features of modern Kharî Boli poetry? Is Kharî Boli in any way superior to Vraja Bhasha?”

The foregoing quotations from a dozen Indian authors will suffice. They could be indefinitely multiplied.

II. WHAT IS THE AGE OF KHAŘI?

The answer to this will depend on the date we assign to the death of the Apabhṛṣṭa dialect which preceded it. If we regard its Apabhṛṣṭa progenitor as dead in the twelfth century, we may say that Kharî was alive in the eleventh century or earlier. In its narrowest sense it was the language of the tract between Delhi and Meraṭh, as Braj was of the parts round Mathura.
and Brindāban, but both extended far beyond these regions. As a spoken language Khari soon became much more important than Braj, for the headquarters of the Persian speaking court were within its borders, and when the courtiers spoke to the people in the vernacular, they naturally spoke Khari, not Braj. Its importance was increased as the Muhammadans made new conquests and took the newly acquired language with them. And Urdu literature still further added to its importance, for Urdu, especially in its simpler form, is only a variation of it. When finally in the nineteenth century the so-called High Hindi was fully developed there were three forms: the Hindu literary Khari for Hindus, the Muhammadan literary Khari (i.e. Urdu) for Muslims, and the vernacular Khari (i.e. Hindustāni) for both. Its triumph was overwhelming. A threefold cord is not quickly broken.

Literary Khari has existed since the time of Amir Khusro in the thirteenth century. About 1,000 lines of his Khari verse have survived; some would make the amount much greater, while some supercritics would deny the authenticity of nearly all of it. To disprove is as impossible as to prove, and I am content with the conviction that, though it is difficult to be sure of the genuineness of any particular couplet, such a quantity of verse, so different from anything else handed down to us, must contain not a few lines which remain approximately as Khusro wrote them. The great poet Bhūṣan, born about the time of the death of Shakspere, wrote some Khari in his Śiv Rāj Bhūṣan, of which the subjoined quotation may be taken as a specimen; parts of his Śivā Bāvani, too, have very much the feel of Khari, for Khari forms occur in lines which are otherwise Braj.

पंज हजारिन बीच खड़ा किया हैं उसका कुछ भेद न पाया।
भूषण यों बड़ी चौरंगी उज्जीर गों वेंसियां हरिसाव रिसाव।
कमर की न कटारी दर्रा रसलाम ने मोलनखाना बचाया।
और सिवा करता चनरत्य भली भई हृद खियार न खाया।
The earliest known Kharī prose is in Gang Bhāṭ’s book Cand Chand Barnan kī Mahimā, 1570, and in the prose portions of Jatmal’s Gorā Bādal kī Kathā, 1623.

III. WHAT IS THE MEANING OF KHAHĪ?

The earliest explanation that I know of is Garcin de Tassy’s in 1839. He writes: “On nomme thenth ou khārī boli (pur langage) l’hindi, sans mélange de mots persans et arabes” (Littér. Hind., 1st ed., vol. i, p. iv). Here kharī, standing, is altered to khārī, bitter, and explained as kharī, pure; p. 307 has “en kharī boli ou thenth, c’est-à-dire en hindoustani pur, en hindoustani de Dehli et d’Agra, sans mélange de mots arabes ni persans”. 2nd ed., 1870, has khārī in both places.

In the anonymous vocabulary of “important words in the Prem Sāgar”, 1831, the word kharī is not considered important enough to be mentioned. Eastwick, 1851, in his vocabulary, gives the word correctly kharī, but follows Garcin de Tassy as to its meaning, saying “here it is equal to kharī”.

Platts, under kharā, gives “kharī bolī (vulg. kharī boli), pure language or idiom”. The addition “vulgar” is delightful, condemning as it does every Indian writer who has referred to the subject.

The name kharī bolī (as distinct from kharī boli), with its explanation “pure language”, seems to be a European invention. I do not think any Indian author has used the term. Indians invariably say “kharī”, and there appears to be no authority for the statement that “kharā” ever means “pure”. So far as I know the word has always been printed खारी (or खड़ी in books which do not print the dot). It is so printed in editions of Lallū’s Prem Sāgar. In the preface to that work he writes (A.D. 1803) :- यो लल्लू लालच ने विस्का सार ले यामली भाषा कोड़ दिखौ चाघरे की खड़ी भाषा में यह नाम प्रेम सागर घरा

The word viska refers to Catur Bhuj Dās’s translation from the Sanskrit. This preface is dated Sāvat, 1866, i.e. A.D. 1809, but it was a revised preface. The original preface, which also
contained the reference to Khaṛī Boli, was written and printed in Sāvat, 1860 (in some later editions wrongly given as 1830), i.e., A.D. 1803. The incomplete editions of 1803 and 1805 both have the preface with the word printed खड़ी. The complete 1810 edition, which does not use dotted छ, has खड़ी. No edition that I have seen has खरी.

The fact that छ in some dialects corresponds to छ in others, and vice versa, does not here concern us. खड़ी is the only form used by Indians. There is no variation either dialectic or accidental.

Sadal Miśr, in the preface to his Nāṣketopākhyān, 1803, says: चब नासिकेतोपाख्यान को देववाणी से वोरे वोरे सामान नहीं सकता। रस जिथे खड़ी बोली में जिया

It will be noticed that while Sadal uses the term as a name or almost a name, well known and not requiring explanation, Lallū uses it rather as a description, “the khaṛī speech of Delhi and Agra,” by Agra meaning apparently Agra City of which he was a native, for the district round spoke Braj. The two references taken together suggest that the name Khaṛī Boli, though established by 1803, had recently come into use. It would be interesting to know whether any earlier instance of the word can be found. The Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā in a private communication assures me that nothing earlier is known. I have not noticed the name in Inshā Allāh’s fascinating writings on Urdu and Hindi.

An Indian scholar suggested to me that kharū refers to the common -ā ending of Khaṛī as contrasted with the -o or -au of Braj, but I do not feel able to accept this.

My own explanation is that the word means simply “standing”, then “existing”, “current”, “established”, and that at first they described the dialect, as Lallū does, loc. cit. It was “the current language of Delhi or Merath” or other large towns, and after a time it became “the current language” par excellence, as in Sadal Miśr. Lallū probably stretched a point when he mentioned Agra City as Khaṛī
speaking, for in those days it probably leaned towards Braj as his own Khaṛī prose does.

Hindi writers contrast Khaṛī with Braj and Avadhī more than with Urdu. To them Khaṛī means naturally the less Persianized form, but they would regard Urdu as a mere variety.

KHAŘĪ BOLĪ

In JRAS, October, 1926, p. 721, I mentioned that no Indian writer employed the term Khaṛī Bolī for Khaṛī Bolī. It has occurred to me that to avoid possible confusion in any one’s mind, it would be well to refer to the late Badrī Nārāyan Caudhri’s remarks on the subject. For him linguistic patriotism was a religion. He believed that the threefold division of creation into gods, men and demons held in other spheres also. The one true religion is Hinduism, the one true language Sanskrit with minor modifications. Language, too, has its threefold division: (1) Brāhmaṇī, Devvānī, or Vedbhāṣā, the language of the gods; (2) slightly modified it is vaيدik apabhṛṣṭ, mūlbhāṣā or narvāṇī, i.e. Hindī, but he calls it simply bhāṣā or nāgarī; further deteriorated it is Marāṭhī, Bengali, etc.; (3) leaving India it becomes āsurī, rākṣasī or paiśācī in other languages.

He said bhāṣā had two forms, Braj for poetry, and bol cāl ki bhāṣā for prose; but he disliked all names. “Don’t say Hindī,” he cried, “Hindī is a foreign word; don’t say Khaṛī Bolī, there is only one bhāṣā; you may call it khaṛī if you like, for it alone is pure, for it differs very slightly from the original Devvānī” (summarized from his speech).

It will be seen that the Caudhri’s picturesque and patriotic use of the word khaṛī does not conflict with the statement in my article.
THE early literature of the Hindi group of languages, that is the literature written in Awadhī, Bihāri, Rājputāni, and Hindi proper, was largely poetical, and prose was rare. In the beginning of the nineteenth century Lallū Ji Lāl and Sadal Miśr entered Dr. Gilchrist’s service and at his suggestion translated some early works into modern vernaculars. The works selected were chiefly Sanskrit, and they were translated into Braj or Khārī Boli. Lallū Ji is the better known of the two, but he was not a pioneer, nor was his example followed. For nearly fifty years after he wrote, nothing of real merit was produced in Khārī. The practical founder of modern Hindi prose, the man who gave it its impetus and started it on its career of prosperity, was Hariś Chandar. A somewhat exaggerated emphasis has been placed on Lallū’s and Sadal Miśr’s translations, and this has resulted in a lack of perspective. Lallū has been acclaimed as the “Father of Hindi prose”. The title is inaccurate, and has been made the subject of protest. One Hindi writer, in complaining of his being called the “Creator of Khārī Boli”, maintains that such an idea is entirely erroneous, and remarks that before his books were brought out Sadā Sukh Lāl and Inshā Allāh were writing in straightforward Hindi. He adds, in an amusing aside, that they wrote on their own initiative and not at the behest of another. He also criticizes Lallū’s style as being too much tainted with Braj idioms and poetical turns of expression. Sadal Miśr he regards as Lallū’s superior.

Hindi prose has existed for centuries, some would say for nearly six hundred years, and there are about thirty known writers of prose before Lallū Ji, several of whom wrote in Khārī. There may have been many more.

Attention should be drawn to another point. It is unfortunate that many authors have written of translations (e.g. Prem Sāgar, Rājnitī, Śakuntalā) as if they ranked with original compositions. This is damaging to the reputation of Hindi literature. A similar mistake has not been made in the case of Urdu. We may be sure that in no language would more than perhaps one translation in a thousand, or even many thousands, be considered worthy of mention in a history of its literature unless that literature were deficient in writers of ability.
The following list, including the dates, has been taken from Hindi sources. Students of Central Indian languages may be glad to have it in a convenient form. It goes without saying that some of the dates are open to reconsideration, but certainty will probably never be attained.

The earliest Hindi prose composition is to be sought in the deeds of gift of early rulers. It is difficult to be sure of their genuineness. The Nāgarī Prachārini Sahā, in its search for early MSS., found a number of these deeds which, if authentic, take us back to the eleventh century. Confining ourselves to regular composition, we have the following prose writers who preceded Lallū Ji.

1. Gorakh Nāth, the father of Hindi prose. Keay speaks of him as a semi-mythical person living about A.D. 1200, but Ṣyām Sundar Dās gives his date as 1350. In this he is followed by the Miśr brothers, by Greaves, and by Vraj Ratn Lāl, all of whom favour the middle of the fourteenth century. An extant prose work in the Braj dialect is attributed to him, but it may have been written by his followers. We are much in the dark, and to deny his authorship is as useless as to affirm it. It is noteworthy that Avadhī was not favoured for prose writing. Gorakh Nāth lived far to the east, but this book is in Braj.

The next known extant prose work dates from the sixteenth century, two hundred years later.


3. Gokul Nāth, son of Viṭṭhal Nāth, flor. 1568, wrote the famous “Chaurāsi (Vaiṣṇavī kī) Vārtā” and “Do sau bāvan Vaiṣṇavī kī Vārtā”. These are devoted chiefly to stories of his grandfather’s followers. He probably wrote the Ban Yātrā, though the Miśr brothers say it was written by Mahā Prabhu Ji, i.e. Vallabhāchārya. All three are in the Braj dialect.

4. Nand Dās, after the middle of the sixteenth century, was the best known of the four members of the Āṣṭ Chhāp who were attached to Viṭṭhal Nāth. His greatest title to fame is that he was probably Tulsi Dās’s brother. He wrote two prose works in Braj, which are not extant.

5. Hari Rāy, a contemporary of Nand Dās, produced three prose works.

6. Gaṅg Bhāṭ, 1570, has the distinction of being the first prose writer who used khaṛī boli. He has left a 16-page book called Chand Chhand Barnan kī Mahimā.
7. Before 1614: a Sanskrit treatise on astrology named Bhūram Dipikā, is accompanied by a commentary in bhāṣā. The author is unknown. The MS. bears the date 1614, the composition itself cannot be later, but may be earlier.

8. Jaṭmal, 1623, is the author of Gorā Bādal ki Kathā, telling of Ratn Sen, Padmāvatī, Gorā and Bādal. It is poetry with a large admixture of prose in khaḍī. Jaṭmal is therefore, so far as our knowledge goes, the second writer of khaḍī bolī.


10. Jaspand Singh, Mahārajā of Jodhpur, 1625–81, the famous writer on poetical style, was the author of a prose work called Prabodh Chandrodha Nātak.

11. About 1658 Jagjī Chāraṇ produced the Ratn Mahēśdāsot Vachnikā, in which he extolled the bravery of Ratn Singh Mahēśdāsot, Rājā of Ratlām.

12. In the same year, 1658, Dāmodar Dās, the Dādūpanthī, wrote in Rājputāni prose a translation of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇ.

13. In 1663, unknown author: prose translation of the Yogvāsiṣṭh.

14. Seventeenth century, date usually given as 1680; Bāikunjha mani Šukl wrote two works, Vaiśakh Māhātmya and Agahaṇ Māhātmya. These are in Braj poetry, but contain much Khaḍī prose. The Miśr brothers say they are in Braj prose.

15. Bhagvān Dās, 1699, translated the Gitā into prose under the name of Bhāṣāmṛt. The Miśr brothers refer to this work as “kavītā”. This may be an oversight.

16. Surati Miśr flour. probably during the first third of the eighteenth century, though he has been put earlier, translated the Baital Pachisi from Sanskrit into Braj prose. This was done at the command of Mahārajā Jai Singh.

17. Ajit Singh, 1680–1724, son of Mahārajā Jasvand Singh, mentioned above, is known to have written a work named Gunsār, partly in verse and partly in prose. It is an account of Rājā Sumati and Rāni Satyārupā. His language is a mixture of Braj and Rājputāni, the former predominating.

18. Debi Chand, 1720, a translation of Hitopdeś in Braj prose.

19. Unknown author, a MS. dated 1720, containing a work in Braj prose called Kriśn ji ki Līlā.

20. An unknown author, about 1719; translated into Hindi a Persian translation of the Upaniṣads.
21 and 22. Lalit Kiśori and Lalit Mohini, 1743, joint authors of a 46-page book in Braj bearing the title Śrī Śvāmī Mahārāj jū kī Bachnikā. The Mahārāj here referred to is the sixteenth century religious leader Hari Dās, to whose sect the authors belonged.

23. Amar Singh Kāyasth, latter half of eighteenth century, wrote *Amar Chandrikā* in verse and prose mixed. This is a commentary on Bihāri's *Sat Saī*.

24 and 25. Agr Nārāyaṇ Dās and Vaiṣṇav Dās, in the end of the eighteenth century, wrote jointly a prose commentary on Nābhā Dās's and Priya Dās's *Bhaktmāl*. The Miśr brothers do not mention the fact of their joint authorship or allude to prose writings. They say that Agr Nārāyaṇ wrote the *Bhaktras Bodhinī Tikā*, explaining that it is a commentary on the *Bhaktmāl*. They give the same name to a work by Vaiṣṇav Dās without the explanatory remark, and they leave the reader to understand that there is no connexion between the two. Vraj Ratn Lāl states that their book exists in two MS. copies, one dated 1772 and called *Bhaktmāl Prasaṅg*, the other dated 1787 and called *Bhakti ras Bodhinī*.

26. Bakhtēś, 1765 or 1771, wrote a commentary on the *Rasrāj*, an erotic work by Mati Rām Tripāthī, which discusses various kinds of lovers, both men and women, especially women. The Miśr brothers mention only this commentary among the works of Bakhtēś, and say that he wrote charming poetry.

27. Śēr Singh, killed in 1793, son of Vijay Singh, who was King of Mārvār, wrote a mixture of verse and prose in a work entitled *Rām Kṛishṇ kā Jas*. The date was approximately 1789, and the language used Mārvāri.

28. Kaibāt Sarbariya, about 1797, was author of *Anant Rāy* (or *Ānand Rām*) kī Vārtā, which contains both prose and verse.

29. Sadā Sukh Lāl wrote many articles in Khaṛī. Unfortunately none of his books are extant. He was about a quarter of a century before Lalū Ji.

30. Inshā Allāh Khān, the only Muhammadan in the list, wrote before 1809 *Rānī Ketakī kī Kahāṇī* in “ṭhēṭh Hindi”, a somewhat peculiar variety of Khaṛī. This appeared before the Prem Sāgar.

31. Sadal Miśr, 1773–1848: his chief work was *Chandrāvatī*, 1798, a translation of the Sanskrit *Nāsiketopākhyān*. His other prose works are not extant.

Of the prose writers of the early nineteenth century it has been said that Inshā Allāh was Venus, Sadal Miśr dawn, and Lalā Ji morning.
INTERESTING GENITIVE PREPOSITIONS IN RAJASTHANI.

In the fine ballad Ḍholā Mārū rā Dūhā, recently published (see review on another page in this number of the Journal) occur eight instances of sandāū, handāū, and hundāū, which we may translate "of". Following R. L. Turner we may derive the first and second from sant, and the third from bhavant, not forgetting, however, his remark that "-nt > -nd" is a development unusual in Rājasthānī.

They are to be connected with Kashmiri sandū and handū, which are pronounced sund and hund, for in Kashmiri an unstressed a followed by u-mātra is pronounced u.

The following are the lines in which the words occur. The numbers indicate the dohas:

61 sajjana sandāi kāranaī hiyāū hilūsāī nitt.
   because of the loved one, the heart is always eager.

556 lahrī sāyar sandiyā vūthāū sandāū vāo.
   the waves of the sea, the wind after rain (lit. the wind of rain).

Here one would expect vūthāī, but the ballad is not over anxious about grammar.

656 bālāū bābāū desrāū pānī sandī tātī
   I would burn up, father, a land (which has) difficulty about water.

630 pīhar sandī dūmnī Īmar handāī satth
   a gipsy woman of her father's house (who was) with Īmar.

509 hunktā sajjāū hiyaṛe sayanā handā hatt
   there were on the loved one's heart the lover's hands.

307 āpan jāe joiyāū karhā hundāū vagg
   he himself went and searched the camel's stable.
Dholā-Mārūrā Dūhā: A Fifteenth-century Ballad from Rājputānā

Is the present conclusion original?

THE story of Dholā and Mārū is told in a stirring Rājputānī ballad published in the Bālābakhsh Rājpūt Čaṇḍ Čaṇḍ Čarāṇ Pustakmālā series. It is reviewed on another page of this Bulletin.

The story of the poem is briefly this. Pingal, the king of Pūgal, had a daughter called Māravana; Nař, the king of Narvar, had a son named Dholā. During a famine Pingal sought temporary refuge in Narvar, where the two rajās betrothed their children to each other. Some years after this Nař, reflecting that Pingal lived far away, and that the journey to his country was perilous, married his son to Mālavana, daughter of the Raja of Malvā. In due time Pingal sent messengers to call Dholā, but the wily Mālavana had them killed. Ultimately Māravana succeeded in getting a message delivered by singers. Dholā was charmed by their description of his early fiancée and set out for her country. After some vicissitudes he reached her, and they were married. On the return journey Māravana died of snake-bite and was restored to life by a jogī. She was nearly seized by a Muhammadan chieftain, but was warned by a Gipsy woman, and through the swiftness of her camel, which, like Mālavana's parrot, had the gift of speech, she and Dholā got to Narvar in safety. There they all lived in mutual affection, an affection clouded once by a domestic disagreement. Each of the wives praised her own country and decried that of the other. Dholā supported Māravana, and this, rather inconsequentially, restored peace.

This episode which forms the conclusion of the poem, strikes me as unnatural and out of place. The story appears to end properly with dūhā 653, which tells us of their settling down in peace, and says that it was God Who had joined them in this happy union.

Now when we think the poem has come to a suitable ending there starts a sudden argument between the two wives about the merits of their respective countries. Dholā supports Māravana, whom he obviously prefers to this other wife, and his one-sided attitude appears to satisfy even Mālavana, whom he had failed to uphold. Once again the poem comes to an end. The final words closely resemble those of
dohā 653. The two conclusions are alike; the sense and several of
the actual expressions of the last three lines (dohās 673, 674) are the
same as in the previous ending, dohās 651 and 652. Not only so, but
three other dohās, Nos. 666–8, are almost letter for letter the same as
dohās in an earlier part of the poem. I have drawn attention to them
below.

After Dholā and Māravanī reached Narvar in safety, we read:—

(dohā 651) Dholāu Narvar āviyā, mangal gāvāī nār
uchav huvāū āyāū ghare, harakhyāū nagar apār
Sālkhumar bilasāī sadā kāmin sugun sugāt.

Dholā came to Narvar, the women sing songs of rejoicing.
There was a feast; he came home; the city rejoiced beyond
measure. Sālh Kumār (i.e. Dholā) made merry with his wives,
virtuous and beautiful.

The next dohā appears to end the story.

653 Māravanī nāi Mālavanī, Dholāū tiṃ bhartār
ekāṇi mandir rang ramāi, ki jorī Kartār.

Māravanī and Mālavanī, and Dholā their husband lived joyously
in one palace; God had made their union. (This hemistic
reminds us of Tennyson’s "marriages are made in heaven ".)

654 tatkhan Mālavanī kahāī, "sābhali kant surang
"sagla des suhāmnā, Mārū des virang.

At that time Mālavanī says: "Listen, charming husband;
every country is beautiful, (but) Mārvār is insipid.

655 "bālāū, bābā, desrāū, pānī jihā kuvāh
ādhūrāū kuhakkarā, jyāū mānasā muvāh.

"I would burn up, father, a land where the water is in wells, and
at midnight there is a shouting as if people had died.

656 bālāū, bābā, desrāū, pānī sandī tāti
pānī kerāī kāraṇāi pri chaṇḍāi adhrāti (v. l. sīcāi).

I would burn up, father, a land with anxiety about water, where
for the sake of water, the husband leaves (the house) at
midnight (v. l. draws).

657 bālā, Dholā, desrāū, jāī pānī kūven
kūkā varanā hathṭhā nahi sū ghādha jēn.

I would burn up, Dholā, a land where water is in wells, and where
red-coloured hands do not draw it. (ghādhā, of doubtful
meaning; perhaps connected with H. kāṛhnā; Pj. kāḷṛhnā;
Kś. kaṭun.)

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658 bābā, ma deś Mārvā, sūdhā evādh
kandhi kuhārāū, siri gharaū, vāsāū manjhi Thālāh.
Father, Thou shalt not give me (in marriage) to Mārvār, to simple
shepherds, axe on shoulder, waterpot on head, to live among
(the people of) Marusthal (Mārvār).

659 bābā, ma deś Mārvā, var kūrī rakesi
hāthi kacolāū, siri gharaū, sīcāū ya maresi.
Father, thou shalt not give me to Mārvār, I will (rather) remain
virgin from a husband; cup in hand, waterpot on head, I
shall die drawing water (or watering); (i.e. if I go to
Mārvār).

660 Māra, thākāi dēśāi ek na bhājāi ridd
ūcālāū ka avarasanāū, kāī phākāū, kāī tidd.
O Māravanī, in your country, not even one difficulty flees away;
there is either journeying (from the country), or lack of rain,
either hunger or locust.

661 jin bhūi pannag piyana, kayar kantarā rūk
āke pho̱ge chāhri, hūchā bhājāi bhūk.
A country in which are (blood-)drinking snakes, and the trees
are thorns and thorny shrubs; the shade is only āk and leaf-
less shrubs, and hunger flees by (eating) hūch (thorny plant,
the seeds of which are eaten).

662 pahiran-orhan kambaḷā, sāthe purise nīr
āpan lok ubhākharā, gāḍar chāl ī khīr.
For clothing and putting on (only) blankets; water sixty puris
deep; the people themselves wanderers; milk (only) of sheep
and goats. (A puris is about four feet.)
Māravanī replies by running down Mālva and praising Mārvār.

663 vaḷati Māravanī kahāi “Mārū des surang
vīja tāī saḍa bhālā, Mālav des virang.
In turn (returning) Māravanī says “Mārū land is charming;
others indeed all are good, (only) Mālva land is insipid.

664 bāḷā, bābā, dēśāū, jahā pāṇī sevār
nā panihāri jhūlarāū, nā kūcāī laikār.
I would burn up, father, a country where the water has sevār
growing in it; (sevār, Hindi shaitāl, a water plant); neither
companies of water-women, nor melody at the well.

665 bāḷā, bābā, dēśāū, jahā phikrīyā log
ek na disāī goriya, ghari ghari disāī sog.
I would burn up, father, a land, where the people are uninteresting; women are not seen, even one; in every house is seen sadness.

666 Mārū des upanniya, tihākā kā dant suset kūjh bacī gorangiyā, khanjar jehā net.

This dohā has already occurred as No. 457, where for upanniya we have upanniya, a better reading. I assume it here.

Girls born in Mārvār, their teeth are beautifully white; they are fair as young cranes, and their eyes are like those of wagtails (or are like wagtails).

667 Mārū des upanniya, sar jyāū paddhariyāh kārākade na bolāhi, mīthā bolaniyāh.

This is almost word for word the dohā which we have already had as No. 484. There the ending is -ydī, which is preferable.

Girls born in Mārvār are straight as an arrow, they never speak bitter words, they are speakers of sweet things.

668 des nivānū, sajāj jal, mīthā bolāh loī Mārū kāmīnī dichāni dhar Hari diyāū tāū hoi."

This dohā, with one word of difference, occurs as No. 485.

The land is low-lying (therefore fertile), fresh in water, with people speaking sweet words; Mārvārī women (women like them) might be in the land of the south, but only if God gave them.

Now Dholā speaks and favours Māravanī.

669 des surangāū, bhūjī nijāl, na diyāū dos Thalādī ghari ghari cand-vadanniya, nir caṛhāī kamlādī.

The land is charming, (yet) the soil is waterless; do not attribute fault to Marusthal; at every door are moon-faced girls, like lotuses which rise to the water (or who ascend to the water like lotuses).

670 suī, sundari, ketā kahā Mārū des vakhān Māravanī mīliyā pachāī jānyāū janam pravān.

Listen, fair one, how much shall I praise Mārvār? Since I met Māravanī I have regarded my life as fruitful.

This, while a charming compliment to his favourite wife, was depressing to the other. Reading the compliment we think of Browning’s:

The purpose of my being is accomplished
And I am happy. I, too, Federigo.
The quarrel of the fair ones fled away; Dholā supported (Māravaṇī); Māravaṇī became happy; she had tested her loved one.

He decried Māļvā, and praised Mārvār; Māravaṇī, beautiful, virtuous and wise, became fortunate.

As the bee and the keorā, as the koel and the plaintain, so Māravaṇī's soul rejoiced in Dholā, her husband.

We are not told how the other wife regarded the situation, and the final couplet which follows is unnatural at this point.

Much happiness, much feasting, Dholā in Narvar; and the story of those loving lovers continued in this iron age.

The sense of this doha is the same as that of No. 653.
VII.—BROTHERS OF THE ROMANE: A DOWNTRODDEN TRIBE IN NORTH INDIA

The Ćuhras (Ću'ra) of the Panjab are chiefly scavengers and farm servants. They used to belong to that large, indeterminate body called Criminal Tribes, and known carelessly as Gypsies or nomads. Members of these tribes are found all over India; many of them are now respectable and hardworking. Formerly they had three characteristics: they were nomads, they had a secret language or argot of their own, and they were criminals, that is they were given to theft and sometimes to immorality. The special dialects spoken by them are occasionally Dravidian, but generally Aryan, showing traces of Rajputānī, Hindī, Panjābī, and Marhaṭī (Marāṭhī). Professor Sten Konow concludes on linguistic grounds that they all belong to one race and come from the Dravidian area, but that after leaving their ancestral home and wandering northward, they lived so long in the Vindhya region of central India that they became Aryanised. He suggests further the possibility that the Gypsies of Armenia and Europe belong to the same race, though he admits that linguistic evidence leaves this an open question.

The Ćuhras are a lovable race, showing a great power of bettering themselves when given a chance. None of them now are nomads, and few are criminals. On the contrary they live useful lives. Many of them have become Christians, a considerable number have received some education; a few are University graduates, some are clergymen or school teachers. It is the more necessary to make a note of their secret vocabulary while we can; in a few years no one will remember it. They have no real dialect, a few isolated words are all they possess, a remnant of the days when stealing and cattle poisoning were common practices.

1 Linguistic Survey of India, vol. xi. pp. 5-11.
Formerly each company of Ćuhras had a poisoner whose duty it was to poison cattle or horses. The tribe had a prescriptive right to all dead animals, and the flesh of a bullock or horse which had apparently sickened and died, but actually been poisoned, would be a valuable addition to their store of food. The payments made to the poisoner seem very inadequate, if one considers the risk of detection and punishment. For a buffalo he got ninepence, for a bullock sevenpence. There were two methods of poisoning—stabbing with a poisoned instrument, and giving medicated food. Horses had to be stabbed, because they detected the poison in food and could not be induced to take it. Two instruments were used, an iron pointed rod, called ḍaggi, or a much shorter bit of wood tipped with iron and called lāṇjī; it was small enough to be concealed in the hand. When poison was given in food an ounce was mixed with a painful of fodder for buffaloes, and half an ounce for bullocks. Death ensued in a day.

The tribal fathers are ashamed of the past and inclined to deny knowledge of it, but when one has become sufficiently friendly with them they will tell one what they know. Often it is not much, for they are becoming more and more civilised. The secret words are dropping out of use. Those who know them are unwilling that strangers should learn them, for their value depends on their being unknown. I found that when I had established my position as a friend there were some who laid aside their reserve and spoke freely of their "Pashto," taking a pride in recalling half-forgotten words, though some of them preferred to do so behind closed doors. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that those of the tribe who have become Christians are entirely ignorant of them.

Hindus and Muhammadans do not eat an animal found dead, but unreformed Ćuhras do so freely, and have a set of words to describe the flesh and parts of the body. Such an animal is commonly referred to as 'carion,' but the word is not a good one. The Panjabi equivalent of it applies to all meat not killed according to Hindu or Muslim rites even though it may be fit for food. Christians of Ćuhra origin are very particular as to what they eat, and they avoid carrion.

To illustrate the argot I have given a vocabulary of 120 words, a short story, and some poetical texts. The story and texts are in Panjabi mixed with Ćuhra words. To disguise an ordinary word they often insert the sound m. In the texts secret Ćuhra
words are indicated by printing the English equivalents in italics. An apostrophe after a vowel indicates that it is pronounced with high pitch, which drops for the vowel after the apostrophe. An inverted comma similarly indicates a low rising tone, low in the syllable after the comma and rising in the succeeding syllable.

**TWO BOYS FRUSTRATE TWO THIEVES**

ikki piii-i'ë do kütre rënde sãñ, ik kirbole, te ik rërkâ, one village-in two boys living were, one Muslim and one Hindu, òpe-i'ë bare dëmost (dost) sãñ, rûngëa-vallë cokke themselves-among great friends were Ėuhras-towards very badzan oe sãñ, rërke kütre-de ku'ddō ñhelleë suspicious become were, Hindu boy-of house-from ornaments te pëmtëd-dë meoãi œi si, kirbole-di ik ardë ëgëi and rupees-of theft become was, Muslim-of one buffalo die gone si; kirbole kütre kothëaë pae eñ'na riyyâ-dà othôr koi was; Muslim boy-by said that those Ėuhras-of trust any net, e dëmove (dove) kamm o'ñnâ-de pët-nål oe not-is, these both works them-of connivance-by become ne, sâddi ardli tâ xar mërei jët si, o'-di ejëlë lammë are, our buffalo then well feeble like was, it-of so long gall net, kaman-ë (ku're) par ik sovâ tômma khanjëlë i, o'-ri matter not, cow-house-in but one fine fat buffalo is, it-of nà kite gammad ove; damuije (dujje) kütre kothëaë pae not anywhere theft be; second boy-by said that më' ikki reone te ikki pättu-nâ gomal (gal) kûlledë sugeë by me one Ėuhra and one Sâsi-to word making heard si te ëtaëbinde sâddë ku'ddë-val ñâmde sãñ, ëmaj(age) was & repeatedly our house-towards looking were, to-day jorûr kuj onâ i; e'dôrô dove ñhûrm, ri te certainly something to-be is; here-from both thieves, Ėuhra & pättu, teûr œke sârë lâfopatr këmatthà (kathhà) Sâsi, ready having-become all stuff together külke, ëmbû te kärkî pättu kole, te ëghaggi te lânji having-made, jemmy and stick Sâsi with, & stabber & stabber

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ränge kol, paxsat kändke śūkāšāki nāl abre, o' dōve ċuhre with, food having eaten pomp with came, those both kōtre āmde sānu-prē, jad rī te o'rā lītārā laye boys watching were, when ċuhra & him-of confederate began khanjulē kol polhe, tā ikki kōtre sattē ċhīkārā, dujje buffalō near to-go, then one boy-by thrown elod, second khorēi tārki, eddā rōlā pāeo ne pai sārā malā jāg rattled knife, such noise made by-them that all quarter waking ubuntu, kirble te tōmmiā te rārke, te rārēkā, mudā arose, Muslims & female do & Hindus & female do, in-short kūle nepēr-katte te o'nā nāl buri oī. thieves were-seized and them with evil became.

THE FEAST

1. Lāl lāl ka'ndī lācā, ĉīt-te-dā degā ĉā'ridā, Red red on-walls attached, white-of pot is-raised,

2. kār sādde thānā latthā, vo'vyārā ne'i ĝhūt-kāri-dā house our police-court descended, forced-labour not leisure-of

3. maddor pīr pārī ĉā'reā, khalkās matthā tekdi, thigh holy-man to-hills ascended, people forehead bow,

4. suṇī māi ākkor-panne, ĉu'le de-viĉ lepdi, chop mother twisting-breaks, fireplace in lies,

5. gīdī māi ĉand kholāre, dandā vallō vexdi, knee mother hair raises, teeth towards looks,

6. jaṭṭ jo puźhdā ĉā'rie kār kiy e tere? farmer when asks 'O-Ĉurha-woman house-in what is thine?'

7. ĉā'ri, nikke-dī ga'nd e, vadde-dē phere farmer, younger-of engagement is, elder-of confirmation-of [engagement.

8. maṭ povāsā ĉhaddī, ĉā'ri ĥire ĉufere pot-by vapours left, the-Ĉuhri turns on-all-sides,

9. pānnī oī seu'dki, ĉā'ri pānūd ĥire broken become pot, the-Ĉuhri marriage-gifts hands-round

10. pātti oī ēngūt, val pov ĉufere torn become skirt, turns fall on-all-sides
11. khā-lo mereo kūrmo, ko’li-de bere.
eat-take my marriage-relatives, breast-of pieces.

12. chālili de-viś sukkde kūrdumbe bere
basket in drying fat-tailed pieces

13. īllā ērmat pā-leā, kā bān’ bonere.
kites-by crowd made, crows sit on-roof-edge.

Notes.—1. Red meat drying on walls, fat boiling in pot. 2. Crowd like police court, but no forced labour. 3. The holy thigh-flesh in pot. 4. Mother chop-stretching herself. 5. Flesh of knee rising up. (4 and 5 refer to cooking.) 6. What is there to-day in thy house? 8. Pot steaming, the Ĉuhri busy. 10. Skirt torn as she bustles round. 11. Feast considered a marriage. 12. Fat-tailed sheep is called dūmbā.

A JOKE

1. kutf-kuk̄kkhe gā’ndor ba’ddā, utte thabbā pōrāli-dā
pressing bundle tied, on-top load rice-stalks-of

2. kajje de atth mē de-toreā, tattā tattā tārī-dā.
farmer-of hand-by by-me give-sent, hot hot soup-of.

The Ĉuhra’s wife concealed carrion under rice stalks, and sent it to the village by the hand of a kajjā, i.e. any one of superior rank, here probably a Hindu, knowing that he would not have touched it, if he had known what it was. The meat was hot soup-meat.

LIST OF CHURA WORDS

(Contractions: P. = Panjabi, H. = Hindi, Q. = Qasāl, S. = Sāľ, Kā. = Kaśmīrī,
G. = Gamblers’ argot.)

Verbs,
accuse, nūk̄rnā.
arrive, see ‘come.’
beat, lothnā. See ‘kill,’ ‘clod.’
break into house (through wall), gul lānā.
comie, ābrnā (cf. Q. aprnā, P. apprnā, S. asrnā), polvā.
die, luggnā: S. do.
do, kālñā: S. do.
et, tilmnā, kūndnā.
give, sornā, ṭēlnā.
go, polvā.
hide, (tr.) khoplnā, (intr.) thippnā.
kill, lothnā (S. lo’ńā, Kā. läyun, P. lānā), kormnā, gā’nd denā.
look, āmyā. See ‘see’ and ‘watch.’
say, kathvā: P. gallkatth, Kā. kath, word.
see, cāmnā. See 'look' and 'watch.'
seize, nepornā: P. nappornā.
steal, lālli lānī: S. lālli, night.
watch, cāmnā.  

Nouns:

(1) Animate beings:

ass, kortā, khutringā.
boy, kūtrā.
bufalo, ardli, khanjolā.
confidant, litāyā.
cow, kōtī.
Čuhra, rī, reonā, rūngā.
European, kajjā, (fem.) kajjī. (See 'gentleman.')
dog, rēvā;
gentleman, any one of good social position, kajjā,
(fem.) kajjī: S. do. (See 'European.')
girl, kūtri.
goat, kid, ēdli.
Hindu, rārkā, (fem.) rārki.
horse, kurmā.
Muslim, k. irbolā, (fem.) tommī. See 'fine.'
poisoner, ruym.
Sasi, p. āttā. (S. p. attā.)
thief, kālā, churm.

(2) Articles of food:

bread, paṃsat, 'uydāk. See 'food.
butter, see 'ghl.'
curds, guls.
food, 'uydāk, paṃsat.
ghl, nibol.
soup, lās, tārī.
sugar, mīthā, ṭimmā: S. ṭ. allā.
water, nirkā: H. nīr.
carrion, dīthā, jager, khānjōrā.

(3) Household and other articles:

cloth, lēprā. See 'skin.'
huqqā, burkānā (S. do); kōraā.
jenmy (housebreaker's), tumbā.
knife, tārkīt.

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match (for lighting), kāṇāi.
money, bagēlā.
necklace, thēllā.
piece (farthing), vrjā.
poison, tiārī, thīmmā; ball of, golī.
rupee, pīmtā (G. do), bagēlā.
shoes, pāntī.
stabbing instrument, (longer) chaggī, (short) lānjī.
stick, kārkī.
turban, tēlnī.

(4) Parts of the animal found dead:
back, small of, pāṭṭhā.
brain, mīn.
breast, koḷī; piece of, morā.
entrails, kērā, āndrā.
fat, mīnj, neorī; remains of, batlī.
heart, vnjāllā.
knee, with flesh, gjālī.
leg, lower half of lower, surkāng.
   flesh on front part of this, khurā.
   lower foreleg, upper half, totā.
   upper foreleg, upper half, tikā.
   do. lower half, tāl.
   lower hind leg, upper half, jannū.
   upper hind leg, upper half, kānā.
   do. lower half, golā.
lumbar vertebrae, pāṭrī, kāṅgī.
meat, piece of, berā; oblong piece of, sundī.
neck, back of, kmā.
rump, pottā.
shoulder, mūrkān, phar.
skin, līprā; Q. līpī. See 'cloth.'
side, bukkā, rukrā; upper part of, kōneri.
spine, flesh near, bukrā.
thigh, ērā, maddor.

(5) Other nouns:
   accusation, nūkār.
   clod, dhikārā; strike with clod, throw clod at, kānkār
      kānā; throwing of clod as warning to confederate.
      neolā.
direction, see 'side.'
house, kud'.
intrigue, kokkâ.
sickness (of cows), almî.
side, direction, palvâ; palve, to one side.
thief, neodî, gâmmî (Q. gêmî; gâmbâ, thief), lâllî
(only with lânt, attach).

ADJECTIVES.
bad, worthless, ûndâ; ugly, psêkkâ.

fine, in good condition, fat, sôvâ, tômmâ. The fem. of the
latter is used for 'Muslim woman.'

fat-tailed, khurdumbâ.

INTERJECTION.
het kâl, hush! kâl is imper. of kâlnâ, to do.
TWO INDIAN STANDARDS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, WITH FACSIMILES AND TRANSLATIONS OF TRACINGS FROM ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS

In the spring of 1921 Captain Geoffrey Bailey sent me two pairs of tracings made from Indian standards captured in the battle of Seringapatam, 4th May, 1799. The standards are among the treasures of the chapel of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea. On examination they proved to be of considerable interest, and readers of the Bulletin will perhaps be glad to have an opportunity of studying them in the facsimiles which, through the kindness of the editor, I am able to present, along with such notes as may be necessary for their elucidation.

The four tracings consist of the obverse and reverse of two standards; in each case the obverse and reverse are identical. The facsimile marked I (flag No. 31 in the Chapel collection) represents Haydar 'Ali's standard, while that marked II (No. 32 in the Chapel collection) shows us Tipu Sahib's standard. It will be observed that this standard is broken in one place; it is, however, possible to supply the lost words from the reverse, which has these words complete, while it lacks the words "Ya Shekh 'Abdu'l Qa'dir Jil . . . ."

A cursory examination of the Arabic reveals the fact that those who rallied round these flags belonged to the Sunni faith, for the saints invoked are those specially reverenced by the adherents of that branch of Islam.

While every part of the inscriptions is worthy of study, supreme interest attaches to those words which indicate the date. They appear to read: in the year of Muhammad, 6121, or (if the figures be read the other way) 1216. This contains two difficulties. Firstly, in no ordinary Muslim writing do we find an era referred to as "the year of Muhammad". One gentleman, himself an ibn i Arab, told me that though he thought he had read pretty widely in his native tongue, he had never come across such a phrase. Secondly, the actual year 6121
or 1216 was inexplicable. I spent some time in fruitlessly studying eras which might account for the larger figure; at the same time the smaller figure, if counted from the Hijra, gave the year 1801, two years subsequent to the capture of the standards, and a mistake in reckoning was inconceivable.

The explanation of both difficulties has been supplied by Mr. C. A. Storey, of the India Office Library, who has been so kind as to send me the following details. In Tipu's reign it was customary to use the era of the Mawlid i Muhammed, i.e. the spiritual birth or mission of Muhammad, about twelve years earlier than the Hijra. Dates were written from right to left. In the India Office Library there is a drawing or facsimile extremely like those here given, and there is a MS. entitled "Dawabît i Sulînî" containing "regulations for the proper shape and form of royal insignia (as the orbs or disks at the top of banners, seals, official signatures, etc.), drawn up under the direction of Tipu Sultan". Some of the formulae closely resemble those in the inscriptions before us.

For the sake of those who are not Arabic scholars I have added a translation of the words on both standards. My own Arabic equipment is inadequate, and I have freely sought assistance from colleagues in the School of Oriental Studies, to whom I am much indebted for the help which they have so readily given.

I

[Top]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم—يا الله يا حافظ يا رقيب يا وكيل يا حي يا قيؤم

[Between Arms]

الملك لله الحليم لله

[Arms]

يا حضرت عثمان يا حضرت علي حيدر صفزدر

يا حضرت معروف كرخي يا كا في المهات

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In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful! O God,
O Preserver, O Protector, O Watcher, O Guardian, O Living
One, O Self-subsistent One!

To God belong sovereignty and clemency.

O Hadrat 'Uthmān! O Hadrat 'Ali Haydar Ṣafdar! O Hadrat
Ma'rūf Karkhī! O Sufficient for difficulties!

Hadrat Khawāja 'Abdūl Khāliq 'Ijānī, Hadrat Khawāja
Bāyazīd Bustānī, Hadrat Khawāja Ābū Yūsaf Hamadānī,
Hadrat Khawāja Bābā Samāi, Hadrat Khawāja Amir Sayyīd
Kalāl, Hadrat Khawāja Ahmad Baghdādī, Hadrat Khawāja
Bahā'ūd Din Naqshabandī—may the good-pleasure of God
exalted be upon them all!

When come the help of God and the victory, and thou seest men
entering into the religion of God in multitudes, then laud
in the praise of thy Lord, and ask forgiveness of Him, behold
He is abundantly pardoning.

In the year of Mūḥammad 1216.
O Hadrat Imām Hasan!
TIPU SÄHID'S STANDARD CAPTURED AT SERINGAPATAM 4TH MAY, 1799:
FOUR-FIFTHS OF ACTUAL SIZE. (FLAG NO. 32 IN CHAPEL, ROYAL
HOSPITAL, CHELSEA.)
In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful! The thunder lauds in His praise, and the angels from His fear (fear of Him).

O Living One, O Self-subsistent One! O Muhammad!
O Haḍrat Abu Bakr Siddiq! O Haḍrat 'Umr! O Shekḥ 'Abdu'l Qādir Jilānī! O Ḥad(rat Imām Husain)!

Call upon 'Ali, revealer of wonders. Thou wilt find him a help to thee in difficulties. All trouble and sorrow will be removed by thy prophethood, O Muhammad, by thy vicarship, O 'Ali, O 'Ali, O 'Ali!

There is no god but God, Muhammad is His apostle. Help from God and victory are near, and announce it to the faithful. For God is the best guardian, and He is the most merciful of the merciful.

In the year of Muhammad 1216.
O Haḍrat Imām Husain!
NOTES ON PANJABI ASPIRATES AND TONES
(Phonetic Script in square brackets)

NOTE I

The following lines apply to Northern Panjābī, one of the two main dialects into which Panjābī may be divided. It covers roughly all the Panjābī area to the west and north of Amritsar. The problem of aspirates and tones has recently excited much interest, culminating in Professor Jules Bloch’s article in Mélanges Linguistiques (Vendryes pp. 57–67.

In order to emphasize the necessary modifications we may say generally that where southern and western languages have an aspirate, Panjābī, in common with many Laihändi dialects, which, however, require separate discussion, shows the following treatment.

(1) In the combinations kh, ch, th, th, ph, it has a toneless, voiceless h.
(2) Otherwise an aspirate preceding the accented vowel is replaced by a low rising tone, while one following it is replaced by a high falling tone (a word may have both tones).

These two statements need to be modified.

(1) Panjabi’s dislike for aspirates is seen in the recent development of some of these aspirated surds. While th and th remain unchanged, kh, ch, and ph sometimes lose their aspiration and become fricative. We then have:—

[-kh, -kh-], even [-kkh, -kkh-] > [-x]; [-ch] and [-ch-] > [-f]; [ph] > [v] (a faint labio-dental f, different from English f, but not a bilabial; the corresponding sonant is v).

[liksha], write, > [lixna]; [sikkha], learning, > [sixda]; [rakshna], am placing, [raknd]; [urkhar], in the middle, from [urce], with adj. [urkarla]; [prj], backwards, from [prce], with adj. [prfla]. [cal virdha], I shall go, [phirdha]; [tarpna], be agitated, for [tarpnh].

(2) There is also a contrary tendency, for Northern Panjabi now has in certain cases a clearly pronounced h, usually sonant, and it is a fact of great interest that it never carries a special tone. This h is found:—

(a) In one or two isolated words. I can think of the following: āho [āho] or āh [āh], yes. āho is in some places pronouned ākho [āko]. In āh the second half of h is devocalized. The [x] pronunciation is found in two other words generally written with h, an h which is not pronounced as an aspirate. They are ā’oī, that very one, [u’oī] and i’yoī [i’joi], this very one, for which one may hear [uxoi] and [uxai].

ohho [ohho], or oho [ofo], Oh (surprise or impatience). This is sometimes [oxo].

(b) A new development of existing s. In rapid speech there is now a tendency towards the following changes except when s immediately precedes an accented vowel. I have noticed it, though rarely, with sh.

[-s-] > [-fl-]. [ss-] remains unchanged. [-s] + cs > [-fl] + cs.

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In every case the \( h \) is toneless.

\([\text{d}\hat{a}\tilde{s}\text{i} \text{d}\hat{a}\tilde{s}\text{i} \text{p}\hat{a}\tilde{s}\text{i} \text{l} \text{a} \text{e} \text{f}\hat{a}\tilde{\text{f}}\text{u}}], \text{d}\hat{a}\tilde{s}\text{i} \text{d}\hat{a}\tilde{s}\text{i} \text{p}\hat{a}\tilde{s}\text{i} \text{l} \text{a} \text{e} \text{s}\tilde{\text{a}}\text{s}\tilde{\text{u}}, \) he got them for ten pice each. As \([\text{f}\hat{a}\tilde{\text{f}}\text{u}}]\) is an enclitic the con-

sonants in it count as inter-vocalic.

\([\text{k}\hat{u}\hat{\text{h}}\text{h}\text{i}a \text{k}a' \text{d} \text{j}\hat{o}\tilde{\text{g}} \text{a} \text{'f}i\text{d}a \text{e} \text{p}\hat{a}\tilde{\text{a}}], \text{K}h\text{u}\hat{\text{h}}\tilde{\text{i}}\tilde{\text{a}} \text{k}a\text{h} \text{d} \text{e} \text{j}\hat{o}\tilde{\text{g}}\text{a} \text{h}\text{o}\text{s}\text{s}\text{d}a \text{e} \text{p}\hat{a}\tilde{\text{a}}, \) why is Khushia laughing?

\([\text{f}\hat{a}\tilde{\text{a}} \text{d} \text{h}a\text{k}j\text{a} \text{t}\tilde{\text{u}}\text{f}\text{a}], \text{a}s\tilde{\text{a}} \text{d} \text{h}e\tilde{\text{k}}\text{e}a! \text{t}\text{u}\text{s}\tilde{\text{a}}? \) We said it! Wasn't it rather you?

\([\text{o}k\text{k}\hat{u}\hat{\text{h}}\text{h}\text{i}a \text{oe}::], \text{o} \text{K}h\text{u}\hat{\text{h}}\tilde{\text{i}}\tilde{\text{a}} \text{oe}, \text{O} \text{Khushia} \text{(call from a distance).}

If we agree to recognize this newly developed aspirate and write it \( h \), it will be worth our while to note the difference in pronunciation between certain words, which will then be written alike or nearly alike.

\(\text{p}\hat{a}\tilde{i}\text{h}e \text{p}\hat{a}\tilde{i}\text{h}e, \) by road, is \([\text{p}\hat{\text{e}}\text{e} \text{p}\hat{\text{e}}\text{e}] \) with tone; but \(\text{p}\hat{a}\tilde{i}\text{h}e \text{p}\hat{a}\tilde{i}\text{h}e, \) a pice each, is \([\text{p}\hat{\text{e}}\text{f}\text{e} \text{p}\hat{\text{e}}\text{f}\text{e}] \) without tone.

\(\text{d}\hat{a}\tilde{\text{h}}\tilde{\text{a}}, \) 1st sing. pres. subj. of \(\text{d}\hat{a}\text{n}\tilde{n}\tilde{\text{a}}, \) is \([\text{d}\hat{\text{a}}]'\), with tone:
but \(\text{d}\hat{a}\tilde{\text{h}}\tilde{\text{a}}, \) from \(\text{d}\hat{a}\text{s}, \) ten, is \([\text{d}\hat{a}\tilde{\text{f}}\text{n}\tilde{\text{a}}]\) without tone.

\(\text{d}\hat{a}\text{n}\tilde{n}\tilde{\text{a}} \) (inf.), \(\text{d}\hat{a}\text{nn}\tilde{n}\tilde{\text{a}} \) (pres. ind.) are \([\text{d}\hat{\text{e}}'\text{n}\tilde{\text{a}}, \text{d}\hat{\text{e}}'\text{n}\tilde{\text{m}}\tilde{\text{n}}\tilde{\text{a}}]\) with tone, whereas \(\text{d}\hat{\text{a}}\text{s}\tilde{n}\tilde{\text{a}}, \text{d}\hat{\text{a}}\text{s}\tilde{n}\tilde{\text{m}}\tilde{\text{a}} > \text{d}\hat{\text{a}}\text{n}\tilde{n}\tilde{\text{a}}, \text{d}\hat{\text{a}}\text{n}\tilde{n}\tilde{\text{m}}\tilde{\text{a}}, \) are \([\text{d}\hat{\text{a}}\text{f}\text{n}\tilde{\text{n}}\tilde{\text{a}}, \text{d}\hat{\text{a}}\text{n}\tilde{n}\tilde{\text{m}}\tilde{\text{a}}]\) without tone.

I wish to make it clear that this tendency has not yet become an invariable habit. The \( s \) is still common especially in slower utterance.

**NOTES ON PANJABI ASPIRATES AND TONES**

(Northern or Western Dialect)

**Note II**

*Erratum.—In Note I, JRAS., January, 1926, p. 113, l. 6 from foot, “western” should be “eastern”. Southern and eastern languages have an aspirate.*
THE PRONUNCIATION OF MEDIAL gh, jh, dh, dh, bh

Before discussing this, it will be well to give a

Rule applying to all tones.—In the case of all tones, whether
dual or triple, i.e. whether low-rising, high-falling, or low-rising-
falling, the first part always occurs on the stressed vowel. If
that vowel is the last before the next pause, the tone is com-
plete in it, but if another syllable follows before the pause, the
rise of the low-rising and the fall of the high-falling tone are
completed in that syllable, while in the triple tone the first
and second parts are completed in the stressed syllable and
the third in the syllable following.

An h coming before the stressed vowel always points to the
low-rising tone, and one coming after it to the high-falling
tone. When an h occurs both before and after it, the triple
tone is indicated.

When gh, jh, dh, dh, bh are initial or final little difficulty is
experienced. The rules may be briefly stated:

Initial: (i) If no vowel has been elided between the stop
and the h the stop is devocalized and the h is changed to a
low-rising tone. (ii) If a vowel has been elided the stop
remains sonant. Tone as in (i).

Final: The stops are kept sonant and the h is changed to a
high-falling tone.

The Medial stops gh, jh, dh, dh, bh are sonant or surd, as
shown below.

Sonant: (a) Words with low-rising tone which are derived
from words with high-falling tone, have them sonant whether
they immediately follow a consonant or a vowel.

uljānā, entangle (u'lajnā): khuānā, cause to lose the
way (khu'īnā): kadānā, cause to be ejected (ka'dānā).

(b) When these stops immediately follow any vowel which
is not the end of a prefix obvious to the village mind, they are
sonant. dēdawes, mortuary (Eng. dead-house): madānī,
churning stick.

Surd: (c) Words which appear to Panjabis to be made up of
(i) two words,
(ii) word and prefix,
(iii) word with repetition in same or different form are treated like two words, but only stressed syllables carry the tone.

Examples:—

(i) \(p\,a'\text{mbal}\,-p\,u'\text{se}\), inconveniences, etc. \(\text{lamt},\text{i-ng}\), stork, flamingo, etc. \(p\,a'\text{ai'}\text{r}a\), toadstool: \(g\,a'\text{k},\text{o't}a\), choking: \(p\,a'\text{nk}a\,r\), money change: \(k\,u'\text{p-k},\text{e'r}\) or \(k\,u'\text{p-k},\text{e'r}\), very dark: \(p\,e'd-k\,u't\), or \(p\,e'd-k\,u't\), branch of the \(\text{S}a\,\text{s}i\,s\): \(k\,i\text{rt-k},\text{a'n}\), ungrateful.

(ii) \(a't,a'\text{rm}\), irreligion: \(k\,u't,a'\text{bb}a\), awkward, ill-shaped.

(iii) \(k,a'\text{r}a\'-k\,a'\text{r}i\), repeatedly: \(c,a'v-cav\), quickly.

(i) and (ii) account for words like \(p\,n\,p\,a'\text{n}\,\text{j}a\), grain-parcher, and for the Panjabi pronunciation of Hindi words like \(k\,a'\text{n-k}o'\text{r}\), very dark or terrible: \(m\,\text{ur-t},a'\text{n}ya\), cerebral. Similarly they explain \(p\,r\,b,a'te\,l\,a\), morning: \(p\,r\,d,a'n\), chief. These sound like single words, for their prefixes are not recognized.

All cases of intervocalic \(gh\), \(j\,h\), \(d\,h\), \(d\,h\), \(b\,h\), are covered by the above rules; there may be a few words in which the rules do not cover instances of these stops occurring in immediate conjunction with consonants, but they must be very few, and I am not at present able to recall any.
TIME TAKEN BY THE STRIKE OF CEREBRAL r

In the Journal for July, 1924, p. 436, I stated that the strike of a cerebral r lasted not more than one 120th of a second. I was speaking of the commoner cerebrals t, d, n, r, especially the last, and was taking exception to the use of the words "firmly pressed" in describing the movement of the tongue in making them. It seemed to me that it was a misuse of terms to say that there was "firm pressure" in an action taking so short a time. There is no more pressure in a cerebral than in a dental.

I do not now remember on what I based my estimate of the time taken by the strike of a cerebral r, but no doubt the grounds for it were adequate. Recently, however, a very interesting article in Zeitschrift für Experimental-Phonetik, Band 1, Heft 1, Okt. 1930, has furnished evidence that the statement was well on the safe side. In this article there is an analysis of a sentence spoken by Dr. Babu Ram Saksena, who some years ago was a student in the School of Oriental Studies. He repeated the words ek bare rājā rahte hai at a rather slow conversational rate, taking two seconds to the five words. The diagrams accompanying the article enable one to calculate the length of each sound.

There are seven consonants (counting h as a vowel), viz. k, b, r, r, j, r, t. Of these k, b, and t take the longest time, one-tenth of a second each; j and the second r take seven-hundredths of a second each; the first r takes six-hundredths of a second, while r, the only cerebral in the seven, takes two-hundredths of a second. This includes the time taken by the on-glise, the strike, and the off-glise. The strike is probably shorter than either the on-glise or the off-glise, so we may say with confidence that it takes less than one 150th of a second.
The statement in *JRAS.*, loc. cit., was thus comfortably within the mark.

Putting the matter in mathematical language we may say that $k, b, t : j$, 2nd $r$: 1st $r : r = 10 : 7 : 6 : 2$. Particularly noteworthy is the proportion $t : r = 5 : 1$. The dental $t$ in that sentence took five times as long as the cerebral $r$.

**R SOUNDS IN KĀFIR LANGUAGES**

The rather extensive use made of fricative $r'$ in Kāfīr languages is interesting. The sound itself is very familiar; it occurs in Urdu and Panjabi as a subsidiary member of the $r$ phoneme. This is the case also in Waigali and Ashkun. Dr. Morgenstierne has been good enough to describe and pronounce Kāfīr $r'$ for me. Kāti has it as a separate phoneme. In slight modification of the statement in the Report he says it is made just behind the $r$.

We have here two entirely different classes of sounds (fricative and strike sounds) with little or no phonetic connexion between them. As unfortunately we always use the same symbol $r$ for both, it is necessary to make the distinction clear. The fricatives, of which Kāfīr $r'$ is an example, may occur in any position, front or back, alveolar or cerebral (palatal). A cerebral fricative $r'$ is often heard in Urdu, Panjabi, Hindi (and Bengali, so Mr. Sutton Page), where it is a member of the cerebral strike-$r$ phoneme. The strike sounds may also be found in any position, front or back; and of course in both classes the number of intermediate positions is limitless.

The fricative $r$ sounds are closely related to sibilants (generally sonant) and are often difficult to distinguish from them; some $z$ sign would be a more appropriate symbol than $r$. The strike sounds on the other hand belong to the $d$ and $t$ class. The ordinary $r$ and $r'$ sounds of North India are strike sounds; those which we are for the moment writing $r'$ and $r'$ are fricatives. The important thing to realise is that both the $r'$ and the $r$ sounds may be either cerebral or alveolar, indeed theoretically may occur in any position.
on the roof of the mouth which the tip of the tongue can reach.

There remains the question—what is the nature of the cerebral $r$ sounds in village Kaśmīrī and Śiṇā? To which class do they belong? Are they fricatives or strike sounds, and where are they produced? I am glad in particular to write a note on the Kaśmīrī $r$ because it has never been described before.

The $r$ in village Kaśmīrī is the same as in Śiṇā. It is a pure strike $r$ (not a fricative), essentially the same as the strike $r$ of Waigāli and Ashkun, or for that matter of Pashto, Urdu and Panjabi, quite different from the fricative $r'$ of Kāfīr languages. Its position varies from a little behind the teeth-ridge to a point about a third of the way along the hard palate. This strike $r$ as heard in Panjabi or Śiṇā or village Kaśmīrī is usually called cerebral, but there is no objection to calling it post-alveolar, meaning "behind the alveolus or teethridge".

ONE ASPECT OF STRESS IN URDU AND HINDI

The problem of stress in Urdu and Hindi sometimes seems insoluble. When an Indian, whose native language is Urdu or some dialect of Hindi, speaks English we feel that he stresses the wrong words of a sentence and the wrong syllables of words. He appears to us to say [ˈkaːdəmɪk] for [ˈɛkədəmɪk]; [ˈbɜːɡəmɪn] for [ˈbrɜːɡɪmɪn]; [ˈɛsəsəjɪfn] for [ˈsəʊsəsrɛɪfn]. But, apart from the mere shifting of stresses, the nature of the stress and his conception of it appear to be different from ours.

My impression is:

(i) That stress in the languages mentioned is not wholly unlike that of English, but
(ii) that it is weaker, a stressed syllable closely resembling an unstressed one, and
(iii) that stressed vowels differ very little from unstressed vowels.

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The facts in (ii) and (iii) account for the difficulty which English speakers have in hearing the stress. We have all our lives been accustomed to strong stress associated with special forms of vowels. Our dictionaries mark it. Speakers of Urdu and Hindi, on the other hand, are used to weak stress and give little or no thought to it; none of their dictionaries mark it. Consequently they are not in the habit of recognizing it, and I feel sure that when questioned they often make wrong statements about it.

Thus I have sometimes been told by them that words like mähāknā, bhārāknā, māhāk, bhārāk, have the stress on the second syllable, whereas I am convinced that it is on the first. They say, too, sometimes that bāhā, flowed, and bānā, was made, have the same stress as bāhā, having caused to flow, and bānā, having caused to make. I feel that the former are [ˈbaːhə, ˈbaːnə], and the latter [baˈhə, baˈnə]. Is there any proof either way? (It is necessary to add that Indians differ from one another in their judgment on these stresses; there is plenty of support for my view.)

The effect of h on short vowels in Urdu furnishes, if not a proof, at least a strong argument. I have frequently stated that stressed ãh followed by a consonant or e or e is pronounced [əh], while unstressed ãh is [AH] or [əh].

(1) Let us take mahāknā and mahāk. According to the rule just given, the first vowel will be [ə] if the stress is on the first syllable and [A] if it is on the second. Similarly bahālnā, tāhālnā, will begin with bəe and təe or bə and tə, according to whether the stress is on the first or second syllable. Now, in all these words the first vowel is [ə] not [A]; it follows therefore that the stress is on the first syllable.

(2) Again, the first vowel of the combination ãhā in Urdu is [ə] when the stress is on the first syllable and [A] or even [ə] when the second syllable is stressed. Let us take the two words written bāhā; we find [bəhə], flowed, and [bəhə], having caused to flow. By the rule stated the stress of the former is on the first syllable, and of the latter on the second.
(3) Two other words, both written mahallo. In Psalms xlviii. 3, occurs the phrase (shahr) ke mahallo mē, which means either "in the palaces of the city" or "in the various sections of the city". To get the first meaning we must pronounce [mahlō], to get the second [mahallo]; this implies that in the former the stress is on the first syllable, in the latter on the second. The singular of the first word is mahall, the correct pronunciation of which is [mēhl] or [mēhel]; a few people incorrectly say [ma/hal] or [mhal].

(4) One more example. bahar sahar is pronounced [ba/har /sēher].

We may say to ourselves: "Perhaps stress is not connected with the two pronunciations of ah. Is it not possible that bahar sahar is pronounced [bahr sē/her], and not [ba/har /sēher]?" It may be possible, but I am sure it is not the case. At any rate no explanation dissociating the two pronunciations from stress has ever been given.

An interesting corroboration is furnished by Panjabi. In that language we get the low rising tone when h precedes, and the high falling tone when it follows, a stressed vowel. For bahar sahar a Panjabi would say [bo/ar sē/r], showing that he feels the stress as I have stated it. The same holds of the other examples given.

We may perhaps be permitted to conclude that in a matter like this the evidence of trained English ears can be trusted to a very considerable extent.

130.
THE PRONUNCIATION OF URDU AND HINDI

It is difficult to write correctly about the grammar of a language; it is almost impossible to be accurate about its pronunciation. It follows that the weakest and most unsatisfactory part of books on a language is nearly always that which deals with sounds. The reasons are various. I give some of them here with special reference to Urdu and Hindi.

(1) The tradition is bad. Mistakes were made in the early days of study. One writer after another has copied these mistakes, introducing variations of his own with chaotic results. The statements made by Forbes, who, I believe, was never in India, are still the basis of remarks on Urdu pronunciation.

(2) It is said that every man who has made some progress in the study of a language regards himself as an expert. This may be an exaggeration as regards idiom and syntax, but it is almost literally true of sounds. It is impossible to persuade a man who has made a scholarly study of a spoken tongue in the country where it is spoken that, however much he may know of its grammar and literature, his ear is incapable of hearing its distinctive sounds and that in describing them he is merely guessing (or copying other writers). Yet it is nearly always true. The scholar is perhaps more readily misled than others, for knowing the principal things that he ought to hear, he easily persuades himself that he does hear them.

(3) It is not possible to write accurately about the sounds of any language without devoting years to the study of phonetics. Most writers have not done this.

(4) This fact leads to another, viz. that Indian speakers are unsafe guides unless they are competent phoneticians. This requires emphasis. Someone will say—surely they know how to pronounce their language. The answer is a simple negative. They may pronounce correctly, but they do not know the pronunciation. Englishmen of the richest scholarship in their own tongue will make ludicrous misstatements about its pronunciation if they have not gone far in the study of phonetics. So it is with Indians. This explains the otherwise
remarkable fact that the description of sounds given in grammars written by Indians is often more inaccurate than that of Europeans.

(5) Another source of error to which Indians are liable is the desire to pronounce according to preconceived notions as to how words ought to be pronounced. Thus a Mawlawi will import what he thinks are correct (Arabic) sounds into Urdu words. He will discourse on the hamza, on 'ain, will assure the unfortunate student that words written hukm, fikr, subh, are monosyllables, that jedd o jihad should be pronounced jidd o jahad, that fi'l is different from fel, that the first syllable of mahdi is not the same as that of mahfil. Pandits have not the same opportunities in Urdu, for the pronunciation of Sanskrit words in that language has been fixed without consulting them, but in the cognate language Hindi they try to force old forms upon an unwilling people, and teach them to students. It is greatly to be regretted that some Europeans are as guilty as these Pandits, for instead of the correct words used by the people in conversation, they write incorrect forms assimilated to Sanskrit.

The following remarks deal with the pronunciation of educated Delhi men. It is generally known that Delhi and Lucknow, and these places alone, are recognized as mustanad or authoritative in all matters of Urdu idiom and pronunciation. When the two cities differ, as they do in a few unimportant points, both are considered correct. I have never met an Indian who questioned their pre-eminence. When one has to choose a form of the language for public purposes it is better to take the Delhi idiom, for it is nearer the centre of the Urdu speaking world. The normal language employed in lectures and speeches before large audiences from Peshawar to Bihar is Urdu, and while Delhi is situated close to the centre of this tract of country, Lucknow is on its eastern border. The revisers of the Urdu New Testament were wisely guided in their decision to make Delhi Urdu their standard. But let me say again that the differences are slight. When I speak of the pronunciation of English I mean English as spoken by an average public school man. (See Professor Jones's Dictionary.)

I desire here not to discuss in exhaustive detail the question of Urdu pronunciation, but to go briefly into the various sounds, and give such hints as may be useful to students. When necessary I have added in square brackets the phonetic equivalents.

At the end of the article will be found a special note on Hindi pronunciation.
COMMON MISTAKES

As I write I have no grammars before me, and I have not in mind the words of any writer, European or Indian, but I think that all the following mistakes may be found in books of comparatively recent date.

Hamza.—Directions are often given for enunciating hamza, but they are ill-founded, for it is a mere device of writing, disregarded more often than not, even in writing, and wholly ignored in pronunciation. In Urdu hamza is never pronounced.

Long Vowels.—So-called long vowels are a frequent source of error. Books speak of "long a", "long i", "long u", and tell us that e and o are always long. The fact is that long vowels of any kind are infrequent in Urdu. Words like burāti, sahelī, khusbū, are said to contain three long vowels. Actually they contain four short vowels. There is not a long vowel in any of them. Under strong stress vowels are sometimes lengthened, thus we may hear mulaqūt meeting, vajhāt reasons, with the last vowel long (but the middle vowel undubitably short); again dekh look, standing by itself has a long e, but the e in dekho is always short, and yet this short e differs considerably from the e in the usual English pronunciation "dekko".

The mistake arises out of the notion that ā and ū are lengthened forms of i and u, and that Urdu e and o are long varieties of the English vowels in "pet" and "hot". The difference is not one of length; in each case the vowels are different. The phrases mere bele mē dekhē and donā ghore ko kholo contain seven short e's and seven short o's respectively. To determine the length of a vowel we must listen to complete breath groups in conversation, not to isolated words. Any vowel which takes a markedly longer time to utter than its fellows we may consider long.

aw (often written au) : this is described as the same as or very like the vowel in "how" or "proud", so that the first syllable of hauł-nāk, terrible, would be practically the English "howl". The sound is, however, quite different. It is often a single half-long vowel, very similar to the au in "haul" [ɔː], but sometimes it is a diphthong of which the first part is the vowel just mentioned and the second a monophthongic o [ɔʊ]. Cf. Maudā, God, generally mā-la, occasionally moola; taubā, repentance (tā-bā or tābo).

ay (or ai) is the front vowel corresponding to the back vowel aw, not resembling the English i in "high", "stile", with which it is compared, but closely approximating to a in "hand", "bad".
Like *aw*, it is frequently, perhaps ordinarily, a single vowel. Thus the two words *hai to* (is indeed) sound to the average Englishman’s ear not like “high toe”, but exactly like “(Bishop) Hatto”, and the word ‘*ayn*, exact, is to him indistinguishable from “*Anne*”. The Urdu vowel is generally half long. Not infrequently it is a diphthong composed of the *a* in “*Anne*” followed by the *e* in “*get*”. These are the nearest possible English equivalents. Phonetic symbols [hæ to] or [hæ to], and [æn] or [een]. Cf. also *pajda*, born [pa:də] or [pa:da]; *thāli*, bag [tha:li or tha:eli].

**Cerebral letters**: *t*, *d*, *r* are often said to be like English *t*, *d*, *r*, only more vigorously enunciated, and they are called “hard” *t*, *d*, and *r*. There is nothing vigorous in their utterance, and it would be just as correct to call them “soft” *t*, *d*, and *r*. They are neither harder nor softer than the corresponding front letters *t*, *d*, *r*. Cerebral or retroflex *t* and *d* are made like English *t* and *d*, but the point of contact is about ⅙ in. from the upper teeth. I am conscious, however, that as no one can measure this distance in his mouth, the direction will not be of practical value. It will be better to say “far back on the hard palate”. Note that *r* is very unlike the two American fricative *r*’s. English *t* and *d* do not occur in Urdu. The point of contact for *t* and *d* is considerably further back than for the English letters; for Urdu *t* and *d* the tip of the tongue is further forward than for English *t* and *d*, and the position of the rest of the tongue is of importance. See below under *t* and *d*. To make *r* the tongue is turned back slightly further than for *t* and *d*, and then brought forward with a flap, the under surface of the front of the tongue striking the roof of the mouth further forward than the point of contact for *t* and *d*. It is essential to begin far back, otherwise the acoustic effect will be wrong.

*l* and *n* are common in Urdu, but they are found only before *t* and *d*, and people imagine they are pronouncing ordinary *l* and *n*. If the *t* and *d* are correctly pronounced, the *l* and *n* will automatically come right. The most important point to remember about retroflex letters is that they have no effect whatever upon neighbouring vowels. Englishmen almost invariably allow them to influence the preceding and succeeding vowels. In the case of *t* care is necessary to avoid the aspiration that accompanies English *t*.

*v* is generally described vaguely as being between English *v* and *w*. Sometimes it is said to be bilabial, i.e. made with both lips. In reality, however, the upper lip is not used in producing it. There is slight contact of the upper teeth with some part, it hardly matters
which, of the lower lip. Air may or may not escape at the sides of the point of contact, and there may or may not be audible friction. When the sound is doubled the friction is always audible. One would not be far wrong in saying that \( v \) is a very faint English \( v \), but the acoustic effect is so different that an Urdu \( v \) in an English word like "very" strikes an Englishman at once as wrong, and Urdu speakers find it almost impossible to distinguish between the three English words "wail", "whale", and "veil". Symbol [\( v \)].

\( f \) is the corresponding surd.

'\( \text{a} \text{n} \): few grammars attempt to tell how '\( \text{a} \text{n} \) is pronounced. Usually one is told that the pronunciation is very difficult and can only be learnt from an Indian. But a considerable majority of Urdu speakers never pronounce '\( \text{a} \text{n} \) at all, and the entire ignoring of it would cause no comment. It is far better to omit it than make an obvious effort to say it. In educated Delhi pronunciation '\( \text{a} \text{n} \) is generally omitted; but is pronounced in the following case.

A stressed \( a \) or \( \ddot{a} \) followed or preceded by '\( \text{a} \text{n} \) is pronounced with slight, but noticeable, pharyngeal tension; or putting it in every day words one might say "with slight contraction of throat muscles". It should be noted that the '\( \text{a} \text{n} \) is not a consonant at all, it is mere muscular tension which lasts throughout the vowel. Vowels other than \( a \) and \( \ddot{a} \) are not affected in this way.

Accented \( a \), \( i \), and \( u \), followed by an '\( \text{a} \text{n} \) which is either (1) final or (2) followed by a consonant, are pronounced \( \ddot{a} \), \( e \), and \( o \) respectively, but the '\( \text{a} \text{n} \) itself is not pronounced except as just mentioned. \( b\ddot{a}\ddot{d} \), after, becomes \( b\ddot{a}\ddot{d} [\text{bad}] \); \( m\ddot{i}\ddot{d}a \), stomach, becomes \( m\ddot{e}\ddot{d}a [\text{meda}] \); \( \ddot{s}\ddot{h}\ddot{u}\ddot{l}a \), flame, becomes \( \ddot{s}\ddot{h}\ddot{o}\ddot{l}a [\text{fola}] \).

**Sounds practically the same as in English**

Premising that in English voiceless plosives generally receive clearly marked aspiration which must be avoided in unaspirated Urdu plosives, we may say that the following differ only very slightly from the corresponding sounds in English.

\( p, b, k, g, m, n, \dddot{n}, s, z, y \) (phonetic symbols \( p, b, k, g, m, n, \dddot{n}, s, z, j \)). \( l \) may be added to the list provided that we understand only English clear \( l \), as in "feeling", and not the dark \( l \) as in "feel". \( \dddot{n} \) is always followed by \( g \) or \( k \), but it is not true that \( n \) followed by \( g \) or \( k \) becomes \( \dddot{n} \). The four \( z\)'s—\( z, \dddot{z}, z, \dddot{z} \)—are identical. Similarly the three \( s\)'s—\( s, \dddot{s}, s \)—are the same.
SOUNDS CLOSELY RESEMBLING ENGLISH SOUNDS

*ch, j, sh, zh*. All these are pronounced with the tip and blade of the tongue further forward than in English, and *ch* must be as nearly as possible unaspirated. The best phonetic symbols for *ch* and *j* are *c* and *j*, as it is not open to us to employ the misleading double signs which are found in some books. The symbols will then be (*c, j, f, z*). These four sounds are produced with unrounded (i.e. not protruded) lips. The English sounds are generally made with rounded or protruded lips.

THE REMAINING CONSONANTS

*t, d* are the Italian sounds, uttered with the whole tongue raised so that the surface is against the palate, and the sides against all the upper teeth. Students are often instructed to make these sounds by putting the tip of the tongue against the front teeth. This will result in a noticeably wrong sound unless the surface and sides of the tongue are in the right place. *t* and *t* are the same.

*q* is a *k* with the point of contact further back than the uvula. Unlike the corresponding Arabic sound it is completely unaspirated; in Arabic there is generally slight aspiration. *q* has no voiced equivalent.

*r* is made with a single tap of the tip of the tongue against the upper teeth ridge. It is almost the same as the so-called trilled *r* in Scotland, but it should be remembered that many Scotch people do not use it. In some Urdu words it is found double. It is then trilled. Such words are chiefly Arabic, some are Persian, a few are Hindi. The southern English *r* is quite different. Many English speakers who think they can say Urdu *r*, spoil it by the insertion of a neutral vowel. Thus for *tir, our, durr* [ti·r, o·r, du·r] they say [tior, oør, duør].

When *r* is followed by *n* it is sometimes pronounced as an advanced fricative, thus for *varna* (varna) we may hear (rarna). It is dangerous to imitate this.

*kh* and *gh* are not unlike the German sounds in "ach" and "wagen" (except when this "g" is a simple *g*), but they are further back. The Scotch "ech" heard in "Muchalls", "Buchan", is like *kh*, but is further forward. The Urdu sounds, though far back, are gently enunciated, and are never trilled. In this they differ from Parison voiced and unvoiced *r*. Symbols [*q, q*].

*h* is as in English, both voiced and unvoiced, but the sonant
variety is much commoner than in English. An h which follows a vowel and closes a syllable is often sonant, and one which comes between two voiced sounds nearly always so, i.e. the vocal chords vibrate while it is being uttered. The difficulty of Urdu h lies partly in its strongly vibrant quality (when sonant), and partly in its occurring in positions in which English h does not occur. The latter is nearly always found before an accented vowel, whereas in Urdu it is commonly joined to the plosive consonants, including ch and j, but excluding q, also to r and r; it often ends syllables, and is frequent before unaccented vowels. Unlike English h it is never pronounced with the German “ich-laut”. The two letters h and ñh are identical. Symbols: sonant [h], surd [h].

The question of the influence of h or ñh upon preceding vowels is very complicated, but one or two rules may be given here.

When accented a, i, or u is followed by an h or ñh which is either (1) final or (2) followed by a consonant, the vowel is pronounced ai, e, or o respectively.

If the h or ñh is followed by a, e, or i, the accented a which precedes becomes a short ai.

Similarly if the letter following h or ñh is ña, the a becomes ña, but if the letter following h or ñh is u, the a becomes a short au.

If the letter following the h is i, o, ñi the preceding a is not affected.
iñh and ñuh occur seldom except in the circumstances mentioned above, and the words are generally uncommon words with the pronunciation not quite uniform. It would not be worth while attempting to give detailed rules.

The subjoined examples will illustrate the rules: bahin, sister [bæfin]; kañña, say [kæfnə]; kañña, said [kæfnə]; kahe [kæfe]; kaññi [kæfi]; bahut, much [bɔflut]; pahunchna, arrive [pəflunə]; bahü, daughter-in-law [bafln]; vüh, that [vOh]; yüh, this [jɛh]; Dihli, Delhi [defli]; muñkam, firm, etc. [mohkam].

Vowels

The vowels in general are formed with the lips more widely spread than in English.
i, high front, like Italian i, higher than English i in “marine”.

i, not unlike English i in “fin”. [i]

e, pure monophthongic vowel, higher than English e in “get”, lower than the vowel often heard in Scotch “take”, and not so tense,

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a little lower than cardinal e [ɛ]. Whether short, half-long, or long, it is the same vowel.

*ay* or *ai*, described above; higher than English *a* in "hand" [æ or æː]. See also diphthongs.

*a*, like *u* in English "bun", lips more spread [ʌ].

*ā*, not unlike *a* in "calm", but further forward [ɑ].

*aw* or *au*, described above; [ɔ or ɔː]. See also diphthongs.

*o*, pure monophthong, not unlike vowel often heard in Scotch "no", but slightly lower; lower also than cardinal *o* [o].

**Diphthongs.**

*aɪ* (Aɪ): rarely heard as [ɔɪ], e.g. ɡeɪ [ɡɔɪ], she went.

*aw* or *au* (sometimes) [ɔː]; see above.

*ay* or *ai* (sometimes) [æː]; see above.

*u* resembles the *u* in "pull" [u].

*ʊ* is like Italian *u*, French *ou* [u].

**Nasal Vowels.**—All vowels may be nasalized. This nasalization is often described as "nasal n", which suggests that the writers believe there are some *n*’s which are not nasal.

**Tones.**—There are no tones in Urdu such as we get in Panjabi or Burmese.

**Accent.**—The only rule of practical value seems to me to be the following. I am speaking, of course, of the natural accent of conversation, not the artificial accent of poetry.

What is generally understood by "inflection" never causes the shifting of an accent from one syllable to another. Therefore:

(i) If we know upon what vowel the accent in one part of a verb falls, we know how to stress the whole verb. e.g. *pahunchnā*, arrive, has the accent on first syllable. Consequently *pahunch*, *pahunchke*, *pahunchēge*, *pahunchāgā*, *pahunchnevāla*, *pahunchnevāliā* all have the accent on the first syllable. *pahunchānā*, cause to arrive, has the accent on the third syllable and all other parts of the verb will have it there also.

(ii) The same holds of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns: *rofī*, loaf; *rofīdā*, *rofīo* (*rofīyo*); all accent on the first syllable.

Exception: some disyllabic nouns ending in -ā, which have in the first syllable an accented *a*, *i*, or *u*, followed by a single consonant, tend in the plural inflected parts to throw the accent on to the -ā: *khātā*, sin, *khātā*e; *ghaṭā*, cloud, *ghaṭā*’ō.
The word Hindi bears many senses. It may be made to include languages like Avadhī, Rājasthānī, Braj, and Bihārī; it may be confined to “High Hindi” as found in the Hindi Bible and countless modern prose works. If we take it in the latter sense, the only practical one for our purpose, we are at once confronted with the difficulty of deciding how many people (some would add “if any”) speak this form of Hindi in their homes, and where they live? If we pass on from that question and try to describe the pronunciation of this Hindi as read aloud from books written in prose, we still have to ask “read by whom? in what part of India?” To give any kind of satisfactory account of the pronunciation we must confine ourselves to the tract extending from Delhi and Saharanpur to Allahabad and Benares.

With this limitation we may say that the description of Urdu sounds given above will be correct for Hindi anywhere near Delhi. (Urdu kh, qh, z, zh, q, ‘ain are not supposed to be found in theth or real Hindi. Some of these sounds may occasionally be heard.) As we go further east and south we notice certain changes, but the great majority of sounds remain unaltered.

Consonantal changes: v tends towards English w, and there is a greater tendency to confuse b with v, and j with y.

Vowel changes: tendency to confuse i with ï and u with ù. ai becomes more like æi or even æi, and au more like æu or æu.

Apart from these few points all that is said of Urdu pronunciation will apply to Hindi.

Of the special Hindi letters it should be noted that no distinction is made between the so-called ri-vowel and ri, between s and z, or between n and ñ. This applies to the whole area.
GLOSSARY OF HINDI PHONETIC TERMS

THIS is an attempt, made so far as I know for the first time, to give a Hindi translation of all the more ordinary phonetic terms in use at present. Doubtless the list could have been enlarged by the inclusion of rarer words, but such a course might have lessened its utility. The phonetic words or phrases have been taken for the most part from a work by Professor Jones. They number about 180. A few of the Hindi equivalents will be recognized as common in works on grammar. They do not, however, carry one far. For the rest I have had to put down the words which seemed to me best to express the required idea. Pioneer work of this description is always capable of improvement. It should be undertaken not by an individual but by a learned committee.

The attention of students is drawn to a few points:—

(1) These phonetic terms are intended to apply to any and every language. They do not specially refer to Hindi or Sanskrit. It follows that a term which suits Hindi may have to be discarded because it does not suit English or French or other languages, e.g. aksar for "syllable".

(2) Old words used by Hindi grammarians must be used with a changed connotation and denotation. Thus, it is natural to use svar for vowel, but modern phonetic science will not admit that r, r, b, d are vowels. Again, ghos seems to be the best word for "sonant", and it must therefore apply to sonant vowels, but it may be questioned whether any Hindi grammarian ever contemplated this extension of its meaning.

(3) Spelling: I have aimed at spelling words as they are ordinarily pronounced in conversation by men of moderate education. There are one or two harmless deviations from this; s and z have the same sound to-day in Hindi. Some may criticize the employment of u, but in my own pronunciation I always distinguish between u and n, and some Indians do so. Sanskrit scholars will object to my venturing to alter hoary Sanskrit spellings, but before they hold up their Sanskritic hands in horror or lose any Prakritic hair I would beg them to consider that there is no more reason for giving Hindi words an ancient
dress than there is for using in English such forms as knihte, bridges, constantia, societas, discipula, telegramma, geologia, and others. In English we never dream of spelling tatsams or semi-tatsams after their Saxon, Latin, or Greek originals; we feel that we have as much right to alter them to suit our modern requirements as we have to alter any tadbhan. Hindi has the same right.

(4) Sanskrit words: I have not wholly avoided Sanskrit words. Some are rooted in grammatical terminology, and are understood by those who are likely to study phonetics. In protesting against every attempt to make Hindi a handmaiden to Sanskrit we must conserve the power it has of taking words from Sanskrit or any other language and assimilating them for its own purposes. Three Indian scholars who wrote in Hindi a large three-volume History of Hindi Literature, have some splendid pages on this subject. I give a translation of one or two sentences:

"Hindi is the simple language of the people. (If it is rendered difficult by the adoption of Sanskrit forms) the only possible result will be that Hindi, like Sanskrit, will be numbered among dead languages. It is our sacred duty to save it from such a fate." After giving examples of words which may correctly be spelt in several ways, they proceed:

"Proud Sanskrit scholars may turn up their noses and raise their eyebrows at these forms, but Hindi fearlessly uses them all and will continue to do so. The truth is that the correct forms of words are those which people of ordinary education use in speech. If anyone writes other forms, we certainly admit them as a concession, but we have no hesitation in calling them improper. We hold that there is no harm in using new forms, and as regards sandhi we assert that Hindi is at perfect liberty to disregard it or conform to it at will." These are brave words, and they are wise words. Let it not be forgotten that Sanskrit is dead, Hindi lives.

**Vocabulary of Hindi Phonetic Terms**

- accent, see "stress"; tonic accent, ūchāi batānevālā bal, artificial palate, see "palate".
- uchchtā sūchak bal, m.; quantitave accent, parimān sūchak bal, mātrā bal.
- affricate (consonant), sprarś- back, pichhe, pichhe kā.
- saṅgharṣī (vyanjan). back of tongue, jūh ka pichhā bhāg, m.
- alphabet, varṇmālā, f.

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back vowel, pīchhe kā svar, m., pīchhālā svar.
bilabial, donā kōthō kā, devyōṣṭhya.
blade of tongue, jībh kā phal.
breath, sās, f., svās, m.
breathe, sās lena; breathe out, sās chōrmā.
breathed sounds (so-called), see “voiceless”.
broad transcription, sādhāran lipi (f.) or lekhan (m.).
cacuminal, see “retroflex”.
cardinal (vowel), mukhya svar, m.; pradhān svar.
change, n., vikār, m.; v. badalnā.
class (of letters, sounds, etc.), varg, m.
clear l, sāf l-kār, m.
close vowel, sakrā svar.
compound, adj., sāyukt.
consonant, vyaṇjan, m.; see “affricate”, “plosive”.
consonantal vowel, vyaṇjan svar, m.
dark l, motā l-kār.
dental, dantya, dāntō kā; see “labio-dental”, “post-dental”, “pre-dental”.
devocalization, aghōṣ karnā or honā.
dialect, upabhāṣa, f., bolī, f.
diphthong, do jure hue svar, dvisvar, m., yaugik svar, m.
divide, bāntnā, vibhakt karnā.
division, bhāg, m., vibhāg, m.
drum of ear, kān kā patah, m.
ear, kān, m.; see “drum”.
epiglottis, āvarn ka dhaknā, m.
experimental (phonetics), kal vālā, yantrvālā, yantrīk.
exlosion, bhak, f.
food-passage, ann kī nali, f.
form, ākār, m.
forward, āge, āge kā.
fricative, ragaṛneśa, saṅghārśi.
friction, ragaṛ, f., saṅghāṛ, m.
front of tongue, jībh kā aghā bhāg.
front vowel, āge kā svar, aghā svar.
glide, saṅkṛāmak, m.; see “off-glise”, “on-glise”.
glottal, glautīs kā; glottal stop, hamzā, m.
glotitis, glautīs, f.
gum, masūrā, m.
guttural, gale kā, kanthā kā, kantha; back guttural, jīhvā mulīya (vyaṇjan, m.); guttural.
labial, kanth āur kōthō kā, kanthauṣṭya, guttural-palatal, kanth āur tālū kā, kanth-ṭālavya.
half-close (vowel), adh sakrā, adh saṅkūkhit.
half-open, adh khulā.
high vowel, ōchā svar, vṛchō svar; this may mean “high voice”; when there is danger of misunderstanding, we may say ōchē sthān kā svar.
intonation, sur, m.
inwards, bhītar.
inverted sounds, see “retroflex”.
labial, hōthō kā, oṣṭhya.
labio-dental, dāntō āur hōthō kā, dantaṃṣṭya; see “bilabial”, “guttural”.
language, bolī, f., bhāṣā, f.
larynx, svās yantr, m.; sās kā yantr.
lateral, ek or ka, or ka.
lax (vowel), dhilā (svar).
length, lambāi, f.
letter, achchhar, m., akšar, m., varn, m.
lip, hōth, m.; lip-rounding hōthō ko gol karnā, hōthō ki golāi, hōthō kā barhānā.
long, lambā, dirgh.
low (vowel), nichā (svar).
lung, phephrā, m.
membrane, jhillī, f.
mixed (vowel), misrīt (svar).
mixed (vowel), misrīt (svar).
monophthong, ek svar, m., mūl svar, suddh svar, maulik svar; see "pure".
mouth, mūh, m.
mouth cavity, mūh kā khoł, mukh-vivar, m.
narrow transcription, byaurevār lekhan (m.) or lipi (f.).
nasal, sānumāsik, anunāsik.
nasal cavity, nāk kā khoł, nāsā vivar, m., nāsikā vivar, m.
nasalization, sānumāsikta, f.
natural, prakritik, svābhāvik.
nature, prakriti, f., svabhāvo, m.
neutral (vowel, etc.), udāsin.
nose, nāk, f.; see "nasal", etc.
off-glīde sankrāmak kā dūsṛā bhāg, paśchat sankrāmak, m.
on-glīde, sankrāmak kā pahlā bhāg, pūre sankrāmak, m.
on-open (vowel), khūlā (svar).
organs of speech, bhāsaṅ ke ang or avayav.
outwards, bāhar.
palatal, tālu kā, tālavya; see "guttural".
palate, tālu, m.; artificial do.,
banāvatī tālu, krītrim tālu; hard do., kathin tālu; soft do., komal tālu.
phoneme, dhvani śrevī, f.; no accurate word, "fonim," m., may have to be used.
phonetic, dhvanyātmak, dhvaniśāstrīk, dhvanītattvik.
phonetic sign, dhvanyātmak sāṅket.
phonetic theory, dhvaniśāstr or dhvanītattvik siddhānt, m.
phonetic transcription, dhvanyātmak lekhan (m.) or lipi (f.).
phonetics, dhvaniśāstr, m., dhvanītattva, m.
pitch, sur, m., urchāi, f., urchā nichāi, f., urchātā, f.
place (of utterance), sthan, m., bhāsaṅ sthan, m.
plasive consonant, sparś vyanjan.
post-dental, paśchat dantya.
pichhle dantō kā.
pre-dental, pūre dantya, agle dantō kā.
prefix, upasarga, m.
pronunciation, uchchāraṇ, m.
pure (vowel), suddh (svar, m.), mūl (svar), maulik (svar); see "monophthong".
quadrilateral (of vowels), (svarō kā) caturbhuj, m.
quantity, see "length".
resonance chamber, nāḍ vivar, m.; see "sonority".
retroflex, mūrdhanya; inverted vowel, mūrdhanya svar, m.
rolled, see "trilled".
rounded (vowel), gol or barhā huā (svar).
rounding, golāi, gol karnā; inner
do., pichhe ki golāi ; outer do., āge ki golāi.

semi-vowel, adh svar, m., antasth.
sentence, vākya, m.
short, chhotā, hrasv.
shortening, chhotā karmā, hrasv karnā.
sibilant, uṣam, uṣm.
sign, saṅkṣet, m.
significant, jis se arth me bhed ho, arth-sūchak; non-significant, jis se arth me bhed nahī, arth-sūchak nahī.
sonority, sunāi, f.
sound, dhwani, f.
speech, bhasā, f., bhāṣan, m.;
speech-sound, bhasā dhwani, f.;
speech-mechanism, bhāsan yantr, m., vāk-yantr; speech-basis, kisi ki apni prāntik yā sthānīk boli.
spreading of lips, mūh caurā karnā, mūh phailānā.
standard pronunciation, prāmānīk uchchāraṇ, m.
stop, thahrāo, m.; stop-consonant, see “plosive”.
stress, bal, m.; sentence stress, vākya bal; one must trust to the context to distinguish this meaning from the other possible one, “power of speech”; syllabic stress, sabd ke kisi bhāg par bal; word stress, sabd bal; to stress, bal denā (ko) balī karnā (ko).

stressed, balī.

subsidiary cardinal vowel, dūṣrī breni kā mukhya (or pradhān) svar.

suffix, pratyay, m.
surd, see “voiceless”.
syllabic, sabd ke kisi bhāg kā; see “syllable”.
syllable, no word, use bhāg, m., sabd kā bhāg; aksar, letter, will not meet the case of words taken from English, French, and other non-Sanskritic languages.
teeth-ridge, masūrā, m.
tense, tāng.
throat, galā, m.
tip of tongue, jībh kī nok, f., jihvāgra, m.
tongue, jībh, f.; base or root of tongue, jībh kī jar, jihvā mul, m.; see “back”, “blade”, “front”, “tip”.
tongue-tip trill, jībh kī nok kā kampan, jihvāgra kampan.
tooth, dānt, m.; see “teeth-ridge”.
triangle (of vowels), (svarō kā) tribhuj, m.
trill, n., kampan, m.; v. i., kāmpnā; v. t., kāmpānā; see “uvulartrill”, “tongue-tiptrill”.
trilled consonant, kampan vyañjan, m.
triphthong, trisvar, m.; tin jure hue svar.
unaspirated, alpprāṇ; jis mē h-kār nahī.
unrounded, anbarhā, gol nahī.
unstressed, nirbal, balhīn, durbal; see “weak”.
unvoiced, see “voiceless”.
uvula, ghantikā, f.
uvular, ghantikā kā, ghantikāvālā.
uvular consonant,  \textit{gha\'ntik\=a} vya\'\=jan.

uvular trill,  \textit{gha\'ntik\=a k\=a} kampan.

variety of pronunciation,  \textit{uch\=char\=a k\=i} bhin\=nt\=a.

elar, gale k\=a, ka\'\=nth k\=a, ka\'\=nthya.

vibrate, k\=ampa\=n\=a; v. t., kampana.

vibration, kampan, m.

vocal cords (chords), svar rajju, m.

voice, n\=a\=d, m.; voice-indicator, n\=a\=d s\=uchak.

voiced, gh\=o\=s, n\=a\=d; voiced plosive, gh\=o\=s or n\=a\=d spar\=s-vya\'\=jan;

voiced sound, gh\=o\=s dhvani, f.

voiceless, agho\=s.

vowel, svar, m.; see "back","cardinal","close","con-

sonantal","diphthong","front","half-close","half-

open","high","low","mid","mixed","monophthong",

"rounded","semi-vowel","unrounded","subsidiary".

weak, durbal; and as for "un-

stressed"; weak form of small

words, chho\=te s\=abdo k\=a durbal

uch\=char\=a.

whisper, v., phusphus\=an\=a, phus-

phus\=ake boln\=a; n., phus-

phus\=ahat, f.

windpipe, s\=as k\=i nali, f.; kv\=as

nali, f.

word, s\=abd, m.
Phonetic Notes on Urdu Records Nos. 6825 AK and 6826 AK

THESE records were made in 1920 to the dictation of a well-known professional story-teller, Bāqir ‘Ali, who belonged to Delhi.

A phonetic transcript which has been published is of great value for the study of Urdu sounds. I made the original transcript of both records and had two proofs printed. Professor Daniel Jones, Professor of Phonetics in the University of London, who has to take responsibility for the publication of all transcripts in this series, went over my second proof, made some alterations, and prepared the final proof, which was ultimately printed. He is, therefore, responsible for the transcripts in their present form. I have, however, my proofs before me. The differences between his final print and my proofs are slight, and this article gives our joint views. Where there is any necessity for distinguishing them they are marked with the initials J. for his views and B. for mine.

The importance of these transcripts consists in the fact that the records still exist, and may be heard by any one who wishes to test the statements made. It is one thing to claim to have listened to a particular speaker and taken down his sounds. The speaker disappears, and beyond the author’s reputation for accurate recording, there is no certainty that the transcription is correct. It is a very different thing when, as in this case, the speaker cannot disappear, and, what is equally important, cannot alter his pronunciation.

The records afford me much pleasure, for they support, in almost every detail, views which I have long held as to Urdu sounds, and taught my students. They were given ten years ago in the Bulletin, Vol. II, iii, 539 ff. Practically all that article expresses my views to-day.

Cerebral Sounds, called also retroflex. The transcriptions do not indicate the exact point on the palate touched by the tip of the tongue, but the introductory remarks make it clear. \( t, d, n, r \) : point of contact not far behind the teeth ridge, in a few instances on the teeth ridge." This is what we should expect. Similarly Dr. Mohiuddin Qadri in Hindustani Phonetics says of \( t \) and \( d \) : "their point of articulation is just behind the teeth ridge" (p. 73), and of \( r \) : "the tip of the tongue strikes against the teeth ridge" (p. 92).
For the benefit of those who wish to study Urdu cerebrals, I indicate here those which in these records are specially far forward. I make the statement on my own responsibility. I have not consulted anyone else. The Nos. refer to page and line.

$ t $ in cïttha 2.8, luṭai 3.18. $ r $ in bâra 1.1, lårke 1.6, thôri 3.3, bâre 7.1. $ d $ in khandâ 5.15, ūb 6.4, bûdha 6.24, 7.2, (but not in 7.3).

In khatar for kâtar 5.16, and lataknê for lâtaknê 6.12 the $ t $ is dental. These are mere slips.

In the following instances the $ r $ is rather fricative:— bâra 1.1, thôre 1.5, dôra 3.6, lårke 3.8, barhaē 3.16, bâre 7.1, pâkra 7.12.

$ v $ is either a faint labio-dental $ v $ or a $ ū $. J. printed them all as $ v $ (except one $ w o $ 5.4, i.e. $ ū o $). In my proof I marked several as $ w $, meaning $ ū $. It is always safe to advise English speakers to say $ v $, and not $ w $. An English $ w $ always sounds wrong.

$ y $ between vowels is often $ ē $. Thus the ending $ āyû $ occurs 13 times. B. records $ aēa $ every time; J. $ aēa $ 12 times, $ aja $ once. English people greatly exaggerate the $ y $ quality of the sound. Similarly the ending $ -iyû $ occurs 8 times. Both B. and J. transcribed $ ia $ every time.

‘ain. I unhesitatingly teach my students to ignore ‘ain, in accordance with the usual practice of educated Delhi men in ordinary conversation. In the records there are eleven words containing ‘ain when written in Urdu script. J. has recorded it in two out of the eleven. I did not consider it strong enough to be worth recording in any. This means that in the records the ‘ain of the grammars does not exist, and all descriptions of how to pronounce it go for nothing. Even in words like $ a ' m â l $, $ m u ' ā f $, ‘arše, ‘aayâshi, where it would be easy to pronounce ‘ain there is no trace of it. The other day a Delhi man, who is himself a lecturer on Urdu, told me that there was no difference at all between $ bâd $, wind, and $ bâ ' d $, after.

I will, however, add this. I have heard Urdu speakers, when speaking rather self-consciously, pronounce, with a slight restriction of throat muscles, vowels which immediately precede or follow the letter ‘ain.

Hamza, which is only another name for glottal stop, is not recorded at all. It is important to note this in view of statements sometimes made. Hamza exists solely in writing.

$ s $ is generally not an independent sound, but occurs before $ t $ and $ d $. The word $ s d d ð i $ occurs four times, and every time is pronounced sânnî. $ c d d ð i $ is once cânnî and once câdînî.
$h$ is sonant except in the combinations $kh$, $ch$, $th$, $th$, and $ph$. We may consider it under two main headings: (1) $h$ initial or immediately following a vowel; (2) $h$ immediately following a consonant, to which it is more or less closely attached. The chief point which concerns us is to what extent it is omitted. In our records we have the following instances. (The word "unpronounced" must be understood as qualified by the addition "or at least inaudible ".)

1. (a) Initial, as $hissa$, $hālat$, $hai$, 56 times pronounced; 6 unpronounced (in $hai$ 4; $hū$, $hue$, once each; $hue$ appears as $ū$, printed $ve$).

(b) After vowel before cs. (including the combinations $rah-gae$, $rah-namūnī, kah-sunāēā$), e.g. $gunāhgār, bahne, pahlvān$; pron. 12, unpron. 0.

(c) After vowel: pron. only in the word $tardh$ 3 times; unpron. 17; viz. $yēh$ je 14; $voth$ ūō, $mūh$, $jagah$ once each. The $h$ of $yēh$ is never heard in these records, even though twice it is followed by a vowel. $voth$ occurs once and is followed by a vowel, but the $h$ is not sounded. The phrase $jagah$ $hai$ is pronounced $jaga$ $ve$.

(d) Between vowels: as $kahā$, $mahallat$, $sarohī$, $sahāre$, together with the words $shahr$, $rahm$, $qaht$, which like other similar words are invariably dissyllables. $h$ pron. 31; unpron. 16. All these 16 are in the second record, which is more conversational than the first. They are $kahā$ 8, $nahī$ 5, $suhānā$ 2, $yahā$ 1.

2. cs. + $h$: (a) Initial; examples: $choṭā$, $thorā$, $phirnā$, $jhukāi$; pron. 57; unpron. 0.

(b) Between vowels; either with single cs. as $carho$, $inhō$, $ādhī$, $dekhā$; or with double cs. as $acchā$, $bicche$, $buḍdāhā$, $samjāhā$, $barchī$, $khalkhalāhāt$; pron. 26, unpron. 8 ($muje$ 4, all in more solemn first record; $hātī$ 4, all in second).

Of the 26, 17 are with single cs. and 9 with double. There is no instance of $h$ omitted after double cs.

(c) Final; never pron.; unpron. 14, viz. $samajh$ 3, $mujh$ 2, $hāth$ 4, $kucch$, $sīdhd$ 2, $dekh$, $bojh$, $kuch$ 1 each. $h$ is not pronounced in any of these. In 7 the $h$ follows a sonant sound, and in 7 a surd. We should, however, notice that there is no instance of $-th$ or $-ph$.

(d) Followed by cs. pron. 2, $nikhrī$ twice; unpron. 1, $hathyār$.

VOWELS. The two most interesting vowels are those written in Roman script -ai and -au. We are almost always told that they are pronounced like $ai$ in English aisle, and like -au in German Haus or auf, or $ow$ in English how. Actually they are like $a$ in "man" and
au in "maul". In both cases they may be either single vowels or diphthongs. When ai is a diphthong the second vowel is a variety of e (e or e), and for au the second part is o.

The records confirm these statements.

The sound ai occurs 52 times and every time both of us have transcribed it a with or without a second e or e. Actually J. recorded it 26 times as simple a, and 26 as a diphthong aee or aee. B. 28 times as a and 24 as aee, aee. The important point is that neither of us ever recorded the vowel in "aisle".

The following are details:

ai or aï final, as in hai, ai, hai, mai, 28, of which 22 are aee or aee and 6 a.

Not final, as in maïdän, naïza, aïsä, paidä, saïf 6 times. Here B. had a majority of simple a and J. a majority of aee.

ai for -aï followed by h, as in shahr, pahlvan, bahna, rahm, qaht, kah, rah. This occurred 18 times, and every time B.J. transcribed a.

aee occurs in aur 21 times; daoulat 2; and once each in dauflä, auläd, faulädi, garauli, aubäsh, muhtäj. (This last word is often prn. mohtäj) 29 altogether. The records show almost always the sound of English -au in maul. J. records 28 out of 29 as o or oo; in the 21 cases of aur he has o 20 times and e once. I have marked one aur as e, and in other words have twice transcribed the vowel as o: elsewhere always with o or oo.

In the remaining words J. has o 5 times and oo 3 times. Thus, altogether, out of the 29, J. has a simple vowel o 25 times, e once, and the diphthong 3 times. B. had the diphthong only twice.

Conclusion. The normal pron. of the vowel is always either o or oo, and the simple o is much the commoner of the two.

The vowel a, stressed or unstressed, usually tends towards o.

The influence of h on preceding short vowels. I explained this in detail in the article referred to. The records before us confirm the statements there made.

Stressed -ah. When -ah is either followed by a cs., or final (and stressed), it is not aïh but aïh. There are 18 instances here, and in every case the vowel is a. There is not a single case of a.

It should also be noted that rahm, qaht, shahr, hukm, written as monosyllables, of which there are 8 instances, are always disyllables. Students should be made to pronounce them so, and plainly told that to pronounce them as monosyllables is wrong.

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'ahā, e.g. rahā, kahā (so too yahā, vahā), i.e. 'āh followed by a, is always 'āhā 'aha.

The preliminary notes say that the first vowel in words like kahā (sometimes transcribed Α) is a-like. This may be seen also from the transcription. Of words of this type there are 18. J. has the a in 13 cases and Α in 5 (it being understood that this Α is a-like). B. transcribes it in every case -a.

Few examples occur of the other cases mentioned loc. cit., p. 545. 'ih and 'uh final or before cs. become e and o. Here we see it in the word yih, which is always je and in the one case of wuh which is vo or 60. 'ah followed by i, o, 6 is unchanged, see kahi, kahū, nahi, nai.

No conclusion can be drawn from the word nahi, for it is unique, with several common pronunciations. One may hear nahi, nai, ni, nehi, nei, nahi, nai.

h followed by u (not u) tends towards o, e.g. bohot, pohunca (in the record the u has become absorbed in the h).

In connection with the English habit of reducing final unstressed a and e to o, and i to i it is worthy of note that in these records we have final unstressed -a 168 times, all of which are pure -α; final unstressed -e 110 times, every time correctly uttered -e; final unstressed -i 98 times, every time correctly uttered -i, never 1. Bāqir 'Ali, when reciting, was apt to heighten final e to i or i, o to o or u. Thus the word ki usually pronounced ke or ki, is sometimes as high as kī in the records, and is rarely ke.

The izāfat occurs 8 times, as in ulfat e padari, nān e shabina. It is always e, never i. This is the more remarkable in view of the speaker's frequent use of high vowels, but it is correct.

Nasal Vowels. Apart from recognized nasal vowels, there is a tendency to nasalize all vowels in contact with nasal consonants. Thus ne may become nē, and gulāmā gulāmā.

In words usually written with a final cs. + r there is always a vowel before the final r; e.g. fakhr, shahr, become faxār, fehēr.

The negative na is often joined to the following word and pronounced na or ne.

The most important conclusions from the records are:—

1) ai, au are pronounced α (sometimes αε) and o; thus paidā is peda (or paeda), and tauba is toba.

2) The point of contact for the cerebral sounds t, d, r is slightly behind the teeth ridge.

3) 'ain may be ignored.

4) qāf is very weak, often not distinguishable from kāf.
ek jāxā ke do lārke the; choṭe ne bap se kaha "abba jān, mal mata mē mera hissa mujhe de dijiye. us ne apna sarmaēa donō ko bāt dia, thore hi dmō mē choṭa beta apni cize sameet samaē; ek dur daraz maqm par calta hua, or vahā apna mal badčolnī mē u'ta dia. jab vo kul dolat barbad kar cuga, to us mulk mē saak kal para, or vo nan e ābina ko mohtaj ho gea. us vaqt ek ta'is ke darvaze ja para, jis ne use apne khetō par suar carane bhej dia; faqa kaşi se je nobat pohni thi ki jo ki bhusi jo suarō ko di jati se, agar use koi dete, to usi se bāxūjī apna pešt bhar leta; lekin koi rtāna bhi rāvadar na'tha.

jab vo apne hof mē aē se socne laga ki mere bap ke kitne hi māzdur bāfaragat khate pite hē, koch andaz bhi karte hē, or mē bhukō mar raha hū; bap si jakar kju na kohon ki mē xuda ka or ap ka guṇhgar hū, ab mē ap ka farzand kiehe jane ke laiū nehe, mujhe apne māzdurō ke zomre mē rakh lijie. pas uṭkar sidha apne bap ke pas cala. abhi fasile par tha ki bap ne use ate dekha, dorkar gale laga dia or pjar karne laga. beṭe ne kaha "abba, mē xudavand e karim ki or ap ki nazarō mē mujrīm hū, or ab is kabil nehe ki ap ka beta kaēhlaū". lekin bap ne apne mulazimō ko hukam dia "acchi se acchi pojak, nguthi, juta ise pinhao, or ek farbeh bachra lakar kabab lagao ki sab mēse se khaē or xūnīa manaē, is lie ki mera beta markar zinda hua hē, khokar phir mila hē.''

vo log tāhī pēhī mē māsruf hūe; bāra beta us vaqt khetō par tha; palātkar jab maka magan ke karib pohna to raks o farod ki aavaz kan mē ai; ek molazim ko bulakar darjaft kia ki jī kja ho raha hē?" us ne arz kia "ap ke bhai sab ae hue hē, or ap ke abba jān ne unē sahi salamat pakar ek farbeh bachhe ki kurbani karai hē." je sunkar vo naraz hua or ghar ke andar na gea. us vaqt bap nikla or use manane laga. asna e javāb mē bap se us ne kaha "gazāb xuda ka, rtīi muddat se mē ap ki xidmat kar raha hū or kisi vaqt..."
ap ki hukam uduli nehí ki, lekin kabhi ap ne ek bakri ka bacca bhi mojhe na dia ki mæ apne dostó ki davat karta. magar jab ap ka je larka aëa jis ne ap ki dolat ajjafi mé ora ďali to ap ne us ke lie moña taza bachra zaba karaëa hæ." us ne kaha "beţa, tum to hameja se mere sat ho, or mere pas jo kuc hi hæ vo sab tumara hæ, lekin jafan karne or xof hene ka jehi mahal hæ, ki tumhara bhai markar zinda hua hæ, khokar phir mila hæ".

Notes

*au* and *ai* are single vowels ø and æ respectively; thus *daulat* is *dolat* and *mai* is mæ.

Final -e and -o are not so high as in the Delhi records.

*ã* is almost always ø; when very markedly so, it has been transcribed ø, otherwise a. For this vowel the Delhi records are preferable.

*v* is nearly always ù.

*t* and *d* have point of contact generally just behind teeth ridge; in a few cases a little further back.

*r* tends to be fricative; point of contact not far from teeth ridge. In the record it occurs eleven times; of these nine or ten are rather fricative, and only one or two have a real strike. The strike pronunciation is to be recommended.

*h* is ñ except in kh, th, ñh, ch, ph.

*ain*. Words written with *ain* occur five times, but the *ain* is never pronounced.

*qaf*. There are eleven instances of *qaf*. The pronunciation varies from q to a back variety of k, on the whole nearer q than k.

§ 1, 1. 5. *cuga* for *cuka*.

§ 3, 1. 2. *maka magan* is a reciter's slip for *makan*. 
NOTE ON COL. LORIMER'S PHONETICS OF GILGIT SHINA (J.R.A.S. Jan., pp. 1-42; Apr., pp. 177-212)

[Since the following Note was sent to the printer, I have received a letter from Col. Lorimer in reply to one of mine touching *inter alia* on the definition of cerebrals. He writes: "On this definition of cerebral the results of my inquiries essentially agree with yours. The case seems to be the same with aspirates."]

Colonel Lorimer's article is a moral tonic. It is impossible to be a pessimist while there is a scholar who can write in this way. In spite of his experience and careful ear-training he writes with a modesty, which in a tyro would be becoming, and in a scholar is charming. If we owed him nothing else, we should be heavily in his debt for this one fact here clearly set down, that, even for a well-trained ear, to distinguish between cerebrals and non-cerebrals or between aspirated and unaspirated sounds is a matter of extreme if not insuperable difficulty (except for one who has made the distinction from childhood). The present note deals with this difference. In our Journal for July, 1921, I stated that Şina contained a series of cerebral sounds t, d, r, n (l in one dialect), s, r, c, and j, marked off from non-cerebrals, and a series of aspirated surds distinguished from non-aspirates; further that t, d, r, n, l and th, th, kh, ph, ch, are as distinct from t, d, r, n, l and t, t, k, p, c respectively as they are in North India. I still hold this.

We must leave on one side inquiries into such points as the following: (a) relative frequency; (b) exact place of articulation; (c) causes; (d) etymology; (e) division into primary and secondary; (f) importance, for this is only a matter of the meaning of the word "important";
they are neither more nor less important than in Urdu, Panjabi, Hindi, or Bengali; and we must confine ourselves to the inquiry—do the two series exist or do they not? A superficial reading of Colonel Lorimer's article may give the impression that he denies their existence, but if one reads it carefully one sees that his investigations confirm my statements at almost every point.

First a matter of definition. What is a cerebral? The author, modestly mistrusting his own observations, has based all his remarks upon a definition taken from a book on phonetics. Unfortunately the definition is wholly incorrect. It gives the point of articulation as "the highest part of the roof of the mouth about the junction of the hard and soft palates", and tells us that "the tip of the tongue must be firmly pressed" against this place. If this is correct, probably no cerebral is ever heard between Cape Comorin and the Pamirs, either in Sinâ or in any other language. As regards the "firm pressing" it is a sufficient answer to say that the contact of r in a word like ghorâ takes less than one-hundredth part of a second; and as regards the place, the proper point of articulation is anywhere on the hard palate behind the teeth ridge. When, therefore, Colonel Lorimer says of certain Sinâ sounds that they are not "true cerebrals" or that "they are not rightly described as such", he means merely that they are not cerebrals in the sense of the above definition, and I entirely agree with him. Sinâ certainly contains no such cerebrals, nor does Urdu or Panjabi.

Now two questions emerge: (1) Do Colonel Lorimer's observations support the view of the existence of cerebrals and non-cerebrals, and of aspirated and unaspirated sounds? (2) When he sets himself to make these distinctions is he generally correct? The answer in both cases is an unhesitating affirmative. Let us take them in order. The quotations and page-numbers are from his article.

(1) pp. 17, 18, he gives a list of words with forward t, and another with back t (i.e. dental and cerebral t).
p. 18, "t slightly further back than normal ... the difference is recognized by Shina speakers."

p. 20, "a d produced slightly further back than normal,"
"a decided cerebral d exists."

p. 25, "it is possible that n is sometimes post-alveolar"
(i.e. cerebral).

p. 30, "a sound which on first hearing I mistake for r, on examination found to be cerebral d." This "mistake" is very creditable to Colonel Lorimer's ear, for it is not a mistake at all. The sound in question is cerebral r.

p. 38, "there is a distinct cerebral d" : (in certain circumstances) "t, d, r are cerebralized and n is similarly influenced": (in certain other cases) "t, d, r are post-alveolar or pre-cerebral." As we have seen, these terms are other names for "cerebral".

On p. 188 is a list of words containing cerebral ๑, and on pp. 186, 187 a list of words with cerebral d.

The author quotes a competent Sin whom he calls S.R. Thus, on p. 210, "S.R.'s d sounds to me like English r." It is, in fact, r, cerebral r. Again, "S.R. agrees about (post-alveolar or pre-cerebral) t, r, n"; i.e. recognizes cerebral t, r, n. We must again remind ourselves that when Colonel Lorimer says that t, d, r, etc., are post-alveolar or pre-cerebral, he means what we call cerebral. The cerebrals in modern Indian vernaculars are also post-alveolar or pre-cerebral. They are not cerebral in the sense of the definition.

(2) Now we come to aspirates.

p. 196, "the difference between aspirates and non-aspirates is recognized by intelligent Shina speakers, and the difference may constitute the sole difference between similar words."

On pp. 198, 199, is a list of words containing aspirated and unaspirated plosives respectively.

p. 207, "factors important in distinguishing words (otherwise) identical are . . . aspiration."

p. 211, "S.R. is pretty clear in his own mind as to what are and what are not aspirates."

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Let us now examine the author's lists of words containing cerebrals, non-cerebrals, aspirates, and non-aspirates. On pp. 17, 18, words with dental or cerebral \( t \). The distinction has been made with absolute correctness.

p. 20, a list of post-alveolar (i.e. cerebral) \( d \)'s—perfectly correct, except that perhaps by a clerical slip, the two words \( \text{dam} \) and \( \text{dad} \) are interchanged. As printed the words are \( \text{dam be} \), all together, and \( \text{du dam} \), twice. The first should be \( \text{dam} \), and the second \( \text{dad} \).

pp. 186, 187, a list of words with cerebral \( d \), said to be "much more akin to \( r \)". As stated above it is cerebral \( r \). In this Colonel Lorimer's ear guided him aright. All the words in the list do actually contain either \( r \) or (in two or three cases) \( d \).

p. 188, a list of words with cerebral \( n \)—correct.

pp. 198, 199, long lists of aspirates and non-aspirates. I agree with all but two or three.

We may conclude that in the author's opinion—

(i) Sinā (besides \( d, t, n, r \)) contains cerebral \( d, t, n \) (what he calls post-alveolar or pre-cerebral), and in addition another cerebral \( d \), "much more akin to \( r \)," i.e. cerebral \( r \).

(ii) The distinction between aspirates and non-aspirates is recognized by S.R. and other Sinā speakers;

and further that—

(iii) when Colonel Lorimer prepares special lists of words to indicate the distinctions nearly all his words are correctly chosen. I think I could hardly have asked for a fuller endorsement of my judgment in the matter.

On p. 191 the author suggests that on "so simple a phonetic matter" as cerebrals I would claim that I was "not likely to be mistaken". This is an important point of principle. I should reply: No, on the contrary I should like every language scholar to keep before him on his desk the following words printed in large and clear letters: "Sounds to which you have not been accustomed all your life you will probably never be able to recognize clearly or produce correctly. If
there is an exception it will only be the result of prolonged phonetic study and almost superhuman effort." Now it is quite true that I have no difficulty in recognizing these cerebrals and in distinguishing aspirates, but it is not because they are \textit{per se} "easy phonetic matters": the reason is that I was born among them and have used them all my life. I cannot recall a time when they were not perfectly familiar to me.

\textbf{ARE THE FOUR SERIES (FRONT \( t, d, r, n \); BACK \( \ddt, \ddr, \ddn \); ASPIRATES, AND NON-ASPIRATES) FOUND IN SINA?}

The article of my old friend, Sir George Grierson (Misc., \textit{JRAS.}, Oct., 1924), raises some interesting points. The greater part of it is devoted to a protest against the common use of \textit{mūrdhanya} and "cerebral". I pass over the former, as I did not use the word, and go on to two points connected with "cerebral". It is advisable to touch on these two very minor details in order to clear the way for the discussion of the real question.

Minor point (i): the meaning usually assigned to "cerebral".

In many of the Indian vernaculars there are pairs of sounds generally represented by \( t, \ddt \), \( d, \ddr \), \( r, \ddn \), \( n, \ddn \) (and others with which we are not now dealing). In each case the point of articulation is further forward for the first-named than for the second. "Dental" and "cerebral" are conventional terms applied by Orientalists and philologists to the forward set and back set respectively. They may be unsuitable terms, but they hold the field at present, for they are employed in this sense by countless Orientalists, including Sir George Grierson himself. To take the latest instance, Professor Turner tells me that in his article on Sindhi Cerebralization (\textit{JRAS.}, Oct., 1924) he has used them in this purely con-
ventional sense without regard to the actual place of articulation. Similarly, Professor Jules Bloch, referring to his monumental work on Marathi, writes: "Il va de soi que je n'ai pas voulu employer le mot cérébrale dans un autre sens que le sens conventionnel."

Phoneticians, however, dislike the word "cerebral", and prefer "retroflex consonant", which Professor Jones defines as "made with the tip of the tongue against any part of the hard palate, i.e. between the back of the teeth-ridge and the junction of the hard and soft palates". The Orientalist's "cerebral" is a relative term, the phonetician's "retroflex" is a precise definition. When I write for Orientalists I use "cerebral", but when a year ago, writing as a phonetician, I attempted to translate into Hindi all the more usual phonetic terms, it did not even occur to me to include "cerebral".

The question of nomenclature is relatively unimportant; what concerns us more is the nature of the sounds indicated.

Before proceeding we must remind ourselves of the enormous advance made by the science of speech sounds in the last few years. Indian sounds are now being scientifically studied by Europeans and many of them are known with accuracy: the descriptions of them in standard Grammars are out of date and cannot be appealed to. This science has revealed inter alia three facts: (1) a man usually pronounces his native language well according to his own particular dialect, but is apt to go wrong and give wrong information when being questioned; (ii) the description of a speech sound is an extraordinarily difficult matter, and anyone who wishes to attempt it requires a long course of phonetics. This shows us the reason for the unreliability of most descriptions written by Indians; (iii) a man may have a scholarly knowledge of a language without an accurate knowledge of its sounds.

Minor point (iii): Where are these "cerebrals" articulated?

Professor Daniel Jones is probably the most eminent living exponent of speech sounds, and very few Oriental scholars have spent as much time as he in the study of Indian sounds.
He states his opinion that in the Indian languages whose sounds he has studied the furthest back "cerebrals" are found in the Dravidian languages, but that even in their case the place of contact is no further back than half-way along the hard palate. In one of his books there is a diagram of a typical retroflex consonant. Articulation takes place at a point between two-ninths and three-ninths of the distance from the back boundary of the teeth-ridge to the junction of the hard and the soft palate. In another book he tells us that the Sinhalese "retroflex t" and "d" are articulated "a little further back than English t and d".

Mr. Lloyd James, Phonetic Lecturer in University College, a very able phonetician who has given great attention to the study of African and Indian sounds, mentions as the place of articulation for Indian "cerebrals" "anywhere from the alveolar position to half-way between the teeth-ridge and the end of the hard palate".

The greatest authorities on Bengali sounds are Mr. Sutton Page and Dr. S. K. Chatterji. Mr. Page says that the place of articulation for Bengali "cerebrals" varies from an alveolar position to about a third of the way between the teeth-ridge and the junction of the hard and soft palates. Dr. Chatterji, speaking of his own pronunciation, says for \( \dot{t} \) and \( \dot{d} \) "just behind the teeth-ridge", and for \( \gamma \), beginning in the same place but striking against the teeth-ridge with the under surface of the tongue.

I myself have made a first-hand study of languages from Darjiling in the east to beyond Kashmir (to the Šiṅa country and Hazara in the north-west), and in that area extending for more than 1,500 miles I have not come across a "cerebral" further back than half-way along the hard palate.

It will thus be seen that, so far as is at present known to science, no Indian language possesses a "cerebral" sound which has a point of articulation further back than the middle of the hard palate.

In the same way "dental" is a conventional term. In
point of fact a majority of the sounds which Orientalists call "dental" are alveolar. Usually $t$ and $d$ are dental, and $r, n, l$ alveolar, but they are all conventionally called "dental". 

The main question: Are the four series found in Siuā?

Let me emphasize the fact that this is the sole real issue. The inquiries as to the meaning of "cerebral" and the exact place of articulation are so subordinate as to be almost irrelevant.

Having cleared the ground, we proceed to the main problem, which is twofold. (i) Has Siuā got any of these pairs, and if so which? Col. Lorimer and I assert that it has four pairs, viz. $t, t' : d, d' : r, r : n, n'$. (ii) Does it distinguish aspirated from non-aspirated sounds? We say that it does. In both cases the two sets are as plainly distinguished as in other modern Indian vernaculars. The agreement of his views with mine is a fact of great interest, for we approach the study from different standpoints. Col. Lorimer, whose humility and honesty impart an abiding fragrance to all his writings, has stated over and over again that he does not trust his ear in the differentiation of these sounds. He therefore endeavours to obtain information by direct interrogation. After long experience, he knows better than most the difficulties of the task. I have used the sounds all my life and can trust my ear. His results are derived from inquiry, mine from observation. The striking thing is that they agree. His views must be sought in his latest writings, not in the ad interim reports of his investigations printed in the JRAS., January and April, 1924. His mature conclusions are given in his article on Siuā Transitive Verbs (Bull. Sch. Or. Stud., vol. iii, pt. iii, 1924). Knowing that he had written this article, I asked him to indicate by his method of transcription all his latest decisions. It will be seen that throughout he distinguishes "cerebrals" from non-"cerebrals", and aspirated sounds from unaspirated.

Let us examine it to see whether it agrees with my conclusions. There are 385 instances of $t, d, r, n$, each of which
might have been printed either "cerebral" or non-"cerebral", and 500 sounds which he might have written either aspirated or unaspirated—885 sounds in all. I am acquainted with the words used by Col. Lorimer in this article, and in every single case I agree with his transcription of them. Greater unanimity than this would be inconceivable. Be it remembered that we were not writing words whose stereotyped spelling could be looked up in a dictionary; we were putting down new words in a virgin language. It will be noticed that he always writes thoiki, to distinguish it from toiki which is incorrect; thoiki is a mere variant of thoiki.

Another line of investigation is Khan Sahib 'Abdu'l Hakim Khan's testimony. Sir George Grierson says that the Khan Sahib's views differ from mine. This can be tested. In Ling. Surv. Ind., vol. viii, pt. ii, pp. 171-2, a text prepared by him may be found. In it are 380 sounds which might have been printed either aspirated or unaspirated. He has marked them one way or the other, according to the evidence of his ear. In these 380 instances there is one sole case in which I differ from him—one out of 380, perhaps a mere slip. We come to "cerebrals" and non-"cerebrals". There are 174 possible cases. In one there is an obvious oversight, for an ending several times given correctly is once given wrong. I omit this. There is one other word, uth, which in Urdu and Panjabi is utth, utth. This has twice been wrongly printed with t. It may be a printer's error. There is no other word in which I differ from him. If even we count these two we get 172 points of agreement to two of disagreement. As a matter of convenience, not of mathematical accuracy, let us add the two results. We then get 3 points of difference in 554 instances—approximately a half of one per cent. A degree of agreement so amazing bewilders one. Remembering the possibility of author's clerical errors, copyist's blunders, printer's mistakes, I should have been prepared for 10 per cent of difference, and should still have considered that we were entirely in accord. But here we have two men, the Khan Sahib and
myself, one an Indian, one a European, working in different years, in different places, with different people, on an unknown tongue not reduced to writing, and yet producing results with 99 1/2 per cent of agreement. Such a measure of agreement—100 per cent with Col. Lorimer and 99 1/2 per cent with 'Abdu'l Hakim Khan—is unbelievable, it is uncanny, yet it is fact. The whole range of the Linguistic Survey will probably not furnish anything approaching to a parallel, nor, I should think, will any other linguistic work.

This makes it clear that these distinctions between "cerebrals" and "dentals," and between aspirates and non-aspirates, are not accidental or imaginary, that they do not depend upon individual speakers, but are real and permanent.

Minor point (iii): There remains only the question of the place of articulation of Sinâ "cerebrals" and "dentals." Sir George proposes that we should call nearly all Sinâ t-sounds, and presumably d-sounds, alveolar, never dental or cerebral, and remarks that much of what he has said applies also to n and r. I do not mind what terms are used so long as they convey the facts, but I should be a little afraid that Sir George, in carrying so far his protest against the usual use of the terms, might create misapprehension. However, I will here set down the place where the sounds are articulated, and he can then choose those terms which will best indicate to scholars the nature of the sounds and, in particular, the fact that the two series are rigidly separated from one another. The same terms will have to be used for Bengali, Marathi, Urdu, Panjabi, and other Indian vernaculars, for to use one set of terms for Sinâ and another for the same sounds in other languages would tend to confusion.

Sinâ "dentals": (i) pure dental, made right on the teeth: t, d, final l, and in certain circumstances n. (ii) alveolar, made on the teeth-ridge: r, non-final l, and n (except as above).

Sinâ "cerebrals": t, d, r, n against the hard palate, point of articulation varying according to definite rules, from a little behind the teeth-ridge, but not on it, to about a third of the
distance along the hard palate; the exact position depends on accompanying vowels.

Note.—An alveolar n in a few words attracts a following t or d to an alveolar position.

I have taken Col. Lorimer's views, correctly I believe, from his letters and latest article. In his last communication, dated 20th November, 1924, the following statements are made: "two t's and two d's are consistently distinguished by intelligent Sinā speakers. The distinction is significant." They speak also of a third d, which his chief informant is "prepared to write as r", and he himself is "inclined to think" may be r. (To describe it as r is correct. I hope to deal with it in a systematic exposé of Sinā sounds.—T. G. B.) Sinā speakers, he adds, also consistently distinguish t, t, k, p, c, ç, from th, fh, Kh, ph, ch, ch. "There is," he says, "no question but that aspiration in Sinā is significant."

Sir George asks how I can be so positive about the "cerebral" r. I answer—because I have used it since babyhood. Like Alexander Pope

I lisp'd in cer'brals for the cer'brals came.

Having known them all my life I cannot now confuse them with other sounds.

May I strongly urge that in future writing on this subject attention should be directed solely to the question of the existence of the four series in Sinā—as in other Indo-Aryan languages, and that until all are agreed on this point, inquiries into the three minor points mentioned above should be deferred?

Prof. Bloch's admirable words about the "dental" and "cerebral" series cannot be bettered:—"C'est là l'essentiel: les faits peuvent varier dans le détail, l'écartement entre les deux points d'articulation peut être ± grand, la rétroversion de la langue peut être ± forte dans le cas de la 2e série, ce qui importe, c'est l'existence de deux séries."
DENTALS AND CEREBRALS IN SINA

Sir George Grierson's kind words about the debt he thinks he owes me have greatly touched me; I am proud to acknowledge my far deeper debt to him; a friendly discussion, the best way of reaching the truth, gives me special pleasure; he is criticizing not me, but most living Orientalists. He admits (JRAS., April, 1925, p. 313) that "cerebral" includes two classes of sounds, (a) cerebral sounds (edge of soft palate), and (b) sounds "written locally with cerebral letters". The first are not known to exist: so far as we know, India has none (ib. Jan. 1925, p. 89): the second, called "cerebral" by most scholars, are found all over India. The same sounds in languages which are rarely (as Sinā) or never (many Hindi and Laihndi dialects), locally written, are rightly attached to this class and called "cerebral" by Professor Turner and other philologists. Otherwise the claim of a language to cerebrals would be admitted only if and when some local patriot wrote in it.

I know well the difference between "letter" and "sound", but wish to avoid pedantry. Strictly speaking "cerebral letter", "cerebral t", "retroflex sound", and the very word "cerebral", are pure nonsense, yet one uses these terms. I try to be scrupulously fair in evidence, and as it would be most unfair to quote in phonetic matters the opinions of men whose competence lies in literature, grammar, or philology, I deprive myself of such support.

Sir George refers (with approbation, alas!) to two old mistakes of mine made long ago, when, though knowing the sounds and able to distinguish them from others, just as well as now, they being my native sounds, I had insufficient
phonetic knowledge, and like other writers in similar case made mistakes in description. It shows once more that without thorough phonetic training it is impossible to describe sounds correctly. In my books written years ago (including Şinā Grammar, written 1917), the popular descriptions of sounds, their nature, and difference from other sounds, may be taken as correct, but phonetic details must be treated with reserve. Northern Panjabi cerebral \( t, d, n, l \), are articulated about a third of the way along the hard palate, (Laihndi just behind, Southern Panjabi in front; tongue-tip contact for \( r \) further forward than for \( t, d, n, l \)).

But my chief interest in Şinā sounds for the past seventeen years has been to establish beyond question the fact that there are two series \( t, d, n, r \), and \( t, d, n, r \), and that they are approximately the sounds denoted by these symbols in the Panjab and U.P. A few people have written on Şinā, but only Colonel Lorimer and I have studied and described the sounds. I may refer to my article, *Bull. Sch. Or. Stud.*, vol. iii, pt. iv, 1925, on "The Sounds of Şinā", written in collaboration with Colonel Lorimer and Miss Armstrong. Aspirates are also dealt with. For dentals and cerebrals see, too, *JRAS.*, Jan. 1925, p. 92, and for the striking confirmation by 'Abdu'l Ḥakīm's text, ib. p. 91.
THE SOUNDS OF SINA

# Chart of Śiṅa Consonantal Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-Alveolar</th>
<th>Retracted</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Vel</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>p, b, ph</td>
<td>t, d, th</td>
<td>t, d, th</td>
<td>t, d, th</td>
<td>k, g</td>
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<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>ts, th</td>
<td>c, j, ch</td>
<td>c, j, ch</td>
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<td>Nasal</td>
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<td>Tapped</td>
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<td>r</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>f, v</td>
<td>s, z</td>
<td>f, z</td>
<td>s, z</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vowel glide</td>
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<td>j</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aspirate</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|h, h in any vowel position.

η is strictly speaking dento-alveolo-palatal.

Symbols in brackets indicate subsidiary members of other phonemes.

In my Shina Grammar just published there is a popular description of the sounds written eight years ago in India, when it was impossible for me to consult anyone. Now I should like to alter some of it. In phonetics advance is so rapid that one’s descriptions are out of date almost as soon as they are written. Happily it is all advance. There is no retrogression.

In order to indicate graphically the sounds of a language one must (i) decide what sounds are found in it, (ii) group them in phonemes, assigning one symbol to each phoneme (not to each speech sound), (iii) show their tongue position or place of articulation by correctly placing them on a sound chart. A phoneme may be popularly defined as a distinct, essential, and significant sound of a language, minor variations being disregarded.
Most of the above vowels are found nasal as well as non-nasal. I do not remember nasal ə, ɒ, ɔ, y.

Section I gives Col. Lorimer's and my joint views, with such qualifications on his part as are inserted within square brackets followed by the initial "L". Section II contains a number of minuter details for which I alone am responsible. The sound charts have been prepared by Miss Armstrong and myself. Col. Lorimer is in general agreement with them, but does not wish to commit himself to all the details ["regarding which I do not feel competent to form definite opinions" : L.]. No two people speak a language alike; in India, especially in hilly regions, there are differences from village to village. Col. Lorimer and I worked with different men in different years. There are therefore naturally a few minor variations in our estimates of sounds. This holds in particular of vowels.

Section I

There are approximately 64 to 68 phonemes in Sinâ, of which 40, including aspirated sounds, are consonantal. [Add "w" : L.] This number may be slightly increased or decreased after further investigation; thus z, ʒ may be varieties of j, ʒ. [I think they are : L.] But for the present it may be accepted as practically correct. Of these phonemes, sixteen consist of pairs of advanced and retracted consonantal sounds, as follows. (The difference is significant.)
Advanced: -t, d, c, j, n, r, f, ʒ; retracted: -ṭ, ḍ, č, ʃ, r, s, z.

[The retraction of ʃ, j (z), s, r is often so considerable as to be obvious to a European ear: L.] There are seven sounds which are found both aspirated and unaspirated, the difference being significant: p, t, b, c, t, č, k; aspirated, ph, th, šh, ch, th, ch, kh [ph being interchangeable with pf or f: L.] Sonants are not aspirated.

The dental fricatives ð and ð (English th in think and then) are not heard in Sinā. The velar fricatives ɣ and ɣ (sometimes interchangeable with kh and g) are generally found in loan words such as khoda or ɣuda, God: jāystant, Yāgīstān. They are faintly pronounced.

There are approximately 24–28 vowel phonemes, 14 non-nasal vowels, 10 or more of these also nasal. [a doubtful: L.] i and ï are retracted to ι and ι when one of the sounds ç, j, s, z immediately follows or precedes. ù is advanced towards y in a few words. Doubtless some law, not yet discovered, governs this fact. In the meantime, we may enter y as belonging to the ù phoneme. [I know the change only as occurring optionally in a few words, when there is an i vowel in the next syllable: L.]

Some of the vowels appear in certain cases to be interchanged. Such are a, ɐ, æ: i, ɪ: o, ɔ, ʰ, ʊ: e, e.

c. ʃ, ʒ are not unlike English ch, j, sh, zh, but are unrounded and more advanced: ɛ is unaspirated. ç, j, s, z are the corresponding retracted sounds: lips unrounded.

b, m, ɡ, n, s, z do not differ appreciably from the corresponding English sounds; p and k differ from English p and k in lacking aspiration.

f and v are not unlike English f and v, but are fainter. The friction is less and the acoustic effect is different. v is sometimes weakened to ù [ˈũ L.]

r is a single tap r as sometimes heard in Scotland or in English thrill.

ŋ is as in English, but when accompanying i is very far forward.

j is less consonantal, i.e. is more like ɛ than in English. [T. G. B.'s medial j is often omitted by me, or rendered by i: L.]

Section II

p is not unlike the Italian and French sound [I agree: L.], but is further forward. It is made with the blade of the tongue against the alveolar ridge behind the upper teeth.

t, d are dental: ʈ, ɖ are the corresponding retracted sounds.
Their position is normally the same as in Panjabi, and Urdu, but when accompanying high front vowels, they are more advanced.

η is never initial: when medial it is the same as in Panjabi, but is further forward when final or with a high front vowel.

r is as in Urdu and Panjabi. It is never initial, and rarely [if ever, L.] final.

h following a vowel tends to become sonant, but otherwise is as in English.

b, g, d, d are sometimes, and l, r always, partly or wholly devocalized when final. [With more phonetic knowledge I should probably agree. I frequently have final p, k, t, corresponding to medial b, g, d: also sometimes final s, c, s, corresponding to medial s, j, z(j): L.]

The numbers in the following paragraphs refer to positions between the cardinal vowels. The nature of the vowels is shown by their position on the chart.

e has a position of about 1¾.

ε in the diphthong ei has a range of approximately 3 to 3¾.

a is probably a member of the α phoneme. “i” in a following syllable advances a from 4¾ to about 4, i.e. to a: aly “he came”; ali, “she came.”

o is heard chiefly in loan-words: mola, “Sunni priest,” goga, “noise.”

o is about 6½: an unrounded and advanced variety of it, ɔ, is always short. A, when final and unstressed, has a range of about 6½ to 7½. In Roman letters therefore one writes it sometimes -o and sometimes -a.

ʌ is very low, not much above a: ʌas, “mother-in-law.”

 Tone.—There is a low rising tone heard in a certain number of words. Its first part occurs always in a stressed syllable; the second part is about a tone higher than the first. The rule for its incidence is not known except to this extent that all abstract nouns ending in -ar and all conjunctive participles have it. Thus barar, “greatness”; ʃiŋi, “swollen”; ər, “having done.”

wehlā, adj., at leisure.
whalā, adv., then, in that case.
widdhā, f., boil in vagina.
widdi, f., troublesome profitless work.
widdnā, arrange (marriage), prepare (huqqa), spread out to dry (sañ).
will, f., moisture.
willnā, v., get moist.
wirenā, v., be quiet (of child).

Supplement to the Panjabi Dictionary.

A
ā, pronominal suffix, to thee, for thee.
abbañ haftā, m., Saturday.
addokhore, m. pl., unevennesses, ruts in road.
adhāmā, half and half.
adlīhūthā, adj., appetite half satisfied.
adhmānū, m., abortion of 4 or 5 months.
adhrangī, f., palsy.
adā, adj., separate.
agathā, m., star rising in January about midnight.
āggal, m., word in khaddi or well.
aggoñ, f., meeting a person.
ainj, adv., thus, bravo!
air, m., tracks, lines on ground.
ajokā, adj., belonging to to-day or this day next week.
akānā, v. tr., weary, bore.
akhe, he said, they said, one says (for os akheā).
alhar, adj., beardless.
alā, adj., beardless.
anjāttā, adj., not passed through sieve.
anjōp, adv., quietly.

Y
yabbā, f. (gen. pl.), silly talk (marnā).
yaddhnā, v., copulate with (abuse), i.q. jaddhnā.
yōrōyōrī, adv., by force.
yūsaf khūh, what the dove says (lit. 'Joseph in the well,' referring to doves having told where Joseph's brethren had put him).

ândā, pa. part., brought (rest of verb not used).
ândārhi, adj., beardless.
ândi, f., iron band round thippā in khrās (corn-mill).
ânke, having come (from aunā, come).
ânhrētā, m., night-blindness.
ânwānā, v., cause to bring.
ar, m., one of cross pieces in cart-wheel.
âr, árpār, m., consideration, thought, attention.
arānā, v., low (of cattle, buffaloes).
arēr, m., the biggest of the areśā, also ref: see next.
arēnā, fix areśā, on māl, also renā.
arengnā, v., low (especially of buffaloes).
artānā, m., night-blindness.
âthāli, âthâlwā, adj., twenty-eighth.
âthiâlā, adj., twenty-eighth, especially twenty-eighth day of Ramzān.
âthri, m., full-time servant of farmers.
atte, adv., altogether, with negative, not at all.
atthar, f., tear.
atthru, m., half choking in

drinking.

augghi, f., bunch of thread in

loom.

auhr, f., straitness, difficulty

(illness, &c.).

auj, f., rainlessness.

auj, m., trouble.

aukhar f., difficulty, straitness.

aukhhat, f., difficulty.

aukra, adj., inimical, tyrannical.

aula, m., niche in wall for

warming milk.

aula, m., hollow into which

water falls from nisār.

awāghatt, adv., suddenly.

awājār, awājar, straitened,
in difficulties.

bā, f., sense, intelligence.

babbar, m., large bit of

earthenware.

babbrī, f., small bit of earthen-

ware.

baccā, m., broad iron hoop

inserted in well to preserve it.

baddhā ruddhā, adj., bound,

unwillingly.

badobadi, adj., by force, under

compulsion.

bāgar, f., paring of lower end

of nari and daṭṭā in huqqa

(kaddūna).

bagalgan, f., offensive smell

from mouth, etc.

bahānā, v., seat.

bair, m., string joining two

wheels of khambar in carkhā.

bājū, m., cross pieces of

wood in dharakkar.

bākrā, adj., pertaining to

sheep, goats, hence collec-
tive—sheep and goats.

bakhāhndī, m., quarreller,

from bakhāhnd, m., quarrel,

noise.

balellar, adj., senseless, foolish.

banjar, adj. or n. m., poor,

almost barren land.

bannh, f., hump of bull.

banne, adv., outside.

banī, f., little bull, or bank

between fields.

barā, m., rope round bair,

to prevent breakage.

bāri, f., preparation of green

parched jaū for eating.

bark, f., mouthful.

bāšt, f., iron or brass vessel.

bāulā, adj., mad.

bera, m., add, ‘wheat and

jaū (barley).’

bhā, m., opinion, view, mere

bhā dā, according to my

opinion.

bhagānā, v., squint (of eyes).

bhaggī, f., accusation, slander.

bhambri, f., circular piece of

wood in spinning-wheel be-
tween khambar and munnā.

bhān, f., bits of cotton fallen

from pod = bhann.

bhagānā, v., squint (of eye).

bhankar, m., change for

money.

bhantarik, m., plan, arrange-

ment.

bhrā, m., ram, big lamb.

bhetā, v., defile (ceremo-
nially).

bhīrā, f., fighting, gen. laṛā

bhīrā.

bitt, m., half of double door,

window.

bittār, adj., old, useless

(of earthen vessel).

bhōg, m., account, mention,

(pāṇā).

bhōhrā, m., women’s and girls’

spinning bee.

bhrā, m., brother.

bhurharēn, bhurhēn, f., smell

of burnt cloth, leather, &c.

bhussā, adj., pale through

illness, heat, &c.
bibta, f., trouble, affliction = biptā.
billā, m., non-folding Quran stand with legs, wooden catch for door.
bilṭi, f., receipt (especially railway), article consigned.
birā, m., roll of tobacco composed of three láfīā.
birī, f., thread round taraklā of carkhā.
bohjā, m., pocket.
bormā, m., ghī and sugar (khānd).
brā, f., gen. plur. brūf, threshold of door.
bucc, m., small tuft of shrub, &c.
bujhārat, f., riddle.
bujji, stopper made of feather in shuttle (in loom).
būlī, m., kind of bull-dog.
bulle, m., pl., (lutne) amuse oneself, have good time.
būndā, m., tail of bird.
būndā, m., rope attaching gādhī to tir.
būrā, m., sawdust, fine wood shavings.
būrkhā, make noise like camel.
būtō, f., vomit.

cābbī, f. (1) key, (2) iron peg in iron sugarcane-press.
cakhrī, f. stick connecting fork of gādhī.
cakkā, m., heap of wooden sleepers.
cakkal, m., vertical cogged wheel of well.
cakkirāhām, wood pecker.
cakknā, v., lift, = cukknā.
cambrī, f., one of 4 iron nails in cart.
cāmċīkk, f., bat (animal).
camrī, f., bit of leather in guddī of carkhā.
cānā, v., lift.
candra, m., hail.
candī, f., corn on foot, &c.
cappnā, m., earthen lid of vessel.
car, f., oblong hole in ground over which large quantities of food are cooked.
cārāpārā, m., compensatory days inserted in Hindu month.
caraklī, f., vertical cogged wheel of well.
careprī, f., bit of caked earth, e.g. in pond.
catākā, m., slap.
cāttī, f., ghārā with wide mouth.
caukhar, m., cattle.
chābṛī, f., shallow basket, especially for sweetmeats.
chacc, f., long hair (animal).
chaḥrū, m., scum of boiled ghī.
chajī, m., basket.
chalī, f., deep basket made of reeds.
chāṇī, f., small iron, pointed wedge.
chalī, f., ear of maize, roll of thread on taraklā in carkhā, calf of leg.
chāṇ, m., what is left in sieve after āṭā has passed through it.
chattā, m., man's lock of hair.
chāta, adv., what has passed through sieve.
chappar, adj., instep, eyelid.
char, m., long crook for bringing down branches.
charchānd, adj., alone, unmarried.
chattrī, f., pigeon-roost.
chekre, adv., finally.
chenjā, m., large basket made of twigs.
chenjī, f., small basket made of twigs.
cherū, m., herdsman.
cheti, adv., quickly.
chetml, shoemaker's iron-pointed tool.
chhrā, m., hard gur.
chkkā, m., rope muzzle for cattle.
chill, f., rupee.
cho, f., ceremonial defilement.
chohill, f., haste.
chōl, f., dry leaves of sugarcane.
chōnā, v., defile ceremonially.
chūnā, m., earthen cover for vessel.
cilittar, m., deceit.
cilittrī, adj., deceitful.
cinjh, f., point, nib of pen.
cippī, f., broad, short-handed wooden spoon for hot gur.
cirkā, adj., late.
citt, m., mind, heart.
cittar, m., little round ornament.
copā, m., iron pointed digging instrument.
corichappi, adv., by stealth.
cūcā, m., chicken.
cugarn, m., eclipse of moon, sun.
cuhā, m., quarter of parōpi.
cuhālī, f., quarter, especially of land.
cuklī, f., pulley in loom.
cūli, f., Hindū word for krūli, ringing mouth.
cumba, m., round hole over which food and rahu are cooked.
cūndwī, f., plaited lock over women's temple.
cung cor, m., thief with whom stolen property is left.
cupkitā, adj., quiet, silent.

d
dād, f., one of 4 pieces of wood between upper and lower parts of cart.
dag, m., kind of common dog.
dākarnā, v., vomit.
darānak, f., wood passing through tur in loom = gadrānak.
daropā, m., measure containing two topas.
dattā, m., upright stem of huqqa.
dalhūthā, adj., with appetite half satisfied.
dāll, f., old, unused well.
dalnā, v., chop firewood, break grain.
dambūsā, m., tool for flattening down road.
dānd, f., swelling from blow (carhnī).
dāttar, m., large toothless sickle, crook for bringing down branches.
daurā hośā, mad, foolish.
dawākhā, m., recess in wall for lamp.
dhaddhar, m., ringworm.
dhaklā, m., large lump of cowdung.
dhānā, v., be of effect, have effect.
dhāngar, m., tall leafy plant (about 10 feet high).
dhārā, m., dry ālā added to chapānī.
dharakkar, m., two cross beams in dhol and 1 in carakhī.
dhartonnā, m., berry of dhrek tree, man of sour disposition.
dhari, m., wood next tal-eath, under parānā (well).
dhauri, f., bag-shaped leather, ready for colouring by kikkar bark.
dhendhlā, m., big cake of cowdung.
dhikkna, v., shove, drive.
dhīngri, expletive with fulanī.
dhoddar-kā, m., raven = doddar-kā.
dhol, m., horizontal wheel of well.
dhranjhna v., cough violently.
dhrappar, m., large rash, fleabites, marks of scratching.
dhraun, v., sink down, e.g., centre of roof, ground.
dhrehmā, m., gentle rain.
dhrūṇā, v., drag.
dhuecena, v., be washed (clothes, &c.)
dhumāna, v., noise abroad.
dhumnā, v., get noised abroad.
dhupnā, v., be washed (e.g. clothes).
dhūr, m., rahu while being cooked.
dico, adj., warned, annoyed.
dihā, m., sun.
dikkadāri, f., trouble, annoyance.
dīrī, f., wooden lamp-stand.
doggar tāra, m., name of a planet.
dokkal, adj., having large udder and giving little milk (camel, cow, buffalo).
dolnā, v., pour out.
dudhārnī, f., vessel for boiling milk.
duhajjū, m., duhajjan, f., twice married.
dukh, waddā dukh, leprosy.
dullar, m., rope of twostrands.
dusāngā, m., piece of wood at end of warp.

G

gabhē, adv., under armpit.
gabhī, f., part between fingers and toes.
gadrānak, f., wood passing through tur in loom (= darānak).
gālīd, long horizontal pole of iron sugar-cane press.
gai, f., dip in road, especially in pakka road.
gail, f., track of cart.
gainthi, f., pick-axe.
gakk, m., purchaser.
gālā, m., cross wood above millstone in khras.
gandalinā, v., become muddy (water).
gandhrī, f., bundle.
gangālīnā, v., foul (water).
gangēla, adj., muddied (water).
gann, m., piece of wood in circular part of cart-wheel.
ganna, f., bad smell.
ganni, f., edge of eyelid (upper or lower).
ganni, f., one of pieces of wood composing dhol and carakī.
garle, m., pl., gurgling.
garmī, f., indigestion.
garowā, m., man who makes gur.
ghāghā, m., broken off neck of ghara or tīndī.
ghair, f., sound of something which one attentively listens for.
ghair, m., dull haze.
gan, m., bees?
ghasmailrā, adj., dust coloured, brown.
ghassā, m., delay, loss, (lagnā).
ghasunnā, ghasunn, m., blow from fist.
ghaswattī, f., touchstone.
ghattnā, v., used in composition with passive sense, e.g., wāh ghatteā, was ploughed.
ghawā, m., stick for stirring rahu.
ghirī, f., piece of wood, near muthiyā in ox yoke.
ghistī, adj., sliding along ground.
ghomnā, m., absence of wind.
ghori, f., piece of wood supporting marīr in jhalla.
ghukkā, m., (i) cowry, (ii) hole in ād or ghara (painā).
ghumail, f., underground dovecot.
ghurākti, f., angry appearance of eyes (laiñ, watnī).
ghutkañ, f., slander, backbiting.
gītī, f., part of back of neck.
gūtkat, m., swelling (glandular).
giñṭ, small glandular swelling.
gir, f., giriñ, f., meat in fruit stone, edible part of mango.
giṅṛī, f., iron clogged wheel in iron sugar-cane press.
gitā, m., stone.
gōggañ, m., child’s word for bread.
gōmmā, m., absence of wind.
gōt, adv., wet (hojañā).
gubb, f., blow with fist.
guddī, f., one of three upright pieces of wood in carkhañ.
guggalañ karnā, v., spoil (an affair).
guggalāñ, v., be spoiled (an affair).
gujālti, f., wheat mixed with barley, better than gojī.
gujjhnā, v., be hidden.
gulī, f., pure kañh, bellmetal.
gum, m., absence of wind.
gungalāñ, v., became muddy (water).
gutkā, m., piece of iron in iron sugar-cane press.
gūṭhī, f., direction between any two of four cardinal points of compass.
guṭhiñ, f., purse.

H
hāā māē, adv., without difficulty, easily.
hal, m., oxen and plough, contrasted with hālī, f., plough.
hālī, adv., at present, now.
hambīañ, v., grow faint (wind, person).
hanāī, adj., brown (paper).
hanakk, adv., unjustly, without reason = nahakk.
handhāñ, v., wear out (tr).
handhāñ, v., wear, wear out (intr.)
hanekñā, spoil, gen. in passive of well, cart, wēlana, person (e.g. through cold).
handīṅrañ, m., kind of large ground lizard.
hanorā, m., pride, boasting = mān.
harbācī, f., right or left side of jaw.
hatt, m., well.
hattī, m., man who sits on gadhiñ and drives the oxen.
hauñtā = hauñlāñ, light (not heavy), small.
hekhar! hekkhā, interjection (disbelief and astonishment).
hī, f., side piece of bed or side door post.
hīyyā, m., rainbow.
hohā, m., slight puff of wind.
hūā! interj., used to incite dog.
hūbrā, m., one of radiating pieces of wood in bairīñ.
hūī hā hāñ, interj., to incite dog.
huliyañ, m., description.
humbīñ, f., capering, jumping about (mārniñ).
hūngārañ, m., agreement, saying ‘yes’ (bharnañ).
hūṅghañā, v., nod sleepily.
hūṅjnāñ, v., sweep.
hūnte, m., pl., riding on, (laine).
hussarñā, v., be irritated, worried, be distressed through heat.
hūttar, m., excuse, pretence.

I
1, pronominal suffix, to thee, for thee.
ijjar, m., flock of goats, sheep.
ikārā, adj., single (cloth &c.).
ittī, f., name of small piece of wood to which (1) warp is tied, (2) kalā are tied.

J
jabde, adv., quickly, recently.
jac, f., experience, skill.
jag, f., lymph, fermentation.
jāgō mīr, adj., half asleep.
jam jam! interj., by all means, certainly, welcome.
jāmnā, m., Eugenia jambolana and its fruit.
jāmnū, m., iron or brass binder.
bindng nārī to dattā.
jandri, f., vessel for preparing sevīḍā.
japphal, adj., one variety of the game kaudāḍī.
jātak, m., boy.
jātkri, f., girl.
jatt, f., longish hair (animal).
jawāṭrā, m., son-in-law.
jē, pronounal suffix, for you, to you.
jhaberā, m., quarrel, noise.
jhāṅgā, v., endure.
jhai, f., angry appearance (laṅt).
jhāki, f., window.
jharapā, v., catch.
jhāṭe, binde, adv. repeatedly.
jhāu, jhaw, adv. quickly, recently.
jhiggā, m., shirt.
jhiggī, f., boy’s shirt.
jhisī, v., lose heart = jhisī khaṅtī.
jhōl, m., mixture of ḥī and sugar and milk.
jhōppā, v., catch (ball, &c).
jhulāṅnī, f., little room where Muhammadans cook food.
jhusmursā, m., morning twilight.

ji āčā nā! welcome.
ji saddke, welcome.
jindar, f., mud and dirt at bottom of well.
jist, m., lead.
jōtrā, m., string attaching parts of loom.
juman, m., power, strength.

K
kabula, m., iron bolt.
kāgāṇī, m., goat with very long hair.
kāhd, f., one of the pieces of wood in lower part of carkhā.
kahl, f., haste, hurry.
kālh, f., bell metal.
kair, f., sound, sign which one intently watches for (laṅt).
kākōraulaḥ', m., noise (pāṅā).
kāl, f., string attaching warp to ceiling.
kalan, f., praise (by mirāṅt).
kalernā, m., kurnerā, m., rope attaching panjaḥ to fir.
kalingā, adj., blackish.
kalpā, m., long hook for pulling down branches.
kammī, m., one who performs regular menial services.
kān, m. = karū = 5 feet.
kān, m., grain borrowed and payable with interest.
kān, m., excellence or sweetness in qur.
kān man, f., slight rain (honī).
kandūri, f., small cloth for bread.
kandlā, m., rounded iron rod.
kangī, f., part of weaving machine for tightening warp.
kangī, f., part of chest (body).
kanti, f., half-formed butter in milk (ājangā).
kanti muni, f., slight rain.
kann, m., roughness on neck of cattle (due to yoke).
kānnā, m., reed in weaver’s warp.
kānni, f., reed in warp (different from kānā).
kāṇā, f., warping unevenness in framework of bed (paṅg).
kāpā, m. = kalpā.
kārhā, m., big iron vessel with handles.
kārāhi, f., smaller kārhā.
karnail, f., side piece of kaggi (loom).
[5½ feet. 
kārū, m., measure of length = kauddi f., breast bone.
kauddi, f., a game = kabaddi.
keri, f., very small pieces of charcoal.
kesarnā, be angry, displeased.
khabbar, m., khabhrī, f., rope of stalks of bajra, &c.
khābīrā, wooden instrument of shoemaker.
khachōpar, m., turtle.
khāddā, m., irregular ditch.
khāddi, f., hole in ground beside potter’s oven.
khaggā, m., wasp’s nest.
khail, f., row, line, e.g. of cabbages.
khākh, f., corner of mouth.
khakkhar, f., lump of gur and popcorn.
khāl, f., remains after extracting oil.
khalarnā, v., cause to stand.
khaliharnā, m., wood attached to ceiling (loom).
khambar, m., main wheel of carkhā.
khan, f., mine, hole for digging kankar.
khann, m., fragment of dhen-dhält (karnā).
khāopiyyā, m., time of evening meal.
khappā, m., space.
khārā, adj., salt, bitter.
khark, f., cross piece of wood supporting warp.
kharkannā, adj., big-eared, attentive.
kharkanā, m., broom of twigs.
kharkillī, f., peg holding up kharak (loom).
khawā, adj., rough.
khassā, m., measles.
khātak, f., treating as important, valuable.
khiccī, f., rope attached to foot piece in loom. [&c.
khīgar, m., piece of kankar,
khittī, f., pl. Pleiades.
khobnā, v., cause to sink or pierce.
khocjā, adj., large, loose.
khokh, m., hollow.
khölā, m., old dismanted, broken-down house.
khṛappē, m., pl., unevenesses in road.
khroc, m., unevenness in road.
khunā, m., part of face above eye.
khunā, m., large-hooked stick, side of welnā.
khundī, f., small-hooked stick.
khurmā, v., crumble.
khushkā, m., dry āṭā added to rōṭī = palethān.
khuttar, m., deceit (karnā).
kitkanā, kitkarā, adv., how.
kirnā, be angry with.
kirtghan, adj., ungrateful, unthankful.
kirtghanā, m., ingratitude, unthankfulness.
kojā, adj., ugly, ill-suited, defective (in member).
kōkkā, m., cowry.
kōkkā, m., mouthful of sugar-cane.
kraihd, kraiht, f., loathing.
kuārī, m., man who sells old furniture.
kubbā, m., cross piece of wood in dhoṭi.
kucajī, foolishness.
kuddhan, m., wooden poker.
kudhō, m., hindrance (laggā).
kuhātrā, m., half kos.
kuhmuk, f., crowd.
kūkkā, f., whispering, plotting.
kukkar udāri, f. (cock-flight), very short distance.
kukkrē, m. pl., granulation of eyelids (paine).
kundal, f., coil of snake (marni).
kur, f., cow house.
kurkur, f., chattering.
kurmānā, v., wither.
kushāla, m., attention, effort.
kutarnā, v., cut up small.
kwej, f., lateness.
kuwelā, adj., late.

L
labhat, f., profit.
lāg, m., expense.
lagā dāgā, m., connection, business.
lāhīmbe, adv., to one side.
lāt, f., one day’s harvesting.
lāláran, f., joy.
lālli, f., maina (bird).
lamereś, adj., longish.
lamittān, f., length.
lamknē, v., desire, covet.
lās, f., pulley-rope in loom.
lanānā, v., walk lame.
lath, f., axle of khambar in carkhā.
lātū, m., handle of door.
laun, m., meat.
laus, laūs, f., weal from blow.
lī, f., line, track.
līcknā, v., bend, (intr.)
līkhat, f., bill of divorce.
līlā, f. pl. (lūttinā), amuse oneself.
limbh, f., lock of hair.
līt, f., lock of hair.
lītt, f., faqir’s lock of hair.
lohrā, m., half of rope barār.
lūmbā, m., chimney.
lundā, adj., tailless, with hairless tail.
lūrā, ?
lūsnā, v., burn with anger.

M
mackāna, m., incite.
madasā, m., cloth tied round head to keep off cold.
madē, m., one who will not give.
mahl, m., brickwork round inside of well.
mahngā, m., clapping of hands (mārnā).
mājhā, adj. pertaining to buffalo.
makhe, v., I said, contd. from maī ākhēā.
mākhyē, f., honey, honeycomb.
makkū, m., (1) cloth binding nārī to dattā, iron point of nākī; makkū thappnā, fig. sit upon some body. (2) steel point to weaver’s shuttle.
makrā, m., forked wood in kānjan holding fir.
makri, f., locust, spider.
mal, m., word of address to a man or boy, voc. malā.
malī, f., earth deposit from river.
malēhā hocā, adj., ill.
malēhā jānā, become ill.
majhi, f., dirt in well or on ox-walk.
majtrī, m., Malta orange.
man, f., raised brickwork round well.
mandhārnā, v., crush.
mandhīla, m., piece of wood in bharvandi.
mandhrē, adj., short in stature.
mangat, m., beggar.
mankâ, m., circular bit of bone in tarakû of car-khâ.
masâtar, f., height from ground to tips of fingers of hand held above head.
massì, f., sock, especially leather sock.
matâ, conj., lest.
mattan, f., large earthen jar = matt.
matthâ, m., forehead.
mauri, f., back over scapula.
mâyâ, f., starch.
mec, m., table.
mentar, f., measuring.
mindhnà, v., crush.
moghâ, m., small canal, channel.
mohrâ, m., long dry branch with twigs.
mohrak, f., rope on head and mouth of cattle.
mohrt, f., small dry branch with twigs.
mohrlâ, adj., in front.
muhâl, f., small piece of wood in cart-wheel.
muhanjâ, m., morning twilight.
muhâth, f., side post of door.
muhattal, period of time, appointed period.
mûhrâ, m., piece of wood between two long side pieces of cart.
mukâlâ, m., bad name, evil report.
mûli kandâ, m., iron grater for radishes, carrots, &c.
mungaraâ, m., mixture of grain, mungi and makh or cholle.
munnâ, adj., three quarters.
munnâ, m., upright stick in cart to keep in load.
mûr, adv., again.

N
nadi, f., Nûh nadi, Noachian flood.
nâhbb, f., ellipsoidal wood round dhurâ of cart.
nainhdar, f., wood on which lath of well rests.
nakhâkhra, adj., pure, unmixed, good.
namnâ, adj., blind.
nâjan, adj., naked.
nanierâ, m., huqqa with cocoanut base.
napna, v., seize.
naparna, v., seize.
nâftî, f., centre of game with cowries; nâftî bahânâ, keep waiting.
ne, v., they are.
ne, ne, pronominal suffix: to, for or by them.
nehnâ, v., cause to stand on ground e.g. matt, gharâ.
nera, interj., said to right ox to make him turn to left.
nherî, f., vertigo.
nhorâ, m., = hânorâ.
nî, nî, pronominal suffix, are to or for thee.
nikhernâ, v., separate.
nikkar, m., piece of anything, = pîktâ.
nikkharâ, v., be separated.
nînghâ, ad., warm.

P
pabbi, f., hill.
padânâ, padhânâ, m., oxwalk at well.
paihrâ, m., way.
pâhrâ, m., cry of distress (pânâ).
pârapâ, f., vertical cylinder in millstone of khrâs.
pashû, m., buffalo.
pâssâ, m., pure gold (passe dâ seonâ).
pāṭū, m., one handful of cattle excrement.
pāī, conj., that.
pāḷā, adj., further, beyond.
pāṇtrā, m., dry place for placing feet in wet ground.
pair, pair! said to right ox to make him turn to left.
pāsār, m., piece of wood below racch in weaving.
pāsār, m., front-room.
pāsār, m., piece of wood under warp in loom.
pāṭā, m., document, lease.
pāṭthā, m., pupil of wrestler.
pāṭthā, m., wood into which cūṭhī of lāthī in well comes.
pāṭthā, m. pl., green chopped food for cattle.
pāṭṭā, v., spend, waste (money).
pauṇd pāṭ = pauṇd satte.
pauṇd satte, adv., at first go off, at once.
paurī, f., foot piece in loom.
paurī, f., long side beam in cart.
pēṭhā, m., kind of vegetable-marrow.
phaṭhī, adv., violently (of beating or throwing down).
phaḷrī, f., wood on which potter sits.
phaḷrī, f., wooden tool of shoemaker.
phand, f., beating, gust of rain.
phandākā, m., shaking dust out of cloth (mārṇā).
phāṅgā, m., trouble, loss (lagna).
phaṛtī, f., regular mass of sleepers, bricks, kankar.
phaṭṭ, f., lower piece of wood in pāṇjāṭī.
phēṅā, v., squeeze, burst.
phīḍā, m., little hollow, hole, depression.
phōs, m., collection of cattle ordure after one evacuation.
phūk, f., air, blowing with mouth or inflator.
phull, m., popcorn, black spot in capāṭi.
phutīṇā, v., have offspring (woman).
phutūḷī, f., waistcoat.
pīkāl, m., great smoker or drinker.
pichārī, f., rope attached to paurī of loom.
pīṇā, v., absorb water, be watered (especially land).
plōghī, guḍḍī guḍde di p., rainbow.
piṅgī, f., spiked wheel, little wheel at end of gāḥd in iron velnā.
pinnī, f., leg between thigh and ankle.
pīṅgī, f., eyelash, upper or lower.
pīṛhpī, f., generation.
pittā, m., pure kaṅh (bell metal).
pōṭ, crop of bird.
pukkarnā, v., give.
pūr, m., rauh while being cooked.
pūṣhal, f., tail.

R
rachī, m., part of weaving machine where bobbin passes.
raḥī, f., unploughed land surrounded by ploughed.
rahtmār, f., condition of living.
rail, f., appearance of something visible to eyes.
ralāṅkā, v., go or walk slowly.
rāmbāṅkā, v., make arrangements for (e.g., marriage).
rāph fart, m., noise, quarrel.
rāṁ, adj., of uncultivated, level ground.
rañ, f., uncultivated level ground.
rashm, f., ray of sun or cloth.
rattā, m., noise.
raunā, m., buttermilk.
reh, f., Qurān stand (folding).
reś, m., reśī, f., = areś, areśī.
rhandā, m., widower.
rō, m., kankar, or piece of kankar.
īra, m., long continued time without rain.

S
—s, pronounal suffix, by, for or to him = sū.
sā, f., ashes.
sajhā, f., power of recognition.
sajhānī, v., recognise.
sak, sakra, m., little bits or shavings of wood.
safā, f., needle in shuttle.
sulūkā, m., waistcoat.
samadhār, adj., short in size.
samāwār, m., metal teapot and heating apparatus combined.
samūlā, adj., all, the whole of, with everything.
sānak, f., i.q. kunā śī, earthen dish.
sandh, f., grown buffalo which has not had young.
sandhā, m., house-breaking instrument.
sagā, m., collection of 4—10 strings on sides of bed or pūrhi.
sangār, v., became contracted (as leather).
sānjhā, adj., in common, joint.
sanjhānī, v., recognition.
sanjhān, f., recognition.
sānki, f., earthen dish, i.q. kunā śī.
sānṛī, m., kind of lizard.
sansār, m., crocodile.
sarājīt, adj., well, alive, (after illness).

sari, m., iron rod.
satāś, satāśwā, adj., twenty-seventh.
satīwā, adj., twenty-seventh, especially of day in Ramzān.
satrānā, adj., strong.
sawakhtā, m., early time.
sawakhtē, adv., in good time.
sawikā, m., evil deed.
sehā, f., direction.
sejja, f., moisture.
sepī, m., master receiving or servant doing menial service on contract pay.
shām, f., iron or brass band round wood.
sharlātā, m., gust of rain or wind.
shokha, adj., bright (of light or colour); quick (of hearing).
shokha, adj., cheeky, smart.
shās, f., display, grandeur.
shūkā shākī, f., display, grandeur.
shūmpūnā, m., miserliness.
sīdh, sīdhā, prep. with fem., up to.
sidhrnā, v., become good, improve.
sīhan, f., recognition.
sīhānī, v., recognise.
sijjha, v., pay out, take revenge on.
sillnā, v., get wet.
sir matthe te, (on head and forehead), by all means, welcome!
sīrī, m., partner.
sitthā, m., wax in honeycomb.
siwāl, f., sewing, price of sewing.
sōdhā, adj., pinkish red.
sōkā, m., collection of 4—10 strings along sides of bed or pūrhi.
sū, pronounal suffix, to, for or by him = -s.
sușhrā, adj., straight on.
sucajā, adj., intelligent.
sudharnā, v., become good, improve.
sudharnā, v., make good. improve.
sukhāl, sukhalā, adj., easy.
sumbā, m., rounded, pointed instrument for making holes.
sūnā, v., have offspring (animals).
suṇhippa, n., beauty.
sun mun, adj., quiet.
surañ, f., tunnel.
surañ, f., tibia.
sūt, m., puff (of huqqa) (lānā).
sūṭlar, m., piece of wood in well to keep māhl in position.

tabākhri, f., metal plate, i.q. thālī.
takānā, m., cross piece in floor of cart.
takānī, f., = takānā.
takbir wagānā, v., kill for food.
takmā, m., medal.
tākā, m., meeting.
talāth, tarāth, m., wood at top of well beside parānā.
tālū, oblong pieces shaved on top of head, palate.
talwaṭth, part of kārī in loom.
tandūl, f., one of strands in lār.
tangnā, m., hanging frame for clothes.
tap, m., dry thorn-branch.
tapnā, m., confusion, mistake.
(lāgnā).
tappā, m., hole in ground made by blow from spade.
tār, f., haste, anxiety.
tar, f., ray of sun.
tarangar, m., Orion's Belt.
tarangarnā, v., do in a rough and ready way.

taraunā, m., little reedstand for sweetmeat seller's basket.
tarcauf, f., rice and sugar (shakkar) and til.
tarnā, v., be paid (of money).
tārnā, v., pay (money).
tas, f., adornment (kaḍdhānā).
tasbī, f., Muhammadan rosary.
tatatat, interj., to make left bullock turn to right.
tatāull, f., kind of bird, lapwing.
taullah, f., earthen cooking pot = taufri.
tāzā, adj., tāzī kuttā, greyhound, tāzighorā, racehorse.
teknā, v., bow.
thāh, m., f., sharp noise = paṭākā.
thakka, m., cold wind.
thaṅ, m., woman's breast.
thaṅgh, v., fold.
thaṛ, m., cold.
thaṛ, f., acquaintance, resting place.
thaṛā, m., raised brickwork before house or on well.
thatth, f., wave.
thaṛ, f., cowry with piece out of back, = cītī.
that, m., sense, intelligence.
that, m., make known.
thatmā, v., lean against.
thatbā, m., hilllock.
tikī, f., ball of sun just before setting or after rising: hard lumpy bit in capālī.
til, m., force.
tilaknā, v., slip.
tillar, m., rope of three strands.
tind, f., camel's stomach brought into mouth, bald head, shaved head.
tir, m., vertical beam, axle of dhol.
tissā, trissā, m., three kinds of grain mixed.
toddā, m., young of camel.
tōhnā, v., feel (to).
töppä, m., circular piece of wood joining two parts of khambar.
töttä, m., piece, fragment.
traihnä, v., be startled.
trähnä, v., startle.
trappar, m., sackcloth.
trappri, f., small piece of sackcloth.
trauh, m., alarm.
threhrä, adj., threefold.
trejötreü, adj., covered with perspiration.
treör, m., milk and ghi and sugar mixed.
trikkh, f., swiftness.
tröppä, m., stitch.
tukk, f., guess.
tul, f., lever, lām = apply lever.
tuō, interj., calling to dog.

U
ä, pronominal suffix, for thee, to thee, thee.
ucce, m., tongas.
ucecä, adj., especially.
udää, f., pl., winnowing.
udhälä, m., elopement.
uggharnä, v., raise (stick).
ukä, adj., altogether.
ulär, ulärä, m., tilting over or back.
ulärnä, v., raise (stick).
ulhärä, m., bending trees in wind (khanä).
ukkkhannä, v., with mätä (f.) vaccinate.
ukkkhannwänä, v., with mätä (f.) get vaccinated. [side.
ullarnä, v., get tilted to one off, adv., in this way, any how, &c.
ureb, m., bending, slanting.
ütänä, adj., lying on back.

W
wā, m., association, connection.
wā warōljä, m., wā warōll, f., whirlwind with dust.
wachēra, m., foal.
wādhih, f., pl., cutting harvest.
wagghi, f., part between fingers and between toes.
wahäna, adj., smart, clever, intelligent.
wahäna, adj., barefoot, pair to wahnä.
waini, f., small drain.
wahr tärä, m., Venus, Morning Star.
wahr, f., earthen vessel like teapot.
waihtar, m., ass, mule, &c.
wain, m., mourning (gen. plural).
wajijnä, v., be struck or sounded, be shut (door).
wal, prep., with masc. towards, with fem., towards one's wife.
wål (nikalänä), muscle get out of place, causing pain.
wål, m., turn, twist.
wålängjä, walängjä, m., turn, twist.
wålängli, walängli, f., turn, twist.
wålhi, f., rope attaching panjäli to gählä.
wålündarnä, v., spoil.
wänd, f., fine weather.
wändhänä, adj., free, disengaged.
way, f., one of pieces of wood composing bair.
warånglajä, m., turn, twist.
wasär, m., spice, e.g., haldi.
wåskat, m., waistcoat.
wåsänä, v., rain.
wattä, m., lobe of ear.
wattä, m., stone pestle.
watttinä, m., stick for twisting rope.
waṭti, f., weight of two sens.
waule, adv., in the open air.
wehl, f. and m., leisure.
A Guide to the Metres of Urdu Verse

FROM the point of view of Europeans there is no book that deals satisfactorily with Urdu metres, and as the metres are numerous, it is difficult for a student to recognize any except the three or four commonest. They have all been taken over unaltered from Persian, and Persian took them almost unaltered from Arabic. To Europeans the rules of Urdu prosody seem arbitrary, because metres must conform to certain rules for which there seems to be no adequate reason.

For example the commonest Urdu metre is scanned as follows: mas'īlu fa'īlātu masā'ilu fa'ilun. It might just as well be scanned mustaf'ilun masā'ilu mustaf'ilun fa'al or in other ways, but we should be arbitrarily told that there are no such metres and that in fact they would be impossible.

Urdu writers have no conception of long or short syllables. They have names for fragments of two and three letters, and they have names for metrical feet, but they do not call syllables long or short. I am, however, writing for Europeans who are accustomed to prosodical length in Latin and Greek verse, and the idea is almost necessary for them if they are to make any progress.

The question I have set myself to answer here is this. When a student comes across a poem or a quotation how is he to decide what its metre is? He will, if he knows the language, be able to say that certain syllables are short or long, but he will still be ignorant of the metre. How is he to discover it?

To enable him to do so I have prepared two lists. The first is divided into sections according to the number of syllables in each line or hemistich, and in each section the metres are given—not in alphabetical order indeed, for that would not be possible, but—in order of short syllables. In other words a short syllable is given precedence over a long. Thus a line beginning —— would precede one which begins ——, because, while the first five syllables are the same in the two lines, the sixth syllable in the first is short, and in the second long. The second list is devoted to rubā'i metres. In it, too, the metres are in order of short syllables.
METHOD OF ASCERTAINING METRES

To discover the metre of a line, first count the number of syllables. This number shows the section of List I in which the metre is given. Next determine the sequence of short and long syllables, and finally look up the metre, according to that sequence, in its proper place in the section. There the name of the metre and the feet which compose it will be found. This last stage can be shortened by first looking for the metre in the short list below. It will almost certainly be there.

The two lists contain between them 176 metres, counting each variety separately. The first has 152; the second is devoted to the 24 rubā‘ī metres. The latter are entered by themselves for the reasons mentioned at the head of the list. The 176 metres may be reduced to about eighty or ninety if small differences are ignored.

For the purpose of this article I have examined 450 poems or quotations (330 poems and 120 quotations), in addition to rubā‘īs. If we count as single metres two groups of eight, one of five, two of four, three of three, and thirteen pairs, we find that there are only twenty-five distinct metres. This is perhaps an over-simplification, but even if every variety is reckoned separately, there are only sixty-eight.

It will be interesting to mention here all the metres of the 450 poems. Probably the six or eight which occur more frequently than the others would be common in any longish collection of different kinds of Urdu verse. The number after each metre indicates how often it occurred.

THE METRES OF THE 450 POEMS EXAMINED: rubā‘īs excluded

(1) 14.16, 17 muṣārī’ - - | - - | - - | - - | - - | 80
(2) 15.11, 12 raml - - - - | - - - - | - - - - | 66
(3) 16.9, 10 hazaj - - | - - | - - | four times 53
(4) 14.1a, b, 11, 12; 15.1a, b, 9, 10 raml - - - - | - - - - | - - - - | - - | etc. 49
(5) 10.1, 2, 10, 11; 11.1, 2, 15, 16 khaṣīf - - - - | - - | - - | etc. 31
(6) 14.2a, b; 15.2a, b; 13.1 muṭlās - - - - | - - - - | - - | etc. 29
(7) 24.3 and 12.6 muṭqārīb - - | four or eight times | 21
(8) 14.13, 14 hazaj - - | - - | - - | - - | 20
(9) 11.5, 6 and 22.1 muṭqārīb - - | - - | - - | - - | 17
(10) 10.12, 13 and 9.6, 7 hazaj - - | - - | - - | etc. 15
The first four metres account for over half the poems, and the first seven for three-quarters. Eighty-four are not represented at all.

In Urdu some metres are almost confined to certain types of verse, and conversely certain types of verse are usually in two or three fixed metres.

Maṇavī Metres.—The commonest are perhaps hazaj 10.12, 13 (and 9.6, 7) and khaṣīf 10.1, 2 and the rest of that group. Others are mutaqārib 11.5, 6; hazaj 11.7, 8; rājaz 16.11; sāri 11.9, 10; and raml 11.13, 14 and 11.18, 19.

Qaṣīda Metres.—The commonest metre is 14.1a, b and the rest of that group (raml), and next comes the mujtass group 14.2a, b, etc. Others are rare.

Marsiya Metres.—Much the commonest is muẓārī 14.16, 17; next is the mujtass group 14.2a, b, etc. Others not so common are hazaj 14.13, 14; the raml group 14.1a, b, etc.; hazaj 16.9, and mutaqārib 20.2.

The Two Lists of Metres

The number after the name of a metre in the first list shows how often that metre occurred in the 450 poems examined. From these
numbers we can get a fair idea of the relative frequency of the different Urdu metres. The word "group" after a number means that the metre is one of a group of metres which may be used interchangeably in one and the same poem. The same number is given for every member of the group.

Each section is numbered separately, and metres are referred to by the number of the section followed by the number of the metre. Thus 10.8 would mean the 8th metre in Section 10, viz. the section containing ten syllabled lines; 14.18, 19 would be the 18th and 19th metres in Section 14.

Metres which are identical except for a very slight difference in the first or last syllable are bracketed. They can be used interchangeably.

For convenience sake I have sometimes drawn attention to similarity between two metres, but it must not be assumed that they too are interchangeable unless that is expressly stated. I do not profess to have given every metre ever used in Urdu, but students will only on rare occasions come across one not mentioned in these lists.

Two consecutive short syllables are frequently combined into one long syllable. In this way new varieties are formed. Many examples of this will be found noted in both lists. Apart from the cases actually referred to it is possible to make a general rule that in the metre mujagg, -- -, mufta'ilun, may become ---, mafulun; in sarî, the second foot -- -, fâ'ilatun, may become ---, mafulun; in raml, -- --, fâ'ilatun, or -- --, fâ'ilatun, may become ---, mafulun.

A last syllable can always be regarded as long. It may be -- | or |. These signs differ simply in this that -- means either a consonant plus a long vowel, or two consonants with a short vowel between them; -- means two consonants with a long vowel between them. The sign -- has not been used before. I have adopted it merely to make this small distinction. In Urdu -- has two letters; -- has three.
**First List**

(Metres not used in *rubā‘is*)

**Twenty-four Syllables**

1. $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$
   mutafā‘ilatun four times.

   Kāmil.

2. $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$
   fā‘ilun eight times.

   Mutadārik. 5 group

   Nos. 1 and 2 are really identical. No. 2 is 12.1 doubled.
   Any or every foot in 24.2 may be $\cdots$ fā‘ilun. The line
   may therefore, theoretically at any rate, have from 16
   to 24 syllables. See 8.4.

3. $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$
   fā‘ulun eight times.

   Mutaqa‘ārib. 21

   (6 of this and 15 of 12.6)

**Twenty-two Syllables**

1. $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$
   fā‘ulun $\bar{f}a‘ulun$ $\bar{f}a‘ulun$ $\bar{f}a‘al$ $\bar{f}a‘ulun$ $\bar{f}a‘ulun$ $\bar{f}a‘al$.
   This is 11.5 doubled.

   Mutaqa‘ārib. 17

   (3 of this and 14 of 11.5, 6)

2. $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$
   This is 11.7 doubled.

   Hazaj. 13

   (2 of this and 11 of 11.7, 8)

**Twenty Syllables**

1. $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$
   mutafā‘ilun four times.

   Kāmil. 4

2. $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$
   fa‘al fa‘ulun four times.

   This is 10.3 doubled.

   Mutaqa‘ārib. 8

**Sixteen Syllables**

1. $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$
   fā‘ilatun fā‘ilatun fā‘ilatun fā‘ilatun.

   Raml.

2. $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$
   fā‘ilatun fā‘ilatun fā‘ilatun fā‘iliyān.

   Raml.

3. $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$ $\cdots$
   fā‘ilatun four times.

   This is 16.15 with first syllable short.

   Raml.
4. mafā'īlun fā'ilātun mafā'īlun fā'ilātun.
5. mafā'īlun fā'ilātun mafā'īlun fā'ilīyān.

This is the same as 15.2a, b; 14.2a, b and 13.1 except for the last foot.

6. mafā'īlun mafā'īlun mafā'īlun mafā'īlun.
7. mafā'īlun mafā'īlun mafā'īlun mafā'īlān.
8. mafā'īlun mufta'īlun mafā'īlun mufta'īlun.
9. mafā'īlun four times.
10. mafā'īlun mafā'īlun mafā'īlun mafā'īlān.
11. mufta'īlun mafā'īlun mufta'īlun mafā'īlun.
12. mufta'īlun four times.
13. mufta'īlun mufta'īlun mufta'īlun mufta'īlān.
14. fā'ilātū mufta'īlun fā'ilātū mufta'īlun.
15. fā'ilātūn fā'ilātūn fā'ilātūn fā'ilātūn.

This is 16.3 with first syllable long.

16. fā'ilātūn fā'ilātūn fā'ilātūn fā'ilīyān.
17. fā'ilātūn four times.
18. fā'ilātūn fā'ilātūn fā'ilātūn fā'ilīyān.
19. mustaf'ilun four times.
20. mustaf'ilun mustaf'ilun mustaf'ilun mustaf'ilān.

Fifteen Syllables

1a. fā'ilātūn fā'ilātūn fā'ilātūn fā'ilūn.
1b. fā'ilātūn fā'ilātūn fā'ilātūn fā'ilān.

1a, b, are the same as 15.9, 10, except for the first syllable. See also 14.1a, b, and 14.11, 12.
Ex except for the last foot Nos. 2a and b are the same as 14.2a, b and 13.1. Cf. also 16.4, 5.

15.6, 7 may be interchanged with 14.3, 4. They are same the as 14.16, 17 except for the first foot.

This is really the same as 14.6.

See 15.1a, b; 14.11, 12; 14.1a, b. If from 15.9, 10 we omit the 3rd foot we get 11.13, 14.

This is the same as 14.16 with an extra syllable. If we change the short seventh and eighth syllables into one long syllable we get 14.18.

Fourteen Syllables

Nos. 1a and 1b are the same as 11 and 12 except for the first syllable. Students will find that the eight metres 14.1a, 1b; 14.11, 12; 15.1a, 1b, and 15.9, 10 may all be interchanged in the same poem.
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<td>Mujtāss. 29 group</td>
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<td>13.</td>
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<td>Hazaj. 20</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Nos. 2a and 2b are the same as 15.2a, 2b and 13.1 except for the first foot and may be interchanged. Cf. also 16.4, 5.

14.6 is really the same as 15.8. 14.5, 5a, 6, 6a resemble 13.2, 3; see also 12.16, 17.

Note that 7 and 8 are the same metre under different names. Nos. 9 and 10 are mere varieties of 8.

See No. 8.
together into one long syllable either the third and fourth syllables, which gives us 13.8, 9, or the seventh and eighth, which results in 13.4, 5.

15. maf'ulu maf'îlun maf'ulu maf'îlun. Hazaj. 1
16. maf'ulu fâ'ilâtu maf'îlun. Muqâri'. 80
17. maf'ulu fâ'ilâtu maf'îlun fâ'ilât. Muqâri'.

See 13.6, 7. Cf. 15.14.

18. maf'ulu fâ'ilâtun maf'ulu fâ'ilâtun. Muqâri'. 11
19. maf'ulu fâ'ilâtun maf'ulu fâ'iliyân. Muqâri'.

See 15.14.

Thirteen Syllables

1. maf'îlun fâ'ilâtun maf'îlun fâ'.
   Cf. 14.2a, b; 15.2a, b; 16.4, 5. Mutsâgh. 29 group

2. mufta'îlun fâ'ilâtun mufta'îlun fâ'. Munsârih.

3. mufta'îlun fâ'ilâtun mufta'îlun fâ'. Munsârih.

See 14.5, 6 and 15.8.
Nos. 4, 5, 8, 9 are varieties of 14.13, 14; all are used in Maqânavîs.

4. maf'ulu maf'îlun maf'ulu fa'ûlun. Hazaj.

5. maf'ulu maf'îlun maf'ulu mafâ'il. Hazaj.

6. maf'ulu fâ'ilâtun maf'ulu fâ'ilun. Muqâri'.

7. maf'ulu fâ'ilâtun maf'ulu fâ'ilân. Muqâri'.

This is formed from 14.16, 17 by joining the short 7th and 8th syllables into one long syllable.

8. maf'îlun maf'ulu mafâ'îlu fa'ûlun. Hazaj.

9. maf'îlun maf'ulu mafâ'îlu mafâ'îl. Hazaj.
Twelve Syllables

1. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
   fā’ilun fā’ilun fā’ilun fā’ilun.
   Mutadārik.

   This metre is found double. See 24.2. Any or all of these
   feet may be   |   fa’ilun ; see 8, 4.

2. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
   fā’ilātun fā’ilātun mafā’ilun.
   Jadid.

3. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
   fā’ilātun fa’ilātun fa’ilun.
   Raml.

4. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
   mafā’ilun mafā’ilun mafā’ilun.
   Rajaz.

5. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
   mafā’ilu mafā’ilu fā’ilātun.
   Qarib.

6. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
   fa’alun fa’alun fa’alun fa’alun.
   Mutaqārib. 21
   (15 of this and 6 of 24.3)

7. Omitted.

8. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
   mafā’ilun mafā’ilun mafā’ilun.
   Hazaj.

9. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
   musta’ilun musta’ilun musta’ilun.
   Rajaz.

10. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
    musta’ilun fā’ilātu musta’ilun.
    Munsariḥ.

   By running the 10th and 11th syllables into one long
   syllable we get 11.11 which is interchangeable with it.

11. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
    fā’ilātun mafā’ilun fā’ilātun.
    Khaṭīf.

   See 11.15, 16, 17, and 10.10, 11.

12. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
    fā’ilun fā’ilun fā’ilun fā’ilun.
    Mutadārik.

13. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
    fā’ilātun fā’ilātun fā’ilātun.
    Raml.

14. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
    musta’ilun fā’ilātun fā’ilātun.
    Mujtass.

15. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
    musta’ilun musta’ilun musta’ilun.
    Rajaz.

16. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
    maf’alun fā’ilun maf’alun fā’ilun.
    Munsariḥ.

17. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
    maf’alun fā’ilat maf’alun fā’ilat.
    Munsariḥ.

12.16, 17 are obtained from 14.5,6 by substituting a long
syllable for the short syllables which come second
and third, and one for the ninth and tenth syllables.
12.17 might be called a thirteen-syllabled line, for the -lāt at the end of the second foot would generally be read -lātu.

Eleven Syllables

1. fāʾilātun mafāʾilun fāʾilun.  
   Khafif.

2. fāʾilātun mafāʾilun fāʾilāt.  
   Khafif. 31 group

Nos. 1, 2 are the same as 11.15, 16 except for the first syllable, and the same as 10.1, 2 except for the last syllable.

3. mafāʾilu mafāʾilu faʿalun.  
   Hazaj.

4. mafāʾilu mafāʾilu mafāʾil.  
   Hazaj.

5. faʿalun faʿalun faʿalun faʿal.  
   Mutaqārib. 17
   (14 of this and 3 of 22.1)

See 22.1 for double form.

6. faʿalun faʿalun faʿalun faʿal.  
   Mutaqārib.

7. mafāʾilun mafāʾilun faʿalun.  
   Hazaj. 13
   (11 of this and 2 of 22.2)

See 22.2. for double form.

8. mafāʾilun mafāʾilun mafāʾil.  
   Hazaj.

9. muftaʾilun muftaʾilun fāʾilun.  
   Sariʿ.

10. muftaʾilun muftaʾilun fāʾilān.  
    Sariʿ.

By running together the short syllables in the second foot we get 10.6a, b; if we do so in both the first and the second foot we get 9.8, 9. They are interchangeable.

11. muftaʾilun fāʾilātun mafʿilun.  
    Munsariḥ.

   See 12.10.

12. fāʾilātun mafāʾilu mafāʾil.  
   Mushākil.

13. fāʾilātun fāʾilātun fāʾilun.  
   Raml.

14. fāʾilātun fāʾilātun fāʾilāt.  
   Raml.

See 10.8, 9. If we double the middle foot of 11.13, 14, we get 15.9, 10.
fa'ilatun fa'ilatun fa'ilun.

fa'ilatun fa'ilatun fa'ilat.

fa'ilatun maf'a'ilun fa'ilun.

fa'ilatun maf'a'ilun fa'ilat.

11.15, 16 are the same as 12.11 and 10.10, 11, except for the last foot, and as 11.1, 2 except for the first syllable. See also 11.17.

fa'ilatun maf'a'ilun maf'ulun.

This is derived from 12.11 by changing into one long syllable the two short ones found in the last foot. See also 11.15, 16.

Ten Syllables

1. fa'ilatun maf'a'ilun fa'ilun.

2. fa'ilatun maf'a'ilun fa'lan.

Except for the first syllable 10.1, 2 are the same as 10.10, 11 below, and except for the last foot the same as 11.1, 2.

3. fa'al fa'ulun fa'al fa'ulun.

This metre is found double; see 20.2.
4. \( \text{fa'\text{ulu} fa'\text{lun fa'\text{ulu} fa'\text{lun}.} \)
   Mutaqârib.

5. \( \text{fa'\text{ulu} fa'\text{lun fa'\text{ulu} fa'\text{lun}.} \)
   Mutaqârib.

6a. \( \text{mufta'\text{ilun maf'\text{ulun fa'\text{ilun}.} Sari'.} \)

6b. \( \text{mufta'\text{ilun maf'\text{ulun fa'\text{ilat.} Sari'.} \)

6a, b, are derived from 11.9, 10, q.v.

7. \( \text{fa'\text{ilun fa'al fa'\text{ilun fa'al.} Mutadârik.} \)

8. \( \text{fa'\text{ilatun fa'\text{ilatun fa'\text{lun. Raml. 2} \)

9. \( \text{fa'\text{ilatun fa'\text{ilatun fa'\text{lun. Raml.} \)

See 11.13, 14, which are the same except in the last foot.

10. \( \text{fa'\text{ilatun maf'\text{ilun fa'\text{lun. Khashif. 31 group} \)

11. \( \text{fa'\text{ilatun maf'\text{ilun fa'\text{lun. Khashif.} \)

See 10.1, 2; 12.11; 11.15, 16, 17.

11a. \( \text{fa'\text{ilun fa'\text{ilun fa'\text{ilun fa'. Mutadârik. 1} \)

12. \( \text{maf'\text{ulu maf'\text{ilun fa'\text{ulu. Hazaj. 13 group} \)

13. \( \text{maf'\text{ulu maf'\text{ilun fa'\text{uln (maf'\text{il). Hazaj.} \)

By combining the third and fourth syllables into one long syllable we get 9.6, 7. All four are interchangeable.

14. \( \text{maf'\text{ulu maf'\text{ilun fa'\text{ilun. Mužâri'.} \)

15. \( \text{maf'\text{ulu fa'\text{ilatu fa'\text{ulu. Mužâri'.} \)

16. \( \text{fa'\text{lun fa'\text{ilun fa'\text{lun fa'\text{ulun. Mutaqârib.} \)

17. \( \text{fa'\text{lun fa'\text{ilun fa'\text{lun fa'\text{ulun. Mutaqârib.} \)

18. \( \text{maf'\text{ulun fa'\text{ilun maf'\text{ilun. Hazaj.} \)

19. \( \text{maf'\text{ulun fa'\text{ilun maf'\text{ilun. Hazaj.} \)

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Nine Syllables

1.  
   fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun.  
   Mutadārīk.

2.  
   fa'ulun fa'ulun fa'ulun.  
   Mutaqārib.

3.  
   mustaf'īlun mustaf'īlu fā'.  
   Sari'.

4.  
   fa'ilun fa'ilun fa'ilun.  
   Mutadārīk.

5.  
   fa'ulun fa'al fa'lān.  
   Mutadārīk.

6.  
   maf'ūlun fa'ilun fa'ilun.  
   Hazaj. 13 group

7.  
   maf'ūlun fa'ilun maf'īl.  
   Hazaj.

8.  
   maf'ūlun maf'ūlun fa'ilun.  
   See 10.12, 13.

9.  
   maf'ūlun maf'ūlun fa'ilun.  
   Sari'.

9.8, 9 are derived from 11.9, 10 by running short syllables together into one long syllable. They are interchangeable.

Eight Syllables

1.  
   mufta'ilun maf'ūlun fā'.  
   Sari'.

2 and 3.  
   fa'ulun fa'ulun fa'al fa'ulun or fa'lān.  
   Mutadārīk.

4.  
   fa'ulun fa'ulun fa'ulun fa'ulun.  
   Mutadārīk. 4

Any or all of these feet may be fā'ilun.

See 12.1 and 24.2.

Six Syllables

1.  
   fa'al fa'al fa'al.  
   Mutadārīk.

SECOND LIST: rubā'i metres

These metres have been given in a separate list because, firstly, they are not used for any kind of poetry other than rubā'is, and, secondly, in any book of Urdu verse rubā'is are marked as such, and a student will always know when he is reading that form of verse.
There are twenty-four rubā‘i metres. They are both easy and
difficult to distinguish from one another; easy, because a rubā‘i line
is always written in one of these twenty-four, and difficult, because
any line of any rubā‘i may be in any one of them; so that a rubā‘i
poem consisting of six stanzas may have twenty-four metres.

It has been stated on p. 4 that new varieties of metre are often
produced from an old metre by running two short syllables into a
single long one. This specially applies to rubā‘is. Indeed all the
twenty-four metres are variations of two, which themselves are
identical except for the fact that the second half of the second foot is
a trochee in one and an iambus in the other.

The metres are here divided into two sections of twelve each
and given in the order of short syllables, a short syllable getting
preference over a long one. The first section begins with maf‘ūlu
and the second with maf‘ūlun, this difference between them arising
from making one long syllable of two short ones.

They are all derived from the hazaj metre which in its primitive
form consists of four feet maf‘ūlun—

     ○——— | ○——— | ○——— | ○——— |

From 1.5 below come fifteen others, making sixteen; from 1.1
come seven others making eight; twenty-four in all.

1.5 is —— ○ | —— ○ | —— ○ | —— ○ |

maf‘ūlu maf‘ūlu maf‘ūlu fa‘al.

By changing the last syllable to — we get 1.6.

     —— | ○——— | ○——— | ○—— |

By joining the 11th and 12th syllables we get 1.7 and 8.

     ○——— | ○——— | ○——— | ○—— |

By joining the 7th and 8th syllables we get 1.9 and 10.

     ○——— | ○——— | ○——— | ○—— |

By joining the 3rd and 4th syllables we get 2.5 and 6.

     —— | —— ○ | —— ○ | ○—— |

By joining the 11th and 12th, and 7th and 8th we get 1.11 and 12.

     —— | —— ○ | —— ○ | ○—— |

By joining the 11th and 12th, and 3rd and 4th we get 2.7 and 8.

     —— | —— ○ | —— ○ | —— ○ |

By joining the 7th and 8th, and 3rd and 4th we get 2.9 and 10.

     —— | —— ○ | —— ○ | —— ○ |

By joining the 11th and 12th, 7th and 8th, and 3rd and 4th we get
2.11 and 12.

     —— | —— || —— | —— |

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In the same way from 1.1 we can obtain 1.2, and from these 1.3 and 4, and 2.1, 2, 3, 4.

It should be observed that all the metres in Section 2 are derived from those in Section 1 by combining the 3rd and 4th syllables into one long syllable.

_Rubā’i Metres: all hazaj_

**Section 1 beginning with maf’ūlu.**

1.  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |
   maf’ūlu mafā‘ilun mafā‘ilun fa‘al.
2.  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |
   maf’ūlu mafā‘ilun mafā‘ilun fa‘ul.
3.  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  —  —  |
   maf’ūlu mafā‘ilun mafā‘ilun fa‘.
4.  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |
   maf’ūlu mafā‘ilun mafā‘ilun fa‘ul.
5.  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |
   maf’ūlu mafā‘ilu mafā‘ilu fa‘al.
6.  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |
   maf’ūlu mafā‘ilu mafā‘ilu fa‘ul.
7.  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  —  —  |
   maf’ūlu mafā‘ilu mafā‘ilu fa‘.
8.  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  —  —  |
   maf’ūlu mafā‘ilu mafā‘ilun fa‘.
9.  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  —  —  |
   maf’ūlu mafā‘ilun maf’ūlu fa‘al.
10. —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  —  —  |
    maf’ūlu mafā‘ilun maf’ūlu fa‘ul.
11. —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  —  —  |
    maf’ūlu mafā‘ilun maf’ūlu fa‘.
12. —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  —  —  |
    maf’ūlu mafā‘ilun maf’ūlu fa‘.

**Section 2 beginning with maf’ūlun.**

These are derived, metre for metre, from Section 1 by combining the 3rd and 4th syllables into a single long syllable.

1.  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |
   maf’ūlun fā‘ilun mafā‘ilu fa‘al.
2.  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |  —  —  —  |
   maf’ūlun fā‘ilun mafā‘ilu fa‘ul.
3.maf'ülun fa'ilun maf'ülun fa'.
4.maf'ülun fa'ilun maf'ülun fa'.
5.maf'ülun maf'ülun maf'ülun fa'al.
6.maf'ülun maf'ülun maf'ülun fa'ül.
7.maf'ülun maf'ülun maf'ülun fa'.
8.maf'ülun maf'ülun maf'ülun fa'.
9.maf'ülun maf'ülun maf'ülun fa'al.
10.maf'ülun maf'ülun maf'ülun fa'ül.
11.maf'ülun maf'ülun maf'ülun fa'.
12.maf'ülun maf'ülun maf'ülun fa'.
JUDGE COLEBROOKE'S SUPPOSED TRANSLATION OF
THE GOSPELS INTO HINDI
(See J.R.A.S., July, 1936, pp. 491 to 499.)

While examining Hindi Gospels in connection with the
article bearing the above title, I found the following entry in
the card-index of the library of the Baptist Missionary
Society:—

B. 9, 1. Indian Vernaculars—Bible. High Hindi.
The Gospels (tr. by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, 1765–
1837 ?). (1806). No title page.

5360 Darlow-Moule.

If this were to be confirmed, it would mean that
Judge Colebrooke did after all translate the Gospels into Hindi,
though I was and am convinced that he did not.

The Librarian was good enough to let me look at the volume,
and I saw at once that these four Gospels were part of the first
ed. of Carey's Hindi New Test., 1811. There was an added
interest in the fact that the Baptist Mission in London were
not known to possess a copy of the first ed. or any part of it.
The earliest they were known to have was the second ed.
of 1912.

I therefore asked them if they would allow me to take it to
the library of the Bible Society, which contains two copies of
the first ed., and they very kindly sent someone with me to
bring it back.

There on comparing it with a known first ed. I found that
the two were exactly alike except at the very end (John xxi),
where there were one or two trifling differences of arrange-
ment. In the Baptist Mission copy the page had evidently
been reset, probably as a result of the fire in the Serampore
College, March, 1812.

It was thus proved that the Baptist Mission did possess
part, nearly half, of a Carey first ed., and there was still no
evidence that Colebrooke's supposed translation had ever
been made.
REVIEW OF PROFESSOR TURNER'S NEPĀLĪ DICTIONARY


(Abbreviations: Ps., Pers. = Persian; Ar. = Arabic; N. = Nepālī; H. = Hindī; P., Pj. = Panjābī; K., Kś. = Kaśmīrī; lw. = loanword. Isolated numbers indicate pages.)

"Little streams of pure water sparkled among the grass, and trees laden with fruit grew here and there with spreading boughs."

I cannot think of better words than these to describe the remarkable work brought out this year by the Professor of Sanskrit in the University of London. No similar work, comparable in size, has been published before, though we had a forerunner on a smaller scale in the vocabulary (146 8vo pp.) of Jules Bloch's splendid monograph La Langue Marathe.

I do not profess to have studied every entry in the book, or read every page, but I have travelled extensively over the country to which it introduces us, wandered at will along the banks of its rivulets, and plucked luscious fruit off the overhanging branches, and this gives me a title to express the gratitude and admiration which I feel.

One does not know whether to admire most the author's industry or his learning or his intuition. It is hard to believe that one man has single-handed ransacked the dictionaries and vocabularies of forty or fifty languages in order to discover parallels to 26,000 entries, and has, in addition, sent innumerable letters and countless slips to scholars in the hope of obtaining information to make his dictionary complete. Yet this is what Professor Turner has done.

His original aim was to make a practical dictionary (a book, shall we say, of 100 pp., giving words and meanings), but he tells us with happy meiosis that the work has "somewhat outgrown" the first intention. It now weighs 9 lb. 3 oz., exactly the weight of the service rifle and bayonet carried by the Gurkha soldiers to whom he dedicates the result of his labour.

There is a valuable introduction of 7 pp., in which we see the principles which guided him in his etymologies, above all the principle which he, more than any other Indianist, has impressed upon us, that in tracing linguistic relationship we must take note of common innovations, not of common conservations. This truth, to the
illustration of which he has devoted so much of his time, will render necessary the rewriting of many pages on Indian languages and the re-formulation of many theories about them.

Next to the etymologies, the most useful single feature of the dictionary is the series of indexes (correctly so called; the incorrect form, indices, is not used). These indexes, which we owe to the labour of Mrs. Turner, give us, language by language, connected words from other tongues. Beginning with Indo-European and Indo-Aryan reconstructions, Mrs. Turner goes on to Sanskrit and its descendants, such as the ancient Pali and Prakrit, and the modern Romani, Śīnā, Kaśmirī, Hindi, Panjābī, Lahndī, Śinghalese, etc. These occupy 271 pp. Other language-groups, such as Kāfīrī, Mundā, Dravidian, and European, take up five pp.

In these Professor Turner appears to have rejected mere loanwords. This limitation is useful for Sanskrit, because there is no clear boundary to possible words, but one would have been glad to see a list of loanwords from European languages, especially English and Portuguese. Such a list would serve a very useful purpose and it would be well worth while to make one even now and print it separately.

I would draw special attention to the astonishing collection on pp. 657–60 of over 400 words whose origin is in most cases unknown. Among them are a number of the commonest words in north India.

It is difficult to exaggerate the value of these indexes. Anyone possessing a knowledge of any of the better-known Indo-European languages, and desirous of ascertaining the comparative development of a word, can now look it up in the list containing the words of the language he knows. He is there referred to the Nep. word under which the forms in other languages are given. Without the index he would not know where to look.

Romani is referred to in three dialects. No such full use of Romani in connection with other Indian languages can be found anywhere except in Miklosich's Mundarten, which is over fifty years old. Professor Turner's monograph establishing Romani as a Central Indian language is in the mind of all scholars.

A work like this which aims at completeness and correctness must fall short in at least some details. This is inevitable in all human effort. There must be occasional words forgotten, meanings inaccurately given, analogies missed, etymologies mistaken or untraced, and errors of printing unnoticed. The marvel to my mind is that there are so few.
Feeling sure that Professor Turner is already at work on a supplement, with a list of errata, I venture to mention a few points which he may be good enough to consider.

**Meanings.**

The compiler usefully gives the fem. of occupational and caste terms; but what is the meaning of these fems.? Sometimes, as for damini, guruñini, the meaning given is “woman of damāi, guruñ, caste”. This seems to me correct (“female” would be better still, so as to include little girls); but for other words, such as khardārni, ojhi, dhobini, paṇḍitini, ghartini, kamini, the words are said to mean “wife” of kharār, etc., and again for others, as panerni, mālini, “female water-carrier”, etc. I think it would be better in all of them to give the meaning “female” of the caste. If, e.g., a khardārni were to be educated, and enter the House of Commons, she would remain a khardārni, whoever her husband might be.

One or two further points: “thor bahut, something, no matter how little”; does it not mean “a smallish amount of”? kāpi, copy: add “notebook, copybook”. kānun, military law: add “ordinary law, cf. kānagoi”. kārnu: six meanings given, but have not the essential meanings “take out, eject” been overlooked?

203 chori mari thulā ghar pari: the meaning given strikes me as a mild libel on the cheery Gorkhāli. It is not difficult to get another.

**Etymologies.**

Dr. Turner is at his best in etymologies; examples of his research and remarkable power of seizing on the relevant facts may be seen on almost every page. I mention in particular gachnu, jokhn, khelnu, nibhāunu, celo, līr, hotro, choro, sarnu, calnu, bhutte, dhasnu, sīrī, kero.

In a spirit of deep appreciation I make a few suggestions aiming at further perfection.

European words. These at present are given in different ways: (a) lw. H.; (b) lw. Eng.; (c) lw. H. fr. Eng. or Port.; (d) lw. H. fr. Pers. I think that the Eur. origin should always be referred to. Some said to be Eng. seem to me Port. The following changes suggest themselves.


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These two words are more likely to have gone to Persia from India, than come to India from Persia. In any case they are Port.

"tauliya, lw. H.": add "fr. Port."

pistaul, botal, said to be Eng., are probably Port. pistola, botelha; so perhaps kārtus, said to be Fr. (Port. kartucho).

Further, there are many entered simply as "lw. Eng." The question arises whether they should not be "lw. H. fr. Eng." In only a few cases does it appear likely that they came directly into N. from Eng.

For words at present left underived a few etyms. occur to me. khausās, liberated slave; lw. H. khavāiss, servant; fr. Pers. khaistārī, tambourine, lw. H. khanjīrī, fr. Pers. id.
thāhī, information; P. thauh, recollection (the Nep. also has this meaning).

ju<n jū, delay; H. jā jā, jā tā.

jista, dista, quire of paper; H. dasta, m. id. fr. Pers.

Corrections.


422 barānda, verandah, is twice said to be Pers. It is not a Ps. word at all, but Urdu.

bāphre, bāphrebāph, not fr. baburo, but lw. H. bāpre, bāprebāp, id.
piche, per: omit H. and P. words given, and insert H. pīche, P. piche, id., as bighe piche, vighe piche, per acre (or half acre).

khatāra, fraud; not H. khatra, but H. khačrā, wicked; P. khačrā, deceitful.

bāre mā, concerning; not as stated, but lw. H. bāre mē, id.

bālwār: bāl, not conn. w. bāl, hair, which in Pj. would yield vālbār, whereas Pj. is bālbar. The l is mere change of r; cf. N. lefār, writer; Pj. bālišār, barrister; pippalmīnīt, peppermint; fail, fire; lūl, rule; pālī, party.

halkāro, messenger, is said to be a form of ahalkār. There is no connection between the two words, beyond similarity of meaning. ahalkār is correctly derived, p. 29, lw. H. ahkār (Ps. ahl. and kār) halkāro is lw. H. halkārā, harkārā fr. Ps. harkāra, man who does all or any work (har-kār).

kuli, not fr. Ar. but from Turkish.

Minor Corrections.

113 H. khattī, not whiskers, beard, but incipient hair on face.

300 P. thok, not "heap", but "thing".

311 "P. deh, f. sun", read "dēh, m."
491 P. man, mf.; omit f.
494 P. mardā, read marc; mardā is pl. of marc.
513 P. mund, m. not f.; for L. mundh, f., head of canal, read mūdh, m.
520 P. murnā, not "twist", trans., but "turn", intr.
554 H.P. lām, not "line, brigade", but "war, expedition".
582 P. sarnā, not "rot", but "be burnt".
309 dābī, H. da'wī. da'wī, a form given by Platts, has no existence.
It should be da'vā.

Suggested additions to etymologies.
"khasnu, fall; Shina gur khaśonū"; add "ż only in infin.;
Inv. sing. has s (khas), otherwise z, (except past -t-).

šako, money; add P. tagā, half anna.

jiraha, jirāha, H. jarkh, fr. Ar. jarkh is translated once "objection", and once "denial". The word is jirah in H., and means "cross-examination" or "surgical incision". In P. it is jarhā. The conn.
of N. jirāha seems doubtful.

jyāsti, jesti, excessive; add lw. H. jāsti (fr. ziyādatī, Ps.).
thurnu, stumble; add P. thuddā (not th-), stumbling-block.
dāgna, aim at; add H.P. dagnā, be fired (of top, cannon).
nāghnū, jump over; add P. nanghānā, pass by.

bariyā, very good; add P. vadhānā, with the note that barhiānā,
vadhānā, and doubtless N. bariyā, have no fem. form.

phāltū, superfluous; add L. phāltū, coolie who waits for odd jobs.
phitte, separate; add H. phatke, separate; H.P. phitte mūh!
your face be cursed! P. phītt, f., phītač, f., curse.

mutnu; add P. mūtnā.

randī; add P. randī, widow.

karāi, cauldron; add P. karāhī.

lāro; add P. laurā.


chamchamnu, c-gārnu; add P. chan chan, jingling, tinkling.

Professor Turner derives kāphar, coward, fr. kāfr, but hesitates
about kābu, cowed, fr. qābū, on account of "difference of meaning".
The difference seems less in the latter case than in the former, and the
derivation may surely be accepted.

kutā-ho-kutā, adv. expressing emphasis; add Cf. H. kaśi, anywhere,
much (more than); thus, to put the N. sentences into H.; Siliguri se
Dājriling kāhi acchā hai (much better than); sārā shahr ghūnā, us
ghay kā kahi patā nā laga. Professor Turner asks if this is derived from
katā. No doubt it is. Might we not say that katā here means "anywhere", like kahī, and that katā-ho-katā is the emphatic form?

The following P. words are mere lws. fr. H. The forms which I add in parenthesis are the real ones: khelānā (khedṇā) hillnā (hallnā) shake, phārnā (pārnā) split, jotnā (jonā) yoke.

The accuracy of the proof-reading is extraordinary, and reflects the utmost credit on the compiler and his wife. Very little has escaped them. I have noticed the following errors. Some of them are probably quite correctly copied from the source consulted, and the proof-readers have no responsibility.

111 kāghānā and -ūrnā, read kh- and -nā.
111 khāgālṇā; better hāgālṇā.
125 kullhnā, read khullhnā.
137 garmī, read garmī.
209 jam’āt, read jamā’at.
246 P. ṭekan, read ṭekkan.
360 P. pattnā, better puttnā.
494 H. marhaṭe, read maraḥte, maraṭe.
513 P. munnā, read munnā.
555 Lāhor, read Lāhaur.
558 P. luknā, read lukknā.

Read ẓ for ẓ, s, s, in the following H. words: 116 khalāsī, 117 khasm, khasī, 272 tafṣil, 539 ruḥsat, 609 sirf, 640 hissa, hisnadār; and ẓ for ẓ in 635 hāzīrī, 642 hāiza; and ẓ for ẓ in the Lahndī words 402 phal, 405 phālā, 436 bāla (the verb; the noun would be bālaṇ), 632 ḥal, pair of oxen.

We are told on p. xxiii that the Pj. words are taken from Mayā Singh’s Dict. That useful, if somewhat loosely arranged, volume ignores the sound ḍ, and confuses n with n. Consequently, many P. words containing ḍ appear in it with the south P. form in l, and infins. which have roots ending in r or r are printed now with n and now with n. This is a pity, for the distinction between l and ḍ, and between n and n is well worth preserving. In the Nep. Dict. there was no choice but to print as the original source did. The best rule is to make all P. infins. end in -nā, except those with roots in -r, -rh, -r, -rh, which should end in -nā. The difference between ṭnā and ṭnā in rapid speech is negligible, but ṭnā differs widely from ṭnā.

A few P. words taken at random which should have ḍ are ubalnā, boil; phal, fruit; phal, blade; pālṇā, be nourished; miṅnā, meet.
A little point, illustrating the care which the compiler has everywhere exercised, is the use of \( v \) instead of the customary \( w \) in Pj. words. The amount of avoidable mispronunciation among Europeans which has been caused by the use of \( w \) for \( v \) in other books (including some of mine) is distressing to contemplate. \( w \) occurs in Pj. only as an alternative to \( ū \) in such words as \( adwānā \), water-melon; \( dūnā \), cause to be given.

The \( r \) dialect of Kš. This interesting village dialect is referred to twice (see ghāro, 157; sarũ, 582). Under moro, 520, a village word mor? is given for the town dialect along with the real town word mor\. Under larũ, fight, K. laḍun is said to be "prob. lw. H.P."; I prefer to say "lw. vill. K. larūn". In many other places I should recommend reference to the vill. dialect. Thus, to mention a few: caro, bird, K. tsṣ̱r̡"; carũ, ascend, K. tsarūn; bhīṛ, crowd, K. bīṛ; birālo, cat, K. brōr\( ^* \), byōr\( ^* \), char, basket, K. tsar; char, bar, K. chīṛ\( ^* \); charũ, sprinkle, K. chīṛkāwũn; chorũn, leave, K. chorūn; jārũ, set, K. jarpūn; jor, pair, K. jorā; jori, pair, K. jūr\( ^* \); guliyo, sugar, K. gor; larā, strife, add K. laḍōy\( ^* \), lw. vill. K. larōy\( ^* \); parũ, read, add K. padūn, lw. vill. K. parūn; kārũ, eject, add vill. K. karūn, lw. H. (for here the vill. form should be kaḍūn). Such references would elucidate a matter of importance.

There is a large class of onomatopoetic words, and Dr. Turner often mentions that a word belongs to it. It might be too much to ask that he should always do this, yet sometimes it is not clear that a word is onomatopoetic (e.g. khatākhat, without interruption; kharkhar, without stopping; khuskhus, whispering). One might not realize that these are merely imitative words or derived from such words, and it would be well to say it in each case.

-bāj, 431. Through an oversight it is stated simply that -bāj is a suffix in našebāj, nothing being said about other words, such as botal-bāj, dagābāj, etc. In the case of -dār many examples are given.

Great praise must be given for the careful differentiation of causal verbs, which breaks new ground in dictionaries, for this is the first in which the distinction has been consistently made. I made it for Urdu and Pj. (Bull. S.O.S., V, iii, 519, 1929). Here it is made for Nepali. It applies doubtless to other Indo-Aryan languages. The rule is briefly this: causals of intr. verbs mean to cause to do; of trans. verbs to cause to be done. Thus jokẖāunu, cause to be weighed, have weighed; but dugurānunu, cause to run.

Another feature of the dictionary is the occasional comparison of
meanings (as distinct from forms). Thus for lekh, mountain-chain, we are referred to Eng. "line of mountains"; and for Pk. thunna-, proud, lit. stopped, to Eng. "stuck up", 298. There are only a few of these comparisons; it would be difficult to increase their number, for a systematic attempt to discuss comparative semantics would entail the compilation of a second dictionary.

And so we come to the end of this wonderful volume. I have mentioned above a few things for consideration in the forthcoming Supplement, but I feel almost as if I should be ashamed of myself for doing so. It is as if passing through undulating fields of the richest mellow corn, I had taken note of a half-ripe or over-ripe grain, here and there, among thousands of the best. Professor Turner’s colleagues in the University of London, and his alma mater, the University of Cambridge, which has given him the degree of Litt.D. in recognition of his labours, will be proud to remember their association with one who has produced a work of such outstanding ability and learning.

I, too, bring my tribute of admiration, gratitude, and thanks.
"A book that is shut is but a block"

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